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**TRANSFORMATION AND
DEMOCRATIZATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN
SPORT IN THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL
DISPENSATION, WITH SPECIAL
REFERENCE TO *RUGBY* AS A SPORT
CODE**

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requirements for the Ph.D.–degree in the
Faculty of Humanities, Department of
Political Studies and Governance at the
University of the Free State**

2012

Promoter: Prof. B. Anderson

DECLARATION

- i. I declare that the thesis for the qualification of this Ph.D.–degree at the University of the Free State, is my own work and that I have not submitted it for a degree at another university/ faculty.

- ii. I also declare that the thesis, Transformation and Democratization of South African Sport in the New Constitutional Dispensation with Special Reference to Rugby as a Sport Code, is my own work and that all the sources that have been used or quoted have been acknowledged by means of references.

J.A. Smiles

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DEDICATION

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND

Many South Africans are frustrated with the slow pace of transformation and democracy in sport, and especially in rugby, since the new constitutional dispensation commenced in 1994. The New Age (2011) reports that quotas have failed to be the panacea that fast tracks integration and participation of Blacks in sport codes that were previously the preserve of Whites under the apartheid regime. Rugby and cricket, in particular, have proved the quotas system, as well as development programmes, to be an almost futile exercise, with representatives of the majority of the population failing to break into the Springbok and the Protea teams (The New Age, 2011:18).

It is because of developments such as those referred to earlier that the researcher decided to investigate the transformation and democratisation process of South African sport, with special reference to rugby as a sporting code.

Furthermore, it was and still is obvious that sports transformation, quotas and targets are words that some South African sport people loathe and dislike. They question if transformation in sport still need to be pursued in South Africa. Yet, continuously the question is asked as to whether the team's representing South Africa are black enough or reflect the demographic profile of the country. Following South Africa's triumph at the Rugby World Cups in 1995 and 2007, the country's former president, Mr Thabo Mbeki, and the former Minister of Sport, Mr Makhenkesi Stofile, both conceded that racial quotas were not the way forward. They also went a step further and ruled out racial quotas for future national teams (Ismael, 2008). This is indeed a contradiction of the views expressed earlier, since 1992, by some politicians, administrators and rugby personalities regarding the question of quotas in South African sport.

Interesting to observe is that the current Minister of Sport and Recreation, Mr Fikile Mbalula, was forced to review or reconsider his earlier stance to abolish quotas at the

National Sports Indaba in November 2011. In earlier observations the researcher realised that transformation in sport is generally viewed negatively and seen as an obstacle to success, as opposed to a process that gives impetus to progress and performance. Maimela (2011), in his article "The only way to change SA sporting fortunes", proposes that in the South African context, progress that produces success cannot be achieved without a combination of quantity (increased inclusivity of previously marginalised groups) and quality (excellence drawn from all groups). He articulates further that South Africa indisputably has abundant sporting talent that is not confined to any race, class, gender or geographical space (Maimela, 2011). Mr Peter de Villiers, the former Springbok coach, agreed that the word "transform" means "the progress from what you were to what you can be" (De Villiers and Rich, 2012:71).

In this regard, two schools of thought emerged: some feel that merit-selection should be the ultimate criteria for selecting representative teams; while the majority of people feel that politically driven selection should also be considered, due to the political environment in South Africa in the apartheid-era. The interviews, questionnaires and data analysis emphasise the two schools of thought in the research. What the researcher realised is that South African sport cannot remain political neutral as the country moves towards a new socio-political dispensation. The transition from separate development previously to a new democracy is political in nature. According to Baxter (1994) South African sports persons cannot play a game without becoming involved, directly or indirectly, in politics. But due to the imbalances in sport facilities, mainly in the historically disadvantaged communities, it is still at this stage, practically impossible to impose merit-selection constructively.

Therefore, the researcher's observation, in particular that of South African rugby players, has led to the identification of this investigation: to explore the transformation and democratisation of South African sport in the new constitutional dispensation. Being a player, coach and administrator, the researcher has been engaged and involved with various members of school, club, provincial and national teams. Therefore, this study has a dual purpose: firstly, to make a meaningful contribution towards the trans-

formation process in South African Sport, and secondly, to make an innovative and unique contribution to the literature on sport and democracy.

The entire research study was grounded in relevant stakeholders and role-players knowledge, with data gathered from the various perspectives of rugby players, coaches and administrators; and even declarations made by politicians regarding transformation, democracy and sport. The interview process, data gathering and data continued until saturation has been occurred, and no new data emerged. The emergent data has been analysed qualitatively. The research was limited to South African rugby players, administrators and certain politicians from the sports ministry and political parties. Ethical issues were considered throughout the research process. Also central to the study is the assertion that knowledge is contextually situated, and that it can never be fully understood without reference to a host of situational variables, such as historical background, politics, economics, ideology, sport and culture (Roy, 2004).

Within the grounded theory approach, the assertion is that the researcher is central to the knowledge generating process. In this manner the researcher's unique perspective was no longer neutralised, but rather it formed an integral component of the study. The researcher's central task was to derive meaning, or "make sense" of the findings, as Roy (2004) acknowledged. Several methodological principles have been applied, such as open-ended interviews, content analysis, qualitative data analysis, participant observation, field studies and case studies.

1.2 PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH / PROBLEM IDENTIFICATION

The main purpose of this research, firstly, is to explore whether transformation and democratisation of South African Sport is politically or merit driven. Secondly, the study intends to examine to what extent transformation has taken place since the new constitutional dispensation in our country, from 1994 up until now. What progress has been made and at what pace. The latter issue necessitates the possibility to investigate the problems regarding the quota systems, merit selection and development programmes in sport with specific reference to rugby. These issues will form an integral part of the research on transformation and democratisation in rugby.

1.2.1 Research questions

Deriving from the preceding problem; the following questions on transformation and democratisation needed to be addressed in this study:

1. What is the relationship between sport (e.g. the federations) and politics (the government) since the new democratic order in 1994?
2. What are the basic assumptions that describe transformation and democratisation?
3. Do representative teams, at all levels, reflect the demographics of our society or only the participating sport people?
4. How appropriate are the pillars or principles of transformation? (such as democracy, non-racialism, non-sexism, unitary structures, equity and access, redress and representivity, development and excellence, and capacity building)
5. Which theoretical framework could be utilised to explain the processes of transformation and democratisation?
6. What are the prerequisites for politically driven transformation towards merit driven transformation?

1.2.2 Research process

The nature of the research activities demanded intensive fieldwork, networking, interviewing and participant observation. The following research aims have been formalised as part of the research process :

1. Preliminary interviews and telephonic interviews were arranged with relevant sport personalities, politicians and players.
2. Relevant articles, publications, historical documents, published books, journals and a selection of databases were reviewed.
3. Different stakeholders and role-players were interviewed by means of structured self-administered questionnaires, face-to-face semi-structured interviews and field notes were taken. The researcher also used data from available electronic surveys, case studies and speeches.
4. At different stages and intervals of the study the researcher interviewed and had informal conversations with political leaders and sport personalities.
5. With the emergent theory, the researcher constructed a synergy between merit-driven and politically driven transformation in rugby. Archival sources and case studies also assisted to construct a conceptual framework regarding the thesis.

1.3 FOCUS OF RESEARCH

1.3.1 Grounded Theory Analysis: Was originally developed by Glaser and Strauss (1967). According to Henning, Van Rensburg and Smit (2004:114) this approach is "a tool for constructing substantive theories". They state that grounded theory has come to equate qualitative research per se. Charmaz (2002), on the other hand, maintains that grounded theory methods consist of flexible strategies for focussing and expediting qualitative data collection and analysis. These methods provide a set of inductive steps that successfully lead the researcher from studying concrete realities to rendering a conceptual understanding of them. Put simply, grounded theorists theorise reality according to a set of empirically organised categories. The emergent theories are thus grounded in the research reality, which by definition means that the researcher achieved the theory from his/her own theoretical position and existing knowledge (Henning, et al.,2004).

The work of Strauss and Glaser (1967) posited that substantive theory from the ground (the data) can feed **into** theory without being **driven** by the theory. By implication it means, as Henning *et al.* (2004) speculate, that it is not theory-driven but data driven.

1.3.2 Qualitative Research: According to Mouton (2002) in qualitative research, the investigator or researcher works with a wealth of rich descriptive data, collected through methods such as participant observation, in-depth interviewing and document analysis. The research strategy was of contextual nature, where methods of data gathering, data analysis and interpretation were used that were more holistic and interpretative in nature. Mouton (2002:169) articulates that it is in a qualitative study that variables are usually not controlled because it is exactly this freedom and natural development of action and representation that we wish to capture. Roy (2004) concludes that qualitative research and orthodox science differ according to their ontological, epistemological and axiological assumptions.

1.4 RESEARCH PHILOSOPHY

The following research philosophies were applied throughout the research:

1.4.1 Epistemology

Birks and Mills (2011:174) define epistemology as "the nature of justifiable knowledge". According to the Reader's Digest Great Encyclopaedic Dictionary (1979) epistemology is the theory of method or grounds of knowledge. Mouton (2002:123) also contends that epistemological assumptions are assumptions about the nature of knowledge and science or on the context of "truth" and related ideals. In this research the knowledge about sport and democracy has been central in the argumentations. Epistemology is also seen as that department of philosophy which investigates critically the nature, grounds, limits, and criteria, or validity, of human knowledge; theory of cognition (Standard Dictionary, 1965). Other authors and political philosophers define epistemology as "the origin, nature and limits of knowledge (compare also Jackson and Jackson, 1997:29; Venter and Johnston, 1991:25).

1.4.2 Ontology

Mouton (2002:46) is of the opinion that the term "ontology literally means the study of 'being' or 'reality'." He goes further and argues that "social ontologies" refer to conceptions of the ontology of social reality. It is derived from the Greek word (ontos) which is usually translated as "being" or "reality" (Mouton, 1996:8). According to Birks and Mills (2011:175) ontology refers to "the study of the nature of reality".

According to the Reader's Digest Dictionary (1979) ontology refers to the department of metaphysics concerned with the essence of things or being in the abstract. The ontological assumptions, according to Mouton (2002), include assumptions about human nature, society, the nature of history, observable phenomena and causality. Ontology also refers to the science of real being, the philosophical theory of reality, the

doctrine of the universal and necessary characteristics of all existence (Standard Dictionary, 1965). Venter and Johnston (1991:25) articulate that ontological assumptions are not subject to testability, rather "each depends upon and is validated by its own priori ontology".

1.4.3 Constructivism

Constructivism is the doctrine that complex mental structures are neither innate nor passively derived from experience, but are actively constructed by the mind (Mouton, 2002:46). De Vos (2003:31) argues that for the qualitative researcher, concepts and constructs are meaningful words that can be analysed in their own right to gain a greater depth of understanding of a given concept. In this research, the researcher was totally aware that knowledge construction proceeds from the particular to the general in qualitative research. It means that the knowledge construction was inductive, and the theory emerged from the data, and not from the researcher's preconceptions. Roy (2004) comments that qualitative researchers attempt to minimize advance structure on their data, and they usually have little fore-knowledge of the outcome of their studies. In this case, the research study was exploratory. Charmaz (2006:187) states that constructivism means "a social scientific perspective that addresses how realities are made". This perspective assumes that researchers construct the realities in which they participate.

1.4.4 Post-Modernism

The post-modernist perspective interprets sport as a paradox. It can be highly significant to individual self-image and life style, but it is ultimately superficial. It can be highly symbolic of society, but it is ultimately unreal. Sports development reflects an institutional anxiety to control and impose order in an increasingly disorganised world (Hylton and Totten, 2001:49-53). According to Hoffman and Graham(2009) post modernists seek to overcome the dualistic character of traditional theory. They declare that "we should refuse to accept that we are either critical (and want to overturn everything) or

conservative (and want to keep things as they are). We need to be both subjective and objective, valuing the individual and society" (Hoffman and Graham, 2009:334).

In the fieldwork conducted, it was found that the only constant is change, even if rugby since 1994 seems to attempt to navigate a complex map of diverse sources of provision and motivation for participation. That is why, under the post-modernist perspective, rugby still seems to be prone to a layering of disparate influences at local, regional, national and global levels. Sometimes it seems to be insecure. Hylton and Totten (2001:50-52) state that sport in this sense is "hyper-real", because society is still fragmented and diverse.

According to the same authors, there is no universal truth, only individuality and different interpretations of reality. The questionnaires and interviews reflect this notion. From the data analysis it emerged that the only certainty is uncertainty. According to Hylton and Totten (2001:50-52) society, in this case, South Africa is in a perpetual state of change and flux. Traditional structures and order, like the apartheid era, are perceived to be things of the past.

The post-modernist perspective affirms that concepts like sport equality and inclusion are outmoded. There is nothing objectively fixed to determine inclusion or exclusion. Society is increasingly influenced by global processes which lead to the redundancy of traditional social structures and inequalities. Class, gender and ethnic boundaries are collapsing (Hylton and Totten, 2001). Yet, the Sports Minister, Mr Fikile Mbalula, suggested at a recent sports indaba in South Africa that five commissions should investigate the five categories on sport transformation in South Africa: mass participation and schools; geo-political boundaries against sports federations; facilities and structures transformation and the role of demarcation at macro level; and governance (Baloyi, 2011:14).

In this regard, the post-modernists believe that lifestyle and identity are increasingly individualised and self-determined through consumption (Hylton and Totten, 2001).

Constructs like sport, democracy, developing programmes and transformation are relevant here. Therefore, the post-modernist movement bases its argument on philosophical **de-constructionism**. At its essence, this philosophy the central values of Western culture. For example, they believe that no white person could write an account of the Zulu nation. They maintain that knowledge about other people always devolves into power over them (Jackson and Jackson, 1997:189-190).

1.4.5 The transformation debate

In the emerging theory it was clear that setting sport quotas based on demographic representative is unconstitutional. Prozesky (2008) reveals that the Bill of Rights gives South Africans freedom to choose with whom or with what they associate themselves. This includes sport as well. What he suggests is that a policy that threatens voluntary pursuits, like sport, as if freedom of choice were not the key factor, isolates that right. In essence, sport administrators need to understand this carefully. Therefore, Prozesky (2008) makes it clear that it is essential that politicians and sport administrators think logically, act ethically and respect the constitution as they built sport and democracy after apartheid. In the analysis of the questionnaires and note-taking it came to the fore that sport can be a tool of dictatorship or a symbol of democratic change. Interesting therefore to note that a former Sports Minister, Mr Makhenkhesi Stofile, indicated some years ago that transformation in South African sport should be completed by 2010. He emphasised that the affirmative action drive in sport would be "intensified", especially with the "Big Six"-sporting codes: rugby, soccer, cricket, athletics, netball and boxing (Stofile, 2005). Baxter (1994:212-215) however proposes, early in the sports unification that strides towards a united non-racial sports body should actually be pro-active movements that emerge from "a symbiosis between sports and politics". After twenty years (1992-2012) in the new democracy, facilities and infrastructure for different races are still unequal. The participating respondents expressed their views that the total sports infrastructure from the bottom upwards, are still fragmented in South Africa. Two famous Springbok captains, Francois Pienaar and Gary Teichmann, had this to express in their autobiographies: "... the challenge facing South African rugby is to expand

beyond its traditional boundaries. The plain demographics of the country do not bode well" (Pienaar, 1999:301-302). Teichmann (2000:207) says: "Rugby did need to be transformed, but this could only be done from the grassroots up rather than from the Springboks down". Rightfully, the data analysis questioned the dual perspectives of South African sport: At some instances the change occurs from the top-down, rather than from a bottom-up approach. This is the ongoing paradox of the country's sport. The popular believe is that the quota system should be seen as a precursor for actual transformation.

Professor Esterhuyse (2003) remarks that the vision of transformation does not represent a South African invention. Transformation is a global phenomenon, encompassing many spheres of life. What he articulates is that an organisation cannot continue functioning as before. Transformation becomes necessary and inevitable (Esterhuyse, 2003:2-8). In the same vein, Human (1998:46) states that transformation is of no value unless it involves "the transformation of the mind". It means that organisations do not change, but people do. Everyone needs to make a mindset change. Change is multi-faceted, meaning many things to many people. Importantly, transformation needs to be applied strategically – the improved order of things. Transformation interventions also have to enhance performance, productivity, efficiency and competitiveness (Human, 1998). Mantambo (2010) criticises transformation by stating that the reality is that after almost two decades of talk about unity and change, black players still feel marginalised by a system that is supposed to protect them. They are let down by the very structures designed to support them.

Significantly, the respondents addressed the principles of transformation adequately in their analysis. They commented on the principles of transformation as follows:

- democracy;
- equity and access;
- redress and representivity;
- capacity building;
- development and excellence;

- accountability and transparency;
- unitary structures; and
- non-racism and non-sexism.

According to Dr Mamphela Ramphele, transformation should enrich society by enlarging the pool of talent, harnessing leadership styles from a diversity of backgrounds and forging new ways of tackling the complex problems of the 21st century (Ramphele, 2009:2). What she emphasised is that change that includes all, rather than excludes, can enlarge the pool of talent – even on the sporting field. Chester Williams, a brilliant Springbok wing, indicated that transformation should not be confused with development. The latter is the nurturing of talent, and talent identification should never have a colour coding (Keohane, 2002:156). He continued to explain that transformation is about opportunity. He was fortunate to play regularly at all levels during his career, while white players were given opportunities every weekend and black players were given only one or two chances to make an impression. He had also experienced first hand how inherently racist the mindset of coaches can be in South Africa (Keohane, 2002:155). This perception was reflected in many of the questionnaire responses in this study. To support this tendency, Keohane (2004:55-58) contemplates that: "Transformation was the most significant development for rugby's homogenous flock in apartheid South Africa, the selection of black players had not been a consideration. Coaches and administrators are not prepared to listen to black players' concerns. White players saw transformation as quotas and the selection of a black player at the expense of a better white player. This is the reason why transformation remains so misunderstood in South African rugby."

In conclusion, Corné Krige, also an ex-Springbok captain, indicated that he supports or favours integration. What he proposed is that equal opportunities for all must be created and the transformation process must move forward until all barriers are removed. He said that if we were to build a great new South Africa and champion sports men and women, then we must embrace these principles wholeheartedly (Krige and Bills, 2005:148).

1.5 RATIONALE AND MOTIVATION

Sport, in any country, has always been a very strong building block for society and interacts with politics at all levels of society. In the South African context sport has been used in the struggle against apartheid and in the democratisation process during the post-apartheid era. Political change since 1994 has led to the transformation and democratisation of sporting bodies and the acceptance of non-racialism in sport. Rugby and cricket, which used to be pre-dominantly white sports, are also experiencing the restructuring of South African sport. "Many saw transformation and development as one and the same thing when they were, in fact, separate entities" (Keohane: 2004:49).

Partnerships between previous rivals in the struggle for sport supremacy, was formed without serious problems; nevertheless, there are still "growing pains" with regard to the transformation and democratisation of sport since 1994. The campaigners against apartheid in sport now became the leaders to transform South African sport. Sport became a key element in the nation building process. It reached a climax during the 1995 Rugby World Cup with the slogan "One team, one nation". But since that time transformation is viewed with suspicion according to Van der Berg (2002:17). While there is a strong argument that players should be selected purely on merit, there is a large black group that is deeply suspicious of this argument, believing that whites are clinging to past privileges. On the other hand, whites see the quota system as reverse discrimination. This vicious cycle of wrong perceptions needs to be addressed. Van der Berg (2002:17) argues that "change or transformation is inevitable, no matter how awkward."

It is generally perceived that South Africa is a culturally mixed society. That is why the conflict is sometimes so intense. Unless specific steps are taken to avoid conflict in sport, it may contribute to social divisions within the society. Opportunities in sport must be related to individual capacities, but these challenges should reinforce national priorities. The dismantling of cultural differences and the reshaping of South African society became a reality through the integration of sport. Sport is thus a very important

component in the political process of our country. Transformation is therefore a reality and not a myth.

Keohane (2004: 50) observes that white coaches refer to black players as "non-whites", "players of colour", "development players", "quota players", and "them". He has never heard a white player being described as non-black. Human (1998: 23-41) is of the opinion that what sport needs in South Africa is "to manage this dialectic between intentions and actions". The key to building strong institutions or sport federations is the ability to translate intentions into reality. In the same article he argues that there are a variety of reactionary forces working against transformation. Clinging to the past (by both blacks and whites) are dangerous obstacles to transformation. Organisations and institutions are more than the sum of their parts – they are collections of people.

Therefore, sport is not outside the national agenda of government. Sport does not operate within a vacuum in this country, nor is it independent of the transformation and democratisation processes of the government. Sport is part and parcel of the process, in the same way as other aspects of our socio-economic life are undergoing change. Sport can be a great equaliser in our society. Sport, and especially rugby, has a powerful role to play in the transformation of South Africa (SA), but it means that a true investment in sport programmes and facilities for all young people must take place.

1.6 RESEARCH STRATEGY

1.6.1 Field research

The researcher considered both the broad approach to qualitative research and a method of gathering qualitative data. The essential idea was that he went "into the field" to observe the phenomenon of sport and democracy in South Africa. The methods of participant observation, note-taking in informal discussions, interviews and telephonic interviews have been applied to both players and administrators. As a field researcher, he took extensive field-notes which were subsequently coded and analysed by means of the grounded theory approach.

1.6.2 Key analytic strategies

Grounded theory, as a qualitative research approach, has been explained in Section 1.3.1 briefly. The general perception is that the **theory** needs to be **grounded** or rooted in the observation. Grounded theory is a complex **interactive** process (Trochim, 2006). As researcher he began with the raising of **generative questions** which helped to guide the research process. These questions were not intended to be either static or confining. As he began to gather **data**, the **core/theoretical concepts** were identified. Tentative **linkages** were developed between these concepts and the data. The research process tended to be very open, and it took time until a point of saturation was achieved, after which the data was analysed. These efforts evolved towards **one category** that was central. The research process was based on the following strategies, as proposed by Trochim (2006):

- **Coding**: the process for both categorising qualitative data and describing the implications and details of categories. Initially the researcher used **open coding**, considering the data in minute detail, while developing some initial categories. Later on, he moved to more **selective coding**, where he systematically coded with respect to a core concept or concepts;

- **Memoing:** the process for recording the thoughts and ideas of the researcher as they evolved throughout the study. In this case memoing included extensive marginal notes and comments. Initially, these memos were very open and later it focused on the core concepts; and
- **Integrating Diagrams:** The researcher used to pull all the detail together. Also to help make sense of the data with respect to the emerging theory. The diagrams were in the form of graphic designs, concept maps or directed graphs.

Eventually, a conceptually dense framework emerged when the core concept or category was identified.

1.6.3 Participant observation

According to Huysamen (2001:169-170) the participant observer becomes a member of the inner circle of the group or event that is being studied, and approaches the research situation with a minimum of preconceived ideas. In the study, it required from the researcher to become a participant in the culture or context being observed. The thesis presents how the researcher entered the context, collected the data, stored the fieldnotes, and analysed the data.

1.6.4 Unstructured interviews

Unstructured interviews are usually employed in explorative research to identify important variables in a particular area, to formulate penetrating questions and to generate theories for further investigation (Huysamen, 2001:145). What it means is that the researcher simply suggested a general theme for discussion and posed further questions as they came up in the spontaneous development of the interaction between himself as the interviewer, and the research participant. He had some initial guiding questions or core concepts to talk about, there was no formal structured instrument or

protocol. He was free to allow the conversation to take any direction of interest as initiated by the interviewee. Consequently, unstructured interviewing was particularly useful for exploring the topic broadly (Trochim, 2006).

1.6.5 Case studies

A case study, as a format for design, is characterised by the focus on a phenomenon that has identifiable boundaries. A description of how, where, when, and why things happen in the case are noted and form part of the study. The process is thus part of the outcome (Henning, van Rensburg and Smit, 2004:41). The researcher studied and used a few case studies on sport transformation and democracy to gain an in-depth understanding of the situation.

1.6.6 Triangulation

Mouton (2002:156-157) states that the term triangulation refers to the use of multiple methods of data collection. It is likely to increase the reliability of the observations. As a result, construct validity should preferably be investigated by using several measures (Huysamen, 2001). In this instance the researcher used questionnaires, interviews, observations and relevant case studies. De Vos (2003:341-342) is of the opinion that there are several types of triangulations. The most common is triangulation of measures. Researchers use multiple measures of the same phenomena. Multiple observers add alternative perspectives to the research.

1.6.7 Purposive sampling

According to Huysamen (2001:44) this is the most important kind of non-probability sampling. Researchers rely on their experience and previous research findings, to deliberately obtain participants in such a way that the sample obtained may be regarded as representative of the relevant population. According to Strydom and Venter (2003:207) this type of sample is based "entirely on the judgement of the researcher, in

that it is composed of elements that contain the most characteristic or typical attributes of the population".

1.6.8 Data gathering and data analysis

The research methods applied as part of this research were data collection, data analysis and constant data comparison by means of the grounded theory approach. The researcher interviewed key role-players and stakeholders involved in sport and politics. Secondly, he examined the questionnaires, field notes, scripts and case study information to ascertain to what extent politically driven ideologies and merit driven approaches have influenced the transformation and democratisation of South African sport. Data have been collected in many parts of South Africa.

1.6.9 Value of the research and potential outcomes

This research could play an important role in the understanding of transformation and democratisation of sport in South Africa. The findings will ensure that sport remains an equaliser and plays a vital role in the on-going democratisation of South Africa. The larger community will eventually realise and accept that genuine transformation is the cornerstone of any democratic order and that the interaction between sport and politics could be empowering. It means that unity in sport can only be consolidated through transformation.

The aim of this research was the production of a thesis. Firstly, on an academic level, the researcher will be able to publish a few articles. Secondly, at the advocacy level the thesis can be used as a guide to sport and political science students. Players at club, provincial, schools and national levels will benefit from this study. Even government officials, who are involved in sport policies, could utilise the results of this study as a framework to facilitate future developments.

1.6.10 The researcher's background

The objective of this study is based on the researcher's background in competitive and recreational sport for many years. He has been involved in competitive sport from primary school, high school, teachers' training college, club and regional levels. He also competed in rugby, soccer, hockey, tennis and table tennis when he was a student and later a qualified teacher. He also coached rugby and soccer teams since 1974 at high school and university levels. After that he managed a representative rugby team at a university. Besides that, he is also an advisor to some sport clubs in his the city where he works. From the apartheid era in sport up until the dawn of the new democracy, he has always been involved in sport and related political issues. He is currently a lecturer in Political Science at a public university in South Africa.

Given his academic training, and his sport background, it was easy to choose the grounded theory approach for this dissertation. This qualitative approach enabled him to draw on his knowledge and experience from several life domains relevant to sport and politics. Although this research of sport and democracy is in its infancy, considerable theoretical and conceptual studies will be done in the future.

1.6.11 Chapter layout

- Chapter 1: Introduction
- Chapter 2: Creating Context: Sport and Democracy
- Chapter 3: Sport in a Global Context
- Chapter 4: Historical Overview of South African Rugby
- Chapter 5: Research Methodology
- Chapter 6: Research Report
- Chapter 7: Recommendations and Conclusion

In summary, the researcher applied the grounded theory approach in order to capture and obtain the rich data from the participants or respondents. Participant observation,

interactions with rugby officials, administrators and players by means of interviews and questionnaires formed the backbone of this qualitative research. Data were collected, analysed, transcribed and eventually released in the form of a research report or findings and recommendations for the future of rugby transformation and democracy in South Africa.

With regard to the chapter's layout, the researcher, in the first place, unpacked the concepts of sport and democracy followed by a comprehensive literature review of sport in the global context and how does South African rugby is positioned within the international sports domain. In the last three chapters of the study, the researcher applied the grounded theory methodology in order to create emergent themes from the participants' involvement. Eventually this led to the release of the report and recommendations.

Subsequently, the next chapter will focus on the creation of context between sport and democracy.

CHAPTER 2: CREATING CONTEXT: SPORT AND DEMOCRACY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The belief or idea that sports and politics can be kept separate is naïve because sport, according to Horne, Tomlinson and Whannel (2000), is considered political because it is ideologically symbolic. Peter Hain, an activist and author for sport integration says the cry of "keep politics out of sport" is based upon a romantic caricature of the real nature of sport. As such, moral and political views cannot therefore be divorced from sport (Hain, 1982:232-233). In concurrence, Coakley (1990:318-319) states that sport does not exist in a vacuum; it is an integral part of the society, since it is influenced by social, political and economic conditions.

Matching the ideals of equality, non-racialism and non-sexism in sport remains a controversial challenge in any democratic state. To the extent that sport reflects the power relations of any society. Therefore, democracy in sport can be seen as a form of organization of social power in the public space that is inseparable from the economic and social structure on which that power rests (Boron, 2006:31).

2.2 SPORT

2.2.1 Conceptual clarification

Coakley (1990:3) argues that "sports cannot be ignored because it is such a pervasive part of life in contemporary society." Therefore, sport is an institutionalised competitive activity that involves vigorous physical exertion (Coakley, 1990:7). According to Bainvel (2005), sport is a central hobby in our modern society and should not be disregarded by academics. Bainvel (2005:7) further cites MacClancy's (1996) view of sport, which states that sports have become an instrument of identity, because sports is a central activity in our societies, one embodying social values and as such, as deserving of systematic investigation as any other. Accordingly, Professor Barrie Houlihan of the

Staffordshire University asserted that sports has been transformed from a parochial activity arousing only passing interest among government to a global phenomenon demanding the attention of presidents, prime ministers and monarchies (Houlihan, 1997:1). From these underscored perspectives, it can therefore be assumed that sport plays out within a matrix of political, cultural and social forces (Harris, 2008:19).

In view thereof, sport can also be defined to include physical activities that is fair, competitive, non-deviant, and activities that are guided by rules, organisation and/or tradition (Curry and Jiobu, 1984:8). In the same light, Curry and Jiobu (1984:17) further use two common metaphors – "sport is a mirror of society; and sport is a microcosm of society," to describe the activity of sports. This simply means that many social processes and structures, which exist in broader society, are reflected in sport.

Eitzen (1999:1-3) emphasises the duality or paradox of sport. To him sport is a fantasy – a diversion from the realities of work, relationships and survival. Sport entertains because it mirrors the human experience. Secondly, sport mirrors society in other profound ways as well. It shares with the larger society the basic elements and expressions of bureaucratisation, commercialisation, racism, sexism, homophobia, greed, exploitation of the powerless by the powerful, alienation, and ethnocentrism. Thirdly, sport is compelling because it combines spectacle with drama, excellence and clarity. Finally, there is the human desire to identify with something greater than oneself. Sport is, thus, a pervasive aspect of any society. It is the subject of much conversation, reading material, leisure activity, and discretionary spending, according to Eitzen (1999).

Sport is inherently contradictory. On the one hand, sport provides excitement, joy and self-fulfilment for the participants. It provides examples of courage, superhuman effort, extraordinary teamwork, selflessness and sacrifice. Yet, there is also a dark side of sport. The images conveyed through sport – contempt for authority, greed, exploitation, selfishness and violence – are not always uplifting. The dual nature of sport is that it is both appealing and compelling. It is both unifying and divisive. It can unite warring

factions and bring different social classes and racial groups together. But it can also reinforce the barricades that separate groups (Eitzen, 1999:4-5).

The general perception of sport is that it is a game, competition or activity needing physical effort and skill that is played or done according to rules, for enjoyment and/or as a job (Cambridge International Dictionary, 1996:1396). According to Eitzen (1999) sport is a rule-bound activity organised and supervised by authorities and organisations to promote fair play. It includes a socialisation process whereby participants learn to play by the rules, commit themselves to hard work and teamwork, and practice good sportsmanship. In the same vein, Hargreaves (1985:1) argues that sport stimulates young men to dream of escape from boredom and deprivation. It is eulogised by educators, philanthropists and social reformers, appropriated by politicians and promoted by the modern state.

According to Hargreaves (1985:16) sport, without question, constitutes a central component of popular culture but it cannot be satisfactorily analysed as an undifferentiated whole. In addition, many of the various forms of sport are irrecoverable for analysis, because sport is immediate and transient it can rarely be reduced to artefacts for examination. However, it is the "common sense" attitudes to sport which militate most against a social analysis. The preferred view of sport is an idealised one. It is generally seen to be a non-serious, enjoyable activity which satisfies the innate urge to play and which affirms basic human values. Sport offers tensions and vicarious excitement built upon unpredictability, and it is a compelling and uniquely gratifying experience making it possible to forget "ordinary" life. Furthermore, sport is part of a common cultural tradition of collective experience and shared, easily understood meanings and values, internalised by way of unique ritual and dramatic qualities and powerful symbolic characteristics, states Hargreaves (1985:16). Holt (1992:6) says sport was never seen as purely playful; it was a national institution and beneficial for Britain. Team games, in particular, were "a good thing". Sports propaganda of the later nineteenth century proceeded along predictably patriotic lines, becoming ever more fervent as the British Empire spread through Africa and Asia.

Sport can be used to unite groups within a country. Racially, South Africa is a nation deeply divided. Sport has helped to break down this division, at least in part, in two ways. Firstly, when the whites in South Africa held an election to decide whether to dismantle apartheid, 69% voted to give up their privilege, marking a more peaceful transition of power (Eitzen, 1999). Secondly, after the formal fall of apartheid and the election of Mr Nelson Mandela as the first democratic president of South Africa, the sports world accepted South Africa. The World Cup in rugby was held in South Africa in 1995 (Eitzen, 1999:13). Odendaal (1988:193-214) is of the opinion that the development of sport in South Africa during the nineteenth century was closely linked to colonial politics and reflected in many ways a microcosm of the developing South African colonial society and social structures. Sport, therefore, was an integral part of this whole process of assimilation and mobilisation.

Loy and Kenyon (1969:36) suggest that sport during the present century has become a cultural phenomenon of great magnitude and complexity. In the same fashion, Snyder and Spreitzer (1978:9) observe that sport has emerged in the last half of the twentieth century to become one of the most pervasive institutions in contemporary society. Clearly sport has developed its own identity and concomitant significance within contemporary societies (Anderson, 1979:1). Sport has thus the potential to unite or divide members of society. Sport is therefore seen as a powerful instrument, not only to promote aspirations, but also to enhance the relationships between countries. Lord Killanin, former president of the International Olympic Committee (IOC) once commented that the sporting world would simply have to accept the fact that politics is part of sport (Labuschagne, 1999:25).

The term sport is therefore an international concept used by many nations. Gerber (1972:23) argues that the term sport refers to a diverse set or category of activities or organisations of human behaviour in which "one or more persons, designated as performers, move about within an environmental setting, which may be described in terms of time, space and terrain, performing actions which are directed towards an

attempt to induce or bring about a series of observable changes in the location and/or configuration of certain specified objects, animals, and/or persons."

The concept of "sport" has developed from the concepts of "play" and "game" (Scholtz, 1975:3). The old-French word "*desport*" and the medieval Latin word "*disportare*" indicate on both a search for relaxation and pastime. Although the origin of the word "sport" has a French connection, it was in England that the word "sport" spread to other countries. The present meaning of the word "sport" points to performance/achievement, game, practice methods and organisation (Botha, 1968:14).

The late Mr Dennis Brutus, a fighter for non-racial sport and political activist in South Africa, has this to say about the role of sport in world politics: "There is today almost no society in the world in which sport is not an important part of man's activities. How important, is perhaps not yet been accurately measured by the students of society. Sport has not only become a universal phenomenon, it has also become an important means of securing national prestige and is often a tool of state policy. In addition, "it reflects the political attitudes of a nation" (Brutus, 1970:2). In the same vein, Riordan (1977:348) says sport, being bound up with the values of communities, has a political aspect and is seldom (if ever) free of politics. Sport is today employed by statesmen in the East and the West as a propaganda weapons in world affairs; a relatively modern method of psychological warfare. Saaiman (1981) continues by saying that realities determine how sport becomes a political instrument. It has in the modern society developed as a power factor within the international political dispensation (Saaiman, 1981:2-19).

2.2.2 Background and historical perspective

According to Anderson (1979:3-7) the sport-politics nexus can be evidenced in the Greek epoch. In establishing the superiority of a particular ideology or political system, was, in Greek times, a frequent recourse. There were occasions, which witnessed all bellicose actions temporarily being held in abeyance. McIntosh (1963:16) relates how the Spartans utilized sport for the subjugation of the Helots and *ipso facto* for the propagations of their militaristic ideology. To McIntosh (1963:90) sport has certain characteristics which perhaps impel it more readily than other activities towards an association with politics. Given the apparent pervasiveness of politics in contemporary sport, the suggestion appears that the survival of sport is dependent on its acceptance of this politisation (Anderson, 1979:7). Grundlingh (1995:1-23) describes this notion as "the new politics of rugby" with the South African context.

Black and Nauright (1998:3-4) argue that sport can be used as an instrument of political and economic elites. Some governments have sought to gain specific political advantages, both internationally and domestically, through the use of sport. First, a few states, like Cuba and former East Germany, have given sport a central role in their foreign policies. Second, all states have periodically found it useful to use sporting contacts to send both positive and negative diplomatic signals, and third, states have occasionally judged that in unusual circumstances private sporting contact might subvert its overall foreign policy and have therefore acted to forestall it. Several Olympic Boycotts – including the African boycott of 1976 Olympics and the 1980 Moscow Olympics – have been based on this calculation, states Grundlingh, Odendaal and Spies (1995:1-131) in their book, "**Beyond the tryline: Rugby and South African Society**" examined the social and political significance of the game as it has developed historically in South Africa. In these essays the links between rugby and the wider South African society was well explored.

The links between sports and politics remained rather random until the nineteenth century, when a number of sporting movements roused, which combined sports with

orchestrated political action. The first of these movements was the Turners, a Pan-German movement which united intense patriotism and nationalistic feelings with physical fitness and gymnastics. The Turners became an important political force in Germany during the Napoleonic wars. The Sokol movement of professor Miroslav Tyrš stressed physical fitness and the re-awakening of national consciousness, like the Turners. Tyrš' group was Pan-Slavic. The Sokol movement attempted to build a sense of brotherhood among the oppressed Slavic elements in the empire. Personal interests were subordinated to the common goal. Also, in the nineteenth century the Workers Sports Movement used sports to attain various political goals. They used sport as a means of ideological education and political propaganda. For millions of workers, sport thus became a vital aspect of the revolutionary movement (Strenk, 1979:134-137). Additionally, Strenk (1979:139-140) argues that the linkage between sports and politics is one which is centuries old. Events in the last century and a half reaffirmed these traditions. The Turners, Sokol member, and workers' sports clubs strengthened the ideological foundations of modern sport. The Olympic movement provided a political platform. The Nazis under Adolf Hitler in Germany and the Fascists under Mussolini in Italy were quick to grasp the possibilities of using sports as political diplomatic, propaganda, and prestige vehicles. Peaceful co-existence and detente did not rule out ideological competition. Consequently, sports have continued to play an important political role. Sport events and Olympic participation were ways to acquire recognition and prestige.

History confirms that sport is well suited to exploitation by the state (Sauer, 2008:7). Nations and rulers have offered spectator sports as celebratory entertainment for the masses, directed participation in sport towards activities, and have used sport in various forms for producing nationalist propaganda. For this reason, spectator sport is well suited for use in political activity. Cronin and Mayall (1998:2) argue that sport has been used to symbolise the prowess and success of the nation, but it is a symbol of the nation which is benign. Sport cannot win territory or destroy an opposing ideology or religion which the nation seeks to demonise. "It can only support the construction of a nation which has been imagined".

2.2.2.1 Sport in ancient Rome

Apart from boxing, chariot racing, and wrestling, the often brutal games of ancient Rome did not meet modern aesthetic criteria for sport (Sauer, 2008:7). Futrell (2006:4-7) argues that the Romans were not the first to stage such spectacles, since such displays were apparently ideas borrowed from the funeral games held by earlier rulers in the region. These funeral games organised by Etruscans, Greeks and others were symbolic displays to commemorate and glorify the dead. Roman practice expanded the concept of the games as means of cultivating public attention with explicit political objectives (Sauer, 2008:8). Moreover, the Roman games had become "a powerful political tool for attracting voters and enhancing one's reputation as a public benefactor" (Futrell, 2006:11-14). Worthy of note therefore is the fact that primary motivation for these Roman games was political ambition. As Rome devolved from republic to empire, the military generals themselves took up sponsorships of spectacles; thus acknowledging Arnaud and Riordan's (1998:6-7) argument that sport is more than a simple hobby, and that it belongs to the state. The terms of "honour", "reputation" and "identity" are used to promote national pride for their national teams.

2.2.2.2 Sport and the English monarchy

The English monarchy in the opinion of Leibs (2004:63-64) expressed a strong preference for subjects to participate in the sport of archery. Edward IV for instance, banned the playing of an early form of cricket on the grounds, on the basis that playing the game kept people from archery practice. Golf was also banned in Scotland for the same reason. Although archery was popular in England, history shows that the monarchy's attempt to stop people from engaging in their preferred activities was a failure. Accordingly Sauer (2008:9) quoting Magoun (1929) specify that, most notably among the sports that the monarchy disfavoured were the folk antecedent of modern football. Interestingly, Henry VIII even issued a statute, which required all fathers to

develop archery skills in their sons, and provided them with bow and arrows (Sauer, 2008:9).

2.2.2.3 Sport as an instrument of politics

According to Sauer (2008:8), sport was produced as an artefact of political competition, and lost its central purpose when the political regime gave way – for example, the case of ancient Rome. Besides Rome, there are many other examples of the use of sport as a political tool. Allison (1993:3-5) states that the politics of sports does not require any overarching theory to justify its interest to readers. Sport is about prowess: "it is one of the most potent of human activities in its capacity to give meaning to life, to create and interconnect senses of achievement and identity." This entails that there is a sporting dimension of many political activities. Another example, is that sport in South Africa has an undeniable and political content and its history has influenced its modern social role (Archer and Bouillon, 1982:6).

Sport has legitimised regimes from imperial Rome to Soviet Russia; and has been used by a wide range of individual politicians to establish credibility and develop an image (Allison, 1993:3-5). Above all, sport has a complex and important interaction with nationality and the phenomenon of nationalism. Allison (1993:11-12) emphasises the fact that as "the old amateur ethos declines to extinction; nobody any more believes in the separateness of sport from political and commerce; the ideological struggle for the globe is over." Thomlinson (2006) observes that modern sport has been characterised by moral and political aims, and that it has been widely conceived as a form of political socialisation, expressed political struggles, and has been seen as having political functions.

2.2.3 Different viewpoints

Monnington (1993:128) asserts that the use of sport by politicians in recent years has in many instances proved to be most successful. But the use of sport in this way has often had negative consequences for both the politicians and sports itself. Its use has occasionally appeared to be counter-productive despite high aims and impressive rhetoric. Sport has often suffered when brought into the political area, abused and then left to lick its wounds. Two politicians, Mr Ronald Reagan and Mrs Margaret Thatcher, used sport as a political weapon. Sport did not even feature very specifically on their action agendas. Late in the twentieth century, they were prepared to utilise and politicise sport in such an overt manner. President Reagan proved to be the arch-exponent of sporting rhetoric to engender national enthusiasm in support of the supposed "Reagan Revolution". In contrast, Mrs Thatcher was not concerned to use sport to implement social policy and further her foreign policy objectives (Monnington, 1993:128).

According to Allison (1986:15) the French sociologist, Joffre Dumazedier, called sport the real "*opiate of the masses*." A particular version of the opiate approach is that successful sport breeds happy workers or people. The opiate effect may work on occasions, but sport can just as easily raise political consciousness. There is considerable evidence of politicians trying to "cash in" on supporting success but very little of them organising sport as a diversion; indeed, they tend to be resentful of the coverage which sport gets at the expense of politics, except when they can claim credit for success. Sport, thus, as an opiate must remain a consideration in the discussion of sport and politics.

According to Taylor (1986:32) sport thus clearly encounters politics. Moreover, those who govern, administer or are closely involved with sport increasingly recognise this. What then is meant by the exhortation to keep politics out of sport? Even a brief reflection points to it normally having two hidden messages: first that governments should leave domestic sport bodies alone to run their own affairs as much as possible

and secondly, that autonomous international sport, presumably because of the benefits it brings, should be insulated from inter-state politics. Both these messages are in themselves value-charged and, unless everyone concurs, essentially political.

A government's involvement in sport reflects in part its ideological view of the role of the state in society. For example, a totalitarian state, seeking to direct all aspects of its citizen's lives in order to build the good society, will wish to direct sport as well. In the developed Western World, sport is popularly regarded as having a role in character-building, instilling the virtues of self-control, discipline and fair play. It is increasingly recognised as a means of promoting good health among the population. For these reasons, national armed forces often emphasise sport (Taylor, 1986:39).

Peter Hain, an activist for sport integration, says the cry of "keep politics out of sport" has struck a deep chord throughout the Western World. It has received strong support from those many citizens for whom sport is an all-consuming interest. However, in reality, of course, moral and political views cannot be divorced from sport because sport does not occur in a vacuum, but is an integral part of life. The fact is that historically sport has always been intertwined with politics. Therefore, the suggestion that the mixing of politics and sport is somehow a new phenomenon is quite misleading. As sport has become important, so the role of politics has been heightened (Hain, 1982:232-233).

2.2.4 Politics

Politics is seen as an activity through which people or governments make, preserve, and amend the general rules under which they live (Heywood, 2007:456). This by implication implies that "politics embraces all activity that impinges upon the making of binding decisions about who gets what, when and how" (Jackson and Jackson, 1997:7). Bernard Crick (1972) as cited by Jackson and Jackson (1997:7) argues that through politics, the collective welfare is supposed to be advanced and the survival of the community protected. Levine (1993:3) defines that the term "politics" has many definitions and many uses. To some it is a disparaging word. But in essence politics has been traditionally concerned with the state, power, and public policy. Levine (1993:3) also argues that politics is in fact derived from the Greek word "polis", which means "**city-state**" or "organised community".

According to Caramani (2008), politics is the human activity of making public and authoritative decisions. In which case, these decisions are first and foremost public because they concern the whole of society, including sports (Caramani, 2008:2). On the second note, they are authoritative because the government that makes such decision is invested with authority and legitimacy to make them binding and mandatory (Caramani, 2008:2). In this light, one can therefore construe that politics is a social relation that permits the exercise of power and authority by the governments and other units of the state through the process of collective decision making; an activity of acquiring the power of making such decisions and exercising the power. Hoffman and Graham (2009:168) argue that Bernard Crick in 1982 said that politics "is a flexible, adaptive and conciliatory activity".

The necessity of politics, as argued by Hague and Harrop (2010:4), arises from our social nature, in that, we live in groups that must reach collective decisions about: using resources, relating to others, and planning for the future. Politics is thus "a collective activity occurring within and between groups." As a result politics as established by Heywood (2007) is inextricably linked to the phenomena of conflict and cooperation,

because of the diversity of opinions, which necessitate the need for collaboration for the achievement of goals and objectives. (Compare also Heywood: 2007:2-3; Hague and Harrop, 2010:35; Caramani: 2008:2-3; Hague and Harrop, 2010:500 and Maclean and Wood, 2010:6-7).

2.2.5 A critical overview of the relationship between sport and politics

Avery Brundage, a past president of the International Olympic Committee, once said, "*Sport, like the fine arts, transcends politics*" (Lapchick, 1975:xv). Vinokur (1988:xi-xiv) says there has been a dramatic growth and higher degree of involvement in sport. The image of sport as fun and games, without serious overtones, has faded away. Political parties and state authorities have consciously made efforts to utilize the sports movement for their own general aims. Lowe, Kanin and Strenk (1978:v) noted that sport is safe because it is peripheral to the international political systems, yet, sport can be exploited by the institutionalisation process. A series of research on the politics of sport as a social control mechanism to regulate activity to party goals, has been conducted and its importance underscored. Yet, despite its increasing importance, Western scholars have tended to take sport for granted. In fact, sport is an important part of the process of political socialization, thus a part of the creation of a political culture. That sport is a significant factor is demonstrated by the existence of a Ministry of Sports and Culture in many countries and by the management of sports by many national governments, sport has become a pervasive and visibly central element of many a country's culture.

According to Vinokur (1988:133-136) sport has become a widely employed "*international language*". Serving as a basic part of the culture of a nation, sport in the post war era has reached that which only a significance few could have anticipated. The case of the German Democratic Republic (GDR) provides just one illustration. Through the performance of its athletes, the GDR received assistance in gaining its sovereignty. Most analysis of sport follows either a functionalist or a conflict perspective. The functionalist viewpoint propounds that sport encourages common values essential to the

integration of a society. All groups, say the functionalists, strive to maintain social order, a good, enhanced by sport. Vinokur (1988) in his research employed the functionalist perspective. As sport has grown its political impact has increased; it has been used to promote political and national ideologies from both left and right of the spectrum (Roberts, 1993:7).

Sport provides an environment for the awakening of the nation – a process which transforms imagined communities into real nations. Rugby appears to foster a complex of I/We and us/them relations (Maguire, 2005:128). Sport is an arena in which processes of personal identity testing and formation are conducted. Different sports represent individuals, communities, regions and nations. A key feature of the sports process is that it is used by different groups – established, emergent and outsider groups – to represent, maintain and/or challenge identities (Maguire, 2005:142). Sports are often linked to feelings of national pride. Despite frequent complaints about mixing sports and politics, most North Americans have no second thoughts about displaying national flags and playing national anthems at sporting events. Political leaders at various levels of government promote themselves by associating with sports as both participants and spectators. In fact, it has become a tradition for U.S. presidents to make congratulation post-game phone calls to the locker rooms of championship teams. International sports have become hotbeds of political controversy in recent years. Countries around the world have used sports to enhance their reputations in international political relationships (Coakley, 1994:6).

It therefore seem to be very difficult to separate sport from the political environment. Labuschagne (1999:25-38) also points out that sports people do not perform in a vacuum. They always represent social organisations that are interwoven with the fabric of society at large. In the realm of social organisations and structures, sport has links with political and national symbols. Therefore there is a linkage between sports people and their countries. Sport, like religion, is an activity through which individuals reinforce and legitimise the larger community that they represent. For this and other reasons sport and politics are interwoven rather than distinct or autonomous. Many experts

believe that the political usefulness of sport increases tenfold the moment sport lumens the international arena. All international competitions, like the Olympic Games and World Cup soccer and rugby contests, reflect the political usefulness of sport. At other international tournaments, too, sports people represent their countries by wearing their national colours and marching behind their flags. Sport can therefore be used as a political and diplomatic instrument.

2.2.5.1 Democracy

(a) Defining democracy

The term democracy and the classical conception of democratic rule are firmly rooted in Ancient Greece. Like other words that end in "*cracy*", democracy is derived from the Greek word *kratos*, meaning "power" or "rule". Democracy therefore means "*rule by the demos*"(Heywood 2004:221; Heywood, 2007:72). In this instance "demos" is referring to "*the people*", "*the poor*" or "*the many*". According to McLean and McMillan (2003:139) democracy as a descriptive term is synonymous with majority rule. However, the simple notion of "*rule by the people*" can become problematic to some politicians, analysts and political thinkers. Democracy was originally a negative or pejorative term and the enemy of liberty and wisdom according to Heywood (2004:221). On the positive side, Hague and Harrop, 2010) argue that we live in an era of democracy; for the first time in history most people in the world live under tolerably democratic rule. This fact reflects the dramatic transformation of the world's political landscape in the twentieth century, states Hague and Harrop(2010:83).

Kolar (2005) argues that democracy by definition means the government by people. That means that all people should be able to have their say in one way or another in everything that affects their lives. This right can either be exercised directly (direct democracy) or through representatives in the legislative authority (representative democracy). Four aspects of this definition should be noted: Firstly, democracy concerns collective decision making that are binding on all the members of the group.

Secondly, this definition means to cover a lot of different kinds of groups that may be called democratic. Thirdly, democracy is not intended to carry any normative weight to it. It means the definition of democracy does not settle any normative questions. Fourthly, the equality required by the definition of democracy may be more or less deep (Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy, 2006).

Democracy is both an ideal and a set of institutions and practices as an *ideal*, it expresses two very simple principles:

- that the members of any group of association should have control over the group's rules and policies, and
- that those members should treat each other, and be treated, as equals (About Democracy, [n.d.]).

In modern states, these principles are realized through a continually evolving and complex set of institutions and practices that include:

- a legal framework that guarantees people's rights;
- governing institutions that are representative and accountable to the people;
- an active citizen body or civil society;
- political parties that articulate the views and aspirations of the people; and
- communication media that inform people about public affairs (About Democracy, [n.d.]).

The ultimate goal of democracy is to preserve and promote the dignity and fundamental rights of the individual, to achieve social justice, foster the economic and social development of the community, strengthen the cohesion of society and build an environment for international peace. Democracy, development and human rights are therefore interdependent (About Democracy, [n.d.]).

Prof. David McLellan, of the Goldsmith's College at the University of London, said: "Democracy is the most sought after, but the most elusive concept in political science (McLellan, 2008). According to Dahl (1989:313) there is virtually no regime in the

contemporary world that does not either call itself democratic or promise to be about to restore democracy. That is why the concept of democracy is essentially contested and controversial. McLellan (2008) states further it is not the definition of democracy which is contestable but its application: the debate is not so much about the meaning of democracy but about how much we can or should have. Van der Ross (2004:21) states that insofar as democracy is concerned, it is a condition in which people, all the people, have a meaningful say. In this case, he emphasised the simple phrase of the former president of the USA, Abraham Lincoln: "Government of the people, by the people, for the people" (Van der Ross, 2004:21). Now, however, all claim to be democrats, e.g. liberals, conservatives, socialists, communists, anarchists, and even fascists. In the post-modern political landscape, democracy emerged as perhaps the only stable and enduring principle (Heywood, 2007:21).

