

**THE MORNING HAS COME BUT IT IS STILL
DARK**

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of
Social Science (Research Psychology) in the School of Psychology, University Of Natal,
Pietermaritzburg.

January, 1999

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the players whom I interviewed. It is through them and their undying devotion to rugby that I was inspired to do this thesis. I would like to thank Dr. Kevin Durrheim, my supervisor, for his inspiration and patience in helping me through the study. Ingrid Palmary who through her consistency and tenacity in dealing with her thesis provided me with a role model to look up to. I would also like to thank my parents for putting up with my endless hours of thesis talk, and for always being there during my emotional times of need. The financial assistance of the Mellon Foundation as well as the Centre for Science and Development (CSD) is gratefully acknowledged.

ABSTRACT

Racism in sport has progressed from being blatant during Apartheid to being subtler in the 'New South Africa'. Using discourse analysis, this thesis focuses on how subtle racism reveals itself through the 'development' programme in rugby. 'Development' players are constructed as racially inferior to white rugby players. The white institution of rugby is portrayed as a philanthropic organisation whose aim is to 'help' 'development' players raise their levels of skill. In this way, white rugby is constructed as being non-racist. By locating 'development' subjects as being inferior, and disguising this with philanthropy, the 'development' programme serves to reproduce the oppressive power relations between whites and blacks involved in rugby as it was during Apartheid.

PREFACE

This whole thesis, unless otherwise indicated, is my own original work.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. INTRODUCTION:

In 1995, Andre Odendaal voiced the problematic that this thesis attempts to address.

“For the future of the game, racism in its *overt* as well as *hidden* forms needs to be addressed at the highest levels by rugby administrations” (p.25, *emphasis added*).

He identified two types of racism in rugby, overt racism and hidden racism. Overt racism is relatively easy to identify because it stands out especially in the ‘New South Africa’ where the expression of racial sentiment is strictly taboo. For example, Andre Maakgraf was dismissed from his position as national rugby coach because of a taped telephone conversation where he expressed his racial opinions about blacks¹ in South Africa. Not only was he dismissed from his prestigious job, but was also made to publicly apologise to the blacks of South Africa for the incident. In a similar vein, Uli Schmidt a famous rugby Springbok was branded as a racist for stating in 1994 that blacks should not play rugby because it is not in their culture. He suggested that they stick to playing soccer (Grundlingh, 1995a).

Whilst it becomes relatively easy to identify overt racism, it is more difficult to identify the hidden racism in rugby that Odendaal (1995) spoke of. I argue in the thesis that a discursive analysis of ‘development’ rugby can be viewed as a productive starting point in exploring a hidden form of racism in rugby.

1.2. THE SOCIO-POLITICAL NATURE OF SPORT:

The political nature of sports has been well documented. MacClancy (1996) suggests that those who argue that politics should be kept out of sport should realise that the argument has already been lost. President Nixon used table tennis as a diplomatic ploy in negotiation with the Chinese government. Two South American countries nearly came to war over a soccer match whilst two African countries actually did (Vinokour, 1988). The point is clear, that sport and politics are inextricably intertwined (Hartmann, 1996).

Sport and politics have often been interwoven through the history of South Africa. Various political parties have used sport as a social and political 'tool'. For example, rugby was used as an important political manoeuvre by the ANC during the reconciliation process in the early 1990's. The ANC refused to allow international tours to South Africa unless the government of the time reconsidered some of their policies. Sport was also used to express the voices of the majority of black South Africans during Apartheid through sport organisations such as the South African Council of Sport (SACOS). SACOS had as their slogan 'no normal sport in an abnormal society' and attempted to express the views of oppressed South Africans through sport (Thompson, 1982).



With the change from Apartheid to the 'New South Africa', the perceived role of sport has also changed. During Apartheid, sport was used as a form of resistance to certain oppressive practices, now sport is viewed as being key to assisting in the reconciliation process. Nauright (1998) argues that Nelson Mandela and his ANC-led government view sport as one of the essential areas of reconciliation in the 'New South Africa'. Millions around the country as

¹ I use the word black generically to include people from the black African, coloured and Asian race groups, as previously defined by Apartheid legislation. My use of this term does not imply an acceptance of racial segregation nor an uncritical belief in racial categories.

victory over the All Blacks in the 1995 World Cup final. Given the role that rugby played during the legacy of Apartheid, this image may have had contradictory meanings. Nevertheless, if anything, it may have enhanced the role that sport, and rugby in particular plays in South African society (Nauright, 1998). With programmes such as the ‘development’ programme in rugby initiated in 1992, sport is portrayed as a vehicle for uniting South Africans.

Sport is a factor in the national endeavour of the Government of National Unity to redirect the fortunes of a reconciled people into the channels of peace and prosperity. It remains unsurpassed as *bridgehead* because it speaks a *simple* practical language. (Department of Sport and Recreation, 1995, in Nauright, 1998, *emphasis added*)

The role of sport as bridgehead in reconciling people has now become one of the dominant views of the government of the ‘New South Africa’. Implicit in this, is the premise that sport is a way of ‘levelling the playing fields’. Marqusee (1995) suggests that the notion of the ‘level playing field’ has become one of the defining features of modern sport.

The level playing field is far more than a moral or ideological cover for competitive activity. It is the autonomous logic of modern sport. For a context to be seen as satisfactory, its rules, conditions, and conduct must ensure that the result is determined only by the relative and pertinent strengths and weaknesses of the competitors, not by extraneous factors. The objectivity of sporting contests is like the objectivity of a scientific experiment. To the extent that the extraneous is excluded, the test is regarded as valid. (Marqusee, 1995, p.4)

The logic of the 'level playing field' gives sport an egalitarian, 'equality for all' flavour to it - in the domain of sport equality reigns. Of course, the 'level playing field' is enclosed within a society that is anything but level. Access to the 'level playing field' was and is still unequal for certain groups.

Rugby in particular, is more than a game where two teams meet to contest the game of rugby football. It has become an arena where broader battles are being fought. There are economic battles being fought in the form of sponsorships. There are also political battles being fought. Recently the ANC led government has launched a commission of inquiry into the South African Rugby Football Union's (SARFU) mismanagement that has opened old political wounds. There is also the ethnic/language divide, which pervades rugby. Rugby in South Africa has been severely split between English and Afrikaans speaking South Africans. It has been argued that rugby has been used to create a sense of identity for the Afrikaners in South Africa (Grundlingh, 1995b; Spies, 1995; Nauright, 1998). There are also the gender implications of rugby where it has been argued that rugby and the masculine identity which it encourages, ultimately serves to marginalise women (van de Riet, 1995). Whilst the state of rugby in South Africa is inextricably linked with the above-mentioned issues, this discussion is limited to the *racial* issues involved in rugby in a particular province in South Africa.

1.3. RACE AND SPORT:

1.3.1. Overt and subtle racism

Historically, racism in sport has progressed from being blatant as in the colonial days and Apartheid to being subtler in post-Apartheid South Africa.

The issue of the separation of the races in sport is not unique to South Africa or rugby. Historically, racism in sport has taken the *overt* form. For example, during the early part of the century, racism in boxing was rife. Jack Johnson was one of the first black boxers to hold a heavy weight title. Jim Jeffries, a white boxer, refused to fight black boxers at the time, but considered coming out of retirement to 'put Johnson in his place'. In 1908, the fight was staged in Sidney and Johnson emerged as the victor. Black communities especially in United States celebrated the win. This led to reprisal attacks by white supremacist gangs, which has been described as one of the worst incidences of racial violence of the century (Marqusee, 1995). Another example is Doug Nicholls who was one of the few aborigines to play in the top ranks of Australian Rules football. He was initially rejected on racial grounds at Carlton in the Victoria Football League because they said he smelled. From early on Nicholls described that the only way to crack the white world was to do something better than the white person (Tatz, 1995).

Until fairly recently, sport in South Africa was also openly segregated along racial grounds with blacks not being allowed to participate with the white sectors of the population. Because they were separated socially and residentially from their white counterparts, they belonged to separate associations. According to Ramsamy (1982), although white organisations held national open championships, which were recognised by the international and British Empire Sports associations, blacks were always barred from taking part. Blacks were left out of South Africa's national teams even after they had gone overseas and proved their competence there. For example, Precious Mckenzie, a black weight lifter hailing from Pietermaritzburg, beat many of the white weight lifters at the time. He left for England in 1964. He participated in three Olympic Games representing England, and did not receive any proper recognition from South Africa.

Historically, from being blatant in the early parts of the century, racism in sport has recently been described as being *subtle*. What exactly constitutes subtle racism? It is relatively easy to identify overt racism, but it becomes difficult to identify and explore subtle racism. This becomes all the more difficult when there is a distinct norm against open racism in modern society, and particularly post-Apartheid South Africa (Billig, 1988).

A few authors have attempted an analysis of subtle racism in sport. In cricket, several authors have attempted to unravel the subtle operation of prejudice by exploring important indicators in the game. These indicators include practices such as selection policy (subtle exclusion of aborigines from teams); accusations of 'throwing' instead of bowling; where aborigines were placed in the batting order; and the biased evaluation of their fielding ability (Cashman, 1996).

The study of subtle racism in rugby is attempted in Maguire's (1985) study of racial stacking in English rugby (Coakely, 1994). Racial stacking either occurs when players from a certain racial group are over or under represented in certain positions on the field. Usually, oppressed groups are over represented in positions that do not hold much responsibility. The study revealed that of the thirteen black players in England's premiere rugby league, eight were wingers by position. The wing position is one of the most physically separate positions and the position that holds relatively little responsibility. As such, blacks are kept out of essential decision making processes within the teams. This phenomenon of racial stacking occurs largely due to the stereotype that black rugby players like to run with the ball, but do not like to tackle. As such, the wing position becomes the most suitable position for blacks to be of value to rugby teams (Coakely, 1994). Racial stacking, it is argued, is a form of subtle racism in rugby.

During the early parts of my thinking about ‘development’ rugby, I believed that racial stacking could be applied to ‘development’ rugby as a kind of subtle racism. My thinking followed similar lines to the study mentioned above. Black players in South African representative teams are mostly positioned on the wing. For example, the top three black Springboks (Breyton Paulse, Chester Williams and McNeil Hendriks) are all wingers. Until fairly recently, the only black player to play for Natal, Christi Noble, was also not surprisingly, a winger. I was later introduced to racism that to a degree takes an even ‘subtler’ form than racial stacking. That is, racism that operates through language.

1.3.2. Discourse and subtle racism

The chosen theoretical orientation of this thesis, social constructionism, focuses on racism as operating through discourse. Posel (1987) suggests that what we can expect in South Africa is “a realignment of boundaries, a negotiation of new centres and peripheries, of new varieties of segregation. Undoubtedly, this process will be entwined with new discursive practices and new ‘languages of legitimation’” (cited in Dixon, Foster, Durrheim and Wilbraham, p.278, 1994).

This thesis attempts an analysis of how ‘development’ rugby has come to be one of the new varieties of racism in South Africa. Through language, ‘development’ has become a code not only for marking ability, but also for marking race. Within the discourse of ‘development’ rugby, black and ‘development’ refer to the same thing. ‘Development’ players are constructed through discourse as racial subjects. Furthermore, by being labelled as ‘development’, blacks are positioned as subjects who are racially inferior to white rugby players. This racial positioning sets up a hierarchy with ‘merit’ (white) on the upper end and

‘development’ (black) on the lower end. This, I argue, is how subtle racism operates through ‘development’ rugby.

This thesis goes on to explore how language is also used to disguise the ‘development’ programme as being non-racist and fitting in with the image of the ‘New South Africa’.

Through initiating and funding the ‘development’ programme, white rugby is constructed as a philanthropic organisation whose goal is to ‘help’ enhance the skills of those previously disadvantaged through Apartheid. In this way, the dominant institution of white rugby cannot be accused of racism when its very aim is to ‘help’ ‘development’ players. The ‘development’ programme thus sets up a helper/helpee relationship with white being the helper and ‘development’ being the helpee. ‘Development’ is constructed as needing the dominant white institution’s help to survive. This ultimately serves to reproduce the oppressive relationship of power between ‘development’ and white rugby.

This is how racism operates and is disguised through the ‘development’ programme in the ‘New South Africa’. I chose the title of this thesis ‘the morning has come but it is still dark’ from a chapter from Douglas Booth’s (1992) Ph.D. thesis to reflect the essence of this thesis. The morning has come and Apartheid sport has been abolished, but racism still lives on through programmes such as the ‘development’ programme in rugby. In this way, rugby in South Africa is still very much in the dark.

1.4. STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS:

As mentioned above, this thesis attempts an investigation into the racial effects of ‘development’ rugby. The focus of this chapter was to offer a brief introduction to racism in sport. Chapter 2 sheds light on the history of rugby in Natal. A special emphasis is placed on

the colonial influences on rugby as well the legalised separation of white and black rugby. The chapter also focuses on the amalgamation of the white and black rugby associations with the dawn of the 'New South Africa'. Special mention is made of the flag waving and anthem singing saga that occurred at Ellis Park at the Springbok/ All blacks test of 1992. Chapter 3 exposes the theoretical background of the study with reference to social constructionism and discourse analysis. Chapter four looks at the methodological processes involved in the study particularly sampling, issues surrounding the interviews, and analysis. Chapter 5 is concerned with how white rugby is constructed as a philanthropic organisation whose main aims are to 'help' 'development' players. In so doing, white rugby has at its disposal a mechanism for appearing non-racist. Chapter 6 focuses on the inferior subject positions offered to 'development' players and explores some of the racial implications of the 'development' programme. Chapter 7 offers some thoughts on how the 'development' programme ultimately serves to maintain power relations by labelling and thus keeping 'development' out of the predominantly white institution of rugby. Chapter 8 concludes the thesis and includes a critique and some ideas on how to take the findings of this thesis further.

1.5. RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY:

This thesis attempts to highlight the experiences of those rugby players who have the unfortunate label of 'development'. I have personally been involved in the 'development' programme at the level of being a player as well as in coaching. As such, my intention is twofold. One is to complete a valid piece of academic work at the level of basic research, but another, perhaps more personal motive, is to give voice to the participants labelled as 'development'. This thesis attempts to express the unheard voices of those who are subjects in this power struggle and whose everyday experiences have, as yet, not been documented.

There is one more rationale for choosing my particular theoretical orientation. The social nature of sport is an area that has received little attention from academics in the field of psychology. In a review of *sport psychology* literature for the purposes of this thesis, little or no reference was made to the social nature of sports. A different kind of social nature is emphasised. For example, the group dynamics in team sports, or the effects of spectators on the particular sport (see Wann, 1997, Singer, Murphy, & Tennant, 1993). *Social psychology* also has not adequately focused on sport as an area of productive investigation. Sport is generally not viewed by social psychology as an area that reflects the social nature of the society we live in. In response to this lack of investigation in sport psychology and social psychology, this thesis attempts an investigation that can be productive to both sport psychology as well as social psychology. The significance to sport psychology is in terms of highlighting the importance of societal influences on players that have not yet been documented. The significance of this work to social psychology lies at the level of awareness. The time has come for social psychology to acknowledge the area of sport as a fruitful area of enquiry. I pursue the thesis in the hope that some of my thoughts and findings can be refined and directly applied to the untapped field of ‘development’ rugby.

CHAPTER TWO: A BRIEF HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICAN RUGBY WITH SPECIAL EMPHASIS ON NATAL

2.1. INTRODUCTION:

Apartheid legislation influenced rugby, along with many dimensions of social life in South Africa. Rugby developed along racial lines with two main affiliations: the South African Rugby Union (SARU) which represented the blacks, and the South African Rugby Board (SARB) which represented the whites (Odendaal, 1995).

The point of this chapter is to outline the various historical and societal discourses out of which the 'development' programme emerged (Gergen, 1985). Because literature on the history of rugby in Natal is very rare, this chapter is largely based on Morrell's (1996) historical account of white rugby and Booley's (1998) historical account of black rugby in Natal.

2.2 HISTORY OF WHITE RUGBY IN NATAL:

2.2.1. The 'noble' game

Morrell (1996) suggests that in 1870, Natal was a British colony with a white settler population of 14,000 people. The settlers came from a wide range of class backgrounds and had not yet managed to stamp their authority over the colony. Faced with a large and 'dangerous' black population within the colony, settlers felt insecure.

Morrell (1996) argues that settlers often identified with back 'home' in Britain and even called themselves British after Natal had achieved responsible government and later became part of the Union of South Africa. Whilst the spread of rugby was indicative of promoting

certain class, ethnic and gender values, the focus of this discussion will be limited to the historical issue of the separation of *race* in rugby. It was argued that the settlers wanted to create a masculine identity distinct from other masculine identities, which could have the capacity to bind white settlers together.

“The acceptance of a set of gender, class, and race values was necessary to establish a closed settler identity, one that was distinct from African versions of masculinity and would be impervious to pollution by assimilationist or intergrationist influences” (Morrell, 1996, p.92).

At the time black people far outnumbered the white settlers and there was a realisation that even if they were militarily and politically subjugated, their presence and influence could not be denied (Morrell, 1996). This made the settlers want even more to create a separate identity to the ‘savage’. Rugby gave them the ideal vehicle to do this.

