

**THE UNIFICATION OF AMATEUR CLUB SOCCER IN DURBAN
1980-1997**

A STUDY OF INTEGRATION

IAN AFRICA

**A RESEARCH REPORT SUBMITTED AS THE DISSERTATION COMPONENT
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF EDUCATION AT THE
UNIVERSITY OF NATAL, DURBAN**

DECEMBER 1997

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My sincere thanks and appreciation to the following:

My supervisor Robert Morrell for his time, enthusiasm and thorough assistance throughout the project

The officials and players, past and present of Blue Stars and Glenwood Old Boys football clubs who participated in the research

The officials of the SAFA Southern Kwazulu-Natal Football Association and the Durban and Districts Football Association and other educators and sports people who showed an interest in the project

My parents Henry and Maggie for their inspiration and example

My wife Dawn and son José for their love patience and support

My sister Jennifer Africa-Brady for typing the final draft

and the Centre for Science Development (CSD) of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) for financing the project

DECLARATION

I DECLARE THAT THIS REPORT IS MY OWN WORK. IT HAS NOT BEEN SUBMITTED FOR A DEGREE AT ANY OTHER UNIVERSITY.

ALL LITERARY RESOURCES HAVE BEEN CORRECTLY REFERENCED AND ACKNOWLEDGED

DURBAN *Jemini* 8 DAY OF APRIL
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ABSTRACT

This study is a micro level case study which in addition to attempting to establish whether integration in sport lends itself to the integration of broader society, documents and analyses the integration experiences of two Durban amateur soccer clubs. Because soccer in most South African schools currently forms part of the school curriculum which is relatively neglected when compared with sports such as rugby and cricket, it was necessary to focus on amateur club soccer which caters for the soccer playing aspirations of the youth.

Areas focussed on included the ways in which historical, race, class, cultural, ethnic and gender dynamics which operate within South African society influenced the integration process. The integration experiences of players and officials from both clubs were recorded and presented as findings. These findings were analysed against the background of local and international multicultural, sport and gender literature. The two key questions asked were:

- i) does integration in sport lend itself to integration in society; and
- ii) does the shared understanding of masculinities within male sports lend itself to integration within male dominated teams.

It was established that although integration in sport can assist with the broader integration of South African society, important historical, cultural, class, ethnic and gender dynamics which operate within society have to be negotiated by all role players before a significant integration can take place.

PREFACE

As a school sportsmaster, and a keen sportsperson, I have been involved in sports which have included soccer, hockey, baseball, softball, boxing, judo, cricket, rugby, swimming and cycling. My involvement has varied from playing, coaching, supporting and managing to offering administrative services. As a person classified as Coloured by the apartheid South African government, I have always been aware of the segregation that existed in sport and society in general. My sporting involvement has accordingly been heavily influenced by the segregation policies of apartheid and at best can be described as partially integrated. Throughout my early participation in sport, I have had very little contact with sportspersons classified as African and almost no contact with whites. Indians on the other hand were in the majority in the Durban city centre and I came into contact with them on a regular basis within sporting circles.

My sporting involvement has been heavily influenced by the non-racial policy of the South African Council on Sport (SACOS) which Douglas Booth (1997) describes as a hard-line organisation with a predominantly Coloured and Indian membership. With hindsight, I attribute my involvement in SACOS sport to the particular position that I occupied in the apartheid situation. Having grown up in a middle class neighbourhood which was relatively protected from the many harsh realities of apartheid such as poverty, brutality, forced removals and state violence, SACOS and the political message it espoused, viz. the rejection of apartheid and the normalisation of South African society, provided me with a sense of making a contribution towards the drive to free the country from apartheid.

As a SACOS member, I fully supported the Sport and Cultural Boycott, which in effect, meant the international isolation of South African sport. I also supported

the Double Standards resolution and refused to participate in sports events which were not sanctioned by SACOS as being non-racial. My resistance to apartheid also extended beyond the sporting arena into participation in and support of community and civic resistance organisations such as the United Democratic Front (UDF) which was launched in August 1983 and the then banned African National Congress (ANC).

The period between 1988 and 1994 which saw an acceleration in the transformation of South African political and social life provided me with an opportunity to make a contribution towards the drive towards normalising society. Of particular interest to me was the achievement of a socially just society in which all South Africans (especially the formerly disadvantaged communities) could benefit from the proposed transformation. I wanted to ensure that the cliché of "the new South Africa" had real meaning for the vast majority of poor African, Coloured and Indian people and was not to be used as a means to legitimate their domination by the historically advantaged white group.

The post-1990 clamour for participation in international sport by South Africans (mainly from the white community) on the grounds that the country was "almost normalised" was of particular concern to me. Although laws were being changed and policies implemented in an attempt to deracialise the country (e.g. the negotiation of a new political order and the desegregation of schooling) the positions of many South Africans did not change. Although there has been an attempt to portray black people as an homogenous, upwardly mobile group, the fact is that black advancement in society has been characterised by the subscription to a status based on class and elitism. As a teacher, sportsperson and community activist, I was acutely aware that although there was a drive to create the impression at home and abroad that South African society was changing, the positions of many of the people who had been disadvantaged by

apartheid had not changed at all, whereas those who were advantaged stood to benefit from the lifting of international sport, cultural, trade and other embargoes. This incongruence between developments at the macro level and the lack of development at the micro level has continued to intrigue me. By looking at the integration experiences of two soccer clubs which come from different backgrounds, I hope to cast some light on the role that integration in sport is playing in the transformation of South African society.

CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

South African has regularly been described as a nation which loves its sports. In fact, during the 1970's a television advertisement portrayed South Africans as a nation which loved "braaivleis, rugby and sunny skies". The image of South African as a great sporting nation has been helped tremendously by the exploits of exclusively white national teams in the international arena prior to being banned from international competition in 1970. During the last century, white South Africans had established an international sporting tradition and stature (especially in sports, such as rugby and cricket) that almost eclipsed the international infamy of its apartheid (racial discrimination) practices. Although sport and other social provisions in the country have been historically skewed in favour of the white minority, this has done little to dampen the enthusiasm for sport amongst Africans, Indians and Coloureds who collectively formed the black majority.¹ It should be added, however, that it was primarily amongst males that sport found its popularity and this is a feature which this report will examine. Soccer, first encouraged by mission schools for Africans in the late nineteenth century and by industries during the twentieth century, developed into the most popular sport for the population. Other sports such as rugby, cricket and netball were also played by blacks but not on a large scale. Sport and the love thereof become interwoven into the fabric of South African society.

Because active sports participation is primarily the domain of the youth, sport in schools has historically provided an important area for the promotion and development of sport. Sports such as rugby, cricket, netball, swimming, athletics and tennis have become important parts of the curriculum in many (mainly white) South African schools. However, the school sporting experiences of South Africans has been influenced to a large extent by the racial segregation policies of the previous (notably colonial and apartheid) governments. White schools

have generally had excellent sports facilities and good sports administration whereas black schools have had poor facilities and poor ² administration. Standard sporting facilities for white schools have included rugby and cricket fields, tennis and netball courts and swimming pools. On the other hand, black schools were fortunate if they had an adequate soccer field and a properly surfaced netball court. The absence of sporting facilities in black schools fell into the overall government strategy of inadequate schools which would assist in rendering black communities politically, economically and socially subservient to whites. In addition to having poor sporting facilities, black schools have had to contend with the absence of basic facilities, such as running water, electricity, adequate and safe classrooms, toilets and telephones.

Since the achievement of the new democracy under the presidency of Nelson Mandela in 1994, the situation in many schools has not improved with the result that in the 1996 School and College Register of Needs Survey, conducted by the Education Foundation for the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) it was established that of the 5340 schools in Kwazulu-Natal, 1913 were without on-site water, 3314 were without electricity, 3559 were without telephones and 181 had buildings which were not suitable or unsafe for education. (Education Foundation Report for Kwazulu-Natal:1996) When viewed against the background of such inadequate school provision for blacks, one can understand the secondary role of sport in black schools.

Although soccer has been the most widely played sport in black communities of South Africa, the game has not featured prominently as an integral part of the school curriculum. The constraints laid down by inadequate facilities have resulted in school soccer being played in black schools on a relatively limited and often informal basis. This has led to many black school-going youth

² The term black where not specified will be used to collectively refer to Africans , Indians and Coloureds

preferring to play in community run amateur associations. The result has been that soccer has virtually been absent from the school curriculum whereas it has flourished outside the school situation. This has been in stark contrast to white schools where sports such as rugby and cricket have been an integral part of the school curriculum. Soccer however, has also been virtually absent from the white school sports curriculum. Although a few primary schools have played soccer, the game has generally been discouraged and rugby has been historically promoted as the dominant boys' winter sport. Robert Morrell (1996) traces the promotion of rugby over soccer in white schools back to the early Natalian gentry who saw the cross-cultural and inter-racial popularity of soccer as emblematic of the socially integrative forces within society, and rugby as the exclusive domain of upper class whites which could serve to seal themselves off from lower class whites and blacks.³ The historical discouragement of soccer in white schools has also led to the situation of white youth seeking to satisfy their soccer-playing ambitions within amateur associations which operated independently of schools.

Although prior to 1992, black and white youth played soccer in racially separate amateur sports associations (some of which had begun to desegregate on a small scale), the 1992 unification of these sports associations led to desegregation which brought these historically separate groups together for the first time. Through participation in amateur soccer competitions, school-going youths from historically separate groupings were regularly brought together on a social level.

By studying the interactions between players and officials of two amateur teams, Glenwood Old Boys and Blue Stars, which play in the unified (desegregated) league, I hope to establish the extent to which integration is succeeding or

³ The promotion of rugby as opposed to soccer is dealt with in more detail in Chapter 2, (Literature Review)

failing. By integration I refer to what (Rist:1979:158) sees as the positive group interaction which takes place within desegregated settings.⁴ I also intend to explore the extent to which the construction of masculinities within these desegregated soccer teams lends itself to integration within and beyond the confines of these teams. The collective but single sex use of leisure time through participation in soccer and the importance of body and competition amongst males will be considered as part of the debate about whether sport can unite across class and race barriers. I aim to show that although desegregated sport has the potential to unite South Africans across class, race and cultural lines, integration is limited and influenced by factors which extend beyond the actual playing fields. I aim to show that the success or failure of integration depends a great deal on the negotiation of factors which are embedded in the historical composition of the country.⁵ These factors include racial and cultural attitudes and stereotypes, unequal provision of facilities, race, class and gender dynamics and ethnicities.

1.1 THE POLITICS OF SPORT IN SOUTH AFRICA

Post-1990 South African society has been characterised by a concerted effort to unite the previously racially segregated country into a single multicultural entity. Arguably, no-one has done more than President Nelson Mandela to promote the ideal of South Africa as a "Rainbow Nation" with all its races, cultures, classes and creeds living together in harmony.

The concept of South Africa as a "Rainbow Nation" was first promoted in South Africa by Nobel Peace Prize Winner, human rights activist and clergyman, Archbishop Desmond Tutu in 1994 after the momentous occasion of the first non-racial, democratic elections which took place between 24 and 27 April 1994.

⁴ The terms integration and desegregation are described in more detail in Chapter 2 (Literature Review)

⁵ As above.

The "rainbow" was meant to symbolise the hope and serenity to which the country aspired after the dark and tempestuous years of the apartheid era. Recently, the concept of the "Rainbow Nation" has increasingly come under fire from academics, including veteran anti-apartheid activist, Dennis Brutus, mainly because it is based on the apartheid classification system which divided South Africans into racial groupings viz. White, Indian (Asian), African (black) and Coloured (mulatto). Brutus is of the opinion that the concept serves to emphasise the apartheid ethnic divisions which work against the achievement of a socially just society in which ethnicity plays a lesser role.⁶ (Ishani Bechoo in Daily News, Sept 29, 1997:8) Brutus appears to adopt a stance which is similar to the stance taken by the Marxist educationist, Madan Sarup (1986). Sarup sees multiculturalism (on which the "Rainbow Nation" is based) as accentuating the differences between cultural groups, thus leading to further estrangement.⁷ This raises the question of which approach to nation-building South Africans should adopt. There are three possibilities. Firstly a multicultural approach in rebuilding society which would entail re-affirming the dignity of different cultures and races along the lines of the "Rainbow Nation"; secondly an antiracist approach which de-emphasises racial divisions but concentrates on challenging ways in which society legitimates and justifies inequalities in terms of race; and thirdly, an approach which incorporates both the multi-cultural and antiracist approaches. It appears that from all the media hype given to the "Rainbow Nation" South Africa has already chosen the multicultural approach and that President Mandela supports this approach.

Central to Mandela's strategy of reconciliation-towards-transformation is the assurance of each individual's or group's inalienable right to human dignity as enshrined in the Bill of Rights and the Constitution of the South Africa. Mandela has also recognised the sporting arena as one which has the potential to unite

⁶ The term "ethnicity" will be dealt with in greater detail in Chapter 2

⁷ The terms "antiracist" and multiculturalism will be explained in Chapter 2

South Africans from diverse backgrounds. His warm and friendly nature seem somehow to belie the fact that he has shrewdly used his wholehearted support of high profile South Africans such as Elana Meyer, Josia Thugwane, Bruce Fordyce, Hezekiel Sepeng (athletics), Neil Tovey, Doctor Khumalo, Mark Fish (soccer), Vuyani Bungu, Brian Mitchell, Thulani "Sugar-Boy" Malinga (boxing), Francois Pienaar, Chester Williams (rugby) and Hansie Cronje and Paul Adams (cricket). This is not to suggest that President Mandela has been insincere in his support of these athletes, but that he has recognised the strategic position that they occupy and he has endeavoured to use this as a means towards realising his goal of a united South Africa.

Mandela's efforts have undoubtedly been helped by the numerous successes achieved by South Africans in international sports events since the early 1900's. Even the most hardened sceptic would have difficulty in trivialising the unification value of events such as Elana Meyer's brave duel with Ethiopia's Deratu Tulu in the 1992 Barcelona 10 000 metre Olympic final, South Africa's heartbreaking exit from the Limited Overs Cricket World Cup semi-final in Australia in 1994, South Africa's dream victory over long-standing rivals, New Zealand, in the 1995 Rugby World Cup Final at Ellis Park (Johannesburg), South Africa's triumph in the 1996 African Soccer Cup of Nations and the triumphs of Penny Heyns, Josiah Thugwane and Hezekiel Sepeng at the 1996 Olympic Games in Atlanta. However, for the entire nation to have been able to experience the euphoria and exhilaration of the country's recent sports triumphs, sportspersons and sports administrators have been at pains to normalise sport since the early 1960's when the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SAN-ROC) opposed South Africa's participation in international sport on the grounds that the country was racist. In the early 1970's, the South African government introduced multiracial or multinational sport in which different race groups could compete against each other. This sporting change was not accompanied by any other changes in South African politics and after playing in

multiracial sports events, the players had to return to their apartheid lives. SAN-ROC and other non-racial organisations such as SACOS argued that this was still racist and unacceptable and therefore resisted multiracial sport.

During the late 1980's and early 1990's, sportspersons from the non-racial sports body, the South African Council on Sport (SACOS), the sports controlling body (COSAS) (Confederation of South African Sport), the newly formed rival non-racial sports body, the National Sports Congress (NSC) and the traditionally white Olympic movement, the South African National Olympic Committee (SANOC) have had to sort out their differences and unite across the racial and ideological divide. At international level, the right to represent South African sportspersons was contested by the traditional anti-apartheid sports movement, SAN-ROC and the newly formed National Olympic Committee of South Africa. Although unification was at times slow and painstaking, a unification of most sports codes was achieved under the direction and supervision of the African National Congress (ANC) aligned NSC and its parent body, NOCSA, superseding the earlier initiatives of SAN-ROC and SACOS.

1.2 DESEGREGATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLING SYSTEM AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR DESEGREGATED SPORT

It is the contention of many South Africans (especially sportspersons) that desegregation of sport in the country provided a catalyst and a direction to be followed by other segregated sectors of society such as schools, political parties and government institutions. With the introduction of the Clase Models of schools in 1990, limited racial desegregation of white schools was legalised and began to flourish in these former whites-only schools.⁸ (Carrim and Mkwanazi:1993:181) By 1994, with the inauguration of the new South African

⁸ The Clase Models of 1990 were options of desegregated schools proposed by the Education Minister, Piet Clase. These will be discussed in detail in Chapter 2

democracy on 27 April, all South African schools were (in theory) officially desegregated⁹ which opened up the possibility for large scale integration¹⁰ within these schools. The most popular Model of desegregated schooling was the semi-private option which was called Model C.

