Transforming Sport and Identity
in the post-Apartheid South African Nation State

A DISSERTATION
SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
BY

DAVID MARK MARALACK

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

ADVISER HELGA LEITNER, PH.D.

NOVEMBER 2010

© DAVID MARALACK

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

2010

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation utilizes the cumulative contribution of sport activists, colleagues and friends who shared their experiences and insights with me over many years. I may have been privileged to write this dissertation, but I humbly acknowledge each contribution that stimulated my interest in sport and society. Experiences at Crestway Senior Secondary School, Peninsula Cricket Club, Retreat Sports Board and Council, SACOS, NSC and various other sport institutions shaped my views on society, transformation and sport.

It is with appreciation that I acknowledge the contributions of the following organizations: the Department of Geography, MacArthur Program and Interdisciplinary Center for the Study of Global Change at the University of Minnesota, Fulbright Program, Rockefeller Foundation, SALDRU and the School of Management Studies at the University of Cape Town. It is with great respect that I thank the individuals in these institutions that kept the door open to completing this research, despite my long leave of absence.

My adviser Helga Leitner has been a tremendous pillar of support over many years. The content and shape of the arguments are a credit to her insightfulness, knowledge and interest in social change and policy development. I am humbled by the extent of Helga's contribution.

Various readers and members of my dissertation committee were influential in shaping the arguments in this dissertation and cajoling me to complete the process. I acknowledge the contributions of Emeritus Professors Eric Sheppard and Alan Isaacman and Professors Abdi Samatar, Ron Aminzade, Phil Porter and Bud Duvall. Their commitment to social change and political practice in academia and practice endeavor is inspiring.

A special note of gratitude is extended to Drs. Jim Johnson and Karen Brown of ICGC and Jodi Larson and Bonnie Williams of the Geography Department at the University of Minnesota for their help and unfailing support. I thank Patty Gilliomee, Yolanda Smith, Sharman Wickham, Amina Adam and William Daniels for their critical roles in gathering information, transcribing interviews, reviewing documentation and technical assistance.

I have been fortunate to benefit from numerous political and intellectual discussions about transformation and sport in South Africa over many years of activism in government and civil society institutions. Although numerous people have contributed to my development and critical analysis of social change, I want to thank the following people for their contributions to this dissertation: Gert Bam, Dudley Horner, Vernon Rose, Donny Jurgens, Bennet Bailey and Adrian Sayers. The friendship and many hours of stimulating, feisty and humorous debates about the role of sport in social change shaped many of my perspectives.

I acknowledge the numerous individuals whom I interviewed and quoted in this dissertation. Their generosity and willingness to help me is highly appreciated.

My sincere gratitude to my family and in particular my parents, Frans Maralack and Maud Maralack, who impressed the value of education despite challenging economic and political conditions. Their sacrifices over many years made this achievement possible. My appreciation also to Professor John Oldfield and Julienne Oldfield, whose interest and understanding is greatly appreciated.

Finally, I dedicate this dissertation to Sophie Oldfield and Zoe Maralack. Their unfailing support, love, intellectual stimulation and patience carried me through the sticky patches.

I can now answer, “yes” to the question: “did you finish it dad”?

I take full responsibility for any errors of omission or commission in this dissertation. I apologize most sincerely if I have inadvertently omitted anyone.

DISSERTATION ABSTRACT

Transforming Sport and Identity in the post-Apartheid South African Nation State

This dissertation examines processes of state restructuring and nation-state building in post-apartheid South Africa through the lens of sport policies and institutions. The post-apartheid state used sports to nurture post-apartheid identity, overcome economic inequalities, racial cleavages, and foster civic participation at the same time. However, contestations have pervaded sport transformation in South Africa from apartheid to the present.

In 2005, the Sports Minister lamented that it is inconceivable that 12 years of democracy has not reduced contestation over sport transformation and remains the most vexing and divisive issue for post-apartheid sport. I seek to understand why sport transformation remains challenging in post-apartheid South Africa and analyze the ways sport has and could be used to create post-apartheid national identity. Through a critical assessment of sport strategies, policies, processes and dilemmas, I analyze the tension between elite and community sport at the national and local/Cape Town scales.

Using a diverse set of methods including document analysis, participant observation, and interviews, I assess the efficacy of sports policies in transforming sport, identities and nation building at national and local scales. At the national scale I focus on the ways in which processes of internationalization and globalization in sport affected apartheid and post-apartheid state restructuring and sports policies. At the local scale in Cape Town, I examine a situated practice of deliberative democracy in sport processes, addressing negotiations across difference - racial cleavages and inequalities in resource distribution. I argue that sustainable sport transformation should not be a single national project but a multi-scaled project with a heterogeneous set of strategies, enacted by multiple actors who are situated in a variety of institutions and located at a variety of scales. I conclude with a proposal for praxis of sport politics, a Collaborative Sport Development and Praxis Model.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements i

Dissertation Abstract iii

List of Figures viii

List of Maps ix

Chapter One: Transforming Sport and Identity in South Africa 1

Sport as Spontaneous Ideology? 1

Sport and Social Transformation in Post-apartheid South Africa 6

Current Research on Sport and Policy Development 8

The Sports – Politics Matrix 11

Research Questions 14

Methodology 15

Structure of the Dissertation 16

Chapter Two: Conceptual Framework and Debates 20

The Regulation Approach: Capitalist Systemic Crisis and Transformation 20

Criticism of the Regulation Approach 22

Extending the Regulation Approach: Incorporating Political Specificities and Culture 23