Even before rugby was introduced, hunting was the predominant sport for the white male settlers to create an identity separate from the resident blacks. It contained the danger of the wild, communing with nature and more importantly, the mastery of firearms, all of which were typical white, colonial, masculine values. However, animal numbers slowly declined because of this exploitation, so hunting as a sport slowly became less popular. In the 1880’s, polo became popular with the settlers. As with hunting, polo emphasised martial skills. “The ability to handle and manoeuvre a horse was not only a fixed part of British aristocratic expression, but in the colonial context it remained a distinguishing feature between the coloniser and the colonised” (Morrell, 1996, p.92). Even before rugby was introduced in

Natal, the white settlers were using sports such as hunting and polo to create a separate identity to distinguish them from the blacks.

The first recorded game in Natal was played in 1870 between Maritzburg College and Hermannsburg, which is a boarding school just outside Greytown. The match took place for two hours in the Pietermaritzburg Market Square. Rugby however, did not take off immediately. There were too few pupils, lack of fields and the competition with soccer, which happened to be more popular at the time. The game received a huge boost with the arrival at Hilton College of a new headmaster, named Henry Ellis, in 1878. Ellis had attended Rugby School in 1860. This was the school where William Webb Ellis, reputed to have been the first schoolboy to ever pick up a soccer ball and run with it, started the game of rugby in 1823 (Spies, 1995). As such, white rugby in Natal had claim to a 'descendant' of the school where rugby was first played.

2.2.2. The Zulu threat - Race and the military

Within the secondary schools in Natal, particularly, Hilton College, Maritzburg College and Michaelhouse, there was the absolute belief in the racial superiority of whites. They also strongly believed in war and military service. All of the above mentioned schools had troops of cadets and the 'old boys' from these schools formed important parts of the local regiments, particularly the Natal Carbineers who were the premiere regiment of the midlands. Boys were encouraged in schools to participate in military service and huge memorials were erected to honour those old boys who died during the wars with the Zulu. At Maritzburg College (MC) for example, pride was taken in the fact that an old boy had been killed in the 1873 Langalibalele uprising. In the Zulu war, the casualties were even higher, nine MC old boys

and one old Hiltonian. Giving your life in a war against the Zulu was glorified (Morrell, 1996).

Whilst the various wars severely disrupted rugby playing in the region, the influx of imperial soldiers was a vital factor in establishing rugby as an adult sport in Natal. According to Morrell (1996), the discourse now reiterated a set of themes which included masculinity, racial exclusivity and upper class values instilled by the military. In 1893, Sir Walter Hely - Hutchinson, the governor of Natal and patron of the NRU picked out some themes that characterised sport amongst the settlers.

"The taste for sport, for athletic sport and exercise, which distinguishes our race has been one of the main factors in the success which has attended the exertions - whether in improvement at home or in colonisation abroad - of the Anglo Saxon race" (in Morrell, 1996, p.102).

This did not mean that the interest by black people was not there in those early days. There are accounts of a certain band of 'kitchen boys' who followed the fortunes of their schools teams. Later, black employees from Maritzburg College developed Zulu nicknames for their first XV players and Zulu war cries became included in the school's rugby chants. Yet, unlike New Zealand where the Haka was incorporated into the All Blacks routine, representative South African rugby was sanitised from indigenous influence (Morrell, 1996).

2.3. HISTORY OF NON - WHITE RUGBY IN NATAL:

Coloured participation in Rugby began as early as 1886 in Cape Town with the formation of the Western Province Coloured Rugby Union (WPCRU) (Odendaal, 1995). Black participation in Natal began much later compared to their Western Province counterparts with

rugby first being introduced around 1940. The military was again involved in introducing the blacks to the noble white man's game. Pietermaritzburg became a focal point for the spread of rugby in Natal.

According to Booley (1998), during the Second World War, Cape corps units encamped in military camps in and around Pietermaritzburg and Durban. The first rugby matches were played on what was then known as the 'coloured sports grounds' near the polo grounds and the game of rugby union was introduced to the so called coloured community of Pietermaritzburg. Sergeant Major Arthur R. Potter and Alfie Bizaare were among soldiers from Cape Town who were instrumental in encouraging the sport amongst the coloured community.

However, because of statutory Apartheid, the game remained separate from white participants. According to Lake (1996), in the years from 1948 to 1976, blacks were caught up in a web of statutory Apartheid that regulated their lives from the cradle to the grave. It commenced in 1948 with the National party coming in to power. Various legislation was brought in which severely affected sport such as the 1953 separate public amenities legislation which disallowed the racial blending of sports participants (Thompson, 1964; Ramsamy, 1982).

The Natal Rugby Union was established in 1959 and affiliated to the South African Coloured Rugby Football Board (SACRFB). The first Natal team took part in the Rhodes Cup Tournament which was a national tournament similar to the white Currie Cup, in East London in 1961. The SACRFB was later renamed the *South African Rugby Union (SARU)* which became the union for black representation. SARU developed along completely

separate lines from the South African Rugby Board (SARB) which was the white rugby board and the one, which was officially recognised by the international community.

The Natal Rugby Union (white) coerced the black's Natal Rugby Union to change their name and status from 'union' to 'board' in 1960 when they became aware of their existence.

Otherwise, they threatened to withhold recognition and acknowledge their existence. They complied in spite of reservations. From 1974 onward during the height of the separation of sports in this country, rugby in Natal slowly began making a 'progressive' move. Processes were set in motion for the integration with the white rugby union. This caused severe unhappiness in certain rugby circles particularly the anti-Apartheid sports movements such as SACOS (South African Council of Sport) when the blacks began playing with the white teams. With the joining of the white rugby union, the original six black teams in Natal disintegrated and black rugby declined severely from then. During the nineteen eighties, several attempts were made at reviving teams such as Young Lions in Pietermaritzburg without much success.

After 1990 and F. W. de Klerk's unbanning of the ANC, the situation began to change. The South African Rugby Football Union (SARFU) was formed in 1992 and represented an amalgamation of SARU (black) and the SARB (white). By March 1993, SARFU officially launched its 'development' programme for players from disadvantaged backgrounds. This amalgamation did not go smoothly however. Rugby being a sport adhered to by the majority of white South Africa became an arena where many opinions and dissatisfactions were expressed. The 'development' programme emerged at this particularly volatile moment in the history of South Africa. According to Nauright (1998), despite the apparent willingness by the majority of white South Africans to accept a 'New South Africa' with a new political

order, the historic rugby match between the Springboks and the All Blacks on 15 August 1992 demonstrated the persistence of racially based cultural values. This particular match was the first official test match between the two countries in eleven years. However, it came at a particularly rocky time in South Africa. The match was scheduled just a few weeks after the Boipatong massacre where many black South Africans were killed during protest. The ANC hoping to get some white trust had previously supported some rugby tours but threatened to withdraw its approval of the test match after the massacre. They decided to go ahead provided that certain conditions were met by South African and New Zealand officials (Nauright, 1998). These were that the visiting teams go to Boipatong and view the site of the massacre, that a minute silence is observed before the tests and that *Die Stem* is not played officially at the test match. The conditions were agreed to but the Transvaal Rugby Football Union (TRFU) president broke the agreement at the test in Ellis Park, Johannesburg (Nauright, 1998). He arranged for *Die Stem* to be played officially since the majority of fans were waving the old flag (Grundlingh, 1995b). The immediate response from the ANC was to question whether the subsequent test matches between the two teams would proceed because of the blatant refusal by the predominately white crowd to observe a minute silence and not to sing the national anthem. SARFU (the South African Rugby Football Union) officially apologised for the incident. But the then president of TRFU, Louis Luyt refused to apologise stating that he and his union “ would not be dictated to by anybody and I don’t care if certain people, not having rugby at heart, feel upset about my decision” (Citizen, 17 August 1992, cited in Nauright, 1998, p.165). After all, *Die Stem* and the flag were still officially recognised at that time. Rugby was thus seen as an arena where white South Africa could express their dissatisfaction with the idea that a black government might take over the country. The Natal Rugby Union ‘development’ programme was born during this particularly uneasy time in South African history.

2.4. THE 'DEVELOPMENT' PROGRAMME:

As it stands, the Natal Rugby Union 'development' programme falls under the national SARFU 'development' programme. The Natal 'development' committee is further subdivided to include five sub-unions. They are Pietermaritzburg, Durban, Midlands, Southern Natal and Zululand. The Natal Rugby Union has as its objectives to create opportunities for underprivileged players and administrators who have never had them before. This done by:

1. Introducing rugby basics.
2. Creating the avenue to reach their full potential ('Development' document, 1994).

The Natal Rugby Union 'development' programme thus has as its mission statement: *To promote and develop all aspects of rugby so that it empowers and uplifts all the communities in Natal.* This mission statement is largely achieved through what the 'development' programme calls the 'development' continuum. The 'development' continuum consists of four levels of skill which include:

1. The **foundation** level: The activities that mark this level are the introduction of hundreds of coaching clinics and upgrading facilities.
2. The **participation** level: At this level, various league structures and tournaments are put into place.
3. The **performance** level: This level includes various Natal 'development' teams, which are governed by the quota system. This is similar to affirmative action laws which state that every representative team must have at least a certain number of players of 'colour' (depending on the particular team) included in it. 'Development' players are combined with white players to form so called 'development' representative teams such as the Pietermaritzburg 'development' team.

4. The **excellence** level: This level includes players and administrators who have been selected for national 'development' teams.

To achieve this, various activities are put into place to encourage players and administrators to progress up the 'development' continuum. The activities include:

- Improving facilities
- Coaches, referees and first aid courses
- Providing equipment
- Coaching clinics
- Formal leagues and tournaments
- Provincial 'development' teams ('Development' document, 1994).

As it stands today, the purpose of 'development' rugby is to give players from disadvantaged backgrounds a chance to play a sport that was previously dominated by the white sector of our population. Whilst 'development' has seen many successes, there is rising discontent amongst 'development' players with accusations that rugby in this country is still a racist institution.

CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

3.1. INTRODUCTION:

Most of the literature on the subject of sport and society emerged from sociology and most of the literature on racism, which I reviewed, came from 'traditional' social psychology.

However, both sociological theories of sport and 'traditional' social psychology are criticised for not paying adequate attention to the role that language plays in the study of subtle racism introduced in Chapter 1.

Discursive psychology however, views language as central to understandings of racism.

Racism is analysed through how language is used to construct certain objects such as 'development' rugby as 'true'. Furthermore, how the discourses surrounding 'development' rugby serve to position 'development' players as inferior subjects to white players. This ultimately serves to categorise 'development' players as a group separate to white rugby players.

3.2. SOCIOLOGICAL ACCOUNTS OF SPORT AND SOCIETY:

This relatively small section outlines some of the theories regarding the relationship between sport and society, which provided the initial direction for this thesis.

Functionalist theory is based on the idea that society is made up of a number of interrelated parts (e.g. family, education, the economy, government, religion, leisure and sport) which all fit together in supportive and constructive ways. Moreover, the people in society all share the same basic values. Sport is viewed as a valuable institution benefiting society as well as the individuals within it (Coakely, 1994). In contrast to functionalism, *conflict* theory argues that sport is used to maintain the interests of the power elite (Coakely, 1994). The main influence

of conflict theory, is Marxism where it is argued that sport is a distorted form of physical exercise that is shaped by the needs of the capitalist economic system. Sport thus lacks the creative and expressive elements of play; and consequently serves as an opiate of the masses. An important feature of conflict theory is the emphasis on power. Power between the bourgeoisie stakeholders in sport and the proletariat public. One criticism of conflict theory, however, is that it deals with historical and economic factors in a deterministic manner and ignores factors other than capitalism in studying sport (Coakely, 1994).

Critical theory begins to look at power in a more holistic way and the role that sport plays in these power relations. It is argued that inequalities in power in society register themselves in sport. More importantly, the social and historical aspects of sport deserve attention.

Those using critical theory, realise that dominant forms of sport in most forms of society have been socially constructed in ways that privilege some people over others, and they want to expose this fact and examine it in ways that will open the door for thinking about alternative ways of defining and doing sports. (Coakely, 1994, p.36)

Critical theory thus offers a useful backdrop for this thesis. A number of particularly useful ideas provided some initial direction for this thesis.

Firstly, critical theory assumes that conflict and negotiation are not fixed but develop and change over historical moments. This means that the relationship between sport and society is never set at one time. Sport changes with, for example, changes in government. This is of particular importance to this thesis since the 'development' programme emerged at the transition from the 'Old South Africa' to the 'New South Africa'. Sport cannot be understood

apart from the specific historical and cultural circumstances in which it exists (Cantelon and Gruneau, 1982).

The second assumption of critical theory, which is important for this discussion, is the emphasis on power. More importantly, that power does not operate in a one-way manner. Power is by no means structured as a zero sum or all or nothing game where the winners get everything whilst the losers gain nothing. Power relations are structured in a way that dominant and oppressed groups gain something in the course of struggle (Hargreaves, 1986). In this way, the 'development' programme has also been of benefit to the 'development' players in the form of providing money and various structures to promote the game. In a sense, power is always poised on the brink of failure with it requiring constant attention (Hargreaves, 1986).

Whilst providing useful ideas to begin thinking about racism in sport, these sociological theories (and critical theory in particular) are not adequate in studying racism for two reasons. Firstly, they do not provide enough evidence for *how* racism operates in sport. This is particularly evident in their accounts of subtle racism. Secondly, the relationship between the individual and society is seen as a dualistic one with the individual being a separate entity from society. The focus of critical theory of sport is on society with little or no emphasis on the individual. However, if a focus on the individual is lacking in these theories, what can psychology offer in terms of analysing racism in rugby?

3.3. DISCURSIVE PSYCHOLOGY:

3.3.1. The emergence of language

It is safe to say that 'traditional' social psychology has also treated the relationship between the individual and society in the dualistic way mentioned above (Sampson, 1989; Gergen, 1995). That is, the individual and the society have remained distinctive areas of inquiries. Unlike the sociological theories mentioned above, the principal focus of social psychology has been on the individual. More specifically, the role of social psychology has been to explore the relationship between the individual and society. The task is to explicate the influence of the 'social' on the 'individual'. This dualistic commitment has led to a conception that a real world exists on the 'outside' (the social) and a mental one on the 'inside' (Gergen and Semin, 1990). The individual is thus seen as a self contained entity (Sampson, 1989) and the social becomes defined as the external landscape outside of the individual which influences the individual's cognitive and perceptual processes in certain (and often predictable) ways.

In contrast, discursive psychology suggests that the realm of the 'distinctive social' should *not* be seen as the problem of other social science disciplines such as sociology (Henriques, Hollway, Urwin, Venn & Walkerdine, 1984). The social should also become the focus of psychology. The discursive process through which the 'social' becomes constructed and made 'true' should be seen as a vital area of investigation for social psychologists (Mills, 1997).

What exactly do we mean by discursive processes? 'Traditional' social psychology has often viewed language as a sticky medium, which occurs somewhere between the individual and social reality (Wetherell and Potter, 1992). Language is seen similar to custard or jam, which

acts as an intrusive medium that can and must be wiped clean in order to expose the 'truth' of an account. As such language is conceived as being a reflection of the 'truth'. It is seen as a reflection of the cognitive processes of a particular individual or group and can be useful for diagnosing the 'truth'. Furthermore, language is a reflection of the 'natural' groups that exist in society such as white and 'development' rugby players (Hogg and Abrams, 1988).

However, informed by recent developments in semiology, literary studies and post structuralist linguistics, language has come to be regarded as neither an outer expression of inner states nor a reflection of reality. Rather, language is seen as social in its origins, uses and implications (Gergen, 1985).

“Words no longer merely refer to or mirror things in the world. Instead, words are used to do things in the world, and the distinction between ‘subjective’ aspects of meaning and the ‘objective’ component is collapsed” (Durrheim, 1997, p.180).

Social constructionism rejects the notion that language mirrors reality, in favour of an account of language as constructive. Language is no longer viewed as a sticky medium, which reflects the 'truth'. Language serves to construct objects like 'development' in certain ways and this construction becomes inescapable.

3.3.2. Social constructionism

Social constructionism is principally concerned with the processes by which people come to describe, explain, or account for the world in which they live (Gergen, 1985). Whilst a focus on language remains a focal point of social constructionism, Burr (1997) states that we can

loosely group as social constructionist any approach which has at its foundation the following assumptions:

1. A critical stance towards taken for granted knowledge: Social constructionism insists that we take a critical view of how the world exists and that conventional knowledge is based on objective, unbiased observations. In this context, social constructionism would encourage a critical stance toward 'development' rugby. It would challenge the taken for granted view that 'development' is a natural progression for blacks to adopt in order to bring them up to level of whites. Instead, social constructionism would advocate an investigation of how this notion of 'development' has been constructed as 'factual'. More importantly, how 'development' rugby has come to be constructed as being non-racist.
2. Historical and cultural specificity: Burr (1997) argues that the ways we commonly understand the world and the concepts that we use are historically and culturally specific. It is thus important to locate any discussion of 'development' within a historical framework. This is one of the reasons for including the separate origins of both white and black participation in rugby in Chapter 2. Underlying this assumption is the notion that the way one understands the 'development' / white dichotomy depends upon where and when in the world one lives (Gergen, 1985). The word 'development' emerged at the abolition of Apartheid and racial segregation of sport. 'Development' would have a different meaning at different point in time or in a different context such as another country for example. It emerged from the historical context of colonialism, Apartheid and the separation of sport.
3. Knowledge is sustained by social processes: What we regard as the 'truth', i.e. our current understanding of the world, is not a product of the objective observation of the world, but of social interactions and processes which people are consistently engaged

in. Social constructionism would argue that people construct versions of reality between them. The interactions of rugby players in their everyday lives are seen as the practices during which shared versions of 'development' are constructed. Therefore, what we regard as the 'truth' about 'development' is a product of the social processes and interactions which people are constantly engaged in. The social interactions and particularly the language they use becomes a focal point for a social constructionist account of 'development' rugby.