Historically, most former white schools have been regularly compelled to participate in at least one winter and one summer code of sport. Rugby assumed particular importance in boys' schools because it was seen as a sport in which appropriate male behaviour could be defined. Boys who were studious and not sports inclined were viewed as being unmanly and often victimised and ridiculed by teachers and pupils who tended to equate masculinity with competition, physical strength and skill. (Messner:1990:107) Compulsory participation in sport has continued in many former white schools (although this is now being challenged by the changing student bodies) and new African, Indian and Coloured pupils have had to comply with these requirements.

Historically, school sport operated in relative isolation from amateur sport within the various South African communities. It is therefore not surprising that unification of school sport has not necessarily followed the pattern and adhered to the time-frames of desegregation of sport outside schools. However, school sports organisations which were full or associate members of the previous separate national controlling bodies, viz. NSC, COSAS, SANOC, and SAN-ROC, were guided by decisions taken by the new unified sports controlling body, NOCSA. The new unified schools sports organisation which became responsible for the administration of all school sports in the country is the United Schools Sports Association of South Africa (USSASA) which is an affiliate of NOCSA. Unfortunately, many of the disadvantaged schools (mainly African) did not have organised school sport associations and were therefore not adequately

⁹ The terms "desegregation" and "integration" will be discussed in Chapter 2.

¹⁰ As (2) above

represented at the unification process at local and national level. The result is that USSASA still has within its ranks, schools with different levels of organisation and proficiency, with the former white schools being at a distinct advantage. USSASA is therefore challenged to develop sport and sport administration within disadvantaged schools or face the prospect of being viewed as an organisation which is being used to legitimate the dominance of the formerly advantaged white schools.

1.3 SOCCER IN THE DURBAN AND SURROUNDING AREA

The racial segregation policies of both the colonial and apartheid governments of South Africa during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has resulted in the game being developed along the racial lines which characterised South African society over the same period of time. Tim Couzens (1983) traces the origins of soccer amongst whites in South Africa back to the 1870's when a few clubs played in Natal. By 1882, the white Natal Football Association (NFA) was established with clubs such as the Natal Wasps, Durban Alphas and Umgeni Stars being cited as founder members. Bill Freund (1995) also mentions that soccer (on a social level) was played by "Indian boys and waiters" during the 1880's.¹¹ Tim Couzens (1983) also traces soccer amongst Africans to the 1890's. Over the years, the game of soccer has become the most popular sport across the racial and cultural divide in the country. Both black and white communities have developed a rich history of soccer teams, stars and traditions over the last century.

Men's soccer has historically been well supported by the disadvantaged communities in and around Durban. Professional soccer played under the auspices of the traditionally African National Professional Soccer League

¹¹ The history of South African Soccer will be discussed in Chapter 2

(NPSL) catered for Durban teams such as Amazulu, Zulu Royals, African Wanderers, Bush Bucks and Lamontville Golden Arrows. Players such as Henry "Black Cat" Cele, Mlungisi "Professor" Ngubane, Mafa "Ace" Nduli, Stanley "Killer" Mabanga and the rock solid Amazulu captain Cutta Langa were popular local players during the 1970's and 1980's. Local fans did not only follow Durban teams, but teams from the Witwatersrand such as Orlando Pirates, Moroka Swallows and Kaizer Chiefs also received much support. Indian and Coloured players played predominantly in the Federation Professional League (FPL) which included teams such as Berea, Manning Rangers, Aces United and Verulam Suburbs. Popular local FPL players included Daya Maistry, Errol "Burri" Martin, Duda Munsamy, Paul Bishop, Sugar Singh, Preston Julius, Patrick Blair, Gary Goldstone and Trevor "Cheeza" Baptist.

Soccer however, was still not played at an organised level within African schools and most of the African players had to develop their skills in the streets and on dusty township fields.¹² School soccer for Indians and Coloureds was played at a more organised level and it became a major boys' school sport. Although school soccer was reasonably well organised, many players still preferred to play in amateur run organisations which operated independently from schools. The participation of the white community in the newly formed desegregated league, the South Kwazulu Natal Football Association (SKZNFA) in 1992 has its own particular history. Although school soccer has not been encouraged over the past century, the game has remained popular amongst many whites across the class divide.

Although white South Africa was banned from the international soccer controlling body, FIFA in the 1980's, professional and amateur soccer in the country was very well supported by all sections of the South African population. During the 1960's and 1970's local professional teams, Durban City and Durban United,

¹² The history of South African Soccer will be discussed in Chapter 2

teams who played at Kingsmead and who played in the exclusively white National Football League (NFL) received tremendous support from the white community. Blacks were allowed to support from the stands reserved for them and the city dwelling Indians and Coloureds were avid supporters of the two Durban teams. Local derbies involving the two teams captured the attention of the public through generous media exposure. Support from Africans was not significant. In addition, many whites still maintained a keen interest in the professional soccer leagues of the United Kingdom (UK) with strong interest being shown in the fortunes of clubs such as Leeds United, Liverpool, Manchester United, Chelsea, Tottenham Hotspur and the Glasgow Clubs, Celtic and Rangers. This affinity with the UK was consolidated by the fact that many South Africans still held British passports although they were often second and third generation South Africans who had never visited the UK. In recent times some South African players utilised their dual citizenship to circumvent the international ban placed on South African players by FIFA. During the 1970's and 1980's, white South Africans such as Colin Viljoen (Ipswich Town) and Gary Bailey (Manchester United) represented the English national soccer team while Richard Gough (Dundee United and Rangers) even captained the Scotland team. Interest in soccer amongst whites was not only fuelled by an interest in the local game but by the exploits of the UK teams and South Africans who played in these teams.

The historic preference for rugby in white schools meant that soccer was a sport which was given scant attention in that environment. The relationship between amateur soccer and school soccer (when played) was almost non-existent. Schools generally divorced themselves from the amateur code even though many were aware of the soccer talents of some of their pupils. A good example of a soccer player whose soccer talents were not given sufficient recognition in his high school years was the talented former Durban United and Durban City Star, Lawrence Chelin. Chelin began playing organised soccer at Chelsea Drive

Primary School, but when he attended Northlands Boys High School, the code was not offered and he had to pursue his interest in the game in the amateur association, the NFA and later at the professional club, Durban United.

1.4 UNIFICATION OF AMATEUR SOCCER

In 1991, the first steps towards unifying the previously racially and ideologically separated soccer controlling bodies was taken with the launch of an inter-association competition. Teams from the NFA (white body), the Southern Natal-Kwazulu Soccer Board (SONAKWAZBO - non-racial but predominantly Indian and Coloured), the Durban and County and Kwa Mashu Football Associations (both African), played in a desegregated pilot league while still participating within their historically separate leagues. Although not all reports of the pilot league were favourable, (ex-GOB club chairman, Richard Pearton described it as 'chaotic') it proved to be the first step towards uniting the historically divided soccer controlling bodies in the Durban and surrounding areas.

In 1992, the first integrated leagues under the new unified SKZNFA came into operation. The major league, called the Super League, consisted of the following teams :

Arsenal, Bayview, Escombe, Glenwood Old Boys, Juventus, Pinetown, University of Natal (UND), Stella and Westville (all ex-NFA), as well as Aces United, Blue Stars, Chelsea, Cherrians, Creedence, Glenridge Blues, Kingston, Reservoir Hills, Sparks United and Villa Park (all ex-SONAKWAZBO).

Teams from African townships did not feature in the Super League (presumably on request). An ex-official of the African, Durban and County Football Association, C.D. Halwalane said that they felt that they were not quite ready to participate in the Super League

However, African teams such as Pholani Red Fire, Super Brains, City Brothers, Gijima Burning Spears, Happy Brothers and Eleven Sprinters joined the unified leagues but were placed in the lower leagues which were called Division 1 and Division 2.

In addition to being participants in the first integrated Super League, GOB and Blue Stars were also amongst the first clubs to enter the integration process. This study will look at how both the senior and junior players of Glenwood Old Boys and Blue Stars have handled and are handling the integration process. The unique position of schoolboys seeking to fulfil their need of sport within clubs still divorced from the school situation will be examined. The construction of masculinities within these clubs as a possible integrative force will also be explored.

1.5 A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE CLUBS STUDIED

1.5.1 GLENWOOD OLD BOYS

Glenwood Old Boys Football Club (GOB) is part of a composite Durban North social club which caters for a variety of sports which include rugby, hockey, cricket, squash, tennis, bowls and soccer. The club was officially started as a rugby club in 1954. As the name suggests, it originally catered for the post-school rugby playing ambitions of ex-scholars from Glenwood High School.¹³ The club initially played their home fixtures at the City Track which later became known as Kingsmead sports complex. The Torquay Hotel on Durban's Snell

¹³ The origins of the school are to be found in the establishment of the Day continuation school for boys as part of the Durban Technical Institute which had been founded in 1907. The school and Technical institute outgrew their premises in Russell Street in 1912 and moved to the building which became the original technikon. In 1912 it was renamed the Technical High School while the whole institution became the Technical College. In 1923 the Natal Provincial Council separated the school and the technical College.

Parade (beachfront) served as its first headquarters and clubhouse. In 1961, due to the efforts of GOB rugby enthusiast and Daily News news editor, Ronnie "Bokkie" Tungay, the club acquired their new premises which was described in 1968 by sportswriter Reg Sweet as "the biggest multi-sporting complex in Natal." (Daily News, June 14, 1968).

Although soccer was played on a social level at Tungay Park (the facility was named after Ronnie Tungay) in the 1960's, the game only became an official code of the club when Glenwood Old Boys Football Club affiliated to the NFA in 1973. From 1973 - 1991, the club played within the NFA. When desegregation of soccer was achieved through the formation of the unified SAFA Southern Kwazulu Natal Football Association in 1992, GOB formed one of the pioneer clubs within this organisation.

As a former exclusively white club, the GOB facility is quite majestic. The well manicured fields surrounded by tall trees and white picket fencing serve to enhance the appearance of the old, English cricket styled, sun-decked, double-storeyed clubhouse. The clubhouse, which is an important social gathering place for club members, (playing and non-playing) also operates as a fully licensed restaurant and pub.¹⁴ Although "Old Boys" and the sons of the "old boys" are welcome at the club, players are generally drawn from the Durban North area. In comparison with other white clubs which joined the desegregated leagues in 1992, Glenwood Old Boys appears to have remained an essentially white club with very few black members. The club caters for four senior teams (1st, 2nd, 3rd and over- 35) and four junior teams (under 6, 8, 14 and 17). The junior players are drawn primarily from boys who attend schools within the Durban North area. These schools include Chelsea Drive Primary, Glenashley Primary, Rosehill Primary and Northwood Secondary. However, the recent

¹⁴ In 1929, the school transferred to its present premises in McDonald Road in Glenwood. In 1934, the name of the Technical High School changed to Glenwood High School.

history of the club shows that when George Ellis (a Coloured man) was chairperson of the junior structures of GOB from 1993 - 1995, players from as far afield as Phoenix, Mount Edgecome, Newlands East and Greenwood Park were found playing in the ranks of GOB.

1.5.2 BLUE STARS

Blue Stars Football Club was established in 1933 by Indian workers of the Natal Estates Ltd. Sugar Mill. Games initially took place at lunchtime between workers as part of their recreation. Later, when more teams became organised, weekend games became popular. The name given to the club appears to have no particular significance and former manager, Victor Kisten attributes it to the colours initially worn by the team. Former members of the club maintain that it ceased to exist in the early 1950's and was only resuscitated by Victor Kisten in 1979. Current chairperson, Keith Jean-Pierre joined the club in 1980 and has occupied the position of Chairperson since 1983. The post-1980 period has seen the club gradually lose its "Indian" racial composition due to the fact that many more players were increasingly drawn from the Coloured resident workers of the sugar mill which had since been bought from the Campbell family by the Tongaat-Hulett's Group. Since 1980, the club has regularly fielded players from the Coloured and Indian Communities who resided in Mount Edgecombe and its surrounding areas such as Phoenix, Redhill and Greenwood Park. The fact that Jean-Pierre was Coloured and also a resident worker at the Mount Edgecombe Mill also influenced his selection of players (presumably on the basis of familiarity). As the club increasingly lost its "Indian" racial tag and acquired its "Coloured" one, the role of the closest Coloured area to Mount Edgecombe, viz. Greenwood Park, began to influence the course of events increasingly. The fact that Coloured children from Mount Edgecombe were compelled through apartheid legislation to attend the nearby coloured schools of Greenwood Park Primary (Mount Edgecombe Coloured Primary School ceased to operate in

1980) and Parkhill Secondary served to forge a close link between the Coloured communities of Mount Edgecombe and Greenwood Park.

The club currently attracts players from Greenwood Park, Newlands East, Sydenham, Phoenix and Durban North. The desegregation of schools in 1994 has led to the influx of many African pupils into the Briardene and Greenwood Park area. These pupils come mainly from Kwa Mashu and Inanda and many play within the junior ranks of Blue Stars and the traditional Greenwood Park Club, Villa Park Football Club.

Blue Stars has three senior teams and four junior teams (under 11, 13 {A & B} and 17). Junior players are drawn primarily from Greenwood Park Primary, Briardene Primary and Parkhill Secondary. However, senior players within the club attend a vast range of schools which include Northwood Boys High School, George Campbell Technical School, Rossborough Secondary, Lynpark Secondary and Atholton Primary...

CHAPTER TWO

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the literature review will be to provide the historical, theoretical and contextual foundation necessary to understand the integration challenges and issues (within sport and society) which face the new South African democracy and to consider some of the literature which deals with these issues

and challenges nationally, locally and comparatively. Of particular importance will be the literature which deals with discrimination on the grounds of ethnicity, race, class and gender in South Africa and the way it has played and continues to play a role in preventing a society which could be considered as being socially just from emerging.¹⁵ The ways in which these issues have operated historically in sport, education and society will be presented as a background to the specific challenges which face Glenwood Old Boys and Blue Stars soccer clubs.

2.2 THE HISTORICAL CONSTRUCTION OF RACE, CLASS AND GENDER IN SOUTH AFRICA AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR INTEGRATION IN SPORT

The legacy of the European colonisation of South Africa which began with the Dutch in 1652 and continued under the British in 1806 was a multicultural milieu which in addition to having universal characteristics, has a character which cannot be found anywhere else in the world. This diversity within the South African population has regular dynamics which influenced and determined cultural and racial relationships within all aspects of South African life, including sport. Kwazulu Natal, the province which forms the background to this study has its own unique cultural diversity. For people living in the province of Kwazulu Natal, the multicultural experience has been influenced by the diversity of the population which has included the native Africans (mainly Zulus), whites (former British settlers and immigrants), Indians former indentured labourers and later merchants and traders) as well as a mixed racial group (mulattos) who were later officially called Coloureds.¹⁶ The contributions of the whites to the physical and

¹⁵ Robert Connell (1993) sees a society in which the needs of the most disadvantaged are taken care of as being socially just.

¹⁶ Since the ending of slavery in the British Empire in the 1830's, increasing numbers of Indian peasants, driven by poverty to leave their homes, had been recruited as contract workers on plantations in Mauritius and the West Indies. After negotiating between the Natal government

cultural environment in the form of a sound infrastructure and unique British protocols are beacons of the positive influences of white rule. Similarly contributions of Indians to the inner city economies and cultural diversities are still evident. But these contributions were coupled with a class oppression of Africans and others (poor Indians and Coloureds) which gave rise to ethnic tensions which have historically operated within Kwazulu Natal , and still operate today. (Morrell:1996) It is no secret that many blacks are still deeply suspicious of the motives of whites and that Africans (due to past oppressions by merchants, traders and landlords) and whites (due to past economic competition) are still very wary of the motives of Indians.