It is interesting to note that the problem with democracy has been its very popularity, because it is universally regarded as a "*good thing*" (Heywood, 2007:72). There has been three great milestones in the development of democracies over the past few centuries: First, that of *incorporation* – when the mass of the citizenry was gradually admitted into political society; second, that of *representation* – when the right to organize parties was accepted; and third, that of *organized opposition* – when citizens won the right to appeal for votes against the government (Caramani, 2008:117). But philosophers, such as Plato and Aristotle, for example, viewed democracy as a system of rule by the masses at the expense of wisdom and property (Heywood, 2007). Hague and Harrop (2010:83) also point out that over a short period of time the number of democracies more than doubled from 40 to more than 80. Democracy thus expanded beyond its core in Europe and in parts of Africa, especially after the collapse of communism (see Lincoln, 1993:1). Therefore, the promotion of democracy became a more explicit ideological objective of the Western World. Strangely, as democracy continues to spread, so it becomes more varied. According to Hoffman and Graham (2009:99) politicians from the extreme left to the extreme right insist that the term has become very confusing.

(b) The confusing nature of democracy

Hoffman and Graham (2009:103) argue the concept of democracy "has created real problems for those who believe that political theory should be value-free in character". The authors argue further that it is revealing that Dahl in the 1960's preferred to speak of "*polyarchies*" rather than democracies. The more democracy has been praised, the more it has become difficult to pin it down. John Dunn has also noted that "all states today profess to be democracies because a democracy is what it is virtuous for a state to be" (Dunn, 1979:11). According to Hoffman and Graham (2009:103) the term can only be confusing if it is taken to mean contradictory things:

- majority rule or individual rights;
- limited government or popular sovereignty;
- property as against social ownership;
- participation versus representation;
- the collective versus the individual; and
- socialism versus capitalism.

It has been argued by Heywood (2007:21) that well into the nineteenth century, the term continued to have pejorative implications, suggesting a system of "*mob rule*". In the democratic debate, Heywood (2007:72) ask the following questions:

- who are the people?;
- how should the people rule? and
- how far should popular rule extended?

According to Heywood (2007:73-75) "the people" are one and indivisible. Here the focus is on the "general will" or "collective will", rather than the "private will" of each individual. The people may thus in practice be taken to mean "*the majority*" or "*majority rule*". The principle of "government by the people" implies, in effect, the people govern themselves. They participate in making the crucial decisions that structure their lives and determine the fate of their society (Heywood, 2007:73).

Democracies have also proved more troubled in recent years. Citizen disengagement from elections and the growing popular distrust and dissatisfaction with political leadership, has tended to create a more passive, audience-oriented democracy. It means, the constitutional pillar of democracy acquires a new resonance. It is now more about protecting people's rights, and less about ensuring that they still have a voice (Mair, 2008:130-136). Hoffman and Graham (2009:117) conclude that what makes democracy such a confusing concept is "that it has been acclaimed from almost every part of the political spectrum and is held to stand for contradictory ideals".

(c) Reflection on democracy

The International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA), an intergovernmental organisation that supports sustainable democracy, stipulated in their research findings and recommendations the following:

- Sustaining and democracy requires renewal and continued review;
- A democratic system can be incomplete or partial and open to manipulation by political elites;
- Moreover, democracy is not only about elections;
- It is also about distributive and social justice;
- If democracy fails to provide for justly distributed socio-economic development, human security is likely to be threatened;
- There are numerous cases of "liberalization without democratization"; and
- Crises can constrain democracy (IDEA, 2006:13).

At the same conference in Sweden, Jan Eliasson said: "The only way democracy will prove itself is through a living relationship between peoples and their governments based on trust, accountability and the determination to deliver practical results" (IDEA, 2006:3). What he meant in essence, is that democracy is in crisis worldwide at the very time when there needs to be a renewed emphasis on democratic practice. The crisis in democracy stems from public dissatisfaction in many parts of the world with the inability of some elected governments to deliver economic opportunity for all. In many countries

democracy allows the state to be "captured" by elites motivated by personal gain (IDEA, 2006:6). According to Anstey (2006) Plato's concerns about populist incompetence have remained a concern for many over the years. Plato suggested that governance should be assumed by those most fit to perform the task (Anstey, 2006:284-285).

2.3 CONCLUSION

Depicted from the preceding sections, the belief is that sport does not exist apart from the people who created and play it. Politics becomes a part of sport because politics is part of the people's lives in any society. Therefore, the role of sport as part of the political environment cannot be isolated from the inequalities or cohesion in that particular society. It should also be noted that the nature and extent of the sport-politics-relationship will vary from one community and society to the next.

Throughout the years, it has become a known fact that the government of a regime intervention in sport is frequently motivated by a quest for prestige. The government's use of sport to shape values and promote its own political ideology has become the norm in both authoritarian and democratic regimes. Governments and politicians use sport to generate political sport.

It is broadly accepted that sport is a vehicle that transcends all boundaries, particularly race, class and religion (Solomons, 2005). The notion that politics must be separated from sport is an utopian dream that will never realise. The manipulation of sport to gain ulterior political gains is not a new development or phenomenon. Its possibilities and advantages have been evident from ancient to modern times. In reality, thus, political views cannot be divorced from sport because it is an integral part of life, which therefore compliments the fact that the relationship is a reality and not an illusion. Sport no longer needs to be defined as reflecting a particular political system or regime. Nowadays, politics of sport concern whether sport should be viewed as a set of values, as a social movement or as a political practice, states Solomons (2005).

Having attained democracy in 1994, South Africa's sports evolution can be traced back as far as 1652 with the importation of the first horses (Jarvie, 1985). The South African sporting history has since then developed through various phases or stages on the political, social, cultural and even religious platforms. South Africa's sporting heritage has been tarnished by the country's dark history of sport and political suppression. But despite that, sports people excelled tremendously on local, national and international levels. The next chapter will attempt to situate the evolution, development and transformation of South African sport in relation to the principle events in the country's history.

CHAPTER 3: SPORT IN A GLOBAL CONTEXT

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The origin, evolution and development of sport in South Africa is still in its infancy in comparison with the sporting history of the global village or world at large. At the same time sports writers, historians and analysts often state that South African sports have for many years transcended into debates related to race, politics and language. In fact, Allen (2010:1) argues that "the history of sport in South Africa is about more than mere games." Nauright (1997:5) emphasises this argument by stating "the development of sport cannot be readily separated from its history." Therefore, the ability to participate in sport in South Africa has been intrinsically linked to the political history of the country (Chappell, 2005).

Cronin and Mayall (1998:1) cited Holt (1989) and Hoolihan (1997) who argue that sport has undoubtedly served many different functions and contributes to reflect and shape society in a contemporary era. In this sense, the development of sport in South Africa, is no exception. Sport in South Africa is generally perceived as a "national religion", especially in the dominating sporting codes such as rugby, cricket and soccer. In this regard Nauright (1997) comments that South Africa is perhaps one of the most complex of modern nations being made up of so many competing cultures, identities and ideologies that a close analysis is always fraught with danger. Nevertheless, Cronin and Mayall (1998:2) state, "sport is a vehicle in many different ways, for the construction of individual, group and national identities."

This chapter thus aims to position South African sport within the constraints of the global context. To achieve this, the evolution of sport in South African should, in the first place, be traced back to its origin, especially the pre-colonial, colonial and modern eras. The relevance of the most important sporting codes in South Africa will be analysed and discussed. Firstly, the global perspective of sport can be used as a precursor to discuss

South African sport in context. Secondly, this section also attempts to emphasise two key categories, namely:

- sport in the global village; and
- sport in the South African context.

3.2 A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE OF SPORT

Sport, according to Anderson (1979), emerged from Greek times with the platonic aura of being of value, but only in the sense that it ensured that the mind remained healthy in order to pursue discipline, considered to be more mentally orientated. Even the famous Greek philosopher, Aristotle, wrote brilliantly about physics, economics, politics, ethics and art, but hardly mentioned a word about sport (Weiss, 1969:5). Anderson (1979:2) argues that "the non-acceptance of sport as a subject worthy of academic endeavour was compounded by man, the media and his socio-economic system." This means that the emergence of sport was previously viewed journalistically and commercially as a phenomenon with considerable financial potential: sport sold (Anderson, 1979:2).

Lately, the concept "sport" is internationally and globally recognised, because basically all civilized societies understand and use the term in the same fashion or manner. According to Riordan (1998) sport became part of the international debate, only after the First World War. It was then that politicians began to appreciate its potential as a vehicle for national values and politics – even for demonstrating and advertising the potential of a political ideology (Arnaud and Riordan, 1998). The global awareness of sport has thus resulted that most governments, whether democratic or authoritarian, give a high status to sport in the central administration of their countries. According to Houlihan (1997:1) "sport has been transformed from a parochial activity arousing only passing interest among governments to a global phenomenon demanding the attention of presidents, prime ministers and monarchs."

Historically and according to tradition, sport as a phenomenon is more than two and a half thousand years old. In the ancient times sport included *hurling* (similar to field hockey) in Ireland, *har pastum* (similar to rugby) in Rome, *cuja* (similar to association football) in China and polo *intersia*. There are even artefacts and structures that suggest that the Chinese engaged in sporting activities as early as 4000 BC (Sports History in China, [n.d.]). Gymnastics also appeared to have been a popular sport in China's ancient past. The monuments to the Pharaohs indicate that a number of sports, including swimming, fishing, javelin, throwing, high jump and wrestling were well developed and regulated during Egyptian rule (Touny, 1980).

Ancient Persian sports included the traditional Iranian martial arts, polo and jousting (Persian Warriors, 2006). During the same time frame, in ancient Greece, sports were first instituted formally with the first Olympics recorded in 776 BC in Olympia.. Many sports historians have written about the first Olympics in Greece, yet, according to Anderson (1979), sport received very low status ratings in the earlier years. Nevertheless, sport has developed its own identity and concomitant significance within contemporary societies. What Anderson (1979:2) meant is that sport has attracted considerable interest from all facets of society. Snyder and Spreitzer (1978:9) concur in their observation that sport has emerged in the last half of the twentieth century to become one of the most pervasive institutions in contemporary society. In the same vein, Loy and Kenyon (1969:36) suggest that sport, during the present century, "has become a cultural phenomenon of great magnitude and complexity." Natan (1958:47) agrees to this phenomenon and the credibility of sport by stating "never has a state risen so swiftly to world power as sport." These observations and suggestions prove that sport can be studied academically from ancient to modern sport development, the term "sport" can either unite or divide members in a specific society or community.

There is a general perception that throughout history, sports have been mobilized by the masses. From antiquity to modernity and beyond, competitive physical engagement has continued to captivate the hearts and minds of individuals and nations. According to Anderson (1979:4) the professionalisation and commercialisation of the Olympic Games

by the Romans after 146 BC witnessed the decline of the sports spectacular and *ipso facto* the association of sport and politics. The influence of British sports spread across the world in the late 19th and early 20th century, particularly the football associations. To support this viewpoint, Bairner (2008:41) said that Britain, and in particular England, is usually credited with the "invention" of modern sport in general as well as that of numerous specific sports.

Interestingly the modern Olympic Games were revived in 1896 by Baron Pierre de Coubertin, who held the theory, which Mandell (1976:72) terms "the Olympic paradox", that patriotism and sport competition could be aligned to further international peace. Even the success of German sportsmen, influenced by Hitler in the 1936 Olympics, brought the *sports-politics-nexus* to a new level. Mandell (1971:285) suggests that the 1936 Olympic Games were the turning point. He said: "In fact, one could cast the Berlin Olympics as the beginning in earnest of the evolution of the role of the athlete as society's sap ... the athlete was cast as an allegorical ideological battler."

In the next sub-sections the dominant sporting codes within the global environment will be presented .

3.2.1 The Olympic Games

What is today referred to as the "Ancient Olympic Games" was a sports festival celebrated in honour of the Greek god, Zeus, in the town of Olympia. As far as could be established by modern archaeologists this festival lasted from 776 BC to 393 AD. During the last decade of the nineteenth century, the French aristocrat, Pierre de Coubertin, was instrumental in reviving the Olympic Games. His concept was to stage the Olympic Games every four years in different cities all over the world. Although his original idea was both elitist and sexist, he thought that through sport the future leaders of the world could meet in peace. The first modern Olympic Games was held in Athens in 1896. 311 male athletes competed at these Games (South African History Online, 1970). Hill (1993:102-103) is concerned that the Olympic movement is faced with many

problems, internally and externally. "The most pressing internal political problem is that of how cohesion is to be maintained, given the many centripetal forces that are present. Internal politics and commercialism go together. Externally the movement cannot escape the ambiguity of its political position.

Nauright (1997) is of the opinion that international sporting success can be one of the key ways that countries can promote themselves internally, and also to the rest of the world. No where is the global system more evident than in the Olympic Games run by the International Olympic Committee (IOC). Although the Olympic Games is perceived as a world-wide sporting phenomenon, Harris (2008:19) cited Haverly (2001) in his thesis where the latter notes that the modern Olympics have been subject to wars, boycotts, protests, walk-outs and terrorist attacks, all of which are poignant enactments of political discourse.

According to Riordan (1993) the sporting success, especially in the Olympic Games, of all Eastern European nations drew considerable attention and admiration from the rest of the world. The Soviet Union and East Germany produced excellent sport results as has been the case with the United States of America (USA) and West Germany, as did other East versus West societies. These sometimes led to communist versus capitalist sport confrontations (Riordan:37). Yet, according to Hill (1993), the Olympic movement has always protested that politics should not be mixed with sport, but since its re-foundation in 1896, it has always been permeated with politics. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) has all but abandoned any concern about professionalism and has successfully devoted itself to commercialising the Olympic Games up to the hilt (Hill, 1993:84).

Hill (1993:44) illustrates the difference, between the traditional Western and East European perceptions of Olympism, as follows:

West	East
• Non-political	Political/ideological
• Amateur/voluntary	Shamateur/coercive
• Independent clubs/amateur federations	Security and armed forces/the state
• Universal/autonomous	Soviet-Russian dictate
• Fair play/open participation	Winning at all costs/drug abuse, child exploitation
• Sport for all/self-financing	Elitist/distorted priorities

It may be justifiably argued that Olympic realities never matched the noble aims set for Olympism by Baron Pierre de Coubertin and, in many cases, turned from largely amateur-elitism to mainly professional commercialism. To many ordinary people and the new political leaderships, the Olympic Games and Olympism represent all that is bad in the old regime's policies (Riordan, 1993). Riordan (1993:54-55) concludes that any Olympic success can be a compelling reason that "the sports system grew up with and was integral to the building of a strong national state which generated its own motivational forces and patriotic spirit."

3.2.2 Sports in the Ancient World

Dunning (2001:47) comments that the "sports" of ancient Rome are commonly viewed "as a regression into barbarism." It was characterized by a high level of cruelty and violence. The brutality of the gladiatorial combats, the mock battles, the massacres and the bloodlust of the crowds are well known. It was probably bound up with the centrality of slavery in the economy and society of ancient Rome. There were no signs of sport and democracy at that time.

Dunning (2001:48) is also asking: "What about the "sports" of ancient Greece?" The surviving evidence certainly suggests that they were considerably more violent than modern sports. Take, for example, the *pankration*, it combined elements of boxing, wrestling and judo and was one of the most popular events in the Ancient Olympics. Greek boxing was similarly brutal. There were no weight classes and contestants could use their feet as well as their hands.

Nevertheless, the ancient Greece culture has made many contributions to western civilizations. Besides politics, the ancient Greek also affected sports in western civilisations. Greece was the first to incorporate sports and make the traditions. For example, Myron's famous sculpture, the "Discus Thrower" resembled modern day javelin. Greece was also the host of the first Olympics (Greek Contributions To The Modern World, 2009).

Dunning (2001:49) contends that the "sports" of ancient Greece were based on the ethos of a warrior nobility. Unlike modern sports, they involved a tradition of "honour" rather than "fairness" which helps to explain the high levels of violence tolerated within them. In fact, one of the principal justifications given for "sports" in ancient Greece was that it served as 'a training' for war. People regarded the games as training for war and war as training for the games. Therefore, the ancient Greek culture has had a very profound impact on the way people live and even play sports nowadays (Greek Contribution To The Modern World, 2009).

3.2.3 The sports of Medieval and Early Modern Europe

In the European Middle Ages there were four principal types of "sports": tournaments, hunts, archery contests and folk games. Such "sports" tended to be class specific. That is, tournaments and hunts were restricted to knights and squires, archery contests to the middle states and folk games to the "common people". The folk games included activities such as bear-baiting, cock-fighting and dog-fighting (Dunning, 2001:49). The earliest surviving records of the tournaments date from the twelfth century and are indicative of a very violent type of "sport". Later the tournaments underwent a civilizing process and they were transformed increasingly into pageants involving "mock" rather than "real" violence (Dunning, 2001:49-50).

In ancient Greek the first Olympics involved running, chariot races, wrestling, boxing, javelin, and many more sports (Greek Contributions, 2009).

Dunning (2001) claims that modern soccer and rugby are descended from a type of medieval folk game which, in Britain, went by a variety of names such as "football", "camp ball", "hurling" and "knappan". The ball in such games was carried, thrown and hit with sticks as well as kicked. Matches were played through the streets of towns, as well as over open country. Yet, Mac Clancy (1996:4) argues that any particular sport "is not intrinsically associated with a particular set of meanings or social values." Rather, sport is as a embodied practice in which meanings are generated.

3.2.4 The initial development of modern sport

In Florence, during the Renaissance, a more restrained and regulated game developed, the "gioco del calcio", also called the "game of kicking". It was played by noblemen. It was a rough game, perhaps even rougher than rugby in England, during the eighteenth century. More civilized forms of boxing, fox-hunting, horse-racing and cricket emerged. While in the nineteenth century more regularized forms of athletic competition, and more civilized ball games such as soccer, rugby and tennis emerged (Dunning, 2001:52). Through sport, art and culture, everyone would be part of the great festivals of the Olympic Games (The Olympic Museum, 2007) However, Holt (1992:6) is of the opinion that sport was never seen as "purely playful; it was a national institution and beneficial for Britain". What he meant was that wherever the British went, the gospel of sport went with them.

3.3 SPORT IN THE GLOBAL CONTEXT

3.3.1 Athletics

According to Keating (1963) athletics is a physical activity in which the pursuit of excellence and the agonistic principle are guiding rules. The activity is competitive and success is dependent on effort within a set of abilities specified by the rules, which are also designed to create equality of opportunity. The athletic endeavour demands sacrifice, dedication and training. Winning is taken as a sign of excellence, provided that certain conditions are fulfilled: the competitors must be worthy, the rules must be obeyed and the victory must not be due to chance. The basic purpose of the athlete is to do his/her best – achieve his/her potential, which of course is developed in training. The way athletes approach their personal limits, is by trying to be the best among people with a similar purpose (Keating, 1963:201-210; and Paddick, 1980:53-54). According to Kyle (1996:273) the ancient Olympic Games were the oldest and most prestigious athletic competition of antiquity. Earlier cultures had sports, but the Greeks remain distinctive for their institutionalisation of athletes with regular festivals and prizes. Kyle (1996:276) points out that, admittedly, "Greek athletes were obsessed with individual first-place victory."

In his paper, *Sport and Politics: The Gross Anatomy of their Relationship*, Paddick (1980) said that there is another component of pursuit of excellence that certainly characterized ancient Greek athletics, and which may be an essential element: fame arising from the recognition of the excellence. According to Morford and Clark (1976) an important feature of the agonistic society was the acclaim for the heroic deeds from one's colleagues. Later athletics replaced the agonistic battle, especially with regard to the spectators. In modern times the athlete has both the recognition of fellow athletes and the acclaim of the spectators. Therefore, in the modern world, athletics is conducted at the highest levels for the most part in an international context under the Olympic philosophy. This means that it is usually representative athletes from the nation-states (Morford and Clark, 1976:163-193). But Dyreson (1996:42) is of the

opinion that athletic champions and military conquerors were accorded similar "forms of hero-worship". To him the classical Greek term for an athletic contest, "**agon**" also described military battles.

The ancient Greek Games, held at Olympia from 766 BC until 261 AD, or perhaps as late as 393 AD, were free from politics. However, in the nineteenth century the "Olympiad ideal" involved achieving the maximum for the love of sport and fair play, and with no overtones of material gain. This was the view propagated by Baron Pierre de Coubertin (Hill, 1993:84-85). In fact, De Coubertin was the founder of the modern Olympic Games. According to Hill (1993:85): "without Coubertin's political skills the Olympic Games would not have been revived in 1896, and might never have been revived at all." Although virtually all Games since 1896 have been marred by unfortunate incidents of international enmity, it is still claimed that the modern Games bringing together athletes in peace and amity, and through them there are higher things than nationalism, enmity and war (Hill, 1993:86). It was Pierre de Coubertin of France who decided to create the modern Olympic Games, drawing inspiration from the ancient Olympic Games. With this purpose he founded the International Olympic Committee (IOC) in 1894 in Paris (The Olympic Museum, 2007:2). According to Dyreson (1996:42) the classical Greeks organised a sophisticated system of sports, which had important "religious political and military significance". Greek athletic festivals featured games with direct military applications – such as chariot races, foot races, wrestling and boxing matches. On the other hand, the Roman sports, including athletics, were "more committed to training soldiers than the Greek games" (Dyreson, 1996:42).

According to Edwards (1969) all professional athletes are officially and formally classified as property. They exist to make money for the club owners, and in the same view, give political recognition to the relevant country (Edwards, 1969:21-29). The interface between civil and political rights and the Olympic Games appears to be fairly tenuous. Yet, closer inspection reveals that the tenets of equality and non-discrimination are central to the ideals inherent in the Olympic movement. From ancient Greece to more recent times, international athletics has long been regarded as a site in which the

oppressed and marginalised could contest the terms of their participation in society (Nafziger, 1978). The prospect of being selected for the Olympic Games is an ultimate goal for the majority of athletes. Enormous reserves of willpower and many years of dedicated training are required to achieve such a goal. The athletes that qualify for the Olympic Games can consider themselves as being among the world's best. They become **Olympians**, whether or not they win a medal (The Olympic Museum, 2007:9). Nevertheless, Kyle (1996:273) contends that despite common misperceptions, "the ancient Olympics differed from their modern counterpart in organisation, events, and ideology. He meant that the ancient Olympics are important in their own right.

3.3.2 Football/Soccer

For the purpose of this section, the terms "football" and "soccer" will be used interchangeably, since they essentially have the same meaning. The game of soccer began in England in the mid-nineteenth century, primarily in the great public schools of the day. Standard rules evolved fairly rapidly. Football clubs began to be established in 1855, and the Football Association was established in London in 1863. The game soon evolved into a spectator sport that transcended its narrower class origins. Professional clubs drew more and more of their public supporters from the working class. Today, the Football League, founded in 1888, controls British professional play (Bram, Phillips and Dickey, 1983:58). Therefore, according to a document on Soccer Exercises (2009), the origin of football/soccer can be found in every corner of geography and history. The Chinese, Japanese, Italian, ancient Greek, Persian, Viking, and many more played a ball game long before the present era. The Chinese played "football" games dated as far back as 3000 years ago. The ancient Greeks and the Romans used football games to sharpen warriors for battle. In the south and central America, a game called "tlatchi" once flourished. But it was in England that soccer/football really began to take shape.

Interesting to note, according to traditions, the Soccer World Cup tournament was the brainchild of two Frenchmen, Henri Delauney and Jules Rimet, after whom the first trophy was named. The first World Cup, held in Uruguay in 1930, attracted 13 nations

and was the beginning of the four-yearly tournament (Bram, et al, 1983). In 2010, South Africa hosted the Soccer World Cup. The positive attitudes and collective co-operation of the South African inhabitants were key ingredients in the spirit of nation-building in South Africa during the four years of preparation for this important sporting event. In that sense sport has assisted once again in the democratic process of a country. Players were only evaluated by their performances on the soccer field, and not by their race, class or religion. Ironically, the latter comments were encouraging, because at the 1964 Tokyo congress, FIFA imposed a ban on South African Soccer (De Broglio, 1970:21). An article in News24 (2004) reports that prior to the unification in sports in 1992, South African soccer has advanced through decades of denial and disadvantages, through the liberation struggle, to a point where it is now recognised as the country's number one national sport.

Dunning (2001:81) comments that most attempts to explain the origins of soccer are myths of the collective rather than the individual kind. The belief is that the Britons and Anglo-Saxons may already have been playing football-like games at the times of their battles against the Romans and the Danes. However, between 1314 and 1600, orders prohibiting football and other popular games were issued by the central and local authorities on numerous occasions (Dunning, 2001:83-84). Jezek ([n.d.] confirms that soccer is one of the most popular sports in Europe and the Americas. Early evidence of soccer being played as a sport finds occurrence in China during the second and third centuries B.C. In China, for example, the people dribbled the leather balls by kicking it into a small net. Recorded facts also support the fact that Romans, Greeks and Japanese used to play ball for fun and frolic. It is important to be aware that on 8 December 1863, football and rugby finally split. Their separation became totally irreconcilable six years hence when provision was included in the football rules forbidding any handling of the ball (Soccer Exercises, 2009).

Dunning (2001:91) goes a step further in his argument that the public schools in England were the central loci of the development of embryonic forms of soccer and the rival rugby code. The development of football in the public schools commenced during

the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when the public schools were transformed into boarding schools for fee-paying pupils from the upper and upper-middle classes. Football in the public schools, at this stage, was governed by oral rules. This meant that the character of the game varied from school to school. Dunning (2001:97) contends that starting in the 1850's, "the embryonic soccer and rugby games spread into the wider society." This implies the emergence of soccer as a national game. Jezek [n.d.] supports this argument and states that the early growth of the modern soccer started in England. It is also said that soldiers admired the game so much that they missed archery practice to watch it.

Soccer began to spread internationally in the 1870's and the next decade it had gained adherents in central Europe, where it eventually became immensely popular. The Soccer World Cup competition has been sponsored by FIFA (Federation of International Football Associations) since 1930, and has been played every four years. The first Women's Soccer World Cup match was played in 1971 in Mexico City (Bram et al., 1983:58).

Gerhardt (2004:3-6) points out in his research that the history of the Football Association (FA) reveals at least half a dozen different games to which the historical development of football is related and can be traced back. The very earliest known form of the game was called *tsu'chu* in the second and third centuries BC, in China. About 500 years later, another form of the game, originating from the Far East, was the Japanese *Kemari*. The Greek game "*episkyros*" was much livelier as was the Roman game "*har pastum*". The latter was played with a smaller ball. Although the Romans took the game to England, it is doubted whether it can be considered as a forerunner of contemporary football. International matches were being staged in Great Britain before football had hardly been heard of in Europe. The first soccer match was played in 1872 between England and Scotland. The spread of football outside of England, mainly due to the British influence abroad, started slow, but it soon gathered momentum and spread rapidly to all parts of the world. This international football community grew

steadily, although it sometimes met with obstacles and setbacks (Soccer Exercises, 2009).

Gerhardt (2004:4) remarks that the resentment of football up until 2007 was mainly for practical reasons. The game had been regarded as a public disturbance resulting in damage to property. Nevertheless, the sport brought about international relations between countries. Eventually the wild and disorderly street game began to subject itself to rules. A more "*gentlemanly*" version was soon to find its way into the middle-class world of the sons of businessmen and professionals, developing around cities like Oxford and Cambridge (Soccernova.Com, 2004). The development of modern football appears to have been a process that occurred automatically in England. New forms of football in the public schools and universities developed from the 1940's onwards (Dunning, 1999:89-90). Since the first Soccer World Cup in 1990 politics have determined the awarding of soccer bids. According to Unnikrishnan (2001) this uneasy relationship between football and politics has existed for many years.

3.3.3 Cricket

No one really knows when or where cricket began but there is a body of evidence, much of it circumstantial, that strongly suggests the game was devised during Saxon or Norman times by children living in the Weald, an area in south-east England that lies across Kent and Sussex (From Lads to Lord's: The History of Cricket: 1300-1787, [n.d.]). However, Archer and Bouillon (1982:79) point out that the first certain reference to cricket dates from 1478, in Northeast France. Usually derived from the Anglo-Saxon "cricce" (a curved stick), "cricket" may also be French from "croquet" which denotes the wicket rather than the bat. The game is ancient, and played from an early date. According to the latter source, it is generally believed that cricket survived as a children's game for many centuries before it was increasingly taken up by adults around the beginning of the seventeenth century. There is also the perception that cricket possibly was derived from bowls (Birley, 1999).

According to Heiner Gillmeister, a European language expert of Bonn University during the 15th century, "cricket" derives from the Middle-Dutch "met de (Krik Ket) sen" (i.e., "with the stick chase"), which also suggests a Dutch connection in the game's origin (Bowen, 1970). Despite many prior suggested references, the first definite mention of the game of "creckett" or cricket is found in a 1598 court case in Surrey (Altham, 1962:21 and Underdown, 2000:31). The first reference to cricket being played as an adult sport was in 1611, when two men in Sussex were prosecuted for playing cricket on Sunday instead of going to church (McCann, 2004). But despite this, it is believed that the nobility in general adopted cricket at this time through involvement in village games, just after the English Civil War ended in 1648 (Altham, 1962:21).

The first ever international cricket game was between the United States of America (USA) and Canada in 1844. The match was played at the grounds of the St. George's Cricket Club in New York (Cricket Archive, [n.d.]). From an English perspective, the first official cricket test match, between England and Australia, at the Melbourne Cricket Ground (MCG), commenced on 15 March 1877. Since then, cricket remains a major world sport in terms of participations, spectators and media interest. One of cricket's latest innovations is the Twenty 20 game for evening entertainment (Cricket's new order, 2008). The game of cricket has developed from its origin in England into a game which is now played professionally in most countries. According to Holt (1992:221) cricket was a far more complex social force than imperial propagandists realised. Anglo-Saxon games did not make all sportsmen reassuringly pro-British. A game like cricket was capable of carrying several "political" meanings depending whether the player "was a white official, a brown skinned sales clerk, or a Black dock-worker".

It should also be noted that cricket was introduced to North America via the English colonies in the seventeenth century, it arrived in other parts of the globe in the eighteenth century, introduced to the West Indies by colonists, to India by the British East Indian Company mariners and in Australia, New Zealand and South Africa in the early years of the nineteenth century (Altham, 1962:21 and Bowen, 1970). However,

Van der Merwe (2006:3) comments that cricket, because of its elitist image and purportedly gentleman status, "was seen as the embodiment of British identity".

3.3.4 Boxing

According to tradition, the history of boxing as a sport may be its acceptance by the ancient Greeks as an Olympic game as early as 688 BC. Modern boxing evolved in Europe, particularly Great Britain. According to the Encyclopaedia Britannica, boxing has been called "*pygme*" or "*pygmachia*". Participants trained on punching bags, called "*korykos*". Fighters wore leather straps or "*himantes*" over their hands, wrists, and sometimes breast, to protect them from injury. Many people have felt boxing was too cruel and barbaric, but nevertheless, it soon became quite a fashionable sport, and it remained so for many years. Boxing is also called "pugilism", a combat sport in which two people fight each other using their fists for the competition. Homer's Iliad (23.655-696, [n.d.]), 800 BC, contains the first detailed account of a boxing fight. According to the Homer Iliad (23.655-696, [n.d.]), Mycenaean warriors included boxing among their competitions. Boxing gloves became widely used in the nineteenth century. Gloves have been mandated in boxing since the early 1890's. Prior to that time many fights were bare knuckle competitions. Jack Broughton created the first padded gloves during the bare-knuckle boxing era. These gloves were called "mufflers". Today gloves are mandatory equipment in boxing, whether in amateur or professional fights (Saperecom LLC, 2012).

Roberts and Skutt (1999) argue that records of classical boxing activity disappeared after the fall of the western Roman Empire when the wearing of weapons became common once again and interest in fighting with fists waned. However, there are detailed records of various fist-fighting sports in Italy between the 12th and 17th centuries. There was also a sport in ancient Russia called fistfight. The first documented account of a bare-knuckle fight in England appeared in 1681 in the London Protestant Mercury. The first British champion was James Figg (1917). Early fist fighting had no written rules, no weight division or round limits, and no referee. In general, it was

extremely chaotic. The first boxing rules, called the Broughton's rules, were introduced by heavy weight champion, Jack Broughton, in 1743 to protect fighters in the ring where deaths sometimes occurred (Rennie, 2006). Pioneers in boxing were James Figg, known as the "father of boxing", who kept his title of champion until 1734; George Taylor was his successor, and Jack Broughton won the heavyweight title after defeating boxer, George Taylor, in 1738. These boxers were inducted in the International Boxing Hall of Fame in 1990-1992 (Saperecom LLC, 2012).

Mazrui (1987:217-228) is of the opinion that sport is always lined to provide cultural and sociological forces. Race, class, and religion have all influenced African sport. Boxing came to Africa with colonization, linking with indigenous culture through the tradition of wrestling since boxing was a fight, it was implicitly a bridge between the culture of war and the culture of play. The late Uganda's president, Mr Idi Amin, was the nation's heavyweight champion for nine years. Mazrui (1987:227) says boxing has remained at once an arena of triumph for black people. "By helping blacks to achieve wealth and admiration, boxing has been a weapon against racism". According to information from the source (Saperecom LLC, 2012), by far some of the most famous boxers came from the twentieth century. As boxing became more strategic and regulated. These well-known boxers are Muhammed Ali, George Foreman, Marving Hagler, Sugar Ray Leonard, Joe Louis, and many more. In 1990, Muhammed Ali was named "Sportsman of the Century" by Sports Illustrated, and was inducted into the International Sports Boxing Hall of Fame in 1990. George Foreman was also inducted into the International Boxing Hall of Fame in 2003. But, according to Mullan (1990:8-9) the origins of professional boxing cannot be pin-pointed with quite the precision as rugby and football. Although bare-knuckle fighting peaked in popularity in the early days of boxing, the legitimate starting point for the history of the game in its modern, gloved form was in 1891 – the boxing match between John L. Sullivan and James J. Corbett.

3.3.5 Table Tennis

According to Greg Letts (About.Com, [n.d.]) the history of table tennis, or ping-pong as it is commonly known, involves a long and interesting sequence of events. There is often conflicting information available regarding the early days of table tennis. Nevertheless, the early origins of table tennis started in the twelfth century AD. The game probably descended from the game of "Royal Tennis" or "Real Tennis" or "Court Tennis" which was played in the medieval era. Since the 1880's table tennis was played by British army officers stationed in India and South Africa. In the same period, the game had become fashionable among the upper class in England. The early existing evidence of a table tennis game is a set made by Dave Foster in 1890, which included table versions of lawn tennis, cricket and football (About.Com, [n.d.]). Letts [n.d.] also gave a comprehensive report on the early origins of table tennis from the 12th century up to 1966. Table tennis is generally considered to be of English origin. Miniature "tennis" was played indoors in England in the 1880's and 1890's. It began to find mass acceptance at the turn of the century, and quickly spread to every continent (Boggan, 1976:398). Table tennis was normally played on a wooden table, usually green like lawn tennis. Table tennis is based on the sound the ball makes as it bounces. When the game first started, it was called by a number of different names: "whif whaf", "gossamer", and "flim flam". In 1901, John Jacques III, registered "Ping-Pong" or "Gossima" as a copyright. The latter name was ultimately dropped. He later sold the trademark to the Parker Brothers in the United States (Evergreen.redirectme.net [n.d.]; Pingpongworld.com, 2000-2013; Letts, 2012; and ITTF Museum, [n.d.]).

From the 1900's, the Englishman, James Gibb, is credited with inventing the name "ping pong" – Gibb brought celluloid balls back to England from the USA. But, interesting, in 1901 John Jacques registered "ping pong" as a trade name in England. On 12 December 1901 the "Table Tennis Association" and the "Ping Pong Association" were formed in England. In the same year, 1901, table tennis was first brought to China via western settlements (About.Com, [n.d.]). Hickok (2009) states that around the turn of the century, the sport spread to other European countries, to the United States, Asian

countries like China, Korea and Japan. It is understood they have learnt about table tennis from the British Army officers who held posts in those places. An unofficial world championship was held in 1901, but the first official world championship was held in London in 1927 by the International Table Tennis Federation (ITTF). Boggan (1976:398) points out that in January 1926 England's Ivor Montagu (1904-1984), along with representatives from four other countries – Austria, Germany, Hungary and Sweden – founded the ITTF. Other sources also name India, Denmark and Wales. Mr Ivor Montagu of England was elected the first president of the ITTF. Over the years, many rules have been added, changed and removed to make the game more exciting (ITTF Museum, [n.d.]; Pingpongworld.com [n.d.], and Letts, 2012).

Europe dominated the sport of table tennis between the 1920's and 1950's and formed the International Table Tennis Federation (ITTF) in 1926. From 1926-1931, Maria Mednyanszky of Hungary, won the women's singles event at the World Championships five times in a row. Also, Victor Barna of Hungary won the men's singles five out of six times at the World Championships. From 1940-1946 no World championships were held due to World War II. From the 1950's to 1970's players used a sponge bat and also witnessed the rise of Japan and China in table tennis. Since 1957 the World Championships in table tennis changed to a biennial event (About.Com, [n.d.]). In the beginning Hungarians dominated table tennis, particularly Victor Barna (1930-1935) and Maria Mednyanszky (1926-1931). The 1940's saw the emergence of Asian players and by the mid-1970's Chinese players at the top. From 1956 through 1969, Japanese women and men were also successful in the world's single titles. Since 1971 the Chinese also dominated the sport. But in the 1980's and early 1990's the Swedish athletes won the Championships. Today, however, the Chinese have come back to capture titles (Boggan, 1976:399).

3.3.6 Rugby

The game of rugby was sparked by a boy named William Webb Ellis who spontaneously caught a soccer ball and began running with it. Subsequently the new game became very popular in Britain roundabout the middle of the 19th century with Rugby School at the centre of this development. It should be noted that at the time, however, there was no uniformity with regard to the rules of the game and for many years different codes were in practice at various centres (Van der Schyff, 2006:16). The historical relevance of this is that the contribution of William Webb Ellis to the evolution of rugby seems to have been that he was the first to catch the ball in the air and run forward, rather than retire (Noakes and Du Plessis, 1996:12).

According to Noakes and Du Plessis (1996:9) the contributions made by Dobson (1989; 1990) and Van der Merwe (1986) suggest that the origins of all ball games played by teams on fields between goalposts, including rugby, soccer and hockey, can be traced to a common medieval English ancestor. The aim of this ancestral "game" was to transport the object of the game, a ball or similar object, through the doorway (goalposts) of the home of one village's leader. The features of the ancestral game played at Rugby School were that it was principally a scrumming game, played with a ball that looked like an "outsized egg", handling and running were allowed only when the ball was caught in the air; it was not permissible to run with the ball from the ground. The teams in the ancestral school rugby game were large, possibly including as many as 300 players. This was necessary to prevent goal-scoring (Noakes and Du Plessis, 1996:13).

In 1875 teams were reduced to 15 players for the first time during the annual Oxford and Cambridge match . By 1877 international teams also included only 15 players. While the game of rugby evolved in Britain and the commonwealth countries after the 1870', important developments also took place on the other side of the Atlantic, especially regarding American football (Noakes and Du Plessis, 1996:13-15). According to Fagan (2005) the much revered tale of how in 1823 the young Rugby School student,

William Webb Ellis, caught the ball in his arm, ran forward – in a defining moment of sports history – is now accepted by sports historians as being fanciful and a distortion of what is known. There is no doubt that Ellis was a student at Rugby School from 1816 to 1825, but he was never mentioned at the time by anyone as a player who revolutionised the game by running with the ball. More importantly, the rules of rugby were not changed to authorise running with the ball until 1846. Therefore, he cannot be credited as the "originator" of modern rugby. Dunning (2001:62) affirms that the "early development of rugby and soccer occurred as part of a temporally concentrated civilizing spurt". What he meant was that from the 1840's the first written rules and formation regarding rugby was established. In 1871, the Rugby Football Union (FRU) accepted these rules.

3.3.7 Netball

Netball is a ball sport which is derived from early versions of basketball, and is similar to it (basketball) in many respects. Netball developed as a distinct sport in the 1890's in England, from where it spread to other countries. It is popular in many commonwealth nations and is predominantly played by women. The sport is administered globally by the International Federation of Netball Associations (IFNA) and is reportedly played by over twenty million people in more than 70 countries. In 1995, netball also became an Olympic-recognised sport (ICN.Sportsweb.Com, [n.d.]). According to Crawford (1996:271-272) the development of netball was much influenced by the Ling Association, an organisation founded in England in 1899 to represent the professional and academic interests of physical educators. Subsequently, in 1905 the English netball rules were introduced to Scotland, Wales, Ireland, United States, Canada, France and South Africa. The game was hailed for the sense of "control" it gave its players. The game reaffirmed society's views of how women should behave.

From 1935 to 1956 netball experienced significant expansion and development despite the occurrence of World War II (1939-1945). In 1947 the British netball team went abroad to Prague and Czechoslovakia. The first world tournament was held in 1963,

and attended by twelve countries. In the 1980's and 1990's the most exciting teams have been from the West Indies and Australia. Netball shifted from its school base to a broad platform of community club and university support since World War II (Crawford, 1996:272).

From the start, netball was viewed as an appropriate sport to be played by women. Netball became a popular women's sport in countries where it was introduced. It also spread rapidly through the school system. In 1926 the first national governing body was established in New Zealand. International competition was initially hampered by a lack of funds and the varying rules in different countries (ICN.Sportsweb.Com, [n.d.]).

3.3.8 Basketball

In contrast to other sports, basketball has a clear origin. It is not the evolution from an ancient game or another sport, and the inventor is well known: Dr James Naismith. Naismith was born in 1861 in Ramsay township, Ontario, Canada. He graduated as a physician and was interested in sport physiology. Naismith developed a set of 13 rules that gave origin to the game of basketball. Interesting enough, the first game was played with a soccer ball and two peach baskets. The sport was an instant success and became very popular. Although Naismith never saw the game develop into the spectacular game it became in later years, he had the honour to witness basketball become an Olympic sport at the 1936 Games in Berlin (The Basketball World.Com, 2010). Therefore, the history of basketball began way back in 1891. Naismith was instrumental in laying down the rules until he passed away in 1939. Since then the game has grown in fame and prosperity the world over. In 1959, Dr James Naismith was inducted into the Basketball Hall of Fame, called the Naismith Memorial Hall of Fame (Saperecom LLC, 2013).

By 1897-1898, teams of five became standard, played by both women and men. During World War II, the United States (US) servicemen popularized the game of basketball in many other countries across the world. During 1893 and 1895, a large number of US

colleges had also adopted the game of basketball. However, the first college games were played in 1936 and since 1950 basketball games became professional. The National Basketball League was founded in 1898, and later merged with the Basketball Association of America (1946) to create the National Basketball Association (NBA). During the late 1980's Michael Jordan of the Chicago Bulls, rose to stardom and helped the Bulls dominated the NBA during the early 1990's (ICN.Sportsweb.Com, [n.d.]). The first formal rules for the game were introduced in 1895. It was not until 1897 that teams of five players on each side became standard in the history of basketball. Walter Brown of Boston introduced professional basketball, for the first time, in 1946. The history of basketball has witnessed a lot of landmark events that have increased the popularity of the game. It is almost a second religion to the sport-loving people in the USA (Saperecom LLC, 2013).

Murray Nelson, in his examination of American basketball, argued that basketball, a largely working class and ethically-based sport, became cultural capital for many immigrants, and their children, to New York City in the early 1900's. His focus was primarily on the Original Celtics professional basketball team and the major immigrants represented by the players – Irish, German, Catholics and Jews. He showed how the involvement of these groups in the early days of professional basket all facilitated the acquisition of the habitus (or disposition) of the dominant cultural faction (or class) (Cronin and Mayall, 1982:8).

3.3.9 Golf

According to historians, the origin of golf can be precisely dated back to the 1300's in the Netherlands where a game, similar to golf, was being played with a stick and ball. Strangely, in 1457, King James IV banned the game of golf in Scotland as it was considered to be an interference with archery practice. But, quite surprisingly, he became a loyal player of the game just ten years later. In 1651, other heads of Scotland gave their royal consent for the game to be played freely throughout the region. With this the game of golf became very popular. By the early 1700's golfing became more

organized. Clubs and organizations began to form. The Royal Burgess Golfing Society of Edinburgh is the world's oldest golf club, founded in 1735. However, these golf organizations in Edinburgh were the first to set rules and regulations for this prestigious game (ICN.Sportsweb.Com, [n.d.]). The wooden golf balls were later replaced by the feathery balls, until the invention of the guttie in 1848. Dr Robert Adams was the individual responsible for this inexpensive and aero-dynamically superior ball (Saperecom LLC, 2013).

In golf history, some golf clubs played with five holes. But in 1764 it was settled that there would be 18-holes. In the mid-1700's the game golf quickly started spreading to other areas and countries. Allan Robertson is known as the first great of the game of golf. Later, tournaments like the British Open and US Open, were played all over the world (ICN.Sportsweb.Com, [n.d.]). According to (Saperecom LLC, 2013), golf clubs have undergone a long evolution. The early golf clubs were wood, relatively fragile, and expensive to make. The first metal heads date back to 1750. It was sometime around 1900 when aluminium became the material of choice. In 1902, E. Burr, presented iron heads with grooved faces which increased the backspin of the ball. In 1929 clubs with metal shafts were allowed officially into the professional game. In 1939 the 14 club rule was introduced, as well as the numbering of clubs. The putter was only permitted in professional golf in 1951 (Saperecom LLC, 2013).

3.3.10 Hockey

The history of hockey can be traced back to time of early civilization. It is believed that hockey has its origin from 4000 years back. Field hockey was played even before the birth of Christ. The game was called the "ball and stick" game. It was played since ancient times in places as diverse as Rome, Egypt, Scotland and South America. The most apt used term was "Hockie" by the Irish. The game as it is known today, emerged at Eton College in England in the 1860's, when the first rules were written down (ICN.Sportsweb.Com, [n.d.]). In the 17th and the early 18th century the game acquired a fiercely competitive and chaotic form in England. In the village competitions, there were

nearly 100 players in one team. The game was a matter of pride and manhood. The game would last for half a month. After some years, the game was limited to 30 players for each team. To bring sanity to the game, the Hockey Association was formed in 1875. The new rules gave the umpire enough authority (Saperecom LLC, 2013).

In 1886, the British Hockey Association was established. By 1889 changes in the rules and the game developed quickly. In 1890 the English, Irish and Welsh hockey associations formed the International Rules Board. Hockey was first played at the Olympic Games in 1908 when men's teams were included. Women's hockey was included in the Olympics in 1980. The game was played for the first time in the Commonwealth Games in 1996. The International Hockey Federation (FIH) was formed in 1924 (ICN.Sportsweb.Com, [n.d.]). It should be noted that the game of ice hockey probably evolved from field hockey. It was played in Northern Europe for hundreds of years. The modern version of ice-hockey finds its origins in the rules laid down by a Canadian, named J.G. Creighton, in 1875. By the early 1900's, the sport had become prevalent in parts of Europe, including the United Kingdom (UK) (Saperecom LLC, 2013).

The history of ice hockey is believed to have started in Canada in the 1850's. It is also believed that Montreal is at the centre of the development of ice hockey. In 1877 the first ice hockey club, named McGill University Hockey Club, was established. By 1893 there were almost a hundred teams in Montreal alone. Ice hockey was added to the Olympic Games in 1920 (ICN.Sportsweb.Com, [n.d.]). The very first year that hockey was played in the Olympics was in 1908. Only men were permitted to play the game of hockey. In 1980 women got the opportunity to play hockey at the Olympics. Legend has it that a Canadian by the name of Pierre Lapin introduced ice-hockey. There are actually three types of hockey that are still played today: field hockey, roller skate hockey, and ice-hockey (Saperecom LLC, 2013).

3.4 SOUTH AFRICAN SPORTING HISTORY

The chronology of the South African sporting history is complex and complicated due to the socio-economic environment established since the early 1700's, when Jan van Riebeeck landed in Cape Town Bay in 5-6 April 1652 to establish a port or halfway base to refill and re-equip the ships (Archer and Bouillon, 1982:14). Developments on the political, economic, cultural and social levels had a tremendous influence and impact on the development of sport in South African. It was obvious that sport and democracy were two opposing entities in the early transformation of South African sport. Ramsamy (1982:7) reiterates that the socio-political system within South Africa, then, demanded the total separation of the races. He goes a step further to articulate the fact that the racial structure of South Africa society" has led to the formation of several national bodies for the control of each particular sport. Sports participation thereby became "inter-racial" or "multi-racial" rather than non-racial (Ramsamy, 1982:7-8).

South Africa was absent from the global sports arena for most of the apartheid era due to internal sport boycotts and international economic sanctions. South Africa only started to compete globally after the country's minority white electorate voted in a referendum in favour of a negotiated settlement in the early 1990's. It is a fact that many sport codes in South Africa have a passionate following, especially sports such as rugby, cricket, soccer, boxing, hockey, netball, running and even surfing.

South Africa was banned from the 1964 Summer Olympic Games in Tokyo due to the implementation of the apartheid policies, and this ban effectively lasted until 1992. During this time, some sports people like Zola Budd (long distance running) and Kepler Wessels (cricket) left for other countries in order to compete internationally. Some other athletes continued their sporting careers in South Africa in isolation, like Myrtle Bothma - 400 metres athlete (South Africa banned from Olympics, 1966).

Since the first democratic elections in 1994, South African sports excelled remarkably on the global stage. In a nutshell, Solomons (2005) observed that the 1995 Rugby

World Cup, the 2003 Cricket World Cup and the African Cup of Nations placed the country on the central stage of global sports. Besides that sport has also the unique ability to effect change and unite the people.

Although little is known about the traditional games of the first settlers in South Africa (Archer and Bouillon, 1982), Jarvie (1985:45) insists that "indigenous sporting forms of various types did however exist in pre-colonial South Africa". The original sporting practices were gradually eroded as a direct result of colonialisation. For example: Zulu-warriors organised orienteering, javelin-throwing and dances and a wrestling tradition also existed within the villages (Jarvie, 1985:45). It should be emphasised that the traditional sporting practises did not simply vanished but they were marginalised by white sporting practices. This implies that the cultural significance of some sporting forms have been ignored in South Africa (Jarvie, 1985).

According to Jarvie (1985:45) white settlers started to replace primitive sporting practices with white "civilised" European sports. Archer and Bouillon (1982) mention that the first horses were imported in 1652. Early settler games revolved around these horses, which played a crucial part in their working life. Jarvie (1985:46), in this case, argues that "regular horse races between British and Dutch settlers took place between 1795-1802". Horse-racing quickly spread to Kimberley and Johannesburg. Archer and Bouillon (1982:316) declare that in the same period, between 1799-1903, thorough bred horses were imported.

Emmett (2009), on the other hand, affirms that South Africa's sporting heritage was tarnished by the country's dark history of supremacy of whites over other cultural groups. Since the first cricket match was recorded in 1808 (Archer and Bouillon, 1982:316), South African sports teams were the exclusive preserve of white people. For decades the domestic political policy of segregation prevented players of colour to compete against whites. But interesting, in 1854 the first cricket match between settlers and natives took place (Jarvie, 1985:88), called a "Hottentot-Boer" match as Archer and Bouillon reported. By 1876 the first Coloured and African cricket clubs were established

(Archer and Bouillon, 1982:317). However, South African white teams did not establish any bilateral links with non-white teams or teams in other countries(Corrigall,2011). In cricket, white teams from South Africa exchanged visits with teams like Australia, New Zealand and England, but not with teams from the West Indies, India or Pakistan, though all these countries were members of the Imperial Cricket Conference (ICC) until1961. South Africa lost its membership in 1961 when it left the Commonwealth.

According to Corrigall (2011) apartheid was not only limited to the level of administration of sport and selection of participants. As spectators, the African, Coloured and Indian people were subjected to rigid racial segregation. The main sports arenas had separate entrances, seating, enclosures and toilet facilities for non-whites. Booth (2003:478) rightfully acknowledges that "white sports officials did not systematically disregard or seriously challenge racial segregation". Merrett (2004:233) supports Booth's viewpoint by stating that "conservative administrators who policed segregation now congratulated themselves on integration, although there were strong dissenting voices."

Emmett (2009:1) believes that South Africa's gradual ostracism from global sport began in the 1950's. Curiously, it was the International Table Tennis Federation that took the first step severing its ties with the all-white South African Table Tennis Union, preferring the non-racial South African Table Tennis Board. The apartheid government simply responded by voiding the passports of the Board's players, ensuring they could not play internationally. A non-racial administrative body, the South African Sports Association (SASA) was set up in 1959 to agitate for South Africa's exclusion from world sport on a much larger scale. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) proceeded to bar South Africa from the 1964 Games in Tokyo. Most whites in South Africa regarded the sports boycotts "as part of a coordinated communist campaign" (Booth, 1998:85).