4. Knowledge and social action go together: These negotiated understandings of the world could take a variety of forms, or social constructions (Burr, 1997). Each construction brings with it or encourages a kind of action from human beings. The emergence of the 'development' programme encourages the separation of black and white rugby players. This constructs 'development' players as being inferior to white players. Labelling a certain group 'development' brings about a certain action from both white and 'development' players.

3.3.3. Discourse

The social constructionist epistemology thus demands a different approach to psychological research. 'Truth' and reality cannot be the aim of investigation (Gergen, Greenberg & Wills, 1980). Moreover, in moving towards a social constructionist epistemology, social science researchers reject the mechanistic, dualistic and individualistic object of study. Discourse analysis then becomes an appropriate social constructionist 'methodology' (Durrheim, 1997).

But what exactly do we mean by a discourse?

Parker (1992) offers a cautious definition of a discourse. A discourse is a "system of statements which constructs an object" (p. 5). Burr (1997) similarly argues that like many

abstract notions, a discourse is difficult to define in a 'watertight' way. Many people have different ideas about what exactly constitutes a discourse. But what many definitions of discourse do have in common is that they refer to a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories and statements which, in some way produce a version of reality (Potter and Wetherell, 1987). I found both Parker's (1992) and Potter and Wetherell's (1987) definition of a discourse useful for this thesis. When I refer to the discourse in my discussion of 'development' rugby, I am referring to *a system of statements, which refer to a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images and stories that produce a particular version of 'development' rugby.*

Discourse becomes a particular way of presenting an account in a certain light (Henriques et al, 1984). As such, discourses do not simply describe the social world, but categorise it and bring phenomena into sight. A strong form of this argument would be that discourses allow you to see things that are not there (Parker, 1992). Furthermore, once an object such as 'development' has been constituted into a discourse, it becomes difficult not to refer to it as if it were real. 'Development' is constructed as a 'truth' which is a reflection of the state of rugby in South Africa. As such, language has a doing function in constructing 'development' as being true of the nature of reality (Potter and Wetherell, 1987).

Furthermore, if we accept the view that a number of alternative versions of the real world are available through language and discourse, this means that surrounding any one object such as 'development', there are a number of discourses available to it. These discourses have their own unique way of speaking about that object in question, and each offers a different way of representing it to the world. For example the discourses surrounding 'development' could include 'development' as being totally and blatantly racist whilst in other ways being an

opportunity for black players to excel in rugby. In other contexts, 'development' is constructed as a way of uniting all South Africans. As such a number of discourses are available to the speaker who speaks about 'development' rugby. They have at their disposal a number of discourses, which can be drawn upon depending on the context when speaking about 'development' rugby.

The focus of this thesis is to examine the discourses which 'development' players use to construct a version of the 'development' programme. More importantly, the aim of this thesis is to explore how racism reveals itself through language of 'development' players.

3.4. A DISCURSIVE ANALYSIS OF RACISM:

3.4.1. Racism through discourse

However, how can the 'development' programme be charged with racism when its very essence is to do away with effects of racial separation in rugby? 'Development' was identified by the minister of sport Mr. Steve Tshwete as a tool to uniting South Africans. How then can the NRU's 'development' programme be accused of institutional racism when it aims to rid rugby of racial separation?

A discursive approach to racism would answer the question in the following way. Subtle racism works through language. It works primarily through the creation of inferior subject positions for 'development' players within the discourse of 'development' (Davies and Harre, 1990). According to Davies and Harre (1990), a person emerges through a process of social interaction and as such is constituted and reconstituted through the many discursive practices that he/she engages in. Accordingly, who one is, is constantly shifting according to which discourses the particular person is engaged in, and the subject positions made available to

them within that particular discourse. Discourse provides us with a number of slots within which we can situate ourselves as subjects (Burr, 1997). These are the ‘subject positions’ which people engage in when drawing on a particular discourse, in this case ‘development’ rugby (Davies and Harre, 1990).

The positions implicit in discourse bring with them a ‘structure of rights’ (Davies and Harre, 1990). For example, once having taken up a particular position as a ‘development’ player, the person inevitably sees the world from that particular vantagepoint. As such, the ‘development’ player has available to him² a limited set of images, metaphors, story lines and concepts that are made relevant to within the discourse of ‘development’ rugby. This provides the limitations of what he may or may not do when positioned within a particular discourse.

Seen in this way, this thesis attempts to show how ‘development’ players are positioned as subjects who are inferior to white rugby players through the various discourses surrounding ‘development’. The construction of ‘development’ players as being inferior ultimately serves to categorise and discriminate between ‘development’ players and white players. This, I argue, is how subtle racism operates in rugby.

Another implication of a discursive approach to subtle racism is that it moves away from describing racism as false. The trends in studies of race and racism in social psychology thus far have focused on what has been described as false or misrepresentation. This trend is particularly rife in social psychology theories of racism (Wetherell and Potter, 1992). Had I taken the stance that racism in rugby is largely due to false representations and stereotypes, I

² I use the gender specific term ‘him’ because rugby in South Africa at present is almost entirely a masculine sport.

would have (and indeed did in the early stages of this thesis) looked at racism in the 'development' programme quite differently. I would have focused on how stereotypes of 'development' have emerged and argued their falsity as cognitive processes. I would have proceeded to argue that false representation of 'development' players by white players ultimately serves to keep them out of various teams. These stereotypes, I would have argued, are 'false'. I would have counteracted this argument with another 'truth' that 'development' players are just as good as their white counterparts and have the necessary experience and skills because they have been playing the game of rugby for just as long in South Africa. It is argued in studies of racism that what is 'true' becomes non social, beyond investigation, whilst falsity or error become open to investigation and are seen as essentially social phenomena (Wetherell and Potter, 1992). This analysis on falsity has become the centre of most studies of racism.

Wetherell and Potter (1992) go on to propose a different kind of study where claims which are made out as factual become topics of investigation. Foucault (1984) argues that one way to undermine a 'truth' is not to counteract it with another truth (such as 'development' players are just as good as white players) but to examine the discursive process by which true or false statements become distinguished. Seen in this way, this thesis focuses on how 'development' players are positioned as being inferior and how this is constructed as being 'true'. Moreover, how 'development' is constructed as needing the white union's 'help' to survive is constructed as 'true'.

Another important implication of a discursive analysis of racism is that it takes the focus away from an a-priori definition of racism. Wetherell and Potter (1992) argue that social psychology has often had an obsessive concern with defining the content of racism in an a-

priori fashion. That is, if a discourse contains doctrines A, B, or C, then it can be labelled as racist. To simplify this point, if the discourse of ‘development’ contains within it the open exclusion of black players from teams (A); encouraging black players to carry the white players bags (B); and encouraging black players to shine their white counterparts rugby boots (C), then ‘development’ can be charged with racism. These behaviours rarely occur (to the best of my knowledge), so ‘development’ does not easily fit into this category of racism. The implication of a discursive analysis of racism in ‘development’ rugby changes the focus from an a-priori definition of racism to an account of racism as being fluid and constantly changing. More importantly, this fluid racism works primarily through language.

3.4.2. A racist discourse defined

Wetherell and Potter (1992) define a racist discourse “*as a discourse (of whatever content) which has the effect of establishing, sustaining and reinforcing power relations*”(p. 70). In this context, I would contend that the ‘development’ programme through language justifies and maintains those practices which maintain the power and dominance of the predominately white institution over black rugby in South Africa.

CHAPTER FOUR: **METHODOLOGY**

4.1. INTRODUCTION:

Having played under the label of ‘development’ and being an acquaintance of all the interviewees, I approached the design of the interviews with a degree of uneasiness. This discomfort stemmed from one question. How can I remain objective and impartial in light of my ‘love-hate’ relationship with the ‘development’ programme? The respondents, being friends of mine, did not make the situation any easier. This tension brought me to my first juncture of discourse analysis and interviewing. The inter-subjective nature of interviewing. A discursive analysis not only takes into account the interviewer but also acknowledges that the interview process itself is a ‘creation’, which involves the interviewees and the interviewer.

4.2. SAMPLING:

The relatively small number of interviewees I chose to work with was in part due to the influence of discourse analysis. Because discourse analysis involves the analysis of language, and all texts are thick with constructions, eleven interviewees provided enough variability and consistency for me to work with (Potter and Wetherell, 1987). In addition, ‘representativeness’ and *statistical generalisation* (generalising from a sample to the universe) did not drive the decision on the size of the sample (Yin, 1994). The notion of *transferability* became important to this thesis. That is, to be able to transfer the results of this study of ‘development’ rugby in Natal to similar contexts in the country. Therefore, by focusing on a critical case of ‘development’ rugby in Natal, this study aims to permit *logical generalisation* (Patton, 1990). That is, to be able to generalise the results of this study to other ‘development’ programmes in the country.

The texts which form the data of this project are those from players who fall under the 'development' banner and who currently play for the local 'development' club in Pietermaritzburg, Young Lions. Obtaining subjects from the entire club proved to be relatively easy as the entire club could be seen as my sample. However, there exist a number of 'levels' to 'development' as mentioned in Chapter 2. The first is playing for a 'development' club such as Young Lions, which consists only of black players who play against white teams (the **participation level** in the 'development' continuum). The second is playing for 'development' provincial/regional sides (**performance level**) that involve the 'development' players playing *together* with white players to form the teams. These teams are usually governed by the quota system mentioned earlier. The third is the **excellence level** where the top 'development' players are included in national teams. None of the players in the club had made it to the excellence level. A few had made it to the performance level where they had played together with white players in various regional and provincial teams.

I felt that both the participation level (playing for the club) and the performance level (playing for regional/provincial sides) had to be catered for in my sample. This proved to be more difficult than merely sampling 'development' players who play for Young Lions. A definition of the sample would be:

Those who have played club rugby for Young Lions against white players and teams and those who have also played together with white players in various representative teams governed by the quota system.

As such, my sampling technique was *purposive intensive* (Patton, 1990). Here the emphasis fell on obtaining excellent, rich examples that manifest the phenomena of the two levels of

‘development’ intensely. “Thus the researcher seeks a sample of sufficient intensity to elucidate the phenomena of interest” (Patton, 1990, p.171).

Another useful way to describe purposive intensive sampling is to contrast it to another purposive technique, extreme case sampling. This involves focusing on extreme manifestations of ‘development’ such as players who have excelled as ‘development’ players. This would include players such as Chester Williams, Breyton Paulse, and McNeil Hendriks who have all achieved National colours (excellence level). The sampling technique I have chosen applies the same logic as extreme case sampling, but with less emphasis on the extremes.

4.3. SAMPLE: THE INTERVIEWEES:

4.3.1. The club

Young Lions was established in 1964 and fell under the then Natal Rugby Board (black). The Natal Rugby Board in turn fell under the auspices of SARU, which was the main association for black rugby in South Africa. The club ran strong until the mid-eighties when interest in rugby declined. The club stopped functioning around this period. Young Lions was however, revived in 1993 with the birth of the ‘development’ programme. The programme offered the club the necessary finance and infrastructure to function again. At present, it consists of two teams. The first team participates in the Pietermaritzburg third division whilst the second team plays in the fifth division. At present, the team consists mostly of coloureds and a few black players.

4.3.2. The players

The players in this sample all play for Young Lions and are all coloured. Their ages range from 18 to 38 and are from a lower to middle class background. They all started playing rugby at school and most of them attended the then 'House of Representatives' schools. However, a few did attend and play for 'private' schools in Natal. Apart from playing for their club, they all have played for one or more of the representative sides listed below:

- Pietermaritzburg 'development' XV- A team chosen from the Pietermaritzburg area which combines the best 'development' players with the best white players in Pietermaritzburg.
- Natal Midlands 'development' XV- A team chosen from all the districts in the Natal Midlands region which again combines 'development' players with white players.
- Natal Invitation XV- A 'development' team that is chosen for special occasions such as tours.
- Natal Gold Cup XV- A team chosen from the entire province of Natal which combined the best 'development' players in Natal with white players. This team no longer exists and has been largely replaced by the more prestigious Presidents XV. However, players did receive provincial colours for representing it.
- Natal Presidents XV- A team chosen from Natal that combines the best 'development' players with top class white players. At the time of writing, this team was officially named the provincial B-side behind the Natal Sharks rugby team.

4.4. THE INTERVIEWS:

4.4.1. Setting up the interviews

Fifteen players who had represented both Young Lions and the teams listed above were initially identified through personal contact and discussions with coaches and administrators

of the club. They were contacted by telephone and asked if they would be prepared to participate. The study was explained to them and they were reassured of anonymity and confidentiality. This was reaffirmed at the beginning of each interview.

Focus groups were chosen as my method of interviewing. A focus group can be defined as: “A group discussion that gathers together people from similar backgrounds or experiences to discuss a specific topic of interest to the researcher” (Dawson, Manderson, and Tallo, 1992, p.3).

The interviews were thus focused in two ways. Firstly, they were focused on a particular area of interest, ‘development’ rugby. Secondly, they were focused in that the participants shared a particular background. They were all ‘development’ players. In addition to this, each focus group was designed to include close friends. They were organised in this way to facilitate discussion and create an environment for open discussion on sometimes-sensitive issues. This encouraged the group to speak more freely without the fear of being judged by others thought to be more superior, more expert or more conservative (Dawson et al, 1992). This also added a relaxed, light-hearted atmosphere to the discussion. This is particularly evident in the following extract from focus group 3.

Extract 1

Shane: I made Duikers this year, but I didn't play because I was sick.

Luke: Don't tell lies, because at that time, you were drinking. You were drinking in Ifafa (holiday resort).

((Laughing)).

The interviewees were also all acquaintances of mine having played rugby together. As such, rapport had already been established before the study had begun. They felt it safe to speak about the issue of race with me and with each other without fear of reprisal or being labelled in any way. Similarly, I also found it relatively easy to speak about race and at times even joke about race. The following extract from focus group 2 provides a nice example of the rapport between the respondents and me.

Extract 2

Sheldon: I also feel about these laws... You know earlier on I used the example, me being the wit ou (white man) and Terrence being the bruin ou (coloured man).

Brendon: How come you chose to be the wit ou (white man)?

Everybody: ((laughter))

The combination of close friends together with the rapport that I had established previously with the interviewees led to, I believe, the interviews yielding the rich data sought in discourse analysis.

Initially, four focus groups were arranged but the fourth did not happen due to several ‘misunderstandings’ in picking members of the group up and work commitments. After numerous follow ups, I later discovered that members of the group did not know what the interviews were all about. Firstly, they did not know what a ‘thesis’ was. They thought it was some sort of evaluation of their ‘mental skills’. Secondly, the word had spread that I was to be doing my internship with the (perceived white) Natal Rugby Union and as such, there were doubts about my role during the interviews. They were fearful that it could hamper their

chances of getting into various representative sides in the future. This fear was also evident from two other players who took part in the interviews.

As mentioned above, I continually emphasised the anonymity and confidentiality of the respondents particularly at the beginning of the interviews. All the interviewees responded that they did not care and that something must be said regardless of any implications.

However after the interviews, I received phone calls from two players who enquired whether the interviews were going to be confidential because they feared that their responses would bias their future rugby careers. I took their concern very seriously and all names and personal details have been changed to protect the identities of the respondents.

I kept the option of the fourth focus group open as a 'backup' to explore any issues, which might have emerged and were not adequately explored in the first three focus groups. After analysing three focus groups, the themes that began to emerge started repeating themselves, becoming redundant (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). It was felt that three focus groups would be sufficient for the purpose of this study and the fourth focus group was 'scrapped'.

Interviews were held at my home in relaxed manner. Focus group 1 and 2 were arranged before big Super 12 rugby matches on consecutive Saturday afternoons. The respondents and I then stayed on and watched the rugby. I obtained rich information in this manner, even after the 'official' interview had ended. Focus group 3 was held on a Sunday morning also at my home. The focus groups ranged from 2 ½ to 3 ½ hours each in length, with numerous breaks in between.

4.4.2. The focus of the interviews

A semi-structured approach to the interviews was adopted (Fontana and Frey, 1994). This involved typing out a sheet of paper that I would have in front of me with broad questions which I would ask. These questions were not ordered in any particular way, nor were the interviewees required to stick to the format of the questions. When respondents did drift from the discussion on 'development' rugby, I would attempt as much as possible to pull them back to the discussion at hand. This was to ensure that by the end of the interview, all topics that I had pre-planned were covered in addition to new text, which might have emerged from the interviews themselves. Probes were also included under the broad questions. The question format which I had available to me whilst interviewing can be found in Appendix A.