Reinserting Gramsci into the Regulation Approach 24

Cultural Political Economy and Governance 25

How and Why Does Culture Matter – Identity and Redistribution 29

Dilemmas of Redistribution and Recognition 31

The challenge of Race in Capitalist Social Formations 35

Conclusions 38

Chapter Three: Contradictions in State, Society and Sport in Apartheid South Africa **40**

Apartheid in Sport Tracksuits: 1952 to 1976 42

Competing Sport Discourses I: 1977 to 1988 47

Multi-national Reform and Sport 48

Multi-National Sports Reform and Apartheid Contradictions 50

Competing Sport Discourses II: Sport as Politics of Contestation 51

No Normal Sport in an Abnormal Society 52

Demythologizing Racial Inferiority through sport 52

Contesting Apartheid Resource Distribution 57

Institutionalizing Non-racial Sport Governance 60

Competing Sport Discourses III: The ANC in Tracksuits – 1988 to 1990 63

Paradoxes in anti-State Policy, Contests and Sport 63

Paradoxes in Race and Redistribution Logics: 1988 to 1990 65

The Shifting Political Context 67

The post-apartheid prioritization of sport unification: 1990 to 1994 71

Sport governance for national unity and global pressure 70

Repositioning Sport and Politics in Post-apartheid South Africa 72

The Influence of Global Imperatives Over Local Desires 74

Post-Apartheid Sport Identities as Antidote to Political Instability 1990 to 1994 76

Conclusion 81

Chapter Four: Transforming Sport and the State in Post-apartheid South Africa – National Impulses Between 1994 and 2000 **82**

Using Sport as Political Tool to Galvanize the Nation – 1990-1996 83

The Department of Sport and Recreation: Institutionalizing National Sport Transformation – 1996 - 2000 86
Transforming Sport through "Getting the Nation to Play 87
The National Sport Institutional Model 91
The South African Sports Commission – The Global face of South African Sport and the Embodiment of Gear - 1998 - 2000 97
Sport in Two Nations: The Growing Dualism in Sport Transformation 2000 to 2005 102
A Tale of Two Transformations: Elite and Grassroots 107
The Decade of Fundamental Transformation 111
Lilliputian Efforts Cannot Produce Olympians 117
Conclusion 120

Chapter Five: Negotiating Intra-Urban Inequality In Cape Town Sport 122

State Restructuring in Cape Town 123
Cape Town: A City of Villages 125
Modernizing Sport Institutions in Post-Apartheid Cape Town 129
Sport Transitions in Cape Town 1996 to 2000: Interim Local Government Transitions, Sport Governance Paralysis and "Many Chiefs" 131
Tygerberg Administration 132
Blaauwberg Administration 135
Cape Town Administration 137
New Rationalities for Sport in Metropolitan Cape Town – Post 2000 139
Testing the Public Pulse 141

New Sport Governance: Pragmatism and Democracy as Strategy 143
Breaching Institutional Habits Through Governance Processes and Culture 144
Democracy and Hierarchy as Governance Culture 148
Local Sport and Recreation Councils 155
District Sport and Recreation Councils 158
City Sport and Recreation Forum 158
Sport Institutional Framework as a New Modality for Government 160
Benefits of a Community-Centered Approach 160
Conclusion 164

Chapter Six: Winning Does Not Start on the Field It Starts Long Before 166

Synthesis: Challenges and Prospects for Fundamental Change in Sport and Political Practice 167
Implications for Broader Debates 173
Implications for Praxis of Sport Politics 176
Scaled Sport Coordination 180
Managing Patterns of Power 182
Agency and Community Empowerment 183

Bibliography 184

Appendix: Interview Protocols 198
Institutional Review Board Approval 199
Letter Requesting Participation in the Study 200
Consent Form 201
Model Interview questions 203

List of figures

1	Undermining Non-Racial Sports Events in Cape Town	56
2	SACOS Festival 1988 – “Festival of the Oppressed” Opening Ceremony at Athlone Stadium	57
3	Pansi Capitalist Sport	80
4	National Sport Institutional Model 1997	93
5	Sport Institutional Structures 2005	114
6	Balancing Local Exclusions and Elite Sport in Cape Town	130
7	Tygerberg Administration Sport Governing Structures 1997	134
8	Race, Class, Material Wealth and Sport in Cape Town	140
9	Institutional Framework Decision Making Hierarchy	153
10	District 1 Sport and Recreation Council	157
11	Collaborative Sport Development and Praxis Model	181

List of maps

Map 1	Socio-economic Groups in Cape Town	128
Map 2	Cape Town Sports Institutional Boundaries by District and Area	147

CHAPTER 1

TRANSFORMING SPORT AND IDENTITY IN SOUTH AFRICA

Sport is a central element of the enduring project to transform South Africa, create a post-apartheid nation-state and generate a post-apartheid identity that contends with divisions based in race, class, gender and geographical location. The first section of Chapter 1 locates the thesis within events between 1990 and 2005 and highlights the view presented by some (James 1996:1) that sport success contributes to post-apartheid nation building and national identity through "spontaneous ideology". I also highlight cautions by President Mbeki that devotion to spontaneous ideology in sport leads to "90 minute patriots" and devalues the complexity of social change and transformation. The second section focuses on the approaches used by the South African state in effecting change through competing policies such as the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) and Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR), and the tensions and contradictions between different discourses focusing on physical development and community development. The third section summarizes three genres in research on sport and policy development. Fourth, I present the research questions and the methodology utilized in this dissertation.