Basil D'Oliveira was an exceptional non-white cricketer. His cricketing talent was reaching its pinnacle at almost the same time as segregation in sport became law rather than simply custom. Due to the apartheid policy, D'Oliveira had to leave his home in the Bo-Kaap region of Cape Town to establish himself in England in 1960. By 1964 he had

become a British citizen, and played cricket in England. Around the same time as the D'Oliveira affair, sport-driven, anti-apartheid campaigns were gaining momentum. The organisation, Halt All Racist Tours (HART) also intensified its campaign internationally (Emmett, 2009:2). The D'Oliveira affair exposed post-Verwoerdian divisions within the National Party (NP). But prime minister, Mr B.J. Vorster, rebuked his critics regarding the government's new sport policy. He said that "South Africans would not play mixed sport for the sake of international sports contracts (Booth, 1998:95).

From 1946 onwards there were sporadic attempts by non-white organisations to challenge apartheid in sport both within South Africa and at an international level. In 1956 the International Table Tennis Federation expelled the racist white organisation and gave affiliation to the organisation which effectively represented black South Africans (Booth, 1998:55-59). Dennis Brutus, secretary of the South African Sports Association (SASA) travelled the country preaching unity and non-racialism and coordinated the outcry for international recognition in different sports. Unfortunately, white South African sport was well established internationally at that stage (De Broglio, 1970:3). Archer and Bouillon (1982) report that with the inaugural conference of SASA, passports were refused to non-racial sportsmen. In the years, between 1959-1962, black federations made a transition towards non-racialism. Several of these black federations affiliated with dependent status to white federations. As a consequence Albert Luthuli of the African National Congress (ANC), called for a boycott on racial sport. Also in 1962, the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC) was founded to become a vital element in international sport (Archer and Bouillon, 1982:186-204). According to Jarvie (1985) the South African government refused Maoris visiting visas to play against the Springboks in 1964. Two years after this incident, SANROC regrouped in exile, and South Africa was excluded from the Olympic Games, and in 1970 South Africa was expelled from the Olympic Movement and excluded from most major sport events in the world. (compare also Jarvie, 1985:46-52).

Merrett (2004:233-234) places the marginalized position of blacks in South African Athletics in the context of racism and the social control, exercised by municipalities and

mining companies, over a rapidly urbanizing African working class. Strachan and Snell (2001:30-33) stated it clearly that the running ability of Africans in the then Natal region was obvious, given the fact that in the mid-nineteenth century they worked as runners for the weekly postal service between Durban and Pietermaritzburg, and throughout southern Natal. Yet it was only in 1979 when the first black athlete was accepted by the prestigious Wanderers Athletic Club of Johannesburg. He was Zack Tshikalango from West Driefontein mine near Carletonville (SA Runner, 1979).

According to Morgan (2010) Reggie Walker, became the first and only South African, to win the 100 metres at the Olympic Games in London in 1908. In 1979, Matthews "Loop-en-val" Motshwarateu became the first South African to run the 10 000 metres in under 28 minutes, in one of the most sensational performances in South African athletics. Another athlete, Bruce Fordyce, won the comrades on nine occasions since 1981. In boxing, South Africa produced world champions such as Brian Mitchell and Baby Jake Matlala.

Gary Player was the South African golfing legend who won 163 international golf tournaments. But Sewsunker "Papwa" Sewgolum, who played at the same time as Gary Player, was prevented from making his mark around the world due to apartheid. In 1965, Sewgolum beat the famous Player in the Natal Open. Sewgolum played the game with a back-handed grip, and was a self-taught golfer. The first female golfer was Sally Little in 1971/72 (Morgan, 2010). (See also information of Papwa Sewgolum in Hain, 1971:38-40; and Brickhill, 1976:6-7).

Natalie du Toit, made history when she qualified for the 800 metres freestyle at the 2001 Commonwealth Games. Du Toit also participated in the 2008 Olympic Games. In 1999, the breaststroke swimmer, Penny Heyns, set world records at the Olympics. At the age of 12, Karen Muir became the youngest ever world record-holder in sport. Other successful swimmers were Terence Parkin and Midmar Mile (Morgan, 2010).

3.5 CHRONOLOGY OF SOUTH AFRICAN SPORT

The following will illustrate important developments of sport in South Africa since 1652:

DATE	SPORTING EVENT
• 1652	Importation of first horses
• 1795-1802	First horse races takes place: founding of the first Horse Racing Club
• 1799-1803	Cricket starts. Thoroughbred horses imported
• 1808	First recorded cricket match, 5 January
• 1853	Pietermaritzburg Cricket Club established
• 1854	Hottentot-Boer cricket match takes place
• 1861	Rugby-Football introduced to South Africa by Canon George Ogilvie
• 1864	Zonnebloem College fielded 2 teams of young black cricketers in their first games against Rondebosch and Wynberg in 1865
• 1874	First Football club
• 1876	First Rugby club established (Cape) First Coloured and African Cricket Clubs established (Kimberley and Port Elizabeth)
• 1879	Football Club established in Pietermaritzburg First Athletics Club established First Cycling Club established in Port Elizabeth
• 1882	Formation of South African rugby association (SARA) First Tennis Club established (Natal) First Golf Club established (Cape) First Horse Racing Club established (Port Elizabeth) First Bowls Club established (Port Elizabeth) First Professional Boxing and Croquet Clubs established
• 1889	Formation of white rugby federation (SARB) in Kimberley
• 25 March 1889	First cricket test match played in Newlands (Cape Colony vs. England)
• 1888-1889	First British cricket tour - Currie Cup First Gymnastics Club established (Johannesburg) First Coloured cricket tour; The South African Rugby Board formed in 1889
• 1890	South African Cricket Association formed (SACA)
• 1892	The M.C.C.full details plays a Malay cricket XVIII Formation of the Football Association of South Africa(FASA) Inauguration of Currie Cup (rugby) Formation of South African Athletics Association (SAAA/AASA)
• 1894	Krom Hendricks, a Cape Malay, is excluded from the first South African cricket team to tour England. Hendricks, a fast bowler, had been singled out by the visiting English captain of 1892 as

- 1896 central to any South African side
Formation of the first black rugby federation (SACRFB)
- 4 April 1899 South Africa are bowled all out for 35 in a cricket test match against England
- 1899-1902 White swimming federations formed
Rugby match between Boer-British armies (29 April 1902)
Coloured cricket federation formed (SACCB)
- 1903 White tennis federation formed
- 1904 White bowling federation formed
- 1908 White Olympic Committee formed (SAOEGA)
Africa participated for the first time in the Olympic Games
- 1909 White golf federation formed
- 1923 White hockey federation formed
- 1928 White rifle-shooting federation formed
- 1931 White motor-racing association formed
- 1933 White basketball federation formed
- 1935 South African Bantu Rugby Board established in East London
- 1938 Introduction of a national physical education programme
- 3-14 March 1939 The longest cricket match between South Africa and England in Durban
- 1940 White jukskei federation formed details
- 1946 Non-Racial Table Tennis Board recognised by the international body (exact date, February 1947, Archer and Bouillon, 1982:186)
- 1947 Multi-racial cricket association formed (SACBOC) from the S.A. Independent Coloured Cricket Board; S.A. Bantu Cricket Board; the S.A. Indian Cricket Union; the S.A. Malay Board (ex-Coloured Cricket Board)
- 1951 Multi-racial football federation created (SASF) by Indian, Coloured and African clubs
- 1955 Blacks excluded from new Bloemfontein stadium
- 1956 Non-Racial Table Tennis Board accorded exclusive recognition by the international federation
Several black federations demand international recognition
- 1957 Dr Donges's sports policy statement
Russel Endean became the first cricketer to be given out "handled ball" in a test against England
Hugh Tayfield took 9/113 against England, in a single innings, at the Wanderers (S.A.)
- 1958 South African Sports Association formed (SASA)
- 1959 Gary Player won the British Open for the first time
South African Rugby Football Federation was founded in Paarl
Inaugural conference of SASA
Passports refused to non-racial sportsmen (table-tennis, football)
- 1960 Black federations make initial moves towards non-racialism (1959-1962)
Several black federations affiliated with dependent status to

white federations

Basil D'Oliveira left South Africa for England, to pursue a career in a country without a colour bar

Last appearance of South Africa at the Olympics

Geof Griffin, then 21, became the first South African to take a hat trick in test cricket

- 1961 Gary Player won the US Masters
- 1962 SASF (football) and SACBOC (cricket) became non-racial
Non-racial tennis union formed details
- 1963 Formation of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC); 13 January 1963 in Johannesburg
Albert Luthuli called for boycott of racist sport
White judo and trampoline federations formed
The Australians beat the Springboks in a rugby test match in Johannesburg
- 1964 South Africa is banned from the Olympic Games, because of its racist policies (12 August 1964)
SANROC leaders harassed
- 1965 Maoris refused visiting visas to South Africa by Prime Minister HF Verwoerd
On 22 August 1965, Karen Muir, then 12 years old, broke the world record in the 110-yards backstroke
- 1966 SANROC regrouped in exile
Basil D'Oliveira won his first cup for England playing against the West Indies
Formation of non-racial swimming federation
First Minister of Sport and Recreation appointed
South Africa is excluded from the Olympic Games (Basil D'Oliveira affair)
Formation of white Karate association
- 1967 Prime Minister John Vorster's statement on sport
- 1968 Playing for Worcestershire, Basil D'Oliveira, the Coloured cricketer, is refused entry to South Africa
- 1969 Anti-apartheid demonstrators, led by Peter Hain, disrupted the Springbok's tour of Britain
- 1970 South Africa is expelled from the Olympic Movement
South African Non-Racial Sports Organisation formed (SASPO); 6 September 1970
The first Maoris and Samoans toured South Africa with New Zealand
- 1971 Multi-national sports policy statement
South African tennis player, Arthur Ashe, is refused a visa to visit
South African Council on Sport (SACOS) formed (March 1973
Dr Koornhof became Minister of Sport
- 1973 The Third South African Games took place
The first mixed-race boxing match takes place in South Africa,

- between Pierre Fourie and Bob Foster
Aurora became the first multi-racial club in South Africa to play white league cricket
- 1974 Japan stopped issuing entry visas to South African nationals wishing to engage in education, culture or sporting activities in Japan (13 June 1974)
South Africa won the Davis Cup for the first time
 - 1975 The Jockey Club ruled that due to a government instruction, non-whites cannot own registered racehorses
 - 1976 Multi-national sports policy finalised by Dr Koornhof (September)
Glean Eagles Agreement signed
The African tennis federation left white association
Defying the government and rugby authorities, the Junior Springbok, Cheeky Watson, and 7 other whites played in a mixed-race rugby match
 - 1977 Multi-national confederation formed in football
Multi-racial cricket federation formed
A multi-racial Springbok soccer team played against Rhodesia at the Rand Stadium
 - 1978 Multi-national confederation formed in rugby (De Klerk appointed Minister of Sport)
Multi-racial NSPI soccer league is established with 24 teams of mixed races
Kerry Packer's cricket tournament
 - 1979 New non-racial tennis federation formed (TASA)
Non-racial golf federation formed (SANRAGA)
Ministry overall control of sport in all communities (Minister Punt Janson)
Jody Scheckter became the first South African to be crowned Formula One Motor Racing champion
 - 1980 The British Lions toured South Africa (rugby)
Publication of the Human Sciences Research Council's report on sport
British Sports Council fact finding mission
French sports delegation investigated South African sport
Zimbabwe cut sporting links with South Africa
Argentina banned South African cricketers
 - 1981 Ireland toured South Africa (rugby)
Springboks toured New Zealand
Springboks toured United States
English Football Coaching Tour
Borg and McEnroe refused to play in the South African Tennis Open
Errol Tobias is the first black player to play for South Africa in a test against Ireland at Newlands (30 May 1981)
Sydney Maree became the first black athlete to win both the SA

- Athlete of the Year Award and the New York Mile

 - 1982 The United Nations black list shows UK and USA have the most links with South Africa
English Cricket tour, English Football Tour, Sri Lankan Cricket Tour, British and French invitation rugby select arrived in South Africa
 - 1983 West Indian rebel cricket tour
French Rugby Union tour cancelled
MCC Tour cancelled
Liverpool and Manchester United rejected substantial offer to tour
Gerrie Coetzee became the first South African to be crowned as the World Heavyweight Boxing Champion, 23 September 1983
 - 1984 English Rugby Union Tour
Welsh Rugby Union maintained sporting links with South Africa
Olympic resolution condemning apartheid
Commonwealth Games Association critical of England's tour of South Africa
The Zola Budd debacle
South African schoolboys rugby tour of Wales
 - 1989 Wally Hayward, age 80, completed Comrades Marathon
 - 1995 George Mallory II, reached the summit of Mount Everest, 71 years after the disappearance of his grandfather (14 May 1995)
Springboks beat the All Blacks, 15-12 in the Rugby World Cup Final (24 June 1995)
 - 1998 Cathy O'Dowd became the first woman to summit Mount Everest
 - 2000 SA Cricket captain, Hansie Cronje, sacked (match-fixing) (11 April 2000)
 - 2001 43 soccer fans died at Ellis Park, South Africa, 12 April 2001
 - 2003 Former Springbok coach, Rudolf Strauli, apologised for "Kamp Staalraad" furore (4 December 2003)
 - 2006 South Africa (438/9) beat Australia (434/4) in the highest scoring one-day international cricket match (12 March 2006)
 - 2006 Roland Schoeman breaks the world 50m freestyle-course record in Germany (12 August 2006)
In the first ever test rugby match at the Royal Bafokeng Stadium South Africa beat New Zealand 21-20 (2 September 2006)
Former South African rugby president, Mr Brian van Rooyen, is banned from serving in any capacity on committees of the South African Rugby Union (15 June 2006)
 - 2007 Percy Sonn dies in Cape Town on 27 May 2007 as a former president of the United Cricket Board
Bulls of South Africa won the Super 14 (19 May 2007)
John Smit's Springbok team beat England 15-6 to win The Rugby World Cup in Paris (24 October 2007)
 - 2008 On 12 July 2008 the Springboks beat the All Blacks for the first

time at Carisbrooke, "House of Pain", 30-28 points

On 2 August 2008, South Africa's Proteas beat the National Cricket Squad of England for the first time since 1965

On 30 December 2008, the Proteas beat the Australian Cricket Squad at the Melbourne Cricket Ground (MCG)

- 2009 18 April 2009, The Indian Premier League's 20/20 competition starts in South Africa
- 2010 Soccer World Cup in South Africa

Sources consulted:

(Jarvie, 1985:88-90; Archer and Bouillon, 1982:316-323; Sports History of South Africa, [n.d.]; Ramsamy, 1982:12-14; Roberts, 1988:7-17; Goodall and Verhoef, 2004:1; Springbok Rugby, 2003:vi-ix).

3.6 CRITICAL EVALUATION

The preceding sections illustrate the complex nature of South African sports. In basically every sporting event, politics has played and still play a central and significant role. Alegi (2010) argues that despite South Africa's impressive gains, since the birth of democracy in 1994, division and tensions are still evident in rugby as in society at large. Reconstructing the past can assist people to change their attitudes and social perceptions allowing the country to create new common ground within a previously divided society.

The position of South African sport in the global context, alert us to the deeply rooted and multi-faceted nature of the challenges facing South African sport in general. Nearly two decades after apartheid's demise facilities in black areas are woeful, coaches training almost non-existent and youth development left to episodic corporate social responsibility initiatives, a few NGO's, or a passionate but under-resourced individual from the community. Academic knowledge of the country's tumultuous sporting history is of vital significance to the ongoing democratization of South African history and culture (Alegi, 2010).

Allen (2010) concludes that broadly speaking, the history of South African sports remain undeveloped, South African sports history is still in its infancy, and that there is

undoubtedly a need for more quality studies to be conducted. As mentioned earlier, the emergence of British sports in South Africa came as part of the process of imperial expansion. Therefore, it is difficult, in this context, to separate the developments of South African sports from the political issues at hand.

When the government, the sports fraternity in South Africa, and all the other role-players and stakeholders organised the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup, it was a good example to show that the country plays a very important part in the global sports domain. Solomons (2005) points out that sport has the unique ability to uplift our communities and to create a sense of pride and belongings. The international competitions and World Cup matches, in the different sporting codes, symbolised the emergence of a new era in South African sport; it was a symbol of a nation united through sport; a single community in which collective interest transcended social differences (Chappell, 2005). Although there are still problems regarding representivity of the South African teams, the country's best players and athletes can compete now internationally. According to Farquharson and Marjoribanks (2003) nations are what their citizens imagine them to be, and nation-building occurs not only through political and economic processes, but also in cultural and symbolic contexts. In this regard, arenas such as sport, are crucial sites for imagining and re-imagining the nation with regard to the participating in global sports.

In the next chapter, the researcher investigates the evolution and development of South African rugby since its inception as a sport. The different phases and stages will form an integral part of the rugby analysis in South Africa.

CHAPTER 4: HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF SOUTH AFRICAN RUGBY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Rugby and politics have been intertwined in South African sport for decades. In fact, the interface between rugby and politics has in the past fifteen decades (1861-2011) become a major focus point in South Africa. At first, it was an unwritten norm that Afrikaners and Blacks (Africans, Coloureds and Indians) played sport in their own social groups. There were a few rare exceptions when Coloureds played representative matches in pre-dominantly white teams, but even then it was often done stealthily, to the extent of Coloureds not revealing their ethnic origin (Martin, 1984:234-235). Even before 1970 there was virtually no racial mixing of any kind in South African sport. The all-encompassing apartheid laws effectively prevented racial integration, both on and off the field. According to Black and Nauright (1998:196) rugby, in particular, became intimately linked with Afrikanerdom from the 1930's onward.

In the introduction of their book, *Beyond The Tryline: Rugby and South African Society*, Grundlingh, Odendaal and Spies (1995) point out that rugby has gripped the imagination of a large section of South Africa's volatile twentieth century political history. It is interesting to note that most South Africans have only a limited understanding of the deeper social significance of rugby for the different cultural groups in our country. The complex and sometimes controversial role of rugby in the South African politics has added growing racial polarisation for many years, amongst the different race groups. Holt (1992:3) is of the opinion that sport is not only a physical activity, but it has heroic and mythical dimensions for certain sectors of the community. With this in mind, there is a great need to investigate the historical context of South African rugby.

It is not an understatement that the country's all-white rugby team was a symbol of racial exclusion. Both from its emergence as a settler sport in the early twentieth century and through to the present post-apartheid era. Black and Nauright (1998:ix) argue that rugby in South Africa has remained politically charged in the post-apartheid era. For the

greater part of the twentieth century, the whites, and mostly the Afrikaner community, as an embodiment of Afrikaner culture, embraced rugby. In this environment the Springboks became a racialised entity.

South Africa is one of the world's great rugby playing countries. The game is enormously popular among white and non-white South Africans, although rugby has historically been regarded as a major "white" game. The sport historian, Albert Grundlingh, captured this phenomenon by writing: "Support for the Springboks was on the same continuum as membership of the National Party (Grundlingh, 1996:198-199). It proves that since 1948, when the National Party (NP) came to political power, there was virtually no racial mixing of any kind in South African sport. The Minister of Sport in the new democratic dispensation, the late Mr Steve Tshwete, made this observation: "Apartheid has lead to a tremendous imbalance in development between non-racial and establishment sport. The disparity and deprivation must serve as a source of inspiration to excel" (Roberts, 1990:16). In the same fashion, Brickhill (1976:6) supported this by stating that apartheid has existed in South African sport ever since the formation of the first sports club by white settlers who constitutionally barred blacks from membership.

The preceding paragraphs demonstrate the close relationship between the Afrikaners and rugby. With the result that rugby development in the Black townships and locations have been overlooked in favour of the "white image" to the game of rugby in South Africa since 1961. In this section the historical development of rugby in South Africa and the various ideologies and phases that have been and are still attached to rugby, will be examined and explained. In order to do this, it is important to look at how rugby has been represented at different times and in different places throughout South Africa's sports history.

The following phases in the historical overview of South African rugby will be investigated:

- The Imperial Connections;
- Afrikaner Nationalism;
- The Apartheid-Era in Sport;
- The Emergence and Significance of Black Rugby;
- Resistance to White Rugby; and
- From Isolation to Integration.

4.2 THE IMPERIAL CONNECTIONS

Long before the institutionalisation of apartheid, South Africans of all races had cherished a vibrant sporting tradition, but unlike other countries, participants and spectators came to be determined by their racial group identification. Sport was not brought to the country by the Dutch settlers of the seventeenth century, but by British immigrants who settled in South Africa between 1802 and 1902. From the beginning of the 1800's, British mission schools adopted sport as a major part of their curriculum. These immigrants brought with them the cultural values of Victorian England as well as an aristocratic sporting ideology. The result was a British orientation towards sports "coloured" by the colonial experience (Danilewitz, 1998:2). Rugby was thus possibly introduced to South Africa informally by units of the British army, but was formally established in the mid-nineteenth century, especially in the English speaking Anglican school system in Cape Town (Danilewitz, 1998:1-5).

Spies (1995:64) also states that the origin and early history of South African rugby were part of the imperial heritage. Tradition has it that the game of rugby originated at the public school, Rugby, in Warwickshire, England in 1823 as the result of the unorthodox actions of a schoolboy, William Webb Ellis. The game of rugby was introduced to the Cape in 1861 by the new headmaster of the Diocesan College (Bishops), the Reverend George Ogilvie. He was known as "Gog" derived from his signature. The first report of a football match on South African soil appeared in the Cape Argus of 23 August 1862 between the 11th Regiment and a Civil Service XV at Greenpoint (Dobson, 1989:9-10). It should be noted that rugby, like most sports in South Africa, has always been a

reflection of the socio-economic divisions in the country. Therefore, before 1992 South African rugby was divided into segments under as many of five different governing bodies. Rugby, since 1861, at the Cape, came as part of the English Colonial heritage (Springbok Rugby, 2003:vi).

According to a report in Springbok Rugby (2003:vi) the game of rugby came to an already segregated South Africa from England. In 1861 the “Winchester Game” was introduced to the public schools in Cape Town. Each school had its own version of the game. For twenty years the Winchester version was the main winter game at the Cape. In the late 1970’s the Rugby School’s version was accepted in Cape Town. Rugby at the Cape thus came as a part of the English colonial heritage. At first, the English played it. In the public school tradition, it was especially popular where there were physically active males isolated from females, such as boys – only schools, army units and the mines. (Compare also Archer and Bouillon, 1982:56-57; Black and Nauright, 1998:22-23; Booth, 1998:20; and Dunning, 2001:61-62).

Difford (1933:151-153) is of the opinion that some clubs and schools in the Cape favoured the “Gog’s game” or “Winchester game” until William Milton arrived in South Africa in 1878. He firmly swung the balance in favour of rugby. Milton, who had played fullback for England, became closely associated with the politician, capitalist and imperialist, Cecil John Rhodes. By the 1880’s rugby was firmly established in the Western Cape and spread by British regiments to the Eastern Cape. By 1890 rugby was played by British schoolmasters, soldiers, civil servants, miners and clergymen – from Bishops in Western Cape to Bloemfontein in the Free State. (Springbok Rugby, 2003:vi; Rugby Union in South Africa, 2007; Archer and Bouillon, 1982:56-58; Spies, 1995:64).

Significantly, white residents in Southern Africa adopted many of the sports played by British elites. The British felt themselves to be superior in culture, economics and political structures when compared to other groups. Black and Nauright (1998:22-37) argue that the rise of white sports in South Africa occurred as racial attitudes hardened and the development of rugby demonstrates the racially divisive power of the

segregated system. While legislative politics remained outside rugby, the development of the sport was conditioned by the wider politics of segregation and later apartheid, informed first by a British concept of cultural difference based on race and later on theories of racial separation promoted by Afrikaner intellectuals and the Afrikaner nationalist movement. In the same vein, Black and Nauright (1998:23) state that both white and black rugby, however, emerged from a strong imperial background and were situated in the wider process of sporting expansion emanating from Britain during the nineteenth century (Black and Nauright, 1998: 22-23; Odendaal, 1995:26-27).

The imperial connection was also evident when the first two rugby union clubs, Hamilton and Villagers, had been founded in Cape Town in 1879. Strangely enough, only a few years before that the first Coloured rugby club appeared. By 1883 rugby was strong enough in the Western Cape for a governing body, the Western Province Rugby Football Union (WPRFU), to be formed (Difford, 1933:12-13). Rugby thus from its early history tied closely to concepts of British civilisation, culture and imperial power. Similar to England and Scotland, white rugby began as a private school and an old-boy club based clique (Black and Nauright, 1998:30; Archer and Bouillon, 1982:28-29).

Circa 1930 the administration and control of sport in South Africa was mainly dependent on the English initiatives and skills. The British had brought with them certain values of sport. Some of these values comprised fairness, justice, fair play and good sportsmanship. According to them sport should be free, independent and sovereign. The relationship between cultures has always been a significant element in the emergence of white South African sport, especially during the period of imperialism. Rugby was thus possibly introduced to South Africa informally by units of British Army, but was formally established in the mid-nineteenth century, especially in the English-speaking school system in Cape Town. Having begun as an English-speaking game, it quickly spread throughout the Cape and Natal and soon became established also as a popular game among Boer farmers, with the Coloured community in the Western Cape and among Africans (Black and Nauright, 1998 and Grundlingh, 1995).

Rugby in English-language schools and universities played a leading role in establishing the game in South Africa. Bishops must be regarded as the pre-eminent South African rugby school. Hilton College, Michael House and Maritzburg College, St Andrews College, Grey High School in Port Elizabeth, Queens and Selbourne in the Border Area, may all be regarded as the pioneers of the sport in the different regions within South Africa (Grundlingh et al, 1995:67). British regiments introduced the sport to the eastern frontier where the Alberts Club was founded in King William's Town in 1878. Other clubs were formed in Port Elizabeth, Queenstown, Durban, Pietermaritzburg and Bloemfontein. In 1884 the Pirates Club was formed in Kimberley. During this period rugby clubs were formed all over the country (Grundlingh et al, 1995:71-72).

Soon after the South African Rugby Board (SARB) was founded in 1889, international tours by British teams became regular occurrences. According to Black and Nauright (1998:30-31) British teams toured South Africa in 1891, 1896 and 1903. It is interesting to note that imperial links frequently emphasized during these tours. Booth (1998:20) is of the opinion that Britain actively pursued a policy of social imperialism in South Africa (SA) in the last decade of the nineteenth century. It assumed British racial superiority applied the principles of social Darwinism and eugenics to incorporate Afrikaners into the British way of life and ameliorate racial tension between the two white groups. For example, in 1889, despite political tensions between British colonies and the Boer republics, rugby administrators agreed to form a single governing body for rugby in South Africa. The Coloureds, Africans and Indians were excluded from that governing body for rugby (also compare data from Booth, 1998 and Brickhill, 1976).

Between 1875 and 1910 most of the all-white sporting bodies were admitted in international and/or commonwealth co-ordinating bodies. Even after South Africa left the Commonwealth on becoming a Republic in 1961, the "white" commonwealth countries continued to have sporting links with the white associations, as did other western countries. Blacks were never allowed to represent South Africa at home or abroad until 1994. The reason often given by whites was that no blacks were good enough to represent South Africa. But the falseness of this notion resulted in numerous black

sportsmen left the country and gained recognition abroad. Basil D'Oliviera, for example, played professional cricket in England and was chosen for Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) teams. Jake N'Tuli went to Britain and became the British Empire Flyweight Champion in 1953 (Brickhill, 1976:6). Relevant sources from (Archer and Bouillon, 1982; Booth 1998 and Odendaal, 1995).

The fact that black spectators gave enthusiastic support to any foreign team playing against a white SA team, led to the banning of black spectators from many venues and segregation in most other. Bloemfontein City Council took the lead in 1955 when, supported by the white rugby union, it ruled that black spectators could not attend games played at a new stadium. Blacks were prohibited from watching a rugby match between Britain and South Africa because "it would cause friction" (Horrell, 1957:226).

As these preceding sections demonstrate, rugby was from its early history closely tied to concepts of British civilisation, culture and imperial power. During the 1891 tour, Sir Donald Currie, diamond and gold magnate, donated a trophy for an internal South African competition. The trophy was subsequently used for the white provincial championships (Black and Nauright, 1998). According to Black and Nauright (1998:34-35) the imperial sporting model was a racist one. Therefore, South African sport was initially infused with imperial ideologies of the power of the white and British race. Already by the 1890's representative South African sides were mixed between English speaking whites and Afrikaners. (Compare also Archer and Bouillon, 1982:61-67).

4.3 AFRIKANER NATIONALISM

Afrikaner nationalism is a product of South Africa's complex history, and the force, which mobilised the resources of "Afrikanerdom" to fight the perceived challenges of British imperialism and a black majority in South Africa. It is the ideology of the Nationalist regime, which ruled South Africa for more than forty years. As a phenomenon, Afrikaner nationalism has generated a vast amount of scholarly literature, and evoked emotionally charged public debates in South Africa and abroad (Leatt, Kneifel and Numberger, 1986:35). According to Leatt et al., (1986:66-68) there have been many attempts to explain Afrikaner nationalism. These attempts can be grouped into four basic perspectives, which focus on:

- The religious quality of Afrikaner nationalists;
- The analogy of the national security state;
- Race and class; and
- Ethnic mobilisation.

With regard to the first perspective, Mr B.J. Vorster, Prime Minister of South Africa from 1966 to 1978, stated in 1977: "Yes, I believe profoundly ... that we (Afrikaners) have been appointed by Providence to play a role here (in South Africa), and that we have the human material to play that role". This perspective helped Afrikaners to shape an Old Testament mission of their role as a "chosen people" with a manifest destiny on the tip of the African continent. The second perspective emphasises how the white settlers built powerful political movement around the chauvinist ideology of white supremacy centred in the Nationalist Party. Thirdly, institutionalised racism pervaded South Africa's history and policies for many years. In fact, the roots of segregation based on race go back a very long way. It was the National Party's accession to power in 1948 that entrenched apartheid and Afrikaner nationalism's policy of separation based on race. Lastly, ethnic mobilisation is seen as a process whereby the interests of particular groups are welded into a common cause, in terms of which its adherents can be mobilised to sacrifice, to act together, and to believe in a better future. Common bonds

included language, religion, race, ancestry and sex. Therefore, ethnicity has been the engine of group mobilisation, and Afrikaner nationalism the name of the group's ideology (Kotze, 1993:35-37).

Kotze (1993:37) argues that white Afrikaner nationalism did not invent ethnicity and racism in South Africa, it has gone further than the ideology of any other ruling groups in making them ordering principles for a policy which distributed power, wealth and privilege, unequally on the basis of race and ethnicity. But this in turn is a product of the Afrikaner group's self-image, first as an embattled minority and later as the ruling group. Grundlingh et al (1995:112) argue that a complex network of Afrikaner economic and cultural organisations was established and strengthened as a countervailing force to dominant British institutions and practices, like Volkskas Bank, Sanlam Life Insurance and the Voortrekker Movement.

Rugby was central to constructing Afrikaner nationalism. No other sporting practice became so closely linked with Afrikaner identity in this period. Although it is unclear when rugby precisely became that closely related to the Afrikaner, the game was progressively Afrikanerised during the 1920's and 1930's. Most of the early Afrikaner players came from the areas in and around Cape Town and the University of Stellenbosch. By the 1920's, top-level Afrikaner players also came from the century's interior, in the Transvaal and Orange Free State (Nauright and Black, 1998:197-198). One outstanding feature of Afrikaner nationalists was that they did not believe that ethnicity or racially separated schools and group areas were unjust. They projected their own desire for separation and ethnic identity onto others and regard these policies as a logical extension of their own history and experience (Nauright and Black, 1998; Grundlingh, 1995; Archer and Bouillon, 1982:64-74).

Grundlingh (1995:106-107) states that the University of Stellenbosch (US) in the Western Cape played a key role to understand the historical connection between rugby, Afrikaner nationalism and the dissemination of the sport among the *volk*. For the best part of the 19th century, Stellenbosch was considered the leading university in influential

Afrikaner circles. Since 1918 it tried to establish a “true *volks* university” and an Afrikaner identity to counter the pre-dominantly English-speaking University of Cape Town (UCT). It was within this context that the game of rugby was played by the sons of the Afrikaner elite.

The first documented proof of a rugby club at Stellenbosch dates back to 1880, but the university club was only officially founded in 1917. Rugby was already firmly established in Cape Town by the late nineteenth century. Stellenbosch had a head start over Afrikaner communities in the interior, particularly in the northern Boer Republics (Van der Merwe, 1992:442). According to Grundlingh (1995:107-108) rugby at Stellenbosch became part and parcel of the Afrikaner student culture. With the rise of Afrikaner nationalism in the 1930's and 1940's rugby became as much part of Afrikaner culture as boeremusiek, volkspele and the celebrations like the 1938 centenary of the Great Trek. Two outstanding personalities became rugby legends in Stellenbosch, namely A.F. Markotter and later, Danie Craven. From Stellenbosch the game was taken to the countryside or *platteland*.

During the period of Afrikaner nationalism and industrialisation between 1910 and 1948 the game of rugby symbolised the Afrikaner way of life. Rugby was closely linked to valued elements of Afrikaner culture such as religion, rugged frontier life-style and co-operation. It was seen as one of the strongholds of apartheid sport and of the then South African ruling elites. Symbolically, rugby has expressed the superiority of one culture over another in terms of the sound relationships between dominant and subordinate cultures (Jarvie, 1985:47). This action led to the institutionalisation of white sport in the school physical education programmes during this period. It served as a further mechanism of social differentiation between whites and non-whites. By 1939 physical education had been a compulsory subject in mostly white schools and university programmes. However, the black population was hardly affected. Consequently, sport became one of the major dividing lines between cultural groups and more specifically one of the major symbols of white status (Woods, 1981:46).

The dissemination of rugby among Afrikaners in the then Transvaal followed a somewhat different trajectory. Until the bilingual Transvaal University College was transformed into the more purified Afrikaner and openly nationalistic University of Pretoria in the 1930's, there was no single institution in the North, which, like Stellenbosch in the South, could attract a large number of young Afrikaner men. Although competitive rugby had been played since 1909 (Grundlingh et al, 1995:109 and Heydenrych, 1983:4-20).

The popularity of the game fluctuated between 1910 and 1919. With the increasing urbanisation of Afrikaners during this period, concerted efforts were made to reach out to young Afrikaners who came from the rural areas. After unification in 1910, the civil service and related government agencies, with the majority of young Afrikaner men, moved to Pretoria. Young rugby clubs in Johannesburg were predominantly English speaking and middle class (Grundlingh et al, 1995:110). In fact, the working Afrikaners themselves had relatively little leisure time available to indulge in organised sport (Fourie, 1979:166).

The 1930's and 1940's were important years. Afrikaner nationalism at this time can be interpreted as a broad social and political response to the different facets of the input of capitalism on South African society. It was within a context of increasing urbanisation and secondary industrialisation, that Afrikaner nationalism made headway. Representation of history played an important part in the construction of Afrikaner nationalism. The 1938 centenary celebrations of the Great Trek, turned out to be unprecedented political and culture theatre. The centenary trek from Cape Town to the Northern Provinces symbolically gave powerful expression to be free of British domination. It also gave rise to a renewed interest in sport (Grundlingh et al, 1995:112).

According to Grundlingh (1995:112-119) it was rugby that continued to capture the imagination of many Afrikaners. The nature of the game itself also appealed to the evolving self-image of nationalist Afrikaners. Implicit in rugby is a certain duality. On the one hand, it can be seen as a collective sport of combat, the rugged aspects of the

game could easily be equated with resurgent and rampant Afrikaner nationalism. At the same time, despite been a rough affair, it was considered a gentleman's game and an excellent way of inculcating moral discipline in future leaders. These ambiguous qualities of rugby fitted in well with the physical, psychological and ideological needs of nationalist Afrikaners at a specific historical juncture. The Afrikaners thus viewed the game in explicitly nationalistic and ethnic terms. Support for the Springboks was much more closely aligned to the overall Afrikaner nationalist enterprise in its various cultural and political manifestations. Therefore, for Afrikaners who felt themselves oppressed and disadvantaged by the continuing British influence in South Africa, rugby created an opportunity to beat the English at their own game. With the result, it is not a surprise that the rivalry between Afrikaans and English speakers was fierce on the playing field, for many years (Black and Nauright, 1998:8-9; 66-71).

The major difference in race policy between English and Afrikaans speakers before 1948 was the presence of an active, aggressive, political-cultural nationalism in the latter. The Afrikaner cultural and political ethnic awareness lay firmly in the historical changes associated with the discovery of diamonds near the confluence of the Orange and Vaal Rivers in the late 1860's (Booth, 1998:27).

The ideology of Afrikaner nationalism was instrumental in the apartheid-era in sport in Southern Africa. Lapchick (1975) argues that the advent of the Afrikaner National Party in 1948 led to a space of racial legislation throughout the 1950's and 1960's that entrenched apartheid in all walks of life, and made racial mixing on the sports fields and amongst the spectators not merely socially unacceptable but illegal.

4.4 THE APARTHEID-ERA IN SPORT

When the National Party (NP) came to power in 1948, it was not necessary for it to compel observance of the policy of apartheid in the field of sport because the white sporting associations continued their voluntary restrictions on black membership (Brickhill, 1976). Some of the Nationalist government's racial laws did create new obstacles to interracial sport, but it never went so far as to make inter-racial sport illegal in all circumstances. Law was unnecessary where the conventional colour bar was maintained by white sportsmen and administrators (Brickhill, 1976:6-7).

The full weight of the apartheid policy of the Nationalist government began to take its effect on South Africa's university system in 1956, when the government announced its intentions to prohibit the "open universities" from admitting non-white students and to establish separate universities for these students in their "own areas" (Baxter, 1997:2). This is an example how the rigid sports apartheid had been applied since the NP came to power. As in all other spheres of life, segregation applied in sports fields, seating and clubs.

According to Black and Nauright (1998:46) a geography of mental separation behaviour pervades South African society where whites visualised blacks away in out-of-sight townships and either forgot about what they might be doing in their leisure time or assume that they were drinking and committing crime as the media and their education system taught them to think during the apartheid-era. Black and Nauright (1998:67) further argue that despite being excluded from sporting competitions with whites on the basis of race, however, urban African elites continued to organise their own competition in cricket, rugby, soccer, boxing and other sports.

Rugby, thus, has been a central manifestation of the constructed collectively of the white self in South Africa as represented in the Springbok rugby team. During segregation and apartheid, white rugby fans clearly saw the team as representation of the self, and blacks, by their very exclusion, as other. As such, the apartheid

government placed great emphasis on the symbolic significance of Springbok rugby success (Black and Nauright, 1998:151). There is therefore no doubt that in South Africa rugby has been linked to the politics of racially divided cultured identities since the formation of the first clubs in the 1870s and 1880, 1998 (Black and Nauright,1998:156).

According to Odendaal (1995:26-27) Cape Town was the birthplace of South African sport. After the British took over the Cape on a permanent basis early in the 19th century, soldiers and settlers introduced games like horse racing, cricket and, later on, rugby. Burger (1998:27-28) argues that the political successes of the National Party (NP) can be explained partly by the fact that many of its activities and policies did not represent a major break with the past. This was also true in its handling of intergroup relations. It did not invent segregation, which was a hallmark of the reconstruction era under Lord Milner, and had already found expression in the land and urban residential legislation of 1910 to 1924 and (for Natal Indians) of 1943 to 1946. It did not invent the colour bar, which dated from before Union, and had been regularised by Prime Minister, General J.B.M. Hertzog in 1926. After 1948, the National Party (NP) bonded itself to the apartheid ideology which had been refined in the *Broederbond's* conclaves. This plunged South African politics into a dark age.

It is interesting to note that the formula of the National Party, by then, ensured the future of the white minority into the next century. Besides sports, apartheid also included the retention of economic power in white hands, by tightening the job colour bar and directing skilled blacks into their own areas. The enforcement of total segregation resulted that nearly every town in South Africa was carved into separate "group areas", sorting people by racial categories as shown in their identity books and entered in a national register. The aim was to eliminate irregular categories by a total ban on interracial marriages (Burger, 1998:28).

Enforced segregation of sport and recreation during the apartheid years has denied millions of people the right to a healthy life. In the post-apartheid, after 1994, the

Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) views sport and recreation as an integral part of its aim to establish a healthier society for all (Burger, 1998:503). De Broglio (1970:iii) is of the opinion that racial discrimination and segregation have retarded the development of white sport and black sport. Both would have benefitted from wider competition at the provincial and national level. In athletics, boxing, football, cricket and rugby, the standards in South Africa would be even higher if competition was open to all sportsmen regardless of race or colour. Above all, sports apartheid was tragic in its denial of human dignity and its enforced waste of human talent and possibilities (De Broglio, 1970:iii).

4.5 THE EMERGENCE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF BLACK RUGBY

4.5.1 Background

Odendaal (1995:25) rightfully reports that the time has come to bury the myth that current inequalities in rugby evolved naturally; that they existed because black South African were not interested in the game or were not suited to it, psychologically, emotionally and physically. This underlying assumption, which still directly and indirectly permeates the game, despite rugby “unity” and the achievement of political democracy, is one of the main reasons for the muddled arrogance and unhappiness that has characterised South African rugby in recent years. The fact that it is still articulated with such smugness is an example of a deep-seated and enduring racism in South African sport and society. For the future of the game, racism in its overt as well as hidden forms, needs to be addressed at the highest levels of rugby administration.

Therefore, black rugby players and sports administrators are relatively underdeveloped as a direct result of the South Africa’s history of colonialism, segregation and apartheid. Sport in South Africa, and especially rugby, has always been linked closely to politics and has reflected the society and social structures. Contrary to general knowledge, black South Africans had a long, and indeed a remarkable, rugby and sporting history (Odendaal, 1995:25).

This section locates thus black rugby firmly in its historical context and development. Black in this section refers to African, Coloureds and Indians.

4.5.2 Rugby in African communities

Rugby became a vital part of social life, especially in the smaller towns. Particular families were attached to particular clubs, and the walls of their houses might be covered with photographs of great teams of the past. Children and even adults spent hours making banners and carving emblems of their clubs. A fanatical sportsman might sink his entire savings into a trophy perpetuating his name. Rugby was also played much later into life; in some cases past the age of forty. Rugby dances were a vital part of social life, especially when a visiting team came to town (Peires, 1981:1).

The first black rugby teams were probably institutional, based at Lovedale, Healdtown and the Kaffir Institution. Located in Grahamstown and run by the Anglican Church, the latter was a sister school to the white St Andrews College, which started playing the game as early as 1878. And, according to tradition, it was the St Andrews headmaster, Reverend Mullins, who introduced rugby to the black community (Peires, 1981:1, Odendaal, 1995:34). According to records collected by rugby historian, Braber Ngozi, the Union Rugby Football club was started by “kitchen boys who learnt their rugby from whites”. The headquarters of the club were at KwaMpondu, the present Mill Park, and the games were played at Dubula, where the provincial hospital now stands. At first Union opponents were local Coloured teams, which formed themselves into the Port Elizabeth Coloured Rugby Union in 1892, but in 1894 a second African Club, Orientals, was formed, followed by the Morning Star, Rovers, Frontier, and in 1906, Spring Rose Clubs (Odendaal, 1995:34).

The establishment of black rugby clubs and the playing fields were not a bed of roses. According to Peires (1981:1-2) the game itself was played in appalling conditions. Most fields were without grass, and many were riven by ditches, located on slopes or acting

as public thoroughfares. Boots were considered a luxury, and each team had at most a single set of jerseys. Such circumstances bred dedication and selflessness: sacrificing one's wages to buy the teams colours, walking all night to be at a match on the following day. It also bred dependence on the local whites. The chronic demand of black rugby for money and facilities inevitably meant dependence on whites. It also means that prominent rugby administrators (or local notables) were those who were either well-off themselves, or excelled at least in asking whites for money (Black and Nauright, 1998:38-41; Archer and Bouillon, 1982:58-60).

Union and Orientals became the strongest teams in the region. But, sadly, around the turn of the century, the first major attempts at urban segregation occurred in the main towns of the Cape colony. Just over twenty thousand Africans from Port Elizabeth were pushed to the edges of the town, into new "locations" at Korsten and New Brighton. Before the turn of the century, contests between different towns in the Eastern Cape were taking place. Teams from Grahamstown and East London would participate in the first inter-town tournaments organised in Port Elizabeth in 1904. Following on this event, the Eastern Province Native Rugby Union (EPNRU) was formed in 1905 (Odendaal, 1995:193-214).

According to Black and Nauright (1998:47) white officials, by the early twentieth century, increasingly thought that the proper place for Blacks was as labourers and servants. Blacks were progressively consigned to inferior social, political and economic positions by exclusion from the vote, land ownership, commercial opportunities and complete cultural segregation. In this climate, it is not surprising that the little inter-racial sport played in the late nineteenth century rapidly disappeared in the early 1900's. Despite this, urban African elites continued to organise their own competitions in cricket, rugby, soccer and boxing. These competitions grew and flourished despite frequent opposition from municipal officials, the police and the segregation and apartheid states.

The first EPNRU president was Tobias Mvula and the secretary was R.R. Boo. The inter-town fixtures continued under the new union. They played for the Wynn's Cup. In

1906 there were nine teams playing for the Wynn's Cup, sponsored by a local businessman. The teams were Oriental, Union and Rovers (all from Port Elizabeth), Zebras Football Club (Uitenhage), Lions Football Club (Cradock) and Wanderers, Winter Rose, Lilly White, Eastern Province Football Club (Grahamstown) and Tigers Club from Somerset East (founded in 1895). The aim of the EPNRU was clearly regional, but in 1908, Winter Rose Rugby Football Club of Queenstown played no less than eight games. Later, various other "provincial" units based in East London, Queenstown, Aliwal North and Alice would emerge. Up until 1926 the mode of transport was a lorry (Odendaal, 1995:35-36). Meanwhile, Coloured rugby players were playing in separate competitions (Black and Nauright, 1998:41-47).

African rugby in the Eastern Province continued to grow from strength to strength. By 1934 ten clubs were playing in East London first league for the Martin Cup. There were also leagues in place as far a field as Aliwal North on the Free State border and Umtata in the former Transkei. The original inter-town tournaments were apparently still being held regularly. The game was now well established at educational institutions such as Healdtown and Fort Hare (Odendaal, 1995:44; Peires, 1981:1-10).

Besides the rugby heartland in the Eastern Cape (the "cradle of black rugby"), the Transvaal became a new growth point for African rugby in the 1920's and 1930's. New clubs such as Swallows and United were formed by Eastern Cape people. In 1923 the Transvaal Rugby Union was formed. E. Juno Nogaga presented a cup for its first competitions, which Swallows won in the first two years. In 1925 a combined Queenstown team toured Johannesburg and Pretoria to "baptize rugby in the Transvaal which had just started...". By 1934 the Transvaal Union had 15 clubs playing in A and B divisions. The growth of rugby on the mines was reflected by some of the club names, e.g. Wits Deep. Mines, municipalities and munificent liberals were strongly shaping the direction of the games amongst Africans (Odendaal, 1995:44-45). Odendaal (1995:45) also reports that in 1935 the first Transvaal Union provincial side undertook a national tour to Eastern Cape, Western Province and Griquas in Kimberley.

Early in 1935 the Port Elizabeth administrators formed a committee to discuss the formation of a South African Bantu Rugby Board (SABRB) (Odendaal, 1995:46). But Peires (1981:1-2) says the rugby body, also founded in 1935, was called the South African Rugby Board. The new president was J.M. Dippa from Port Elizabeth. The secretary was Halley Plaatje from Kimberley, the son of Sol Plaatje, and the nephew of Isaiah Bud Mbelle. The first inter-provincial tournament to be organised by the new SABRB or SAARB was held in Kimberley in 1936. The chief function of this body was to arrange the bi-annual national inter-provincial tournaments. The 28 inter-provincial tournaments were held for the next 38 years up to 1974 (Odendaal, 1995:46).

Between 1951 – 1954 discrepancies in the financial statements of the SAARB came to the fore. A.Z. Lamani, a rugby administrator, challenged his suspension in the Supreme Court. In 1957, Lamani split his old union to form the Port Elizabeth and Districts Rugby Board. Other difficulties the SAARB faced were the demarcation of the regions in Queenstown, Aliwal North, Grahamstown and King William's Town. Players who were overlooked for provincial selection created big problems with SAARB. According to Peires (1981:1-22) the case of Black rugby then derived from the fact that many of its administrators derived their power from access to money rather than the support they commanded from the players or the community.

4.5.3 The political transformation of African rugby

Peires (1981:1-2) is of the opinion that N.M. Singaphi, secretary of the SAARB in 1969 and president of the Port Elizabeth African Rugby Board (PEARB) has never enjoyed universal admiration. His political opponents described him, doubtless unfairly, as “always after money”. Trouble began when Singaphi, W.L. Dwesi and G.C. Mdyesha held their own tournament in Port Elizabeth, in opposition to the official national tournament in Umtata. Mono Badela, correspondent of The World newspaper, and PEARB vice-president, opposed Singaphi and his friends. In June 1971, ten out of the twelve first league clubs withdrew from PEARB to form KWARU – the Kwazakhele Rugby Union. The new union, KWARU, adopted as its crest the motto “Facta non

verba” – Deeds not words. Interesting to note that W.L. Dwesi was the coach to the 1979 SA Barbarian tour of Britain, while G.C. Mdyesha was president of the pro-Craven South African Rugby Association (SARA) (Peires, 1981:1-22; Black and Nauright, 1998:55-57).

The KWARU secession was motivated by the desire of the clubs to escape the corruption and maladministration of the PEARB. KWARU applied to the Eastern Province Rugby Board for recognition as a separate union, but were turned down. They then appealed to the SAARB without any success. The “cream of Xhosa-rugby” was left without anyone to play against. On the advice of Eastern Province, the Coloured sister union, they applied to the South African Rugby Union (SARU). KWARU’s applied was accepted at the 1972 Annual General Meeting of SARU. But L.G. Koch, director of Bantu Administration for Port Elizabeth, was deeply perturbed by the adherence of African rugby players to SARU, which they persisted in viewing as a Coloured body. At that time the South African government was committed to a policy of “multi-racialism”. They felt that the KWARU split was an unfortunate accident and had considerable real sympathy for KWARU grievances. On the other hand, they were confronted by the fact that the Federation and the SAARB supported government policy while SARU did not (Peires, 1981:1-3; Archer, 1987:229-230).

The Bantu Affairs Department (BAD) intentions were to crush KWARU and any African rugby union affiliating to SARU by denying them all public facilities. The KWARU team was therefore excluded from the Wolfson stadium in Port Elizabeth with its grass surface, proper seating and floodlights. Even more important, the Wolfson stadium has a wall, which was considered essential for the collection of gate receipts. Radio Bantu announcers were ordered to discontinue describing or even announcing KWARU fixtures. Despite government actions, the entire community supported KWARU. Dan Qeqe, a wealthy garage owner from New Brighton and a member of the Urban Bantu Council, was drawn into politics on non-racial sport. He was detained by police at least twice. Dan Qeqe supported KWARU as well (Peires, 1981:4-5; Archer, 1987:232-237).

KWARU did very well in the SARU rugby fixtures. They made their presence felt, winning their section against East Province, beating Transvaal in the semi-final and lost to Western Province in the final in Cape Town. Each victory for KWARU was a victory not only for the rugby team but also for the entire community which had put them on the road. This enthusiasm proved to be a sustained enthusiasm. With a credit balance in their bank, KWARU built the Dan Qeque stadium in Veeplaas, Port Elizabeth (Peires, 1981:4).

According to Peires (1981:4-5) KWARU's commitment to the non-racial principles of SARU deepened. KWARU was able to absorb without any internal repercussions the brothers Cheeky and Valena Watson, whose patent sincerity was generally recognised. By 1976 KWARU was one of the unions which forced Abdullah Abass, president of SARU, back into line. KWARU then played a recognised part in communal affairs. KWARU's example was followed throughout the country. Gululethu led Western Province out of the SAARB. The majority of the Grahamstown African Rugby Board constituted itself the South Eastern Districts Rugby Union (SEDRU) and applied for affiliation to SARU. King William's Town and the two East London unions defected to SARU en masse. Compare data from Booley (1998:113).

Queenstown, especially, became a major battleground as the Frontier Rugby Union, a SARU affiliate, confronted a viable SARU alternative. Frontier were refused permission to play on any field in the town, and when they hired the white agricultural union ground to stage a major exhibition match against KWARU, government officials waited until an hour before kick-off and then warned the Agricultural Union that they were contravening the Group Areas Act. The drift to SARU was, however, irresistible with Midlands (Cradock), the last major SARU union to affiliate to SARU in 1979 (Peires, 1981:5).

Booley (1998:173-174) reports that the Frontier Rugby Union was established between the time that the Queenstown Coloured Rugby Union (being part of the Border Coloured Rugby Union) and a number of black clubs which belonged to the North Eastern Rugby union were formed. Frontier were established in 1974, but was only officially accepted

by SARU in April 1975 at the University of Cape Town. Frontier was represented by T.I.N. Sondlo. His enthusiasm and integrity played a big role in representing Frontier's president in 1978 up until 1985. Sadly, in 1986 he was detained, but not even this could keep support away from the union. Sondlo was detained for nearly a year and came out depleted physically, but mentally he was prepared to give his all in the struggle for freedom around Queenstown. Unfortunately for rugby, this meant that when the unity talks started this stalwart for non-racial rugby passed away. What happened to Frontier, KWARU and SEDRU also happened to the other non-racial rugby unions of SARU. But the government's clampdown on these unions could not erase the spirit of non-racial sport in South Africa, according to Booley (1998). Compare Archer 1987:236-237).