4.4.3. The interview process

According to Oakely (1981), the paradigm of the traditional social science research interview emphasises four notions. (a) Its status as a mechanical instrument of data collection. (b) Its function as a specialised form of conversation in which one person asks questions and the group answers back. (c) Its characterisation of interviewees as essentially passive individuals. (d) Its reduction of interviewers to a question asking and rapport building role. The requirement of a good interview is that it should produce consistent and clear responses so that the researcher can make underlying inferences from underlying beliefs or previous actions. Ideally, social interaction between the interviewer and the interviewees should be kept to a minimal (Mischler, 1986).

In contrast to this, discourse interviews are treated as a piece of social interaction in their own right. The interviewer is contributing just as much to the interview as the interviewees. Both are constructing a version, which draws upon a number of discourses; both can be analytic

topics of interest (Wetherell and Potter, 1992). The interview is not seen as highly neutral and objective. Interviews in the discourse analytic framework tend to more active and interventionist.

Having said this, however, very often I had to take on the role of the 'traditional' interviewer providing the necessary paraphrasing and the regulatory "mm" and "yes". Whilst the discourse interview encourages variation, the interview still had to be kept on 'track' as to the extent of that variation. Because these were all 'development' players from a particular club, they repeatedly found the interview the ideal place to speak about club problems. Then I had to take the role of the 'traditional' interviewer keeping the discussion on 'track'. The following extract provides an example of this and emerges at the end of a lengthy discussion on the lack of discipline of club members.

Extract 3

- Leonard:* *Can I just put it into perspective? There's a written code of conduct =*
- Richard:* *= and nothing happens. Ous (players) are missing training, not turning up for training, coming late to a game. And attached to every misdemeanour is a punishment, but that is not being enforced. What good are rules if you are not, you know.*
- Brendon:* *Do you think it's a 'development' issue or a club issue?*
- Richard:* *Ja, sorry, it's a club thing.*

On the other hand, discourse analysis interviewing also involved me being prepared to be much more straightforward and argumentative. Questioning assumptions and prompting a variety of responses. In this way, I hoped to tap the variety of discourses available to 'development' players when describing 'development'.

Extract 4

Richard: No, I don't regard myself as a 'development' player.

Brendon: So you just play?

Richard: I play like a rugby player.

*Brendon: **But you are in favour of being part of a club funded according to 'development'.***

((Silence))

Leonard: You see now, that's the other side

Extract 5

Shane: = there's a whole lot of things. Sport is so expensive and the money has to keep up.

*Brendon: **But at the same time, is it making players lazy? Because you never had money before 'development'.***

I found it necessary throughout the interviews to question certain assumptions such as Richard's in extract 2 and Shane's in extract 3. Although this sometimes resulted in near-arguments (and colourful language), this method of interviewing tapped the variety of discourses available to these players when speaking about 'development' rugby.

Therefore, the method of interviewing in this thesis differs from traditional methods in a number of ways. First, variation in responses was sought just as much as consistency.

Second, techniques that promote diversity were emphasised and third, I (the interviewer) was seen as an active participant rather than like a 'speaking questionnaire' (Potter and Wetherell, 1987).

4.5. TRANSCRIPTION:

The interviews were tape-recorded and then transcribed. In discourse analysis, the researcher's speech is also included as part of the text. As such the entire interview (not just the respondents speech) was transcribed.

The question of exactly how detailed the transcription should be became a thorny issue. This dilemma really reflected the level of analysis I planned to employ. The debate about the level of analysis within discourse analysis is rife (see Wetherell, 1998). One level of analysis, which focuses on the speech act itself, is known as conversational analysis. This implies an intense focus on issues such as pause length, gestations, overlaps and intonation (see Van Dijk, 1984, 1992 & 1997; Coulthard, 1992 & 1997). However, for this thesis, the fine details of timing and intonation were not regarded as being crucial and I thought that going into such detail in transcribing could interfere with the readability of the transcript (Potter and Wetherell, 1987).

I have thus used a combination of transcription conventions. Most of which were borrowed from Potter and Wetherell (1987). For ease of reading, they are:

1. The lines of speech are referred to by the pseudonyms of the first names of the interviewees. For example,

Richard: So when do you stop being called a 'development' player?

2. Dots enclosed in brackets (.) reflect a pause in the respondent's speech. For example,

Brendon: For a Psyssa conference. It's a (.) um (.) a psychology conference.

3. Double round brackets are used around the text which is not spoken but which is necessary to explain the context of the speech. For example ((laugh)) denotes laughter and ((said with a black accent)) describes the context of the utterance. For example,

Neville: You see, they don't respect you. He's a bruin ou (coloured), got no macha (money). He doesn't chow (eat) properly ((laughter)).

4. Extracts within extracts are **emboldened** to highlight the pertinent text that is going to be discussed below the extract. For example,

*Terrence: It's just left to the player to **prove himself** and make himself known.*

5. The use of dots without brackets in the middle of the extract indicate that part of the extract has been omitted in order to shorten it to highlight the relevant material. For example,

Sheldon: Bruin ous (coloureds) have got the passion for running rugby. We've never played with power. We've played with speed and quick handling.. With flair almost like the French.

Could be read as,

Sheldon: Bruin ous (coloureds) have got the passion for running rugby...almost like the French.

6. Commas are used in order to assist with the continuity of reading the texts.
7. An equal to (=) symbol at the end of a speakers utterance and at the beginning of another utterance indicates the absence of a noticeable gap or the interruption of one speaker by another. For example,

Brendon: Do you think it's achieving its goals?

Luke: Hai no, because =

Shane: – I don't see it at the moment.

8. Words or phrases with added emphasis were placed in UPPERCASE. For example,

Richard: You know what I'm saying, he's better than many DEVELOPED white players.

4.6. CODING AND ANALYSIS:

Discourse analysis can be viewed as operating at two levels. Discourse analysis as a theory and discourse analysis as particular type of methodology. Having already spoken about the theory behind discourse analysis, this discussion now focuses on 'how' to do a discourse analysis.

Because of the rich diversity and historical location of South Africa, numerous discourses can be drawn upon in the rhetoric of 'development' rugby. In addition to this, discourses often draw on and refer to other discourses (Parker, 1992). Discourse, it is argued, embeds and postulates other discourse to the extent that contradictions within a discourse often open up questions about what other discourses are at work (Henriques et al, 1984).

“ Every discourse is part of a *discursive complex*: it is locked in an intricate web of practices, bearing in mind that every practice is by definition both discursive and material. The problem is to decide which discourses and practices in a specific instance such as mental measurement constitute the *complex*, what effects the different parts of the complex have and for what reasons” (p.106, *emphasis added*).

The number of discourses surrounding 'development' form a map of what I would call the 'development complex'. The task of the discourse analyst is to explore and extrapolate the numerous discourses which constitute the 'development complex'. How exactly do we do this?

Having transcribed the interviews, the first step was to decide which method of discourse analysis to use. It was decided that a methodological blend of three complimentary methods of discourse analysis would be utilised. The analysis was primarily influenced by the work of Potter and Wetherell (1987), Parker (1992), and Wetherell and Potter (1992) each contributing in unique ways to the analysis of the text. Potter and Wetherell (1987) provided the basic steps in doing discourse analysis. Parker (1992) provided the useful connection between discourse and the study of power whilst Wetherell and Potter (1992) offered a useful articulation between discourse and the study of racism. It was equipped with these methodological 'tools' that I proceeded with the task of engaging a discursive analysis of 'development' rugby.

The next step after deciding which methods to use was coding. It provided me with a starting point in analysis (Potter and Wetherell, 1987). This however, was not a distinct stage from analysis because the relationship between coding and analysis was cyclical in nature. Codes were formulated, after reading and re-reading the text, the codes were changed, and instances that fitted into that code were re-evaluated. Each interview was initially coded separately and then a code sheet was developed from a combination of codes from the three focus group interviews (Miles and Huberman, 1994). An A4 hardcover book was used as a memo during this process to keep track of all the changes that occurred during the process of coding and

analysis. The memo was kept close to me throughout the duration of the study to capture any 'mindsparks' which may have occurred during the course of the day. It was used to write down any vital thoughts however insignificant that might have been lost if I had not written them down in the memo.

Having done a thorough 'first round' coding of the text, the next step involved doing the analysis. Doing a discourse analysis has been described as riding a bicycle (Potter and Wetherell, 1987). Just like learning to ride the discourse analysis bicycle, I got off to numerous false starts until a systematic pattern started to emerge from the data. The process involved me having to deviate from the 'traditional' way of analysing qualitative data. Potter and Wetherell (1987) suggest that academic training teach analysts to read for a gist, the crux of the story. This is precisely the wrong spirit for doing discourse analysis. The discourse analyst is interested in the nuances of the text, however fragmented and contradictory. Thus, an integral part of the process involved a critical interrogation of my own analytical assumptions about how to analyse the text. Apart from analysing the text, I had to constantly ask why am I reading the text in this way? What features of my own analytical background are producing this reading (Potter and Wetherell, 1987)?

Potter and Wetherell (1987) suggest that analysis proper be made up of two closely related phases. The first phase involves searching for patterns in the data. This pattern will be in the form of variability: differences in accounts, and consistency: the identification of features shared by accounts. The second phase involves the function of the different discourses at play. This is based on the assumption that talk fulfils various functions and it is towards these that the analysis turns. For example, the discourse of opportunity (Chapter 5) was identified as a pattern that came out repeatedly during the analysis of the text. The next step in the

discourse analysis involved me asking, what is the function of this particular discourse in the 'development complex'? What function does this discourse serve in constructing 'development' in this particular way? Finally, whose interest does it serve to construct 'development' in this way? (Parker, 1992). The focus on patterns of variability and consistency in the data together with an exploration of the function of the discourses enabled me to map out the various discourses, which constitute the 'development complex'.

A major dilemma for me emerged at this stage of analysis. Most discursive studies on racism, except for Essed (1991), focused on white subjects who were speaking about a minority group. This thesis however, was focused on the talk of a minority group of 'development' players. *How then could I analyse racism from the talk of subjects who are the victims of racism?* In a more specific analytic context the dilemma read as: are we strategically seeing subjects using discourse to perform certain functions, or are discursive forms playing themselves out through talk of individuals (Wetherell and Potter, 1992)? The analysis of this thesis leans towards the latter, that discursive forms are playing themselves out through the talk of 'development' subjects - more importantly, that their talk reflects the inferior subject positions offered to 'development' players within the 'development complex'. This is what Wetherell and Potter (1992) label as the constitutive nature of discourse. Discourse is not partly constitutive of subjects, but is thoroughly constitutive. As such, one feature of a discourse is that subjects are themselves constituted through discourse. I found it perfectly feasible to do a discourse analysis without really considering how far the 'development' subjects were in control of what they were saying (Potter and Wetherell, 1987). That is, analysing their talk as if the discourse surrounding 'development' rugby were playing themselves through the subjects' speech.

Having said this, however, I often found it useful to treat accounts as if they were designed to achieve strategic goals (Coulthard, 1977; Van Dijk, 1997). This kind of analysis closely resembles conversation analysis. For example, in the latter half of Chapter 6, the analysis turns to how ‘development’ players themselves were strategically using language to appear non-racist. As such, I utilised a double movement between styles of reading that emphasised the constitution of subjects and objects, and those that emphasised the ideological work of a discourse.

CHAPTER 5: THE DISCOURSE OF OPPORTUNITY

5.1. INTRODUCTION:

The discourse of opportunity constructs 'development' as a way of sanitising the effect of race and history from rugby. 'Development' is constructed as an opportunity for black rugby players to enhance their rugby playing skills. It is a process to rid or sanitise the effects of Apartheid thereby giving 'development' players the opportunity to excel in rugby. The institution of white rugby is constructed as having the ability to give to 'development' these opportunities by providing time, money and laws. The effect is that 'development' is spoken about largely in philanthropic terms with the dominant white institution of rugby 'helping' the black ('development') players. The white union is thereby constructed as being the non-racist philanthropists who are attempting to sanitise rugby from the effects of Apartheid and racial separation. The discourse of opportunity thus protects the white rugby union from being labelled as racist.

5.2. SANITATION:

I have chosen the word sanitation e.g. in racial sanitation, instead of deracialised for a number of reasons. Racial sanitation, unlike deracialisation, acknowledges the existence of race. Sanitation does not imply 'development' as being non-racial as such. *'Development' is not deracialised.* Race does exist, but the discourse of opportunity largely attempts to rid 'development' players of the effects of Apartheid (and thus race) as it influenced their rugby playing skills. Sanitation also attempts to rid rugby of another effect of Apartheid. That is, that during Apartheid, rugby was largely seen as a 'white man's game'. Sanitation in the context of the discourse of opportunity attempts to rid rugby of this perception. The

'development' programme within the context of the discourse of opportunity is portrayed as exposing those blacks that did not play under Apartheid to rugby.

Why is there a need to sanitise the effects of history? *The underlying assumption of the discourse of opportunity is that black players are inferior to white players in terms of ability due to the effect of Apartheid.* The point of sanitation is to rid the effects of Apartheid as it affected black rugby playing skills. That is, to raise the level of play to that of white rugby players.

Consider the following extracts. All of which follow from my initial question that I opened the discussion about 'development' rugby – what in your view are the main aims of the 'development' programme?

Extract 1

Brendon: Right 'development'. When I say the word 'development', what comes to mind?

*Melvin: **Growing.***

Brendon: Growing?

*Matthew: **Growing from a junior stage to a more senior stage.** That's the word 'development' (.) I think.*

Brendon: 'Development' rugby? (.) As you experience it.

*Leonard: I think there's a lot of phases of 'development'. First of all it's like the exposure to something that's like ehr (.) possibly was **non existent in the past** or something that's so far from anybody's mind and all of a sudden (.) you know you're exposing somebody to this **new concept.** From there they must proceed and move on to become developed, to*

become good at something that initially, the interest wasn't even there. So, that's basically what I feel 'development' is, first exposing and then developing.

Extract 2

*Sheldon: Basically, it's just to bring the underprivileged to a **par**, toward the so-called privileged, the whites.*

Extract 3

*Shane: Obviously to get the blacks up to **the level of what the whites are**, the more privileged players.*

Brendon: There you are assuming that there is a difference?

*Shane: It's not that, the whites have come out of the more privileged schools with better coaches. The Owen Nkumanes all went to white schools, so **its not the fact that they are white**, it's the fact that they had the better coaches, so we are trying to get our ous (players) up to that level. That's what I feel.*

*Luke: To me it's not the entry level thing, all right in the past they had the better facilities, the better coaching, the better know how. I feel our players, if we had that in the past, we would have been where they are now, just as good as them now. But I don't really distinguish from, like they are better than the non- white players, its just that **they had better opportunities in the past**.*

Firstly, let me reiterate an assumption of the discourse of opportunity. The underlying assumption of this discourse is that due to the effects of Apartheid, 'development' players are inferior to their white counterparts in terms of *rugby playing ability*. As such the 'development' programme is seen as a way of developing the skills of the 'development' players. In every extract, there is reference to words like *level* and *par*. For example in extract 3, Shane suggests that the aim of the 'development' programme is to get the blacks to the level that whites are. As such, the 'development' programme is there to help blacks to develop skills, which will raise their levels of play to that of the whites. To use Melvin's terms (extract 1); the 'development' programme is seen as an opportunity for growth. So, inherent in the discourse of opportunity is the image of movement. It is a mechanism that, with due time, will enhance the skills of black rugby players so that they will one day be on par with white players. It is a way of bringing the underprivileged on par with the privileged (extract 2).

A large part of this process involves the 'development' programme attempting to sanitise the effects of history (and thus race). 'Development' is constructed as something new. For example, in extract 2 Leonard mentions that the aim of the 'development' programme is to expose players to this *new concept* of rugby that was *possibly non-existent* in the past. Here the past refers to Apartheid and the segregation of sport. Rugby during Apartheid was not a popular sport to huge sectors of the black population of South Africa. When it was, it was severely segregated along racial lines. The 'development programme' is constructed as doing away with (sanitising) the effects of Apartheid. 'Development' is thus constructed as being new and as belonging to the 'New South Africa'. It is implicitly assigned a meaning that is antithetical to the old. The old is the racial segregation of society, of sport, the many years of isolation and the unequal distribution of resources such as money and facilities. For example,

in extract 3 Luke points out that white players have had better facilities and coaches due to their privileged position in the past. As such, their skills are far above those of blacks. The point emerges when he mentions that whites are not better than blacks per se but that they had better opportunities in the past. Just a little earlier in the extract, the point is made even clearer. Shane was referring to Owen Nkumane, the first black African to play for the Springboks. Owen in this account is not constructed as being a 'true' 'development' player. He is black, but he went to a private, white school during Apartheid and was therefore automatically sanitised from the effects of the separation of rugby. The white school gave him the opportunity that was denied to 'real' 'development' players and that is why he has excelled in rugby. As Shane points out, it is not the fact that privileged players are white, it's the fact that they were given a better opportunity by attending schools which had better coaching and facilities. The purpose of 'development' then is to give blacks an opportunity to excel in the game. The example of Owen Nkumane is offered as an example that if 'development' players are given the opportunity, they will be successful in the game.