Sport as Spontaneous Ideology?

The importance of sport to social, political and cultural transformation in post-apartheid South Africa is evident in statements made by leading politicians between 1994 and 2010. Nelson Mandela, the first democratically elected President, speaking at the first non-racial Presidential Sports Awards in 1995, emphasized that the creation of a non-racial and politically vigorous sports community was a key motor generating momentum for a sustainable process of change and transformation beyond sport in post-apartheid South Africa (Hendricks, 2000:1). Furthermore, he pointed out that the deeply, racially

divided history of South African society presents significant challenges and dangers to post-apartheid South Africa. He suggested that given the significance of sport in the lives of South African citizens across the political, economic and racial gulfs, sport was destined to be a central element of the national transformation project (Hendricks, 2000:1). Sport emerged as a central feature of post-apartheid transformation.

Four dramatic moments epitomized the transformation of South Africa from an apartheid authoritarian to a post-apartheid democratic regime: The first was the successfully held non-racial democratic elections in 1994, inarguably the lynchpin to a post-apartheid South Africa; second, the success of South Africans in the Rugby World Cup 1995: third, the Atlanta Olympic Games in 1996, and fourth the African Football Cup of Nations in 1996. All of these stirred the emotions and captured the imagination of South Africans and the global community. Popular wisdom suggested that sport was one of the "earliest and most dramatic signs of new feelings of national unity" (Woods 2000:186) and that sport was "a healing agency in South Africa's national life" (Woods, 2000:188; Moodley and Adam, 2002; Merrett, 2003:36). Participation and success in international sporting events were seminal moments and platforms for expressions of uninhibited emotions. Wilmot James, a sociologist, suggests that South African sports teams "excelled beyond expectations and in doing so have elevated the concept of national unity in a way that 1000 lectures and community workshops could not have begun to achieve" (James 1996:3). He argues that the momentary feelings of unity at success in elite sport field is "more than momentary sentimentality" but "sets an unmistakable example, involves millions of people in collective forms and celebrations" and proposes that sport and success of South African sports teams "is in fact a powerful example, of spontaneous ideology" (James: 1996:3). James argued that the value of these sporting moments meant more than the raw display of athletic prowess and "momentary sentimentality of the masses," but transcends old class and race divisions through collective celebrations. Assumptions of

unproblematic collective aspirations for a unified post-apartheid social order are built into notions of spontaneous ideology diminishing the importance of social, political, economic and cultural differences and inequalities. In this dissertation I question the notion that emotions over sport success are merely coincidental and spontaneous. Rather I argue that sport is part of a broader ensemble of social, political and economic factors.

While negotiations for a democratic future in the political arena between 1990 and 1994 and the peaceful transition to a majority ruled government after the democratic elections in 1994 was uncertain, sport moments demonstrated what was possible in a democratic, non-racial and transformed South Africa. At the victorious performance of South Africa at the 1995 Rugby World Cup final, Nelson Mandela entered the stadium at Ellis Park in a Springbok jersey and handed the World Cup trophy to the victorious, but still predominantly white South African team. Ignoring resistance by anti-apartheid activists, this carefully orchestrated moment by the newly elected President acknowledged that in spite of popular perceptions that the Springbok rugby team was a key symbol of apartheid oppression the Springbok rugby emblem could be transformed in the new political order into a unifying symbol of what was possible in post-apartheid South Africa. Transforming this contested symbol contributed to nation building, shaping political opportunities beyond sport.

Also during this time Olympic marathon runner Josiah Thugwane, won the 1996 Olympic Marathon gold medal, becoming the first black South African to reach the pinnacle of elite sport success. Thugwane overcame being black, growing up poor in rural South Africa and working in the oppressive South African mines to capture the imagination of all South Africans and international sport followers. Political and sport leadership in South Africa and internationally highlighted the success of the Springboks and Thugwane as symbols of transformation and the most visible evidence of a unified post-apartheid South Africa and its successful insertion into international sport as a democratic nation. Similarly, the success of South Africa in hosting and winning the 1996 African

Football Cup of Nations were portrayed as South Africa celebrating its bond with the rest of the African continent[1]. Thus while numerous political parties were contesting political and economic changes at the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA)[2], sport was touted as the one arena where South Africans spontaneously experienced transformation and demonstrated what was possible in a democratic and non-racial society.