Lastly, Peires (1981:1-5) indicated that undoubtedly the best-kept secret of the 1980 Lions Tour was the struggle of SARA to find fifteen "African" rugby players willing to participate in the token match. The provincial affiliation of SARA was virtually non-existence. Previously unheard of in rugby terms, Free State and Natal, hastily organised by local Administration Boards, looking for players to field a team. It was no coincidence that they called on the "star" Barbarian fullback of Hanover. In the event, SARA could find only eight black players to play against the 1980 Lions, although they could easily have fielded an army of administrators.

4.5.4 The development of Coloured rugby

As the game of rugby spread, it was adopted by new strata of the population in new areas. The Coloured population of the Cape had taken to the sport almost at once and was enthusiastic spectators when Newlands was opened in May 1890 (Archer and Bouillon, 1982:58). According to Nauright (1997:49) it dates back from the formation of the first rugby clubs in 1886. Two rugby unions emerged in the Cape Town area that administered two distinct competitions, the Western Province Coloured Rugby Union (WPCRUC) founded in 1886 and the City and Suburban Rugby Union (CSRUC) founded in 1898. Rugby dominated the Coloured sport scene in Cape Town from the 1880's through the 1960's, and it was an integral part of local culture as masculinity was

displayed through physical performances. Perhaps there was more to muscular Islam than to muscular Christianity. The primary reason for the WPCRUC retaining a reputation for tough and robust play, was that the base of its clubs remained in the working class areas of District Six and the Bo-Kaap, while the centre of CSRUC activity increasingly moved to suburban Cape Town in the 1950's and 1960's. In District Six and the Bo-Kaap both Muslim and Christian teachers stressed the significance of rugby as a game that created physical and mental toughness and group solidarity (Booley, 1998:41-155).

The two main areas of Coloured settlement in Cape Town developed their own district, albeit related communities. Muslim and non-Muslims culture did not mix readily, yet the communities had common cultural practices in music and especially in sport. Rugby became the dominant winter sport by the early 1900's. Male school teachers promoted rugby in particular and viewed it as an ideal means of teaching discipline and for generating social cohesion. Coloureds merely copied white sporting structures and cultural values attached to sport. Rugby emerged as a manly and character-forming game among Cape Town's elite Coloured schools, developing from the influence of British missionaries plus the need to deal with the harsh realities of everyday life in the cramped working-class areas of District Six and the Bo-Kaap (Nauright, 1997:50).

Nauright (1997:50-57) also reports that the first known rugby clubs among Coloureds were formed in 1886. Five important clubs were founded that year. Roslyns, Good Hopes, Violets and Arabian College came together to found Western Province Coloured Rugby Union (WPCRUC). A fifth club, Wanderers, became the prime mover behind a second union formed in 1898, City and Suburban Rugby Union (CSRUC). Several clubs that formed in the late 1880's and 1890's did not join the WPCRUC, but joined with Wanderers to form the CSRUC, a union that excluded Muslims until the 1960's. The founding clubs of the CSRUC were California (1888), Perseverance (1889), Thistles (1891), Woodstock Rangers (1892), and Retreat (1898). Primrose joined in 1901, Progress in 1906 and Universal in 1931 to form the core of CSRUC clubs to the 1960's (Booley, 1998:4-43; 155-156).

The WPCRU was well connected with the national South African Coloured Rugby Football Board (SACRFB), founded in 1897 and based in Kimberley. WPCRU was very successful in the Rhodes Cup competitions, but it nearly collapsed in the early 1930's with only Roslyn and Violets surviving from the original clubs. Several clubs emerged in the 1930's, however, to revitalize the union, these clubs included Young Stars (1928), Orange Blossoms (1931), Caledonian Roses (1934), and Buffaloes (1936). Other clubs in the competition by 1940 were Hamediahs, Evergreens, Watsonians, Young Ideas and Leeuwendale. The WPCRU clubs were all based in the Bo-Kaap and District Six, Woodstock and later in suburban Cape Town (Nauright, 1997:50-51). However, in Kimberley rugby and cricket were both played by the African petty bourgeoisie: during the 1890's the Native Rovers Rugby Football Club competed with the half dozen black clubs (most of them Coloureds) grouped in the Griqualand West Colonial Rugby Football Union (1894) and the Union's flamboyant President, Isaiah Bud Mbelle, persuaded Cecil Rhodes to donate a cup to African and Coloured rugby, which was then awarded every year to the best team in the colony (Archer and Bouillon, 1982:58).

Archer and Bouillon (1982:58-59) argue that Bud Mbelle was also instrumental in the creation in 1896 of the South African Colonial Rugby Football Board, which was also dominated by Coloured teams. At the beginning of the new century, the SACRFB became the South African Coloured Rugby Football Board (SACRFB), which ran all Coloured rugby until the 1950's, and administered African rugby until the 1930's. The Coloured Rugby Board's policy was throughout this period open with respect to race, and in areas where no African club existed, African players continued to play within its teams. Bud Mbelle himself was the Board's first Vice-President (Booley, 1998:13; Odendaal, 1995:37).

According to Odendaal (1995:37-38) the Griqualand West Colonial Rugby Football Union (GWCRFU) was one of the very first sports organisations in South Africa which was specifically non-racial. In the Xhosa columns of *Imvo Zabansundu*, on 26 August 1897 it was noted that it did not discriminate on the basis of language, colour, religion and nationality. The secretary of the GWCRFU was the twenty five old Isaiah Bud

Mbelle. He was typical of the new generation of educated intellectuals and sport leaders. Educated at Healdtown and a speaker of no less than six languages. He was appointed as interpreter at the Supreme Court in Kimberley. His salary of £25 per month reputedly made him the highest paid African government employee in the colony. Mbelle's sister later married Mr Sol Plaatje, the famous journalist, writer and an ANC member. The well-connected Bud Mbelle and his fellow rugby administrators in Kimberley initiated plans and competitions. In 1897 they persuaded Cecil John Rhodes, the arch imperialist and symbol of the town's new wealth, to present the Coloured sporting people of South Africa with a Silver Cup, to be called the "Rhodes Cup" (Booley, 1998:13-19; Odendaal, 1988:207-208).

The GWCRFU sent out a notice calling on clubs in the various towns and districts to send delegates to a meeting at the Savona Café in Kimberley on 19 August 1897. The aim was to form a South African Coloured Rugby Football Board (SACRFB). The turnout was disappointing – only local people attended. Bud Mbelle was requested by the Port Elisabeth Union and African clubs from Johannesburg and King William's Town to represent them by proxy. Nevertheless, J. Joshua of the Progress Club, seconded by Bud Mbelle, proposed that the new SACRFB be formed, and the motion was carried (Odendaal, 1995:38; Booley, 1998:94-95).

It is interesting to note that Booley (1998:13) dates the founding of the South African Coloured Rugby Football Board (SACRFB) in the Diamond City of Kimberley as 1986. The date is contrary to the statistics mentioned in the previous paragraph. Nevertheless, SACRFB's founder organisations were Griqualand West, Western Province (WP), Eastern Province (EP), and Transvaal. The first football match for miners in Kimberley was held in 1873. Kimberley was a place of wealth in those days, luring many vigorous young men seeking their fortune, including those from the Cape Coloured and Malay communities in the late 1870's. The Cape Town link was instrumental in the formation of rugby clubs in Kimberley, while they might not have found diamonds; they found a jewel in the formation of the South African Coloured Rugby Football Board (Booley, 1998:64). It was thus in Kimberley that both the cricket and rugby national bodies were founded.

The first tournament of the newly found SACRFB was organised at a meeting in the Savona Café in 1898. The first tournament was held during 20-27 August 1898 at the Kimberley Ground. Advertisements for the tournament appeared in the Diamond Field Advertiser. The mayor of Kimberley presented medals to the winners. The first player to score in an inter-provincial match organised by SACRFB was R. Maher of Western Province who ran through from his own half. The first player to kick a conversion was A. Seldon when he converted Western Province's second try scored by Kalandien. It is interesting to note that more than half the Eastern Province team were Africans. The first day's play showed where the strengths lay when Western Province beat Eastern Province 19-3 and Griquas beat Transvaal 19-0. On the second day Transvaal beat Eastern Province 21-3, the main match was decisive, however, when WP fought a tough battle against Griquas. With minutes to go before the final whistle, Griquas were in the lead and seemed likely to win, but then Hassiem Kennie ran out of his half and scored a decisive try which A. Seldon converted. Western Province thus became the first winner of the Rhodes Cup in 1898. WP received the award from Willem Pickering, the brother of Neville Pickering who was Cecil John Rhodes's closest friend and sole heir (Booley, 1998:13-23).

Robert Grendon from the Excelsior Club in Beaconsfield was elected as the first president of the SACRFB. Educated at Zonnebloem College in Cape Town, Grendon was a teacher by profession. Isaiah Bud Mbelle was voted in as the SACRFB secretary and D.J. Lenders and L. Heneke as auditors. The donation of the Rhodes Cup, which the proud administrators stressed, was more expensive than the Currie Cup. The inaugural Rhodes Cup tournament was a roaring success. At the tournament, the four team lists reflected the sporting demographics of the different regions. Soon after the first Rhodes tournament the South African war broke out, disrupting the normal activities of life, including rugby. The SACRFB suspended its national tournament for the duration of the conflict. The second tournament took place in 1903; the year after the peace agreement was signed (Odendaal, 1995:38-42). Western Province and Eastern Province stamped their authority on the game right from the start and were henceforth

to become the most respected rugby unions first in SACRFB and later in the South African Rugby Union (SARU) (Booley, 1998:13-23).

Below is a table of the previous holders of the Rhodes Trophy (1898-1969) within the SACRFB.

PROVINCIAL UNION	YEAR(S)
Western Province	1898, 1904, 1946, 1947, 1955, 1961, 1963, 1969 (8 times)
Eastern Province	1903, 1905, 1906, 1909, 1931, 1947, 1950, 1965 (8 times)
Griqualand West	1905, 1907, 1914, 1928, 1935, 1947, (6 times)
Transvaal	1932, 1957 (2 times)
Western Province Board	1936, 1938 (2 times)
Western Province League	1948 (once)
South Western Districts	1936, 1953 (2 times)
North West Cape	1963 (once)
City and Suburban	1967 (once)

Table 4.1: Previous Holders of the Rhodes Cup (1898-1969): Booley, 1998:13)

On few occasions the Rhodes Cup was shared by joint holders (1905, 1936, and 1963) and even triple holders in 1947.

Interesting enough, rugby clubs initially met on street corners in District Six and the Bo-Kaap. Clubs from both unions congregated at different corners for team meetings, to announce team selections, and to discuss and analyse previous performances. While participation was an important element in rugby's cultural significance among Coloureds in Cape Town, spectating was even more broadly inclusive as it included women and children. The community element of the game was very important, although this was clearly a community dominated by men. Rugby clubs also held meetings in the houses of administrators (Nauright, 1997:51).

Sadly, after 1909 the SACRFB went into decline, virtually disappearing. Between 1909 and 1931 it organised only two tournaments in that decade. Finance was one factor, as by 1913 the SACRFB was in the red by £11.1.6d. Internal tensions could also have

contributed but the outbreak of the First World War must have been the main reason the SACRFB to be crippled. Established white sport similarly went into limbo at this time as thousands of young men went off to fight in the war. No Currie Cup tournaments were held between 1914 and 1920 and no test matches were played between 1912 and 1921. The consequences for black rugby players were even more serious: the SACRFB only organised its first post-war tournament in 1928, fourteen years after the previous one (Odendaal, 1995:42; Booley, 1998:25-28).

Archer and Bouillon (1982:59-76) argue that in 1940 the Transvaal Coloured Rugby Union claimed 500 players and ran nine teams, it was affiliated to the Johannesburg Sport Board of Control, which co-ordinated all Coloured sport in the area. The African union, the Transvaal Native Rugby Football Union, claimed for its part to have 32 affiliated clubs, including 16 school teams, and its activities extended across Springs, Randfontein and Pretoria, it also had access to twenty pitches. The schools belonging to the Johannesburg Bantu Inter-Schools League also had a rugby section, with four teams (1946) which played occasional matches against senior sides. Bloemfontein at the same time had neither a rugby club nor a rugby pitch for blacks. Pretoria had one pitch for Coloured players (population then 4 500) and one for Africans (population then 100 000), according to Odendaal (1995). Also compare Booley (1998:88-90).

These figures confirm that rugby was played essentially by the Coloured population in the Western Cape and by African and Coloureds in the Eastern Cape and Transvaal. Virtually no rugby was played by blacks in Natal or in the Free State. Indian rugby, at that time, remained virtually non-existent, although it is believed that the talented Baboollal Moharaj from Transvaal appeared to have played in friendly matches for white teams during the 1920's. In spite of the lack of facilities, African schools also played rugby. Strangely, until the end of the 1950's the white SA Rugby Board accorded little attention to black rugby (Archer and Bouillon, 1982:59).

4.5.5 Growth and setbacks within SACRFB

By 1930 there were more than 200 clubs in the area called Western Province which included Cape Town, Lamberts Bay, Worcester, Caledon, Somerset West and other smaller towns within the area. The reasons for clubs forming unions within the Western Province area were mainly because of financial constraints, travelling costs and other necessary logistics not experienced by their white counterparts. But unfortunately, a group of rugby officials led by Fred Rossouw, the vice-chairman of City and Suburban, founded the Western Province League in 1936. The founder sub-unions were City and Suburban, Parow, Paarl, Union, Caledon, Malmesbury and Districts, Somerset West and Wellington. Rossouw, who initiated the formation of the league, became its first secretary. By 1960 the Western Province League controlled rugby in the Western Cape, except for that part of Cape Town which comprised the Western Province Union base at Green Point Track (Booley, 1998:13-14; Odendaal, 1995:54-55).

City and Suburban forbade club memberships to *Moslems* (as Muslims of Malay-Indonesian origin were then called) and Indians. This was a very sensitive issue in the Western Province rugby set-up. Western Province League entered the Rhodes Cup competition in 1936, the year of its founding. Both league and board held their trials in Mowbray before the final selection of teams for the Rhodes tournament. It was at the 1936 Rhodes tournament that an overseas tour was mooted for 1938. The 1938 Rhodes Cup tournament at Green Point Track was so successful that after the competition a Springbok team was chosen and selected for an overseas tour. The teams taking part that year were Western Province Union, Western Province League, Griqualand West, Transvaal and South Western Districts. In his speech during the trophy presentation ceremony, Dr Abdurahman urged the Western Province league and Western Province Union to re-unite. At a function in Salt River after the tournament the Springbok team was announced for the tour. The players were each given their colours, a tie, muffler and green blazer with a leaping Springbok on the badge (Booley, 1998:13-15; Odendaal, 1995:43-44).

During this period, in 1951 C.C.A. Loriston of Paarl, a local school headmaster, succeeded Sakkie Sampson as president of Western province League. Two years later L.C. Kearns of City and Suburban became secretary. Their contributions would have a profound influence on South African rugby for the next three decades. They also became increasingly disenchanted with SACRFB. At the time 98% of Coloured rugby players were in the Cape Province and vast majority of these were in the Western Cape. Kimberley, Johannesburg and Pietermaritzburg (which played as Natal) each had a handful of clubs. There were none in the Free State. By far the biggest unit within SACRFB was Western Province League, with its 14 unions and nearly 200 clubs. Western Province League represented a combined total of about ten thousand players (Booley, 1998:15-17; Odendaal, 1995:52-53).

Booley (1998:17-19) writes further about the setback within SACRFB since 1954. The Western Province league men became increasingly disenchanted with the Kimberley based SACRFB because nothing was being done to develop the game in other areas, such as North Western Cape, Free State and Central Cape (the area around Calvinia). In 1954 WP League presented a memorandum to reform the SACRFB. They sent delegates, Cuthbert Loriston, L.C. Kearns and E. Stanfield to the meeting in Kimberley. There was concern regarding the board's funds and the credibility as a national body. This perception was never proven. For the next four years the league sent representatives to other unions in South Africa to explore the feasibility of forming a new body to replace SACRFB. L.C. Kearns was the moving force in this venture. On 25 April 1958 WP League took its 14 Unions and 10 000 players and withdrew from SACRFB effective from 8 September 1958. Also compare Peires (1981:9).

On 2 January 1959 a conference was held to discuss the formation of the new rugby body, the South African Rugby Federation. What is clear is that the establishment of the Federation was not politically motivated, as an interpretation of late history would suggest, nor was it a Moslem-Christian divide. Much of the division resulted from a power struggle between Cuthbert Loriston and Dullan Abass. Ironically, both these two gentlemen had been born in the same street in Kimberley. Dullah Abass, the then

general secretary of SACRFB lamented the parting of the ways of the newly-found South African Rugby Federation and SACRFB. The exodus of the WP League unions and players was a blow to SACRFB and more so to the unity of the Coloureds in the South African rugby arena (Booley, 1998:19).

4.5.6 The Springboks' internal tour

The first internal tour of the Springboks within the SACRFB was hectic. The team travelled by train to Johannesburg where they stayed in a clubhouse in the centre of the city and played their matches on the hard Indian soccer ground. They then travelled south by train, staying in private homes. The tour, although demanding on the players, was a huge success (Booley, 1998:15).

Booley (1998:15) reports that the Springboks or National XV lost heavily only to Western Province Board, 38-5, and scraped home 12-11 against Worcester. They beat Transvaal twice 11-0 and 15-7. In Kimberley the match was unpleasant, but the tourists won 13-11 and in De Aar they beat Midlands 28-5. In Paarl they beat Paarl & Country 11-5. The tough match on 15 July 1939 against Western Province League was won by 8-0. The Springboks thus played nine matches in 21 days with their internal country tour.

Results of SACRFB internal tour:

P	W	D	L	F	A
9	8	0	1	113	67

Table 4.2: SACRFB Internal Tour (Booley, 1998:15)

4.5.7 Inter-racial test matches

According to Booley (1998:15) between 1950 and 1967 eleven inter race test matches were played between the South African Coloureds and the South African Africans (or the South African Bantus). Five such tests were played in Cape Town, four in Port Elizabeth, one in Kimberley and one in Transvaal. Of the eleven tests seven were won by the Coloureds (1951, 1952, 1957, 1959, 1961, 1965 and 1967) and two tests were won by the Africans in 1950 and 1963.

Results of Inter-racial Test Matches: SA Coloureds vs. SA Bantus

	DATE	WON	LOCATION	RESULT
1	1950	Africans	Port Elizabeth	8-3
2	1951	Coloureds	Port Elizabeth	13-6
3	1951	Both	Cape Town	6-6
4	1952	Both	Kimberley	3-3
5	1952	Coloureds	Port Elizabeth	5-3
6	1957	Coloureds	Port Elizabeth	18-11
7	1961	Coloureds	Cape Town	11-8
8	1963	Africans	Cape Town	9-3
9	1965	Coloureds	Cape Town	14-1
10	1965	Coloureds	East London	8-6
11	1967	Coloureds	Cape Town	9-3

Table 4.3: Inter-racial Test Matches (Booley, 1998:15)

It is important to state that these test matches between Coloureds and Africans were designed in this manner because no official tests were allowed due to the apartheid legislation. According to Booley (1998:1-22) these games demonstrated the following two things:

- That non-whites could produce rugby players as talented and professional as whites; and

- They increased the friendliness between the sections of the communities. These games were fast and clean and instilled in Africans and Coloured, both on the field and in the stands, greater respect for each other.

From 1959 these inter-racial “tag tests” were increasingly under the scrutiny of both rugby boards. A new element of personal fending also emerged with the foundation of the league and eventually SARU no longer wanted to play any tests. The rugby federation under Cuthbert Loriston, continued to play against Bantus until 15 July 1978. However, a match between the federation and SACRFB ended in a bitter affair at Green Point Track. The Rugby Federation beat SACRFB 14-9. These unpleasant memories of the 1959 encounter were evident right up to the 1992 unification talks (Booley, 1998:22; Odendaal, 1995:54-55; Dobson, 1989).

In 1953 a combined national team was chosen to tour South Africa to raise funds for the Fiji tour. There were about eleven SACRFB players in the team. The tour fell through because of civil unrest including protests, strikes, stay aways and riots within the country. Interesting enough, that most of the attempts to merge came, in fact, from the South African Rugby Board (SAARB) side who felt that they were being ignored by the SACRFB. But it was not to be the only source of conflict. SACRFB had also rejected the idea of affiliation with Dr Craven (Booley, 1998:23; Odendaal, 1995:57-59).

4.5.8 SARU and non-racial rugby

By 1960 there were three national bodies catering for black rugby players. The new SARFB started its own Gold Cup inter-provincial competition to run alongside those of the SAARBC (Zonk Trophy) and the SACRFB (Rhodes Cup). In 1963 the three black national bodies held discussion about unity, but nothing concrete resulted from this and subsequent attempts. Black players also started making contact with the white officials, but the SACRFB continued to be guided by the rigid apartheid policies of the government. In 1964 the first annual test match between the Federation and the African Board was played. The African Board representatives also continued to play tests

against representatives of the Coloured Board. However, the latter body and the Federation met only once in 1964. Inter-race matches drew big crowds and also continued at provincial level (Odendaal, 1995:55-56).

Consequently, in 1966 the South African Coloured Rugby Football Board (SACRFB) decided to change its name to the South African Rugby Union (SARU), dropping the racial designation it had carried since its foundation in 1896. In 1969 it replaced the Rhodes Cup, now recognised as a symbol of colonialism, with the SA Cup competition (Odendaal, 1995:57). Booley (1998:22-23) says SARU forbade its clubs to compete against the Federation clubs. In July 1966 City and Suburban were expelled from the Federation and played their first match in a SARU competition against Boland. For the Federation this was a blow similar to that of the African Board's loss to Kwazakhele Rugby Union (KWARU) to SARU.

SARU was a founding member of SACOS, and although its relationship with this body was sometimes complicated, it soon became recognised as the one rugby organisation in South African which formed part of the "people" camp or struggle. SARU's gradual alignment with the democratic forces in South African not only gave it credibility, but also new impetus. Since the early 1970's a significant number of African players joined SARU. On the other hand, SARU's rival rugby boards, the Federation and African Board, responded to the political pressure of the time by moving closer to the white establishment. Playing as the African Leopards and the Coloured Proteas respectively, the two boards became active participants in the new multi-national sports policy devised by the government. The Leopards and Proteas were sent on tours abroad and given fixtures against international sides for the first time. While SARU struggled to secure sponsorships and its players were regularly refused access to facilities by local authorities (Odendaal, 1995:57-58).

However, strong disapproval was expressed within black communities about the participation of the two boards, SAARB and SARFF, in multi-national sport. They were branded sell-outs and droves of players left to join SARU. The Federation and the

African Board (now renamed the South African Rugby Association, SARA) became almost totally dependent on the white establishment. In 1977, SARFF and SARA and the white SARFB of Dr Craven, united to form the reconstituted South African Rugby Board (SARB). Relations between SARB and SARU remained antagonistic right through to the 1990's (Odendaal, 1995:58-59).

According to Black and Nauright (1998) the men who founded SARU demanded that any unified structure would have to be formed on the basis of merit selection for all representative rugby teams. Dr Craven was unwilling to pro-actively desecrate rugby. While talks for overall rugby unity were held periodically during the 1970's and 1980's, SARU took an increasingly hard line and followed the 1970's dictate of the non-racial sports movement that there should be no normal sport in an abnormal society. The SARU organised the bulk of non-racial rugby while SARFF and SARA played in the racially segregated structures of the SARB. Also compare Odendaal (1995:59).

Ebrahim Patel of SARU stated that SARU favoured gradual integration, provided that there were guarantees from SARB and the government that there would be no interference with the process of integration. He said that SARU was in favour of tours lest their non-participation create a wilderness. He wanted integration to start at national and provincial, rather than club rugby level and said that SARU was willing to nominate players for mixed trials. A fortnight later, Patel refused to attend a meeting of the advisory committee, which was to discuss the matches with the British Lions in 1974. SARU would not play overseas whites for as long as it was not allowed to play local whites (Booley, 1998:25).

In August 1985, SARU called off all club fixtures for the weekend to register their protest against the state of emergency by the government. In November 1985 SARU was thrown with further disarray when three executive members, Toby Titus, Johnny Daniels and Jim Summers all resigned. 1985 was a year in which SARU rugby went through many crises. This was a period of extreme rivalry with the influx of more unions and players into the SARU fold (Booley, 1998:27-28).

The SA Cup competition of SARU replaced the old Rhodes Cup tournament. Western Province had won the SA Cup trophy more than any other SARU provincial unit since its inception in 1971.

Below is the schedule of the SA Cup holders in SARU:

PROVINCE	YEARS	TIMES
Western Province	1971, 1972, 1973, 1977, 1985, 1986, 1987, 1989, 1990	9
Tygerberg	1978, 1982, 1991	3
Eastern Province	1981, 1983, 1984	3
KWARU	1875, 1976, 1979	3
Boland	1988 (drew with EP in 1980)	1
No winner	1974	-----

Table 4.4: SA Cup Holders in SARU (Booley, 1998:29)

4.6 FROM ISOLATION TO INTEGRATION

Isolation stirred Prime Minister Vorster into action and in 1971 he announced what he called a “multi-national” sports program in which White, African, Coloured and Asian people could compete against each other as a “nation”, but only in international competitions. This rather devious move only served to divide blacks. The crises deepened when the rugby unions of New Zealand and the British Lions resisted the international trend. The majority of black players, belonging to the South African Rugby Union (SARU), withdrew as players from the international competitions (Lapchick, 1975:136).

In 1977 at Gleneagles, Scotland, Commonwealth heads of government, unanimously accepted to override the autonomy of sporting bodies in countries. Sanctions were to be applied to those ignoring the agreement. In 1981, the United Nations special committee against apartheid published its first “blacklist” of sports performers who had worked in

South Africa. This served as an effective prohibition and ostracised South Africans further (Cashmore, 1996:246-249).

Lapchick (1975:136-137) says campaigns were mounted to stop the 1970 All Blacks tour from New Zealand and the South African cricket team to tour Britain and Ireland. The campaigns were supported by many pre-dominantly non-white nations. This was particularly true in England, where the Stop the Seventy Tour (STST) campaign was begun in spectacular fashion. All this had vast repercussions for South Africa. The first five months of 1970 were devastating in terms of South Africa's international sports relations. From South Africa's side of the story, almost all developments through April were to some degree, affected by the general election. The pressure from the extreme right-wing politicians resulted in a hard drive on a number of issues until the elections was over; however, by that time it was almost too late for South African sports to survive the international boycotts (Lapchick, 1975:164).

According to Lapchick (1975:164-165) the government in January 1970 refused to allow Arthur Ashe, the black American tennis star, to compete in South Africa. This led to South Africa's suspension from the 1970 Davis Cup. The rugby tour of England and Ireland was completed in January, but only after tens of thousands had demonstrated against it as a prelude to the 1970 cricket tour. Intense pressure build up at the highest levels, including the prime minister and the leader of the opposition, who took predictably opposite stands on the merits of the tour. It was finally cancelled at the insistence of the government. There were further controversies in golf, rugby and athletics. Internationally, South African became entangled with no fewer than twenty other nations over its sports policy. South Africa was banned from three international championships. Its sports relations were twice the subject of debate at the United Nations, but the ultimate international blow was South Africa's exclusion from the Olympic movement in May 1970. By that time, the line-up of nations for or against South Africa in sports, was drawn almost strictly along racial and political lines. In addition to all the pressures that had built up over the previous eleven years, opened the floodgate

of public criticism of South Africa's sports policy inside South Africa among white sportsmen and officials (Lapchick, 1975; Anderson, 1979).

Dennis Brutus was still the dominant figure in the movement for non-racial sport in South Africa. He indicated that South Africa would not be allowed in the 1972 Olympics and this would be a strong point in the United Nation's argument towards expulsions (Lapchick, 1975:188). According to Lapchick (1975:199) South Africa's critics have simply discovered that sport is the most useful weapon they have yet found with which to beat the apartheid regime. The main target of attack was the racial policy of South Africa, or, to put it more precisely, the racial policy of the NP. Opposition to South African sport continued to develop early in 1976. At this juncture the governments of about 35 states had indicated a willingness to participate in the sports boycott against South Africa. Other countries put pressure on New Zealand to sever sporting relations with South Africa. According to Anderson (1979:161) the chairman of SACOS, Norman Middleton called for the isolation of South African sport until non-racialism had been introduced at all levels. He said that the longer international sportsmen continued to participate in South African sport events, the longer the racial system within South African sport would endure.

The movement against South African sport had clearly entered a new phase. No longer would the creation of a multi-racial sports society be sufficient for South Africa to win support for her sports policy. The escalation of demands required a normalisation of sport, or the establishment of non-racial sport in South Africa. Normal sport was adjusted by some to mean the removal of the various racial restrictions which surrounded black sportsmen and administrators. Others felt that the term "normal sport" could not be applied in South African unless there was a concomitant amelioration of political and economic racial inequities (Anderson, 1979:180).

Although at the end of 1978 South Africa was not totally isolated, she was being increasingly deprived of sporting contact at international representative level. Demands on South African sport have fluctuated between the need for normal or non-racial sport

and the abolition of apartheid as such. One demand, in essence, concerns itself with sport, the other is political. These categories are, however, not nearly as idiomorphic as the syntax would suggest, and herein lays part of the problem in normalisation of sport in South African (Anderson, 1979:201-206).

According to Anderson (1979:232) the anti-apartheid sports movement consists of groups of factions worldwide who share a common desire inter alia to see racism eliminated in South African sport. The following groups were instrumental in isolating South African sports:

- Halt All Racist Tours (HART);
- Citizens Association for Racial Equality (CARE);
- American co-ordinating Committee for Equality in Sports (ACCESS);
- National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP);
- International Campaign Against Racism in Sport (ICARIS);
- South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SAN-ROC);
- South African Council on Sport (SACOS); and
- South African Sports Association (SASA)

(Anderson, 1979:232)

From 1981 to 1992 there were no official rugby tours between South Africa and New Zealand, and South Africa was isolated from playing International Rugby Board (IRB) countries from 1984 to 1992. In 1982, the Commonwealth Games Federation adopted a code of conduct which gave the Gleneagles Agreement clear and tough guidelines, so as to preclude future threats to the Commonwealth Games. New Zealand and Britain abstained. Despite the code however, in 1985, the New Zealand Rugby Football Union (NZRFB) announced plans to mount another All Black tour to South Africa. This time though, the recently elected Labour government of David Lange, vigorously opposed the tour, which was finally cancelled when New Zealand High Court “granted and interim injunction arguing that...the tour would be contrary to the rugby union’s statutory commitment to promote and foster the game” (Black and Nauright, 1998:86).

Furthermore, the loss of international rugby links, in contrast with many other sporting rivalries, was bound to have deep repercussions among Afrikaners in particular, at both the grass-roots and elite levels. At the popular level, rugby isolation was certain to shake the core Afrikaner electoral constituency of the NP (Black and Nauright, 1998:88). By the latter half of the 1980's the National Party had come to recognise that its historic mission to impose apartheid on South Africans had failed.

Sports organisations and policies were drawn into the vortex of crisis. Increasingly desperate for relief from the privations of mounting sports isolation, both the government and establishment sports bodies undertook a series of reforms and initiatives aimed at winning renewed international contacts, without challenging the legislative and social core of the apartheid order (Australian Foreign Affairs Review, 1988:4). According to Black and Nauright (1998:99-100) at the same time, they and the South African corporate sector orchestrated high-profile rebel tours, principally in rugby and cricket, designed both to bring relief from the pressure and uncertainties of late apartheid South Africa to their supporters, and to signal their defiance of their international tormentors. Yet, such tours ultimately proved counter-productive, as they alienated foreign sports administrators disturbed by the disruption they cause and thus deepened South Africa's isolation.

This destructive impasse in South African politics and sport broke with surprising rapidity in 1989 and early 1990, paving the way for the often traumatic transitional negotiations between 1990 and 1994. Strategically, negotiations for sporting unity and the renewal of international competition played a distinctive and prominent role in the wider transitional process. They enabled the African National Congress (ANC) and its allies in the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) to signal to white South Africans both the immediate benefits and the larger promise of ending apartheid and embracing non-racial democracy. Yet, many feared that rehabilitation was occurring too quickly, and that the gaiety of ANC and other negotiators in the unifying potential of sport was likely

to prove misplaced without a much more committed approach to development issues in particular (Black and Nauright, 1998:100).

Characteristically, rugby held a place of special prominence in this process. As in the past, it initially led the breakthroughs towards change, but soon fell behind and ultimately trailed the process of sporting unity, thereby reinforcing its image as the most racist and recalcitrant of codes. Moreover, when rugby isolation finally ended and international competition was renewed, the behaviour of the sports establishment and supporters seemed to reinforce nostalgia and racist identities, belying the arguments of those who saw sport as a force for breaking down social barriers and promoting unity (Black and Nauright, 1998:100).

The late 1980's was a period of mounting anxiety and crises for establishment rugby. Establishment rugby refers to rugby under the aegis of the South African Rugby Board (SARB), including a Coloured and an African organisation, but basically controlled overall by whites. Put simply, rugby controlled by the establishment. The last tour during apartheid by a major rugby power took place in 1984 when England came to South Africa. Competition was otherwise limited to rebel tours, and by and large, lesser powers – the Cavaliers tour of 1986 being the crucial exception. When such rebel tours were organised, as with the Cavaliers and the South Sea Barbarians in 1987, they paradoxically deepened South Africa's isolation as IRB members reacted strongly against the controversy they created. According to Dobson (1994) the two South African delegates to the November 1987 IRB meeting in Agen, France, Fritz Eloff and Jan Pickard, gave an undertaking that there would be no further rebel tours (Black and Nauright, 1998:101).

South Africa's sense of rugby isolation was significantly deepened by its exclusiveness from the inaugural Rugby World Cup in Australia and New Zealand in 1987, and then again from the second World Cup hosted by the Five Nations in 1991. The Five Nations rugby tournament included England, France, Ireland, Scotland and Wales. The success of the 1987 RWC initially caused the SARB to react by intensifying its efforts to secure

rebel tours, rather than initiate negotiations for rugby unity. To return to international rugby, it was Louis Luyt who initially met with ANC officials in secret meetings, first in London and then in Frankfurt in May 1988. These meeting followed on from the work of the Progressive Federal Party (PFP) leader, Frederick van Zyl Slabbert and Tommy Bedford. Luyt's contacts set the stage in turn for the Harare meeting in October 1988, bringing together Dr Craven and Mr Louis Luyt from the Rugby Board, the non-racial SARU's Ebrahim Patel, and Thabo Mbeki, Steve Tshwete and Alfred Nzo from the ANC. At the meeting itself, the SARB and SARU representatives agreed to form a single non-racial controlling body for South African rugby, and the ANC undertook to use it good offices to ensure that non-racial controlling body for South African rugby takes its rightful place in world rugby (Black and Nauright, 1998:102-104; Dobson, 1994:179-187; Guelke, 1993:161).

According to Black and Nauright (1998:104-105) the minister responsible for sport, F.W. de Klerk, condemned the talks and demanded a meeting with the SARB executive to express the government's disapproval. The outcome of the meeting was paradoxical. On the one hand, it helped to secure the World XV Tour to mark the SARB's centenary. Yet, in large measure, because the World XV tour went ahead blatantly violating the sports boycott, the unity process between the SARB and SARU ground to a halt. Talks about unity were valued only insofar as they helped to achieve the goal of relieving South Africa's international isolation. It was thus a short-term attitude and approach. The ANC, too, was sharply criticised for meeting with the SARB by some sports boycott advocates. Yet, the ANC decision to participate in the Harare talks was not ill-considered. Rather, it reveals an emerging shift in strategy. Unity within sport would be used in an effort to win white support for the ANC. Sporting unity could also be used to promote new social norms for a new South Africa while international competition could serve as an inducement to whites to stay the reformist course (Kidd, 1991:8).

While SACOS had played a vital role in keeping the non-racial ideal alive, its uncompromising stand on non-racialism had limited its appeal among Africa South Africans. Guelke (1993:162-163) indicates that SACOS refusal to deal with any

organisation engaging in multinational sport, to allow the use of facilities requiring a permit under the Group Areas Act, or to countenance sponsorship from businesses in receipt of government funds meant that it severely limited the sporting opportunities available to Africans.

Under the circumstances, and in the light of the ANC's shift in strategic thinking, the conditions were ripe for a new, mass-based and more flexible anti-apartheid sports organisation firmly aligned with the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) in South Africa. The upshot was the formation of the National Sports Congress (NSC), later the National and Olympic Sports Congress (NOSC) in July 1989. This laid the organisational groundwork for the negotiation for sporting unity – notwithstanding the continuing opposition of the SACOS loyalists. The NSC made a valuable contribution to the unity process in South African sport. The NSC, the South African Communist Party (SACP), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and other opposition groups were instrumental in Ali Bacher's decision to cancel the 1990 rebel cricket tour. Many other sports administrators had clearly got the message that the only path to international competition lay through an accommodation with their non-racial counterparts. Sadly, rugby administrators, by contrast, either missed the full impact of the message or were too stubborn to embrace it (Black and Nauright, 1998:106).

Unity negotiations were soon underway on a variety of fronts, including rugby. The basic conditions established by the NSC under the influence of the ANC, were the acceptance by established sports bodies of the moratorium on international competition. According to Kidd (1991:41) the "creation of single, democratic, non-racial, and non-sexist governing bodies" was eminent. The newly unified bodies should eradicate inequality, and involve in an active development programme. By June 1991 the establishment cricket and non-racial bodies had united in a single United Cricket Board of South Africa (UCBSA), and by July 1991 the new body had won re-admission to the International Cricket Council (ICL) in London. Ironically, the SARB was never expelled from the IRB. With the NSC's lifting of the blanket moratorium on international competition in October

1991, the way was open to the renewal of official international competition. The ANC played a major role in negotiating cricket unity (Black and Nauright, 1998:106-107).

The late Steve Tshwete, or “Mr Fixit” was a member of the ANC’s national executive and later Minister of Sport in the post-1994 Government of National Unity. (GNU) became closely involved in brokering an agreement between SARB and SARU. With breakthroughs occurring on various fronts, the rugby negotiation became conspicuously their tumult and tardiness. Not surprisingly, given rugby’s historic identity and association, it proved to be the sport least equipped to adapt to the exigencies of the emerging post-apartheid era. By the end of 1990 the rugby unity talks had broken down in a welter of recriminations. The principle cause of their suspension was Dr Craven’s and the SARB’s defiant insistence that they would not abide by the moratorium on international sporting links, and would indeed organise a tour in 1991. Dr Craven said in a late October 1990 statement that he would not be dictated to by anybody. He said that SARU’s Ebrahim Patel “was getting too big for this boots” and that he might call off the unity talks with SARU. Talks were in fact formally suspended in January 1991 (Black and Nauright, 1998:107-108).

Black and Nauright (1998:108) believe the rugby negotiations were further complicated by increasing fractiousness with the SARB. In May 1990, Steve Strydom of the Orange Free State and Koos Vermaak of Eastern Province were ousted from the executive, and Louis Luyt resigned from all SARB responsibilities in protest. Given Dr Craven’s legendary status, however, no one within SARB ranks was able or willing to challenge him frontally. The ANC, through Tshwete, tried to resolve the SARB-SARU rugby conflict in February 1991. Tshwete acknowledged the relative difficulty of reconciliation in rugby. He said it was difficult to bring people together because rugby had been heavily divided for decades. Ultimately, Mr Nelson Mandela, intervened in the process of negotiating rugby unity to inject some even higher level political impetus. Craven responded favourable. By early December 1991, both the SARB and SARU had approved the draft constitution of a new unified South African Rugby Football Union (SARFU). The new body’s executive committee held its first meeting on 19 January

1992. Officials of the old Coloured and African affiliates of the SARB, the SARFF and the South African Rugby Association (SARA) were unceremoniously dropped from the initial executive. Dr Craven was made president of the new body for its first year, with SARU's Patel slated to take over the presidency in year two (Black and Nauright, 1998:108-109).

Finally, the SARFU's official inauguration took place at its first annual meeting in Kimberley in late March of 1992. In January 1993, the new rugby body was rewarded by the IRB with the biggest prize of all: the right to host the 1995 Rugby World Cup. Given the political uncertainties of this period, the IRB's decision was an act of faith over reason with regard to the country's future. Yet, even at this triumphal moment, there was reason for scepticism about the kind of unity that had been achieved, and the degree to which the new SARFU embodied a true commitment to non-racialism versus a mere reinvention of the SARB. Graham Abraham, correspondent of the South made the following comment: "We have come to bury SARU and praise SARB" (Abrahams, 1992). Strangely, SARU delegates had minimal representation among the provincial delegation of the meeting. Of the 22 provincial delegates, there were only five former SARU delegates present. At the senior leadership level, Patel did in fact take over the presidency when Craven died in office in early January 1993. Patel subsequently made himself unavailable for re-election in 1994. Patel's withdrawal left the way open for Mr Louis Luyt (Black and Nauright, 1998:108-109).

Desai (2010:1) concludes that the dawn of post-apartheid South Africa witnessed a proliferation of writing on the value of sport in breaking down racial barriers and building a united nation. What he emphasised is that Nelson Mandela, most dramatically, appeared at Ellis Park in a Springbok jersey, signalling the acceptance of this decades-long symbol of oppression as a national emblem for the rugby team. At the same time, this gesture was about more than the acceptance of a national emblem. Rugby, the symbol of Afrikaner nationalism, at once became the sport that would help to catalyse the building of a rainbow nation predicted on a common identity, a common sense of South Africanness (Desai, 2010:1).

4.7 CONCLUSION

Following the unity talks in rugby in the late 1980's and early 1990's, Desai and Nabbi (2010:70) argue that to measure the success of rugby transformation by reference to representation at national level is important, it can, however, also rebound on the game as a whole, despite the best intentions, by covering up the lack of fundamental change at lower levels. According to the same authors this means that the base of the game is not broadened. The ideal situation would be for the transformatory agenda to function seamlessly from bottom to top. Chester Williams, a former Springbok-wing, suggested that if South African coaches are committed to selecting the best possible players in rugby, then there would not be a colour issue and the matter of quotas would disappear in time (Keohane, 2002:157).

On the national level, it was shown how, despite the initial post-apartheid honeymoon period, when the apartheid structures were disbanded and new, inclusive ones created, there was a lack of clarity and a poorly defined relationship between sporting bodies themselves and the various tiers within the sport (Van der Merwe, 2010:172). According to the same writer South African politicians and administrators will have to be mindful that, in trying to attain their transformation goals, the intention should not be to "reinvent the wheel", but rather to identify certain vantage points from which both sustainable and efficient progress could be made. These should include identifying areas that are already considered Black, Coloured and Indian sporting strongholds, and pumping resources into them, instead of trying to develop every area in the country evenly. Desai and Vahed (2010:211), in the same view, state that "the continuing lack of facilities in Black areas is indicative of the fact that the fields are far from level ... and there clearly is a need to go back to the drawing board if the aim remains to produce such players to appease political demands and be representative of the national demographic."

In the last instance, it can be assumed that the development and transformation of South African rugby has been marked by intense resistance from the apartheid regime

up until the new constitutional dispensation, commencing in the early 1990's. According to Jarvie (1985:65) the level of sporting consciousness was expressed by the non-racial sporting movements that evolved historically through a number of sporting struggles. The sporting code, rugby, has been the common denominator in the struggle for unity and integration, in this regard. Bose (1994:150) is of the opinion that the rugby initiative had come from rugby people themselves and, most surprisingly, from white rugby. Although not perfect, it laid the foundation and platform for reform, integration and eventually transformation. Like rugby, Bose (1994:243) points out that it remains to be seen whether the political and cultural transformations crucial to South Africa's erratic passage to democracy and justice for all can be carried through with a little turmoil.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The scope and nature of this research project necessitates the consideration of the grounded theory approach. According to Anderson (1979:18) many of the issues presenting themselves in contemporary South African sport have their antecedents in both colonial and post-apartheid South Africa. To understand the origins and development of these issues, one has to determine whether transformation and democratisation of South African sport is politically or merit driven. In addition, a key outcome of this research is to construct a draft theoretical framework to facilitate the democratisation and transformation of rugby in South Africa. The framework, which will eventually emerge, will be constructed from the data collected from the relevant stakeholders involved in South African sport.

5.2 A QUALITATIVE APPROACH

The research project portrays a qualitative approach because data analysis in any qualitative research is an ongoing, emerging and interactive or non-linear process (Henning, Van Rensburg and Smit, 2004:127). What this implies, is that data could be transcribed from interviews, observational notes or memos. This is in line with the grounded theory methodology. In fact, Henning *et al.* (2004:127) affirm that "an analysis commences with reading all the data and then dividing the data into smaller and more meaningful units." The research project, thus, articulates a distinctly qualitative approach, with an intentioned focus on the personal perceptions, attitudes, conceptual understandings and objectives of the research participants (Johns, 1995).

According to Mouton (2002:169) the researcher or investigator usually works with a wealth of rich descriptive data, collected through methods such as participant observation, in-depth interviewing and document analysis. The research strategy is usually of a contextual nature. It should be noted that the actors or role-players, who are

involved in the transformation of rugby, and especially in the development programmes, will be key participants in this research project. The analysis of sport as a social activity, and particularly rugby in a transformed South Africa, will require the use of a wide range of empirical tools before the completion of the project.

5.3 GROUNDED THEORY APPROACH

According to Mouton (2002:168) qualitative researchers developed new methods and strategies of "analysing", or even better, of "interpreting" and "understanding" the social world. The emphasis here is purely on the integrated, meaningful and contextual nature of social phenomena. The grounded theory approach is an example of this new method. The work of Strauss and Glaser was first published in 1967. In a combination of positivist content analysis, inductively directed, they posited that substantive theory from the ground (the data) can feed **into** theory without being driven by the theory (Henning *et al.*, 2004). The authors emphasise that grounded theory studies have become one of the hallmarks of contemporary qualitative research.

Goulding (1999) states that grounded theory is a methodology which is sometimes perceived as pseudo-positivistic and which emphasises the subjective experience of others. It is also seen as an extension of the methods used by the symbolic interactionists. However, grounded theory has its own underlying philosophies, practices and methods of interpretation.

According to Glaser and Strauss (1967) grounded theory is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents. It may be either substantive or formal. A substantive theory is relevant to the people concerned and is readily modifiable (Glaser, 1978). Backman and Kyngäs (1999:147-153) argue that one does not begin with a hypothetical theory and then prove it. Rather, one begins by collecting the data in the field first. Then the researcher starts analysing the data and generates a theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). To discover the grounded theory, Backman and Kyngäs (1999:152) assume "a dialogue between the data and theory".

When the grounded theory approach is used, the research does not necessarily follow the chronological stages of the traditional research process. In fact, data collection, data analysis and the formulation of grounded theory often take place at the same time (Backman and Kyngäs, 1999:147-153). It is thus a compromise between the demands of the approach and the resources available. Dick (2005) maintains that constant comparison is the heart of the grounded theory process. At first you compare interview (or other data) to interview (or other data). Theory emerges quickly. When it has began to emerge, you compare data to theory. The results of this comparison are written in the margin of the note-taking as coding. As the categories and properties emerge, they and their links to the core category, provide the theory. As the data collection and coding proceeds the codes and the memos accumulate. You add to your sample through theoretical sampling. This is purposive sampling which increases the diversity of the sample. If the core category and its linked categories saturate, you group the memos, like with like, and sequence them in whatever order to make the theory the clearest (Dick, 2005). Glaser and Strauss (1967:32) warn that the theory should "not be seen as a perfected product, best rather a process". Therefore, the grounded theory approach places considerable value on the contextual setting, the progressive nature and the openness in the process.

Dick (2005) summarises graphically in his "grounded theory a thumbnail sketch" the overlapping phases of the grounded theory approach.

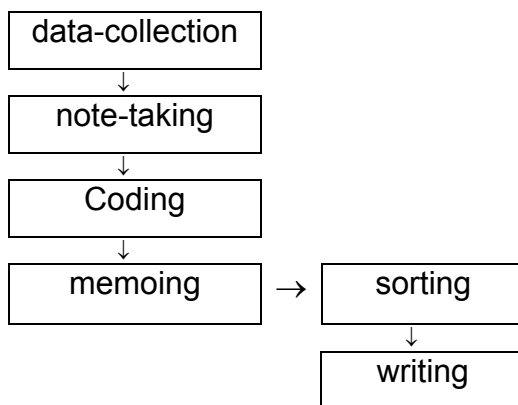


Table 5.1: Grounded Theory a Thumbnail Sketch (Dick, 2005)

In short, data collection, note-taking, coding and memoing occur simultaneously from the beginning. Sorting occurs when all categories are saturated. Writing occurs after sorting (Dick, 2005).

5.4 RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

The study has been structured with three main sections or phases. Firstly, to interview key role-players in rugby administration and development as well as in the political environment. In this instance, open-ended questions will be applied to explore all aspects regarding the transformation of rugby in South Africa. The interviews will mostly consist of politicians, administrators and players involved in rugby. The interview questions will be aimed at creating a dialogue with the participants in order to determine to what extent rugby has developed since the new constitutional dispensation in 1994. Only a selected target group will be identified. The recorded interviews and informal conversations will then be analysed in order to allow emergent data to develop. Ethical issues will also be taken into account regarding the participating role-players.

Secondly, the examining of the questionnaires and scripts will ascertain to what extent politically driven and merit driven approaches may have influenced the change in rugby since the dawn of democracy in South Africa in 1994. The research framework will be constructed from the data collected from the recorded narratives of the participants. The collection of data should create the context of an emergent theory.

Thirdly, the writing of the thesis and the creating of a theory regarding sport and democracy will be the final product. The project or research is qualitative in nature because existing and emerging data will be investigated and analysed. In addition, the research will be based on a variety of sources, including official government documents, sport articles, archival sources, questionnaires and interviews with rugby personnel, rugby players, students and politicians.

5.4.1 Data collection

The research project will be grounded in the participating stakeholders' knowledge on the issues of sport and democracy. Data will be collected from multiple viewpoints and ideas of the rugby players, rugby personalities and politicians.

The data should assist in answering the following questions:

1. Is the transformation and democratisation of South African sport politically or merit driven?
2. Has the development in sport enhanced democracy in South Africa?

Subsequently, the data will be transcribed and major themes will be identified in the search for potential patterns, similarities and differences (Harris, 2008:32). According to Dick (2005) there is a continuing search for evidence which disconfirms the emerging theory. It is driven by the data in such a way that the final shape of the theory is likely to provide a good fit to the situation. Therefore, grounded theory is responsive to the situation in which the research is done.

The **modus operandi** of the researcher is as follows:

1. to ensure that the data sources and collection methods are reliable, valid and credible;
2. to network constructively with the relevant stakeholders in sport and politics;
3. to clearly define the research objectives to the participants;
4. to verify and validate the data with the supervisor; and
5. to maintain complete confidentiality and anonymity.

5.4.2 Research question

Since 2003, when the researcher started the research process , the following questions came to the fore:

1. what is the theoretical framework best suited for the research?
2. how does this theoretical framework fit the researcher's hope to conduct the research; and
3. what is the appropriate research methodology to this framework?

The researcher concurs with Henning, *et al.* (2004:114-115) that it has been difficult for the researcher to fit his research proposal and research methodology into a “suitable” framework.. He finds that grounded theory in general is incredibly complex and perhaps with experience he will learn to integrate the research framework into a more “accountable” manner. According to Charmaz (2002:675) the grounded theory methodology "provides a set of inductive steps that successfully lead the researcher from studying concrete realities to rendering a conceptual understanding of them". Put simply, grounded theorists "theorise reality according to a set of empirically organised categories" (Henning, *et al.* 2004:115).

In this respect, the emergent theory will be grounded in the researched reality on sport, transformation and democracy. By definition it means that the researcher has to develop the theory from his own theoretical position and existing knowledge (Henning, *et al.*, 2004). The research is also situated within an inter-pretivist research paradigm with its emphasis on the researcher's experience and interpretation. However, Henning, *et al.* (2004:20) contend that knowledge is constructed not only by observable phenomena, but also by descriptions of people's (the participants) intentions, beliefs, values and reasons, meaning making and self-understanding. That is why inter-pretivist knowledge or research is dispersed and distributed. It gives one the opportunity, as a researcher, to look at different places and at different things in order to understand a phenomenon. According to Trauth (2001:219) our knowledge is gained or filtered

throughout social constructions such as language, shared meanings, consciousness, documents and other artefacts.

The research tools that will be utilised may include:

1. Standardised **open-ended questionnaires**. These questionnaires will be given to the respondents at different intervals. The respondents or participants will be given the opportunity of writing any answer in a given open space. The open questions will enable the researcher to explore the variable better and to obtain some idea of the spectrum of possible responses. The questionnaires will be attached to the research report.
2. **Telephonic interviews** will also be undertaken by the researcher.
3. **Personal interviews** will be conducted because it should have more value than correspondence or telephone contact. In certain instances computer e-mails will also be explored to improve the networking of the relevant stakeholders.
4. **Participant observation** for the gathering of data boils down to the actual observation and the taking of field notes, especially during rugby training and important matches.

Therefore, the research methodology will involve two phases, namely interviewing key role players in sport and politics. Secondly, examining the questionnaires and scripts to ascertain to what extent politically driven ideologies and merit driven approaches may have influenced the transformation and democratization of South African sport. Data will be collected throughout the country. The methodology of the grounded theory is central in this section. But the final model will emerge from the data collection based on the grounded theory approach.