'Development' in this discourse of opportunity is constructed as a way of doing away with the inauspicious history of Apartheid and hence an opportunity to start afresh. Seen in this way, 'development' becomes a 'New South African' tool that provides black players with an opportunity to aspire, to progress. As such, 'development' becomes an attempt to historically sanitise rugby from the paraphernalia of Apartheid. In order to do this, the discourse of opportunity draws upon a particular philosophy of justice.

5.3. JUSTICE - THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE DISCOURSE OF OPPORTUNITY:

The best way to illustrate the notion of justice is to offer a particular example of it.

The following extract comes from focus group 3 in which the discussion turned to the quota system in rugby.

Extract 4

*Shane: ... (.) I don't believe in tokenism right (.) Although its happening, I believe that **the strongest team on the day should be chosen, and if its gonna be a all white team, then that's it =***

Leonard: = exactly.

*Shane: But then the black lighties (youngsters) must still come up and play at a higher level. That's where I see the **Academy teams coming in.***

This piece of text becomes interesting in that reference is made to 'justice'. The notion of 'justice' is the underlying philosophy of the discourse of opportunity. However, the discourse of opportunity exists on an uneasy whole with two competing accounts of justice that constitute it. It does however rely on one assumption, *that 'development' in the 'New South Africa' must be fair.* But what constitutes fairness in this particular discourse?

On the one hand, there must be fairness in terms of the best player concerning rugby playing ability. Fairness should be based solely on rugby playing competency, and the likelihood of getting into a particular team should not rely on injustices of the past. It should be about the best player on the day. This particular notion I have labelled '*justice as merit*'. Shane in his account of the quota system draws upon 'justice as merit'. He argues that the best people in terms of ability should get into a team. Team selection should not be based on the colour of a

player's skin (tokenism) but because that particular player is good enough to be in the team. If the team selected in this way is going to be all white, then that is too bad. A quote by Nick Mallet, the current Springbok coach nicely captures the essence of 'justice as merit'.

We say that because there are a certain number of black or coloured rugby players here, they deserve a certain percentage of rugby players in the Springbok team. That is not right at all. Everyone deserves the opportunity to play. However, no one automatically deserves the right to be picked as a Springbok. You earn that on *merit*. A professional rugby player has to earn his contract on merit, and it does not matter what colour he is. (Murray, 1998, p.14, *emphasis added*)

On the other hand, 'development' owes it to black players to be fair and give them opportunities that they were deprived of in the past. It is the moral obligation of the 'New South Africa' to rightly undo the wrongs of the past. This discourse, I have labelled '*justice as history*'. Shane is drawing on the 'justice as history' when he refers to the benefits of the Academy teams. These teams are governed by the quota system where a certain number of blacks have to be included in various teams. 'Justice as history' suggests that team selection should take into account that blacks were previously denied places in 'official' representative teams. To undo this evil, each representative side should include a certain number of black players in them. This is the only way to undo the wrongs of the past. 'Justice as merit' thus becomes secondary to reconciling the wrongs of the past.

Like two opposing forces sliding alongside each other, these competing notions of 'justice' seem to be incommensurable in the 'New South Africa'. The following extract nicely

captures the tension between the two justices. It follows from a discussion on the quota system in 'development' rugby in focus group 3.

Extract 5

*Matthew: What I was saying about black and white is that, you are getting **black guys who are getting exposed** (.) there's no equity in it. You are getting black (.) black lighties (youngsters) are getting exposed. At the same time you are **taking away from the white lighties** (youngsters) that should be getting that exposure.*

From the extract, Matthew acknowledges that blacks are being exposed to rugby and 'justice as history' is being served. However, he argues that that is *no equity in it*. By forcing blacks (with lesser ability) into various teams, 'justice as history' is depriving white youngsters who ought to be in that team because of merit, of their positions. Here Matthew is drawing upon 'justice as merit' as the dominant philosophy of rugby. Similarly, the following extract was taken out of a newspaper and involved a discussion on the lack of players of colour in the national cricket team who, at the time of writing, were playing against the touring West Indies. This conspicuous absence of black players caused an outcry by some associations such as the National Sports Council (NSC). The majority of South Africans it is argued, agree that,

"Like oil and water, *merit* and *race* don't mix and any attempt to force a mixture will fail"
(The Natal Witness, 29 November 1998, *emphasis added*).

Here *merit* refers to 'justice as merit' and *race* to 'justice as history'. Similar to the previous extract, this extract also draws upon 'justice as merit' as the dominant philosophy of justice.

The journalist captures the tension between the two justices and states that any attempt to force a mixture between the two will ultimately fail.

The 'development' programme attempts just that. It emerges at the junction of 'justice as merit' and 'justice as history'. It is constructed as a mechanism of striking a balance between the two. 'Development' takes into account fairness as defined by the discourse of 'justice as history' by providing players from previously disadvantaged backgrounds an opportunity to enhance their rugby playing skills. But it does not force 'justice as history' on to the top provincial and national sides such as the Natal Sharks and the Springboks. 'Development' is 'nurtured' separately and carefully away from the white union. 'Development' is given its own structures and leagues in order to develop the skills of the black players until they can make into the top teams on merit. In a way the 'development' programme can be seen as a 'training nursery' for black players to 'develop' until they are ready to be judged according to 'justice as merit'.

In due time, through the 'development' programme, blacks will be just as good as whites. The debilitating effects of Apartheid will be removed, and 'justice as history' will miraculously blend into the background. The goal of the 'development' programme is to have 'justice as merit' remain after the dust has settled and all players (irrespective of race) will be judged solely on their abilities. The following extract emerges from focus group 1, and follows from a question about when 'development' will end.

Extract 6

*Leonard: – the thing is, 'development' is not something that's gonna be there for life, this is just a **springboard** and it's made quite often. You often hear the guys asking, how many years of 'development' are there still to go. When are these*

playing fields are going to be levelled? Where you get guys aspiring at higher levels and playing at higher levels. That's basically it. But 'development' is not going to be there for life. But it's just a process of getting up there. That's basically the way I see it.

From this, it becomes evident that 'development' is only needed to merge 'justice as history' into 'justice as merit'. 'Development' is constructed as not existing forever, it just a springboard for raising the skills of 'development' players. It will only exist until the playing fields are levelled. Until the thorny and unforgivable wrongs of the past which manifest themselves in players rugby ability, have been removed with all players having an equal chance of selection into various teams. The 'development' programme is constructed as a process of giving blacks an opportunity to raise the levels of their skills so that one day, every rugby player can be judged solely on the notion of 'justice as merit'.

So far, we have seen how the 'development' programme is being constructed as attempting to sanitise the effects of history (and thus race). This is largely achieved through the philosophy of merging 'justice as history' with 'justice as merit'. But how exactly does the 'development' programme do this?

5.4. THE PROCESS:

The process of merging the two justices outlined above reads something like a recipe. The recipe goes: if you add a bit of time, sprinkle a pinch of money and add a few laws, you have a dish, which will serve to merge the two justices. What follows is largely a description of the ingredients in the 'development' recipe. That is time, money and laws.

The notion of time was alluded to in the pervious subsection of this chapter. The ‘development’ programme is largely constructed as being reliant on time to get over the effects of Apartheid. The following extract emerged from focus group 2 and follows a discussion on the aims of the ‘development’ programme.

Extract 7

Terrence: Hell, I think linked to those objectives, it's the same thing. With time, exposing people to something new and from there, trying to get those (.) uninformed or (.) unexposed people to a level where they can aspire to greater height.

In this extract, Terrence argues that the ‘development’ programme together with time will result in blacks being exposed to rugby as something new. From being exposed, the ‘development’ programme, through time, will allow those players an opportunity to learn and master the game. The image of time involves ‘development’ players moving along a hierarchy of skills as time progresses. ‘Development’ will only exist (through a finite amount of time) until the playing fields are level. Until the ‘justice as history’ merges into ‘justice as merit’.

As second vital ingredient in the recipe is money. Money has played an important in role in the ‘development’ process since its inception. A sum of 13 million Rand was spent in the ‘development’ process in the first year alone (Grundlingh, 1995a). The issue of money being pumped into ‘development’ implicitly draws upon ‘justice as history’. Money is seen as an aid to help players elevate their rugby playing skills up to the level of whites. This vital resource is something, which was not available to ‘development’ players in the past. The

following extract comes from a discussion of the changes as a result of the ‘development’ programme. It involves participants from focus group 3.

Extract 8

Brendon: Now, you guys have all played before ‘development’ came about in 1993. Is it different before when you played and afterwards?

Shane: I think it’s hard. We didn’t know what it was going to be like. I don’t know what the state of our rugby would have been if there had been no ‘development’. Obviously, the money is needed, we need the scrumming machines, and we need the bags and all that. As for (.) the coaches are coaching higher now. Have they been given that free or did they have to pay for that?

Luke: They’ve been given that =

Shane: = is that all for free?

Luke: Ja, they invite to do a course. But if you want to go there, you can.

Shane: So obviously, the coaches know more than what they did in the past. They obviously know more now.

Paul: Ja, definitely, the club was dormant for about 8 years before the ‘development’ programme came in. And you can see it in the number of spectators we are getting at the grounds. Before, there was no interest in rugby.

From this extract, the most important question to ask is *who is giving this money to ‘development’?* When Luke refers to *they* in *they invite you to do a course* he is referring to the white rugby union. The dominant institution of white rugby is giving money to ‘development’ as a way of merging ‘justice as history’ with ‘justice as merit’. Consider the

emboldened word *given* in the extract. *Have they been **given** that for free, or did they have to pay for it?* The *they* in this sense are the ‘development’ coaches who have been sent on various coaching courses at the expense of the white rugby union.

The white rugby union is thus constructed as the philanthropists whose main mission is to ‘help’ ‘development’ players. By providing money for equipment, such as scrumming machines, bags and various other pieces of equipment, and sending coaches on courses, the white rugby union is seen as creating ‘opportunities’ for ‘development’ players.

The third ingredient in the ‘development’ recipe is the introduction of laws and quota systems. This extract follows from group 2, and follows a discussion on the quota system in rugby. The original question was *how do you feel about quota systems in rugby?*

Extract 9

*Neville: They are being used effectively, because **the guys that are playing are performing** and they are getting that exposure.*

*Sheldon: I mean, look at the Vodacom series, um that was a typical example of where guys were performing, there had to be a quota system. Those guys come up, you know with shining stars. They came out looking good. **They’ve been given that opportunity.***

The Vodacom series is a provincial league, which takes place toward the beginning of the year. These teams are made up by commissioning of the quota system. The teams have to have a set number of blacks on the field at any one time in the match. According to Neville, the quota system has been beneficial to ‘development’ in that players are being given the opportunity of playing at a higher level and are performing well at that level. Here implicit

reference is made to 'justice as history'. Because historically disadvantaged players were not given the opportunity to play at a representative level for their provinces and countries, the quota system becomes a useful mechanism to give them that opportunity. This ultimately serves to raise the level of skills to that of the whites. A second important implication of laws is once again philanthropy. Notice at the end of the extract when Sheldon says that they are performing because they have been given that opportunity. Once again it is important to ask the question, *given the opportunity by whom?* Again the answer is by the white rugby union. The white union is constructed as giving 'development' players the structures such as laws and the quota system. White rugby is portrayed as 'helping' 'development' by putting in the effort to create quota systems that enable 'development' players to enhance their rugby paying skills.

With these three ingredients, the dominant institution of white rugby is constructed as providing the 'opportunities' that black players never had thereby merging 'justice as history' with 'justice as merit'.

5.5. THE EFFECTS OF THE DISCOURSE OF OPPORTUNITY:

5.5.1. Philanthropy

The discourse of opportunity constructs the dominant white institution of rugby as a philanthropic organisation whose aim is to help the 'development' programme. By providing time, money and laws, the white institution attempts to sanitise the effects of history by intersecting between 'justice as merit' and 'justice as history'. The aim of the 'development' programme as constructed by the discourse of opportunity is to merge 'justice as history' with 'justice as merit' so that by the end of the programme, 'justice as merit' will remain standing as the dominant form of justice.

This has important implications for an analysis of racism. What this means is that:

The dominant institution of white rugby as constructed by the discourse of opportunity cannot be accused of racism when its very aim is to rid rugby from the effects of the racial history of Apartheid. Put slightly differently, white rugby cannot be accused of racism, when the very aim of the ‘development’ programme (which it initiated) is to help ‘development’ players.

But how does the discourse of opportunity account for the racism that does exist in rugby?

5.5.2. Racist Individuals

According to the discourse of opportunity, the racism that does exist in rugby is largely due to individuals within the rugby circles. The racism that still exists is largely a result of those individuals who have yet to see the ‘New South African’ light. The following extract emerges from focus group 3.

Extract 10

*Shane: That's how it goes, I've seen it a lot Brendon, its not that there's racism in rugby, but there's **players** in the rugby fraternity and of course **administrators** that are racist. You hear it all the time. I mean, like if a wit ou (white player) rucks another wit ou (white player) on the field, it's all right. The minute a bruin ou (coloured player) does it, it's " a bruin ou, and this and that..."*

Shane suggests that there is no racism in rugby per se. “*Its not that there is racism in rugby,*” he says, but racism exists only because of certain individuals (players and administrators) in the rugby fraternity. In addition to providing players with an opportunity to embellish his skills on the rugby field, the quota system also provides one other vital function. It shuns the

influence of racist individuals. In this context, the quota system rids rugby of the decisions of racist *selectors* who choose the teams. This next extract from focus group 1 adequately captures this point.

Extract 11

Brendon: What do chaps think about the laws? The quota system. Again at the club level.

*Melvin: You can't say well the quota system, because it comes down to **certain selectors**. Um, I think if there was no quota system, certain selectors wouldn't put in black players.*

Brendon: So you saying the white selectors who have the power, as white selectors wouldn't put you in without 'development'.

Matthew: Ja, I think so, because they are forced to.

From these extracts, whatever residual racism is left after Apartheid can be attributed to racist individuals. The white rugby union who run the 'development' programme is not racist itself, but it is certain individuals and certain selectors who would like rugby to be kept amongst whites in this country. Moreover, it is they, who are racist. The 'development' programme within the discourse of opportunity is constructed as a 'security' to protect blacks from the influence of racist individuals and selectors.

5.6. SOME CONCLUSIONS:

This chapter has largely outlined how the discourse of opportunity has constructed the 'development' programme as not being racist. The focus has been on how the dominant discourse, the discourse of opportunity has been constructed and put forward as 'true' (Wetherell and Potter, 1992). By portraying the dominant white rugby union as

philanthropists together with blaming any racism on individuals, white rugby is protected from being labelled as racist. In a sense, the discourse of opportunity is a defence for protecting the dominant institution of rugby from being called racist.

However, this chapter has not demonstrated how racism does work through 'development' rugby. It has only shown how white rugby is protected from being called racist. The following chapter demonstrates how through language, 'development' players are constructed as subjects who are inferior to white players. This I argue is how 'subtle racism operates in 'development' rugby.

CHAPTER SIX: STANDARDS

6.1. INTRODUCTION:

Chapter five demonstrated how ‘development’ is constructed as an opportunity for ‘development’ players to enhance their rugby playing skills. The discourse of opportunity, I argue functions to protect the dominant institution of white rugby from being labelled as racist.

This chapter outlines how racism does operate in ‘development’ rugby. The discourse of opportunity positions ‘development’ players along a hierarchy of ability with ‘development’ on the lower end and ‘merit’ on the upper end. However, implicit in this hierarchy is also a hierarchy of race. Within the discourse of opportunity, race and ability come to mean the same thing. ‘Development’ is black and ‘merit’ is white. Through language, ‘development’ players are constructed as racial subjects who are inferior to their white counterparts (Davies and Harre, 1991). This sets up a hierarchy with ‘development’ (black) on the lower end and ‘merit’ (white) on the upper end. ‘Merit’ is constructed as the norm to which ‘development’ must aspire. In addition to this, those labelled as ‘development’ are divided into coloured, Asian, and black African. Black Africans and Asians are positioned lower than coloured development players along the hierarchy. This racial ordering of subjects uncomfortably resembles the racial ordering during Apartheid. This, I argue is how subtle racism operates in ‘development’ rugby.

6.2. THE STANDARDS HIERARCHY:

6.2.1. Race and ability

The discourse of opportunity offers ‘development’ players a particular subject position (Davies and Harre, 1991). They are located along a hierarchy of rugby playing ability with ‘development’ being on the lower end and white on the upper end. The aim of the ‘development’ programme is to bring ‘development’ players up to the level of ‘merit’ so that by the end of the process, ‘development’ will become redundant. ‘Development’ players will then be judged according to ‘justice as merit’ along with white players.

However, by its very organisation, another subject position is offered to ‘development’ players (Weedon, 1997). ‘Development’ players are also situated along a racial hierarchy. The ability hierarchy becomes indistinct from a racial one. The discourse of opportunity thus constructs ‘development’ players as a distinct racial group who are inferior to white rugby players. Foucault (1980) argues that one aspect of creating a certain subject position is that the subjects believe the subject position to be ‘true’. In this context, ‘development’ players actually believe themselves to be inferior to white players. The following extract follows from a discussion of the history of black rugby in South Africa. The discussion turned to how coloureds have been playing rugby for just as long as whites in South Africa. The extract is from focus group 1.