While sport organizations and ordinary South Africans were being propelled on waves of emotion, driven by sporting prowess, in 1999 Thabo Mbeki, the new South African President, cautioned sport followers, sponsors and leadership that "the legacies of apartheid and the social divisions it generated has meant and still means that the ongoing transformation of our country's sport is not an easy one" (ANC Today, 1999). He argued that all South Africans and the global community needed to be reminded that "divisions along race, class and gender entrenched under the apartheid system will take time to be ironed out" (Mbeki: 1999). Further, he suggested that the integration of South Africa into the global and continental sports movement and the pursuit of success at elite level had undeniably "given us an opportunity as South Africans to begin to forge a national identity". Mbeki extended his argument in the letter to Sepp Blatter[3], supporting South Africa's bid to host the 2010 World Cup: "…we want, on behalf of our continent, to stage an event that will send ripples of confidence from Cape to Cairo – an event that…will turn the tide on centuries of poverty and conflict" (Alegi 2010:129). Mbeki suggests here that sport could play a significant role not only in forging a South African national identity, but also a pan- African identity.

---

[1] South Africa showed its commitment to Africa through statements by the Cape Town 2004 Olympic Bid (1996-1997) and the 2006 World Cup Football Bid (2000), both being touted as "African Bids". Winnie Mandela highlighted that South Africa was going to use the World Cup 2010 as political theater (Alegi 2010). She argued "the 2010 World Cup is about nation building, putting us on the global map and making us a nation to be reckoned with. The event is going to make us proud" (Mercury March 16, 2007).

[2] *CODESA* was a negotiating forum aimed at producing a new constitutional dispensation for a post-apartheid South Africa. Agreements at CODESA set the framework for the new constitution and the required economic changes.

[3] Sepp Blatter is the President of FIFA, the international controlling body for football and the Football World Cup.

At the same time, however, Mbeki emphasized the need to critically assess assumptions that momentary feelings of euphoria and unity engendered by successes such as the Rugby World Cup 1995, African Football Cup of Nations 1996, and significant gold medal successes at the Olympic Games in1996 is a representation of a transformed, post-apartheid South Africa[4]. He further argued in 1999 that claims to an uncontested post-apartheid South Africa were premature as the "overall conception of what South Africa is, or should be, is still being negotiated through the lived experience and discursively through the media and other forms of public discourse." (Nauright, 1997) In addition, forging a "truly post-apartheid national identity" should not presume that differences do not exist, but requires us to take account of and grapple with the complex intersections of race, class and gender differences in democratic South Africa. Analysis of sport, transformation and identities in South Africa must take into account the complex intersections of economic changes, political modifications, and socio-cultural variations in particular spaces and time.

This study explores the tensions and contradictions that emerged in South African sport in spite of success in international sport competition. Sport activists, politicians, sport leadership and government officials increasingly articulated disillusionment and dismay at the efficacy and sustainability of sport transformation in post-apartheid South Africa. As recently as 2005, Reverend Makhenkesi Stofile, the Sports Minister lamented that it is inconceivable that democratic rule and funding for non-racial sport policies and programs have not brought about sufficient sport transformation. Transformation remains the most vexing and divisive issue in post-apartheid South Africa. In 2005, Minister Stofile argued that as much as we have to accept that "no revolution or struggle is waged in conditions determined by the revolutionaries" (Thomas 2006: 8), sport remains capable of being manipulated for ideological goals. This study explores how and why sport transformation has remained an intensely contested arena

[4] Jim Sillars, 1971 Scottish National Party MP, argued that a problem arises when there are "too many 90-minute patriots whose nationalist outpourings are expressed only at major sporting events" (Beck 1998).

for post-apartheid social change in spite of its touted central role in creating a post-apartheid national identity. The next section locates sport transformation within broader South African state transformation strategies.

Sport and Social Transformation in Post-apartheid South Africa

The transition from an authoritarian regime to an inclusive democracy in 1994 demanded that all arenas of life in South Africa be reconfigured. The agenda of the post apartheid state centered on alleviating apartheid legacies, creating conditions for shifting entrenched political and social geographies and extending delivery of services to the poorest and most marginalized communities. The racially inclusive post-apartheid state set the agenda for consistent and systemic state intervention at both policy and practical levels.

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD 2008) suggests that alongside the acclaimed ousting of the apartheid regime, the development of new functional national and local state institutions, policies and adapted resource distribution strategies were the most significant institutional changes that South Africa experienced. Few international precedents exist for this scale of institutional transformation and systemic change (OECD, 2008:229). The centrality of transformation to the post-apartheid agenda was enshrined in the Democratic Constitution (RSA, 1996) and the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP 1994). The RDP initiated a discourse on systemic, people-oriented, community based development, as the path to redressing the legacies of apartheid inequality and poverty. (ANC, 1994; RSA 1995) While the course of transformation has been lauded internationally, the RDP documents and various democratic and 'people-based' policies and strategies are, in themselves, products of a range of ideas and particular ideologies. They represent conflicts and tensions and depict consensus building in the formative stages of the post-apartheid transformation process.

In spite of euphoria at the new democracy in South Africa, the first democratic elections in 1994 did not trumpet the culmination of a successful democratizing process in society but instead prefaced an unsteady process of fundamental change in society. Discussions at CODESA also focused on key aspects of service delivery such as developing new policies on energy, education, health, transport, telecommunication, water and sanitation. Reformulation of policy was intended to have wide-ranging impacts on post-apartheid society. However, recent research has shown that achieving the original intentions of the developmental outcomes of the RDP and economic changes envisaged in GEAR were more complex and challenging than was originally anticipated (Pieterse, Parnell, Swilling, and van Donk, 2008). The post-apartheid state focused on addressing poverty through a physical infrastructure agenda, emphasizing programs such as provision of low-income housing, crime prevention initiatives, access to water and electricity strategies. The Development Bank of South Africa (DBSA 1998: 27[5]) suggested, "most policy processes attempted to address either backlogs or misplaced infrastructure" and hence emphasized delivery of measurable physical infrastructure and de-emphasized discourses on systemic, people-oriented, community based development. An infrastructure agenda superseded the people oriented paradigm.