Central to the evolution of modern South African society was the policy of racial segregation and discrimination, initially introduced by the early colonists and more aggressively pursued by the National Party (NP) when it assumed power in 1948.¹⁷ The NP developed the apartheid policy which legalised segregation and structured relations of racial inequality. Legislation such as the Population Registration Act of 1950 which classified South Africans as White, Coloured, Indian and African (regardless of cultural, religious and ethnic affiliations) as well as other divisive laws such as the Mixed Marriages Act (which forbade inter-marriages between whites and blacks) and the Group Areas Act which prevented the different race groups from living within the same residential area, all contributed to cement racial segregation and discrimination. In addition, the NP established and maintained (often through force) a race and class hierarchy, with whites at the top, Coloureds and Indians in the middle and Africans at the bottom. Africans were kept isolated and apart from Coloureds and Indians through severe human rights deprivations. For example, in an attempt to limit

and the British authorities in India, recruiting began for the sugar plantations in Natal. The first indentured labourers arrived in Natal in 1860 (Morrell:1996)

¹⁷ Although this study includes in the category "black", Africans, Indians and Coloureds, there are important ethnic distinctions which make it difficult to render this an homogenous social category. For example, Zulus, Sothos and Xhosas are all classified as African and no distinction is made between Hindus and Moslems in the classification of Indians.

the number of Africans in the urban areas, the Natives (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act of 1952 stipulated that all Africans in the urban areas had to carry reference (pass) books which were checked regularly and stated that they were in the city for the sole purpose of employment. In addition, Africans between the ages of 15 and 65 who were unemployed, had to register as work-seekers and to report to a local labour bureau within three days of becoming unemployed or face imprisonment and ejection from the city. (Hindson:1997:63)

In the late 1980's, a combination of popular pressure and international economic forces led the NP to seek a negotiated settlement with the mass democratic movement which was inspired by exiled organisations such as the ANC, PAC and AZAPO. In 1990, the NP unbanned the ANC and opened the way for a peaceful transition to democratic government. In 1994 this culminated in democratic elections, a large ANC majority and the establishment of a government of national unity, with the ANC as the senior partner.

While the racial and class aspects of the South African political and economic systems have been well documented and acknowledged, it is important to recognise that power was also in the hands of men. Although racial discrimination has historically been characterised by the political, economic and social domination of blacks by whites, in Kwazulu Natal it has also been influenced by what Morrell (1996) refers to as "settler masculinity". The 19th century British colonists in Natal ascribed to what Jock Phillips (1980) refers to in the New Zealand context as "Anglo-Saxon manhood" which promoted the image of the British colonist as being virile, strong, loyal (to Britain and monarch) and heroic (Phillips:1989:231). White schools in Natal were instrumental in producing and reproducing this British form of masculinity from as early as the 19th century. The sport of rugby assumed particular importance in the development of this type of masculinity because in addition to producing the

desired attributes, it also served to seal off upper class whites from blacks and lower (working) class whites.

Initially there was a distinction drawn between the gentry and lower class whites in Natal. However, this was replaced by the need to consolidate and organise whites as a separate group which was different and superior to blacks. The relationship between whites and blacks was largely confined to that of employer-worker. Africans generally worked as unskilled labourers for whites. Indians coupled working for whites with self-employment such as market-gardening, trading and as merchants. This employer-worker relationship extended into everyday social intercourse and blacks did not generally mix with whites on a social level. This segregation manifested itself in the various sports that were played and laid the foundation for later enforced racial segregation in sport.

2.3 THE HISTORICAL AND SOCIAL CONTEXT OF SPORT IN SOUTH AFRICA

From as early as the 19th century, sport has played an important part in the construction of South Africa's social fabric. For blacks, sport could be viewed primarily as a way in which workers relaxed when away from the rigours and humiliations of the work situation. Sports such as soccer, boxing and stick-fighting¹⁸ became popular week-end past-times for black, (mainly African) workers. However, for whites, in addition to being a means for relaxing, sport also acquired a political agenda.

In Natal, rugby was promoted and elevated during the 19th century by the colony's white gentry above many other sports (including soccer) despite the fact

¹⁸ Tim Couzens (1983) writes that at the turn of the century businesses in the Durban city centre got involved in promoting soccer amongst Africans as a means to replace the traditional sport of stick-fighting which had become infiltrated by a criminal element. The sport was played on Sundays by young African men, many of whom worked as "servants for white women" during the week.

that not all white men enjoyed or favoured rugby. Rugby's rivalry with soccer as a "white" sport has its roots in the class aspirations of the early Natalian gentry who presented soccer as a game for lower class whites and blacks. This presumption has since been emphatically nullified by the local and international recognition of soccer as the most widely played and supported sport (regardless of race and class) in the world. Similarly, sportswriters and academics such as André Odendaal (1995) have tempered the assertion that rugby is the exclusive domain of white South Africans in his research on rugby amongst blacks in the Eastern and Western Cape. However, although this type of research has drawn attention to the fact that rugby has been played by blacks for a long time, many whites (especially Afrikaners) have tended to see it as "their" sport. Albert Grundlingh (1995) draws attention to this phenomenon when he recalls the act of defiance (singing of the apartheid national anthem, contrary to agreement) by white rugby supporters at the 1992 test match between the South African national team (Springboks) and New Zealand (All Blacks) in Johannesburg. The fact that this took place at a rugby match and on request for a minute of silence in respect for 44 Africans (men, women and children), hacked to death by sinister forces in the nearby township of Boipatong, clearly illustrated the distance that these white rugby supporters had placed between themselves and ordinary African people. Although Grundlingh refers to this act of defiance as "the last convulsions of a dying order" and "an act of nationalistic cultural defiance by people who knew that politically the South Africa they had known and supported had all but vanished," (Grundlingh:1995:13) this does not detract from the fact that then and even now, deep divisions existed and continue to exist between sections of the South African population.

2.3.1 THE HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT OF SOCCER IN NATAL

Soccer in Natal seems to have begun amongst whites in the 1870's. The introduction of soccer in the province led to the establishment of the Natal Football Association (NFA) on 17 June 1882, by the Natal Wasps, the Durban Alphas and the Umgeni Stars clubs (Couzens:1983:199). Initially soccer was played by both working class whites as well as the gentry. Morrell (1993) points out that before the orchestrated promotion of rugby in opposition to soccer, the game enjoyed the support of the Natalian gentry in the interior as well as the emerging white lower classes in the cities.

Soccer amongst blacks began to be popular during the 1880's and during the Anglo-Boer War. The two major influences seem to have been the British army and the missions. Dan Twala (one of the founder members of the Johannesburg African Football Association and the South African Soccer Federation) and Henry Molife (ex-president of the Natal Football Association) both locate the origin of football amongst blacks to Ladysmith. (Couzens:1983:200) Twala suggests that soccer amongst blacks began during the siege when soldiers played football. Molife suggests that soccer began in Ladysmith with descendants of former slaves (apprentices etc.) of the Afrikaners who were set free and purchased land in the town around Illing Road, Newcastle Road and Albert Street. With names like Africa, Swimbo, Dhlamini, Kazi and Oliphant, these people who farmed at Wessels Nek, joined the Methodist and Anglican churches and possibly learned soccer from the missionaries. They formed the Rainbows Football Club - perhaps the oldest black soccer club in Natal which later became known as the Invincibles, due to their successes on the soccer field. (Couzens:1983:200) Soccer amongst blacks in Natal was also played in Pietermaritzburg, Amanzimtoti (Adams College) and in Durban. In 1907, blacks in Durban founded the Durban and Districts Football Association. The Durban and surrounding area gave rise to a number of teams, many of which still exist today. At this stage it is unclear as to whether Blues Stars (FC) (established in

1933) played in the Durban and Districts Football Association or as a social team in Mount Edgecombe.

2.3.2 THE DEVELOPMENT OF RUGBY IN OPPOSITION TO SOCCER IN NATAL

Rugby was introduced into Natal at least ten years after its introduction into the Western Cape. This took place in and around the Pietermaritzburg area in 1870 (Morrell:1996:93). Rugby was the primary winter sport of some of the local boys' boarding schools and grew strong in this context. Most white schools initially played soccer and many soccer clubs were formed outside the school situation to compete in the leagues that were formed (Morrell:1993:94). During the early days in some areas of South Africa, the two football codes managed to co-exist amicably enough and rugby was actually fostered by soccer clubs in Durban and Pietermaritzburg. (Spies:1995:84). Rugby got the upper hand amongst whites when established Natal farming families began to switch their support to rugby because they disliked soccer's popularity with the masses. By 1915, rugby had effectively displaced soccer as the major winter ball sport amongst the settlers in Natal. Because blacks did not play rugby (until much later) in Natal, the sport became the exclusive domain of whites who aspired to an upper class status.] This snobbery led to a general breakdown between the rugby and soccer fraternities. The antagonism between the two sports soon extended to supporters as well. (Spies:1995:84)

André Odendaal (1995) makes nonsense of the myth that rugby is not in the "culture" of blacks and that they (blacks) only played soccer. Although soccer is by far the most popular sport amongst blacks in South Africa, they are nevertheless no strangers to the game of rugby. In his research on black rugby

in South Africa Odendaal (1995) highlights the Western and Eastern Cape as areas where rugby was played on a competitive level by blacks in the late 19th century. The Western Province Coloured Rugby Union (WPCRU) was formed in 1886 and the Eastern Province Native Rugby Union (EPNRU) was formed in 1905. Few Africans in Natal played rugby. Those who did had come from the more traditional black rugby-playing areas of the Eastern Cape and Western Cape.

By the 1960's, a thriving black (predominantly Coloured) rugby organisation called the Natal Rugby Board (NRB) had been formed. Although the NRB initially affiliated to the South African Coloured Rugby Board (SACRB), non-racial sports activist, coach and former teacher Archie Rose maintains that rugby amongst blacks in Natal was always non-racial¹⁹. Although the NRB consisted predominantly of Coloured players, M Maliza and L Msauli were highly regarded provincial African players of the NRB. In the late 1960's when Steve Biko enrolled at the University of Natal as a medical student, he (as a young man who had grown up with the game of rugby in the Eastern Cape) continued his involvement in rugby as a solid lock forward and a keen rugby administrator for the Natal Medical School rugby team which had affiliated to the NRB. The 1970's and 1980's saw further developments of the NRB which led to the 1987 affiliation of the organisation to the South African Rugby Board, headed by Dr Danie Craven. Currently, most of the rugby amongst blacks in Natal is being promoted through the schools as an initiative of the Development Programme of the Natal Rugby Union which controls all rugby in Natal.

The fact is that Africans in Natal did play rugby as well as soccer. However rugby was played on a small scale whereas soccer was far and away the most popular sport amongst Natal Africans. Historical antipathy between soccer and rugby still exists today but this is on the decline. The development programmes

¹⁹ These details were obtained in a personal interview with Archie Rose.

of the Natal Rugby Union have ensured that rugby is being promoted on a larger scale in the black townships. More whites still play rugby rather than soccer, but the high profile given by the media to soccer has seen an increase in the number of whites who play the game. Rigid school stipulations that forced whites to play rugby have also been relaxed and this has enabled more white boys to play soccer.

2.3.3 DESEGREGATION AND UNIFICATION OF SOUTH AFRICAN SPORT

It has already been established that sport did not historically form a part of the school curriculum for blacks in South Africa with the result that it was played mainly in clubs run by community organisations. Sport at the club level was however, politicised. The policy of racial segregation in South Africa was felt also in the realm of sport. The colonial and union governments as well as the apartheid government of the NP discriminated against black sportspersons. Not only did they separate the different race groups within sport, but they ensured that whites remained privileged in terms of sporting facilities whereas blacks were provided with very few and in many cases, no facilities. Christopher Merret (1994), in his study of the unequal sports provision for different race groups in Pietermaritzburg, states that it was generally accepted that sport was and still is a major component of the lifestyles of white South Africans. He maintains that sport has often been referred to as a "national religion" and it has remained to this day a form of political expression. He states that just as white South Africa expropriated labour, space and other resources, so did it expropriate sport and use it unashamedly as a political tool, notably in the areas of urban provision (of facilities). (Merret:1994:97) Municipal revenue (public funds) was used for the development, upgrading and maintenance of exclusive white facilities which in essence were private facilities from which blacks were barred.

The apartheid sports policy of the NP eventually resulted in the total expulsion of South Africa from international sport by 1970. Different codes were expelled at different times during the 1960's. Sports tours to South Africa and by South African teams were not sanctioned by international sporting bodies and countries were placed under pressure by the anti-apartheid sport activists at home and abroad to maintain the international sports boycott of South Africa. The chief pressure came from the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SAN-ROC) and the South African Council on Sport (SACOS). SACOS was a coalition of non-racial sports organisations including the South African Sports Association (SASA) and SAN-ROC, formed in 1970 to intensify the struggle against racism in sport. However, its popularity amongst Coloureds in the Western Cape and Indians in Natal and its failure to attract Africans in significant numbers (despite its claim to be non-racial) led to the perception by many that it was an "Indian and Coloured " organisation. In addition, SACOS acquired the tag of being a hard-line and inflexible organisation which was not prepared to negotiate with other organisations (including anti-apartheid organisations) which did not share its ideological stance.

In the mid 1970's, SACOS intensified its fight against racist soccer. The student uprisings in Soweto in 1976 highlighted the plight of black people living under apartheid, and between 1977 and 1981, Hassan Howa, the president of SACOS popularised the slogan "no normal sport in an abnormal society" which led the organisation to extend its fight for non-racialism to all walks of South African life. (Booth:1997:56) SACOS also passed the "Double Standards Resolution" in 1977 which forbade any of its members from participating in or associating with sports codes which practised, perpetrated or condoned racism or multinationalism. The resolution had serious implications for SACOS because it pre-empted any form of negotiation with many others outside itself on the grounds that this could be termed as collaboration.

The fact that SACOS had most of its support based amongst Indians in Natal and Coloureds in the Western Cape gave rise to ethnic reservations amongst many Africans. The incestuous nature of Indian politics may also have had something to do with African concerns about joining SACOS. "Indian" identities were forged in exclusionist ways which did not promote non-racism or encourage African involvement in "Indian" activities. (Singh and Vawda:1988)

Booth (1997) is of the opinion that SACOS assumed too much of the sports boycott and its stringent adherence to its policy of non-collaboration severely hamstrung its ability to attract and maintain new members as well as to unite sportspeople from different social circumstances. The result was that during the late 1980's, when negotiation replaced non-collaboration as a strategy of achieving change in South Africa, a group of senior SACOS members spearheaded a new anti-apartheid sports organisation, the National Sports Congress (NSC) which eventually brokered a new sports order in South Africa. By 1994, the NSC (later called the National Olympic Sports Congress) -NOSC) had succeeded in uniting most school, amateur and professional sports organisations in the country which coincided with the birth of the new South African democracy on 27th April 1994. For the purpose of this study, it is important to note that the unified national school sports controlling body is the United Schools Sports Association of South Africa (USSASA) and the football controlling body of South Africa is the South African Football Association. (SAFA)

3.3 HISTORICAL DISPARITIES IN SOUTH AFRICAN EDUCATION

The historical disparities in school provision for whites and blacks in South Africa played a significant role in the development and promotion of soccer as a sport played not in the schools but within the various black communities in

amateur associations. From the 19th century, the colonial government paid increasing attention to the education of whites in the country but very little was invested in "native" education. During this time, the education for blacks was primarily provided by missionaries and was generally of a high and acceptable standard. Many of the current African political figures such as Nelson Mandela, Govan Mbeki, Walter Sisulu, Ben Ngubane and Mangosuthu Buthelezi attended mission schools. Pam Christie and Colin Collins (1988) draw attention to the fact that when the NP came into power in 1948, it began systematically to destroy the mission schools and set up a system of Bantu Education which ensured that Africans never rose to any great educational heights. This ensured that many Africans were condemned to work as labourers (cheaply) for whites who controlled the economy. Bantu Education provided the poorest imaginable education facilities for African children and very little financial assistance. In the light of the absence of basic educational facilities, it was not surprising that sport which was widely regarded as an extra-curricular activity, was not prioritised as being integral to the general curriculum. Sport, and soccer in particular, was therefore organised by communities in amateur organisations.