Extract 1

*Matthew: But do you think you can look at it that way Melvin. But, if you look at white people as more **natural** at rugby than non- white people. You know what I’m saying. They are more natural at it. Now if you have to put it that way, I don’t know why people don’t turn this around and say, where are the white people in the soccer team? **African people***

are more natural with a football, than with a rugby ball. So now, white people play soccer too. But why was Neil Tovey and them all dropped. Fine, but it's the same thing. You get what I'm saying. Even if the coloureds were playing in the Western Province, if the white man comes and he's better than he is, you need to dropped. Because he's natural at the game, even if it takes quicker than what it took you to at that level of the game. Someone else can get to the level even quicker than you can, because they're natural at it.

From this extract, a reference is made to certain sports being suited to certain races. This notion, I would argue provides the justification for the race/ability hierarchy. Matthew in this extract argues that blacks are more suited to soccer than whites – “*African players are more natural with a football than with a rugby ball*”. Just as blacks are suited to football, so whites are more ‘natural’ with a rugby ball. Black subjects are thus positioned as being inferior to whites in rugby because they are not ‘natural’ at the game. This philosophy of racial suitability provides a justification for the position of ‘development’ subjects as inferior to white rugby players. As Uli Schmidt, a famous Springbok put it.

“Rugby is not a natural game for blacks, it is not in their culture. They should play soccer” (Odendaal, 1995, p.24).

As such, the ‘development’ programme is creating in ‘development’ players, subjects who are inferior, but also justifying their position as being inferior. By constructing blacks as being not ‘natural’ in the game of rugby, it only follows logically that blacks should obey the ‘justice as merit’ philosophy and give up their positions in representative teams if a white player is better than they are. To quote Matthew, “*Even if the coloured were playing in the*

Western Province, if the white man comes and he 's better than them, then you need to be dropped."

By believing the racial suitability of rugby, 'development' players are positioned as being inferior to whites. The notion of racial suitability thus serves as a justification for the lower positioning of 'development' players.

Furthermore, the categories of white and black are constructed as mutually exclusive in rugby. Consider the following extract, which comes from focus group 1. The respondents were asked about the main aims of 'development'. The discussion then turned to the 'development' programme as it stands in the high schools.

Extract 2

*Leonard: All provinces usually got them. Provincial level, you've got ABCD. You get your A side which is basically your side with 4 **black lighties (youngsters) in it and 16 white light (.) youngsters.***

*Richard: **Is that a developed side?***

Leonard: That 's a developed side.

*Richard: **So what's those black lighties (youngsters) doing there?***

Leonard: Pardon?

*Richard: **What are they there as (.) 'development' players?***

Leonard: Ja, as 'development' players.

*Richard: **But they didn't make it on merit.***

*Leonard: **They are the most meritest out of the 'development' group.***

Right.

The first implication of this extract is the reference to race. In this extract, Leonard speaks about the 'A side' and refers to 'merit' and 'development' group by their racial groupings. 'Development' youngsters are referred to as blacks and merit youngsters are referred to as whites. 'Development' is black and 'merit' is white

The second and more important implication is that it displays the exclusivity of the categories of 'development' (black) and 'merit' (white). Rob asks about whether the A- side refers to a developed side. In other words, is the side not a 'development' side? 'Development' in this context is seen as being not developed. More than this, a developed side is a white side.

Notice Richard's questioning about if it was a developed side, why then does it include blacks. Surely, a developed side cannot include 'development' players. If blacks were included, then how can that side be labelled as a developed side? Within rugby, the categories of 'development' and 'merit' are mutually exclusive. Either a player is 'development' or he is 'merit'. You cannot be one or the other. If you are 'development' (black) then you cannot be 'merit' (white) and if you are 'merit' (white) then you cannot be 'development' (black).

Similarly, if a team contains 'development' (black) players, then it is a 'development' team.

This simple assumption is at the root of Rob's question to Leonard- "*Is that a developed side?*" Put slightly differently, in rugby either you are white or you are black. Either a team is 'development' or it is 'merit'. 'Development' players are positioned as being inferior to white players. Furthermore, they are positioned as subjects who will never be able to make it up to the level of 'merit' (white). This is exposed when Leonard refers to the word '*meritest*' in response to Richard's questioning about blacks being included in a developed side.

Meritest in this sense refers to 'development' players who have progressed up to the ceiling of their hierarchy. They are positioned as nearly on par with their white counterparts, but can never be fully white. That is, they are positioned in a way that allows for a huge deal of

movement but never make it fully up to the level of 'merit'. Meritist becomes an example of what Parker (1992) means by a discourse folding around and reflecting on its own way of speaking. Moreover, speakers are not always aware or self-conscious about using words such as 'meritist'. Language around metaphors such as this becomes second nature and subjects use this language as if it were the truth.

'Merit' thus provides 'development' players with an object or a goal. This goal then becomes the phenomenon to which 'development' players must aspire to be. White also becomes the object to which 'development' players must expose themselves to prove that they are worthy of progressing up the hierarchy. Consider the following extract, which emerged from focus group 1 after a discussion of the lack of recognition for 'development' players. Just to give you some background to the following extract. The Natal Witness is the local newspaper in the Pietermaritzburg. Every Thursday it publishes a supplement focusing on the black readership called the Echo. This is where most of the club's games are published. This extract emerged from focus group 1. The extract follows a question about the extent of recognition that the players perceive themselves to have.

Extract 3

Brendon: So you are saying there's no recognition? How do you feel about being put in the Echo instead of the Natal Witness?

*Leonard: Well the only thing that I can come in there, is that the Witness. Their particular thing is that they are gonna **report according to the standards**. You see, when Blues, Blues and them get small little things like that. I'm sure you must have seen. The only reason why go to the Echo is because we get a better exposure, a better layout. I used to write reports to both the*

Witness and the Echo. Witness, if they are going to put it, they are going to put it, they put two lines in at the bottom of school rugby, but the Echo will give you a piece. So I said bugger it, what's the use of me putting it in, I'd rather direct it straight to the Echo.

*Richard: But who's the majority of readers of the Echo. **People not wielding much influence** that could actually promote our cause as a club looking for recognition.*

Leonard: The Echo does, in that it is more (.) Horrible to say, (.) but more, more black. But then we must also question ourselves...=

Richard: = who picks the Echo up to read it?

Leonard: It's more the black person.

*Richard: **Are they the people who we are wanting to be reading, who is going to further our cause.** Or is that just for information. Or is it aimed for (.) um (.) future kind of (.) development of our club as such..*

Leonard: Well basically, you are gonna get a lot of, if you are thinking more sponsorship from black business.

Richard: Perhaps, ja.

Leonard: You know, the bottom line is where are you going to get your biggest report?

*Richard: In the Echo. But what's the good of having this if the **people we want to read it isn't reading it.** Kind of thing. What do you think?*

Firstly, notice the reference to standards – “*They're gonna report according to standards*” - without actually mentioning whose standards they are. The unspoken standard is ‘merit’ (white). In other words, the Echo prints articles firstly about black teams, and secondly about teams that do not have the standards (‘merit’) to make it into the Witness which is the predominantly white newspaper. Low standards mean black and high standards (the norm) means white. The white and black newspapers are merely a reflection of the standards that exist in reality. This notion of standards becomes the ‘truth’ in this hierarchy. The newspapers merely report according to the standards, which exist out there already.

More importantly, notice Richard’s questioning whether it is the Echo (black) readers who they want to read about the team. In the last line: “*But what’s the good of having this if the people we want to read it isn’t reading it.*” He never explicitly mentions who those people are whom he wants to be reading about the club. The unspoken *people* are again ‘merit’ (white). That is, it is fruitless exposing the club to Echo (black) readers, he argues, because it is not them he feels that they should be trying to impress. As mentioned above, the hierarchy positions ‘development’ subjects as being inferior. It also positions them in a way that it is white on the upper end that they should be trying to expose themselves, to demonstrate to the white community how they are progressing up the hierarchy. This, it is argued, is linked to the one of the aims of the ‘development’ programme, to expose ‘development’ players. In this case, not only exposing them to the game of rugby, but also exposing blacks to the white community of South Africa who will be able to take cognisance of the ‘development’ programme and thus ‘development’ players. *White thus becomes the invisible gaze to which black subjects should expose themselves.* It becomes the unspoken standard to which blacks must aspire to become. White thus becomes the norm, the pinnacle of the hierarchy. “ White

remains the vantage point, the norm from which black differences are measured and evaluated” (Henriques et al, 1984, p.85).

Providing a subject position, also entails providing a lens through which to view the world. Often this lens is tinted and provides a particular focus on the world. As mentioned earlier, the ‘development’ programme provides ‘development’ players with a view that they are not as competent as their white counterparts. As such, the discourse provides a lens by which they focus on this *perceived incompetence*. The following extract occurred during a break in the interview, during which time I left the tape-recorder on. Fortunately, a game of Craven Week schoolboy rugby was on the television at that time. This is what followed:

Extract 4

Matthew: Check the darky (black) lightie (youngster) is cruising over there.

Brendon: The darky lighties’ cruising.

Melvin: Check him, look at there.

Richard: ((Laughing)) Check there, they skipped the darky lightie. ((Laughter)).

Leonard: They skip him in all the moves.

Richard: They use him as a decoy. Big ground, but he never gets the ball. Oh, he’s a reserve too, check there, number 19.

Melvin: They have to play him, there are only three of them.

Everyone: Whooaaaa! (BLACK PLAYER KNOCKED ON)

Richard: They’ll say therewa, “kyk die kafir, kyk wat hy maak”.

Number 16 again, black player. You noticed.

((Silence whilst watching))

Richard: Both the blacks made the flops (mistakes). Now watch the other bruin ou (coloured) make a flop.

By being constructed as inferior, ‘development’ players are portrayed as bringing down the standard of the team. However, because of the quota system, the management of the team has to play them. This is evident when Melvin says, “*They have to play him, there are only three of them*”. By putting in inferior players, the quota system in this context is portrayed as bringing down the standards of the team, not giving opportunity to ‘development’ players. In order to get around the incompetence of the black players, various strategies are employed by the ‘merit’ players. These include the ‘development’ player being used as a decoy and not passed the ball by the white players – “*They use him as a decoy. Big ground, but he never gets the ball*”. It also includes ‘development’ players being placed as reserves- “*Oh, he’s a reserve too, check there, number 19*”; “*Number 16 again, black player*” - in the team.

More importantly, this incompetence is largely due to being black. I was present during this period and was surprised to observe how many white players also made mistakes, but their focus remained on the ‘development’ players. Although a certain amount of humour was present during this extract, the message was clear. Skill incompetence is also racial incompetence. Notice Rob’s comments: “*kyk die kafir, kyk wat hy maak.*” Translated, “look at the kaffir, look at what he is doing.”

The second implication of this extract is the ‘white gaze’ introduced earlier. Who are the unspoken *they* – “*they skip him in all the moves*”; “*they use him as a decoy*”; and “*they’ll say therewa*” - in the extract? The ‘they’ are the whites involved in rugby. The discourse provides the image of the unspoken ‘they’ as being out there judging ‘development’ players according to their standard (‘merit’). They are providing the norm against which the ‘development’ players are measured.

'Merit' (white) is constructed as opposite to 'development'. 'Merit' players are thus not used as decoys, not placed as reserves, and more importantly hardly make foolish mistakes such as knocking the ball on. 'Development' players on the other hand are almost expected to make mistakes. This is evident in Richard's comments at the end of the extract. "*Both the blacks (black Africans) made the flops (mistakes). Now watch the other bruin ou (coloured) make a flop*". Here he is expecting the other coloured 'development' player to make a mistake because of his racial incompetence in rugby. After all the other two 'development' players have already made mistakes. It is just a matter of time before the third 'development' player makes his mistake. This extract thus lends further evidence for the inferior subject positions offered to 'development' players. Here inferior skill level is largely due to inferior racial competence. Apart from having inferior skill, 'development' players are also constructed as having inferior attitude. Consider the following extract from focus group 2, which follows a discussion on what makes a player a 'development' player.

Extract 5

*Sheldon: Its players attitudes too I think as 'development' ...If you look at the South African soccer team as a perfect example, if you look at the **indiscipline of the black players compared to the white players who went to the World Cup. You see they weren't interested in what the coach said. The coach said, " don't go out", but they'll show the coach a point and go out and come back at 10' o clock in the morning. All that (.) it's the player who makes himself 'development' or doesn't make himself development.***

Here Sheldon refers to attitudes. He uses the South African soccer team to suggest that 'development' (black) players lack discipline. He is referring to the two black South African soccer players who went out to a nightclub against the instructions of the white coach. At the end of the extract, he suggests that it be left to the 'development' player not to make himself a 'development' player. The way to do this is gain some discipline.

'Development' is thus constructed against what *is* disciplined. In this context, discipline equals white. To quote Sheldon, "*if you look at the indiscipline of the black players compared to the white players who went to the World Cup*". Discipline becomes the norm, the standard that whites naturally possess and 'development' players do not. Discipline becomes the attitude which 'development' players do not have but should aspire to get in order to succeed in rugby. Another interesting point is Sheldon's reference to the word 'make'. He mentions that it is up to the 'development' player to 'make' himself not 'development'. 'Make' in this sense refers to change. It conveys an image of a kind of 'moulding' of something, which exists naturally into something different. 'Development' players are thus constructed as self-regulating subjects who should work on themselves (and their discipline) to become 'merit'. This lack of discipline needs to be worked on or moulded to achieve discipline. It is left to that player to 'make' or force himself to change that naturally occurring attitude, to become more disciplined like the white players.

Through discourse, 'development' players are constructed as racial subjects who are inferior to white players in two qualities - skills and attitude - that are seen as vital to rugby. More importantly, 'development' players believe this inferiority to be true. This I believe, is how subtle racism operates through rugby.

6.2.2. Racism within racism

I have referred to 'development' thus far as including all black rugby players in South Africa. 'Development' players in this context have included the three 'traditional' black racial groupings, black African, coloured and Indian. 'Development' as including all blacks, I have argued are constructed as being inferior to white players.

A more complex picture begins to emerge however. Whilst whites are still constructed as being superior to 'development' players, a racial ordering also exists amongst 'development' as a group. Consider the extract from focus group 1. The extract follows from a question on their opinions about players from other racial groupings joining their club.

Extract 6

- Brendon: How do you feel about black [African] ous (players) joining the team?*
- Neville: No hassles, but **teach them some skills man.***
- Sheldon: We've got two ous (players) that have been coming on Tuesdays to our training.*
- Terrence: Jeffrey and (.)*
- Neville: What's his name, what's the other ous name?*
- Sheldon: Corky, I call him Corky. You know that movie that used to be on TV. **Where that lightie's (youngster's) a bit retarded and they call him corky. He's just like him.***
- Brendon: Ah shame.*
- Neville: They are just getting to know the game of touch really, but you know what I like about them. You know ball. The ball is mine; I'm going to hold on to it when I go into contact.*
- Terrence: Like ou Jeffery when he runs with ball, he runs with it like this.*

- Neville: *He holds onto it. So, there's a good quality. If he's going to be in that situation, he is going to hold on to that ball. He's strong.*
- Sheldon: *I've no objections to Africans joining the club –*
- Neville: *= because they don't come with a **shit attitude of know-it-all**. That's basically my problem, I don't mind a white guy joining the club, he mustn't come with the attitude of know-it-all.*
- Sheldon: *He's joining our club, we've been playing together long enough. **The black players that come there come with the attitude that I have the willpower. I want to learn. I want to play this game** ((Said with a black African accent)).*

In this extract, Neville proclaims that he has no hassles about black Africans joining the club, but *teach them some skills*. By this, he is implying that black Africans do not have the necessary skills that coloured 'development' players do. In this context coloured becomes the norm to which black Africans must aspire. This is particularly evident when Sheldon says; "*We've got two ous (players) that have been coming on Tuesdays to **our** training*". Our training refers to coloured training. Black Africans are constructed as needing to attend coloured training in order to learn the game. They are positioned as not having the necessary skills (which coloured players do) in order to achieve in the game. As such, they are constructed as being inferior to coloureds. Here the coloured 'development' players are using the well-documented rhetorical strategy of contrast in dealing with the sensitive issue of race (Van Dijk, 1984). Contrasts are used to outline the positive aspects of the majority (coloured 'development' players) and the negative ones of the minority (black African 'development' players). The positive aspects of coloured 'development' players are their rugby playing skills. Black Africans are constructed against the backdrop what coloureds are not. They are

constructed as lacking the skills which coloureds have and are thus positioned as inferior to coloureds. This racial superiority is particularly evident when Sheldon refers to one of the black players as resembling a retarded child. Not only are black African players inferior in ability but also lack the physical appearance to play rugby. This particular piece of text paints the picture of coloured rugby players who have the necessary skills and physical appearance to succeed in the game 'helping' black African players who resemble retarded children.

Furthermore, by positioning black African 'development' players as being inferior, they are constructed as having the potential to progress up the hierarchy. In this extract, the most basic physical skills are identified as being vital to be able to progress up the hierarchy. Neville suggests that they are only beginning in the game of rugby, but they have the potential in having basic physical characteristics such as holding tightly on to the ball. These characteristics will allow them to progress up the hierarchy. Although they do not have the 'racial suitability' to rugby, black African 'development' players are positioned as having the basics in order to progress and 'develop'.