While an understanding of material deprivation is critical for poverty alleviation and transformation in South Africa, the dominance of a physical development paradigm obscures other areas of transformation that are equally important to the formation of an inclusive democracy. Community agency and the role of local institutions have been undervalued in policy development, the creation of meaningful service delivery models and transformation. Locating policy changes into such a broader frame of analysis and in concrete realities of community permits greater understanding of post-apartheid institutional

[5] Development Bank of South Africa 1998 "Infrastructure: A Foundation for Development, Halfway House: DBSA

changes, specific forms of intervention in society, economy, political practices and discourses (Oldfield 2002: 100). Sport is one such arena that highlights the interplay, tensions, contestations and compromises between structural conditions (that apply at various scales) and individual and community agency that attempts to address legacies of apartheid.

Current Research on Sport and Policy Development

Sport has consistently been presented as the "barometer of South Africa's belief in itself as a nation and a cornerstone of post-apartheid South African collective identity" (Hendricks 2000:1; W. Mandela 2008). From Donald Woods (1996) who argued that sport represented the most dramatic sign of post-apartheid national unity; to Wilmot James (1996), who suggested that sport is more than a game and reflects a process of spontaneous ideology that drives post-apartheid identity formation; from Thabo Mbeki (2004), who argued that sport could contribute to solving continental poverty from Cape to Cairo'; and to Winnie Mandela (2008), who suggested that hosting the 2010 World Cup in South Africa should be used as political theater to put South Africa on the global map and 'make us a nation to be reckoned with'. Sport, politics and society are inextricably linked and yet the lack of critical analysis of sport and social change "is startling" (Desai 2010: 12) and needs to be addressed. This dissertation focuses on contributing to the critical analysis of sport and social change.

Three kinds of literature are evident in South African sport. First, the most dominant form has been popular literature focusing on sport heroes such as national team captains and individual sport heroes who have emerged to be winners on the international sportsfields. Second, histories and ethnographies of sport have been an important but less dominant theme in sport literature. The third, body of literature focuses on critical assessments and academic analyses of race, politics and sport. In this thesis, I contribute to emerging critical analyses of sport and transformation within the third body of literature.

Heroism in South African Sport

Literature focusing on sport events and sport heroes has shaped views on struggles with legacies of the apartheid past, representations of the role of sport in creating the post-apartheid nation, and debates about sport, social change and mobility. There is a wealth of popular publications on individual sports heroes in rugby (Keohane, 2002, 2004, 2007), cricket (Hartman, 2004; Odendaal 2002, 2003), and football (Susman, 1991; Alegi 2010). For example in rugby, Keohane (2002) focused on Chester Williams in a book titled "Chester a Biography of Courage" highlighting what it was like to be the first successful black player in South African Rugby and the only black player to be part of the World Cup winning South African rugby team in 1995. The heroism of Williams was highlighted, as he had emerged as one of the first black sporting heroes. Similarly, in cricket and football, this genre reflects attempts by authors to highlight achievements of individuals and teams on the international sport fields. Literature in this genre was popular, seeking to create a collective post-apartheid identity. This genre portrays heroes and victories in South African sport as signs of post-apartheid national unity. The spontaneity, physicality and political theater of sport provided a fulcrum for sport transformation. Sport events and its heroes were used "to make (South Africa) a nation to be reckoned with" (Winnie Mandela 2008). This genre, although important for popular consumption, does not sufficiently explore below the surface of sport to the political, economic and social contests and constraints.

Histories and Ethnographies of Sport

This literatures focus primarily on the three major and most popular sport types in South Africa, cricket (Odendaal, 2003; Desai, Padayachee, and Reddy, 2002; Merret, 2001 and 2003; Gemmell, 2002; Allie, 2001; Murray, 2001; Farred, 1997); football (Alegi 2010; Alegi, 2004; Alegi 2000; Kunene, 2006) and rugby (Grundlingh, et al, 1995; Booth, 1999; Farquharson and Majoribanks, 2003; Desai and Nabbi, 2007). The key analytical thrust of this literature is historical, focusing on remedying the past injustices under apartheid.

These studies are a counter-balance to the historically 'white' dominated popular sport literatures. Black sport needed to be rescued from the footnotes of sport history in South Africa, as volumes of existing histories negated the long sport traditions of the oppressed sections of the population under apartheid. The United Cricket Board for example, agreed that "acknowledging, record(ing) and respect(ing)" the achievements of 'black cricket' was the most important starting point for real transformation in sport (Odendaal, A 2002 and Odendaal, A 2009). There has, therefore, been a growth in historical accounts of various South African sports, but a sparse literature on broader critical analyses of sport and society (Desai 2010:1).