On the other hand, white schools in the post 1948 period maintained and even improved their already advantaged state. The NP government ensured that white schools lacked nothing. White schools were adequately supplied with science laboratories, technical equipment, impressive buildings, school halls, gymnasiums and expansive playing fields, amongst other facilities. Sport assumed an important part of the curriculum (although rugby was promoted above soccer in most boys' schools) and every child was encouraged, if not compelled, to participate. However, because there was no place for soccer in white schools (especially secondary schools), boys who enjoyed soccer had to play the sport (like blacks) in amateur run organisations. Unfortunately, the apartheid racial policies did not permit desegregated sport, with the result that white and black soccer players played in separate leagues.

3.4 MULTICULTURALISM, DESEGREGATION AND INTEGRATION OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLING AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS.

During the late 1980's and early 1990's, the NP government's willingness to negotiate a new political dispensation for South Africa paved the way for the development of a new social order which brought the previously estranged racial and cultural components together for the first time in the history of the country. This led to interactions on a multicultural and interracial level which presented new and interesting challenges for South Africans. The 1990 unbanning of political parties, the release of Mandela, the unification of sport and the partial desegregation of schooling with the introduction of the Clase Models, all provided new and refreshing challenges as South Africa tried to achieve a new an united multicultural society as embodied in the idea of a "Rainbow Nation"²⁰

In order to understand the implications of desegregation and integration, the meanings of these concepts have to be clarified. RC Rist (1979) sees desegregation as a mechanical process which merely establishes the physical proximity of members of different groups which had previously operated in separate circumstances. For Rist, the bringing of different race or cultural groups (from different schools) into a single school would be seen as desegregation. Rist sees integration as the positive group interaction which results over a period of time in a group which has been desegregated. He sees desegregation as a prerequisite for integration but stresses that desegregation does not automatically lead to integration. In his appraisal of desegregation in American schools, Rist came to the conclusion that although many of these schools were desegregated, they were not integrated. (Rist:1979:158)

²⁰ In 1994, human rights cleric and former Nobel Peace Prize winner, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, popularised this concept when he referred to the people of South Africa as "The Rainbow Nation of God".

In the United Kingdom (UK), a different situation faced education in regard to issues of race. After the 2nd World War (1939-1945) immigration from Commonwealth countries such as the West Indies, and India began to accelerate. The numbers of non-English speaking residents in the country increased. As the children of these immigrants entered school, a variety of policies were introduced to deal with changing classroom conditions. Segregation had never existed in judicial or policy terms, but problems were experienced by both teachers and the new pupils. These involved difficulties with language, religion, culture and the correlation of poverty and race as new immigrants battled to find jobs and establish themselves. In short, British education policy had to deal with a specific set of race-related problems. The literature which deals with this is generally called multicultural or antiracist and reflects different approaches to understandings of the problem. Multicultural education developed out of the view that education should draw upon the experiences of the many cultures that made up the multi-racial and multi-ethnic society. IN the USA, multicultural education developed in response to the ethnic revitalisation movement which saw Americans of Anglo-Saxon descent, vehemently resist the integration of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe, China and Japan, as well as the formerly enslaved African American population into mainstream America. Initially extensive use was made of assimilationist teachings (such as assimilation and Anglo-Saxon conformity) which forced immigrants to discard their cultural customs on the grounds that

they were inferior, and adopt the "superior" culture of the USA. However, multicultural education addressed this problem and more attention was paid to the cultural diversities of the new immigrant Americans (Hepburn:1992:82).

The desegregation of South African society and schooling in particular will, to some extent, have drawn on the UK and USA experiences. Desegregation of schooling which had begun on a limited scale in white private schools and Indian and Coloured schools in the 1970's and mid 1980's respectively received fresh impetus with the introduction of the Clase Models in 1990. These initiatives (along with other political developments) culminated in the passing of the South African Schools Act (1996) which has cemented the desegregation of South African schools. The process of desegregation of South African schools has already presented multicultural challenges which are reminiscent of the UK and USA experiences. Issues such as class and cultural domination through assimilationist practices and class hegemony, overt and covert racism and a blatant intolerance of different cultures are some of the challenges which have already confronted the new South Africa.

In 1990, the Minister of white Education, Piet Clase proposed a schools model which gave the white parent communities the choice of retaining their racially exclusive status or adopting one of three models (a fourth was later added) which gave them control of admissions thereby allowing for limited desegregation. (Carrim and Mkwanazi:1993:180) These Models became known as Models A, B, C and D. In the Model C option (semi-private and semi-state) the state provided for teachers' salaries but the rest of the school expenses were borne by the school. Although this now meant that scholars would have to pay school fees, the Model C option was favoured by many white schools because it gave the parent bodies a great deal of control over admissions. Model C schools then became known for their relatively high school fees and the

selective manner in which they admitted black pupils. Usually blacks were admitted on their ability to pay school fees and more importantly, their status within the community. However, academic potential was also taken into consideration. In theory, the South African Schools Act dispensed with the Model C schools because it made provision for two types of schools within South Africa, viz. independent (private) schools and public (state) schools. However, although most Model C schools grudgingly became state schools, they managed to maintain their elitist nature mainly because they were able to keep their fee structure in place. Although the South African Schools Act finally guaranteed large scale desegregation of South African schools, the process has been characterised by African pupils leaving their schools and attending former white, Indian and Coloured schools, whereas the reverse process has not happened. African pupils have therefore been regularly required to adapt to an ethos which in many cases has been foreign to them. (Naidoo:1996:9) From a sporting view, although African pupils assisted the process of desegregating school sport, they had (in many cases) to adapt to the sporting requirements and traditions of these schools.

The reconstruction of South African society is faced with the danger of merely making changes according to the values, beliefs and ethos of the historically dominant (white) sector of society. Mary Hepburn (1992) and Signitia Fordham (1988) refer to this phenomenon of conforming to the values of the dominant societal group as assimilation. In her study of the integration of minority cultures into the USA during the 20th century, Hepburn highlighted the pressures placed on minority cultures to conform to the values and standards set by the dominant culture. She makes mention of the "melting pot thesis" and Anglo-Saxon conformity, as two assimilation practices which characterised early attempts by the USA to "Americanise" minority cultural groupings. Signithia Fordham (1988) mentions the pressure that is placed upon people from minority cultures to suppress their own cultures and adopt a "raceless persona" in an attempt to

achieve success within the world of the dominant group. People who adopt a "raceless persona" are often constantly told (to the extent that they actually believe it) that their race or cultural grouping does not matter, as long as they meet the requirements of the institution (school, university, sports club etc.) which is invariably based on the values and ethos of the dominant race or cultural group.

Critics of multiculturalism such as Marxist and antiracist theorists have developed arguments which attempt to inject politics into the rather bland and comfortable interpretations of the multiculturalists. In addition to rejecting assimilationist techniques, antiracist theorists are also critical of multicultural approaches to dealing with issues of race, class and cultural differences. They maintain that multiculturalists do not adequately address the real causes which underpin discrimination against and domination of minority cultures. In their discussions on antiracist education, Mal Lester (1989), Robert Morrell (1991) and Godfrey Brand (1986) draw attention to the systematic oppression of minority cultures by dominant cultures. They see the school as one of the social settings in which the underlying ideology of racism is promoted. Antiracist educators argue that multicultural education often conceals class inequalities and often legitimates such inequalities that operate in society. The Marxist antiracist theorist, Madan Sarup (1986) is critical of multicultural education on the grounds that it sees racism as a result of ignorance of other cultures, rather than what Morrell (1991) refers to as a ploy to render cultural minorities politically, socially and culturally compliant. This viewpoint has serious implications for the successful achievement of a "Rainbow Nation" which adheres to the principle of social justice based on the understanding and acceptance of other cultures, given that the Marxist approach to understanding of racism in South Africa has been that it (racism) has very little to do with race, but with the economic subordination of black people. In this context, the role of sport as a significant contributor to social justice in South Africa has to be

questioned. Is the desegregation of South African sport a mere exercise in "window dressing"? Is President Mandela wasting his time by shaking the hands of sportspersons from different races, and more importantly, is sport serving to conceal the real inequalities that still exist in the economic sector (regardless of affirmative action) which on available evidence still has not improved the living conditions of millions of unemployed, homeless and destitute black people? There are no easy answers to these questions. However, because the reconstruction of South African society involves addressing the political, social and economic needs of the people, it would be unwise to dismiss the reconciliatory efforts of President Mandela which are very important to the process of social reconstruction. Although political freedom has been achieved, economic empowerment of the vast majority of South Africans can only realistically be seen as a long-term goal. It appears that under the circumstances, the president, by supporting sport as an integratory force, is doing the best he can.

3.5 THE CONSTRUCTION OF MASCULINITIES THROUGH THE PARTICIPATION IN SPORT - WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO RUGBY AND SOCCER

Robert Connell (1987) maintains that masculinities are not "fixed". They are not settled in the biology of men's bodies, nor are they instilled by a simple process of role learning. Masculinities are made and re-made in the course of everyday life - in venues such as work, sexual life, organisations, the mass media, leisure etc. To a significant extent, masculinities are embedded in social institutions, such as companies, the state, sports organisations, schools. Sports and sports

clubs therefore form important social institutions in which masculinities are formed. Male dominated sports such as rugby and soccer where rugged, tough, hard and "real " men are encouraged to "strut their stuff" form important social institutions in which the development of specific masculinities may overtly or covertly be encouraged. Michael Messner (1987) maintains that through the late 1960's in addition to making boys and men more resilient, it was almost universally accepted that "sports build character" and that "a winner in sports will be a winner in life". (Messner:1987:193).

Connell (1983) maintains that sport is "astonishingly important" for giving the body social meaning.

"It is the central experience of the school years for many boys, and something even the most determined swots have to work out their attitude to. What is learned by constant informal practice, and taught by formal coaching, is for each sport a specific combination of force and skill. Force, meaning the irresistible occupation of space; skill meaning the ability to operate on space or the objects in it (including other bodies)". (Connell:1983:18)

The fact that most boys have to contend with the playing of sport in their lives indicates that it occupies a significant position with regards to constructing individual masculinities amongst boys (even those who do not enjoy sport). Connell (1983) maintains that boys are anxious about how they look and that they share a "cult of physicality" which prescribes how a body should look and work. In sports, it is this shared physicality (or quest thereof) that unites boys and men.

In his work on the role of sport amongst the settler population of Natal during the 19th and 20th century,

Robert Morrell (1993) adopts the view that the sport of rugby was used as part of a strategy to introduce and consolidate a class stratification of society which favoured and entrenched the domination of upper class whites over lower class whites and blacks from as early as 1870. In addition sport was used to inculcate in whites (initially only the upper class settler population) a masculinity which was distinct from other forms of masculinity. Strength, superiority, discipline, loyalty were all attributes of this type of masculinity. By the turn of the century rugby teams had replaced soccer teams at many of the elite schools and by the mid 20th century, most white schools had rugby as the main winter sport for boys.

Although soccer within the South African context did not acquire the same historical, social and political connotations as rugby, it can still be placed alongside that sport in that it provides an avenue for men and boys to express their need for the shared experience of body and competition. I aim to argue that the shared physicality and the common understanding of masculinities among players from different racial and cultural groups within desegregated teams may contribute to integration within these teams which would consequently assist the integration of society. However, in doing so, I am also aware that discrimination against blacks in white dominated sports such as rugby and the general discrimination against women and other forms of masculinity in male dominated sports in general, will have to be addressed if South Africa is to achieve its goal of a "Rainbow Nation" in which the rights of all its citizens are guaranteed.

CHAPTER THREE

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

When I opted to write a thesis on the integration experiences of two amateur soccer clubs in Durban, I envisaged approaching two clubs, asking questions, conducting interviews and coming away with loads of information on how these clubs had experienced integration. I felt confident that I, as a popular, former amateur and professional soccer player, coach and teacher would encounter very few difficulties in eliciting information from these clubs. However, it wasn't quite as easy as I had expected.

The sensitive nature of issues concerning race and the discomfort experienced by many respondents (black and whites) when addressing issues of race, ethnicity and culture provided a major methodological challenge for me. I needed to elicit the truth about the integration process but throughout the study I got the feeling that people, with a few exceptions, were ill at ease when addressing racial issues and would rather not have spoken about them. This presented a challenge in eliciting bold, forthright and honest answers from respondents.

Fortunately I was able to overcome these problems due to a number of factors. Firstly, having coached Barnsley FC in the unified SKZNFA league (the same league in which GOB and Blue Stars played) from 1992 - 1995, I had regularly come into contact with players and officials from both clubs and was reasonably familiar with many of them. Secondly, being a teacher who was actively involved in the promotion of junior sport (I had been involved in coaching male and female junior players in a variety of sports for over 20 years and had recently (1995-1997) coached Blue Stars under-17 and under-21 soccer teams). I was able to converse with junior players comfortably and without any inhibitions.

Thirdly, in an attempt to gain easy access to GOB, I joined their over-35 team in 1997 and became a GOB club member. I was already a club member of Blue Stars in 1995. This dual membership gave me the opportunity to engage in participatory observation at both clubs, which greatly enhanced my study. Finally, there were many people in both clubs who were enthusiastic about my study and went out of their way to assist in making a success out of this venture.

3.2 THE TYPE OF STUDY

This type of study searches for qualitative information. The research methods which included conducting interviews, administering questionnaires and engaging in participatory observation all lent themselves to the search for qualitative data. The interviews and questionnaires were aimed at eliciting the personal, unique and subjective experiences of respondents, whereas participatory observation was used as a means of gaining information which could not readily be gained through questionnaires.

The study involved the gleaning of information from two separate case studies. Information concerning integration was sought from each soccer club (which constituted a case) and then compared. Comparison involved recording and analysing the similar, different and unique responses of respondents in each case. The emphasis was in discovering qualitative information and what was unique in each situation.

3.3 RESEARCH TECHNIQUES

The data gathering techniques involved a combination of interviews, questionnaires, observation and the search for primary and secondary documentary sources. Primary sources consulted included constitutions, minutes of meetings, association and club publications and yearbooks.

Secondary sources sought included newspaper articles, periodicals, magazines, books and published papers.

3.4 FIELDWORK

The fieldwork involved known and unknown observation of situations within both teams. In known observation, the people being observed were aware that they were being observed. In unknown observation, the subjects were not aware of being observed. Interviews were conducted with players and officials from both teams as well as officials involved in the provincial and national administrative structures of soccer. The choice of interviewees (the sample) was determined to a large extent by the information sought. I also deliberately tried to interview players and officials from different race and cultural groups within both teams in order to get a balanced perspective on issues. Documentary sources were obtained from the UND library and other local libraries. Information was also sought from museums within the Durban area.

3.4.1 INITIAL CONTACT AND INFORMED CONSENT

During September 1996, I approached Keith Jean-Pierre, the chairperson Blue Stars Football Club with a request to study his club's post-1992 integration experiences within the unified SKZNFA. He appeared very excited by the prospect and assured me of his full co-operation. The manager and coach of the junior section of Blue Stars, Royston Saunders and Franklyn Strydom, (who incidentally were colleagues of mine at the primary school in which I taught) also assured me of their assistance.

During February 1997, I made a similar request to Richard Pearton, whom I believed to be the chairperson of Glenwood Old Boys Football Club (he had in fact relinquished his position in 1995). I had on a number of occasions been invited by Pearton to join his club as a player, (from as early as 1987) but was

unable to on account of still being heavily involved in SACOS sports structures. Pearton seemed keen to assist and renewed his invitation for me to join his club. I accepted the invitation but opted to play only in the over-35 section which did not have the same stringent time demands of the other senior teams. (1st, 2nd and 3rd). As a member of the club, I could practice with both the senior and junior (under-17) teams and was able to gain access to players and officials for interviews as well as making observations for my study purposes. Pearton had informed the Club members of the nature of my study and they appeared to be comfortable with my presence.

When interviewing and administering questionnaires to players and officials from both clubs, I always informed them of the nature of my study and asked them to respond honestly and to the best of their abilities. I also stressed that participation in both the interviews and questionnaire was desired but not compulsory. During the interviews, all respondents were given the option of remaining anonymous whereas in the questionnaire (administered to under-17) players were instructed not to attach names to their responses. Recording was done during some interviews and immediately after others. The length and pace of the interview often dictated when the recording took place.