Black African 'development' players are also constructed as having the right basic mental attitude to progress in the game. Black African 'development' players are constructed as being in contrast to white individuals who have a know-it-all attitude toward 'development' players. In this part of the extract, the rhetorical strategy of comparison is employed (Van Dijk, 1997). This involves comparing black 'development' players to negative attributes of racist white individuals. By saying, that whites have a know-it-all attitude, the coloured 'development' player is implying that coloured 'development' players do not have a know-it-all attitude. Black African 'development' players are also positioned as not having a know-it-all attitude. This is good it is argued, because this is one of the attributes to progress up the

standards hierarchy in a way that will make black African ‘development’ players more like coloured ‘development’ players. Black African players are also identified as willing subjects who have the willpower to learn this game from the coloureds. “*The black [African] players that come there come with the attitude that I have the willpower. I want to learn.*”

In this way, the coloured ‘development’ players are constructed as being the first step to aspire on the road to becoming a ‘merit’ player. They are constructed as having the necessary physical attributes and the right attitude to begin playing this noble game. The coloured players are positioned as having the better knowledge and skills, which will enable them to teach the black African ‘development’ players.

The superiority of coloured ‘development’ players is also evident in the following extract from focus group 3. The discussion turned to what changes the ‘development’ programme had brought about since its inception.

Extract 7

Luke: ...Another, big factor too was World Cup. The world cup did a helluva lot for SA Rugby. Interest, Indian lighties, slum (muslim) lighties (youngsters) even playing rugby. It was unbelievable, I went to this one coaching clinic in Northdale, and there are some good players over there. I'm telling you!

Shane: I haven't seen any ((laughing =)).

Luke: I'm telling you, me and Jim were coaching over there. They've got a lot of black [African] lighties there that are good too.

The implication of this particular extract also lies at locating Indians and Muslims (Asians)

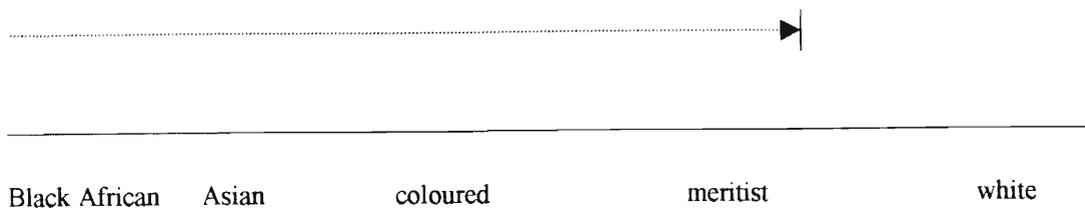
lower than coloureds along the hierarchy. Luke suggests that contrary to popular belief, Asians are beginning to play rugby. “*It was unbelievable,*” he says. He goes on to locate blacks somewhere down on the hierarchy too – “*They’ve got a lot of black [African] lighties (youngsters) there that are good too*”.

In this extract, the coloured coach is constructed as being the saviour and teacher of the Asians who are willing to play rugby. Mention of Jim, the other coloured coach is brought in to substantiate the claim that Asians are playing rugby, and there are certain of them that are good too. Furthermore, the coloured coach has positioned himself, as having the power to assess what is good and bad in the race groups. As such, he has the power to identify those Asians who have the potential to progress in the game. His diagnosis is that there are some good Asian youngsters (and some black youngsters too) who have the potential to progress up the ladder. Coloured ‘development’ players are constructed as the philanthropists who are helping their black African and Asian counterparts. In this way, the institution of coloured ‘development’ is also protected from being labelled as racist and so the cycle of philanthropy continues.

6.2.3. The standards hierarchy

The racial ordering of subjects within ‘development’ rugby thus sets up a hierarchy with white on the upper end, coloured in the middle, with Asian and black African on the lower end. This I have called the standards hierarchy. Graphically, the standards hierarchy resembles the following.

Figure 1: The standards hierarchy



The dotted line represents the (limited) amount of movement afforded to black ‘development’ players in general. To use Leonard’s word in extract 2, I have called this point ‘meritest’.

This is the point where ‘development’ players are closest to becoming merit (white). They are the ‘meritest’ of the ‘development’ group. Put slightly differently, they are the whitest of the blacks, but will never be fully white.

6.3. SOME CONCLUSIONS:

This chapter has attempted to outline how ‘development subjects are constructed as being inferior to whites along the standards hierarchy. In addition to this, ‘development’ players are also divided and ordered along this standards hierarchy.

Whilst Asians are positioned slightly lower than they were during Apartheid, this standards hierarchy and its racial hierarchy uncomfortably resemble the racial orderings of Apartheid South Africa. That is, whites on the upper end, coloured and Asians in the middle, and black Africans at the extreme lower end. The only difference between the racial orderings of Apartheid and the racial orderings in the standards hierarchy is that the word black has been changed to ‘development’ and white to ‘merit’. ‘Development’ has become a euphemism for black. In so doing, the ‘development’ programme fits in neatly with the rhetoric of the ‘New South Africa’.

This racial ordering of subjects, I would argue serves to reproduce the power relations between blacks and whites by constructing white as being the goal to which blacks must aspire. The topic of power becomes the focus of the following chapter.

CHAPTER 7: RACIST! WHO US?

7.1. INTRODUCTION:

Discourse Analysis, particularly Parker's (1992) method, provides a useful tool in deconstructing 'development' from a social constructionist perspective. This is because Parker (1992) not only suggests that discourses reproduce power relations, but that discourses serve the interests of certain institutions.

Power within 'development' rugby is a process whereby 'development' players are constructed as subjects who are inferior to white rugby players. The 'development' programme is thus constructed as 'needing' the philanthropic institution of white rugby. This I believe serves to reproduce the power relations between 'merit' and 'development' rugby. Furthermore, the dominant institution of white rugby stands to gain from this construction of 'development' players. By 'helping' 'development' players, white rugby cannot be accused of racism. At the same time, 'development' (black) is still being kept separate from the dominant institution of white rugby as it was during Apartheid.

7.2. POWER:

It is perhaps fruitful to begin the chapter with a discussion on what power is not. Power in this sense is not what Foucault (1980) calls, sovereign, juridical, or repressive power. Power does not involve a relationship where white rugby (the powerful) dictates to those labelled as 'development' (the powerless). Those who theorise power in this way assume that power is possessed: it is a force exerted by those who have it (white rugby) against those who do not have it ('development'). It becomes seen as causal in an A acts on B manner. This conception of power is also one that views power as located outside of discourse. Language and words

become viewed as merely tools and weapons in power struggle, not as central to the power struggle itself (Foucault, 1980).

This conception of power also assumes a negative legislative power mainly concerned with prohibiting certain behaviours and unwanted actions. For instance, white rugby dictating to 'development' rugby in a way that regulates them through regulative legislation. In opposition to this account, a discursive orientation proposes an account that does not see power as operating in this causal, prohibitive way.

If power were never anything but repressive, if it never did anything but to say 'no', do you really think one would be brought to obey it? What makes power hold good, what makes it accepted, is simply that it doesn't weigh on us as a force that says 'no', but that it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered, as a productive network that runs the whole social body, much more than a negative instance whose function is repression.

(Foucault, 1980)

Modern power, in Foucault's (1980) view works through creating knowledge and 'truth'. It is not apart from discourse in any way. Power in this view is primarily achieved through the way that language constructs certain objects such as 'development' rugby in a way that they come to be recognised as 'true'. More importantly, this is a form of power that produces subjects and creates certain kinds of 'truths' about the subjects concerned.

One consequence of this conception of power is a process of 'subjectification' (Wetherell and Potter, 1992). Subjectification is a process of becoming subject to particular knowledges of

the self. Power therefore, is not repressive in Foucault's (1980) view, in the sense of against some sort of resistance. Power works through constructing what it means to be 'development' in the first place. Power is not only a negative prohibition; but can be recognised when a 'development' subject in essence says 'yes' to being constructed as a 'development' player. Power as we have seen in the previous chapters occurs through subjects actually accepting their identity as being 'development' first, and then actually believing themselves to be inferior in terms of their abilities. A discursive approach thus involves power operating as a form of self-regulation. Regulation thus occurs when a force from 'outside' works as self-discipline from 'within' (Wetherell and Potter, 1992).

“Language is so structured to mirror power relations that we often can see no other ways of being, and it structures ideology so that it is difficult to speak both in and against it” (Parker, 1992, p XI).

Power operates through those labelled as 'development' being persuaded of the notion that the interests of the need to progress up the standards hierarchy correspond with the interests of the dominant white institution of rugby's interest in sharing their knowledge in the spirit of the 'New South Africa'.

“ Oppressive social relations can be maintained with an illusion of solidarity and of the mystifying premise that society is working for the benefit of all” (Wetherell and Potter, 1992, p. 85).

The implication of this relationship of power is that it constructs a helper/ helpee relationship. This relationship exists with the dominant group of white rugby being the helper and

'development' being the helpee. 'Development' is thus constructed as being reliant on the white institution of rugby for survival. It is persuaded of the need for money, the equipment, and laws for it to progress up the hierarchy. Moreover, those labelled, as 'development' should be grateful for the white institution's assistance in helping them. Consider the following extract from focus group 2.

Extract 1

Sheldon: From then we (.) we as team to should develop (.) We should actually do 'development' clinics some days at the grounds.

Neville: Yes, we as players should have coaching clinics on the grounds. We have the time; we must just do it.

Sheldon: We owe it to society, we owe it to our youngsters. We have to give something back. We have to. I think its something, which should be addressed, and its something, which should be given attention to. They deserve it.

Brendon: So because you are receiving money, you feel as if you should be giving something back =

Sheldon: = of course.

*Terrence: As a way of **thanking them**. Like supporting us, and still too we are helping others out.*

Sheldon: It's not only about money, it's to enhance their skills. To make them better players. To teach them basically, what we know. As much as we can show them. To give them a bit if motivation.

In this extract, 'development' players are constructed as subjects who need to show the white institution of rugby that they are grateful for the help that are receiving. The way to show this

gratitude in this extract, is to teach and help others who are lower down on the standards hierarchy the skill that 'development' players have been privileged to have been exposed to. The white institution of rugby is constructed as having the massive, philanthropic task of exposing rugby to the communities of South Africa. What better way to help them than actually doing some of the work for them? Here 'development' players are constructed as having the skills and the time to help in this process. They are constructed as the grateful subjects who owe it to society to help in the 'development' process. The adage of 'help and be helped' becomes the focus for them in this extract. By constructing subjects in this way, power is achieved (Parker, 1989).

Parker (1992) suggests that it is also important to speak about power and institutions in the same breath. Discourses support institutions. The construction of 'development' subjects as a separate group (the 'helpee') serves the dominant institution of white rugby. To white rugby, 'development' becomes a kind of necessary evil to balance out another evil (Apartheid). It has been argued that white administrators view 'development' "as a necessary evil, and at best tolerated, as with a naughty child. You know its yours, but for heavens sake, keep it at bay" (Grundlingh, 1995a, p.6).

But why would white rugby want to keep this naughty child of 'development' at bay?

7.3. WHITE TRIBE DREAMING:

Gergen and Semin (1990) argue that a discourse is always historically located. Discourses are located in time and history, the task of the discourse analyst is to investigate how, and under what conditions those discourses emerged. As such, my argument is that the discourse surrounding 'development' did not emerge in a vacuum. It emerged at a specific historical

moment when a country was in transition. As Chapter 2 outlined, the moment when ‘development’ emerged was particularly volatile in the history of South Africa. It was born at a time when the country and sport in particular, was in turmoil. Chapter 2 made special mention of the Boipatong massacre at the time, which coincided with events surrounding the initiation of the programme. Rugby played a significant role in the events that followed that dreadful day. Rugby football became a political tool for the ANC to halt the vital All Blacks tour to South Africa, the first since South Africa was reinstated into international sport. The ANC threatened to withhold the tour and in so doing, hampered what Nauright (1998) calls ‘white tribe dreaming’. That is, a unified white South Africa at ‘war’ with the All Blacks. Imagine the mighty Springboks not being allowed to play the All Blacks because of a black government. The confines of the rugby stadiums thus became an arena where white South Africans joined together to resist the power of the ANC by singing the old national anthem and displaying the old South African flags in the first rugby test between the Springboks and New Zealand.

The role of rugby in forging white identities is well documented both during Apartheid and in post-Apartheid South Africa. Nauright (1998) argues that whites in post-Apartheid South Africa have been facing dramatic changes considering their loss of political, economic and cultural power. As such, rugby becomes an ideal vehicle for maintaining an identity they long for in the past. Rugby it is argued can be viewed as a ‘security blanket’ for creating a culture, which was lost at the transition from Apartheid to post-Apartheid South Africa.

Rugby for whites in the ‘new South Africa’ can be viewed in a contested state between its historical position as central to the dominant culture, and its potential new

role as a form of resistant white culture as new hegemonic structures develop in the South Africa of the 1990's. (Nauright, 1998, p.165)

I would argue that rugby has been assimilated as being part of white South African culture and something, which they would prefer to keep to themselves. As such, rugby in South Africa has been largely perceived as a 'white man's game' (van der Riet, 1997). However, with the dawn of the 'New South Africa', a process of unification *had* to occur in order for the game to develop and for the future rugby tours to proceed with the blessing of the ANC. As such, 'development' was forced on to this 'white man's game'. Whites could therefore no longer openly discriminate and condemn black players as they could before. Open racism instantaneously became a social taboo in rugby.

If there is a social taboo against expressing unjustified negative views against out groups, then the speaker who wishes to express discriminatory views must be ready to search for, and find, suitable reasons. Considerable ingenuity may be required to discover non-racial criteria for racial discrimination and non-racial reasons for criticising other races. (Billig, 1988, p.103)

In constructing 'development' as an opportunity to enhance skills i.e. the discourse of opportunity, 'development' becomes a non-racial criterion for discriminating between black players. When 'development' players are not included in various teams, the discourse of opportunity is drawn upon to create non-racial criteria for excluding certain players. That is, they simply have not developed the necessary skills yet to be included into various teams. This is why they are in the 'development' programme, it can be argued. Give them time to

'develop', they are just not quite ready to be included in 'merit' teams. By believing this to be true, 'development' players are also drawn into this relationship of domination.

Essentially, the discourse of opportunity allows the dominant group (white rugby) an opportunity to tell their story about the past in order to justify the future (Parker, 1992).

White rugby draws upon the injustices of the past to create an argument for the need for 'development' to be nurtured separately from white rugby. In this way, the 'development' programme is constructed as a truth, an object out there, which is there to help 'development' players.

By portraying 'development' in the ways mentioned above, I would argue that the institution of white rugby stands to gain from this construction of 'development'. Not only does this construction fit in with the rhetoric of the 'New South Africa' but also serves to keep blacks separated from the dominant institution of white rugby. As it stands, 'development' is portrayed as a 'New South Africa' tool. One that is useful in bringing races together and helping to foster unity in the country.

7.4. IMPLICATION OF THE HELPER/ HELPEE RELATIONSHIP:

The implication of this subtle racism is that it is hard to rally against it and even harder to prove that it exists at all. According to Essed (1991), dominance and inequality provoke resistance. However, when the dominant consensus is that there is no racism, minority groups and their protests or other forms of resistance have a very hard time to be taken seriously. During the Apartheid years, racism was clear-cut. You could easily identify it, target its source, and rally against it. This new racism makes it extremely difficult to do this.

It becomes particularly difficult to resist the 'development' programme because firstly, it is constructed as being non-racist and fitting in with the rhetoric of the 'New South Africa'. Secondly, it is also constructed as benefiting 'development' players. They have been granted money for facilities and equipment and are being given an opportunity to play rugby at a level, which was not available to them in the past. By promoting the 'development' programme largely in terms of the discourse of opportunity, players labelled, as 'development' do not see any other ways of existing when positioned in this relationship of power. This power manifests itself where 'development' players take on the identity of needing the white institution of rugby in order for the 'development' programme to survive. Consider the following extracts where I asked whether they as 'development' players felt controlled by taking money from the white institution of rugby. The aim of the question was to follow up on a hypothesis that by accepting money, the 'development' programme and those labelled by it cannot criticise white rugby of being racist. In other words, you cannot criticise the hand that feeds you. The extracts emerged from focus group 2 and 3 respectively.

Extract 2

*Neville: Let me tell you something, there will never be something like that, there'll never be no 'development', let me tell you something. Cause without 'development' ... You stop the funds now, **where are they gonna get the funds from?** Use that money. So, there has to be 'development'.*

Extract 3

Brendon: Do you think you are being controlled by money?

*Terrence: In a way, ja. **If the ous (players) were paid to play, you'd see ous (players) perform.***

The respondents answered the questions in a way that confirmed the construction of the 'development' programme as the discourse of opportunity. By being constructed as inferior and needing the white institution of rugby, 'development' players cannot see any other ways of existing without the presence of the 'development' programme. This is particularly evident in extract 1, where Neville responds that without the 'development' programme - "*there'll be no funds*" - and hence no rugby for blacks. What can those labelled as 'development' do without the funding of white rugby? In extract 2, the initial response - "*In a way, ja*" - sounded promising but then notions of the discourse of 'opportunity' kicked in. Here money is portrayed as controlling players, not in a relationship of power, but through controlling player's performance on the field. Terrence argues that if you pay players more money, then they would perform better. In this way, the discourse of opportunity is used to disguise the subtle power relations operating within the 'development' programme and this largely achieved through creating blacks subjects who hold true the identity that they are inferior. Furthermore, these power relations are so structured to disguise the racial exclusion that 'development' can see no other ways of surviving without the help of white rugby. They see no other ways of talking, living, thinking and being without reference to the language of 'development'.