5.5 THE ROLE OF THE RESEARCHER

For many years, since 1974, the researcher has been a school teacher and later a school principal. Since his primary, high school and college days he was actively involved in sport, especially rugby, soccer, tennis and hockey. When the researcher commenced his teaching career, he was both a coach and a player. When he resigned teaching he started to coach black students playing rugby at the University of the Free State in Bloemfontein. He has also been involved in the local club rugby structure in Bloemfontein. As a lecturer in sport and politics for a couple of years, he gradually developed his own positioning in respect of research in the field of grounded theory. For the researcher there has been two journeys: the one towards becoming a researcher, and the other towards finding answers to his research questions regarding sport, democracy and transformation. Even the participants in this research will be engaged in their own journeys, with its distinctive landscape (Neal, 2009).

Lastly, Hoyle and Wallace (2005:16) identify five intellectual elements that may assist the researcher in exploring the kind of knowledge which will come from this research. These elements are:

- Knowledge for understanding;
- Knowledge for critical evaluation;
- Knowledge for action;
- Instrumentalism; and
- Reflexive action.

Therefore, the researcher constantly seeks to improve his own research practice and hope that the outcomes will stimulate reflexive action in others. However, Neal (2009:4) concludes that “usefulness is a key element of a grounded theory”. Furthermore, the emphasis on the purpose of a grounded theory study is not critical but explanatory (Neal, 2009:1-4). Therefore, the researcher defines his research both intellectual and creative.

5.6 THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE RESEARCH

The research project will have a distinctly qualitative approach with an intentional focus on the personal perceptions, attitudes, conceptual understanding and objectives of the research participants as well as the researcher's experiential knowledge.

The research will play an important role in the understanding of democracy and transformation of sport in South Africa. The findings, by means of the grounded theory approach, will emerge as theory and ensure that sport remains an equaliser and plays a vital role in the on-going democratisation of South Africa. The research will also attempt to promote the possibility that sport can be consolidated through transformation and a democratic process. By means of the grounded theory method, the eventual thesis, at an advocacy level will be the determining catalyst regarding sport and democracy.

5.7 THE DATA COMPARISON PROCESS

In this section, the researcher examines particular complexities of data collection, data analysis and management based on the grounded theory approach. According to Bruce (2007:1-12) qualitative researchers are expected to gather rich descriptive data and ground conclusions and understandings in the data mined, not prior theories. This inductive method means the reasoning from the specific to a whole and focusing on the particulars rather than the general. Bruce (2007:2) admits that "it is the particulars that tell the story". This involves using an emerging, flexible structure (Creswell, 2005).

In essence, it means that data analysis is the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the collected data. It is a messy, ambiguous, time-consuming, creative and fascinating process (De Vos, 2003:339-340). In the researcher's own research for qualitative data, it resulted in a search for general statements about relationships among categories of data.. Henning, Van Rensburg and Smit (2004:101) confirm this by stating that the data analysis is a process that requires analytical craftsmanship and the ability to capture understanding of the data in writing. What they meant is that the data

should be clearly formulated in "a coherent set of related concepts derived from this abstraction and used to produce a substantive theory" (Henning, *et al.*, 2004:101-102). Therefore, grounded theory requires that the analysis is extended to more sophisticated levels of abstraction. Haig (1995) states that data are idiosyncratic to a particular context - in this case, the problem of sport transformation in South Africa. Data are recordings or reports that are perceptually accessible. Data will be collected via face-to-face interviews, questionnaires, informal discussions and telephonic interviews. The importance of the data that will be collected, lies in the fact that they serve as evidence for the phenomena under investigation.

The data collection and the analysis process will be conducted simultaneously. In other words, the analysis process will start after the first interviews to determine the next theoretical sampling. Detailed memos, as discuss later in this section, will be made directly after data have been collected. This process will be carried out for all future and subsequent interviews to keep the findings fresh and alive. The researcher will try to keep the coding process open. On conclusion of the initial interviews the researcher will try to make an initial comparison, although assuming that it will sometimes be difficult. The researcher will strive to establish a link between those concepts that will be generic from the initial interviews. As describe later, he will also attempt to group them into initial categories. It will be a re-iterative and continuous process because memos will be written immediately after the data have been collected. Shannak and Aldhmour (2009:32-50) cited Charmaz (2006) in their article by stating that to write memos are essential and vital for the researcher to analyse the data and codes promptly and punctually during the research process. This process will be essential for the researcher to increase his abstraction of ideas. But in the same vein, he will also attempt to develop an emergent theory to give explanation to the gathered data.

5.8 EMERGENCE OF THE RESEARCH CATEGORIES

The inquiry and subsequent questions, for which this section will be designed, need to provide answers such as:

1. Why is there minimal conceptual work in the area of sport and democracy in South Africa?
2. Consequently, will the little emerging theories that explain the complex nature between politically driven and merit driven sport in the South African context meet the requirements and nature of this study?
3. By utilising inductive reasoning will the grounded theory allow for the development of a substantive theory that fits the research context?
4. Will this emerging theory readily be available for further research in order to test its applicability regarding sport and democracy?

Sotiriadou (2004:591) cited Turner (1981) by asking if it is possible to simplify grounded theory data analysis from the following suggested activities:

1. develop categories that closely fit the data;
2. saturate categories until new data yields little or no new information concerning a category;
3. formulate abstract definitions of categories to articulate the criteria for particular categories;
4. use the definitions to guide further analysis towards emerging features of importance;
5. exploit categories fully;
6. develop and follow up links between categories and hence formulate theories;
7. consider the conditions under which the emerging theories hold;
8. make relevant connections to existing theory; and

9. examine whether the relationship hold in comparison of extremes to test emerging relationships.

(Adapted from Sotiriadou, 2005:91)

5.9 THE CODING PROCESS

During the coding process, the researcher will attempt, by all means, to constantly move between the methods as described below:

- Open coding is also known as substantive coding. By using this method, the data were read line by line, examined and approached by asking questions. For example, when reading data and asking "who", the concepts that are related to the parties involved within South African sports such as rugby players, rugby personalities, administrators, coaches, selectors, politicians and supporters. Subsequently, data need to be re-examined and grouped under a more abstract, higher concept, namely a category. According to Corbin and Strauss (1990) categories or substantive codes constitute the cornerstones of developing theory. It should be noted that **open** and **axial coding** are distinct analytic procedures (De Vos, 2003:345-349).

The process of constant comparison enables the emerging concepts to be informed, shaped and re-shaped in a variety of conditions that may be encountered, resulting in dense, complex theory which corresponds closely to data (Sotiriadou, 2005). The researcher will apply constant comparison through every step of data analysis and coding from the initial identification of concepts to the very end of theory generation and its integration with the extant literature (Satiriadou, 2005).

According to De Vos (2003) the grounded theory approach utilizes three methods of coding:

- **Open Coding:** the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing and categorizing data.

- **Axial Coding:** a set of procedures whereby data are put back together in new ways after open coding, by making connections between categories, utilizing a coding paradigm involving conditions, context, action and consequences.
- **Selective Coding:** the process of selecting the core category, systematically relating it to other categories, and validating those relationships (De Vos, 2003:345-346).

The researcher will rely on the following steps in formalising a grounded theory (De Vos, 2003:349):

- explicating the storyline, i.e. identifying the story;
- relating subsidiary categories around the core category by means of the paradigm;
- relating categories at the dimensional level;
- validating those relationship against data, and
- filling in categories that may need further refinement and/or development.

After the coding processes, the researcher will attempt to establish a **storyline** by means of descriptive overviews and an analytical story. According to Corbin and Strauss (1990) the production of a grounded theory depends on the transformation of the descriptive account of the codes and sub-codes using the storylines into an analytical story. This section will be elaborated later on under the section the interpretation of the data.

Babbie (2001:284) summarises the viewpoint of Strauss and Corbin (1990) that grounded theory allows one to be scientific and creative at the same time, as long as the researcher follows three guidelines:

1. periodically step back and review data;
2. maintain an attitude of critical assessment; and
3. follow the research procedures (Babbie, 2001:284).

5.10 DATA INTERPRETATION

According to Fouché (2003:102) the interpretation of the data is an explanation of the actual meaning of the data that have been gathered, arranged and processed, whether statistically or by other means. What it means is to make sense of the data, step back and form larger opinions. Mouton (2002:67) feels that data processing involves both data reduction and data analysis. According to him, data processing is followed by synthesis, which involves "interpretation" or "explanation" of the data. Furthermore, Mouton (2002:111) argues that "the outcome of the analysis or interpretation of certain conclusions must follow logically from the empirical evidence if it is to be regarded as "valid" results or conclusions (epistemological criteria)". What he implies is that in both theoretical and empirical research, the report should be concluded with an interpretation of the findings against the background of the original research problem.

5.11 CONCLUSION

The researcher concurs with Charmaz (2006:1) that "a journey begins before the travellers departure". What it implies is that the grounded theory adventure begins as the researcher seeks information about what a grounded theory journey entails and what to expect along the way – especially in the next chapter that will deal with the research report and findings. By thus adopting grounded theory methods, as illustrated in this section, the researcher can direct, manage and streamline his data collection and, moreover, construct an original analysis of his data in the research (Charmaz, 2006).

According to Mavetera and Kroeze (2009:1-23) the codes and constructs (or categories and their properties) are constantly weighed against new data. Such constant comparison confirm that theoretical constraints are a by-product of – and are embedded in – the data. The three basic coding types – open coding, axial coding and selective coding – will be applied manually by the researcher in the next chapter. In the research methodology the researcher is aware of the problem of selecting the correct unit of

analysis – e.g. a sentence, a line from a transcript or a combination of elements. According to Mavetera and Kroeze (2009:1-23) it is important (in data analysis) to differentiate between terms used by the respondents and the technical terms that the researcher associates with the phenomena. This will also emerge in the next chapter that will deal with the research analysis.

Glaser (1978) is of the opinion that in grounded theory open coding of the data is done line-by-line, but it can also be done by noting categories in margins of an interview. The research methodology laid the foundation to code, analyse, compare, write and connect the data. Memoing is also relevant because it moves the participants from descriptive level to a more theoretical and conceptual level. Charmaz (2006:46) argues that "coding is the pivotal link between collecting data and developing an emergent theory to explain the data". The next chapter will show that coding shapes an analytic format from which the researcher can build his argument and analysis.

CHAPTER 6: RESEARCH REPORT

6.1 INTRODUCTION

Since 2003 the researcher gathered information regarding South African sport, these included documents, sports magazine articles, journals, books, internet sources, newspapers and government gazettes. A questionnaire was structured and designed as stated in Chapters 1 and 5. Preliminary interviews were arranged with relevant sport personalities, players and politicians, as well as other stakeholders and relevant role-players. Networking and communication with experienced researchers, academics and the researcher's supervisor were part of the research activities to achieve the objective of the research process as presented in Chapter 1.

6.2 BACKGROUND AND MOTIVATION

Initially, the process started when the researcher developed a keen interest in the area of sport and politics many years ago. His wish was to explore the changes in South African sport since the new constitutional dispensation in 1994.

He adopted a grounded theory approach because the topic of the research has mostly been ignored in the literature. Unfortunately, not a great deal of knowledge has been captured regarding the evolution, development and transformation of South African sport. Furthermore, the knowledge about sport and democracy in the South African context seems not to be well defined and explicit. According to Strauss and Corbin (1998) the grounded theory is therefore particularly useful in such type of contexts, because the researcher does not have a pre-conceived theory in mind and seeks to offer insight and enhance understanding.

In addition, the transformation and democratisation of South African sport have been given only superficial attention since the dawn of the new democracy. With the research methodology the researcher's mission was to develop an emergent theory from the

ground. In this regard Goulding (1999:8) warns researchers to avoid being too structured in their methods of collecting information. According to her, "structured interviews may be merely an extension of the researcher's expectations" (Goulding, 1999:8). Therefore, the grounded methodology should be "a creative process that uses non-linear forms of thinking to build theory and provide tools for handling masses of raw data" (Strauss and Corbin, 1998:13). The grounded theory is thus also an interactive process that uses data from various sources.

This preliminary understanding of the opportunities offered by grounded theory fitted well with the researcher's dual commitment to learning and to making a difference for the better, as Neal (2009) rightfully commented. Since the idea came to the researcher's mind, he collected data in whatever form appropriate to give impetus regarding the research.

6.3 RESEARCH OUTCOMES

Before embarking on the research report and findings, it is essential, at this stage, to review the objectives of this chapter:

- To identify and name codes with open coding;
- To collect notes and ideas with memoing;
- To identify categories and sub-categories;
- To determine relationships with axial codings;
- To seek the core category;
- To integrate categories with selective coding;
- To apply triangulation to confirm ideas; and
- To iterate the process and attempt to develop a grounded theory (Changing Minds, 2002-2012).

6.4 THE RESEARCH PROCESS

6.4.1 An overview

According to Birks and Mills (2011) methodologically, there are no right or wrong approaches to using grounded theory methods, however, there are differences that need to be taken into account when applying grounded theory research. These differences regarding the methodology, have been addressed in Chapters 1 and 5 to give direction to the research. Glaser and Strauss (1967) articulate that the final product, the emergent theory, must be generated by the researcher. Birks and Mills (2011:13) illustrate how the essential methods should fit together during the process of grounded theory research:

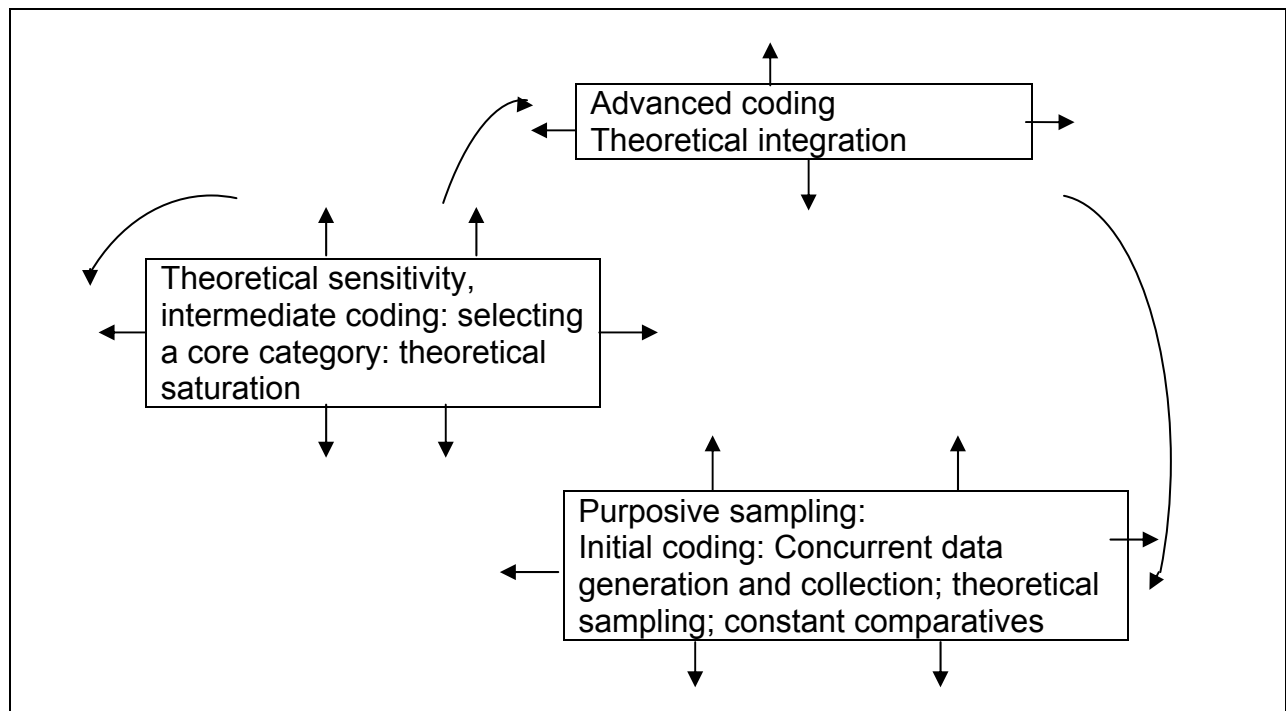


Figure 6.1: Essential grounded theory methods (adapted from Birks and Mills, 2011:13)

The above illustration purposefully grouped essential grounded theory methods into three components that can drive the process to generate a grounded theory (Birks and

Mills, 2011:11-13). The researcher applied the same approach as part of this research process, including aspects related to purposive sampling, initial coding, data generation and collection, constant comparative analysis and category identification.

However, it must be stressed that grounded theory analysis is an iterative and recursive process; while each stage informs the next, all stages will return to the data and select new participants to test it, e.g. theoretical sampling (Hawker and Kerr, 2007:87-88). In this instance, it should be mentioned that the researcher himself was reflective about his own role in data collection and data analysis. It is important to note that the researcher was a sportsman and sports-administrator. Therefore, for the purpose of the analytic exercise presented in this chapter, the researcher used the simplified method as proposed by Hawker and Kerr (2007:88). The researcher spent a lot of time reading and re-reading the data, transcripts and interview transcripts to familiarise himself with content and context of the relevant data. Subsequently, the diagram of Hawker and Kerr (2007:88) was utilised to emphasise the stages of grounded theory analysis as a precursor to the research report.

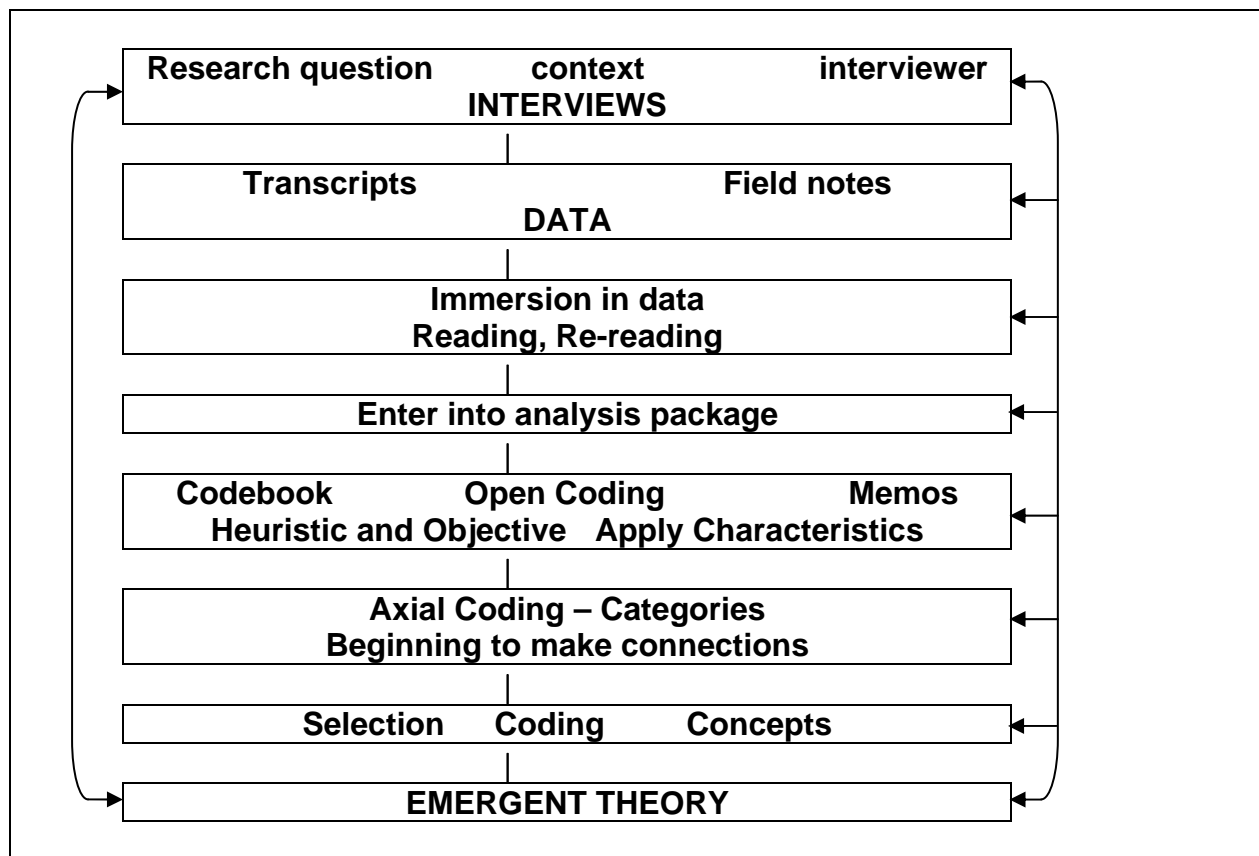


Figure 6.2: Stages of grounded theory analysis (adapted from Hawker and Kerr, 2007:88)

Hawker and Kerr (2007:87-97) contend that the researcher should familiarise himself with the research questions. The context of the interviews, the interview data and reflections on the researcher's influence within the research process, forms an integral part of all grounded theory analysis. Both the research questions and research aims were mentioned in Chapter 1, in section 1.2.1 and 1.2.2. Payne (2007:69) reports that the wording of the research questions and research objectives should make it clear how the "what, who, when and how" will be researched. As the data collection and analysis progressed, the researcher gained a greater awareness of these key issues (Payne 2007:65-85).

6.4.2 Transformation of data

Payne (2007) states that within any type of qualitative analysis, "raw" spoken data need to be converted or transformed into a textual format. What she meant "is the **transcription** of audio recording into written text" (Page, 2007:75). In the research under discussion, data were obtained from semi-structured and in-depth interviews. These interviews were transcribed verbatim and were subjected to inductive content analysis, which is consisted with the grounded theory approach. The researcher also used standardised interview schedules to ensure that all participants were asked the same questions in the same sequence. Copies of the interviewee schedules are attached (Appendices 1-3). Transcription from the tapes was highly labour intensive. As experienced by Pidgeon and Henwood (1996:86-101) the researcher only transcribed those components of the tapes that fed into "the developing analysis". Pidgeon and Henwood (1996) express that although researchers can use maximum flexibility, it is still useful to chart a number of steps in the overall theme of moving from the collection of unstructured data through to the theoretical outcomes. In general terms it means "the generation of descriptive codes" on to more developed conceptual understandings or links, and finally to wider theoretical interpretations (Pidgeon and Henwood, 1996:87). The researcher found the model of Pidgeon and Henwood (1996:88) useful and applicable.

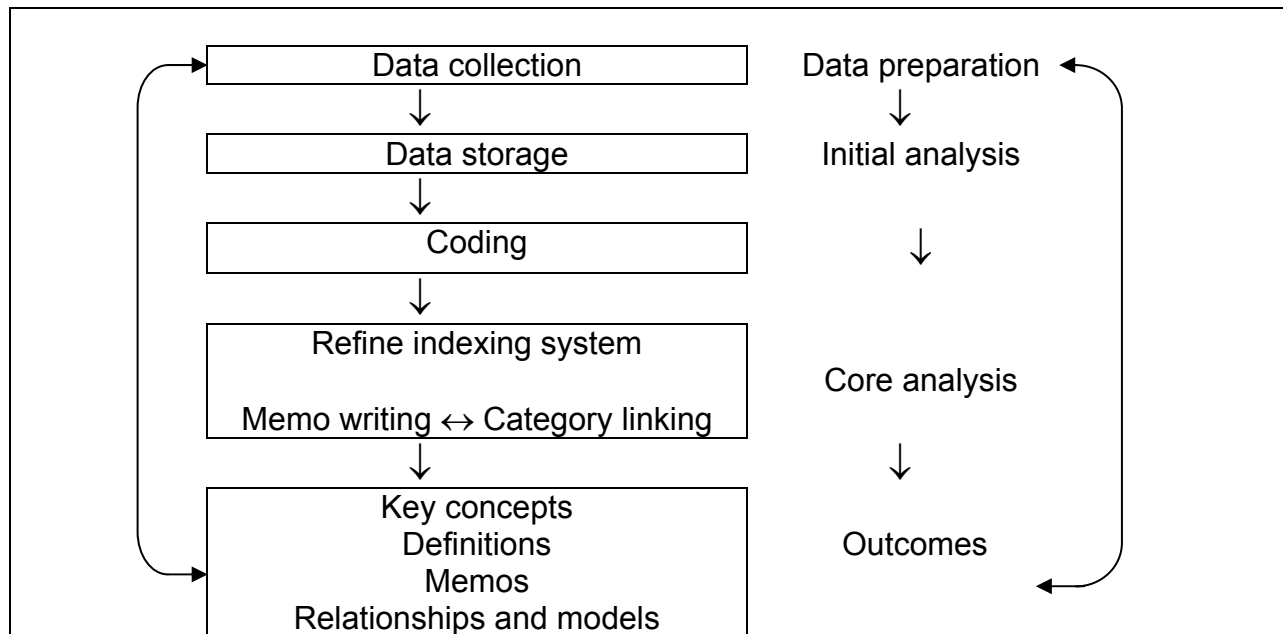


Figure 6.3: Pidgeon and Henwood Model of Data Analysis (adapted from Pidgeon and Henwoods, 1996:88)

The researcher analysed most of the transcriptions himself and allowed the data to inform the research process. He also familiarised himself with the data in order to identify potential analytic lines of inquiry. With regard to the telephonic interviews and informal discussions on the research questions, the researcher targeted only certain questions to specific participants. In the latter case note-taking, memoing and participant observation were important.

Initially, all participants were informed about the nature of the research, the intended use of the data, and the reasons for audio-taping the interviews. The credentials of the researcher were explained as well as the assurance of the **participant's confidentiality**. Guided questions were asked to the research participants. They were recruited from a sampling of rugby players (students, current and former club players, coaches, administrators and members of the South African Rugby Union (Saru)). Politicians and government officials involved in sport were evaluated during different

sports indabas (meetings) the researcher had attended. Fieldwork was conducted in the major cities of South Africa, in towns and also rural areas.

The responses and quotes from the participants were identified. They varied in length from one word, to one sentence and one paragraph (Roy, 2004). These responses or quotes served as the database for the inductive content analysis. Beginning with the first questionnaire and first transcription, all units were clustered according to their similarities. The clustering process involved comparing and contrasting each quote with all other responses and emergent themes. The clustering process was performed manually, and repeated until all quotes were organised. The emergent themes were grouped according to their own thematic similarities. According to Roy (2004) one problem with the constant comparison method, is that the categorisation is not uniformed for all transcripts. This is because the thematic hierarchy is evolving as the analyses proceed.

As with all qualitative research, the transcripts of both the interviews and questionnaires generated a considerable volume of data. According to Laws and McLeod (1999) the grounded theory approach encourages the researcher's own interpretations and emphasis with minimal prompting or predisposition by the researcher. Charmaz (2006), on the other hand, declares that coding full interview transcriptions gives the researcher ideas and understanding that he or she otherwise miss. She articulates that grounded theory coding is more than a way of sifting, sorting and synthesising data. Instead it "begins to unify ideas analytically" (Charmaz, 2006:71). By that Charmaz (2006) meant that the researcher always keeps the possible theoretical meanings of the data and codes in mind.

According to Payne (2007) researchers should use the **analytic procedures** which are most congruent with their **philosophical** and **epistemological** stance. Payne's model (2007:76-77) is based on the procedures for a grounded theory analysis as proposed by Bartlett and Payne (1997). The key features of analysis are illustrated in Table 6.1. The

researcher also applied basically the same procedures in his own research as proposed by Payne (2007).

Activity	Comments
• Collect data	: Any source of textual data may be used but semi-structured interviews or observations are the most common.
• Transcribe data	: Full transcriptions of interviews and questionnaires.
• Develop initial categories	: Categories are developed from the data by open-coding of transcripts.
• Open-coding	: Means identifying and labelling meaningful units of text which might be a word, phrase, sentence or larger sections of text .
• Saturate Categories	: Saturation means gathering further examples of meaningful units as one proceeds through the transcripts until no new instances of a particular category emerge.
• Defining Categories	: Once the categories have been saturated, formal definitions in terms of the properties and dimensions of each category may be generated.
• Theoretical Sampling	: From the categories which emerged from the first sample of data, choose theoretically relevant samples to help test and develop categories further.
• Axial Coding	: The development and testing of relationships between categories – against data obtained in ongoing theoretical sampling.
• Theoretical Integration	: A core category is identified and related to all the other sub-categories to determine its explanatory power and finally links with existing theory are established and developed.
• Grounding the theory	: The emergent theory is grounded by returning to the data and validating it against actual segments of text.
• Filling in gaps	: Finally, any missing detail is filled in by the further collection of relevant data.

Table 6.1: Procedures for Grounded Theory Analysis (Payne, 2007:76-77)

The initial **coding** of text was done after careful and repeated readings of the material. Meaningful units were identified, highlighted and labelled. These units may be words, phrases or longer segments of text (Payne, 2007:79). These labels are called **concepts**. Interesting is that Strauss and Corbin (1990, 1998) describe this as **open**

coding while Glazer (1992) calls it **substantive coding**. In the research under discussion the researcher analysed most of the interviews and questionnaires and then formulated concepts, categories and emerging themes from the data. Harris (2008) labels such categorisation relevant constructs extracted and triangulated from the data.

As more data were accumulated, the process resulted in numerous categories and sub-categories. The researcher became aware that certain categories occurred frequently in the data and that the coding of new data became fewer and eventually no new examples emerged. This is described as **saturation** (Payne, 2007:79). It served as an indication that the initial coding and data collection ceased. The researcher also experienced that the **constant comparison technique**, as proposed by Glaser and Strauss (1967), means that certain segments of the text had to be examined against previous categories for similarities and differences. This means that the coding needed to "be revised and categories relabelled, merged or split to take account of new insights" (Payne, 2007:80). The researcher attempted manually to develop a systematic way to index these categories by applying the traditional way of physically cutting and pasting chunks of transcripts. This will be demonstrated later in this chapter.

The analytic work during the process of **axial coding** required the examination of each category to discover linkages, relationship, redundancy and/or new patterns (Payne, 2007). Throughout the research process, the researcher wrote **memos** to capture the thoughts of the participants. By definition, it means the researcher tried to work pro-actively with the data. It therefore meant further refinement of the research questions. In the final stage of analysis, the researcher was in a position to identify a core category which may have major explanatory power (Payne, 2007:69-83).

During the process of developing a new theory, links were made with the existing data which further developed into the **emergent theory**. Payne (2007:82) describes this process as "**theoretical sensitivity**". The main objective of the researcher was thus to offer a coherent account to explain the topic under investigation. Subsequently the research findings will be clustered around a category or a number of linked themes in

the next section. Due to the corpus of data from the interviews and questionnaires, the researcher will only apply **excerpts** and **examples**, where necessary, in the research findings. This will eventually lead to the development of the new emergent theory.

6.5 RESEARCH FINDINGS

Birks and Mills (2011:158) argue that the "end product should justify the resources, time, energy and effort invested in its production." In order to ensure that the outcome of the research will impact on the development of individual players and the sporting environment, the researcher paused for a while, to focus on the following factors or criteria that may influence grounded theory research: **researcher expertise**, **methodological congruence** and **procedural precision** (for details see Figure 6.4).

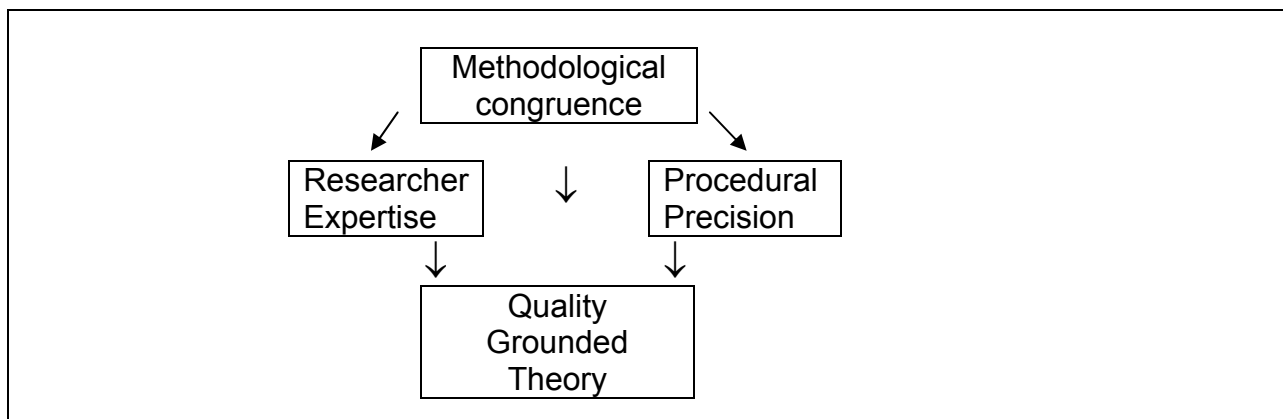


Figure 6.4: Factors influencing quality in conducting grounded theory research (Birks and Mills, 2011)

The researcher identified that two schools of thought emerged from the coding process. What was obvious about the analysis and interpretation of the corpus of data, was that one group of respondents would agree, "**Yes-Factor**", while the other interviewees would disagree, "**No-Factor**". These two opposing tendencies were central in the investigation. The researcher continuously looked for relationships between the different codes, categories and emerging themes.

Data were used to add, elaborate and saturate codes and categories. In practice, as the researcher has experienced, the steps of analysis were not strictly sequential and orderly. Rather, they sometimes moved forward and backward, to re-examine the data, codes, categories and themes as a whole. The researcher has been aware of his own philosophical position and its relevance to the ontological and epistemological foundation throughout the study (Birks and Mills, 2011). The research findings, which will follow next, are all part of the evaluation and application of the grounded theory approach. It should not be seen as after thoughts to the research process, but rather as the emergence of the researcher's thinking process during the enquiry process.

In the following sections the researcher attempted to apply the grounded theory approach through coding. It should be noted that the same questions were asked for all participants. The recording of the responses and the coding of the data will be discussed in the following section:

6.5.1 Question: How democratic are the rugby structures in South Africa?

From the above question the responses were recorded and coded as follows:

Respon- dent	Response	Code
1	Rugby structures are not democratic enough	undemocratic structures (A.1)
2	Only pseudo-democracy is visible	pseudo-democratic structures (A.2)
3	Certain rugby administrators, coaches, referees and presidents are still autocratic	autocratic structures (A.3)
4	Clubs are still compiled according race	racial structures (A.4)
5	People of colour are not elected to positions of power	racism (B.1)
6	Rugby administrators are not responsible to historically disadvantaged communities	racial structure (A.4)
7	Some structures are not well-known to clubs	unknown structures (A.5)
8	Nothing has changed since the new democracy	no change in structure (A.6)
9	Most officials and administrators are nominated or appointed without a process of selection	autocratic structures (A.3)
10	Rugby to date is still an "island"	exclusive position (C.1)
11	Structures are not representative enough	pseudo-democratic structures (A.2)
12	Do not have enough resources	limited resources (D.1)
13	No one has the interest of rugby development at heart	non-interest in development (E.1)
14	Everyone is just pushing their own agendas	exclusive position (C.1)
15	Blacks are not well presented in the higher rugby circles or hierarchy	racism (B.1)
16	New generation does not see "white" or "black" players	non-racism (F.1)
17	No coaching clinics or infrastructure in the rural areas	limited infrastructure (G.1) no coaching (H1)
18	Some democratic structures are questionable	pseudo-democratic structure (A.2)
19	Some officials serve themselves, not the sport	disparity in structures (A.7)
20	Disparity still too big in South African sport	self interest (I.1)
21	Democratic structures to be improved from schools level	improvement of structures (A.13)

22	Structures collapse due to lack of knowledge regarding democratic management	pseudo-democratic structures (A.2)
23	Social integration hardly occur	limited social integration (J.1)
24	Rural areas are neglected	neglect of rural areas (K.1)
25	Lack of rugby culture in black areas	racism (B.1)
26	Officials and management should elect persons according constitution	pseudo-democratic structures (A.2)
27	Total democracy in other areas visible	democratic structures (A.8)
28	No democracy in country or rural areas and under political pressure	un-democratic structures (A.1)
29	Limitations in some democratic structures	pseudo-democratic structures (A.2)
30	Concern that some officials are not represented even in the structures they serve	un-democratic structures (A.1)
31	Players have also powers or rights when it comes to selections and appointments	player rights (L.1) player powers (L.2)
32	The constitution should determine the structure	importance of constitution (M.1)
33	Lack of facilities a big problem in the disadvantaged areas	lack of facilities (N.1)
34	Players should have insight in club affairs	player insight (L.3)
35	Meeting procedures are democratic	democratic procedures (O.1)
36	Favouritism to certain white players	player favouritism (L.4)
37	Black players to work much harder than white players for selection	black players to work harder (L.5)
38	All structures are equal	democratic structures (A.8)
39	Rugby structures are non-existent	non-existent structures (A.9)
40	Unfair treatment by officialdom	un-democratic procedures (O.2)
41	Democratic development structures should be in place	need for democratic development structures (A.10)

6.5.2 Question: Was the development programme in rugby successful?

Respon- dent	Response	Code
1	There are still too many irregularities and favouritism	player favouritism (L.4)
2	Lack of resources and proper facilities	limited resources (D1) lack of facilities (N.1)
3	Development programme did not reach the grassroots level	not-interest in development (E.1)
4	No evidence of players coming through the structure at a satisfactory level	no change in structure (A.6)
5	There should be more training coaching and development for under-privileged players	training and development (EE.1)
6	Coaches look at bigger players in stead of skills	player favouritism (L.4)
7	Administrators need to have a passion for the sport	lack of interest (I.2)
8	All relevant stakeholders should be involved with the planning	limited involvement by stakeholders (I.3)
9	Focus only on metropolitan and urban areas, not in the rural areas	disparity in structures (A.7)
10	Through the development programme players get chances to represent their provinces, and eventually their country	democratic process (A.11)
11	At schools level to identify talented players	identification of talented players (A.12)
12	To a certain extent players of colour go through the ranks, but sadly disappear at senior level	marginalisation of players (P.1)
13	Slowly, but surely it gets into place	improvement of structures (A.13)
14	Intensify the development programme at club level	improvement of structures (A.13)
15	Recruit players who are not in the limelight and expose them to rugby	identification of talented players (A.12)
16	Development structures do not work in practice	pseudo-democratic structures (A.2)
17	There is not always enough finances or monetary incentives	financial constraints (Q.1)
18	Big problem is the geographical settings of towns and the vast distances	geographical location (R.1)

19	Leadership in rugby only focused on the already developed areas in the country	exclusive position (C.1) un-democratic procedures (O.2)
20	In most cases, persons in charge are not effective and efficient	incompetent persons (I.4)
21	Some development programmes in rugby have been suspended several times	non-interest in development (E.1)
22	The required outcomes have not been achieved	unsuccessful attempts (S.1)
23	Despite a lot of talent available, there is no proper development programme in the provinces	pseudo-democratic structures (A.2)
24	The rural areas do not benefit and that is why rugby is neglected there	neglect of rural areas (K.1)
25	In some small provinces the development programmes are a disaster	non-existent structures (A.9)
26	There need to be a full scale support structure for especially in disadvantaged groups	need for democratic development structures (A.10)
27	The system is abused because the same players are selected continuously	nepotism (T.1) exclusive position (C.1)
28	Unaware of development programmes in rural areas	unknown structures (A.5)
29	System is biased, select mostly players from the traditionally white schools to play in the Craven Week	racial structures (A.4), nepotism (T.1)
30	Lack of proper rugby academies or institutions for rugby	disparity in structure (A.7)
31	Communication to the respective officials should be transparent	lack of communication (U.1)
32	Some players have to buy their own training equipment and rugby clothes	marginalisation of players (P.1) discrimination (SS.1)
33	Players have to pay for their own transport to travel to some places	marginalisation of players (V.1) discrimination (SS.1)
34	No programmes exist to encourage players	lack of rugby development (RR.1)
35	The model C-schools are favoured and benefited a lot	nepotism (T.1) elitism (W.1)
36	It seems some players do not fit into the required standards and structures	disparity in structures (A.7)
37	No rugby development at varsity	unsuccessful attempts (S.1)
38	Prioritise student rugby at disadvantaged institutions	empowerment of players (V.1)

39	The development structures are not really well-known at certain rugby areas	unknown structures (A.5)
40	Only a few rugby clinics were held over the years	unsuccessful attempts (S.1)
41	Some provinces/clubs are culprits of being racists	racism (B.1)
42	Marketing of rugby is essential	marketing and sponsorship (X.1)
43	More funds should be made available	financial constraints (Q.1)
44	Mentoring in rugby is very important to help inexperienced players	mentoring in rugby (Y.1)
45	Training of officials essential	training of officials (Z.1)
46	No control mechanism in rugby development system	lack of control mechanism (AA.1)
47	Certain rugby issues need to be autocratic	autocratic structures (A.3)
48	No rugby culture in black areas for development	racism (B.1), attitudinal stance (LL.1)
49	Parental support necessary, from school level, especially in black areas	limited social integration (J.1)
50	Sometimes blacks disappear from the rugby environment	marginalisation of players (P.1)
51	Problems with unification in 1992	pseudo-democratic structures (A.2)
52	Professionalism in rugby destroy community rugby	pseudo-democratic structures (A.2)
53	Community involvement has ceased	decline in community rugby (CC.1)
54	Wrong perception that there is money in rugby	wrong perception (DD.1)
55	Create an atmosphere of rugby in communities	innovation in rugby (WW.1)
56	All to be trained and developed on an equal basis	training and development (EE.1)
57	Develop all players with potential from schools and clubs	training and development (EE.1)
58	Professional rugby neglecting amateur sport	professionalism (BB.1)
59	Mindset change from soccer to rugby	mindset change (GG.1)
60	Structures now very much professional and commercialising	professionalism (BB.1)
61	Community rugby where clubs have no meaningful input	decline in community rugby (CC.1)
62	Negative labelling of certain players	labelling (HH.1)
63	Rugby standards decreased	no change in structure (A.6)

64	False assumptions at rugby unification in 1992	pseudo-democratic structures (A.2)
65	Forget to think about race	non-racism (F.1)
66	Distortions always create false images	labelling (HH.1)
67	What happened to the plethora of the Craven Week players?	decline in community rugby (CC.1)
68	Do not have capable sports people	incompetent persons (I.4)
69	Sponsorship a big problem	marketing and sponsorship (X.1)
70	Financial constraints in certain provinces	financial constraints (Q.1)
71	Need outstanding rugby administrators	lack of competent staff (I.6)
72	Change of mindset of those who have privileged over many years	mindset change (GG.1)
73	Look at the ability of the players	empowerment of players (V.1)
74	We have not achieved quality	unsuccessful attempts (S.1)
75	Wrong negotiation at the unity process	pseudo-democratic structures (A.2)
76	Culture of rugby was previously different	diversity (QQ.1)
77	Players swallowed up in the system through compromise	pseudo-democratic structures (A.2)
78	Establish an academy of excellence in rugby	improvement of structures (A.13)
79	The right people should be in the right places in the development structures	need for democratic development structures (A.10)
80	Leaders are only there for status	self-interest (I.1)
81	Do not feel inferior or belittle, especially black competent administrators	labelling (HH.1)
82	Some clubs stop functioning	decline in community rugby (CC.1)
83	New monster in Boland where social white clubs want to exclude others	racism (B.1) discrimination (SS.1)
84	Bigger unions the stumbling block because of money and power	disparity in structures (A.7)
85	Mentoring for rugby players to be encouraged at all levels	mentoring in rugby (Y.1)
86	Need to have money for marketing	marketing and sponsoring (X.1) funding (Q.3)
87	Mentorship and put parents in place to help	mentorship in rugby (Y.1)
88	Development programme the stumbling block for transformation	un-democratic structures (A.1)
89	Youth clubs to help with the learning process in rugby	improvement of structures (A.13)

90	Mini rugby to be promoted to blacks	improvement of structures (A.13)
91	Players vanish from the rugby scene (schools, clubs and unions)	exodus of players (JJ.1) marginalisation of players (P.1)
92	Funds are limited	financial constraints (Q.1)
93	Transport problems	limited infrastructure (G.1)
94	Safety and security in black areas	labelling (HH.1)
95	Survey of black players in rugby structures	racism (B.1)
96	Establish rugby culture in black areas	racism (B.1)
97	Problems with the structures	disparity in structures (A.7)
98	Use or utilise the expertise available	need for competent persons (II.1)
99	Perception or mindset that rugby is a white sport	racism (B.1) attitudinal stance (LL.1)

6.5.3 Question: How do you see quota-players and merit selected players?

Respondent	Response	Code
1	Everyone should be selected on merit	merit selection (KK.1)
2	Merit depends on the coaches' attitude	attitudinal stance (LL.1)
3	Merit selection, not token players	merit selection (KK.1)
4	Quotas, a lot of spadework still	quotas (MM.1)
5	Merit approach means transform players as equals	merit selection (KK.1)
6	Huge inequalities in our society	inequalities and imbalances (NN.1)
7	Quotas forced you to play players of colour	quotas (MM.1)
8	Quotas is seen as affirmative action in rugby	affirmative action in rugby AA.1)
9	Merit selection should be an ideal	merit selection (MM.1)
10	Make the playing field level	improvement of structures (A.13)
11	Our rugby structures should be revised	need for democratic development structures (A.10)
12	From exclusivity to inclusivity	transformation (PP.1)
13	We have diversified backgrounds	diversity(QQ.1)
14	Select players on performance and merit	merit selection (KK.1)
15	Quota system is obsolete, it has served its purpose	quotas (MM.1)
16	Stereotypes in South African sport	attitudinal stance (LL.1)
17	Prejudice is rife	attitudinal stance (LL.1)
18	All players are per definition merit players	merit selection (KK.1)
19	Reject quotas, but use targets in more positions	quotas (MM.1)
20	Perceptions should change	attitudinal stance (LL.1)
21	Excellence is everyone's goal	merit selection (KK.1)
22	Quotas relevant in certain areas	quotas (MM.1)
23	Quotas affect players adversely and negatively – it should not be there	quotas (MM.1)
24	Quotas shows there's a lack of rugby development	lack of rugby development (RR.1)
25	Quotas is a cancerous system	quotas (MM.1)
26	Bring in targets in stead of quotas	quotas (MM.1)
27	Have a mechanism to comply with	improvement of structures (A.13)
28	Obstacles – need to change attitude	attitudinal stance (LL.1)

29	White players have a lot of exposure and opportunities	discrimination (SS.1)
30	If you play rugby forget about colour	attitudinal stance (LL.1)
31	Rugby in rural areas are neglected	neglect of rural areas (K.1)
32	Inequalities of the past determine selection	discrimination (SS.1) inequalities and imbalances (NN.1)
33	Unification in 1992 was only window-dressing	pseudo-democratic structures (A.2)
34	Recognition of huge inequalities	inequalities and imbalances (NN.1)
35	Equality and equity the correct approach	transformation (PP.1)
36	Diversity should be taken into account	diversity (QQ.1)
37	Perceptions that black players are weaker than white players	attitudinal stance (LL.1)
38	Coaches have hidden agendas	attitudinal stance (LL.1)
39	Only the Springboks should be selected on merit	merit selection (KK.1)
40	Quota-players are used to satisfy government	quotas (MM.1)
41	No matter how good a black player is, in the eyes of whites he will always be a quota-player	attitudinal stance (LL.1)
42	Quotas is very bad for the game of rugby in the new democracy	quotas (MM.1)
43	Merit selection in the playing field is equal	merit selection (KK.1)
44	Quota players should be selected on merit and not colour	merit selection (KK.1)
45	Blacks feel like quota-players in a white team	attitudinal stance (LL.1)
46	Quotas does not belong in rugby	quotas (MM.1)
47	Enough players to be selected on merit	merit selection (KK.1)
48	Can players of colour only play on the wing?	discrimination (SS.1)
49	Quotas should only be a short term solution	quotas (MM.1)
50	Address the problem of the backlog in disadvantaged areas	need for democratic development structures (A.10)
51	Selected players on merit for quality rugby	merit selection (KK.1)
52	Quotas label the players of colour	labelling (HH.1)
53	Quota-players feel inferior	attitudinal stance (LL.1)
54	Quotas as a temporary measure	quotas (MM.1)
55	Merit represents quality	merit selection (KK.1)
56	Best player must be selected	merit selection (KK.1)
57	Time for quotas to vanish	quotas (MM.1)

58	Players are selected simply from the traditional rugby-playing schools	discrimination (SS.1) inequalities and imbalances (NN.1)
59	Quotas still relevant due to the slow process of transformation	quotas (MM.1)
60	Quotas system to be implemented at the lower levels	need for democratic development structures (A.10)
61	Quotas are usually pathetic performers on the field	lack of rugby development (RR.1)
62	Merit players can perform due to the resources at their disposal	improvement of structures (A.13)
63	If a person is good, he should be selected irrespective of his skin colour	merit selection (KK.1)
64	Remove the term "quotas"	labelling (HH.1)
65	Players should prove themselves	empowerment of players (V.1)
66	Quota system was necessary to give players of colour a chance to participate on the highest level	improvement of structures (A.13)
67	True transformation determines merit selected teams	transformation (PP.1) merit selection (KK.1)
68	Quota players leave a certain stigma	labelling (HH.1)
69	Players to be selected on skills and potential	merit selection (KK.1)
70	Encourage quotas at grassroots level	mentoring in rugby (Y.1)
71	Merit selection at senior level	merit selection (KK.1)
72	Enough players of colour to be selected on merit	merit selection (KK.1)
73	All players must have equal opportunity	equal opportunities (UU.2)

6.5.4 Question: How do you see South African rugby in the future?

Respondent	Response	Code
1	Should be integrated at all levels	integration (TT.1)
2	Bigger transparency with team selection	transparency (UU.1)
3	Merit and a professional approach at all levels of the game	merit selection (KK.1)
4	Teams must reflect the demographics of the rugby population in future	representivity and demographics (VV.1)
5	Purely select on merit basis	merit selection (KK.1)
6	Emphasis on a new rugby dimension away from colour and quotas	innovation in rugby (WW.1)
7	All talented players should be selected	merit selection (KK.1)
8	Improve the poor facilities of the past	improvement of structures (A.13)
9	Rugby to be played on equal basis	equal opportunities (UU.2)
10	Respect the cultural differences as the game progress	diversity (QQ.1)
11	Rugby has a great following and support basis	popularity of rugby (WW.2)
12	The challenge is those who are more privileged to administer rugby	exclusive position (C.1)
13	Rugby as a national asset	popularity of rugby (WW.2)
14	There are still stumbling blocks for blacks in rugby structures at certain provinces	discrimination (SS.1)
15	The best players are not selected and its not good for the future	discrimination (SS.1) lack of integration (I.5)
16	Selectors and coaches reluctant to select players on merit	exclusive position (C.1) incompetent persons (I.4)
17	A lot of rugby potential in SA	popularity of rugby (WW.2)
18	Take rugby decisions and not political decisions	governance of rugby (YY.1) political interference (ZZ.1)
19	A lot of talent, but manage the game correctly	governance of rugby (YY.1)
20	Bright future for players, but not in the Free State as far as development is concerned	no change in structure (A.6)
21	Politics is killing the game, and decreases the standard	lack of rugby development (RR.1) political interference (ZZ.1)
22	Keep politics out of rugby/sport	political interference (ZZ.1)
23	We are on the right track with the Springbok victories	innovation in rugby (WW.1)
24	Rugby will deteriorate because junior players are marginalised	marginalisation of players (P.1)

25	Unless drastic intervention takes place, rugby will not be transformed	need for democratic development structures (A.10)
26	Rugby mainly being dominated by white people.	inequalities and imbalances (NN.1) lack of integration (I.5)
27	Involvement of all people irrespective of race and colour	transformation (PP.1) transparency (UU.1)
28	SA Rugby has a future if justice is done with selection at all levels	merit selection (KK.1) governance of rugby (YY.1)
29	Negative rugby development might damage the game	unsuccessful attempts (S.1) lack of interest (I.2)
30	Provide opportunities and skills development for quality players	empowerment of players (V.1) innovation in rugby (WW.1)
31	All rugby constitutions should be democratic	importance of constitution (M.1)
32	Rugby management should be pro-active	governance of rugby (YY.1)
33	SA Rugby should give clear directions to all stakeholders	governance of rugby (YY.1)
34	Values such as respect and honesty should be taken seriously	value-driven approach (AAA.1)
35	Recruit quality players irrespective of race and colour	transformation (PP.1) empowerment of players (V.1)
36	Community rugby must be encouraged	mentorship in rugby (Y.1)
37	Biggest obstacle is the lack of proper facilities	lack of facilities (N.1)
38	Transform yourself before you can transform others	mindset change (GG.1)
39	Big concern – black coaches never promoted to senior coaches	discrimination (SS.1)
40	Still inequalities, because blacks feel inferior	inequalities and imbalances (NN.1)
41	Rugby tickets are too expensive for ordinary rugby fans	financial constraints (Q.1)
42	Improve decision-making process	democratic process (A.11)
43	Not enough is done for players who have the potential	marginalisation of players (P.1)
44	Funds should be applied correctly	funding (Q.3) governance of rugby (YY.1)
45	Rugby to reconcile and unite the country positively	reconciliation and unity (BBB.1)
46	Set specific targets to involve more black communities	integration process (TT.1)