After having gained consent to proceed with the study from both Glenwood Old Boys and Blue Stars, I informed both the Durban and District (D & D) Football Association and SKZNFA chairpersons of the nature of my study. They were both pleased with the nature of my study and assured me of their support. When interviewing members of D & D and SKZNFA, they were also given the option of remaining anonymous but they declined this offer in the interests of transparency.

3.4.2 INTERVIEWS

A combination of semi-structured and non-structured interview techniques were used.

When individuals such as club and administrative officials were interviewed, a semi-structured interview took a conversational form in which I tried to ask all the questions which appeared on my list. This was not necessarily done in a set order, but was influenced by the course of the conversation (interview). Most semi-structured interviews were held on a one to one, personal basis but in a few instances where it was difficult to schedule personal meetings, interviews were carried out telephonically.

Non-structured interviews were carried out in informal settings such as on the training ground, club social gatherings, before matches and over the telephone. Many questions were situationally bound and referred to incidents or points of interest which cropped up at the time. A mental note of responses was made and recorded at my earliest convenience. As a rule, recording of responses for semi-structured interviews was done during or immediately after the interview.

Recording of non-structured interviews took place after the interview. Recording usually took the form of notes written in short-hand. These were later expanded so as to appear as close as possible to the original response. For a particularly lengthy interview with ex-Glenwood Old Boys Junior chairperson, George Ellis, an audio recording was carried out with the permission of the respondent.

3.4.3 OBSERVATION

Observation was participatory and involved the recording of data which could not easily be picked up through questionnaires and the interview processes. It involved the recording of my own observations of what I saw taking place at both clubs.

As a member of both clubs, I was not viewed with much suspicion and players and officials were inclined to behave normally, and as if they were not being observed in my presence. Informal discussions before and after training sessions at the grounds or in the pub provided important revelations which would have been difficult to glean from interviews and questionnaires.

3.4.4 QUESTIONNAIRES

The questionnaire was used mainly as a means of gaining new qualitative information from school going under-17 players from both clubs. The questionnaire dealt with issues such as the construction of masculinities within soccer and rugby teams, the promotion of school soccer in relation to the promotion of school rugby and their integration experiences at their respective clubs. Each under-17 soccer team was issued with 15 questionnaires in which the boys were encouraged to answer honestly and to the best of their abilities. The managers of these teams were asked to assist with the issuing and collection of the questionnaires. Completion of the questionnaire was voluntary.

Of the 15 questionnaires issued to Blue Stars, 15 were completed, thus recording a 100% return rate. Of the 15 questionnaires issued to Glenwood Old Boys, none was returned, thus recording a return rate of 0%. The poor response from Glenwood Old Boys was disappointing given the fact that I played in the same over-35 team as the manager of the under-17 team and pestered him to return the questionnaires, but to no avail. The manager consistently maintained that he did not have sufficient time and opportunities to collect these. For the responses of the Glenwood under-17 boys, I had to arrange meetings and telephonic interviews with individual players for their viewpoints on matters raised in the questionnaires.

3.4.5 DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

I examined the constitutions of the South African Football Association (SAFA), the SKZNFA and Durban and Districts (D & D) Football Association to determine their stances on racism in sport. In the preambles of all 3 constitutions, a firm commitment to non-racism in sport was included as one of the aims. I requested the constitutions of both Blue Stars and Glenwood Old Boys in an attempt to ascertain whether the same commitment to non-racism was re-affirmed. Unfortunately these were not forthcoming and I had to accept the verbal confirmation of these clubs' commitment to non-racism from club officials. (I did try to obtain these club constitutions from D & D and the SKZNFA, but was told that these clubs had not lodged their constitutions with either of the soccer controlling bodies.)

I was interested to know whether these clubs had entrenched their commitment to non-racism within their constitutions and whether this commitment was being filtered down to all club members.

3.5 ETHICS OF RESEARCHING RACE

My approach to researching racial and cultural issues was direct, open and honest. Having been involved in soccer as well as other sports such as athletics, baseball and softball as a player, coach, manager, administrator and an interested teacher prior to, during and after the unification period, enabled me to feel comfortable with dealing with racial and cultural issues.

I had previously served on the executives of the unified Southern Coastal Kwazulu Natal Schools Softball Association, the Kwazulu Natal Junior Baseball

Association, the Kwazulu Natal Baseball Association and the Kwazulu Natal Softball Associations. During the unification period (1989 - 1994), I had come into contact with sports people with different racial, cultural, political and ethnic affiliations.

I decided from the outset that I would use the apartheid racial classification viz. White, Coloured, African and Indian, when referring to the different race and cultural groups. This was done not with the intention of being insensitive to the feelings of many South Africans who reject these labels on the grounds that they are apartheid creations but with the intention of providing unambiguous, clear and easily understood descriptions of races and racial issues in South Africa. I deliberately tried not to impose my own viewpoints on racial and cultural matters on any of the respondents and documented their responses to the best of my ability, without bias, prejudice or distortion.

As an ex-SACOS member and a resolute non-collaborator who had supported the cultural boycott and the Double Standards Resolution, I had constantly to resist reverting to hard-line attitudes towards integration which included a suspicion of the motives of all parties (but more specifically whites) involved in integration.

3.6 SCOPE AND LIMITATION

On the positive side, I felt that the access that I was able to gain at Blue Stars was very good. Having taught for over 15 years in the area (Greenwood Park) from where the majority of Blue Stars players come, placed me in a fairly knowledgeable position with regards to attitudes, prejudices, hopes, fears and expectations of both officials and players within the club. The generous and honest responses of the players at Glenwood Old Boys were also appreciated. However, even though I joined the club and tried to glean a bit more information

through participatory observation on why Glenwood Old Boys had remained an almost totally white club (even though they are regarded as a pioneer white club in the move towards integrated amateur soccer in Durban), I still came away feeling that I needed more time to understand why the club has been so slow to integrate at an intra-club level. The initial difficulties in obtaining club documentation from both clubs and the poor response to the questionnaires by Glenwood Old Boys also placed limits on the study to a certain extent. However, I acknowledge that some of the difficulty could be apportioned to me on the grounds that I could have been more forceful in my pursuit of information from the Glenwood Old Boys officials. I also acknowledge that during the observation process, my subjective feelings may have influenced my observations although I tried to be as objective as humanly possible.

3.7 DATA ANALYSIS

The data analysis involved a content analysis of the responses of the respondents during interviews and questionnaires. Comments on the observations made at both clubs were also included as part of the data analysis. Responses and comments were categorised into those which worked for the achievement of integration and those which worked against the achievement of integration. The construction of masculinities and the importance of body and competition amongst males was analysed and presented as a possible integrative force.

Throughout the data analysis, I tried not to offer simplistic explanations for the successes and failures of aspects of the integration experience of GOB and Blue Stars. I tried to focus on the difficulties beneath the call by President Mandela and others for South Africans to put aside their race and cultural differences and in the spirit of reconciliation, embrace one another and become a "Rainbow Nation" at peace with one another, and at peace with the world. Issues of race,

class, gender and ethnicity which were discussed in the literature review were examined in relation to the roles that they played in the successes and failures of integration at both clubs and society in general. Finally, I attempted to answer the question as to whether or not integration in sport lends itself to integration in society, and the transformation of society.

Chapter 4 RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1 CLUBS' RESPONSE TO THE MOVE TOWARDS INTEGRATION

Moves towards integration in soccer within the Durban area took place against the background of the broader socio-political changes which were taking place within South Africa and which have already been discussed. The salient features of change were school desegregation and the transfer of power from the apartheid government to a government of national unity. Glenwood Old Boys from the originally all white NFA and Blue Stars from the non-racial, but partially integrated SANAKWAZBO found themselves responding to the integration initiatives of the soccer fraternity in Durban. These two clubs provide us with an interesting perspective of how integration has been experienced thus far.

4.1.1 GLENWOOD OLD BOYS

Glenwood Old Boys (GOB) Football Club, along with other NFA clubs showed an interest in the drive to unite (integrate) amateur soccer in the Durban area in 1990, when the NFA clubs under the chairmanship of long-serving president, Jack Cox, met a South African Football Association delegation headed by its president, Stix Morewa. The importance of integrating soccer was the main item on the agenda at this meeting. It was after this meeting that the GOB decided to commit themselves to the integration process. Richard Pearton, the then

chairman of GOB football club, explained the motivation behind making this commitment.

"We were quite happy with the NFA but saw that social events were moving, and we had to move with the times. We looked at the changing South Africa and the direction in which sport in general was going. We committed ourselves to unity in soccer because we saw that integration was inevitable and because we did not want to be left behind."

After the initial meeting with SAFA, many NFA clubs remained sceptical with regards to the merits of forming a unified soccer body within the Durban area. There appeared to be widespread apprehension, especially from the primarily white NFA. Westville, Juventus and GOB could be regarded as pioneers in the Durban soccer integration drive because they were amongst the first NFA clubs to break away from the traditionally well organised and strong NFA and commit themselves to integration. Pearton also mentioned another factor which influenced their decision to commit the club to the integration process:

"We were keen to see South Africa re-admitted to the international soccer fold. By participating in integration at the local level we saw ourselves as contributing to the drive towards re-admission to FIFA. This would open up the possibility of international soccer to all players, including ours."

This GOB position with regards to the need to get back into international competition was common among many white sports organisations at that time. During the early 1990's there seemed to be almost a desperation by many former exclusively white organisations to desegregate and gain re-entry into international sport. This caused much suspicion amongst blacks about the real motives of whites in the desegregation process.

However, many clubs decided not to commit themselves to the integration process and continued to play within the NFA, even after it was certain that the new integrated association had been formed. Because these clubs chose to play outside the unified structure which was considered to be legitimate, given that it had the blessing of SAFA, NOCSA and a host of other socio-political organisations within the country, the NFA league which decided to "go it alone" soon acquired the unsavoury tag of being a "rebel" league. These "rebel" organisations were often viewed as racist because they resisted change and opted to play on their own in a manner which was reminiscent of apartheid sport. Pearton maintains that for Glenwood Old Boys, the option of remaining in the NFA was not considered because in addition to being in conflict with the aims and aspirations of the club, it posed another problem:

"As a composite club which caters for rugby, hockey, tennis, squash, bowls, cricket and a few other sports, soccer could not take the risk of operating within a rebel league while many of the other codes were involved in integration initiatives of their own. Anti-integratory tendencies by any of the GOB sports codes could impact negatively on the integration aspiration of all GOB affiliates."

In 1991, GOB participated in a pilot integration competition which included all the clubs in the Durban area which had committed to the integration process. In 1992, the club played in the Super League which was the highest amateur league of the new unified Southern Kwa-Zulu Natal Football Association (SKZNFA). In 1995, Glenwood Old Boys was relegated from the Super League and they now play within Division 1 which is the league immediately below the Super League.

4.1.2 BLUE STARS

Although Blue Stars entered into the official integration process as a representative of SONAKWAZBO under the chairmanship of Rabi Gobind in 1991, it is the opinion of long-serving chairman Keith Jean-Pierre, that his club was always part of the movement to integrate soccer within the context of a non-racial, democratic South Africa. Jean-Pierre maintains:

“As former SACOS affiliates, we always espoused a desire for unity, not only in soccer, but in all walks of South African life. It was important that this unity was forged along non-racial lines which would transcend the playing fields and make a positive impact on the racially separated country. Although we were aware of the NFA’s willingness to include a few Coloured teams in its structures from the early 1980’s, our observations of Coloured teams such as Greenwood Park United, Atlantis and Barnsley within the NFA led us to believe that we would only be accepted as second class citizens within the NFA. The fact that non-white clubs joining the NFA had to join the lowest league (8th division), served as a further deterrent. The fact that no Indian or African teams played within the NFA also raised our suspicions about the true intentions of the NFA.”

Jean-Pierre acknowledged the changing political scenario from 1990 onwards as having made a significant contribution to unification in soccer and praised the work done by soccer administrators such as Rabi Gobind, Rama Reddy and Mubarak Mahomed. However, he admitted that the prospect of playing soccer within the highest amateur soccer league within the Durban and surrounding area was his club’s main incentive for getting involved in the integration process. He stated:

“We were aware that the new integrated league would include teams from all walks of South African life and we were keen to pit our abilities against them. The print media had fed us a constant diet on the superiority of the white teams from the NFA, while our ignorance concerning the playing abilities of teams from

the African townships provided an interesting incentive from a footballing point of view."

After surviving the selection process of the newly formed SKZNFA in 1991, Blue Stars formed part of the inaugural Super League in 1992.

4.2 INTEGRATION EXPERIENCES

The integration experiences which occurred in areas such as governance, team selection, coaching, competition, social interaction and the provision of facilities will be described with particular emphasis being given to evidence which raises integration as well as gender (masculinity) issues.

4.2.1 GOVERNANCE

4.2.1.1 GLENWOOD OLD BOYS (GOB)

In the management structures, the present position at GOB presents no visible evidence of desegregation. All the current coaching and management positions are filled by whites. However, from 1994 - 1996 the club appointed George Ellis, a Coloured man as chairperson of the GOB junior section. Ellis maintains that he enjoyed his stay at the club but was disappointed by the way in which his tenure came to an abrupt end. At the end of 1996, he was merely informed that his services were not required and that a new chairperson had been appointed to run the junior section. During his stay at the club, he also mentioned that he experienced problems in gaining support from the vast majority of GOB members and problems in the way in which he was received. He stated:

"When I took the responsibility of running the juniors for Glenwood, I was promised assistance with regards to coaching, transport and support at matches. However, none of this was forthcoming and I often felt that I was alone, running a section of the club which wasn't fully a part of the club."

He maintains that after he left the club at the end of 1996 and had occasion to observe the support that the resuscitated 1997 junior teams received, he was surprised at the turnabout that had taken place within the space of a year. He maintains that this raised questions as to why his teams were not as well supported. He quoted a particular incident:

"This year I went to watch a GOB under-17 away game against APN FC and was surprised to see strong support from senior players and officials from Glenwood Old Boys. This was in stark contrast to the away games played by the junior teams during my time at the club where we were lucky if we got one club member who was not directly involved with particular team that was playing. Even at home, most of the senior players and officials were content to watch our games over a beer through the clubhouse window, showing little or no interest at all. I had to ask myself whether the current team was receiving all this support because they were all white and whether the support was not forthcoming during my time at the club due to the fact that I fielded mixed teams which invariably appeared more black than white."

Apart from the lack of support he received from the club he maintains that he was always made to feel like an outsider:

"Although I tried hard to fit into the club by attending senior club matches, providing ballboys at matches and just being around to offer general assistance, I always got the feeling that I was forcing myself to be accepted at the club. I didn't experience outright rejection, but I never quite felt fully accepted. The final

straw was when I tried to join the over-35 team and was told that I first had to pay the club membership fee of R270.00. I mean, after all the running around I had done for the club, all the money I had spent registering players who could not afford the registration, I felt it was a real slap in my face. All I was trying to do was join a team which in my view was really a social team and they were making it an uphill struggle for me."

Ellis maintains that it was a club policy that all members of the club (excluding first team players) had to pay a club registration fee of R270.00 per annum. However, while he was junior chairperson, this was not strictly applied to the juniors who were only required to pay a registration fee to the district association. In cases where a player was unable to pay his fees, Ellis maintains that he invariably paid the fee. The policy of paying fees has not been dispensed with and players in the lower teams are still required to pay a registration fee. Club officials at GOB maintain that Ellis recused himself from the club by not making himself available for re-election. They maintain that in no way was he forced to leave the club.

The management structures at GOB also showed a traditional dominance of males. All coaches (including junior coaches) were men. However, women did serve in the traditional roles as supporters and non-playing assistants. The junior secretary and the person in charge of the clubhouse dining room and kitchen were all women. The ethos of the club appeared to be one of male dominance with specific and subsidiary roles for the women.

The management board of GOB appeared in control of running the club. Players generally played for the club and abided by decisions taken at management level. Management decisions were usually top-down and players were not required to make inputs and suggestions. Club records such as constitutions, brochures, yearbooks and other publications were not readily

available to players and proved difficult to obtain. I was unsuccessful in obtaining the club constitution and therefore unable to determine whether the club had an official integration non-racial and non-sexist policy which could assist integration.