So 'development', I would argue, can be seen as a 'hidden racism' in rugby that Odendaal (1995) spoke of. Furthermore, I would argue that 'development' easily falls into Robert Miles' (1989) definition of institutional racism. Institutional racism arises when "an explicitly racist discourse is modified in such a way that the explicitly racist content is eliminated, but other words carry the original meaning" (Miles, 1992, p.84).

Brown (1997) used a similar metaphor of 'tippex' in her thesis on the role of tertiary institutions in reproducing racism. The metaphor of tippexing is a useful metaphor for two reasons. Firstly, when one uses tippex, the mark where the tippex has been used remains as a reminder. In a similar way, the removal of 'race' (black African, coloured, Indian, white etc.) does not eradicate the existence of race. Just like tippex, race remains present even when it is covered over with another word, 'development'. Secondly, by tippexing race, the use of the word 'development' (where black is implied) allows those who use it to acquire some distance from race. The speaker who speaks of 'development' gains distance from race and it becomes difficult to accuse him/her of racism. Thus, race becomes tippexed in a way that it cannot be 'seen'.

In rugby in South Africa, the racist discourse becomes silenced but is embodied in the continuation of exclusionary practices. Daily life in South Africa is shot with reminders of the past. It hangs over South Africans like an ominous shadow and constant reminders of the old are constantly evident (Levet, Kottler, Burman, and Parker, 1997). 'Development' is one such shadow, which still reminds us of the past. 'Development' rugby still serves to separate white from black rugby players as it was in the past. This proceeds under a new rubric however, 'development' rugby.

CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUSION

8.1. WORDS AND DEEDS:

I would like to make a point clear about this argument at this stage. I am not suggesting that is anything but discourse (Potter, 1996; Wetherell and Potter, 1992). That there exists an account of 'development', which is, based only on a socially and historically fortuitous account. Nor am I suggesting that 'development' is nothing more than words and accounts and there is a kind of unreality to racism.

“Words are central to that process but racism is manifest too, through physical violence, through material disadvantage, and through differences in opportunities and power” (Wetherell and Potter, 1992, p.62).

To offer an illustration of this point, whilst unity between the two historically separated associations (SARU and SARB) did run relatively smoothly, there were also many accounts of racial animosity which ended up in physical violence between white and black teams during the integration. In the Northern Cape town of De Aar for example, a match between a white team and a coloured team had to be abandoned before the end of the first half as about 80 spectators stormed the field, disagreeing with a decision the referee had made. They threatened to attack the white team. They were reported to have shouted "kill them, kill them. Today we will be looking through the ribcages of the Boers! We are going to necklace them. Close the entrance gates so that we can show them who is boss" (Rapport, 19 July, 1992, cited in Grundlingh, 1995a, p.8). Similar incidences have also been reported in the Eastern Cape where police had to be called in to disperse the crowds (Grundlingh, 1995a).

The following extracts illustrate poignant examples of how open racial tensions do come to the fore. The point being that racism not only operates through language but often manifests itself in open racial conflicts. This extract is from focus group 3 and the conversation turned to examples of open racism that the players had experienced on the field.

Extract 1

Shane: In Greytown, the spectators treated us. Talking to the ous (players) in Zulu, swearing the ous (players) in Zulu.

Luke: Or they come and tune you in Zulu and, “ hey umfowetu ” (hey mister). Like when we went up to Mooi River, I remember them tuning ou Ben that the roots of his hair are on the outside. ((Laughing)). That what the wit ous (white men) were saying, while we were joling (playing), ekse.

Extract 2

Sheldon: Let me tell you what happened. The centre tried to hit me with a late tackle, I picked up the ball and I threw it at him. And it hit the cab (car). And this ballie (old man) reckons “ Jou vokken hotnot ” (you f.. ng Hottentot). I reckon “Oom, vok jou” (uncle, f.. k you). I lost it too you know what I mean? What’s his story?

In these extracts, examples are offered of some open racism, which does occur in certain rugby matches. Players were spoken to in Zulu in extract 1, which is described as degrading. Players were also sworn at and called Hottentots, which is a name that is often used to insult members of the coloured population of South Africa. Whilst these extracts offer a rich and detailed source of material to do a discourse analysis, the point at this stage is a relatively

small one. That racism in rugby is not just about words, it has many real and open consequences as well.

8.2. NOW WHAT?

Having attempted an analysis of racism in ‘development’ rugby, one is tempted to ask the question, now what? In my earlier thinking about the ‘development’ rugby and my early exposure to the field, I emphasised that the so-called ‘development’ players were just as good as their white counterparts on the rugby field. I argued that judging from the length of time that blacks have been playing rugby in this country, it could not be that they are constructed as being inferior. They are just as good, if not better than whites in this country. In thinking along those lines, I presented a ‘truth’ that ‘development’ players were equally competent as their white counterparts. I thus attempted to confront the ‘truth’ that ‘development’ players are inferior, with another truth that they were not. There have also been a few publications recently concentrating on the history of black rugby in South Africa which also present ‘truths’ such as these (see Booley, 1998). For example, Mr. Steve Tshwete, the current minister of sport claims these books to be vital in the ‘New South Africa’ and become “an excellent rejection of the notion that rugby is not relevant to the black communities. It asserts on the contrary, that the sport was much of their property as those who would like, in various dubious ways, to keep it as preserve of a particular clique” (Booley, 1998, p.8).

In retrospect, I feel that confronting a ‘truth’ with another ‘truth’ is fruitless. It leads to endless arguments about what is true without ever having enough evidence to prove the validity of those claims - such is the debates that are raging in rugby now. This way of thinking, I believe, is unproductive in attempting to rally against oppressive social relations within the ‘development’ programme.

This thesis, rather than presenting a certain 'truth', has focused on how those 'truths' representing the 'development' programme, become known and accepted as 'true'. It has attempted to demonstrate how the 'development' programme as a philanthropic and liberating tool of the 'New South Africa', has become known as factual. More importantly, how the dominant discourse of 'opportunity' is used to disguise the racial separation of 'development' rugby and white rugby. Nevertheless, one is still left with the gaping question of what to do with the information contained within this thesis. How can this thesis be of benefit to the 'development' programme and the state of rugby in South Africa? More importantly, how can it help those who have come to be labelled as 'development'?

Brydon- Miller (1997) suggests that until relatively recently, psychology was governed by the saying 'you can't mix your politics and your psychology'. However, this notion is largely rejected by social constructionism and discourse analysis. Discourse analysis becomes largely a tool to deconstruct oppressive social relations and would argue that all research, including this thesis is 'political' in the sense that it reflects dominant ideologies and power relations (Fairclough, 1993). In no way am I pretending that this thesis is objective or value-free. I myself have been a 'subject' in the 'development' process and it was a political motive for choosing this domain as the topic of my thesis. This way of thinking is related to the idea of the researcher being the 'transformative intellectual' (Giroux, 1988, in Lincoln and Guba, 1985). In other words, being an intellectual whilst at the same time giving voice to disempowered groups such as 'development' rugby players. In this way, change is facilitated as individuals develop greater insight into the existing state of affairs, the nature and extent of their exploitation, and are stimulated to act on it (Lincoln and Guba, 1985).

“ When we want to understand the function of a particular discourse, the way they position their subjects in relations of contempt and respect, of domination, of subordination or of opposition and resistance, *we pass quickly and ineluctably from conceptual critique to social critique*” (Parker, 1992, p.37, *emphasis added*).

It was with these thoughts in mind that from the outset, one of the aims of this thesis was geared to *action*. From the beginning, a framework had to be created in which the research had to work in support of positive social change while still contributing to the important work of knowledge contribution in the field. One way to do this, is to outline to the dominated group the discursive processes which have come to construct them as the dominated group. In other words, this thesis, or at least the ideas behind it, needed to be disseminated to those labelled as ‘development’. More importantly, it is to give voice to the plight and subtle domination of this minority group.

However, the findings of this thesis should not only be limited to ‘development’ players’, it is imperative to expose the discursive operations of ‘development’ rugby to the dominant white group. For they themselves become involved knowingly or unknowingly in the pattern of power relations within ‘development’ rugby. I believe that the white institution of rugby is not in and of itself racist, but that ‘development’ as it is defined and constructed by the discourse of opportunity ultimately serves to construct ‘development’ players as being racially inferior to their white counterparts. The dominant group unwittingly (I hope) become actors and subjects in the ‘development’ complex which ultimately serves to marginalise ‘development’ players. Exposure and education thus become the first goal of action. I have fortunately been able to present the findings of this thesis at two national conferences and two

rugby 'development' conferences. In this way, I hope to give voice and expose the 'development' complex to the actors and subjects, both white and blacks, who are involved.

Having pushed aside the mentalism and cognitive accounts that pervades psychology in favour of a discursive analysis; I would like to return to the psychological impacts of the construction of 'development' players. I would like to take the argument put forward by this thesis one step further, and argue that the way 'development' is constructed does have a real impact on the way 'development' players think, behave, but more importantly perform on the rugby field. As mentioned at the beginning of this thesis, sport psychology has largely neglected the field of 'development' sport in South Africa. Consider the following extract, which reflects a theme that consistently came up when discussing the effects of being labelled a 'development' player. The extract emerges from focus group 2 after a discussion about playing rugby under the label of 'development'.

Extract 3

Luke: I think you feel (.) you tend to play with a fear of making a mistake. Just say like my game, when I get the ball, I run and take on opposition as much as I can. Now when I'm playing with these other wit ous (white players), I am not running at 100 % like I want to get over that advantage line. I'm running just to get so far, to play safe. I'm not taking that extra risk

Shane: I promise you, my tries in rugby have come from picking up the ball, and barging through. I've done that once this year ok. The reason I didn't do it before, is because I'd get there and I'd think to myself, you know I pick up this ball, I know I can get through, but let me play safe, let me go over. That's very true.

Luke: When you are playing for your club you have no fear of making a mistake, you know, you are going out, you are determined, 100%. You are more confident. In other games your confidence is 120% but in these games it is only 100%.

For future research, I think the psychological impact of being 'labelled', as a 'development' player needs to be investigated. I think by first exposing how 'development' constructs subjects within the 'development' programme, and then moving on to investigate the psychological impact of being labelled 'development' on their sporting performance provides a useful framework for an investigation of this untapped field. Fortunately, at the time of writing this thesis, I have been commissioned by the Natal Rugby Union to conduct policy oriented research in this regard. As such, I feel relatively satisfied that this work is geared toward action and is not only a piece of vital academic work.

8.3. CRITIQUE OF THIS THESIS:

This thesis has paved the way for investigation into the untapped field of 'development' rugby for two sub-disciplines of psychology. It has revealed to sport psychology the need for a focus on societal influence on sports men and women. It has also been one of the few times that social constructionism has been applied to the area of sport. This, I believe, has been beneficial in capturing the relationship between sport and society. However, a number of criticisms can be levelled against this thesis.

The first level of criticism lies in the process of the interviews themselves. The interviews were held in an informal setting (my home) amongst friends with beers (in the first interview) and snacks. Whilst this provided a relaxed and conducive atmosphere for extracting information, the respondents often found it an ideal opportunity to talk about club politics.

Because I had also played for the club up until the beginning of the year, the respondents often positioned me as a subject who needed to be ‘filled in’ about the changes in the club since I had left to concentrate on my studies. I was also drawn into the conversation as a ‘former captain’ of the club. As such, they often wanted my opinion on club politics. Whilst discourse analysis encourages variability in speech, I found at times, that the conversation did become highly irrelevant to the issue at hand. As such, large portions of the transcriptions included text that did not have much use.

A second major criticism lies at the notion of ‘generalising’. In Chapter 4, I stated that the purpose of this thesis is to generalise to similar contexts. In other words *logical generalisation* (Patton, 1990). Put slightly differently, I argue that the findings of this thesis can be useful in understanding racism in other ‘development’ programmes in other provinces in South Africa. Having said this however, the ‘development’ programme in Natal due to its historical differences to the other provinces can be seen as a special case of ‘development’ rugby. When the SARB (white) and SARU (black) amalgamated in the early 1990’s, a moratorium was set in place where the two separate bodies would form SARFU (multi-racial). In addition to this, SARFU and the various provinces within it had to have a 50/50 split in terms of the racial constitution of its various committees and management. However, black rugby activity at the time in other provinces was rife except for Natal. SARU was still thriving in other provinces. As such those provinces had the numbers to merge with the white administrators and committees to form new bodies. However, in Natal, black rugby playing numbers had dwindled to such an extent that rugby was almost non-existent. As such, the process of unification had to start from ‘scratch’. Because there was minimal black rugby activity in Natal, the dominant white Natal Rugby Union decided to initiate the ‘development’ programme as being separate to it. As it stands today, the ‘development’

programme in Natal still runs separately to the predominantly white Natal Rugby Union, having its own constitution and officials. This I feel has accentuated the racial effects of the 'development' programme in Natal. To say that the discourses surrounding the 'development' programme are similar to those in other 'development' programmes in the country would be a 'leap of faith'.

The third criticism is levelled at my proposal earlier that being a 'development' player influences the player's mental abilities and thus hinders performance. This hypothesis was obtained by focusing on the respondent's speech during the interviews. As such, language was seen as a reflection of the mental processes that these 'development' players were experiencing. Two major criticisms can be levelled at this notion in the context of this thesis. Firstly, the chosen theoretical orientation of this thesis, social constructionism, has viewed language, not as a reflection of the cognitions at play within 'development' players. It has viewed language as being constructed socially and is used to perform certain social functions. Those mental cognitions are themselves constituted in discourse. More, importantly, the very notion of sport psychology is itself a discourse which can be drawn upon to locate the discipline of psychology as 'expert' (Rose, 1992). How then can I suddenly switch from a social constructionist account towards a cognitivist account of 'development' rugby in taking the finding 'one step further'? Is this philosophical move towards a post-positivist epistemology taking this thesis one step further, or one step backwards? More importantly, how can I commensurate between the two paradigms?

Secondly, by focusing on the mental skills of 'development' players as a separate group, a 'truth' is put forward about the state of their mental skills as being different to white players. In this sense, research such as the kind I am proposing, would further serve to categorise

‘development’ players as being separate from white players not only in physical skills as it stands now, but also mental skills. The research would further buy into the hypothesis that ‘development’ players are inferior due to the effect of Apartheid and being labelled as ‘development’. In a sense, this assumption is supporting the underlying assumption of the discourse of opportunity. That ‘development’ players are inferior and they need the ‘development’ programme run by white rugby to help them to ‘develop’. In this way, research such as this can be viewed as becoming part of the oppressive discursive power relationship of keeping ‘development’ apart, something which this thesis has attempted to condone. By creating the ‘truth’ that ‘development’ players have different mental skills, provides more support for the dominant discourse of opportunity. This locates white rugby in a position to ‘help’ ‘development’ players to become ‘mentally’ on par with white players. ‘Development’ again becomes the helpee in the oppressive relationship of power. However, I still believe research such as this could be useful in another way. It could become another discursive ‘tool’ which could be added to the artillery aimed at ridding South African rugby of the swear word of ‘development’.

For future research, I have already suggested an investigation of the mental skills of ‘development’ players. I would also suggest another way of understanding the ‘development’ complex. Future research could build on this thesis and focus on white rugby players’ perceptions of the ‘development’ programme. This will hopefully add more depth to the discourses available to both black and white rugby players in South Africa.

8.4. CONCLUSION:

During the 1980's Eddy Grant, a famous reggae artist, released the song about Apartheid South Africa called "Gimme hope Joanna". In one of the lines of the song, he begs for hope from South Africa until the morning comes. In other words, until Apartheid is abolished.

Well, Apartheid was abolished and the 'morning' did come. However, Eddy Grant would have been disappointed in the 'New South Africa'. In many ways, South Africa is still living in the darkness of Apartheid. There are few areas that reflect this more than rugby in post-Apartheid South Africa. This thesis has attempted to expose how the language of the 'development' programme has become the vehicle for the hidden racism that Odendaal (1995) spoke of. This is how the title of this thesis 'the morning has come but it is still dark' becomes appropriate when describing the state of rugby in South Africa now.

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Do you think that you are being controlled by money? How?

What effects is this having?

Is it making you lazy? Is it decreasing team spirit?

What do you think about the quota system?

Probes:

Are they necessary?

Do you think that they are being used effectively?

If not, why?

When will you stop being called a 'development' player?

Probes:

How long will this take?

Who is going to decide when this is going to happen?

How does it make you feel to be called a 'development' player?

How do you feel when you are playing for Young Lions as a 'development' player playing against white teams?

Probes:

Do you feel closer to your team while you are playing?

How did you/ would you feel about white players joining your club?

Do you feel disadvantaged by referees and officials?

How do you feel playing with white players in the representative teams?

Probes:

Do you feel inferior?

Do you feel you have to prove something to the officials?

Do you feel that you have equal rights to make decisions in the team?

Apart from the nature of the game, is there any difference between playing for Young Lions and playing for a representative team such as Presidents?