47	Encourage a rugby culture and tradition to other spectators	integration process (TT.1)
48	Suspend rugby clinics and create more sustainable rugby programmes	improvement of structures (A.13)
49	SA Rugby should accept the reality that most communities play rugby	mindset change (GG.1)
50	Rugby people to firstly transform their minds	mindset change (GG.1)
51	Create opportunities for talented players	empowerment of players (V.1) equal opportunity (UU.2)
52	Establish proper coaching and referees structures	improvement of structures (A.13)
53	Develop a blue print for South African rugby, embrace by all	transformation (PP.1) governance of rugby (YY.1)
54	Establish rugby academies at schools levels and disadvantaged areas	transformation (PP.1) innovation in rugby (WW.1)
55	Stop marginalising certain race groups	marginalisation of players (P.1)
56	Mindset of players should change	mindset change (GG.1)
57	Empower the rural areas and small towns – they are suffering	improvement of structures (A.13) governance of rugby YY.1)
58	People should stop complaining and instead help	attitudinal stance (LL.1)
59	Change of attitudes is vital	attitudinal stance (LL.1)
60	Former rugby players and officials should be actively involved	mentoring in rugby (Y.1) community involvement (EEE.1)
61	Improve and upgrade mobile gymnasiums, containers and rugby fields; and infrastructure	improvement of structures (A.13)
62	Establish rugby mentorship	mentorship in rugby (Y.1)
63	Do not unnecessarily discharge white coaches and referees	reconciliation and unity (BBB.1) integration process (TT.1)
64	Identify competent people who can give direction	proper leadership (CCC.1)
65	Adopt the ideology that rugby has no colour	ideological approach (XX.1)
66	Appoint selectors who do not create conflict	competent persons (I.6)
67	Lot of work at grassroots level	governance of rugby (YY.1)
68	Leadership to change the bad image of the past	proper leadership (CCC.1)
69	Disseminate information to all stakeholders and role-players	governance of rugby (YY.1) proper communication (U.1)

70	Passion for rugby most important value	value-driven approach (AAA.1)
71	Set strict targets and bench marks for provincial unions	governance of rugby (YY.1)
72	Take racial conflict out of rugby administration	reconciliation and unity (BBB.1)
73	Collective interest not for individuals only	transformation (PP.1)
74	Coloureds look down on blacks	discrimination (SS.1)
75	White teams to form new non-racial clubs	exclusive position (C.1)
76	Recruit new people on the selection panel	innovation in rugby (WW.1)
77	Universities and technikons to play a meaningful role in rugby	governance of rugby (YY.1)
78	People of colour as spectators should also become part of the process	democratic process (A.11)
79	Mindset change essential	mindset change (GG.1)
80	Discourage quota-system totally	labelling (HH.1)
81	Let talented black players benefit in the near future	empowerment of players (V.1)
82	Some whites do not want to be part of the new SA	racism (B.1)
83	Rugby should be the catalyst to draw people together	reconciliation and unity (BBB.1)
84	Rugby culture, and surround yourself with the right people	diversity (QQ.1)
85	Accept the cultural differences in the country	diversity (QQ.1)
86	Empower black officials to bring in the necessary change	training and development (EE.1)
87	Rugby should be properly representative	representativity and demographics (VV.1)
88	Media should be more objective and positive regarding rugby matters	proper communication (U.1)
89	Survival of the game in the rural areas	need for democratic development structures (A.10)
90	Reduce the many rugby functionaries	proper leadership (CCC.1)
91	Excellence and Diversity to be taken into account	diversity (QQ.1)

6.5.5 Question: Has real transformation taken place in rugby?

Respondent	Response	Code
1	Transformation is a development process	developmental process (DDD.1)
2	Transformation is an ongoing process	developmental process (DDD.1)
3	Transformation must involve everyone	community involvement (EEE.1)
4	Transformation is a communication process	proper communication (U.1)
5	Transformation is about people, a people-centric approach	people-driven process (EEE.2)
6	Transformation involves society	community involvement (EEE.1)
7	Transformation continuously improve standard and structures	improvement of structures (A.13)
8	Transformation looks at the broad spectrum	dynamic process (DDD.2)
9	Transformation is a natural process	dynamic process (DDD.2)
10	Transformation bring people together	people-driven approach (EEE.2)
11	Transformation in rugby is superficial	pseudo-democratic structures (A.1)
12	In rugby transformation means superficial integration	pseudo-democratic structures (A.2) lack of integration (I.5)
13	It performs an unequal role in rugby	inequalities and imbalances (NN.1)
14	Transformation has not transformed in our minds	mindset change (GG.1)
15	Transformation can be positive or negative	paradox or contradiction (FFF.1)
16	Slow pace of improvements	slow pace of transformation (GGG.1)
17	Transformation has a long way to go	slow pace of transformation (GGG.1).
18	It is just window-dressing	pseudo-democratic structures (A.2)
19	To many labels attached to transformation	labelling (HH.1)
20	It should lead to empowerment and competencies	developmental process (DDD.1)
21	Transformation give players opportunities	empowerment of players (V.1) equal opportunities (UU.2)

22	More exposure of players	empowerment of players (V.1)
23	It means change and renewal	innovation in rugby (WW.1)
24	Transformation gives all equal chances	people-driven process (EEE.2)
25	It should encourage a spirit of patriotism and belonging	patriotism (HHH.1)
26	People are not honest, open and with integrity	attitudinal stance (LL.1)
27	Leaders to set targets and benchmarks	dynamic process (DDD.2)
28	Should transform from grassroots level; e.g. schools to senior sides	democratic process (A.11)
29	Transformation in rugby, has no colour	non-racism (F.1)
30	Rugby goes beyond "black" and "white"	non-racism (F.1)
31	Only if we shift from negativism to positivism	mindset change (GG.1)
32	Shifting from individualism to collectivism	democratic process (A.11) ideological approach (XX.1)
33	If training programmes are developed and implemented	training and development (EE.1)
34	Transformation only created a hierarchy of structures	autocratic structures (A.3)
35	The recognition of huge inequalities	inequalities and imbalances (NN.1)
36	Performances not properly benchmark	non-interest in development (E.1)
37	Unification in 1992 was a window-dressing exercise	pseudo-democratic structures (A.2)
38	Transformation does not mean entitlement	wrong perceptions (DD.1)
39	Collective perspective should prevail	community involvement (EEE.1)
40	Insist on merit selections, not token players	merit selection (KK.1)
41	Management should develop profiles for all players	innovation in rugby (WW.1) proper leadership (CCC.1)
42	Transformation failed to create quality and potential players	unsuccessful attempt (S.1) marginalisation of players (P.1)
43	The idea was to untap the raw talent equally	empowerment of players (V.1) equal opportunity (UU.2)
44	Transformation means social responsibility, ethos and philosophy	integration process (TT.1)
45	Need to urgently revitalise all sport structures	need for democratic development structures (A.10)
46	Only if we work together as equal partners	integration process (TT.1)

47	Diversity not properly addressed	diversity (QQ.1)
48	Negligence of rural areas	neglect of rural areas (K.1)
49	Clubs have no meaningful impact	no change in structure (A.6)
50	Negative perceptions towards blacks and vice versa	wrong perceptions (DD.1) labelling (HH.1)
51	Government mild on unification	non-interest in development (E.1)
52	No real bonding in rugby	limited social integration (J.1)
53	Transformation is very complex, and not simplistic	dynamic process (DDD.2)
54	Transformed only black players on the wings	marginalisation of players (P.1) labelling (HH.1)
55	Rugby transformation is not representative	representivity and demographics (VV.1)
56	Certain players do not want to mix with others	racism (B.1) discrimination (SS.1)
57	Attitudinal change by leaders	attitudinal stance (LL.1)
58	Information is held back to other	non-interest in development (E.1) self-interest (I.1)
59	Still a conservative element in rugby in certain areas	ideological approach (XX.1)
60	White players reluctant to join black clubs	racism (B.1) discrimination (SS.1) attitudinal stance LL.1)
61	Emphasis on cultural differences	diversity (QQ.1)
62	Create a blue print for SA rugby	transformation (PP.1)
63	Transformation in favour of government policies	democratic process (A.11)
64	Problem that good players migrating to bigger unions	migration of players (PP.1)
65	Urgently revitalise rural rugby structures	improvement of structures (A.13)
66	Transformation only successful if playing fields are equal	need for democratic development structure (A.10)
67	Changes have not been good enough	no change in structure (A.6)
68	Most important instrument is the "you" and "me" perceptions	wrong perceptions (DD.1)
69	Do not see sport in isolation	exclusive position (C.1)
70	Sadly, only few contracts for black players in SA rugby	marginalisation of players (P.1)
71	Transformation not equally applied at schools	inequalities and imbalances (NN.1)
72	Should do more at provincial level	governance of rugby (YY.1)

73	No implementation in black areas	inequalities and imbalances (NN.1)
74	Transformation process is castigated by "old thoughts"	attitudinal stance (LL.1)
75	People in fact develop themselves and not the case of rugby	self-interest (I.1)
76	Transformation should take into account the historical, political, social and economic changes	improvement of structures (A.13) innovating in rugby (WW.1)
77	Problem is that some players are marginalised	marginalisation of players (P.1)
78	Management structures not open enough	un-democratic structures (A.1)
79	Only select players on performances	merit selection (KK.1)
80	Nothing has changed since 1992	no change in structure (A.6)
81	Structures not democratic enough	autocratic structures (A.3)
82	Unfair treatment by officialdom	self-interest (I.1) exclusive position (C.1)
83	Structures collapsed through bad management	disparity in structures (A.7)
84	Leaders only there for their status	self-interest (I.1)
85	Unfair treatment by officials	discrimination (SS.1)
86	Stereotypes still exist	labelling (HH.1)
87	At certain unions and clubs racism is rife	racism (B.1)
88	Favouritism to certain players a very big problem	player favouritism (L.4)
89	Lack of knowledge, regarding democratic structures	non-interest in development (E.1)
90	Officials serve themselves	self-interest (I.1)
91	Disparity still too big	inequalities and imbalances (NN.1)
92	Rugby structures are still not representative	representivity and demographics (VV.1)
93	Reluctance to support legislation on how to regulate sport by the South African government	non-interest in development (E.1) attitudinal stance (LL.1)
94	Demographics should be taken into account with regard to representivity	representivity and demographics (VV.1)
95	Difficult to produce players and administrators of real value	proper leadership (CCC.1) empowerment of players (V.1)
96	Political inference not good	political interference (ZZ.1)
97	Not enough resources and qualified coaches	limited resources (D.1) no coaching (H.1)

98	Lack of management skills	training and development (EE.1)
99	See good, young talent and create opportunities	innovation in rugby (WW.1)
100	Racism will keep players apart	racism (B.1)
101	Good future if the abundance of talent is well managed	transformation (PP.1)
102	Gap too wide between schools, clubs and provinces	inequalities and imbalances (NN.1)
103	Also the economic imbalances between population groups	financial constraints (Q.1)
104	Rugby is still perceived as a white sport	attitudinal stance (LL.1)

6.5.6 Question: Any problems or obstacles regarding rugby transformation?

Respon- dent	Response	Code
1	Misconception about blacks not good enough	wrong perceptions (DD.1)
2	The so-called rugby schools do not recruit rugby talent from any disadvantaged areas	discrimination (SS.1) racism (B.1)
3	The rugby system or structure does not give everybody the same opportunity	disparity in structures (A.2) inequalities and imbalances (NN.1)
4	Unfair financial assistance between white and black players	inequalities and imbalances (NN.1) financial constraints (Q.1)
5	Players being rejected because of the colour of their skin. Judge players according to their talent and skills	discrimination (SS.1) racism (B.1) labelling (HH.1)
6	Higher authorities assume blacks and whites are in the same boat at varsity rugby	attitudinal stance (LL.1) wrong perceptions (DD.1)
7	Black players usually have more financial and transport problems	financial constraints (Q.1)
8	The disadvantaged of black rugby players give the impressions that they are ignorant and arrogant	wrong perceptions (DD.1)
9	Transformation is not to be forced on someone, it is a process that will take some time	developmental process (DDD.1)
10	Spectator behaviour	attitudinal stance (LL.1)
11	Lack of adequate facilities and human resources	lack of facilities (N.1) limited resources (D.1)
12	Lack of proper facilities	lack of facilities (N.1)
13	Selfishness of officials/coaches. They want to benefit personally	self-interest (I.1)
14	Dominance of one attitudinal group over the other	diversity (QQ.1) discrimination (SS.1)
15	Policies and regulations regarding transformation are not applied or implemented	governance of rugby (YY.1)
16	The problems with the administrators can be seen as a selective group of people	exclusive positions (C.1) elitism (W.1)
17	Failed to take rugby to the people – involve people and don't decide for them	people-driven process (EEE.2) dynamic process (DDD.2)

18	Financial disabilities of the rural communities in rugby	financial constraints (Q.1) negligence of rural areas (K.1)
19	Politics, personalities and persons with own or hidden agendas	political interference (ZZ.1) lack of transparency (I.10)
20	Negative attitudes and personal philosophies of certain rugby players and officials	attitudinal stance (LL.1)
21	The patronage of black players and officials by whites	player favouritism (L.4) nepotism (T.1)
22	Racism is still a big problem	racism (B.1)
23	Favouritism – If your father has been a Springbok you are automatically selected	player favouritism (L.4) nepotism (T.1)
24	Nepotism = unfortunately it is whom you know	nepotism (T.1)
25	Quota system a major problem	unsuccessful attempts (S.1)
26	Prejudice of people sometimes a burden	attitudinal stance (LL.1)
27	Many young players go to bigger or other provinces	migration/exodus of players (JJ.1) professionalism (BB.1)
28	We are too remote and efforts to operate as an independent rugby region failed	neglect of rural areas (K.1)
29	Certain persons are not positive towards transformation	attitudinal stance (LL.1) lack of commitment (I.7)
30	Too many rugby provinces are detrimental to rugby transformation	need for democratic development structures (A.10)
31	Political meddling in sports	political interference (ZZ.1)
32	Incompetent coaches and even referees	training of officials (Z.1) incompetent persons (I.4)
33	As a result of transformation, the correct players are not selected	discrimination (SS.1)
34	Not enough opportunities created for black players since 1992	empowerment of players (V.1) equal opportunities (UU.2)
35	Reluctance of the administrators to transform	racial structures (A.4) discrimination (SS.1)
36	Awarding superficial powers and positions to black officials	pseudo-democratic structures (A.2)
37	Unwillingness and reluctance of clubs and unions to transform all facets of rugby	un-democratic structures (A.1) limited infrastructure (G.1)
38	Window-dressing with players of colour a big obstacle	pseudo-democratic structures (A.2)

39	Incorrect selection puts pressure on the players and his confidence	inequalities and imbalances (NN.1)
40	Conservative officials ignored transformation intentionally	ideological approach (MM.1)
41	Lack of adequate training of both official and player	training and development (EE.1)
42	Decline in club rugby or community rugby	decline in community rugby (CC.1)
43	Little support to club rugby from the mother body	lack of interest (I.2)
44	Top rugby structures to be occupied by blacks	racism (B.1) discrimination (SS.1)
45	Interest of the players is a big concern	identification of talented players (A.12)
46	Administrators stuck in the old ways of doing things	lack of transparency (I.10) autocratic structures (A.3)
47	A mindset change is necessary	mindset change (GG.1)
48	Lack to accommodate all sectors of various communities	slow pace of transformation (GGG.1)
49	Problem that each has its own ideas	ideological approach (XX.1)
50	Do not force transformation, but motivate the process	developmental process (DDD.1)
51	Excuses play a big role in transformation	attitudinal stance (LL.1)
52	At schools level teachers are not motivated enough	lack of interest (I.2) non-interest in development (E.1)
53	Some unions have disadvantages	limited infrastructure (G.1) financial constraints (Q.1)
54	Lack of support from communities	lack of interest (I.2) non-interest in development (E.1)
55	Lack of proper facilities to advance rugby	lack of facilities (N.1)
56	Certain beliefs caused misconceptions	wrong perceptions (DD.1)
57	Lack of social integration	limited social integration (J.1)
58	Provide adequate manpower for rugby from grassroots level	improvement of structures (A.13)
59	Lack of collective perspective in rugby administration	lack of rugby development (RR.1)
60	Lack of proper values and norms	lack of integrity (AAA.2)
61	Sometimes quality and potential are ignored	discrimination (SS.1) lack of integrity (AAA.2)
62	Schools not more progressive with rugby transformation	lack of rugby development (RR.1) lack of transparency (I.10)

63	Rugby people shy away from challenges	lack of interest (I.2) lack of commitment (I.7)
64	Unions have business plans but fail to implement	lack of rugby development (RR.1) lack of control mechanism (AA.1)
65	What happened to the real merit players	discrimination (SS.1) unsuccessful attempts (S.1)
66	Migration of players to other rugby provinces	migration/exodus of players (JJ.1)
67	Lack of communication and bring people together	lack of integration (I.5) lack of transparency (I.10)
68	Wrong decision-making by selectors and coaches	lack of rugby development (RR.1) incompetent officials (I.2)
69	Rugby people are afraid of their positions	exclusive position (C.1) self-interest (I.1)
70	Majority of rugby unions are still conservative	ideological approach (MM.1) attitudinal stance (LL.1) autocratic structures (A.3)
71	Controversy with rugby contracts especially for blacks	inequalities and imbalances (NN.1) discrimination (SS.1)
72	White people are still in control	exclusive position (C.1) autocratic structures (A.3)
73	Management structures are not open enough and feel threatened	autocratic structures (A.3) exclusive position (C.1)
74	Competent black coaches remained assistant coaches	discrimination (SS.1) inequalities and imbalances (NN.1)
75	Head coaches not really want to transform	incompetent officials (I.2) lack of transparency (I.10)
76	Real changes are not taken place	no change in structure (A.6)
77	Transformation just another veil or cover	pseudo-democratic structures (A.2)
78	Process is castigated by old thoughts	un-democratic structures (A.1)
79	Rugby ethics is a big limitation	attitudinal stance (LL.1)

6.5.7 Question: Can rugby reconcile different cultural groups through transformation?

Respondent	Response	Code
1	No, not in a million years	no reconciliation (PPP.1) slow pace of transformation (GGG.1)
2	No, because transformation makes it worse in a way	no reconciliation (PPP.1) slow pace of transformation (GGG.1)
3	The quota-label will never reconcile different groups	no reconciliation (PPP.1)
4	Skin colour should not be a criteria for selection	affirmative action (AA.3)
5	Would not like to be regarded as a quota-player, when I am good enough to be there	labelling (HH.1) quotas (MM.1)
6	I have been in a team where cultural groups were forced to mingle or mix	affirmative action (AA.3) attitudinal stance (LL.1)
7	Groups are socially still divided and drift apart	diversity (QQ.1)
8	Not really because cultures are different	diversity (QQ.1)
9	We are brought up in a different way	diversity (QQ.1)
10	The only thing we have in common is that we play rugby together	popularity of rugby (WW.2) attitudinal stance (LL.1)
11	Transformation is only an illusion to a struggling black player	attitudinal stance (LL.1) unsuccessful attempts (S.1)
12	It is only a way to convince black players that there is a future in rugby	popularity of rugby (WW.2) empowerment of players (V.1)
13	No, but maybe over time, when the older regime are out of the system	attitudinal stance (LL.1) autocratic structures (A.3)
14	Not while the apartheid believers are still being given power to exercise their prejudice as individuals	ideological approach (XX.1) lack of integrity (AAA.2) lack of integration (I.5)
15	Transformation can separate us further	attitudinal stance (LL.1)
16	Because the best players can be sidelined or marginalised as a result of transformation	inequalities and imbalances (NN.1) discrimination (SS.1) marginalisation of players (P.1)
17	No, transformation divides	inequality and imbalances (NN.1)

18	It only worked for Africans and Coloureds	attitudinal stance (LL.1) lack of transparency (I.10)
19	Yes, transformation will learn different cultural groups to respect each other	diversity (QQ.1) dynamic process (dd.2)
20	When you want to win a rugby game, you do not question your opposition's culture	diversity (QQ.1) interdependence (I.9)
21	Yes, for sure, market the game at black areas to develop their love for rugby	marketing and sponsorship (X.1) developmental process (DDD.1)
22	Yes, it can but not forced as in the case of quotas	democratic process (A.11) transformation (PP.1)
23	If players perform equal roles in all rugby activities	democratic process (A.11) equal opportunity (UU.2)
24	Allow mass participation which emanates from rugby development	democratic process (A.11) improvement of structures (A.13)
25	A matter of changing attitude	attitudinal stance (LL.1)
26	Continuously try to improve the standards in rugby	innovation in rugby (WW.1) proper leadership (CC.1)
27	The opposite of transformation will be detrimental to other people	ideological approach (XX.1)
28	If transformation involves everyone	democratic process (A.11) transparency (UU.1)
29	Only if the best team play for SA	merit selection (KK.1) governance of rugby (YY.1)
30	Players should accept each other	reconciliation and unity (BBB.1) interdependence (I.9)
31	Players should rely on each other as people or human beings	reconciliation and unity (BBB.1) interdependence (I.9)
32	Integrate players through teambuilding	empowerment of players (V.1) integration (TT.1)
33	Leadership should bring rugby people together	proper leadership (CCC.1) transparency (UU.1)
34	Important that attitudes need to change from both sides	attitudinal stance (LL.1)
35	Slow pace of transformation detrimental to rugby reconciliation	lack of rugby development (RR.1)
36	No guarantees with unification for black unions, e.g. S.A.R.U.	pseudo-democratic structures (A.2) lack of integration (I.5)

37	Rugby was offered for the bigger political event or context	political interference (ZZ.1) pseudo-democratic structures (A.2)
38	In a sense, rugby helped with reconciliation	reconciliation and unity (BBB.1)
39	No unity in certain unions	lack of rugby development (RR.1)
40	Rugby people started on the wrong foot	lack of commitment (I.7) lack of integration (I.5)
41	Talented players are overloaded	discrimination (SS.1)
42	No democratisation in certain clubs	un-democratic structures (A.1)
43	All talented players have been lost	unsuccessful attempts (S.1) migration/exodus of players (JJ.1)
44	Continuation of the old rugby regime handicaps or ramshackle progress	racial structures (A.4) lack of rugby development (RR.1)
45	Superficial transformation and superficial integration will not reconcile rugby	pseudo-democratic structures (A.2) lack of integration (I.5)
46	If only rugby people can united with social values	value-driven approach (AAA.1)
47	The true rugby history of national unions of colour has been suppressed or concealed – kept a secret	limited social integration (J.1) inequalities and imbalances (NN.1) lack of integration (I.5)
48	Diversity can promote integration	diversity (QQ.1) integration (TT.1)
49	The role of the media can help	proper communication (U.1) education (EE.2)
50	Transformation is not only colour or race, look at the broad spectrum	transparency (UU.1) dynamic process (DDD.2) democratic process (A.11)
51	The role models in rugby is a big distortion	self-interest (I.1) incompetent persons (I.4)
52	Empowerment of competent people	empowerment of players (V.1)
53	Some do not accept that the rugby context has changed	attitudinal stance (LL.1) ideological approach (XX.1)
54	Ideologies should also be taken into consideration	ideological approach (XX.1)
55	Diversification should be forced on players	diversity (QQ.1)
56	There should be measures and goals	governance of rugby (YY.1)

57	Resources must be applied correctly	governance of rugby (YY.1) funding (Q.3)
58	Create equal opportunities for all players	innovation in rugby (WW.1)
59	Vision of management should be correct	proper leadership (CCC.1)
60	Its a negative perception that there must be a white person in a strategic position	wrong perceptions (DD.1)
61	The dominance of metros not good for rugby	autocratic structures (A.3)
62	Frustration of rugby persons can have a negative impact	marginalisation of players (P.1)
63	Most of the money go for the players and not for the infrastructure	inequalities and imbalances (NN.1) non-interest in development (E.1)
64	Some officials and coaches only see money and results	self-interest (I.1) lack of interest (I.3)
65	No real bonding and integration in rugby	lack of integration (I.5)
66	Previously good players have been overlooked	discrimination (SS.1)
67	We should have capable people in the administration	proper leadership (CCC.1) competent persons (I.6)
68	The passion of playing rugby can be a good value	value-driven approach (AAA.1)
70	There is still a divide-and-rule attitude in rugby	inequalities and imbalances (NN.1) discrimination (SS.1)
71	The dire situations need to be addressed	improvement of structures (A.13)
72	You cannot just change from white to black	mindset change (GG.1) attitudinal stance (LL.1)
73	With referees the transformation is slow	non-interest in development (E.1)
74	Do not force transformation on people	transparency (UU.1)
75	Some people do not want to mix with other people	attitudinal stance (LL.1)
76	Every player has the aspiration to play for his country	empowerment of players (V.1)
77	Support from all for the national team	reconciliation and unity (BBB.1)
78	A spirit of patriotism and belonging	patriotism (HHH.1)
79	People should be transparent and with integrity	transparency (UU.1)
80	Avoid labelling people	labelling (HH.1)
81	Enlarge a broad base for rugby participation	democratic process (A.11)

82	Transformation from the grassroots levels	transformation (PP.1) development process (DDD1)
83	Mentorship and guardianship	mentorship in rugby (Y.1)
84	You should have feeder schools	development process (DDD.1)
85	Transformation should be a sustainable activity in the townships	democratic process (A.11)
86	Rugby can unite and make friends	reconciliation and unity (BBB.1)

6.5.8 Question: What are your views on representivity in rugby?

Respon- dent	Response	Code
1	Its fair, because there is positive motivation for young developed players	empowerment of players (V.1)
2	None existent, because of negative perceptions towards blacks in a team	non-existent structures (A.9) wrong perceptions (DD.1)
3	In general very good and excellent	dynamic process (DDD.2)
4	Players of colour do not get the chances to prove their talents, because coaches are still racist	lack of integration (I.5) racism (B.1)
5	Representivity is not such a big thing to me as a player	lack of interest (I.2) lack of commitment (I.7)
6	Blacks are not well represented as they should be	inequalities and imbalances (NN.1)
7	Young players now have both white and black role models	role models in rugby (CCC.2)
8	Our representivity of a democratic Springbok team is very good	democratic process (A.11)
9	The best player should be selected	merit selection (KK.1) equal opportunity (UU.1)
10	Rugby representivity must be done at all levels of the sport	representivity and demographics (VV.1)
11	Representivity should be maintained and sustained	representivity and demographics (VV.1)
12	It is long overdue and has to happen	representivity and demographics (VV.1)
13	Representivity has to be matched with quality and responsibility	transparency (UU.1) equal opportunity (UU.2)
14	As a coach I have no problem	attitudinal stance (LL.1)
15	Rugby is still not representative	inequalities and imbalances (NN.1)
16	Representivity must be more democratic in sport	democratic process (A.11)
17	Control the whole demographics with merit and potential	merit selection (KK.1) representivity and demographics (VV.1)
18	Every player should get the opportunity to represent his country	equal opportunity (UU.2) empowerment of players (V.1)
19	Representivity is only a theoretical concept and has never been practically implemented	ideological approach (XX.1)
20	The only time that there was representivity in rugby was in the old non-racial S.A.R.U.	attitudinal stance (LL.1)

21	No meaningful representivity after unification	pseudo-democratic structures (A.2)
22	Any club or province should allow any player irrespective of race, creed and gender to take part in rugby	equal opportunity (UU.2) exposure of rugby (WW.3)
23	It is a token process because transformation is slow and painful	pseudo-democratic structures (A.2) slow pace of transformation (GGG.1)
24	In certain unions, e.g. W.P. the whites and coloured officials do not work as a team	self-interest (I.1) disparity in structures (A.7)
25	Blacks are favourites for transformation	player favouritism (L.4)
26	Positions for money and not promoting the transformation process	self-interest (I.1) affirmative action (AA.3)
27	It's a good thing	dynamic process (DDD.2)
28	Wonderful influence, bring friends closer to each other	reconciliation and unity (BBB.1)
29	The best players must be chosen for the team	merit selection (KK.I)
30	There is no representivity, because rugby is still controlled by the corporate world	financial constraints (Q.1) capitalism in sport (Q.2)
31	The negative perceptions by conservative Whites that believe rugby is only for whites	wrong perceptions (DD.1) ideological approach (XX.1)
32	It's always people who attend influential schools and the best universities that are allowed to represent us	disparity in structures (A.7) discrimination (SS.1)
33	I do not think it exists	non-existent structures (A.9)
34	It does not represent the true demographics of the country	representivity and demographics (VV.1)
35	There are brilliant players in all race groups to represent us	role models in rugby (CC.2) representivity and demographics (VV.1)
36	SA Rugby does little to players in remote rural areas to promote the game	neglect of rural areas (K.1) lack of integration (I.5)
37	As long as quotas are not implemented, no representivity	attitudinal stance (LL.1)
38	Satisfactory, but room for improvement	innovation in rugby (WW.1)
39	People of colour do not get the chance especially at flyhalf	discrimination (SS.1)
40	Rugby representivity to all participants and not only one group	representivity and demographics (VV.1)
41	From schools level and clubs apply the quota systems	innovation in rugby (WW.1)
42	At Springbok level only merit selection	merit selection (KK.1)
43	People of colour should be in top rugby management structures	improvement of structures (A.13)

44	Black representivity minimal at provincial and national level	inequalities and imbalances (NN.1)
45	National team, Springboks, not a good example of representivity	lack of integration (I.5) lack of transparency (I.10)
46	Management staff, at all levels, does not reflect the demographics	representivity and demographics (VV.1)
47	The interest of rugby should be paramount	popularity of rugby (WW.2) innovation in rugby (WW.1)
48	Own interest has never promoted the image of rugby	self-interest (I.1)
49	Let merit selection be the only criteria for representivity	merit selection (KK.1)
50	Give equal opportunities to all players	equal opportunity (UU.2)
51	Representivity should be seen as an advantage and not a disadvantage	representivity and demographics (VV.1)
52	In SA the playing field should be level and equal for all	equal opportunity (UU.2)
53	Representivity in rugby should occur natural in all communities	transparency (UU.1)
54	Representivity gives you a sense of belonging and status	reconciliation and unity (BBB.1)
55	Rugby in SA has reached national status and should be marketed to all stakeholders	popularity of rugby (WW.2) interdependence (I.9)
56	There are still too many whites in our rugby teams	inequalities and imbalances (NN.1)
57	Some white players do not even deserve to be in the team	nepotism (T.1) limited social integration (J.1)
58	The union's members need to make themselves known to players	transparency (UU.1)
59	The acid test in representation and demographics	representivity and demographics (VV.1)

6.5.9 Question: What would you suggest or recommend for the transformation process to be successful?

Respondent	Response	Code
1	Exposure to rugby at primary schools in townships	exposure of rugby (WW.3)
2	Patience, but improve standards	improvement of structures (A.13)
3	Do not force transformation, leave it to develop on itself	democratic process (A.11)
4	Make fair and merit selections of teams at all levels	merit selection (KK.1)
5	Give everyone the same opportunities	equal opportunity (UU.2)
6	Have more academies and institutions of the game	improvement of structures (A.13)
7	Introduce science to the sport	innovation in rugby (WW.1)
8	Blacks to be treated as equals to whites in terms of talent, potential and involvement	equal opportunity (UU.2) merit selection (KK.1)
9	Spend energy and money equally to all players	marketing and sponsorship (X.1) funding (Q.3)
10	More people to get involved on a broad base	democratic process (A.11)
11	Create access to gyms and equipment for all players involved	transparency (UU.1) improvement of structures (A.13)
12	Have well-respected and qualified coaches to help the struggling teams	training of officials (Z.1)
13	Support talented players financially and emotionally	governance of rugby (YY.1)
14	Better and proper facilities and rugby fields	proper infrastructure (N.2)
15	Democratisation of structures	democratic structures (A.8)
16	Elect competent people to positions	proper leadership (CCC.1) competent persons (I.6)
17	More transparency of the elections of rugby management	governance of rugby (YY.1) transparency (UU.1)
18	Reach out to the historically disadvantaged groups at rugby schools, clubs and communities	developmental process (DDD.1) training and development (EE.1)
19	Politicians should stay out of sport	political interferences (ZZ.1)
20	Create a data basis for each talented player and monitoring his progress	mentorship in rugby (Y.1) identification of talented players (A.12)

21	SA Rugby to have a professional task team to evaluate all aspects of rugby development	governance of rugby (YY.1) improvement of structures (A.13)
22	Set clear and specific objectives and policies regarding rugby transformation	democratic process (A.11) exposure of rugby (WW.3)
23	Should not have people who are stumbling blocks	incompetent persons (I.4) incompetent officials (I.2)
24	Involvement of SA Rugby at rural areas and provincial unions	governance of rugby (YY.1) need for democratic development structures (A.10)
25	Training of all coaches and referees	training and development (EE.1)
26	Make available more funds and also competent staff	funding (Q.3) competent persons (I.6)
27	Transformation process needs to be legislated and forced, otherwise its window-dressing	governance of rugby (YY.1) education(EE.12)
28	Transform the developed player adequately	training and development (EE.1)
29	SA Rugby to plough more money/funds at club and university levels	funding (Q.3) improvement of structures (A.13)
30	Co-operation is necessary	proper communication (U.1) interdependence (I.9)
31	People should not have hidden agendas	transparency (UU.1)
32	Equal opportunities for everyone in rugby	equal opportunity (UU.2)
33	Eradicate favouritism of race completely	player favouritism (L.4) non-racism (F.1)
34	Players must be chosen according to their performance	merit selection (KK.1) equal opportunities (UU.2)
35	Tertiary institutions to be used as centres for sport development	training and development (EE.1)
36	Revival of rugby at schools, clubs and rural areas important	innovation in rugby (WW.1)
37	Competent people in positions of power	competent persons (I.6)
38	Educate people about transformation	education (EE.2)
39	Set laws that support and adopt transformation	education(EE.2)
40	Put adequate structure in place	improvement of structures (A.13)
41	Monitoring progress of promising players	mentorship in rugby (Y.1)
42	Transformation to start at ground level not from the top	democratic process (A.11)

43	Closer interaction	integration (TT.1) interdependence (I.9)
44	Recruit passionate people for the game of rugby	identification of talented players (A.12)
45	Develop the player's potential in full	empowerment of players (V.1)
46	Make the transformation process understandable to all	transparency (UU.1) democratic process (UU.1)
47	More involvement from the private sector	involvement of stakeholders (Q.4)
48	Lack of commitment from the various stakeholders	lack of commitment by stakeholders (Q.5)
49	Biase involvement in certain regions	discrimination (SS.1) limited social integration (J.1)
50	Black Craven Week players should not be ignored at provincial and national sides	inequalities and imbalances (NN.1) integration (TT.1)
51	Development must happen in rural areas	training and development (EE.1)
52	Make sure that all races are given a fair and equal chance	equal opportunity (UU.2)
53	Investigate the attitudes of certain coaches regarding the "size" of players	attitudinal stance (LL.1) lack of integrity (AAA.2)
54	The attitudes of certain whites need also to be changed	attitudinal stance (LL.1) lack of integrity (AAA.2)
55	All provincial unions to reflect the demographics in their respective teams	representivity and demographics (VV.1)
56	Smaller rugby unions to be empowered financially to retain talented players	funding (Q.2) marketing and sponsorship (X.1)
57	Reward unions who produces more black players locally	affirmative action in rugby (AA.1)
58	Maintain always an independent selection panel with rugby positions	independent selection panel (I.8)
59	Top positions should be representative	proper leadership (CCC.1)
60	Give more players exposure and opportunities	exposure of rugby (WW.3) equal opportunity (UU.2)
61	Select players on merit	merit selection (KK.1)
62	Devise a blue print for SA Rugby	governance of rugby (YY.1)
63	Profiles of all players/teams should be kept	governance of rugby (YY.1) innovation in rugby (WW.1)
64	Aware that we are interdependent on each other	interdependence (I.9)
65	Eliminate stereotypes, labelling, prejudice and resistance	labelling (HH.1)

66	Representivity should be taken into account	representivity and demographics (VV.1)
67	Rugby development suffered as a result of professionalism	professionalism (BB.1)
68	Money for rugby development should not go to elite groups	funding (Q.3) self-interest (I.1)
69	Mindsets should change	mindset change (GG.1)
70	Negligence of certain rugby areas should stop	neglect of rural areas (K.1)
71	Players should not look down on others	Discrimination (SS.1)
72	Reconciliation is a principle issue	reconciliation and unity(BBB.1)
73	Proper communication is essential	proper communication (U.1)
74	Mentorship an absolute necessity	mentorship in rugby (Y.1)

In summary, 101 codes were identified from the responses of the participants. The density of these codes were then arranged according to their occurrence (for details see Table 6.2).

	Code number	Coding Identification	Density
1	LL.1	Attitudinal Stance	40
2	KK.2	Merit Selection	35
3	SS.1	Discrimination	32
4	A.13	Improvement of Structures	28
5	A.2	Pseudo-Democratic Structures	26
6	6.NN.1	Inequalities and Imbalances	26
7	YY.1	Governance of Rugby	24
8	A.11	Democratic Process	19
9	V.1	Empowerment of Players	19
10	B.1	Racism	18
11	WW.1	Innovation in Rugby	18
12	UU.2	Equal Opportunities	18
13	VV.1	Representivity and Demographics	17
14	QQ.1	Diversity	17
15	MM.1	Quotas	16
16	HH.1	Labelling	16
17	I.1	Self-interest	15
18	UU.1	Transparency	14
19	P.1	Marginalisation of Players	14
20	C.1	Exclusive Position	13
21	I.5	Lack of Integration	13
22	E.1	Non-Interest in Development	12
23	BBB.1	Reconciliation and Unity	12
24	PP.1	Transformation	12
25	XX.1	Ideological Approach	12
26	GG.1	Mindset Change	12
27	A.10	Need for Democratic Development Structures	11
28	CCC.1	Proper Leadership	11
29	EE.1	Training and Development	11
30	RR.1	Lack of Rugby Development	11
31	Q.1	Financial Constraints	11
32	A.3	Autocratic Structures	11
33	DD.1	Wrong Perceptions	11
34	A.7	Disparity in Structures	10
35	S.1	Unsuccessful Attempts	10
36	II.1	Integration	10
37	Y.1	Mentorship in Rugby	10
38	DDD.2	Dynamic Process	9

39	DDD.1	Development Process	8
40	L.4	Player Favouritism	8
41	Q.3	Funding	8
42	A.6	No Change in Structure	8
43	ZZ.1	Political Interference	8
44	K.1	Neglect in Rural Areas	7
45	I.2	Lack of Interest	7
46	I.10	Lack of Transparency	7
47	A.1	Un-Democratic Structure	7
48	WW.2	Popularity of Rugby	7
49	T.1	Nepotism	6
50	I.9	Interdependence	6
51	GGG.1	Slow Pace of Transformation	6
52	U.1	Proper Communication	6
53	X.1	Marketing and Sponsorship	6
54	I.4	Incompetent Persons	6
55	N.1	Lack of Facilities	5
56	EE.2	Education	5
57	EEE.1	Community Involvement	5
58	I.6	Competent Persons	5
59	AA.3	Affirmative Action in Rugby	5
60	A.4	Racial Structures	5
61	CC.1	Decline in Community Rugby	5
62	A.12	Identification of Talented Players	5
63	F.1	Non-Racism	5
64	EEE.2	People-Driven Process	4
65	D.1	Limited Resources	4
66	JJ.1	Migration/Exodus of Players	4
67	AAA.1	Value-Driven Approach	4
68	BB.1	Professionalism	4
69	AAA.2	Lack of Integrity	4
70	I.7	Lack of Commitment	4
71	G.1	Limited Infrastructure	4
72	A.9	Non-Existent Structures	4
73	WW.3	Exposure of Rugby	4
74	A.8	Democratic Structures	3
75	O.2	Un-Democratic Procedure	3
76	I.2	Incompetent Officials	3
77	PPP.1	No Reconciliation	3
78	Z.1	Training of Officials	3
79	A.5	Un-Known Structures	3
80	HHH.1	Patriotism	2
81	AA.1	Lack of Control Mechanism	2
82	CC.2	Role Models in Rugby	2
83	M.1	Importance of Constitution	2

84	W.1	Elitism	2
85	FFF.1	Paradox or Contradiction	1
86	I.3	Limited Involvement of Stakeholders	1
87	L.1	Player Rights	1
88	L.2	Player Powers	1
89	L.5	Black Players to Work Harder	1
90	U.1	Lack of Communication	1
91	N.5	Proper Infrastructure	1
92	H.1	No Coaching	1
93	II.1	Need for Competent Persons	1
94	R.1	Geographical Location	1
95	Q.2	Capitalism in Sport	1
96	I.8	Independent Selection Panel	1
97	Q.5	Lack of Commitment by Stakeholders	1
98	Q.4	Involvement of Stakeholders	1
99	I.6	Lack of Competent Staff	1
100	L.3	Player Insight1	1
101	O.1	Democratic Procedures	1

Table 6.2: Density of the codes

Before the researcher could elaborate on the storyline of rugby transformation and democracy in South Africa, he first investigated the relationship between these categories. These categories were investigated via the selective coding process, before an emergent theory could be developed once the categories were saturated, formal definitions of each category, in terms of the properties and dimensions, were generated (Payne, 2007). Note-taking and memoing formed an integral part of the theoretical integration.

After intense scrutiny and consolidation, 37 conceptual responses, reflecting a density between 10–40 (see Table 6.2) were identified.

The researcher then created a number of categories emerging from these identified concepts. Consequently, Table 6.3 illustrates the clustering of these concepts into categories. In essence, it means reviewing and re-defining these categories.

Category A: attitudinal stance labelling ideological approach mindset change wrong perceptions	stereotyping
Category B: merit selection equal opportunities democratic process transparency	lack of honesty
Category C: self-interest exclusive position	elitism
Category D: discrimination racism inequalities and imbalances lack of integration	misuse of power
Category E: governance in rugby improvement in structures need for democratic development structures training and development (structure) mentorship in rugby (structure) proper leadership (governance)	lack in governance
Category F: slow pace of transformation lack of representivity and demographics superficial reconciliation and unity limited innovation in rugby disempowerment of players some integration	limitations to transformation
Category G: financial constraints	financial constraints

Category H: quotas marginalisation of players non-interest unsuccessful attempts	superficial integration
Category I: pseudo-democratic structures lack of rugby development autocratic structures disparity in structures	dysfunctional systems
Category J: diversity	ignorance towards diversity

Table 6.3: Reviewing and re-defining categories

6.5.10: Emerging Themes

In the next step, the researcher identified emerging themes from the preceding categories. These themes are illustrated in Table 6.4. Where relevant, a connection was made between similar categories. These categories were clustered together and consequently created potential and emerging themes. During the process of data analysis and coding the researcher followed Tesch's (1990:85-88) coding process because it was done manually and not electronically. In Table 6.4 the researcher illustrated the linkages and relationships between the preceding categories, which eventually led to the emerging themes. Triangulation formed an integral part of this exercise.

Triangulation of categories	Themes
stereotyping elitism dysfunctional systems	disrespect for social integration
stereotyping lack of honesty abuse of power ignorance towards diversity	creation of a dysfunctional social system
abuse of power	development of authoritative

ignorance towards diversity	behaviour
limitations to transformation superficial integration ignorance towards diversity	leaning towards pseudo- democracy and tokenism
lack of honesty lack in governance ignorance towards diversity limitations to transformation	resistance to change
financial constraints dysfunctional systems lack in governance	lack of resources
stereotyping elitism limitations to transformation ignorance towards diversity	lack of interdependence
lack of honesty abuse of power ignorance towards diversity limitations to transformation	lack of integrity

Table 6.4: Emerging Themes

Consequently, the following emerging themes were prominent after the triangulation of the categories in Table 6.4. To emphasise the importance of these themes, the researcher identified them again as follows:

- Disrespect for social integration;
- Creation of a dysfunctional social system;
- Development of authoritative behaviour;
- Leaning towards pseudo-democracy;
- Resistance to change;
- Lack of resources;
- Lack of interdependence; and
- Lack of integrity.

It is interesting to note that most of the eight emerging themes have in some way or another a linkage or relationship.

According to Henning, Van Rensburg and Smit (2004:107) each theme can be used as **"the basis for an argument"** in a discussion around them. In this instance the researcher was satisfied that the 8 emerging themes represented a reasonably "researched" chunk of the reality about the transformation and democratisation of rugby in South Africa since the new constitutional dispensation. At this stage the researcher revisited the research questions as stipulated in Chapter 1.

1. What is the relationship between sport (e.g. the federations) and politics (the government) since the new democratic order in 1994?
2. What are the basic assumptions that describe transformation and democratisation?
3. Do representative teams, at all levels, reflect the demographics of our society or only the participating sport people?
4. How appropriate are the pillars or principles of transformation?
5. Which model could be utilised or used to explain the processes of transformation and democratisation?
6. What are the prerequisites for politically driven transformation towards merit driven transformation? (see section 1.2.1 in Chapter 1).

According to the researcher there was a reason why the topic became an investigation and at this stage the researcher used the "worked" data as evidence in the continuing arguments and counter-arguments (Henning, et al 2004:107). These research questions also formed an integral part of the questionnaires and interviews. In fact, later in this chapter, the researcher analysed the principles of transformation briefly, as well as all other related issues regarding the slow pace of rugby transformation since unification in 1992. The main objective of the research was to determine whether the rugby transformation was merit- or politically driven.

In the researcher's view, grounded theory offers a coherent account to explain the topic under investigation: the transformation and democratisation of South African in post-apartheid. According to Payne (2007) this specific research question may be clustered

around a core category or **a number of linked or related themes**, but should not compromise a diverse collection of interesting but largely unrelated themes (Payne, 2007). This may mean that "researchers need to be selective in their emphasis (Payne, 2007:82). The researcher, thus, used a number of linked themes to develop an emerging theory.

Consequently, the researcher developed a conceptual framework to illustrate the relationships between the emerging themes in Figure 6.5.

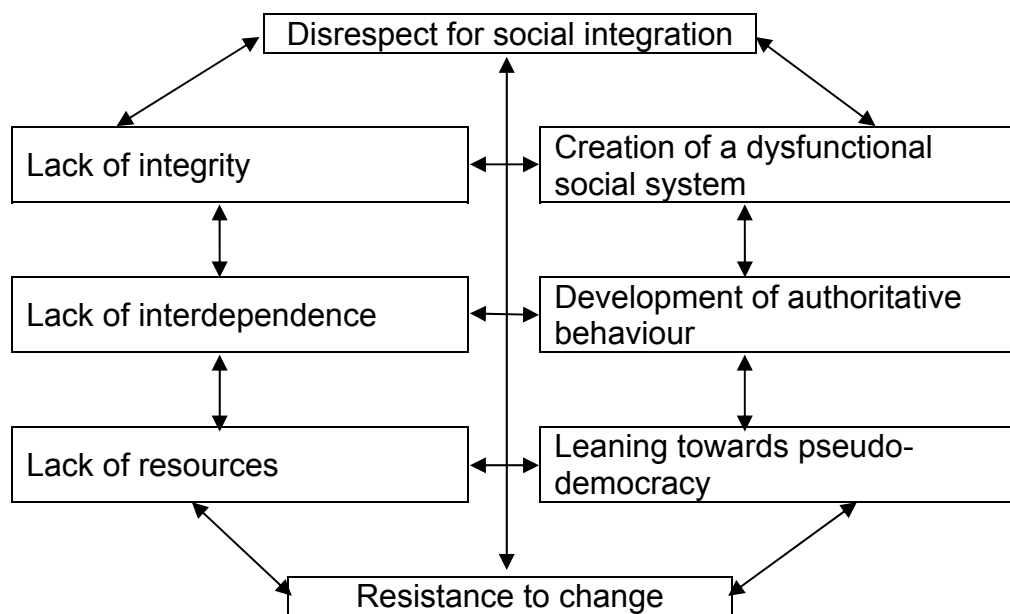


Figure 6.5: Linkages between Emerging Themes

According to De Vos (2003:354) describing, classifying and interpreting is at the heart of qualitative data analysis and interpreting is at the heart of qualitative data analysis and entails identifying salient themes, recurring ideas or language, and patterns of belief. Categories of meaning emerge from this phase. Cresswell (1998:142-165) also suggests that researchers should seek a family of themes (see Figure 6.5) represented by segments of data. In his attempt the researcher searched for plausible explanations for the data and the linkages among them. This will be addressed in the next chapter.

It is therefore clear from the preceding explanation that the researcher tried to refine the categories until he developed emerging themes. According to Henning van Rensburg and Smit (2004) the process of refinement goes on until the theory is crystallised. It means that "pursuing a theme that seems to bear great substance and that may yield the theory that the researcher is striving for..." (Henning et al., 2004:16).

6.6 ANALYTICAL MEMOS

The researcher supported the viewpoints of Payne (2007) that unlike content analysis, the same data may be attributed to more than one category. Therefore, Payne (2007:89) remarks that "it is normal for categories to be initially descriptive and to become more analytical during the process of analysis." With regard to the data synthesis, the researcher wrote **memos** and **note-taking** throughout the whole research process. The researcher worked pro-actively with the data and categories to achieve more analytic insights (Pane, 2007). In the final stage, **selective coding** was used to draw together the codes and categories to create an overarching theory or explanation (Hawker and Kerr, 2007:87-97).

Pidgeon and Henwood (1996:95) contend that "the act of writing memos can frequently stimulate further theorizing". In Box 6.1 the researcher gave an example of an analytic memo. He described the dilemma between merit selected rugby players and quota-players. In his analysis, he noticed that two schools of thought emerged from the data: Merit selected players versus politically driven players (quota players).

The participants seemed to emphasise either merit selected players or quota-players. It all depends which participant the researcher asked to respond. The Black players tend to support more the quota-system while the white players emphasised the merit selection option.

Some respondents feel that only the Springboks should be selected on merit. They argue that at this stage the "laying fields are level". Merit represents both quality and

quantity. There are enough players of colour to be selected on merit in a team. All players must have equal opportunities, but performances should be the norm and criteria. Currently, black players are given fair exposure on both junior and senior level.

True transformation would determine teams to be selected purely on merit. Players should only prove themselves. Select a person on performance, not on his skin colour. One respondent said "sport is colour blind". Merit players can perform due to the resources they are nowadays exposed to. Merit players usually represent their country. Rugby unions must urgently appoint competent coaches, because some of them have not the will to change.

On the other hand, a group of players feel that quota-players are used to satisfy the government policies. They said it is very bad for the game of rugby in the new democracy. Players should not be chosen because of their skin colour. Blacks feel like quota players in a white team. Others feel that quotas does not belong in rugby. Quotas should only be a short team instrument (solution) to address the problem of wiping out the backlog. Invest in the historically disadvantaged players to solve the quota-problem. Quotas are labelling the players of colour. The latter players feel they are inferior. The National Sports Council had introduced quotas as a temporary measure. Development programme equate quotas. Quotas is seen as window-dressing, a facade. Since 1992, quotas still relevant due to the slow pace of transformation.

Box 6.1: An Example of a Memo: Merit Selected Players vs Quota Players

According to Pidgeon and Henwood (1996) the category links could become a key stimulus and focus for conceptual integration and theoretical development and reflection. In the writing of analytical memos, the researcher had to convert some categories into relabeling categories that occurred repeatedly. In Box 6.2 the contentious issue of the development programme in rugby emerged. The researcher categorised these issues in the **Yes-Factor** and **No-Factor**, to illustrate the controversies with regard to South Africa's sports transformation.

Yes-Factor

The perception is that there is development in all sport. Through the development programme players get chances to represent their provinces, and eventually their country. Especially at schools level to identify talented players. Recruit players, who are not in the limelight, to expose them to rugby. In KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) the development programme bearing fruit, is implemented correctly. Slowly but surely it gets into place. Intensify the development programme, but concentrate on club level mostly. To a certain extent players of colour go through the U/19 and U/2 programmes, but disappear at Currie Cup and Super Rugby.

No-Factor

Here, the perception is that the development structures do not work in practice. The leadership in rugby only focused on the already developed areas in the country. But because of the geographical settings of towns, and the vast distances there is not always enough finances or monetary incentives. In most cases, persons in charge are not effective and efficient. Some development programmes have been suspended three times in 2003, 2004 and 2005. With the result the required outcomes have not been achieved. Development, for example in Eastern Province, is a disaster. There are no investment in the schools and youth. The focus is only on metropolitan and urban areas, not in the rural areas. Another concern is that coaches look at bigger players in stead of skills. There are still too many irregularities and favouritism. As a result of the lack of resources and proper facilities, the development programmes did not reach the grassroots levels. There is no evidence of players coming through at a satisfactory level. There should be more training, coaching and development for under privileged players. Administrators need to have a passion for the sport. All relevant stakeholders should be involved with the planning.

Despite a lot of talent available, there is no proper development programme in the

provinces. Some provinces do not even have academies or institutions for rugby. Some players feel they do not fit into the required standard. Communication to the respective officials should be transparent. Some players have to buy their own training equipment and rugby clothes. They even have to travel, at some places, more than 90 km, for practice without reward. It is obvious that no quality player can perform adequately without a proper developmental programme.

The rural areas do not benefit and that is why the rugby is "dying" there. In the Eastern Cape and old Transkei the officials there query the existence of a development programme. In the same vein, it is very one-sided as the top rugby schools in Western Province and Free State, for example, select mostly players from the traditionally white schools to play in the Craven Week. There need to be a full scale support structure for especially in disadvantaged groups. The system is abused because the same players are selected continuously. Lastly, some participants are unaware of any development programme in their area.

Box 6.2: Success of rugby development programmes in South Africa

6.7 WRITTEN REPORT

At all levels of the research the researcher attempted to be aware of his personal prejudices and values, which might have an influence on the study (Uys and Basson, 1994). The researcher was under the guidance of an experienced supervisor in qualitative research. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the researcher made use of personal field-notes and memoing in order to reflect on his own feelings, and these were used during the data analysis process. Therefore, his feelings had little or no influence of the results of the research.