4.2.1.2 BLUE STARS

The current desegregation situation of the Blue Stars management team is undefined. This position has arisen because Keith Jean-Pierre, the chairman of the club has recently dismissed the popular coach, Eddie Mulheron (who incidentally is white) over a disagreement concerning the way the club should be run. From my discussions with the chairman, it appears that agreement could not be reached on the issue of who has the final say in the coaching matters of the club. Jean-Pierre feels that decision-making and final responsibility ultimately rests with himself whereas Mulheron feels that all coaching matters should have been his responsibility. However, Mulheron was in charge of the coaching for the 1996 and 1997 soccer seasons and assisted the process of desegregation of the governance of the club. Given the top-down style of management at Blue Stars, player participation in decision-making at the club was not evident.. The popularity and "racelessness" of Mulheron as a coach was emphasised when a senior player spoke about him. He said:

"Because we are so concerned with doing well for the team, race really doesn't seem to matter. In fact you tend to lose sight of the fact that you nor your team mates belong to a particular race group. The other day, I jokingly remarked to our coach that there is a rumour going around that he is a white man. It turned out to be a big joke because it somehow seemed ridiculous to think of him in terms of race."

Although Blue Stars included Coloureds and Indians in its administrative structures it was also dominated by men in management and coaching positions. However, the male junior chairperson who is also a teacher, asked a husband and wife team, Ronald and Yvonne Saunders, to manage and coach the under-12 team. Yvonne now serves as the manageress of the team whilst her husband serves as the coach. Other female involvement in the club is confined to supporting and assisting in fund-raising.

4.2.2 TEAM SELECTION

4.2.2.1 GLENWOOD OLD BOYS

The current (1997) GOB team membership showed an overwhelmingly homogenous membership throughout both junior and senior structures. Apart for the odd sprinkling of Indian, Coloured and African players (mainly in the junior section) the club had an almost totally white appearance. Officials at the club maintain that they have always welcomed players from all race groups at the club (from the early 1980's) but admit that they have been unable to keep many Africans, Indians and Coloureds at the club for a sustained period of time.

During the time that Ellis was chairperson of GOB juniors (1994-1996), membership in that section was quite desegregated. He maintains that African, Indian, White and Coloured boys played for the club under his supervision without any problems. He maintained that a good interracial balance existed at the club and that domination of one racial group by another was not evident during his stint as junior chairman.

"The players got on well together. We experienced no problems. On match days I would load them into my van and whether we played at home or away, we

all had a good time. Boys will be boys and they all seemed to have good relationships with one another, irrespective of colour.

It appears that the club views the actual playing of soccer as a man's domain. This is evident in the fact that women's soccer has never been encouraged at the club. This is in stark contrast to the situation at a neighbouring club and local rivals, Villa Park, who have had a women's team which dates back to the 1980's.

However in the light of the decline in desegregation after Ellis had left the club, questions have to be asked about the club's commitment to the integration process. Would the club have experienced some form of desegregation had Ellis not joined it? Will the club continue to desegregate if people from other race and cultural groups do not get involved in its administration? Are there any current members who are committed enough to integration to effect meaningful changes in the racial and cultural composition of the club? Is desegregation a priority at the club? These are a few of the questions that need to be answered.

The fact that soccer is still considered by many people (especially in South Africa) to be a man's game did not stop under-8 player Lauren Pearton from playing in the GOB team during the 1996 and 1997 seasons. According to her father, Richard, Lauren was the only girl in the GOB under-8 team. During the 1997 season she was well received and fitted into the team without any problems. However, when she returned to participate in the 1997 season, the attitudes of her male team-mates who had played with her during the previous year began to change. Some boys showed disgust at having to play in the same team as a girl and objected to her having to change in the same changeroom as themselves. Other discriminatory actions against her included not being allowed to travel in the back of the van to away games with the rest of the team and snide comments about her soccer playing ability by some boys. However, she

managed to complete the season because in addition to being a good player (she confounded her critics by scoring goals regularly) she was also a resilient character who managed to deal with the situation.

4.2.2.2 BLUE STARS

The 1997 Blue Stars playing membership included Coloured, African and Indian players. The senior section consisted mainly of Coloured players with a few Indians and Africans. The junior section seemed to reflect the desegregated school population of Greenwood Park and consisted mainly of Coloured and African players (in approximately equal numbers), a few Indians and no Whites. However, the club did have a few white players in its senior ranks prior to 1997. A long-serving player recalled his apprehension about having to play with them. (The same player had the added advantage of playing with other white players in the inner-district selected team).

"I always had the impression that certain white players were racist and arrogant and I did not care much for them. But meeting these players on a personal level as members of the same team changed my attitude towards them. Basically they were okay guys and we got along fine."

The fact that the black players at Blue Stars got on well with the white coach and white players suggests that they had specific characteristics in addition to being racially tolerant that made them "okay guys". This raises the question as to whether both the black and white players' understanding of masculinity had anything to do with "getting along fine". It was also observed that Blue Stars did not have women's teams (unlike local rivals, Villa Park FC) and showed no signs of moving in this direction.

4.2.3 COACHING

4.2.3.1 GLENWOOD OLD BOYS

The senior coach at GOB, Trevor Stephen, was white and had qualified as a coach in his native England. He dealt with white players predominantly and was generally fair to his players. His manner was good and on the occasions that I trained with the team he made me feel welcome and at ease in his sessions.

The club displayed a hierarchy in which the junior players (under-17) respected the senior teams and within the seniors the 1st team enjoyed a higher status than the 2nd and 3rd teams. However, there was a general respect for the over-35 players who formed part of the management team and played at various levels within the club. Training sessions were very physical and players generally trained very hard. I noticed a quiet determination in all the players who made up the over-35 team. They were not openly aggressive but possessed a steely determination which bordered on subtle machoness. Players were not keen to be seen as "slackers" and constantly gave of their best, often risking serious injury in the process. A particular incident which occurred during the last match of the season against New Germany springs to mind. Dave McBain, as a member of the GOB over-35 team, could not resist challenging for a ball for which in hindsight it would have been wiser to pull out of (given that the opposite player had clearly signalled his intention to challenge unfairly). The result was that McBain suffered a serious injury to his knee.

4.2.3.2 BLUE STARS

Despite the fact that Keith Jean-Pierre maintains that the club has employed coaches not on the basis of the colour of their skins, but on their coaching abilities, the employment of white coaches such as Mickey Burgess, Billy McGivallry and Eddie Mulheron has assisted in giving the club a desegregated

look. The fact that Mulheron was not thought of in terms of race at the club was an important aspect of the integration process that was in progress at the club. Coaching at the senior level was strenuous and concentrated on building strength and stamina. Mulheron stated that he wanted his team to play with skill and be "hard, but fair" at the same time.

At the junior level, the image of being "hard" was evidently nothing new to the players. During coaching, players were continually encouraged to be "hard" players. In responding to a question which asked about the nature of their training sessions (in the questionnaire) players wrote the following:

"Our training sessions were programmed to provide strength, stamina and discipline."

and

"We are constantly told that soccer is a man's game. It is a physical sport and players should be able to take a knock or a bump here and there and not retaliate."

A player recalled how being tough or "hard" was instilled within him even before he joined Blue Stars:

"When I played under-10 soccer for my school, my coach was adamant that we never showed the opposition that we were hurt. If a player kicked you or you hurt yourself in a tackle, you dared not lie on the ground hoping that somebody would come to your assistance. You had to get up and play through your pain."

4.2.4 COMPETITION

4.2.4.1 GLENWOOD OLD BOYS

Although GOB could be described as a fairly competitive club, competition appeared to be secondary to sportsmanship and the enjoyment of the game. Officials and players appeared not to be caught up in the desperation to win which is characteristic of many other clubs within the SKZNFA. In response to a question on whether or not the club had enjoyed playing in the desegregated competitions of the SKZNFA, players responded in the following ways:

"From a results perspective, it's not been good for our first team, largely because we have not played as well as we ought to have. But as far as playing within the integrated league goes, it's been enjoyable."

"It's been all right. At the end of the day, soccer is soccer and it really doesn't matter what the colour of a player's skin is. We've still managed to enjoy ourselves. Both our 3rd side and our over-35's have won their leagues and after our initial problems, our 1st team has comfortably managed to avoid relegation. It hasn't been a bad year."

Apart from the positive aspect of desegregated soccer, GOB also experienced some negative aspects. Negative aspects involved the inability of races to embrace the integration process and get along with one another.

Negative comments included the following:

A GOB official expanded on the aspect of cheating:

"At certain away games, especially in the Indian areas, blatant cheating has occurred and racial antagonism has reared its head. It's as if we were cheated solely on the grounds that we were white."

Another GOB official maintained that soccer as a family sport was losing its popularity because of the racial antagonism that occurred at many games:

"Games against Coloured teams have not been pleasant. The language and general behaviour of certain teams has been shocking. There are certain games that I would never take my wife and kids to."

The same official mentioned the elements in society who did not want the integration process to succeed:

"Of course, integrated soccer has given the opportunity for both the white and black racists to get in on the act. Unfortunately there are those within the various communities who do not want integration to succeed."

Under-17 players of GOB generally agreed that the integration process was succeeding but showed concern about the level of disorganisation at many matches.

"The matches against other teams have gone on without any problems on the field and we have enjoyed playing in the league. However, something has to be done about the disorganisation at many matches. Games never seem to start on time and in some cases teams that we were scheduled to play didn't even turn up."

4.2.4.2 BLUE STARS

The involvement of Blue Stars in the desegregated soccer league has been characterised by the club's need to prove itself by way of competition. Competition with white teams appeared to be high up on the agenda of both players and officials at Blue Stars. The chairperson of Blue Stars, Keith Jean-

Pierre saw competition not only as an event that happened on the playing field, but as an overall challenge which involved the positive portrayal of the club and its ultimate survival within the desegregated league. He stated:

"We always knew that integration would not be easy. We were aware of the racial biases and prejudices of some of our own members which could not pose problems for the club in the integration process. We therefore resolved to tighten our own discipline. We knew that some people would not accept us for who we were but we were confident that we would survive because we were no strangers to the struggle, We've always had to struggle for what we've achieved in the past."

The initial integration experiences according to Jean-Pierre were not at all pleasant and the club made it its policy to practice tolerance when dealing with situations which had the potential for racial confrontation.

He explained:

"Some of the white clubs still appeared to treat us as second class citizens and some of the African teams came across as unnecessary confrontational and aggressive."

Long-serving Blue Stars player, Mac Thilakdhari, highlighted the personal difficulties he experienced in the initial stages of integration:

"Initially it was bad, very bad - especially when we played white teams. Aggression and racial jibes were part of almost every game. A lot of the unsavoury comments were directed at me, mainly because I was an Indian. Players would call me a "coolie" a "black thing" and some supporters would even go as far as mimicking my accent in a derogatory way".

Another player expressed his disappointment at the way in which some white referees appeared to favour white teams in games between black and white teams: He said:

"If a white player made a firm tackle on a black player, the referee tended to see it as a hard, but fair tackle, but if a black player made a similar tackle on a white player, it immediately became a foul and was seen as dangerous play or ungentlemanly conduct."

The competition between teams also led to unsavoury racial clashes off the field. Supporters often became involved in racial incidents at matches. A player recalled a disturbing touchline incident which occurred at the home ground of a prominent previously all white club:

"Three black match officials had been assigned to officiate at this game. During the game they were receiving a barracking for no apparent reason from the predominantly white crowd. When the referee had had enough from a particularly irate supporter, he attempted to calm the situation down by addressing the supporter in a humble and concerned way. He began by saying "My friend...." The supporter retorted by saying "You are not my friend. Don't you ever call me that."

4.2.5 SOCIAL INTERACTION

5.2.5.1 GLENWOOD OLD BOYS

For the senior GOB players, the clubhouse seemed to be the main social gathering place. It was common for players to gather at the bar after matches and socialise by drinking (usually a beer or two) and generally having a social

chat. (Sometimes jokes were told) All players were welcomed at these gatherings. The invitation was extended to me on a few occasions but I hardly ever went. At most of these gatherings, the men were almost exclusively represented. In the over-35 after match gatherings that I attended, no women were present, (including the over-35 presentation).

An under-17 player also mentioned that very little after match socialisation took place between players in his team. He said:

"After matches, players generally went home or their separate ways. Because I live in Newlands East, transport was always a problem, so that I could not afford to hang around after matches."

The after-match social interaction for Lauren Pearton of the under-8 team became so unbearable that she almost quit playing for GOB. This was not due to the pressure placed upon her by her own team-mates, but by boys from opposing teams who always had something nasty to say about her presence in the GOB team.

4.2.5.2 BLUE STARS

The after-match social interaction of both the senior and junior players seemed to be fairly good. Players generally got on well with one another and socialised after and between games. Some of the players were close friends and this promoted further social interaction amongst players. The fact that many of the junior players attended the same school (Greenwood Park) and had a common educational history and understanding of the way of the world worked, also meant that many of the players were reasonably close in terms of friendships. However, ethnicities did come into play at the club when players from race groups other than the predominant Coloured group joined or attempted to join

the club. An Indian player at Blue Stars drew attention to the fact that communities and not individuals are often the promoters of segregation and racism.

"We all come from different communities which have their own particular racial attitudes, biases and prejudices. I remember only too well the flack I received from the Indian community in Phoenix when I decided to join a predominantly Coloured club. I was strongly dissuaded by members of my community on the grounds that I was joining a club of drunks, drug addicts, thugs and people who would never really accept me."

The player maintained that these commonly held stereotypes and prejudices would continue to harm integration initiatives. He said:

"Very few individuals are prepared to break out of their respective race groups and join other teams and this will harm integration in the long run."

He felt that it was important for players to make an effort to interact with other races by placing themselves in situations which would ensure that racial and cultural interaction took place. He mentioned how interaction in soccer had made it easier to communicate with South Africans outside the soccer situation. He said:

"I have always been familiar to a certain extent with African and Coloured people. We have travelled on the same busses, gone to the same movies and met quite regularly on a social level. But whites were another kettle of fish. I hardly knew them and was curious to find out about them. You must remember that before soccer, we really never had the opportunity to socialise with them. The only time you came into contact with them was in the business situation,at the bank or when you went to court. I think by interacting with the coach and the white

players that we've had in the team, I've gained a perspective on them which I didn't previously have. I think that this has helped me in dealing with whites outside the football situation. It's now not so daunting facing my bank manager. Previously I would think about what he thought of me, how did my accent sound to him and whether I was making a good impression on him. Now it's no big deal because through soccer I've come to realise that they're no different to us at all."

The after match interaction at Blue Stars has generally excluded women. Apart from the annual presentation, women are rarely involved in after-match activities. This may be due to the fact that for the seniors there are many mid-week matches which take place at 8pm which makes it difficult for the women (who are often wives and mothers) to attend.

4.3 PERCEPTIONS OF INTEGRATION - IS IT WORKING?

The majority of players and officials interviewed held the belief that the integration process in soccer was working and that soccer and sport in general was able to unite South Africans across race, class and cultural lines. A senior Blue Stars player seemed convinced about the positive impact of integration:

"Although not all aspects of integration have been ideal, this has to be viewed against the background of the divided society from which we come. We've only been integrated for five years and look how far we've come. Five years - when viewed against the background of hundreds of years of separation is nothing. In terms of time it amounts to nothing more than a blink."

Although players were generally pleased with the fact that integration was taking place, some seemed concerned that integration was not providing equal benefits to all participants. A player was concerned that not all teams participated on an equal footing and drew attention to the class factor. He said:

"In the scheme of things, black teams are still at a disadvantage even though they play in the same league as white teams. In the Super League, white teams have floodlights at their home grounds and prefer playing their home fixtures on Wednesday nights. For Indian, African and Coloured players, this is very inconvenient because most of the players from these communities are working class chaps, who work from 6am to 6pm. They have to go straight from work to these night games without seeing their families. They usually get home after 10pm. By this time the kids are sleeping and therefore no interaction takes place between the father and his kids. At 6am the next morning, he is up again and off to work - again without seeing his kids. When he returns from work at 6pm, it's as if he has not been with his family for three days. Now for the white guys it's a whole lot different. Most of them have office jobs with not nearly as strict time constraints as their black counterparts. Many of them go to work at 9am and return at 4pm. They are able to see their kids during the day and many take them to the games where they can lounge around in the comfort of their posh clubhouses. In addition they are more relaxed than the black players and are able to perform better on the soccer field."