Most critical analyses remain focused on drawing on history but underemphasize the ways in which sport history assists in understanding key questions and challenges of contemporary South Africa. For example, Gemmell (2002) examines the relationships between cricket, political institutions and sport processes in South Africa focusing primarily on the pre-1990 Apartheid regime. He presents a historical analysis of institutional change in cricket, but argues that closer scrutiny of sport should be located within broader social, political and economic parameters. He argues, "sports are subject to the extensive dynamics that shape our social and political world" (Gemmell 2002: 1). Claims therefore, of spontaneity in sport processes are questionable as heroes do not exist independent of specific social, political and economic contexts. Gemmell (ibid) further argues that politics is not restricted to the institutions and affairs of the state, but that the development of sport is "inextricably linked" to the development of politics at national and global scales and to institutions that are outside the state apparatuses. The conclusion reached by Gemmell is important for my thesis as it points to more complex processes operating in sport and transformation. Understanding and unpacking the informants and drivers for strategic choices both in and beyond sport help in analyzing why there has been no simple strategy for sport transformation in post-apartheid South Africa. Sport

cannot be reduced to a spontaneous ideology, but is undeniably part of a more complex ***sport–politics matrix.***

The Sport-Politics Matrix

A more limited, but growing academic analysis of sport highlights the politics of race and sport, and sport and nation building (Booth, 1992; Nauright, 1997; Nauright and Chandler 1996; Adler, 1994; Thomas, 2006; Desai 2010; and McKinley 2010). Booth (1992) analyses the transition from "segregation to 'autonomy'" in South African sport in the early stages of the transition to a democratic order. He points out that specific policies or legislation never enforced segregation in sport, but segregated sport was 'practiced' as it was "the South African way of life" (Booth, 1992:183). Some sport organizations acquiesced to apartheid policies, internalizing constraints and choices into sport institutions, policies and culture. These institutions were networked to the apartheid regime and received support for their activities. Analysis of these white controlled sport organizations who benefited under apartheid inequities shows that networks of well-resourced agents and institutions continued to dominate the sport agenda between 1990 and 1994. At a different level, a story of sport and politics of contestation can be told. Sport provided a platform for anti-apartheid sport institutions, such as the South African Council on Sport (SACOS), and political institutions such as the African National Congress, resisting apartheid restrictions. Anti-apartheid institutions used sport to establish new networks and develop strategies for transformation in post-apartheid South Africa. Booth's analysis (1992:203) links sport and politics, providing the base for my critical analysis of the 'common sense' view that sport has a unifying effect and possesses powers of spontaneous ideology. In this thesis I reflect on analyses that portray sport as possessing virtues of 'spontaneous ideology' (James 1996:1) and opposing views that argue that creating national unity through sport is mere illusion, and that a deeper critical assessment of sport transformation and policy is required.

Analyzing the early creation of the nation state through sport, Nauright (1997) suggests that despite sport being at the forefront of political and social change, the power structures generated by the 'old South Africa' remained firmly entrenched. Furthermore, he indicates that the links between sport and globalization in the 1990's were so strong that post-apartheid government had little choice "but to support international and elite level sport, thus retaining many structures of sport that existed in the apartheid era" (Nauright 1997:2). He argues that sport institutions and leaders that were well networked with international sport institutions and resources, dominated sport discourse and strategy in post-apartheid South Africa. Nauright also argues that the South African state was trapped between meeting the demands of an expanding global elite sport complex and the need to respond to national demands for sport transformation and identity formation. Understanding the interplay and tensions between international demands for elite sport and national demands for transformation is important to unpacking the complexity of sport transformation in post-apartheid South Africa.

More recent literature on sport reflects on the tensions and contradictions between creating a common national identity for global consumption and the needs for local redress. Desai and Nabbi (2007), analyzing the state of rugby transformation, conclude that the national rugby team and the administration of rugby are increasingly delinked from rugby at the local level. They argue that the lack of attention to broadening the base of rugby participation limits the number of black players eligible for selection at the national/elite level, and therefore reduces the potential impact of sport on the social transformation of the South African society. They conclude, "rugby officials pass the ball to the politicians, they, in turn, look to the private sector, which looks to the disadvantaged areas and sees no market for their goods. And so intricate patterns are weaved across the field but there is no one taking the ball beyond the gain line into disadvantaged areas" (Desai and Nabbi 2007:422).

Similarly, Kunene (2006: 388) analyzing “the troubled state of South African soccer” against the backdrop of the World Cup in 2010, argued that since the “momentous winning of the continental football championship” by a majority black team in 1996, football, which was once the game of the working class, had become the property of “multinational interests.” Kunene suggests that focusing on elite sport has impoverished community level sport. Here too, the football is passed from one key player - administrator, politician and business-leader - to the next with no significant forward movement in sport or social transformation. The community looks on as spectator from the sidelines. Kunene too highlights that strategic choices made in soccer emphasizing elite sport, has privileged well-resourced elite sport institutions and marginalized poorly resourced community sport. Examining the links and tensions between elite and community sport is key to understanding the complexities around transformation in sport.