6.7.1 Reflexivity

According to Krefting (1991:218) qualitative approach is reflexive in that the researcher "is a participant, not an observer, hence he/she cannot be separated from the research". However, in this case, reflexivity refers to the assessment of the influence of the investigator's own background, perceptions and interest in the grounded theory approach. Payne (2007:85) remarks that **reflexivity** allows the researcher to acknowledge his role in the creation of the analytical account what it implies that procedures central to the grounded theory methods, such as constant comparison and the writing of memos, promote a crucial awareness of the role of the researcher. Payne (2007:85) is of the opinion that researchers are generally acknowledged to be co-producers of the data, for example, during interviews and during interpretation of the data. Dyer (2006:135) believes that reflexivity acknowledges that "researcher and researched can influence each other in ways that also influence the outcome of the research. Therefore, the reflexive focus can be upon the participant, the investigator or researcher, or both, and emphasises an awareness of the researcher's own presence in the research project (Smith, 1996:196-201).

6.7.2 Confidentiality

Confidentially means that information may have names attached to it, but the researcher holds it in confidence or conceals it from the public (Neuman, 1997). In this research, the raw data was only accessible to the researcher and his study supervisor. Although names were initially used in the tapes and transcribed data, the respondents in the study were made anonymous as advised by Leininger (1985). The respondents or participants were made anonymous and the interview materials were labelled by numbers. The interview materials were also not accessible to unauthorised persons. The researcher gave numbers for the participants, as for example: Subject No. 1. The subjects gave their consent to participate in the study voluntarily. By means of their participation in the interviews, they shared their personal views and with their permission. The data were used as sources for the research (Babbie, 1992).

Dyer (2006) points out that confidentiality requires that all records and interview notes, should be organised so that the source of the information cannot be identified. This can be achieved "by using a code number or a fictitious name to identify a respondent (Dyer, 2006:44). The researcher gave all the subjects numbers in order to protect their identity, position and status in society. Therefore, the concept of confidentiality, in this study, created a feeling of certainty, self-reliance and trust b die participants towards the researcher or investigator.

6.8 DATA SYNTHESIS

With the interpretation and explanation of the data after the coding process, the researcher applied the **storyline technique** as proposed in the previous chapter of this research. The core categories were transformed into an analytical story. Both the data analyses of the interviews and questionnaires were relevant in this section. Prominent constructs emerged from the data. According to Dyer(2006) constructs are ideas or concepts, based on particular **theoretical concepts**. Depicted from the data analysis it was obvious that most of the participants, who had been interviewed, revealed **opposing tendencies** towards the issues of transformation and democratisation in South African rugby. The researcher observed the **paradoxical nature** of sport in South Africa, especially with the **unification of rugby** in 1992. Participants differed in their assumptions of rugby transformation in the country. For example, Subject No. 1 (2004) said in Bloemfontein "...we made attempts to transform and develop rugby in the province", while Subject No. 2 (2004) in Kimberley testified that "...not pro-active on the whole issue of transformation".

6.8.1 Paradoxes of sport

According to Alswang and Van Rensburg (2000:598) **paradox** means "a statement which appears to be **self-contradictory**, but is true". Some statements were contrary to received opinions. It means therefore that the responses from some respondents might be essentially absurd or false statements. This is conflicting with the preconceived notions of what was reasonable or possible during the unification of South African rugby. Paradoxes of sport go hand-in-hand with **myths** regarding certain sport codes. A myth can be described as the embodying of some popular ideas concerning natural or historical phenomena; fictitious ideas or beliefs, especially one that has been accepted uncritically (Readers Digest Great Encyclopaedic Dictionary, 1979). Eitzen (1999:161) acknowledges that sport "is a **social construction**, the result of historical actions and choices". What it means is that because sport is created by people it can be changed by them as well. The struggle for the democratisation of South African sport during the

apartheid regime, is well documented historically, sport has occasionally changed for the better (since 1992), because of the deliberate acts of individuals and the collective (Eitzen, 1999).

6.8.2 Tokenism or "window-dressing"

Subject No. 26 (2004) in Port Elizabeth expressed his concern regarding rugby transformation in South Africa: "...transformation created a culture of window-dressing, because we transformed only on the wings". He continued stating: "Representivity has nothing to do with colour, On the other hand, a well-known academic and rugby expert said in Stellenbosch, Subject No. 29 (2005): "Transformation goes far more than race, redress, sport, past history and opportunities". He emphasised that **discrimination**, **prejudice** and **stereotyping** are major obstacles in the rugby integration process since the new constitutional dispensation.

According to the Cambridge Internal Dictionary (1996) tokenism means to disapprove. Tokenism describes actions which are the result of pretending to give advantage to those groups in society who are often treated unfairly, in order to give the appearance of fairness. In the coding integration the researcher identified the following core categories in Section B: **parochialism** revitalise rugby; unification, contradictions, attitude adjustments, **prejudice**, selective, tokenism and facade.

Tokenism can have the same meaning as a **facade**, which in essence means an appearance that is **false** (Alswang and Van Rensburg, 1988). Since the rugby integration process commenced in the early 1990's, some officials, coaches, referees and even players demonstrated their insincerity and indecision regarding transformation. The **parochialism** of their attitude was frustrating because for them it was only a matter of parochialism interest (Alswang and Van Rensburg, 1988). In fact the responses of some questionnaires were as follows:

"...still have the conservative element in rugby..."

"...attitude is a big problem..."

"...transformation is castigated by 'old thoughts'..."

"...people shy away from challenges..."

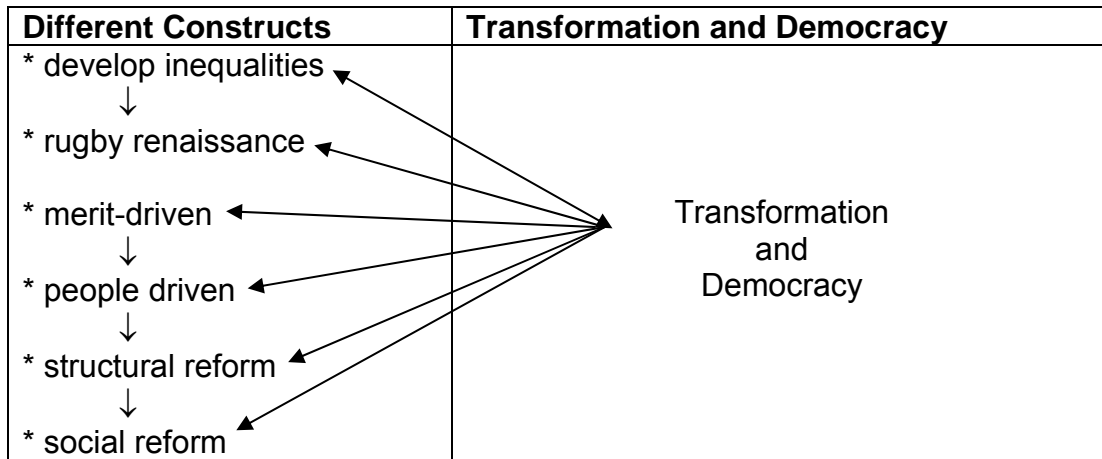
"...management structure not open enough..."

As depicted in from the preceding paragraph, Booth (1995:105) maintains the unification of South African sport is "a classic example of a **hegemonic process**". There still exist, up until today, social inequalities because of the lack of human and financial resources (Booth, 1995:105-124). There is still a chronic shortage of sports facilities in Black residential areas. Williams (1977) argues that the most difficult part of any cultural analysis, in complex societies, is that which seeks to grasp the hegemonic in its active and formative but also its transformational processes. What Williams implies, is that the hegemonic processes are never total. "The dominant must always work to control, transform or incorporate alternatives" (Williams, 1977:113).

Initially, the National Sports Council (NSC) wanted to de-racialise and democratise South African sport. Its objective was to create united, non-racial and administrative structures that would empower sports people, especially in the disadvantaged communities. but according to Booth (1995:108) "unity was mostly a sham". One well-known provincial and former national coach, Subject No. 14 (2004) felt that "No real transformation has taken place:. "...create opportunities for all players". Subject No. 30 (2004) in Port Elizabeth affirmed the inequalities in rugby transformation: "Bigger unions do not have sympathy for smaller unions". "Metros and urban areas dominate the provinces".

6.8.3 Transformation and democracy

In Box 6.3 the researcher also gave an example of different constructs that have an impact on transformation and democracy in rugby in the context of South Africa.



Box 6.3: Constructs impacting on transformation in rugby in South Africa

The errors reflect the interrelationships between the different constructs. The **development of inequalities** is a reflection of the undemocratic practices within the federation, unions and clubs. There is definitely a lack of coherent and effective development strategies. There is also an inherent resistance to rugby transformation from certain individuals. Sadly, there is also a lack of commitment towards sport in rural communities, and a general decline in the interest and promotion of the sport.

The **rugby renaissance** is in fact an indicator that transformation and democracy should relate to fundamental change both in practice and in attitude. Subject No. 31 said that "transformation in sport involves more than just the attainment of unity". It should mean real change and renewal. With the rugby renaissance approach two concepts came to the surface, namely **structural reform** and **social reform**. Saul (1991:5-6) indicates that structural reform is a process leading to wholesale social transformation. It is a process of "**empowerment** through which the **disempowered** become enlightened and develop their organisational capacities for further struggles and

further victories". Secondly, social reform by contrast, does not produce wholesale transformation. Rather, the objective is to **redress** the status quo (Saul, 1991:5-6).

6.8.4 Empowerment

Empowerment is the process of increasing personal, interpersonal, social-economic and political power, thus enabling people to improve their circumstances. Rugby transformation can empower both official and player, in the sense "to give authority to do something (Alswang and Van Rensburg, 1988:26). According to Safire (2008:214) empowerment is the gaining of influence and authority to the point of control; the comforting collection of clout. Subject No. 3 in Welkom expressed the following viewpoint on empowerment: "mass participation which emanate from rugby development". What he meant was that transformation should shift from negativism to positivism as well as from individualism to collectivism. In Witbank the participant, Subject No. 31 (2005), claimed that "...spectators of colour should also become part of the process...". Subject No. 32 (2005) believed that SARFU should "have a hierarchy of proper structures – then transformation will be successful". While Subject No. 33 in George felt: "Let us work together ... use benchmarks". In the same vein, one senior rugby official, Subject No. 13 (2004) in Bloemfontein told the researcher: "Benchmarks should be performances", and also "Revitalise the sport, because the spirit hailed from the small towns". It shows that empowerment can be achieved if some players get opportunities and exposure.

Many of the participants believed in the democratic structures of rugby at all levels. There was a big concern that black coaches, referees and administrators are not developed adequately after two decades of transformation. A lot still needs to be done. The participants acknowledged that democracy works from both sides. Many felt that on the surface rugby looks democratic. As showed with the coding process, that constructs such as the following came to the fore: attitude adjustment, prejudice, selective, tokenism, facade, inequalities, pseudo-democracy, undemocratic structures and biases. According to Taylor (2005) the transformation of an organisation is a change in culture

and change in habits and change in attitude and often a change in purpose. The worst strategy is to fake transformation or stop in midstream. Bertrand (2002) writes that "true transformation begins within the heart and mind of the teacher". One participant made two observations in this regard. Subject No. 36 (2005) in Witbank "mindset of officials to be changes" and "transform the officials as well".

6.8.5 Meritocracy

With emphasis on merit selected players, the researcher brought in the construct of **meritocracy**. This construct is an abstract concept which is purposefully created to represent a collection of concrete forms of behaviour (Huysamen, 2001:7-8). According to Booth (1995:105-124) a meritocracy is a noble social ideal founded on the belief in human equality. It stands in contradiction to ascribed status and privilege. Merit selection underpinned the philosophy of non-racial sport. Meritocracy is an elite selected on the basis of ability (performance) rather than social background (McLean and McMillan, 2003:345). It is thus a social system or society in which people have power because of their abilities (performances) and not because of their wealth and social position (Cambridge International Dictionary, 1996). It means that positions are determined by academic ability. Some of the participants emphasised the ideas of merit and a professional approach in rugby. They felt that all talented players who performed should be selected on merit. In contrast to this view, the quota-system caused that the best players are not selected. Although there is a lot of potential in South Africa, selectors and coaches just do not select the players on merit. These actions created **resistance** amongst players, from both cultural sides.

On the other side, some participants argued that competent players and administrators should be selected. These players should be provided with real opportunities and skills development of quality. Currently, the rugby leaderships focusing only on numbers and control. Besides that, the rugby development programmes damaged the image of rugby. A big concern is that merit players are not representing their country as a result of their performances. Some felt that politics or political interference will jeopardise the quality

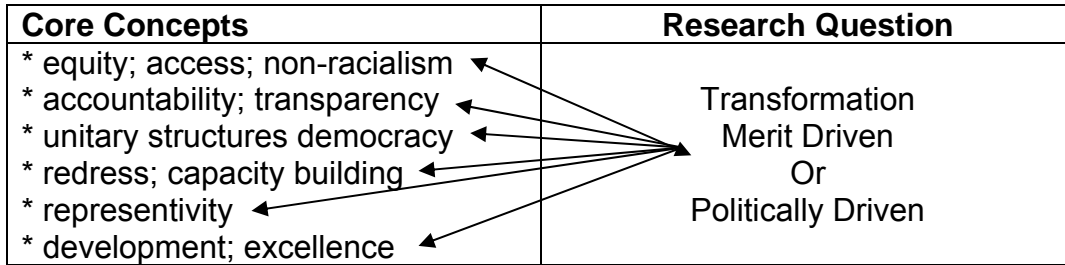
of the players. It is essential there should be professional training, coaching and development. In Johannesburg, Subjects 35 and 36 (2004) both agreed that honesty and integrity are essential ingredients for proper sport development in South Africa. Both of them said: "Stop pointing fingers – criticism – and let us all be colour blind.

6.8.6 Mentorship/Guardianship

The researcher noticed that most of the participants stressed the importance and necessity for **mentorship**. One respondent said, Subject No. 37 in Klerksdorp: "In most areas since the unification in 1992, clubs have collapsed and vanished. In some provinces the spirit of rugby was only symbolic. Players do not want to be labelled as second rate ability or value. They want the leadership to invest in the mentorship issues. Inexperienced players, coaches, referees and administrators can benefit from this. Rugby players normally have role-players in their respective communities. The local clubs and universities will benefit from mentorship. It will ensure a broad base of participation. There are false perceptions that rugby is a "white sport". Rugby has no colour as a lot of participants acknowledged. Rugby goes beyond the issues of "Black" and "White". Although mentorship is a big vacuum in South African rugby, the leadership needs to address this problem effectively. Therefore there is a definite need to revise the structures urgently. Subject No. 34 (2005) mentioned that "mentorship structures are not correct. Black coaches remained assistant coaches for many years." This action resulted that Black coaches feel inferior. The mentorship approach can help to solve the problem of inequalities in South African rugby.

6.9 PRINCIPLES OF TRANSFORMATION

It is remarkable that most of the concepts demonstrated the essential pillars or principles of transformation in sport. Box 6.4 illustrates these constructs:



Box 6.4: Transformation Principles

The researcher briefly reflected on some of these theoretical constructs, as illustrated in Box 6.4. He grouped certain constructs to give meaning to the following explanations:

6.9.1 Equity and Access

With reference to **transformation** and **development**, Balram [n.d.] of the Department of Sport and Recreation in KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, said change has to take place from the ground up and that means that it has to start at school level. There need to be a review of the transformation policies that deal directly with issues of **equity, equality, excellence, access, organisational culture** and good **corporate governance**. According to a former Minister of Sport in South Africa, Ngconde Balfour (2001:8), "equality relates to both the provision of resources and employment practices within all sport federations." He said that we can never speak of merit selection and equal opportunity while the levelling of the playing fields remain uneven and unequal. A few participants made the following observations:

Subject No. 29 (2005): "Resources must be applied correctly and adequately to the correct places."

Subject No. 7 (2006): "The power of money can destroy everything, e.g. greed, selfishness, enrichment."

Subject No. 38 (2005): "80% of the money goes to the Springboks, while 20% only to schools and clubs."

Subject No. 26 (2004): "Dire situation needs to be addressed ... upliftment in sport."

6.9.2 Non-racialism

Although some participants have their personal perspectives on the issue of non-racialism, many federations in South African sport have adopted non-discriminatory practices. According to Miller (2001) the notion that Blacks are inferior to Whites is a fundamental premise of racism, especially in the South African context. She stressed the point that although the manifestation and extent of covert racism has changed somewhat, "positivist notions of "inferior" and "superior races" continue to influence how South Africans relate to one another, both on a personal and institutional level" (Miller, 2001:67). A typical example of racism dated way back to the 1906 Springboks of Paul Roos, who refused to play against the black and brilliant England Flyhalf, James Peters. Peters was rugby's first victim of racism. Initially, the Springboks refused to play against such a "savage" on the pitch. But eventually the South African High Commissioner persuaded them to play. Peters was "a broken man who lost all trust in the system and racism (SA Rugby, 2007:24). It was in deed the "dark side" of the 1906 Springboks as Brendan Gallagher of the Daily Telegraph in London revealed (SA Rugby, 2007).

In the post-apartheid era, it is evident that new forms of racism are based on cultural differences. Miles (1989) argues that neo-racists or new racists pressure that is natured for people to prefer to be with "their own kind" and to discriminate against others who are not a part of that common community. The following participants responded like this during the interviews:

Subject No. 35 (2004): "... attitudes very important – need to change". "Social integration lacks".

Subject No. 36 (2004): "slow pace of transformation".

Subject No. 15 (2004): "attitudes, a big problem".

Subject No. 8 (2004): "...do not feel inferior, do not stand back...".

6.9.3 Redress and representivity

Representivity refers to the need for sport at all levels to reflect the broader demographics of South Africa (Balfour, 2003:1-25). What the former Minister of Sport meant that transformation is explicitly political in that it seeks to redress historical political wrongs perpetuated against the majority of the people before 1990. In the same address, Balfour (2003) said that at the heart of transformation is change. It involves personal, institutional, attitudinal and paradigmatic change. What he stressed was that the transformation process refers to the fundamental restructuring of the social, economic, cultural and political policies of apartheid-era. Transformation is not about simply replacing white faces with black faces" (Balfour, 2003:9). It is a conscious, deliberate, planned and goal-directed process (Balfour, 2003). The White Paper on Sport and Recreation (1998) also addressing the imbalances between advantaged, predominantly urban communities, and the disadvantaged largely rural communities. As depicted from the interviews, the concern is that coaches and selectors are only responding to the minimum targets set for transformation. What these administrators forget is that only through adequate internal redress and self-regulation that the rugby federation can achieve success with regard to representivity. The concerns of the participants are captured in the following data:

Subject No. 33 (2005): "...no real attempt to develop black rugby...".

Subject No. 34 (2005): "Development officers of colour are marginalised. They remain at the same level with no promotion".

Subject No. 39 (2005): "Representivity has to be matched with quality and responsibility".

Subject No. 40 (2005): "What representivity? This is theoretical and has never ever been practically implemented".

Subject No. 41 (2005): "Players of colour don't get the chances to prove their talents, because coaches are still racist".

Subject No. 43 (2006): "Rugby ethics is a limitation".

6.9.4 Accountability and transparency

Eitzen (1999:86-88) contemplates that a few coaches are open and democratic, allowing their players "to make and enforce rules and involving them in strategic decisions".

Other coaches use "intimidation, humiliation and even physical aggression. Eitzen (1999) argued that the question why these coaches are so demanding, inhumane and autocratic, is because they are held totally accountable for game outcomes. The "winning-at-all-costs" philosophy pervades sport at every level and leads to "cheating by coaches and athletes (rugby players)" (Eitzen, 1999:52-53). Research, according to Eitzen (1999) reveals that sport stifles moral reasoning and moral development. Coach-centered power over rugby players varies widely, especially in a rugby-orientated a country like South Africa. Some participants expressed their own views on accountability and transparency:

Subject No. 15 (2004): "We still have the conservative element in rugby. Autocratic tendencies in unions – no control mechanism".

Subject No. 21 (2004): "Mindset of people ... see others as a threat".

Subject No. 42 (2005): "White coaches will not necessarily select black players, unless they are forced to do so".

Subject No. 43 (2006): "Labelling players are wrong. And, management structures are not open enough".

6.9.5 Development and excellence

According to Balfour (2003) one of the stipulations with the unification in 1992, was that development programmes had to be instituted. It was the experience of many, even the respondents, that rugby development was afforded the lowest priority. Balfour (2003:22) says that "development seems to have become synonymous with "black". Excellence, therefore, can only be attained if it has as its base a national development programme that is adopted and embraced by everyone in sport (Balfour, 2003). From the following responses by the participants it is obvious that factors such as discrimination, prejudice, biases and stereotyping negatively influenced proper rugby development.

Subject No. 42 (2005): "False perceptions was created in the past that rugby is an Afrikaner sport".

Subject No. 40 (2005): "Discrimination amongst own members".

Subject No. 44 (2006): "Attitudes and negative behaviour are obstacles to democracy.

Subject No. 45 (2006): "Element of distrust ... mindset to be changed on both sides".

Development and excellence can only materialise if the role-players in South African rugby adopt the notion of **interdependence**. Kaufman and Wolff (2010) make it clear that interdependence implies much more than just working together in a team to reach collective goals. They concede that it also implies a level of reliance that often gets lost, particularly in our overly individualistic culture (Kaufman and Wolff, 2010).

People succeed and fail based on individual merit and excellence. If you work hard, possess good skills, and maintain a positive attitude, then you will achieve success. Kaufman and Wolff (2010:9) call it **meritocracy**. If you are lazy, unskilled and unmotivated, then you will fail and will have no one to blame but yourself (Kaufman and Wolff, 2010:1-22).

6.9.6 Capacity building

It is necessary to have a system of good human resource management and development practices that will utilize human potential to the full (Balfour, 2003). Certain Black administrators were appointed to senior positions with no meaningful decision-making powers. Some of them have been relegated to figure-head status. According to Balfour (2003:23) there are no "elements of employment equity and procurement policies that address empowerment and set targets for transformation".

In the place of capacity building, **mediocrity** emerged to the surface in South African rugby. Alswang and Van Rensburg (1988:513) argue that a rugby "person or thing of second rate ability or value". An example here is that he is a mediocre rugby player; not very good or good enough. It means that such players do not have much skill or ability at anything (**mediocrities**) they do (Cambridge International Dictionary, 1996). This dilemma between merit driven and politically driven transformation created a lot of tensions, contradictions, rejection and anger. The following quotes from the interviews will illustrate this:

Subject No. 26 (2004): "Black officials did not bring in the necessary change".

Subject No. 38 (2005): "We do not have capable people".

Subject No. 44 (2006): "Wrong negotiation of the unity process in rugby".

Subject o. 45 (2006): "Huge inequalities in our society".

6.10 CONCLUSION

Depicting from the previous sections, it seems that some structures are not supportive of the rugby transformation process in South Africa. Feelings of bewilderment, anger, impatience and frustration emerged from the notion of **pseudo-democracy** in rugby since 1992. It seems clear that there are reactionary forces against transformation of sport in South Africa, from both the Black and White sides. They formulated their assumptions from the context of their racial and cultural backgrounds. One of the biggest failures of rugby transformation in South Africa, seem to be the lack of management vision and commitment. According to Meyer (2005:1) this is "characterised by ineffective leadership or lip-service to change. Also a lack of understanding of the scope, content and process of change".

The researcher noticed that there was a tendency to equate transformation with the quota-system. The reality is that the pace of transformation in sport, nearly after twenty years, does not live up to expectations. In fact, the majority of respondents identified the "slow pace of transformation". According to Boshoff (2005) transformation lacks sincerity. It is disturbing that there are still conservative elements who want to resist change.

South African rugby at this stage, can choose between two alternatives: on the one hand, the rugby fraternity can shape a new self-reliant and prosperous rugby society. On the other hand, rugby administrations can make a symbolic and superficial change, whilst not actually changing the process of rugby transformation in the country. Human (1998:4-5) believes that the first step necessary to transform society is to change bureaucrats with revocrats. He suggests that creating a better deal all in rugby would require **deep structural change**. In the next chapter, the researcher will elaborate on this issue: "Bureaucrats versus revocrats".

The tension between the understanding of the notions of **merit driven** and **politically driven transformation**, necessitated the researcher to find an **amicable** solution or

synergy for this dilemma. The synthesis between the bureaucrats (politically driven) and revrocrats (merit driven) can have significant consequences to the controversial rugby transformation issues. In the next chapter, which will deal with the recommendations, a theoretical model will be proposed to integrate both the concepts of bureaucracy and revocracy as a solution to the rugby transformation process in South Africa.

CHAPTER 7: RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The research report and findings demonstrated that rugby transformation and the democratisation of rugby structures within South Africa have been slow since 1992. The sporadic victories and euphoria of the national side (the Springboks) since unification in 1992, did not help or accelerate the slow pace of rugby transformation in South Africa at all. In fact, it reflected that South African rugby has still a long way to go regarding transformation. Boshoff (2011), an ex-SARU-player and current rugby reporter and commentator, affirms that over two decades the same issues on transformation and development were tabled with the various presidents and decision-makers of the South African Rugby Union (Saru). However, all of them, without exception, promoted themselves as serious champions of transformation and committed themselves to the cause of integrating the various rugby playing communities, clubs and provinces. But, in reality, the organisation has fallen way short when it comes to transformation.

The participants, through the coding process and emergent themes, articulated that both officials and players are still showing parochial interest in the sport. The parochialism of their attitudes, perceptions and considerations created tensions amongst stakeholders and difficulties in integrating the rugby playing community in South Africa. De Vos (2007) rightfully argues that it is no surprise that even before the euphoria of the Springbok victories have faded away, loud voices have been raised to urge the selection of a more representative Springbok rugby team in future.

Therefore, as depicted in the preceding paragraphs, the aim of this chapter is to explain and discuss:

- the development of a theoretical framework for the transformation of South African rugby, incorporating aspects related to merit and political imperatives (revocrats versus bureaucrats).

7.2 THE DEVELOPMENT OF A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE TRANSFORMATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN RUGBY

According to Birks and Mills (2011:12-113) a theory is "an explanatory scheme comprising a set of concepts related to each other through logical patterns of connectivity". The eight emerging themes fit this definition perfectly. The same authors, Birks and Mills (2011:113) cited Glaser and Strauss (1967) who originally defined "theory as that which has explanatory or predictive ability". Symbiotically, it is the existence of an overarching explanatory scheme that adds cohesion to the theory (Corbin and Strauss, 2008).

Charmaz (2006:125-129), on the other hand, distinguishes between "**positivist theory**" and "**interpretive theory**". Positivist theory seeks causes, favours deterministic explanations, and emphasises generality and universality. While interpretive theory calls for the imaginative understanding of the studied phenomena. This type of theory assumes emergent multiple realities; indeterminacy; facts and values as inextricably linked, truth as provisional; and social life as processed. She elaborates that in research "theorising means being eclectic, drawing on what works, defining what fits" (Charmaz, 2006:148).

Payne (2007) therefore argues that the aims of grounded theory analysis are to develop inductive theory, which is closely derived from the data. For the researcher this method was suitable for both exploratory and explanatory research. In essence, it means that it "should be more than just descriptive" (Payne, 2007:70).

Theories are thus statements about how things are connected. They are created by developing sets of propositions or generalisations which establish relationships between things in a systemic way. Theories are also human constructions: "they are derived from information that people collect by seeing, hearing, touching, sensing, smelling and feeling". (Henning, Van Rensburg and Smit, 2004:14). The same authors argue that

"**thematic organisation**" includes coding and categorising as well as extracting and constructing themes from categories (Henning, et al., 2004:107).

Birks and Mills (2011:176) confirm that a theory is an explanatory scheme comprising "a set of concepts related to each other through logical patterns of connectivity". The theory, in this study, has emerged from the themes as identified in the previous chapter.

Le Roux (2009:31) in her research cited both Anfara and Mertz (2006) and McMillan and Schumacher's (2001) conceptualisation of a good theory in the development of scientific knowledge. They argue that a theory:

- (i) should provide a **simple explanation** of the observed relations relevant to the phenomenon
- (ii) should **be consistent** with both the observed relations and an already established body of knowledge
- (iii) is considered a **tentative explanation** and should provide means for **verification** and revision
- (iv) should **stimulate further research** in areas that need investigation.

7.2.1 Emerging themes

In this section, the researcher considered the relevance of each of the eight themes as contributing factors to the development of a theory regarding transformation in sport. It should be noted that it emerged that the themes are closely related and linked to one another.

7.2.1.1 Disrespect for social integration

This theme refers to the lack of unity and social integration within the South African rugby hierarchy during the post-apartheid era. Kiem (2003) argues that there are certain factors that still hinder social integration in rugby, namely segregated areas; artificial walls between black and white residential areas; socio-economic class barriers; racial prejudice; no social mixing; lack of communication; language barriers; no common multi-purpose facilities; lack of trained communication; no motivation amongst coaches and administrators and schizophrenia among players as a result of commuting between two worlds (Kiem, 2003:210-211).

The research conducted by Dr Marion Kiem has shown that sport can be a suitable medium for social interaction between population groups in South Africa, if it is done in the correct manner. She emphasised that "multicultural sports programmes can help to reduce prejudices and build mutual acceptance, tolerance and understanding" (Kiem, 2003:211). However, Kiem (2003) also contends that sport in itself does not necessarily contribute to breaking down the walls of colour and class.

Within the South African rugby context social integration does not really happen spontaneously. In fact, the problem is compounded by the fact that success in a team sport, like rugby, does not depend on personal contacts or friendships between members (Kiem, 2007). Matches between teams or players do not necessarily improve attitudes. Coakley (1990:220) is of the opinion that "normal contests quite frequently reinforce prejudices held by players and/or spectators". On the same issue of prejudices Bröskamp (1993:185) argues that "a meeting of cultures on the sports field can lead to the hardening of persistent prejudices". The rugby transformation committees at all levels of the game failed to monitor the progress of black players, coaches, administrators and referees in a meaningful way. Dismay, sadness and disillusionment were expressions uttered by former Springbok captain, Corné Krige, when he condemned "a culture among administrators of personal gain before consideration for the future well-being of Springbok rugby (Bills, 2004:20).

In post-apartheid South Africa, sport is seen by politicians, sports officials and many ordinary people as a means to surmount race and class barriers and to forge nationhood. But sport remains a site of acute contestation over "what transformation means: **"merit"** versus **"affirmative action"**, beneficiaries of change and pace of transformation (Padayachee, Desai and Vahed, 2004:253). For Harris (2007) the issue of race in rugby is still a divisive topic in South Africa. He reiterates that South Africa has hardly scratched the surface in the development of black players, which is a largely untapped reservoir within a population of more than 40 million people.

In Box 7.1 the reaction of respondents and participants to a question regarding disrespect *for social integration*, included:

- "When you want to win a rugby match you do not question your opposition culture".
- "Slow pace of transformation detrimental to rugby reconciliation".
- "Superficial transformation and superficial integration will not reconcile rugby".
- "No real bonding and integration in rugby".
- "There is still a divide-and-rule attitude in rugby"
- Groups are socially still divided and drift apart".
- "Cultures are different and we are brought up in a different way".
- "The only thing we have in common is that we play rugby together".
- "Transformation can separate us further".
- "If only rugby people can be united with social values".

Box 7.1: Disrespect for social integration

Mr Nelson Mandela, the first president in the post-apartheid dispensation, tried to unify the nation during the 1995 Rugby World Cup, but unfortunately attempts to bridge national, religious, racial and political differences have since diminished. Rugby has the potential for immense reconciliation. Hartman (2001:18) says "it was not for nothing that Nelson Mandela donned the No. 6 jersey of the Afrikaner captain at Ellis Park". That

was a symbolic gesture and respect for social integration. It shows that rugby has the potential for immense reconciliation in a country divided by its political and historical past.

However, Miller (2006:1-11) articulated in her conference paper that the negative construction of black sport persons as "**development**" or "**quota**" players seem to perpetuate historical notions of black inferiority in relations to white people. The indiscriminate use of these terms by the media, the sport community and the public at large "undermine efforts to establish a non-racial, united post-apartheid nation where perceptions of the self and relations with others are determined by individual merit, rather than racial stereotypes (Miller, 2006:1). In this case, Archbishop Desmond Tutu recommended that the coordination of all sport activities, including rugby, must be "sensitive to language, class, facilities, transport problems, cultural heritages and a number of other social, institutional and epistemological factors" (Kiem, 2003:9). What he meant, in essence, is that South Africa is a complex nation with a heritage of deep divisions in the playing of sports.

It has been twenty years since rugby's disparate forces forced unification in Kimberley. It is to the men of that epoch and their successors' shame that transformation in the sport "is still passed around like a red-hot rugby ball". That hastily arranged unity is at the root of what divides the sport to this day (Del Carme, 2012:7). The recent escalation of discontent with the non-selection of black players suggests some disillusionment with the new nationalism (Abrahams and Ntabazalila, 1999:1; Haller, 2000). According to Miller (2006) it has been posited that national unity in sport is an imaginary concept that can only be actualised if ethnic or racial sub-groupings are transcended.

Therefore, Eitzen (1999:5) believes that "sport is both unifying and divisive". Sport can unite warring factions and bring different social classes and racial groups together. But, on the other hand, it can also reinforce barricades that could separate groups (Eitzen, 1999). Kiem (2008:1-11) concludes that in South Africa obstacles to community development and peace building include ethnic prejudices, racism and xenophobic

attitudes which were ingrained by apartheid, but which continue to exist after transition to democracy, undermining efforts for building a more caring community. That is why there seems to be an alarming disrespect for social integration, even in rugby.

7.2.1.2 Creation of a dysfunctional social system

There are still historical and cultural reasons for racial divisions within South African society. Rugby can also be seen as a test for economic inequality. According to an article in the Mail & Guardian Online (2009) many of the best rugby-playing schools remain far beyond the reach of poor black people. Since unification, efforts to bring rugby to schools and the grassroots in mainly black areas have been criticised as ill-conceived and under-resourced. Officials within the sport point out that many black players now play at junior level, but still relatively few break through to the elite level. The race issue remains as sensitive as ever, even after the hastily unification process in 1992. According to Kendal (2011:315) **racism** is "a set of attitudes, beliefs and practices that is used to justify the superior treatment of one racial or ethnic group and the inferior treatment of another racial or ethnic group". Racism may be overt or subtle. In the South African rugby environment, for example, calling a player of colour a derogatory name is **overt racism**. But in the same instance, racism and discrimination can be practised from both the black and white sports people, especially in rugby. Kendall (2011:319) defines **institutional discrimination** as the "day-to-day practices of organisations and institutions that have a harmful impact on members of subordinate groups.

The other factor that might contribute to the creation of a dysfunctional social system, is the construct of **cultural diversity**. According to Kendall (2011) cultural diversity refers to the wider range of cultural differences formed between and within nations. South Africa consists of **heterogeneous societies** or **communities**, meaning that they "include people who are dissimilar in regard to social characteristics such as religion, income, race or ethnicity". The attitudes of certain white rugby officials, administrators and players create a feeling of **indignation**, which results in "a fierce anger caused by an injustice system" (Alswang and Van Rensburg, 1988:45). The rugby unification over

the past twenty years did not address this feeling of indignation. In fact the construct of **ethnocentrism** remains prevalent in rugby. Ethnocentrism refers to the tendency to regard one's own culture and group as the standard and thus superior – whereas all other groups are seen as inferior. "Ethnocentrism is maintained and perpetuated by stereotypes (Kendall, 2011:314). This is one of the contributing factors to the problem related to rugby transformation in South Africa. According to the data from the majority of participants, white rugby players regard themselves as superior to their black fellow-players. There is hardly a spontaneous move from white players to a **structured assimilation** or **integration process**. It is really hard for members of subordinate racial or ethnic groups to gain acceptance in everyday social interaction with members of the dominant white rugby group (Kendall, 2011). The value-system in rugby was never taken seriously, even in post-apartheid, by either officials or players in South Africa. According to Kendall (2011:81) **values** can be described as "collective ideas about what is right or wrong, good or bad, and desirable or undesirable in a particular culture".

Matika (2011) is of the opinion that in spite of the black faces in administration in South African rugby, the federation is inherently struggling to come to grips with the realities of the new society and the problem seems to be within the institutions themselves. They are therefore faced with a case of "**institutional racism**". In this regard development programs have mostly become public relation tools. In this regard there seems to be a lack of respect to rugby culture and heritage that exists in the South African townships and villages (Matika, 2011). Similarly the **fault lines** of post-apartheid South Africa are still running deep (Mail & Guardian Online, 2009). According to Matika (2011) the problem of the current set-up should be traced in the 20th century history of "white" racist rugby which is closely intertwined with the emergence of Afrikaner nationalism (tribalism). Through the years, up until now, it has been about challenging the **stereotypes** in South African rugby. According to Kendall (2011) stereotypes are the over generalisations about the appearance, behaviour or other characteristics of members of particular categories. The term "**stereotype**" comes from the Greek word '**stereos**' (**solid**) and refers to a fixed mental impressions (Kendall, 2011:314). The other social construct is **prejudice** which is rooted in both stereotypes and

ethnocentrism. In this regard, prejudice is a negative attitude based on faulty generalisations about members of selected and ethnic groups, according to Kendall (2011). Kendall (2011:314) also defines that the term prejudice stems from the Latin words "**prae**" (before) and "**judicium**" (judgement), which means that people may be biased either for or against members of other groups. This stereotypes was demonstrated by former Springbok hooker, Uli Schmidt, when he said: "rugby is not a natural game for blacks, its not their culture. They should play soccer" (Matika, 2011). Therefore, black players in South Africa's domestic rugby unions are often subject to the racist attitudes of white team selector players and match officials, and complaints to the white controlled rugby unions go largely ignored (Wessels, 2009).

According to Matika (2011) black rugby players in South Africa are not being given an equal opportunity as compared to their white compatriots to play representative rugby. It is further suggested that there is still rampant racial prejudices in provincial rugby. Table 7.1 illustrates the 2010 Currie Cup teams in terms of **racial composition**.

Provinces	Squad	African	Coloured	White	Indians
Sharks	39	6	2	31	0
Lions	29	2	2	25	0
Cheetahs	41	1	2	38	0
Stormers	31	0	9	22	0
Blue Bulls	42	5	3	34	0
TOTAL	182	14	18	150	0

Table 7.1: 2010 Currie Cup Racial Composition (Matika, 2011)

Keohane (2009) affirms that players of colour are still primarily represented on the rugby field in positions in which athleticism is key, but tactical knowledge and leadership not. However, the presence of black and coloured players on the national team resulted from pressure by the national sports ministry to include the maximum number of non-white players. This left these players open to constant characterisation by the rugby press and public as affirmative action picks (Dunn, 2009). Therefore, Dunn (2009)

concludes that the approach taken by the South African Rugby Union (Saru) is currently incorrect. Attempting to transform the history of rugby to portray a trend of gradual integration obscured the miracle of integration that could have occurred since 1994 in South Africa. The history of South African rugby would be much better served in leaders encouraging honesty and recognising the injustices of the past while seeking to develop solutions for the future (Dunn, 2009). The perception is that rugby unions in South Africa have been transformed at management level, but it's "harder" to ensure more diversity on the playing field (Jansen, 2011). Even the current president of Saru, Oregan Hoskins, was unhappy about the current state of South African rugby transformation affairs.

Lastly, Van der Westhuizen (2011) argues that almost 20 years since the birth of a new democratic South Africa and unification in sport, this country is no closer to solving the thorny issue of fully integrated and equal opportunity in sport. Rugby in particular remains very much white dominated, with only a sprinkling of black players getting an opportunity at the highest level. Padayachee, Desai and Vahed (2004:276) contend that "class privilege has replaced race privilege. At the same time, tensions generated by change are likely to produce further hostility along the fault lines of race and class".

The creation of a dysfunctional social system, as described in preceding paragraphs, reveals the fragmented nature of post-apartheid South African society and illustrates that race remains the hidden arbiter in popular consciousness (Padayachee, Desai and Vahed, 2004). The same authors affirm that "post-apartheid discrepancies in economic and social conditions are making it difficult to forge a united national culture, notwithstanding the attempt to use sport for the "mythic enactment" of a collective South African identity" (Padayachee, et. al., 2004:253-278).

Derived from the interviews and questionnaires, Box 7.2 illustrates the responses of the participants regarding the creation of *a dysfunctional social system* within the South African rugby context.

- "Concern that some officials are not represented even in the structures they serve".
- "Unfair treatment by officialdom".
- "Structures collapse due to the lack of knowledge regarding democratic management".
- "Blacks are not well presented in the higher rugby circles or hierarchy".
- "Most officials and administrators are nominated or appointed without a proper process of selection".
- "Nothing has changed since the new democracy".
- "Disparity still too big in South African sport".
- "There are still too many irregularities and favouritism".
- "No evidence of players coming through the structures at a satisfactory level".
- "All relevant stakeholders should be involved with the planning".
- "Focus only on metropolitan and urban, not in the rural areas – neglected".
- "To a certain extent players of colour go through the ranks, but disappear at senior level".
- "The system is abused because the same players are selected continuously".
- "It seems some players do not fit into the required standards and structures".
- "Bigger unions the stumbling block because of money and power".

Box 7.2: Examples of the creation of a dysfunctional social system

The above-mentioned discussions and relevant examples give the impression that some of the rugby union officials and administrators wrongfully claim entitlement in certain rugby positions. Safire (2008:219-220) says entitlement, in this case, means "to provide a right or claim". Sadly, some of these rugby officials act as if they "owe" the entire rugby union. These negative tendencies can also create a dysfunctional social system within the rugby fraternity.

7.2.1.3 Development of authoritative behaviour

One of the major problems regarding South African rugby transformation is the notion that rugby is governed or managed by **authoritarian leaders**. These authoritarian leaders in rugby seem to make all major decisions, assigning tasks to their loyal union members. According to Kendall (2011:685) an **authoritarian personality** is characterised by "excessive conformity, submissiveness to authority, intolerance, insecurity, rigid and stereotype thinking". These types of leaders failed to apply a coherent and holistic approach to rugby transformation in South Africa. According to Riches and Kemp (2003) leadership means to develop a unique transformation roadmap. In Table 7.1 Riches and Kemp (2003) illustrate the meaning of leadership by means of the constructs of **traditional leadership** and **knowledge based leadership**. In their views, leadership within the South African rugby context involves a dominant management style as employed by senior managers within the system, especially at provincial and national level.

Traditional	Knowledge based
Autocratic Controller Directive Technocrat Micro-Management	Democratic Facilitator Coach Visionary Management by objectives

Table 7.1: Leadership Styles (Riches and Kemp, 2003)

To a certain degree, authoritative behaviour can be tolerated. However, it could easily develop into an autocratic management style. For the past twenty years of rugby transformation in South Africa, rugby leadership, at all levels, expressed a feeling of **ambivalence**. According to the Cambridge International Dictionary (1996:39) ambivalence means having two opposing feelings at the same time; or being uncertain about how you feel. Many of these authoritative leaders in rugby have ambivalent attitudes regarding transformation. These contradictory or opposing feelings towards

rugby transformation seem to cause insecurity and uncertainty within current rugby circles.

In Box 7.3 some the current **leadership** tendencies, as expressed by the respondents, are documented.

- "Certain rugby administrators, coaches, referees and presidents are still autocratic".
- "Leadership in rugby only focused on the already developed areas in the country".
- "Communication to the respective officials should be transparent".
- "Distortions always create false images".
- "Change of mind set of those who have been privileged over many years".
- "The right people should be in the right places in the development structures".
- "Leaders are only there for status".
- "Rugby management should be pro-active".
- "Transform yourself before you can transform others".

Box 7.3: Development of authoritative behaviour

The problem with some sports leaders seem to be that they are only concerned about their prestige positions and status, and not the rugby players' well-being and that of the general supporting public. They are therefore clearly a danger to South Africa's new democracy.

There is a definite lack of **instrumental leadership**. Kendall (2011:688) declares that instrumental leadership is "goal or task orientated leadership". Human (1998:172) articulates that the Zulu-word, "**Yenza**", means "**Do it**". Therefore, the Yenza-approach revolves around action. Human (1998) states that planning for action can sometimes paralyse managers because they become so bogged down in perfecting their plans that they lose sight of the reason their planning in the first place.

According to Human (1998:174) the Yenza-strategy is based on the notion that even authoritative managers or officials should start doing small and simple things at grassroots level, "transforming the rugby society from the bottom upwards". There should be a commitment to build the rugby structures from the ground upwards, especially rugby managers who are grappling with change.

What authoritative leaders misunderstand, especially in the rugby domain, seem to be the difference between **reform** and **transform**. Human (1998:204-205) points out that "reform means making adjustments to an existing system in order to increase efficiency, while transformation involves replacing an old system with a new one". To merge or unify two different South African rugby unions in 1992 was an enormous task. The South African rugby leadership should take cognisance of the highly unequal society in the country. According to Human (1998) transformation demands more than just rearranging the structures at the upper-end of the rugby environment. Restructuring at the top is merely a means to that end. Starting transformation from the lower end seems to be similarly important. The author makes it very clear that managers and leaders "must get out of their safe and comfortable offices into the field, where they need to work with their (rugby) constituents, and not with each other" (Human, 1998:208). From the research it became clear that the top structures, especially those of the big rugby unions, seem to be in order. However, it is at the grassroots level, like the rural schools, clubs, townships and locations that the rugby leadership need to adopt the slogan, "**Batho Pele**", which in Sotho means "**people first**". The small and struggling rugby unions still seem to struggle at the mercy of authoritative leaders. These leaders within the smaller rugby unions should adopt the "principles of consultation, participation, consensus and transparency as important cornerstones of the new democratic society" (Human, 1998:209). The government sector and public administration also adopt the "Batho Pele" approval.

7.2.1.4 Leaning towards pseudo-democracy

The question informing this theme has been formalised as follow: *Can or does democracy work in rugby transformation?* Kendal (2011:686) argues that democratic leaders usually encourage group discussions and decision-making through consensus building. She elaborates that "democracy is a political system in which the people hold the ruling power either directly or through elected representatives. In the South African rugby fraternity, the concept of democracy has degenerated into pseudo-democracy, a facade or "window-dressing". Yet the so-called elected rugby leaders seem to claim to be "democratic" in their dealing with the thorny issue of rugby transformation since 1992. Van der Ross (2004:21) comments that "democracy is a condition in which all the people have a **meaningful** say". He doubted that such democracy could be found amongst other African states (Van der Ross, 2004).

Some factors that might play a role in leaning towards pseudo-democracy could include: limitations to transformation, tokenism, superficial integration, ignorance towards diversity, lack of honesty and stereotyping. These factors were identified by the researcher as a result of the triangulation of categories during the research process. In view of the above the South African rugby leadership need to change the way the game is perceived. Rugby in South Africa is still very much an elitist sport, because it is only "good enough" for a selected few (Ruggaworld, 2012) In the same article it has been emphasised that "we need to create a culture of rugby amongst previously disadvantaged communities". The general perception is that rugby should be the "**people's sport**". The construct of **elitism** means "to organise things for the benefit of a few people with special interests or abilities" (Cambridge International Dictionary,1996:448). McLean and McMillan (2003) also claim that elite rule is in practice rule on behalf of the vested interests of the elites; a select group or class. Those who are considered to be superior. The disparity in the so-called "provincial rugby unions" is a typical example of elitism.

Over the past twenty years newspapers, websites and blogs have been littered with articles and opinions about the slow pace of rugby transformation (Boshoff, 2011; Harris, 2007; Del Carme, 2012:7). These articles and contributions, highlight rugby administration's failures and feeble attempts, to successfully transform, develop and grow the game within the less privileged communities. To date, most of the programmes have failed or resulted in less than expected outcomes. One of the reasons for this could be associated with the widespread range of fronting from rugby officials to politicians (Ruggaworld, 2012). In this instance, the concept of **biases** emerged. If someone **is biased** they could show an unreasonable preference or dislike for a person or a group of people based on personal opinions (Cambridge International Dictionary, 1996). Bias, thus, leaning in a particular direction of prejudice, systematic distortion or pre-disposition (Alswang and Van Rensburg, 1988). Biases can also influence or affect other people unduly and unfairly. Dale Sasston, former Springbok-hooker during 2003, said: "Black players are tired of being called development or quota players. They must stop talking about transformation. That is a form of fronting (pseudo-democracy) and we are tired of it"(Del Carme, 2012:7). The South African Rugby Union's Vision 2000-2003 documents, as well as the guidelines stipulated in the Rugby Transformation Charter, faded into obscurity. Owen Nkumane, a Springbok player during 1998, expressed his concerns regarding fronting as follows: "I'm really disappointed in the whole management of Saru. Where are the black coaches and management? And what is the S.A. Rugby Players Association's take on this? They know how black players are treated (Del Carme, 2012:7). Kiem (2008) is of the opinion that even today; access to participate in sport activities remain restricted for black South Africans in ways that white South Africans do not experience.

Most of the participants were highly vocal about the state of pseudo-democracy in rugby transformation. Pseudo-democracy is closely associated with **tokenism** or "**window-dressing**". Tokenism means "**disapproving**" and describes actions which are the result of "**pretending**" to give advantage to those groups in society who are often treated unfairly in order "**to give the appearance of fairness**" (Cambridge International

Dictionary, 1996:1532). In Box 7.4 the feedback of respondents regarding tokenism and window-dressing are reflected.

- "Only pseudo-democracy is visible".
- "Structures are not representative enough and some democratic structures are questionable".
- "Officials and management should elect persons according constitution".
- "Transformation just another veil or cover".
- "Rugby was offered for the bigger political event or context."
- "Professionalism in rugby destroys community rugby".
- "False assumptions at rugby unification in 1992".
- "Players swallowed up in the system through compromise".
- "Unification in 1992 was only window-dressing".
- "In rugby transformation means superficial integration".
- "Awarding superficial powers and positions to Black officials".
- "No meaningful representivity after unification".

Box 7.4: Leaning towards pseudo-democracy

Depicting from Box 7.4, it seems that leaning towards pseudo-democracy, delayed the pace of rugby transformation in South Africa since 1992. From the interpretation of the data, it was found that there are still limitations in some "democratic" structures. No guarantees were made at unification for the previously black rugby union during 1992. Most of the participants felt that transformation in rugby is superficial, because it is a token process that is very slow and painful.

7.2.1.5 Resistance to change

The correct meaning of **unification** is supposed to be "the making of one combined unit out of several separate ones" (Alswang and Van Rensburg, 1988:867). In the South African rugby context it looks more like a **merger**, where the former South African Rugby Union (SARU) was absorbed into a structure with the South African Rugby Board (SARB). After much iteration since 1992, the current name is known as the South African Rugby Union (Saru). What looks disturbing is that the previous non-racial rugby unions, with prominent black players and officials (Africans, Coloureds and Indians), were taken over by the white rugby establishment. No checks and balances, it seems, were negotiated during the unification process in 1992. Some of the previous SARU-players and administrators are still been marginalised. The current 14 provincial white rugby unions are still using their old logos, badges, jerseys and constitutions. It therefore seems that the non-racial component of the South African rugby "abdicated" all their principles, values, sacrifices and direction to the white rugby establishment. The so-called "rugby provinces" still hold very much to the status quo. The black officials and players are sadly taking on secondary roles and positions in relation to their white colleagues. This could be one of the reasons why small towns, rural areas and township schools are still being neglected and overlooked.

In Box 7.5 the perspectives and responses of participants, regarding their dissatisfaction with rugby unification, have been captured.

"Unification was a window-dressing exercise".

"...management structures not open enough, feel threatened..."

"Transformation has two sides: "white side" and the "black side".

"Why are only a few blacks in the national side?"

"...no guarantees with unification..."

"...rugby was offered for the bigger political events".

"...certain beliefs caused misconceptions..." & "...social integration lacks..."

"Excuses play a big role in transformation".

"Autocratic tendencies in rugby unions". The perception to have a white person in a strategic position".

"...national structures are mostly white..."

"Some Whites do not want to be part of the new South Africa".

Box 7.5: Resistance to change

According to McLLwaine (1997:10-11) the conservative tendencies within the South African rugby context tend to be rather old-fashion, autocratic and entrenched. To some extent they have failed to see the broader picture of rugby transformation and have opted for an elitist approach. Throughout all the 14 rugby provincial structures there is a desperate need for expertise, whether at coaching level or within the administration. However, the general perception is still that rugby appears to be a white dominated sport, run by administrators who are reluctant to change.

Padayachee, Desai and Vahed (2004:253) argue that change in racial composition at the level of leadership, coaching and playing, since the 1990s, has failed to transform rugby into a "**people's game**". According to them, "class privilege replaced race privilege". But at the same time, tensions generated by changes are producing further hostility along the fault lines of race and class. The same authors also point out that many blacks have felt that whites' insistence on "**merit**" is a-historical, since the notion of meritocracy overlooks the legacy of inequality fashioned by apartheid. The white dominated media has portrayed attempts to redress unbalances, as "**racist**" (Padayachee, Desai and Vahed, 2004:271-272). Similarly the attitudinal stances of conservative elements within the South African rugby hierarchy have also enhanced the slow pace of transformation.

The following factors may also have an impact of the resistance to change: **lack of honesty; lack in governance; ignorance towards diversity and limitations to transformation**. Honesty is known as the best policy. No one is prepared to take responsibility for transforming the game of rugby at all levels. Who should be driving,

leading and initiating transformation? Is transformation a provincial matter? This lame duck approach seem to have given rise to the low regard for transformation in rugby at provincial level and the disregard of appeals to transformation from Saru-president and sponsors (Boshoff, 2011). It was not a new phenomenon that some provincial Currie Cup rugby unions fielded an all-white team after two decades of transformation. Are these "rugby provinces" **honest** in redressing the past imbalances, create opportunities for non-white players and making rugby accessible to all South Africans? Are Saru, the provincial unions, university rugby and Craven Week administrators **really honest** in developing the human capital, empowering players and changing the demographics of rugby in the different regions? The answer of the afore-mentioned is **emphatic** no.