When asked whether the playing of integrated sport could unite South Africans across race, class and cultural lines, the under-17 players of both clubs seemed more forthright and open about their assessments of the situation. Comments from those who thought that soccer and sport in general could unite South Africans included the following:

"One has seen the unity when the South African national soccer team plays against another country. People of all races support "Bafana-Bafana."²¹

²¹ Bafana-Bafana (the boys -the boys) is the nickname commonly used by South African supporters to describe the South African national soccer team.

"We play soccer to enjoy ourselves. Race doesn't matter."

"Through playing together we learn to trust one another."

"We have never had it (integration) before. Now we are learning to be as one in everything we do."

"In our club, there are different races, and we all get on well. Why can't others"

"Sport builds friendships"

However, there were a few players who thought that soccer and sport in general did not serve to unite South Africans. Their comments included the following:

"Not everybody is sincere in this cause. People all seem to support the national soccer and rugby teams on match days and act as if the country is united. But when there is no sport, there is no unity."

"It is a new South Africa, but many whites still cannot accept blacks as equals."

"There are still some people who believe that their race is right. When I was under-12, I played for Virginia United. We played Hillary and when I fouled the one guy, he called me a "black dog", so I don't think so."

"It is difficult for us (whites) because we always have to be careful about what we say or do. Some people tend to label anything as a racial incident. I'm not allowed to get angry, I'm not allowed to foul another player or question a referee's decision because the moment I do, it immediately becomes a racial incident - I did this or that because I was white."

A concern that was expressed by many players was that intra-club integration was not progressing as well as it could. The trend was for race groups to play for teams which represented their particular grouping. This is primarily a result of apartheid's different race history which separated the residential areas according to the Group Areas Act . Although there are some people that refuse to mix purely on racial grounds, there are many who are not racists and are merely affected by the legacy of past apartheid legislation. Another concern was the apparent distrust of race groups towards each other. A Glenwood Old Boys official who had served on the unified SKZNFA executive committee acknowledged that his club had difficulty in attracting African players but pointed out that Africans had become increasingly involved in the integrated soccer leagues:

"Initially organisation of soccer in Kwa Mashu was not good. Individuals had to be targeted to bring teams out of the township to play in the integrated leagues. However, transport costs led to the withdrawal of these teams. Teams from the stronger Durban and County Football Association from Umlazi saw the new unified league as an Indian dominated league. However, as more information became available, these teams joined the integration process as district associations of the SKZNFA."

In an attempt to clarify the issue concerning the perception of SKZNFA as an Indian dominated organisation, Mubarak Mahomed, the president of the organisation was asked for his views on the matter. He responded by saying:

"That is a load of nonsense. SKZNFA is a democratic organisation and all executive members are voted into office by democratic processes. We have twenty-two district associations which include areas such as Indwedwe, Maphumulo, Chatsworth, Pinetown, Inanda, Ntuzuma, Mzamba and many others. I have always said that if any of the district associations are unhappy

with anybody on the executive, they must vote that person out at the annual general meeting. The rumour that our organisation is Indian dominated is malicious and unfounded and is being spread by people who have their own agendas."

4.4 THE CURRENT POSITION OF RUGBY AND SOCCER IN SCHOOLS ATTENDED BY GLENWOOD OLD BOYS (GOB) AND BLUE STARS PLAYERS

During the apartheid era the playing of soccer was permitted at white primary schools but forbidden at most white high schools where rugby was promoted as the dominant winter sport for boys. A senior GOB player recalled how he and others kept their interest in soccer alive when they got to high school.

"At Chelsea Drive Primary, we had one of the best under-13 soccer teams in the schools league. When we went to Northlands Boys' High School, soccer was not allowed and we were forced to play rugby. However, many of the boys from our primary school team continued to play in private teams such as Virginia United, Parkhill and Glenwood Old Boys. Some of the better players even ended up playing professional soccer in the National Football League (NFL) for Durban United and Durban City."

The status of rugby and soccer within the now desegregated former white schools has not altered much. According to boys who attend some of these schools, although soccer has now been included in the curriculum, rugby is still considered to be the most important winter sport for boys. According to reports from pupils, rugby players are often accorded special status and the inter-school matches form an important part of the curriculum. A soccer playing pupil of

Northwood Boys Secondary School has the following to say concerning the status of soccer and rugby:

"Even though the soccer team has the best record and produces the best results, rugby still comes first at Northwood."

Another soccer player who attends George Campbell Technical School (a former whites-only but now desegregated school) had this to say about rugby and soccer in the school.

"When you walk into the foyer outside the principal's office, all you see are pictures of past and present rugby and cricket teams. It's as if soccer doesn't exist as a sport. There are many boys at the school who love soccer and our school team is quite good. We want to see the look of the foyer change. We want to see some soccer teams up there on the walls."

During the apartheid era, the playing of rugby at black schools was a rare occurrence. However, some rugby was played at Coloured and Indian high schools such as Bechet, Parkhill, Centenary, Fairvale, Newlands East and other schools. Interestingly, the position with regards to the promotion of rugby as opposed to soccer at Parkhill Secondary, a former Coloured but now desegregated school, is similar to the positions found at former white schools such as Northwood and George Campbell. This is indicative of the development of rugby in black areas. All the Blue Stars boys who attend Parkhill Secondary are of the opinion that rugby is well organised and promoted at the school while soccer is not. They attribute the healthy state of rugby to the enthusiasm of the rugby coach (who incidentally plays for the development team of the Natal Rugby Union (NRU)) and the general level of organisation of school rugby. An under-17 Blue Stars player stated:

"They have proper equipment. They have annual tours. The players attend rugby trials regularly and at the moment, our head boy, Aubrey Mbatha, plays for the South African under-19 rugby team."

Another player bemoaned the declining status of soccer in the school:

"Soccer is not given full attention. There is no proper equipment. All we have is two or three balls. Games are not organised regularly and teachers seem disinterested."

However, the Parkhill situation is the exception rather than the rule. Former Coloured, Indian and African schools generally have had soccer as their main winter sport (within the Durban area). However, the level of organisation has not been consistently of a high standard and boys from these schools have preferred to play in private teams

Although integration has not progressed as rapidly and smoothly as one would have liked it to, the players and officials at GOB and Blue Stars have shown a commitment to the process. Both clubs have demonstrated their willingness to integrate in areas of governance, team selection, coaching, competition and after-match socialisation. Although there were some misgivings about the rate of progress expressed by some players, most players and officials were optimistic that integration would succeed. However, the study did raise the fact that important historical, class, cultural, ethnic and gender dynamics will have to be negotiated by all the role players (players, officials and supporters) if progress is to be made in integration.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. CONCLUSION

One of the purposes of this thesis has been to consider whether or not integration in sport lends itself to the greater integration of South African society. A fair amount of research has been done on the post-1990 South African school integration experience. Although this study makes reference to the school integration experience, it focusses on sport (soccer) as a game played by school-going and other youths and the role it plays in the integration of broader society. I focussed on amateur club soccer because of the relative absence of the game from the school curriculum and the widespread presence of school-going youth in these amateur clubs.

Other purposes of the thesis included documenting and analysing the integration process within two Durban soccer clubs, seeing how gender relations impacted on that process and examining how racial relations and identities changed in this period. Factors, which lent themselves to integration, were sought and discussed. Particular attention was paid to the shared masculinity amongst males (men and boys) as a possible integratory force. Factors, which were mainly embedded in the historical, class, cultural and ethnic composition of society and played an inhibiting role in integration, were also discussed and ways of enhancing the integration process were suggested. My research suggests that integration in sport can assist with the integration of society, provided that the role-players within the integration process adequately deal with ethnic and gender dynamics, which operate within South African society, the historical,

class, cultural.

5.1. THE FORM THAT INTEGRATION IN SOCCER HAS TAKEN

Although integration in soccer was started at a local level in the late 1980's, it was eventually co-ordinated nationally in the early 1990's. This was done by the South African Football Association (SAFA), which provided guidelines and standards of behaviour for clubs through the implementation of its constitution. An important guiding principle of the SAFA constitution is its commitment to non-racism. In effect this means that clubs which play under the banner of SAFA are required by law to be non-racial and not to discriminate against anybody on the grounds of race and cultural difference. This has challenged both black and white clubs, which were historically constructed along racial lines to embrace the principle of non-racism and to open their doors to all South Africans, regardless of race and cultural difference.

Under the banner of SAFA, soccer bodies from previously different racial affiliations formed non-racial organisations. In the Durban and surrounding area, the desegregated Southern Kwa-Zulu Natal Football Association (SKZNFA) was formed. Initially it consisted of teams, which were basically homogenous in terms of racial composition, with the result, that during the early stages of integration, teams were often referred to as White, Indian, Coloured and African clubs. This position has not altered much with many clubs still retaining their racial labels. However, there have been cases in which clubs have managed to desegregate

quite considerably; thus losing their racial labels. E.g. Juventus and Chiltern Park. However, this study is not about these "success stories" and does not necessarily use desegregation as a yardstick to measure the extent of integration. It recognises that the transitional nature of South African society remains racialised, that race does not disappear and that the principle of non-racism remains a goal, not a description of reality. Glenwood Old Boys (GOB) and Blue Stars are among the clubs which have not managed to lose their racial labels and have respectively retained their White and Coloured identities but can still provide interesting studies on integration.

It would be easy to conclude that significant integration has not taken place at Glenwood Old Boys and Blue Stars (to a lesser extent) on the basis of there being very little evidence of inter-racial desegregation. However integration, unlike desegregation as pointed out by Naidoo (1996) is more than a mere head-count and it would be unfair to minimise the efforts of these clubs. Important, non-quantifiable integration indicators found in the ethos prevalent at both clubs provide insights into the extent to which integration has taken place. These clubs' policies on integration, their attitudes towards players and supporters from different race and cultural groupings, their tolerance of racial and cultural diversity, their willingness to entertain the points of view of others and their willingness to acknowledge the merits in the arguments and positions (on integration) of others, all give an indication as to how integration has progressed and is progressing.

5.1.1 POSITIVE ASPECTS OF INTEGRATION

The fact that GOB, a former exclusively white club, opted to break away from the NFA in 1992 (which initially had refused to enter the unification process) and join the integrated SKZNFA in its inaugural year indicated a sense of commitment to the integration process. The fact that they also attempted to desegregate within their management structures by appointing a Coloured junior chairperson in George Ellis and extended regular invitations to black players to join their ranks, also points to their commitment to integration.

On the evidence of some of the reasons for entering the integration process forwarded by GOB, viz. the changing political scenario in the country and the prospect of international competition, one could argue that GOB was motivated by extrinsic factors. However, all South Africans have had to deal with political change, and international competition was always likely after the achievement of a new and just political dispensation. It would therefore be unfair to view these as particular motives of GOB.

Although Blue Stars, a predominantly Coloured club, which had previously played under the banner of SACOS, historically subscribed to the principle of non-racism, it (like many other SACOS clubs) was not fully desegregated. The club historically catered for Coloured and Indian players, but because of

ideological and political differences, contained very few Africans and whites. The policy of non-racism at Blue Stars (and many other SACOS clubs) lent itself to integration, but was severely hampered by the fact that the club was not fully representative of the multicultural and multiracial diversity of the country. Integration at Blue Stars therefore entailed desegregating at an intra-club level and integrating at an inter-club level. Intra-club desegregation at Blue Stars has been relatively successful, with African and Indian players (mainly juniors) joining the club. However, apart from a few white coaches and the odd white player, whites have not joined the ranks of Blue Stars. On the other hand, inter-club integration has progressed reasonably well because the club has stressed the need for good inter-race and inter-cultural relationships amongst its members.

5.1.2 LIMITATIONS OF THE INTEGRATION PROCESS

Although there were undoubtedly many positive aspects of the integration process evident at both GOB and Blue Stars, there were also many limiting factors. These factors were embedded in the historical, race, class, gender, ethnic, geographical and broader political dynamics of the region and country as a whole. These factors indicated (contrary to popular belief) that the successful integration of sport entails not just a simplistic uniting of sportspeople from different racial and cultural backgrounds, but the recognition and successful negotiation of these limiting factors.

Both GOB and Blue Stars (to a lesser extent) have historically had memberships,

which came from the more advantaged sectors of South African society. The predominantly white membership of GOB came from a background of advantage with regard to positions within the economy, employment and social facilities such as housing, schools, residential areas, etc. The predominantly Coloured membership of Blue Stars, although not as advantaged as the white membership of GOB, were also in a similar position of advantage when compared with the vast majority of African people. This position of advantage within GOB and Blue Stars coincided with the general race and class hierarchy that characterised apartheid South Africa. The attitudes and practices associated with "class superiority" such as aloofness, arrogance, snobbery, discrimination, exclusion, etc. were evident to a varying degree in both GOB and Blue Stars and still constitute a challenge to both clubs.

The historical advantage in the provision of facilities in a former exclusively white club like GOB, which was highlighted by Christopher Merret (1994), still serves to emphasise the gulf between white and black sports clubs. In addition the legacy of apartheid legislation such as the Group Areas Act of 1950, which stipulated where different races were allowed to live, has added to the difficulty of integrating clubs within the various residential areas at an intra-club level. The result has been that a club like GOB has experienced difficulty in attracting and retaining players from outside the Durban North area on a long-term basis. Inconvenience due to travelling difficulties has been cited as a major reason. The situation is not as serious at Blue Stars, which was relatively successful in integrating at an intra-club level. However, most African and Indian players at

the club lived outside the former Coloured residential area of Greenwood Park (which was the club's headquarters) and were required to travel from the surrounding areas of Sydenham, Newlands East, Kwa Mashu, Inanda and Phoenix.

The fact that Mac Thilakdhari, an Indian player from the former Indian township of Phoenix, faced criticism from the community when he decided to leave the neighbourhood team and join the predominantly Coloured Blue Stars team, raised the restricting role that ethnic affiliations can play in the integration process. Morrell (1996) has pointed out that ethnic affiliations, although underplayed, have a great influence on how South Africans from different race and cultural groups interact with one another. Singh and Vawda (1988) have also pointed out how the incestuous and exclusionary nature of ethnic affiliations can work against integration. It is against this background that certain racial and cultural incompatibilities must be seen. The way in which race and cultural groups tend to stick together is also not a simplistic issue and should not be unproblematically attributed to racism. It is quite conceivable that a predominantly white club like GOB prefers to have white members, not because they are racists, but because they feel comfortable around people with similar ethnic affiliations, traditions and ways of doing things. The same could be said of a predominantly Coloured club such as Blue Stars and other predominantly African and Indian clubs. South African sports clubs like GOB and Blue Stars with almost homogenous racial compositions are therefore challenged to distinguish between acceptable ethnic and cultural differences as opposed to

racist and exclusionary practices, which could easily emanate from these differences.

Both GOB and Blue Stars officials have acknowledged that the threat of racism from both players and supporters has presented a serious challenge to their clubs in the integration process. Given the fact that the players and officials involved in the integration process come from historically separate (and in many cases indoctrinated) racial communities, it is understandable that not all integratory practices were characterised by goodwill and benevolence. The challenge for clubs such as GOB and Blue Stars therefore lies in how their members handle the new multicultural circumstances of soccer. Although the structural mechanism in the form of desegregation has been put in place in an effort to bring about integration, it is the individual clubs, which have been entrusted with the task of carrying the process through. The danger of what Hepburn (1992) refers to as "ethnic revitalisation" and what Carrim and Mkwana (1994) refer to as "new racism" presents a real challenge to both clubs. Although both processes may not be based on the ideas of the innate superiority of races and cultures, their subscription to the idea of the supposed incompatibility of races and cultures present a challenge to many clubs in the integration process. Stereotypes, which result from mistrust and the ignorance of other cultures, may also serve to exacerbate this supposed incompatibility. Commonly held stereotypes, which label whites as racists, Indians as thieves, Coloureds as drunks and Africans as violent, present a challenge to clubs involved in the integration process.