Despite the significance of sport among South Africans, and the publicly claimed impact of sport on the social transformation agenda, limited research exists on sport as a lens on social transformation processes, on civil society organizing, participation and agency, and policy development and implementation. In his recent book entitled “The Race to Transform,” Desai (2010) seeks to redress this gap. One of the central questions that he asks is whether changes in South African sport are reinforcing a form of class apartheid in sports, and whether the present trajectory deepens inequalities rather than mitigating them (Desai 2010: 7). Analyzing sport such as football, rugby, swimming, track and field, at national and community scales, he concludes that the continuing salience of race and class, the legacy of apartheid geography and the ‘unintended’ consequences of transformation, have “rebounded on the very constituency that policies are designed to benefit”. Analyzing sport transformation through the lens of elite sport ignores the realities of local experiences of the majority of sport institutions in South Africa. A gap exists in research on the relationship between elite and community sport, the role of the

state in sport transformation and sport policy formulation. This study contributes to filling this gap in critical analysis of sport and transformation in South Africa.

This thesis also contributes to international literature on sport and transformation. Analyzing sport policy in the United Kingdom, Houlihan (2005) concludes that despite increasing involvement of governments in sport internationally, a lacuna still exists in research on state policy formulation and developing a critical understanding of its impacts on community organizations and transformation. Questions such as "who decides and administers sport policy and what is the overall effect on sport?" remains relevant internationally and in contemporary South Africa.

The deficiency in material to ground this research topic is reflected in adjacent fields of study. Weed (2005) reviewed recent research in the study of sport and tourism and likened it to 'chaos in the brickyard'. Similar to the South African sport literature, he identifies the tendency for 'pieces' of research that are neither informed by, nor, in turn, inform social science. Weed argues that the absence of concepts and theories in the field and the "lack of any explicit consideration of epistemology (is) a deficiency in much research in the broader sport and tourism fields" (2005: 238). Similar to literature on South African sport, Weed (2005) notes that the dominance of descriptive research, which lacks wider theoretical discussion, does little to serve the scholarly development of the field. While this dissertation explores sport policy, examines processes of state restructuring, nation-state building and identity formation through a sport lens in post-apartheid South Africa, it will also contribute to broader conceptual arenas and beyond South Africa.

Research Questions

It is indeed perplexing that transformation has remained a contentious issue after twenty years of democratic government, intense discourses and strategies targeting change, and development interventions. This study examines why transformation has remained a central arena of contestation in

South Africa; what transformation and identity formation mean in the context of South African sport; and explores what is the key intervention required to transform South African sport? The following subsets of questions have been developed to aid analysis of these three foci. First to understand why transformation appears to be an interminable challenge, we need to ascertain the complexities in the sports-politics matrix: In which ways do sport, politics and other processes intersect, and what are the impacts of these intersections on sport and transformation at various geographic scales? Second, how have competing agencies and institutions defined sport transformation; what is the rationale for interventions and omissions by these agencies and institutions; and what are the strengths and limitations of what has been done thus far? Third, what are the most important interventions required to transform sport in South Africa; which institutions are key and how should these institutions relate to each other?

Methodology

This study is located within a qualitative research methodology. It uses primary and secondary sources of information from participants in the apartheid and post-apartheid sport transformation processes, interview transcripts, field notes of meetings and presentations, personal documents and official records such as minutes of meetings and actual copies of presentation materials. Primary sources included 19 interviews with key informants: policy makers, government officials, sport leaders, community members and non-governmental organizations that have been playing a role in community sport. Interviews were conducted between 2008 and 2009. Information from interviews was supplemented with notes from participant observation of meetings and discussions that I was engaged in at national, regional and local levels. Secondary sources of information utilized are government documents, including policy documents, minutes of Parliamentary debates and Local Municipal Councils (1995-2005), and minutes of community-based organizations' meetings between 2000 and 2005.

The involvement of the researcher has to be highlighted. He participated both in institutions in the anti-apartheid and post-apartheid sport movement, in government and in civil society, and at national, regional and local scales. Thus, in addition to the theoretical and conceptual approaches used in the course of the analysis, the researcher's insights (as a participant in this process) have been a key instrument for analysis and sifting through information. A more detailed account of the researcher's involvement in sport processes is provided in Appendix A of this dissertation.

The research narrative emphasizes emerging processes rather than simply outcomes or products, such as the number of medals won, budgets, and numbers of participants in sport. The processual focus allows the researcher to answer questions such as how certain perspectives come to be taken as common sense notions and others marginalized? Furthermore, meaning is of essential concern, in particular the way different people and institutions have made sense of processes and have developed strategies to deal with complex challenges in sport transformation.

Structure of the Dissertation

In Chapter Two, I situate my analysis within a set of theories that conceptualize economic and political transformations, dynamic social change and identity formation. I utilize work by Regulation Approach theorists Jessop and Sum to argue that sport transformation and strategies shaping social and political identities reflect a contest over conserving, reproducing or transforming broader fields of relations. Analyzing social change and sport transformation cannot privilege economy, politics, a particular scale or culture. Analyzing transformation requires paying attention to integral relationships. Drawing on Gramsci and Foucault I extend the regulation approach, highlighting complex interdependencies, contradictions and strategic dilemmas that exist for institutions and individuals in seeking to transform society. There is no simple governance solution as different conjunctures and historical periods require different policy mixes. I also use the work by Nancy Fraser to argue that

transcending group boundaries through a strategic transformative approach opens the way for people to become diverse, multi-faceted citizens responding to multiple forms of injustice.