Riches and Kemp (2003) contend that value creation is the most fundamental indicator for identifying a knowledge-based organisation. After all, social groups within an organisation exist, because specific values accumulate through **collective learning, innovation, collaboration** and **information leverage**. This applies to all public and private organisations.

Some of the players, administrators and coaches (of colour) had suffered emotionally and psychologically because of a lack in governance, ignorance towards diversity and limitations to transformation (Del Carme, 2012). The following examples will accentuate the notion of resistance to change within the South African rugby context: McNeil Hendricks, a former Springbok wing, protested that "teams are simply too white – almost 20 years after democracy - that six, seven or eight black players can't make a starting line-up. Having three players isn't good enough. You can't call that transformation (Del Carme, 2012:7). In the same vein, Kiem (2008:7) supports this by saying: "...attitudes which were ingrained by apartheid continue to exist after the transition to democracy and undermined efforts for building more caring communities." Chilibooy Ralepele has been manipulated to suit various agendas and appease politicians since 2005 up until now, according to Vrede (2010). Chilibooy Ralepele "is presented as the poster boy for rugby's transformation. The reality is that he is the prime example of its failure" (Vrede, 2010:63). It is pathetic that in 17 rugby test matches he

only played 249 minutes, including 96 minutes against Italy (Vrede, 2010). Peter de Villiers, a former Springbok coach, wrote that the president's remarks on his appointment as national rugby coach on 9 January 2008 for South Africa, permanently pigeonholed him as "an affirmative-action appointment". At that specific day, Oregan Hoskins said: "South Africa has a black coach now – that is fantastic for the game in all parts of the world." De Villiers said that he was very angry and disappointed because Hoskins was helping to form the perceptions that would make it so difficult for him to be accepted by the rugby public, the media and other stakeholders (De Villiers and Rich, 2012:9-10). De Villiers stressed the fact that you cannot judge a person on his skin colour, but on his abilities. He also emphasised the importance of open-mindedness and fair play. He normally said this to the Springbok team: "In this team, we live according to the **team culture**, not the culture you live at home" (De Villiers and Rich, 2012:73). Boshoff (2011) argues that it is high time for other black rugby administrators at the provincial level to stand up and be counted and execute their mandate to fundamentally transform the unions where they serve. They must accept accountability and service delivery. The resistance to change is detrimental to the image of South African rugby. Saru, the provincial rugby unions, varsity rugby, diversified club rugby structures and the schools rugby management must decide whether they want to serve only the few or exploit the many. To create a better rugby life for all, the stakeholders and role-players would require deep structural changes. In this regard Human (1998:2) said: "it is obviously easier to change only superficially, because real change will take extraordinary efforts, patience and wisdom".

7.2.1.6 Lack of resources

In any developing society, like South Africa, financial constraints will always be a problem to take into consideration. The huge inequalities (social, developmental, economical and political), created by the previous apartheid regime, have also contributed towards a lack of relevant resources within the rugby environment within South Africa. Issues such as the development of physical resources, basic facilities, needs, infrastructure, human resources, coaching clinics, seminars, training and internships, have become problematic.. With reference to economic inequalities, the South African provincial rugby unions and Saru are constantly looking for funding, financial assistance, investments in players and sponsorships in an attempt to become more competitive in the rugby world. However, if the emphasis could change from elitism to that of a people's sport, rugby should be financially better off - there is still disparity between the operations of the urban rugby structures and that of the struggling rural areas – even regarding the allocation of resources.

The lack of resources is one of the major problems in the decline of club rugby in the South African context (Hayward, 1996:29). According to Hayward (1996) rugby management is killing the goose that lays the golden egg with its shabby treatment of club rugby. The club rugby system is deteriorating at an alarming pace without a cash injection from provinces into the club coffers. The source of new talent could therefore be tarnished due to the lack of proper resources and infrastructure. Kiem (2008:6) also argues that sport often accentuates class differences. Apart from the poor socio-economic conditions of the still disadvantaged population groups and the deficiencies, if not the total absence of sport facilities in many communities, class differences are apparent where sport is being practised. "Facilities, equipment and trained instructors are in short supply in poorer locations to this day". According to Mfebe (2003:1-13) facilities are the first logical step to look at in terms of ensuring equitable access. He elaborated that there are two issues to consider here: firstly, lack of access to existing facilities, and secondly, absence of facilities.

Recently, the Sports Minister, Fikile Mbalulu, said that he spent too much of his time mediating "**greediness**" in sport. These battles, according to him, are not so much on transformation, but "battles about the management of resources" (Sowetan, 2012:2). The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) stated that sport should cut across all development programming and be accessible and affordable to all South Africans. It aimed to facilitate the mobilisation of resources in both the public and private sectors and to redress inequality in society (Mfebe, 2003:1-13). The slogan, generally used, of "levelling the playing field" is very relevant here. However, without the proper facilities and resources, qualified coaches and players will have difficulties to compete *on par* with other advanced sports people in the country and globally.

The president of the South African Sports Confederation and Olympic Committee (SASCOC) said that it is a disgrace that despite more than R600 million being pumped into South African sport in the past four years (2005-2009), the national teams and athletes have failed to bring home many awards. The funding includes R416, 95 million from the National Lottery Distribution Trust Fund, as well as government grants. Rugby received an amount of R47, 2 million. The question is what happened to all these monetary sources and who benefited from it? Mseleku (2011:16) states that it seems the funding model of SASCOC should be changed: "we're on the wrong track", says SASCOC. The sports Minister, Fikile Mbalulu, also remarked that he was pleased that the National Lottery has committed R200 m towards schools sport. In the same editorial, it is believed that it is "the only way to start bridging the gap between the previously disadvantaged and those with a head start" (The New Age, 2011:18).

Maimela (2011) is of the opinion that the infrastructure and institutional support necessary to produce excellence on the sports field were undeniably confined to a specific racial minority. Whiteness became a hallmark of excellence and merit in sport, while inferior infrastructure, limited support and deliberate neglect, characterised official discourses and provisioning for the majority. Padayachee, Desai and Vahed (2004:253) support this perspective by saying that "the conflict over the distribution of resources

among the African population, including blacks, coloureds and Indians, revealed the fragmented nature of post-apartheid South African society".

Consequently, Box 7.6 illustrates the respondents' perceptions about the lack of resources within the South African rugby context.

- "Lack of facilities a big problem in the disadvantaged areas".
- "There is not always enough finances or monetary incentives".
- "More funds should be made available".
- "Need to have more money for marketing".
- "Unfair financial assistance between White and Black players".
- "Financial disabilities of the rural communities in rugby".
- "Resources must be applied correctly".
- "Spend energy and money equality to all players".
- "Smaller rugby unions to be empowered financially to retain talented players".
- "Money for rugby development should not go to elite groups".

Box 7.6: Lack of resources

According to Cardinelli (2010:104-108) administrators and politicians should be investing their resources and energies into black player development at grassroots level instead, so that in the future these players progress through ranks on merit. According to him "transformation is impossible without development" (Cardinelli, 2010:107). Herskovitz (2012) is of the opinion that black players face numerous hurdles in climbing the ranks due to a lack of sponsorships for the majority of black clubs.

Racial distortion is evident in the way sport is being sponsored and administered and how teams are selected within South African rugby. Most of the local businesses that sponsor pre-dominant white clubs and schools are owned by white people (Burger, 2007). These racial legacies will therefore continue to create a lack of resources within the disadvantaged areas. Sadly, these stereotypes have a bearing on the notion of

"development, which tend to imply that white players are somehow born great, while black players need to be developed. A real danger exists that talented black sportsmen maybe "developed" into oblivion – never to be given the real opportunity of competing in the mainstream (Burger, 2007).

When the lack of resources (financial and human – coaches, officials and volunteers), infrastructure and empowered management structures, outside of historical sports areas, are factored in, it becomes obvious that South African sport has a major problem that needs to be addressed as a matter of urgency (Balram, [n.d.]). In the same fashion The Weekly (2012) reports that the root of the problem resides in a lack of proper facilities in the areas where large volumes of the country's black citizens reside – the townships. More particularly, the schools in the townships do not have the required facilities to develop learners into competitive athletes.

If the sporting talent is not identified at school level, then the transformation initiatives become carelessly sabotaged. Traditionally, for many decades, sports stars come from the same privileged schools found in South Africa's more affluent urban communities (The Weekly, 2012). The majority of township and rural schools are suffering in the country in what way be more specific. In the pre-democratic era, black rugby did not benefit from any of the resources available to white rugby at that time. They did occasionally receive **paternalistic support** from white rugby enthusiasts, most notably Cecil Rhodes who donated the Rhodes Cup to SARU.

It is a fact that SA rugby cannot solely fund the transformation and development rugby programmes and initiatives in all regions. There are other sectors that need to be involved in a co-ordinated way. The researcher proposes that stakeholders such as local authorities, sports trusts, the National Lottery and government departments should be involved in creating more facilities and resources. In his address to the annual general meeting (AGM) of the South African Rugby Union (Saru), in Cape Town in April 2011, the Minister of Sport, Mr Fikile Mabalula, said: "Given the collapsing or absence of facilities in rural and township communities, we need to join hands between

government and the private sector for the restoration of old buildings and building of new facilities" (Government Information, 2011).

According to the National Lottery Board (NLB) grants were paid out as follows to sport: 2008/2009 = R596,9m; 2009/2010 = R649,4m and 2010/2011 = R665,4m. The NLB provided funding to the South African Rugby Union (Saru) as follows: 2006/2007 = R5,9m; 2007/2008 = R1,5m; 2009/2010 = R3,1m and 2010/2011 = R6,1m (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2012). In his budget speech, 7 June 2012, the Minister of Sport, Fikile Mbalula, said that in partnership with Saru and the NLB R35 million have already been allocated to the Solly Tyibilika Rugby Academy in the Eastern Cape. According to the Sports Minister, other countries with fewer resources achieve far better due to the case of the player spirit and underlying commitment to their countries (Government Information, 2012). Mbalula also announced at the minister's budget vote speech that R525 million (62%) of the total budget is allocated to a mass participation programme with the focus of increasing participation in various sporting codes by supporting school sport, club development and hubs. The sport federations in sport development projects will receive R187,3 million (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2012). From the outset, it looks like the government wants to improve the conditions of the sport facilities in the country with the limited resources at its disposal. How the sports federations and unions utilise the funds and create appropriate facilities are not clear and transparent enough.

Mbalula (2011:1-10) remarks that it is really not fulfilling that twenty years of "attempted transformation and change in rugby, we are still witnessing inequality in sport; **skewed distribution of resources and sport facilities** and lack of representativity in the national teams including rugby administration, management, coaching and officiating" (Mbalula, 2011:5). Even the Sports Trust's (2009) main objective is the developing of sport across all disciplines and at all levels in South Africa with a special focus on sports infrastructure and equipment for disadvantaged communities. The Sports Trust has spent an excess of R42,5 million on over 240 projects from 1995 to date. Access to sport in South Africa was and still is, determined by economic circumstances. Hendricks

(1996) affirms that the legacy of apartheid had deprived townships of sports infrastructure and they remained under-resourced in terms of sports facilities.

7.2.1.7 Lack of interdependence

In this section, factors such as **stereotyping, elitism, limitations to transformation** and **ignorance towards diversity** seem to play an important role in relation to interdependence or the lack thereof. Success in sport seem to be dependent on a group of individuals working together to achieve similar goals – be they actual teammates, coaches, trainers or supporters (Kaufman and Wolff, 2010). With regard to the concept of **interdependence** Kaufman and Wolff (2012:15) argue that it implies much more than just working together in a team to reach collective goals. It also implies "a level of reliance on others to help the athletes (or rugby players) achieve their goals". **Prejudice, discrimination** and **racism** are constructs that seem to have a negative impact on interdependence, as reflected within the South African rugby context. Besides that, socio-cultural influences also seem to impact negatively on rugby transformation in South Africa. Prejudice on the other hand can be described as an attitude of hostility or dislike for a group and its members. Members of a group are evaluated negatively solely by belonging to that group and individual traits or behaviour play a small role (Aronson, Wilson and Akert, 2004). Prejudice cannot be observed directly, but discrimination, on the other hand is an observable phenomenon (Baron and Byrne, 2003). Therefore, discrimination refers to negative actions toward groups that are the targets of discrimination – in this case player of colour. When discrimination is based on prejudice toward a racial group, it is called racism and the person who performs it is referred to as a racist (Baron and Byrne, 2003).

People of colour, even in sports, have had to cope with discrimination based on race for many centuries. Racism is still rampant in the South African sports context. According to Mynhardt (2002) symbolic racism has not replaced traditional racism in South Africa, but in fact co-exists with it. Needless to say those socio-cultural factors affect the integration of sport and could therefore have an impact on the lack of interdependence. Although

there has been an improvement in people's attitudinal stance within some sectors of the South African society, a large number of them are still adjusting to political and social transition at a disappointing slow pace. According to Taylor, Peplan and Sears (2003:521) **interdependence** is the "condition in which two or more people have some degree of mutual influence on each other's **feelings, thoughts** or **behaviours**". In the South African rugby context that feeling of interdependence is absent, because officials and even players often fail to coordinate their behaviour to maximise their joint benefits (Taylor, Peplan and Sears, 2003). The lack of interdependence will still exist in future if the rugby structures remain as rigid as they are within South African rugby.

Interdependence will still exist in future if the **rugby structures** remain as rigid as they are within South African rugby. Kendall (2011:685) defines bureaucracy as "an organisation model characterised by a hierarchy of authority, a clear division of labour, explicit rules and procedures and impartiality in personal matters. Both administrator and player can develop a bureaucratic personality if they are more concerned in following the correct procedures than getting the job done. People are human beings, and too many rules, regulations and procedures could prevent interdependence amongst different role-players and stakeholders. Transformation in rugby should not be seen as just helping to numerically integrate black players, while power and ownership still remains in the hands of white South Africans (Dunn, 2009). The human factor therefore plays an important role in sport and the development of sport.

In Box 7.7 responses, related to a lack of interdependence, have been summarised:

- "Social integration hardly occurs".
- "Community involvement has ceased".
- "Negative labelling of certain players".
- "Perception or mind-set that rugby is a white sport".
- "From exclusivity to inclusivity".
- "Respect the cultural differences as the game progress".

- "Rugby has a great following and support basis".
- "Unless drastic intervention takes place, rugby will not be transformed".
- "Involvement of all people irrespective of race and colour".
- "SA Rugby should give clear directions to all stakeholders".
- "Values such as respect and honesty should be taken seriously".
- "Encourage a rugby culture and tradition to other spectators".
- "Rugby should be a catalyst to draw people together".
- "Transformation brings people together".

Box 7.7: Lack of interdependence

Padayachee, Desai and Vahed (2004:256) cited Maré (2000) about race identity and race boundaries. They believe that race identity and race boundaries are sustained by new dynamics in post-apartheid South Africa. Maré (2000) remarks that South Africans still operate with race as a collective identity and suggest that race thinking is embedded in their everyday thinking.

The separation of professional and amateur rugby accelerated the rigid divisions between the elite rugby players (Springboks, Super Rugby and Currie Cup) and the rest, which include club and rural rugby. One hardly sees a Springbok playing club rugby nowadays. This could have an impact on the lack of interdependence within South African rugby as only a select group of players benefit financially from large incomes obtained from sponsorships, television rights and gate incomes. At a school level black rugby players are experiencing the same problem of lack of interdependence with other schools. Many of the best rugby-playing schools remain far beyond the reach of poor black people. Efforts to bring rugby to disadvantaged schools and the grassroots in mainly black areas have been unsuccessful for many years (Mail & Guardian Online, 2009).

7.2.1.8 Lack of integrity

In this emerging theme, **integrity** basically means "**honesty**", "**uprightness**" and "**sincerity of character**" (Alwang and Van Rensburg, 1988:429). The Cambridge International Dictionary (1996:739) defines integrity as "the quality of being honest and having strong moral principles that you refuse to change". In the South African rugby context, no one may doubt that the president can be a man of the highest integrity, but the same acclaim cannot be said to certain controversial administrators, officials, coaches, referees and even players (be careful of personal interpretations you are writing a thesis). The latter constantly showing a lack of integrity with regard to rugby transformation and development in the post-apartheid era.

Commitment is influenced by our values and moral principles. According to Taylor, Peplan and Sears (2003:284) this "**moral commitment**" is based on our sense of obligation and social responsibility, especially to rugby development in South Africa. Sadly, the way rugby is presented to the public of South Africa remains of "only for the advantaged" – which makes it almost impossible for the majority in the country to relate to the game, or feel part of it (Ruggaworld, 2012). According to Boshoff (2004) the insincere rugby participants and pretentious supporters, who resisted or delayed transformation projects previously, now all of a sudden call for "**merit systems**". Yet, they are aware of the socio-cultural, economic and political issues within South Africa. Their actions therefore become opportunistic and do therefore not assist in enhancing rugby transformation. Therefore, there is also a lack of integrity from these pretenders. Boshoff (2004) identified them as "**hard-core conservative elements**" in their resistance to transformation of rugby. They are still serving in strategic positions within South African rugby.

Besides the lack of honesty, the misuse of power, ignorance towards diversity and limitations to transformation, are also contributing factors to the lack of integrity. In Box 7.8 an extract of respondent's responses illustrates their understanding of matters related to integrity.

- "People should be transparent and with integrity".
- "Avoid labelling people."
- "The dire situations need to be addressed".
- "Skin colour should not be a criteria for selection".
- "Groups are socially still divided and drift apart".
- "Some officials and coaches only see money and results".
- "It's a negative perception that there must be a white person in a strategic position".
- "Some do not accept that the rugby context has changed".
- "Frustration of rugby persons can have a negative impact".
- "No unity in certain unions".
- "Rugby people started on the wrong foot".
- "Continuation of the old rugby regime handicaps or ramshackle progress".
- "If only rugby people can be united with social values".
- "Wrong decision-making by selectors and coaches".
- "Rugby people shy away from challenges".
- "Rugby people are afraid of their positions".
- "Problem that each has its own idea".
- "Excuses play a big role in transformation".
- "Conservative officials ignored transformation intentionally".

Box 7.8: Lack of integrity

A manifestation of a lack of integrity also occurs when a player is humiliated despite his/her skills and abilities. Keohane (2004:50) said he was shocked how white coaches referred to black players. They would use words such as "non-whites", "player of colour", "development players", "quota players", "players from previously disadvantaged backgrounds" and "them". He never heard a white player being described as "non-black". Keohane (2004:50) elaborates further on the lack of integrity when he states: "Every fashionable and misguided euphemism implied weakness."

7.2.2 Summary

To conclude, the development of a theoretical framework of transformation and development in South African rugby is somewhat problematic and contradictory. There are too many constructs or labels attached, as observed in the preceding themes. It is supposed to lead to empowerment and competencies, but the opposite is visible in reality. People in powerful positions and authority are not always honest, open and seem not to act with integrity. There is a general slow pace of improvements, especially in disadvantaged areas. Most of the participants categorised transformation as a window-dressing exercise. The correct way regarding transformation is to encourage a spirit of patriotism and belonging. It does not mean entitlement. An outstanding problem of transformation is that it did not address the issue of diversity properly. Therefore, transformation can only be successful if the playing fields are equal. The disparity is still too huge especially at certain unions and clubs. Similarly the big economic imbalances between population groups are causing that some players are being marginalised. Real transformation should take into account the historical, political, social and economic changes.

7.2.3 The incorporation of merit driven actions and political change

The key strategic issue, with which South African rugby managers, officials and administrators are currently grappling, is how to accommodate the merit driven transformation simultaneously with the politically driven change. It is well-known that SA Rugby has been struggling for two decades to successfully transform its structures, players, officialdom and even satisfy spectators. The stance or approach to "**level the playing field**", is not an easy way to find an amiable solution. Therefore, the researcher proposes that the South African rugby structures transform in relation to the four dimensions of organisation reform as proposed by Vijay Balram [n.d.]

- (i) reframing;
- (ii) restructuring;

- (iii) revitalisation; and
- (iv) renewal.

According to Taylor (2005) transformation cannot be made to happen. Transformation **emerges** as the consequences of many definable and fairly easily created circumstances. It is neither easy nor difficult. There is no easy path to transformation and a group of consultants cannot do it for you. Transform means to change **form**. Both you (as stakeholders), and the organisation have to change together. There is a **paradox** and a **dilemma** associated with transformation. Eitzen (1999:5), in this regard, believes that seeing "sport is both unifying and derisive", it can unite warring factions and bring different social classes and racial groups together. But it can also reinforce the barriers that separate groups.

According to Taylor (2005) transformation means to change **structure** (reframing, restructuring, revitalisation, renewal). Literally transformation means a change in the structure of an individual's mind and the linkages and protocols of an organisation. Changing from a typical bureaucracy is a matter of changing emphasis, shifting the power from control to delivery; in other words, cutting away irrelevant control functions and stimulating delivery (Human, 1998). Bertrand (2002) argues that in reality organisations are filled with old cultural norms (the old rugby establishment) that are as tough as rubber, which make new and innovative ideas difficult to embrace (revocratic approach). She continues further by saying that it is proven to a false notion that leaders should address transformation, while the subordinates must just receive and implement. What Bertrand (2002) suggests is that there is a gap between paper and reality with regard to transformation initiatives.

7.2.3.1 Conceptualisation

The term "**revocracy**" combine "**revo-**" (which comes from the Latin word, "**revolvere**", meaning to roll or to make a complete turn or change) and "**-crat**" (as in bureaucrat), which comes from the Greek, "**kratos**", meaning power. While the word "**bureaucrat**"

translates literally as "the power" within certain policy frameworks, without consulting or learning from the community. Cashmore (1990:3) defines bureaucracy as "a highly organised system of administration in which individualism and imagination is minimal and official rules, regulations and practices are of paramount importance."

The Human-approach is proposed to integrate both the concepts of bureaucracy and revocracy.

It should be noted that revocrats come from a variety of backgrounds – the same as the rugby management who took control since 1992. According to Human (1998:75-76) effective revocrats demonstrate specific core competencies:

- managers have to cope with both present and future problems at once;
- the need to simultaneously maintain and restructure current delivery levels;
- juggling the demands from below and the directives from above with global realities, local conditions, social dynamics and technical complexities;
- cognitively complex people have the ability to think multi-dimensionally; and
- consider multiple causes of, and solutions to problems, rather than seeking only one at a time.

7.2.3.2 Integrative management and leadership

Leadership and management are two distinct and complimentary systems of action. Each has its own function and characteristic activities. In Table 7.4 Kotter (1999:51) outlines some of the characteristics essential to driving significant transformation initiatives:

Managers	Leaders
✓ Implement the vision	✓ Create the vision
✓ Plan, budget and organise the team	✓ Align people and inspire them
✓ Maintain order and system	✓ Create and build processes

✓ Manage the impact of change	✓ Create change pro-actively
✓ Measure day-to-day	✓ Keep the values visible
✓ Control and problem solve	✓ Motivate and insight
✓ Contribute to teams	✓ Keep a helicopter view
✓ Seek step-by-step improvement	✓ Continue to challenge the status quo

Table 7.3: Managers and Leadership Characteristics (Kotter 1999:51)

SA Rugby structures should implement an **integrative management and leadership style** following the failure of the transformation process during the past twenty years. Gardelliano (2005:1-6) suggests that integrative management and leadership is the capability of management and leaders to integrate and continuously balance the fundamental pillars of organisational performance, vital for **sustainability**. The proper integration between mission/corporate strategies and values/norms, competencies, management, technical processes and organisational structure are key factors for effective transformation.

The rugby fraternity in South Africa should try by all means to improve on the slow pace of transformation since 1992. Management structures must be open enough and transparent. In Box 7.9 the participants reveal specific attitudes towards existing rugby leadership and management.

- "Need outstanding rugby administrators".
- "Identify competent people who can give directions".
- "Appoint selectors who do not create conflict".
- "Leadership to change the bad image of the past".
- "Disinformation to all stakeholders and role-players".
- "Leaders to set targets and benchmarks".
- "Reluctance of the administrators to transform".
- Conservative officials ignored transformation intentionally".

- "Administrators stuck in the old ways of doing things".
- "Lack of collective perspective in rugby administration".
- "Head coaches not really want to transform".
- "Leadership should bring rugby people together".
- "The role models in rugby are a big distortion".

Box 7.9: Attitudes towards management and leadership

SA Rugby needs to have a change of direction. Transformation is thus a process where everyone must willingly embark on this journey, requiring commitment, intention, enjoyment and full participation. The "provincial" rugby structures should be aware that organisations do not change, but the people do. They desperately need to **re-invent** themselves in order to make a difference. Meyer (2005:49-53) is of the opinion that there are many reasons why change and transformation fails in an organisation or institution:

- no visible senior management champion for change;
- implementation of change is too slow, or too quick while new systems are not yet in place. The result of this is an ineffective system with many errors and shortcomings;
- the organisational culture does not support transformation. If this is the case it will be very difficult to implement change, especially if the stakeholders or role-players are not use to continuous change, innovation, autonomy and empowerment;
- inability of management to balance and integrate the structural and people components of change and transformation; and
- lack of monitoring and evaluation of the transformation strategy during all phases of the change interventions.

Therefore, proper communication, information-sharing, feedback, effective planning and execution of the change strategy seem to be of the utmost importance.

7.2.3.3 Restructuring South African Rugby

It is proposed that the following actions be considered in restructuring the South African Rugby System:

1. Restructure the so-called "14 provincial rugby unions" to be in line with the constitutional imperatives of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996).
2. Revise the constitutions from clubs, universities, provinces and national sides as related to rugby and rugby development.
3. Revisit the decisions taken at the rugby unification process in 1992.
4. Develop a marketing plan for small towns, rural areas and schools within South Africa.
5. Treat all structures equally: township schools vs. urban schools; rural areas vs. urban areas; small unions vs. big unions.
6. Investigate the relevance and legality of the "autonomous" structure of rugby provinces.
7. Enhance the mentorship of rugby and its administration at all levels of the game.
8. Make rugby the people's sport by encouraging the development of community rugby structures.
9. Address challenges related to financial constraints, infrastructure and facilities in all rugby playing areas.
10. Employ qualified trainers and facilitators to promote the concept of transformation.
11. Involve government officials.

Therefore, the researcher is of the view that transformation could be deployed successfully within South African rugby by facilitating **synthesis** between politically driven and merit driven transformation initiatives. Synthesis can be described as the mixing of different ideas, influences or things to make a whole which is different or new (Cambridge International Dictionary, 1996:1482). In essence, it means to combine the parts to form the whole – in rugby transformation it can be described as a complex

whole. With regard to all the components, stakeholders and role-players within the South African rugby environment, **team work** can result in a **synergy** that can be very productive. What it means is that working together is generally greater than the total power achieved by each working separately. In order for SA Rugby to achieve success in their transformation initiatives, it is vital that all the laissez-faire policies be replaced by proper policies needed to create effective control and monitoring mechanisms.

According to Human (1998:108-109) it is clear that this new revocracy must abandon the self-serving position of the old bureaucracy. The strategy of transformation need to shift from control to technical expertise. It means that change must take place simultaneously from both the top-down to bottom up. The researcher also states that "the fundamental (and most challenging) principle of management is the effective management of the paradoxes". There should be continuous management of the contradictions between internal social relations and productions, between stability and change and between tradition and innovation.

Effective organisations are those with the capacity to achieve a **synthesis** between the often opposing demands and goals of the organisations: organisations that ensure that both officials and players are satisfied – especially relevant in the rugby context.

7.2.3.4 Summary

Human (1998:46) states that transformation is of no value unless it involves "**the transformation of the mind**". By implication, it means that everyone, from the player to top management, needs to make a mind-set change. Change is multi-faceted, meaning many things to many people. The important point here is that rugby transformation needs to be applied strategically, at all levels of the rugby hierarchy. Transformation is also about an improved order of things. It should enhance performance, productivity, efficiency and competitiveness.

In order to accelerate the slow pace of rugby transformation in South Africa, all role-players and stakeholders must make a collective effort to involve a broad spectrum of support. It is essential for the South African Rugby Union (Saru), the different rugby unions in the regions, university rugby, club structures and schools rugby **to redress the past imbalances and inequalities**. Saru should make it a priority to develop the human capital at all levels and from all communities. It is paramount to empower coaches, referees and players at all levels.

According to Human (1998) cognitively complex managers can shift smoothly from thinking to doing – from theory to practice. The slow pace of rugby transformation might relate to difficulty to shift from "theory to practice". In other words, rugby managers within the South African rugby context struggle to implement and monitor the transformation initiatives they have agreed to in theory over the past two decades. Rugby managers should rather use the **heuristic approach** which means "proceeding towards a solution by means of trial and error" (Human, 1998:76). The intention here is to learn as one goes along. In other words a laissez-faire approach is necessary.

7.3 REFLECTIONS ON TRANSFORMATION

By means of the grounded theory approach and the assistance of the participants with questionnaires and interviews, the researcher was able to analyse and interpret the rich data collected. Through the different stages of coding, identification of categories and creating emerging themes, the researcher was in a position to develop a theory regarding the transformation and democratisation of South African rugby since unification in 1992. The researcher also ensured that the quality data obtained should be fit, applicable, modifiable, relevant and true.

With regard to representivity in rugby, the researcher depicted that it should be matched with quality and responsibility. He believes that merit selection should be the only criteria for representivity, but management staff, at all levels, does not reflect the demographics. A big concern is still that black representivity is minimal at provincial and national level. Representivity in rugby should occur natural in all communities. The national team, the Springboks is not a good example of representivity, although the idea is that at Springbok level there should be only merit selections. SA Rugby does little for players in remote rural areas.

In any organisation the managerial ability of the leader can steer the members on the correct transformation path. Simic (1998:49-55) identifies the following attributes: creativity, team orientation, appreciation of others, teaching, responsibility and recognition. Some of the rugby leadership have a lack of the following skills, namely idealised influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, and individualised consideration (Simic, 1998:49-55). They really have to improve on this, in order to be a good leader or administrator within the rugby set-up.

Bertrand (2002) acknowledges that the values of the leader(s) of any organisation are reflected in the culture of the organisation. Successful leaders first impose change on them and then cultivate it in others. According to Daszko and Sheinberg (2005), transformation, on the other hand, fails when there is a lack of leadership with profound

knowledge, vision and courage. Transformation demands energy and a deep commitment to learning and significant change. Therefore, according to the authors, (Daszko and Sheinberg, 2005) to transform is to create something new that has never existed before and could not be predicted from the past. Transformation is not easy, but to take personal responsibility and make a difference.

The researcher suggests that rugby should be integrated at all levels. There need to be more transparency regarding team selection, taking into account merit and a professional approach. Teams, in the specific rugby regions, should reflect the demographics of the rugby population in future. Management should, by all means, improve the poor facilities of the past. Saru must monitor selectors and coaches who are reluctant to select players on merit. It should be noted that rugby will deteriorate because junior players are marginalised and sometimes neglected.

South African rugby, despite the slow pace of transformation up until now, has a future if justice is done with selection at all levels. The management, at all levels, should transform themselves before they can transform others. Former rugby players and officials should be actively involved, and establish rugby mentorship. The future rugby generation depends on the current rugby leadership now. The passion for rugby is the most important value.

The slow pace of rugby transformation over the past twenty years in South Africa has been characterised by a bureaucratic system of management and a lack of accountability, integrity and sincerity. Transformation initiatives were in fact often "paper exercises" both within the national structures as well as that of ordinary club management structures. Innovative plans have hardly been implemented in the correct manner. In other instances transformation plans have reluctantly been accepted and implemented by the rugby unions. According to Human (1998) institutions and organisations are only as effective as the people who run them. The difference is always the people, and in particular, in relation to management. In this section, the

researcher attempted to strike a balance between "bureaucrats" and "revocrats", as a blueprint for transformation.

7.4 CONCLUSION

The main objective of this research was to determine whether the transformation in South African rugby can be merit driven and politically transformed. The researcher proposed a theoretical frame work derived from the participants' data. The slow pace of rugby transformation was central to the study. The researcher believes that the challenges for Saru are to make rugby accessible to all South Africans. Cosmetic or artificial change will not solve the current problems within South African rugby. Although most of the provincial rugby unions are still captured by their past, Gibbs (2002:1) writes that the barriers of rugby transformation may be about perception and habits of difficulties in coping with change. He argues there is a strong need to embrace transformation by affirming positive intentions.

The researcher has been concerned about the questions related to equity and access. The method of checks and balances must be accelerated to enhance the rugby monitoring process. In the new democracy, rugby can be a catalyst for social integration. Skinner, Steward and Edwards (2003:51-69) emphasise that while the game of rugby has undoubtedly changed at all levels, change has not transformed rugby into a "people's game". The rugby leadership can also use rugby as a nation builder. Nayo (2002:2-4) argues that South African rugby leadership needs to create a value system that reflects the aspirations of the people we represent.

In order to accelerate the pace of transformation, the researcher suggests that Saru should improve their structures, create equal opportunities, correct governance of rugby, more training and development and adequate funding to all unions.

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APPENDIX 1: FIRST QUESTIONNAIRE

QUESTIONS:

1. What do you normally understand under the concept transformation and democratisation in sport?
2. To what extent has rugby in South Africa transformed since 1994?
3. Are the processes of transformation and democratisation “visible” at clubs, provincial and national levels?
4. How representative are rugby teams at these levels?
5. Does rugby reflect the region’s population demographics at all levels?
6. Do you have democratic rugby structures in you provinces?
7. What are your viewpoints regarding quota-players and merit-players?
8. How do unions or clubs manage the development programmes in rugby?
9. How popular is rugby in the previously disadvantaged areas?
10. Do you think rugby has the potential to unite the nation?
11. Are you in favour that the Ministry of Sport and Recreation must lay down guidelines on sport transformation and democratisation in the country?
12. Are you in favour of government’s policies regarding sport?
13. Do you feel the national sports federations are capable of implementing the processes of transformation and democratisation successfully?
14. Does the rugby federation reach out to the less privileged schools?
15. What are your own viewpoints regarding transformation and democratisation of rugby in South Africa? Motivate.

Thank you for your participation.

APPENDIX 2: SECOND QUESTIONNAIRE

INTERVIEW	ONDERHOUD
GENERAL QUESTIONS	ALGEMENE VRAE
A. ENGLISH	B. AFRIKAANS
1. Briefly tell me about your involvement in sport and rugby.	1. Beskryf kortliks u betrokkenheid by sport en rugby.
2. How do you see South African rugby in the future?	2. Hoe sien u Suid-Afrikaanse rugby in die toekoms.
3. Has real transformation/change taken place in your province. If so, motivate?	3. Is u van mening dat transformasie/verandering in u provinsie plaasgevind het. Indien wel, motiveer
4. How democratic are your rugby structures: e.g. executive, coaches, referees and clubs.	4. Hoe demokraties is u rugby strukture m.b.t bestuur, afrigters, skeidsregters en klubs
5. Is the development program in rugby successful in your province?	5. Is u van mening dat die ontwikkelingsprogram van rugby suksesvol in u provinsie plaasvind.
6. What would you suggest or recommend for the transformation process to be successful in your province and South Africa?	6. Wat sou u voorstel /aanbeveling wees om die transformasie-proses suksesvol te laat geskied in u provinsie sowel as in Suid-Afrika
7. How do you see quota-players and merit selected players?	7. Wat is u mening oor kwota en meriete spelers.
8. Can rugby reconcile different cultural groups through transformation?	8. Is u van mening dat transformasie verskillende kultuurgroepe kan verenig.
9. Any problems or obstacles regarding the transformation of rugby?	9. Is u bewus van enige probleme of hindernisse aangaande die transformasieproses in rugby?
10. What are your views on representivity in rugby?	10. Wat is u mening aangaande die verteenwoordiging van rugby?

Thank you for your participation.

APPENDIX 3: THIRD QUESTIONNAIRE

RESEARCH QUESTIONNAIRE:

INSTRUCTION: MAKE A CROSS (X) IN THE APPROPRIATE BOX:

1. Is the transformation in South Africa since unification/merger in 1992:

- (a) Merit-driven
- (b) Politically driven
- (c) Combination of (a) and (b)
- (d) Superficial/façade

Motivate/Explain briefly: _____

2. Does race, class, ethnicity or cultural differences play a role in team selections, at all levels?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No
- (c) Not sure

Motivate/Explain briefly: _____

3. Are the rugby structures and administration democratic, at all levels?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No
- (c) Not sure

Motivate/Explain briefly: _____

4. Have the current presidents, officials, managers, coaches and referees contributed positively towards rugby transformation in your area?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No
- (c) Not sure

Motivate/Explain briefly: _____

5. Are the different communities/supporters still involved in club, tertiary or provincial rugby?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No
- (c) Not sure

Motivate/Explain briefly: _____

6. Do the players represent the rugby demographic profile of your area?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No
- (c) Not sure

Motivate/Explain briefly: _____

7. Have rugby players been developed in your province in the rural areas, townships, locations and small towns?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No
- (c) Not sure

Motivate/Explain briefly: _____

8. Has the rugby leadership in your province broaden the support base since 1992?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No
- (c) Not sure

Motivate/Explain briefly: _____

9. Is there tangible evidence of rugby transformation at club, university or provincial level?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No
- (c) Not sure

Motivate/Explain briefly: _____

10. Would you personally encourage rugby transformation in your area?

- (a) Yes
- (b) No
- (c) Not sure

Motivate/Explain briefly: _____

Thanking you

APPENDIX 4: INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED

DATE	PARTICIPANTS	RUGBY/UNION	CITY/TOWN	POSITION
18-Mar-03	Mr H . Verster	Free-State	Bloemfontein	President
26-27-Mar-2004	Mr Baby Richards	Griqualand	Kimberley	President
31-Mar-04	Mr Howard Mbuli	Griffons	Welkom	Development Manager
	Mr Randall September	Griffons	Welkom	Vice-President
1-Apr-04	Mr Dick Jansen	Free-State	Bloemfontein	Development Manager
15-Apr-04	Mr Ivan Pekeur	Boland	Wellington	Development Manager
16-Apr-04	Mr Jack Abrahams	Boland	Wellington	President
16-Apr-04	Mr Cliffie Booysen	SARFU	Kraaifontein	SARFU General manager
13-May-04	Mr Riaan Von Gerick	Griffons	Welkom	President
	Mr Eugene Van Wyk	Griffons	Welkom	Coach
	Mr Deon Swanepoel	Griffons	Welkom	Technical Advisor
14-May-04	Mr Izak Job	Griffons	Welkom	Player
7-Jun-04	Mr Arthob Petersen	SARFU	Bloemfontein	Springbok Team Manager
12-Jun-04	Mr Allister Coetzee	SARFU	Bloemfontein	Springbok Backline Coach
23-25 Jun-2004	Mr James Stoffberg	Leopards	Potchefstroom	President
	Mr Gerald Mcpherson	Leopards	Potchefstroom	Vice-President
	Mr Arthur Breakfast	Leopards	Westonaria	Development Officer
29-Jun-04	Mr Zola Yibe	Border	Queenstown	Chairman Border School
	Mr Clifford Pringle	Border	Queenstown	Chairperson Queenstown R.U.
30-Jun-04	Mr Thobile Maclean	Border	King William's Town	Ex-SARU Player
	Mr Mike Stofile	SARFU	King William's Town	Vice-President SARFU
1-Jul-04	Mr Godfrey Symons	Border	East London	Ex-SARU Player
	Mr Roderick Jonker	Border	East London	Teacher Coach
	Mr Don Woolf	Border	East London	President
3-Jul-04	Mr Basil Booysen	Free-State Countries	Aliwal North	Chairperson
15-16 Jul-2004	Mr Clive Foster	Central Karoo	Graaff Reinet	Administrator
	Mr Arrie Koeberg	Central Karoo	Graaff Reinet	Ex-SARU Player

22-24 July 2004	Mr Phillip Josephs	Eastern Province	Port Elizabeth	CEO
	Mr Temba Ludwaba	Eastern Province	Port Elizabeth	Development Co-ordinator
	Mr Cheeky Watson	Eastern Province	Port Elizabeth	Ex-SARU Player
	Mr Harold Wilson	Eastern Province	Port Elizabeth	Administrator
30-Jul-04	Mr David Ruiters	Border	Bloemfontein	Manager
26-29-Sep-2004	Mr Gary Boshoff	Northern Transvaal	Pretoria	CEO
	Mr Nicky Forbay	Northern Transvaal	Pretoria	Official
	Ms Tersia Grobler	S.A. Sport Commission	Centurion	Official
	Mr Charl du Randt	S.A. Sport Commission	Centurion	Official
06-09 Oct-2004	Mr Andre Thompson	Wits University Golden Lions (Sports Conference)	Johannesburg	Sport Academy Rugby Development Officer
	Mr Lomax Tshandau	Wits University Golden Lions (Sports Conference)	Johannesburg	Sport Academy Rugby Development Officer
1-Feb-05	Mr Rudi Louw	Free State Schools	Bloemfontein	Coach
9-Feb-05	Mr Eustace Lemmetjies	Free State	Bloemfontein	Player
11-Feb-05	Mr James Letuka	Kovies Rugby Club: UFS	Bloemfontein	Kovsie Rugby Official
	Mr Brand Claassen	Kovies Rugby Club: UFS	Bloemfontein	Kovsie Rugby Official
	Mr Tat Botha	Kovies Rugby Club: UFS	Bloemfontein	Kovsie Rugby Official
12-13 Feb-05	Ms Valerie Sampson	Northern Free State Schools	Kroonstad	Sport Official
	Dr Anthony Bouwer	Northern Free State Schools	Kroonstad	Sport Official
17-Feb-05	Ms Gerda van Solms	Free State Cheetahs	Bloemfontein	CEO
23-25-Feb-05	Mr Tom Paramoer	South Western Districts	George	CEO
	Mr Joey Daniels	South Western Districts	Mosselbaai	President
	Mr Willie Beukes	South Western Districts	Oudtshoorn	Ex-SARU Player

	Mr Deon Coetzee	South Western Districts	George	Development Officer
5-Mar-05	Mr Joseph Colby	Happy Hearts Swallows	Colesberg	Founder Member of Heidedal Rugby
7-Apr-05	Mr Alexis Aggimacopoulos	Wits University	Bloemfontein	Researcher in Sport
25-May-05	Mr Jake White	Springbok Coach	Bloemfontein	Coach - Questionnaire
16-19 Jun-05	Mr Oregan Hoskins	Kwazulu-Natal	Durban	President
	Mr Richard de Jager	Kwazulu-Natal	Durban	Development Officer
01-03 Jul-05	Mr Nicky Forbay	Eersterust Rugby Club	Pretoria	Chairman
	Mr Vernon Dick	Eersterust Rugby Club	Pretoria	Player/Coach
11-13 - Jul-05	Mr Derick Sampson	Falcons	Brakpan	Development Officer
	Mr Vivian Minnaar	Falcons	Brakpan	Vice president
11-13 - Jul-05	Mr Gert Grobler	Mpumalanga	Witbank	President
	Mr Chris Bruitendach	Mpumalanga	Witbank	Coach
	Mr Christie Noble	Mpumalanga	Witbank	Development Officer
	Mr Arrie Myburg	Mpumalanga	Witbank	Official
18-Aug-05	Prof. Julian Smith	University of Stellenbosch	Stellenbosch	Vice-Rector
	Mr Hilton Adonis	SARFU	Cape Town	Coaching-Head Office
20-Aug-05	Mr Pieter de Villiers	Saru-official	Paarl	U/21 National Coach
10-Sep-05	Mr Hilton Maasdorp	Griffons	Bethlehem	Official
	Mr Hennie Van Scalkwyk	Griffons	Bethlehem	Official
9-Nov-05	Mr Jannie Odendaal	Sport Committee Lyceumville	Venterstad	Sport Organiser
	Mr Charlie May	Hibernians Club	Burgersdorp	Chairperson
10-Nov-05	Mr Siyabulela Mashalaba	Department of Sports & Recreation	Aliwal North	Director
14-Nov-05	Mr Clifford Pringle	Border	Queenstown	President
16-Nov-05	Ms Dianne Sanfort	Walter Sisulu College	East London	Sports co-ordinator (telephonic)

13-Jan-06	Mr Godfrey Erlank	Universals Club	Kimberley	Club Member
28-Jan-06	4 Panthers Players	Free State University	Bloemfontein	Members/Players
1-Feb-06	Mr Deon du Plessis	Free State University	Bloemfontein	Chairman
	Mr Michael van Wyk	Free State University	Bloemfontein	Vice-President
15-Feb-06	Mr Peter Peters	Mangaung Club	Batho, Bloemfontein	Chairperson
02-06- Jul-2007	Mr Vuyani Somyo	Fort Hare Rugby	Bloemfontein	Manager
SASSA Rugby Week	Mr M Mbone	Fort Hare Rugby	Bloemfontein	Player
	MrLefty Dakuse	Fort Hare Rugby	Bloemfontein	Head Coach
	Mr V Bisho	Walter Sisulu College	Bloemfontein	Player
	Mr S Mdunyelwa	Walter Sisulu College	Bloemfontein	Player/Coach
	Mr C Kirsten	Walter Sisulu College	Bloemfontein	Player/Coach
	Mr D Look	UKZN	Bloemfontein	Player
	Mr S Mkhize	UKZN	Bloemfontein	Player
	Mr G Nagel	TUT (Pretoria)	Bloemfontein	Player
	Mr M Pretorius	UWC (Cape Town)	Bloemfontein	Sports Manager
	Mr A Edem	UWC (Cape Town)	Bloemfontein	Coach
	Mr A Gordon	UWC (Cape Town)	Bloemfontein	Manager
10-Jul-07	Mr L du Toit	Colts Rugby (UFS)	Bloemfontein	Player
	MrT Cwaite	Colts Rugby (UFS)	Bloemfontein	Player
	Mr L Tole	Colts Rugby (UFS)	Bloemfontein	Player

APPENDIX 5: TELEPHONIC INTERVIEWS & NETWORKING

DATE	PARTICIPANT	ORGANISATION	TOWN/CITY
02/08/2005	Mr Tat Botha	Shimlas & Panthers	Bloemfontein
05/08/2005	Mr V Minnaar	F.R.U - Official	Bloemfontein
	Mr D Bloem	F.R.U - Official	Bloemfontein
22/08/2005	Mr E Beck	High Schools Rugby	Heidedal /Bloemfontein
25/08/2005	Mr B v/d Vyver	Collegians R.C.	Bloemfontein
29/08/2005	Mr B Solomons	Crusaders R.C.	Heidedal /Bloemfontein
31/08/2005	Mr D Jansen	Free State Rugby	Bloemfontein
12/10/2005	Hostel Students	Bravada, Khayalami, Tswelopele	Bloemfontein
04/11/2005	Mr A van Lill	F.S. Country Rugby	Queenstown
04/11/2005	Mr M Thompson	Primary Schools	Venterstad
04/11/2005	Mr B Steenekamp	F.S. Country Rugby	Barkley East
05/11/2005	Mrs M Ncumisa	Fort Hare University	Alice
06/11/2005	Mr D Smiles	Democratic Alliance (D.A)	Middelburg
08/11/2005	Mr E Alexander	Griquas R.U.	Victoria-West
08/11/2005	Mr SE Ramashala	Dept. of Sport	Aliwal - North
09/11/2005	Mr I May	Hibernians	Burgersdorp
15/11/2005	Mr D Pienaar	Boland R.U.	Wellington
	Mr W Beukes	S.W.D.R.U	Mosselbay
06/12/2005	Mr G Erlank	Universals R.C.	Kimberley
09/12/2005	SARFU - Officials	SARFU	Cape Town
23/01/2006	ANC & DA Officials	ANC & DA	Bloemfontein
15/08/2008	Mr A Alberts	Varsity Rugby	Bloemfontein
21/08/2008	Mr P Swartz	Ex-SARU	Uitenhage
29/08/2008	Mr D Reinecke	Griffons	Kroonstad
10/09/2008	Mr T Tisou	Rhodes Rugby	Alice
07/01/2009	Mr A Petersen	Boland R.U.	Wellington
17/01/2009	Luthando & Viwe	Kovsie Rugby	Bloemfontein
22/01/2009	Grantham Williams	Panthers Rugby Club	Bloemfontein
	Jade Jampies	Panthers Rugby Club	Bloemfontein
	Paul Kuza	Panthers Rugby Club	Bloemfontein
30/01/2009	Mr B Norris	Border R.U.	East London
13/02/2009	Mr & Mrs P Karsten	Keimoes R.C.	Kakamas

19/05/2009	Librarian	African Museum	Kimberley
22/05/2009	Mr A Breakfast	Golden Lions	Johannesburg
	Mr Lomax	Golden Lions	Johannesburg
09/06/2009	Mr H Mbuli	Griffons R.U.	Welkom
	Mr R September	Griffons R.U.	Welkom
09/07/2009	Mr F Markham	Kuruman R.U.	Kuruman
22/08/2009	Mr B Ondala	Border R.U.	East London

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
BAD	Bantu Affairs Department
CSRU	City and Suburban Rugby Union
EPNRU	Eastern Province Native Rugby Union
EP	Eastern Province
FIFA	Federation of International Football Association
FIH	International Hockey Federation
GWCRFU	Griqualand West Coloured Rugby Football Union
ICL	International Cricket Council
IFNA	International Federation of Netball
IOL	International Olympic Committee
ITTF	International Table Tennis Federation
KWARU	Kwazakhele Rugby Union
NBA	National Basketball Association
NP	National Party
NOSC	National and Olympic Sports Congress
NSC	National Sports Congress
NZRFB	New Zealand Rugby Football Union
PAC	Pan African Congress
PEARB	Port Elizabeth African Rugby Board
PFP	Progressive Federal Party
SAARB	South African African Rugby Board

SABRB	South African Bantu Rugby Board
SACRFB	South African Coloured Rugby Football Board
SACOS	South African Council on Sport
SANROC	South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee
SARA	South African Rugby Association
SARB	South African Rugby Board
SARU	South African Rugby Union
SASA	South African Sports Association
SEDRU	South Eastern Districts Rugby Union
UCBSA	United Cricket Board of South Africa
US	University of Stellenbosch
USA	United States of America
UCT	University of Cape Town
WP	Western Province
WPCRUC	Western province Coloured Rugby Union
WPRFU	Western Province Rugby Football Union

ABSTRACT

This thesis traces and analyses the development of sport transformation and democratization in South Africa since the new constitutional dispensation, commencing in the early 1990's. The origin, evolution and development of sport in South Africa are still in its infancy in comparison with sporting history in the global context. However, tremendous strides have also been made in other sport events, such as hosting rugby, soccer, cricket and golf, for example, at an international level. Furthermore, the knowledge about sport and democracy was not well addressed, defined and explicit. Additionally, the transformation and democratization of South African sport have been given only superficial attention since the dawn of the new democracy.

In this regard rugby and politics have been intertwined in South African sport for more than fifteen decades (1861–2012). There was virtually no racial mixing of any kind in South African sport previously. The all-encompassing apartheid laws effectively prevented racial integration, both on and off the field. Above all sports apartheid was tragic in its denial of human dignity and its enforced waste of human talent and possibilities.

Therefore, by using the grounded theory approach, this thesis examines empirical evidence gathered from the research participant's data and information. The scope and nature of the research project necessitate applying the grounded theory approach which included many issues at hand to understand the origin and development of the issues, one has to determine whether transformation and democratisation of South African sport was politically or merit driven. In addition to that, a key outcome of the research was to construct a proposed theoretical framework by means of the grounded theory approach in qualitative research. The framework will eventually emerge from data collected from the relevant stakeholders involving in South African sport.

The study also examines to what extent transformation has taken place since the new constitutional dispensation in the country. What progress has been made and at what

pace. The latter issues necessitate the possibility to investigate the problem regarding quota systems, merit selection and development programmes in rugby. These issues form an integral part of the research on transformation and democratization in rugby.

The thesis also addresses the questions on what is the relationship between sport and politics since the new democratic order in 1994. What are the basic assumptions that define transformation and democratization? Do representative teams at all levels reflect the demographics of the society or only the participating sport people? How appropriate are the principles of transformation? For example, democracy, non-racialism, equity and access, redress and representatively are principles which can be utilised or used to explain the process of transformation? Therefore to interface between rugby and sport has become a major focus of attention. Transformation in rugby since the unification in 1992 is not simply about replacing white faces with black faces but involved personal attitudinal, institutional and paradigm changes. By applying the grounded theory approach it was possible that all relevant theoretical contrasts could emerge as a possible theory.

Political change in South Africa since 1994 has led to the transformation and democratization of sporting bodies and the acceptance of non-racialism in sport. But since 1995 Rugby World Cup transformation is viewed with suspicion from both the Blacks and Whites. The thesis attempts to address this vicious cycle of wrong perceptions. The conflict in sport is so intense because South Africa is culturally a mixed society. But clinging to the past both Blacks and Whites are dangerous obstacles to transformation. In fact, sport should be seen as a great equaliser in society.

The research framework has been constructed from the data collected from the recorded narrative of the participants. The interpretation of the data created the context of emerging themes.

Keywords: transformation; democracy; sport; politics; quota-system; grounded theory; data analysis; development players; merit selection; labelling; coding process; rugby.