5.2 THE ROLE OF INTEGRATION IN SOCCER IN THE INTEGRATION OF SOCIETY

The fact that South Africa has a history which has been characterised by racial, class and cultural segregation in all spheres of life (including sport), means that any initiative which attempts to desegregate and bring the previously separate parts of society together has to be seen as a move towards the broader social integration of the country. Sports clubs such as GOB and Blue Stars, which have embraced the integration process at the micro level, have definitely contributed to the broader social integration within the country. Integration of sport at the junior level (within schools and amateur clubs) has brought young South Africans together on an unprecedented level which augers well for the future of the country. Many adults within the process have also warmed to the task of providing an example and a direction to be followed by the youth as well as other adults. The process has been helped thus far by the recognition and acknowledgement by many South Africans that integration is a slow process, which involves the shifting of deeply held views of many people within the country. The call for reform has therefore been accompanied by tolerance and understanding in many quarters. On the other hand, there have been frustrations that the process of integration is moving too slowly.

Although it has become evident that integration in sport does contribute to the

broader social integration in the country, it cannot bring about national integration by itself. Broader integration in society will not progress if many of the imbalances inherited as a legacy of the past colonial and apartheid governments are not redressed. These imbalances include unemployment, poverty, homelessness, illiteracy and a host of other social ills and deprivations and which afflict many black (mainly African) people. It would be quite incongruous for a South Africa with the urgent need to reconstruct politically, economically and socially to have integrated sport (including international competition) while the basic needs of many of its citizens are not being met. An under -17 Blue Stars respondent grasped this argument when in an interview, he made reference to the new and almost passionate unity expressed by South Africans when supporting the national soccer and rugby teams during matches, and the lack of unity once these matches were over. It follows that integration in sport has to be mirrored by a general reconstruction and integration within the broader society, which lends itself to the overall transformation of the country.

Integration of sport cannot be divorced from what Connell (1993) refers to as the achievement of "social justice." Societies, which are socially just, ensure that the needs (at least the basic needs) of the least advantaged members of society are met.

High on the agenda of transforming South African society has been the desegregation of schooling. Although many political and non-political organisations have contributed to the desegregation of South African schools,

the role of the state has been crucial. Initiatives such as the Clase Models of 1990, and more significantly, the South African Schools Act of 1996 have ensured that formerly segregated schools in the country have had to desegregate. Financial cut-backs in the provision of education which resulted in the transfer of running costs to school communities in the form of governing bodies has forced schools to enrol pupils not on racial and cultural grounds, but on the ability to pay fees. This is not to suggest that there were not any intrinsic motivations towards integration within schools, but that even for those who were against integration, there were certain minimum requirements, which ensured that desegregation took place.

When looking at the integration process in soccer, the integratory forces have been quite different. State pressure on clubs to integrate has virtually been absent and because clubs have traditionally been in control of their own finances, they have not been subjected to pressure to integrate due to financial constraints. Initially, it was optional whether or not clubs became involved in integration. However, when they opted to join the integration process, they did so under the banner of SAFA. Apart from the constitutional directive from SAFA to its affiliates to integrate and practice non-racism (which is in line with the South African Constitution and Bill of Rights), clubs have had to negotiate the integration process for themselves. Because clubs have had different capacities to negotiate the race, class, cultural, ethnic and gender dynamics of the integration process, integration has proceeded unevenly across the broad spectrum of clubs. They argue that if the time, energy and money can be found

to promote and develop sports such as rugby and cricket, the same should be done for soccer.

The absence of organised soccer in many schools is a point of concern. Sports such as rugby and cricket have made major developments and broader society is being shunned. Encouragingly, this looks set to change as the demand by students for better organisation in school soccer increases. Evidence from this study indicates that school-going youths from both GOB and Blue Stars were strongly in favour of improving the status and level of organisation of school soccer.

5.3. GENDER DYNAMICS IN THE INTEGRATION OF SOCCER

Although recent developments in international and local soccer have resulted in soccer becoming more of a family game, the game in South Africa has been traditionally governed and played by men. Men have been drawn to sports such as rugby and soccer because of their physical and robust nature. Connell (1995), Messner (1990) and Mangan (1987) maintain that many men share a common understanding of masculinity. It is this shared understanding of masculinity as well as the common understanding of body and competition amongst men in team sports such as soccer and rugby that I suggest as a force which integrates across race, class and cultural barriers. My argument rests on the grounds that a sport such as soccer has "neutral" requirements such as skill, strength, speed, craft and guile that are not influenced by variables such as race class and

culture. Players at GOB and Blue Stars were generally accepted because they met the masculine requirements of the sport. The shared understanding of masculinity at Blue Stars was so strong that the fact that their coach Eddie Mulheron was white, was reduced to insignificance. What mattered to the players was that he was "one of them" through his understanding of the common masculinity, which operated within the team.

However, through the experiences of GOB under-8 female player, Lauren Pearton (in an all-boys team), we were able to see that although males may be drawn together by their shared masculinity and their common understanding of body and competition, the danger exists that they may exclude females, often through unfair discriminatory practices. Messner and Sabo (1990) highlight the fact that male dominated sports have been seen by feminist sport sociologists hegemonically to maintain and boost the ideology of male superiority by the gender exclusive nature of these sports. Although Lauren was able to compete physically and technically with the boys, she was viewed as being "different" and a threat because she did not conform to the bodily norms of the team (and the sport) and was gradually excluded from the team.

The relative absence of women and the minor roles played by the few who were members of GOB and Blues Stars seem to indicate that not much is being done to promote gender equality. This is not to say that these clubs are gender insensitive, but that the activities of members other than the boys and men who share a common masculinity are not a priority. The fact that many officials,

coaches and players regard soccer as a "man's game" in which "manly" qualities such as toughness, strength and aggression are developed, lends itself to the structuring of masculinities which exclude the participation of effeminate men, girls and women.

5.4. A POSSIBLE WAY FORWARD FOR CLUBS INVOLVED IN THE INTEGRATION PROCESS

Hundreds of years of colonial and apartheid rule have resulted in an uneven distribution of resources between whites and blacks in South Africa. Whites have historically been advantaged with regards to economic, political and social empowerment. Although blacks achieved political freedom in 1994, economic and social empowerment can only realistically be achieved in the long term. At the amateur club level, former "white" clubs will continue to hold the advantage in terms of facilities in the foreseeable future. The prospects of a significant change in the racial compositions of these clubs and the residential areas, in which they are found, also appear to be slim. Conversely, the prospect of black (African, Indian and Coloured) clubs being inundated with whites and other blacks from other residential areas also seem unlikely. Realistically, within the present scenario, the racially established geographical areas will continue to play a significant role in the racial composition of sports clubs.

However, this situation is not cast in stone. If South Africans have learnt anything at all from the integration process in schools, it has to be that the state

can play a powerful and critical role. SAFA, an organisation governed by democratic principles, has already committed itself to non-racism and given its associations and clubs the go-ahead to integrate. Undoubtedly, much good work has been done, but one gets the feeling that in many areas, integration has ground to a standstill. It is against this background that I would propose the intervention of the state in the integration of soccer and other sports. I am not for a moment suggesting that the state should autocratically impose certain conditions and requirements on clubs, but that through a process of negotiation with clubs and associations, certain minimum desegregation criteria should be established and time-frames put in place in an effort to take the integration process forward.

At the club level, members should be encouraged to adopt a more informed approach to multicultural relationships. Ignorance of other cultures within the South African context will retard integration. In addition to overcoming stereotypes, knowledge of and respect for the cultural traditions, beliefs and languages of others could greatly assist the integration process. This informative approach to dealing with cultural diversity has been criticised by radical multiculturalists and anti-racists theorists such as Sarup (1986) and Gabe (1991) on the grounds that it pays insignificant attention to the underlying causes of racism in society. In the context of nation building and messages of tolerance and respect, the newfound space for harmonious integration gained at club level should be transferred to all life situations where it will be able to achieve significant successes within the integration process. It would also help for clubs,

in addition to subscribing to the policy principles of SAFA, to make bold policy statements on issues of race, culture and gender and communicate these to members regularly.

Finally, men of different races and cultures within integrated teams and within integrated sport as a whole, should exploit their shared masculinity and transfer this common understanding amongst men (so evident in sport), to all facets of life. However, the approach to masculinity must be one governed by gender sensitivity which does not discriminate on the basis of sex or sexual orientation. It would help clubs (where the need exists) to re-arrange their gender composition by starting female teams, employing female managers and officials and issuing firm policy statements with regards to gender discrimination.

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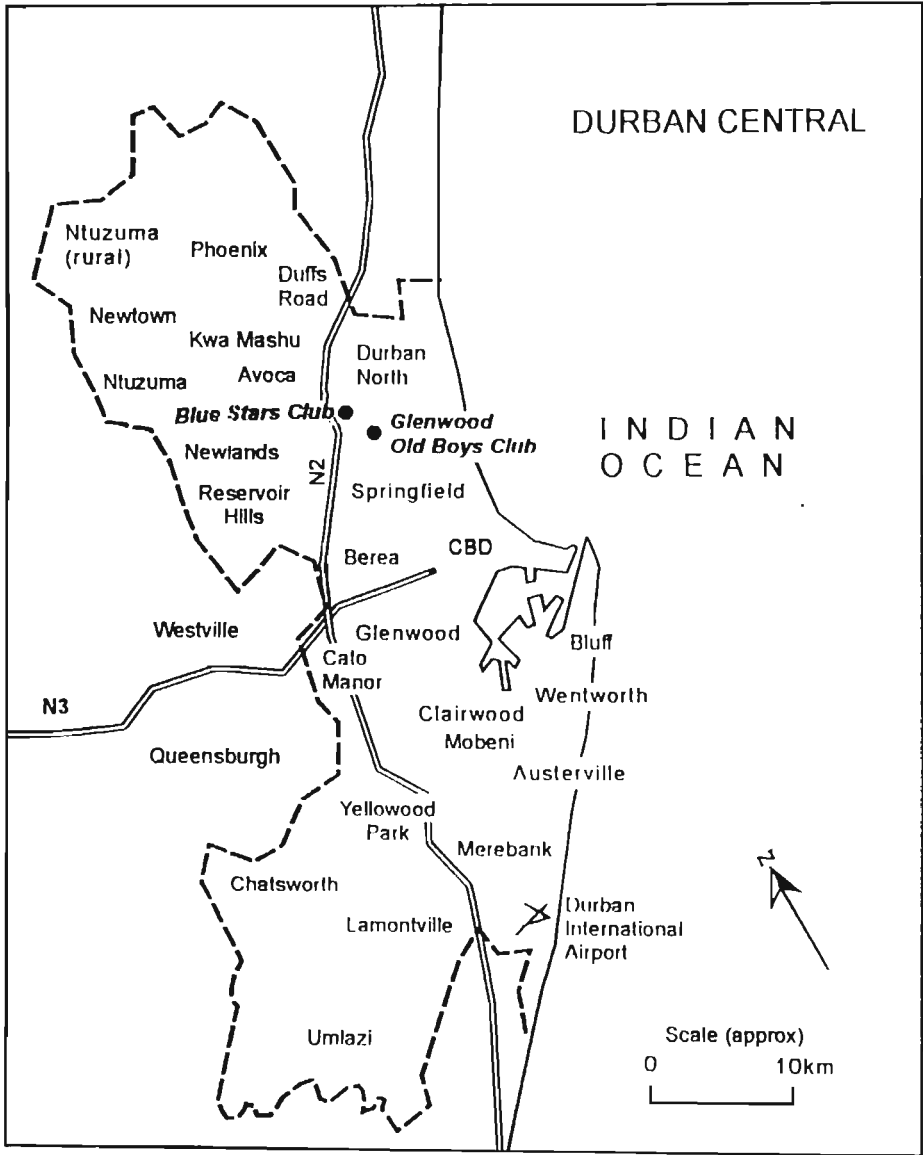
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APPENDIX A



APPENDIX B

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION - DURBAN

QUESTIONNAIRE : INTEGRATION IN SPORT (SOCCER) IN THE DURBAN AREA.

SPECIFIC AREA : SCHOOLBOYS IN INTEGRATED SOCCER TEAMS.

RESEARCHER : MR. IAN E. AFRICA

DEGREE : MASTER OF EDUCATION

SUPERVISOR : DR. ROBERT MORRELL (OFFICE 701, MTB, PH. 2601127 (W)

RESPONDENT NO: _____

INSTRUCTIONS:

1. PLEASE ANSWER ALL QUESTIONS.
(ANSWERS MAY VARY FROM A SIMPLE "YES" OR "NO" TO A BRIEF WRITTEN EXPLANATION)
2. IF A QUESTION DOES NOT APPLY TO YOU, WRITE N/A.
(FOR - NOT APPLICABLE)
3. PLEASE WRITE IN CAPITAL LETTERS.
4. PLEASE DO NOT WRITE YOUR NAME ON THIS QUESTIONNAIRE OR REFER TO ANYONE IN IT BY NAME. (THIS IS A CONFIDENTIAL EXERCISE)

DETAILS OF RESPONDENT:

1. AGE: _____
2. RACE: _____
3. CURRENT SCHOOL: _____
4. SOCCER TEAM REGISTERED FOR: _____

QUESTIONS:

1. MENTION 2 OF THE MAJOR SPORTS PLAYED AT YOUR SCHOOL.

2. IS SOCCER PLAYED AT YOUR SCHOOL? _____
3. IF SOCCER IS PLAYED AT YOUR SCHOOL, WOULD YOU DESCRIBE IT AS
WELL, MODERATELY WELL OR POORLY ORGANISED AND PROMOTED?

4. PLEASE GIVE A REASON FOR THE ABOVE ANSWER.

5. ARE YOU IN FAVOUR OF SOCCER BEING PLAYED AT AN ORGANISED
LEVEL AT YOUR SCHOOL? _____

6. IS RUGBY PLAYED AT YOUR SCHOOL? _____
7. DO YOU PLAY RUGBY AT SCHOOL? _____
8. IF RUGBY IS PLAYED AT YOUR SCHOOL, WOULD YOU DESCRIBE IT AS
WELL, MODERATELY WELL, OR POORLY ORGANISED AND PROMOTED?

9. PLEASE GIVE A REASON FOR THE ABOVE ANSWER.

10. MENTION 3 QUALITIES (IN YOUR OPINION) THAT PARTICIPATION IN
RUGBY MAY DEVELOP.

11. MENTION 3 QUALITIES (IN YOUR OPINION) THAT PARTICIPATION IN
SOCCER MAY DEVELOP.

12. IT IS A WIDELY HELD BELIEF THAT PARTICIPATION IN CONTACT
SPORTS SUCH AS RUGBY AND SOCCER SERVE TO CREATE "REAL MEN"
OR "HARD MEN."
WHAT QUALITIES DO YOU THINK A "REAL MAN" SHOULD HAVE?

13. AT YOUR SOCCER CLUB, DO YOU THINK THE PRODUCTION OF "REAL MEN"
OR "HARD MEN" IS ENCOURAGED? _____
14. GIVE A REASON FOR THE ABOVE ANSWER.

15. DO YOU AGREE WITH THE CONCEPT OF A "REAL MAN?"

16. PLEASE GIVE A REASON FOR THE ABOVE ANSWER.

17. HAVE YOU ENJOYED PLAYING IN THE UNIFIED (INTEGRATED) SOCCER LEAGUE IN DURBAN? _____
18. WHICH ASPECTS HAVE YOU ENJOYED/NOT ENJOYED?

19. MENTION SOME AREAS OF UNIFIED SOCCER THAT NEED IMPROVEMENT.

20. DO YOU (OR YOUR TEAM) EXPERIENCE ANY TENSIONS WHEN PLAYING AGAINST TEAMS WHICH COME FROM RACE GROUPS WHICH ARE PREDOMINANTLY DIFFERENT FROM YOUR OWN? _____
21. IF SO, EXPLAIN BRIEFLY.

22. IS YOUR COMPETITIVE EDGE SHARPENED WHEN PLAYING AGAINST TEAMS AND PLAYERS FROM OTHER RACE GROUPS? _____
23. IF SO, WHY?

24. WOULD YOU DESCRIBE THE INTEGRATION OF RACES AT YOUR CLUB AS BEING GOOD, SATISFACTORY OR POOR? _____
25. GIVE A REASON FOR THE ABOVE ANSWER?

26. IN YOUR OPINION, IS INTEGRATION IN SPORT ABLE TO UNITE SOUTH AFRICANS ACROSS RACE, CLASS AND CULTURAL LINES?

27. GIVE A REASON FOR THE ABOVE ANSWER.