In Chapter Three, I situate the challenges and paradoxes that confronted the post-apartheid state and sport. I examine the key contests and outcomes under apartheid that shaped the opportunities and constraints of post-apartheid sport. The apartheid government was not a neutral vessel responding to spontaneous processes in sport policy and strategies, but was a direct participant in the complex intersection of contests, tensions and contradictions in the sport, economy and politics matrix. Sport was used as a vehicle by both the state and the anti-apartheid forces attempting to influence societal change and sport transformation. In examining the actions by the apartheid government as well as counteraction by forces opposing its policies, I highlight the ways in which power and identity intersect in complex ways, in multiple sites and across a range of scales. I conclude this chapter by looking at the period between 1990 and 1994, analyzing the processes and strategic decisions made in sport. I examine the roles played by institutions and agents at the global and national scale between 1990 and 1994 and suggest that choices made during this period had a significant impact on the transformation path chosen, the challenges faced by post-apartheid sport and why there is no simple, straight forward strategy for sport transformation.

Chapter Four focuses on sport at the national scale in the post-apartheid period. Specifically, I examine programs of intervention, national discourses, strategies, policies and practices employed by the National Department of Sport in their quest to shape post-apartheid sport, its institutions and a unified South African identity through sport. The agenda of government in the first decade of democracy conjoined courses of action required to reintegrate South Africa into global sport processes, and strengthen community sport, the bedrock of the anti-apartheid sport movement. I will investigate the ways in which processes and impulses at the global scale and the legacies of apartheid sport may have

diminished options available to the post-apartheid state to develop an integrated sport transformation program. Restructuring of sport institutions and processes produced a centralized sport agenda that placed elite, community sport and social transformation in opposition to one another. I examine the choices made in the first decade of democracy, and focus on the state's approach to service delivery and community building. I am particularly interested in the ways the Department of Sport dealt with the potentially productive coexistence between elite sport, community development and social transformation. I will pay particular attention to the impact of state actions on the productivity of relationships between various institutions and agents that function in sport processes.

In Chapter Five I focus on the local scale, namely Cape Town's alternative sport strategy. The local government's sports department, grappling with a fragmented sport system, deep cultural, economic and racial divisions between communities, and suspicion between sport institutions and local government, employed an alternative sport strategy. Rather than seeking to exercise overt control, the local sports department sought to govern sport through community sport institutions, aiming to transcend group boundaries through a strategic and deliberative approach to sport transformation. I examine the intent and outcomes of the strategy that aimed to create opportunities for individuals to become diverse, multi-faceted citizens and transcend the politics of identity. I consider the possibilities and paradoxes in the deliberative approach employed by local sport institutions and government.

Chapter Six has two purposes. First, I summarize the major findings of the thesis. The thesis reveals why sport transformation has remained a central and contested feature of sport discourse in South Africa. It emphasizes the ways in which the integral nature of sport, politics, economy and society complicates the development of a simple and straightforward strategy for transformation. I reflect on the usefulness of the Regulation Approach (RA) and what these findings suggest for expanding the Regulation Approach. The second section explores

potential avenues for addressing and overcoming transformation dilemmas in South Africa.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND DEBATES

I situate my analysis within the Regulation Approach (RA) and in particular the critique and further improvement of the RA by theorists such as Jessop and Sum who developed a Cultural Political Economy Approach (CPE) in the critique of political economy. I focus on the applicability of the RA and CPE to analyze sport transformation in post-apartheid South Africa and concentrate on state strategies that sought to shape social and political identities through sport. I will use RA and CPE to analyze contests in sport and its relationship with broader contests over conserving, reproducing and transforming broader fields of relations.

In this chapter I first explore basic tenets of the RA and CPE. Second, I focus on Sum and Jessop's account of the relationship between power and institutions and the mixing of Gramsci and Foucault to extend the RA. I also examine critique of Jessop and Sum's CPE, suggesting areas for further development. Third, I emphasize work by Nancy Fraser on dilemmas inherent to representational and material practices confronting complex capitalist societies. I consider her work on dilemmas in transformation, focusing on her analysis of redistribution and recognition strategies.

The Regulation Approach (RA): Capitalist Systemic Crisis and Transformation

The methodology of the RA provides the theoretical backdrop for analyzing sport and transformation in South Africa. This methodology permits consideration of social and cultural constructions of social change in combination with economic factors. I focus on the following key areas of the RA: first, conjoining of economic, social and political factors in understanding social change; emergent complexity in capitalist social formations; inherent tendency towards systemic crises and contradictions in capitalism; and the emergence of social fixes to resolve crises by institutions such as the state.

First, RA critiques and goes beyond neoclassical economics, that views society through an economic lens, as a set of value chains, exchanges and distribution mechanisms (Jones 2008:382). The RA instead focuses on understanding the inter-relatedness of economic phenomena with complex social and political factors (Peet 2007: 118). Focusing on the complex interplay between these three factors challenges economic centric paradigms that view social change as a consequence of actions by rational individuals who act and make decisions based on rational economic grounds. In contrast, RA argues that change in capitalist society is not driven by the single motor of rational economic choice (Jessop 2002:5) but can also be influenced by factors such as social and cultural processes as well as individual action. Actions may not always be rational and may not have profit as their motive.

The RA views the economy, politics, society and institutions as inter-related and mutually dependent in reproducing capitalism. Focusing attention to complex social formations, Jessop and Sum argue "the changing combinations of economic and *extra-economic* institutions and practices help to secure, if only temporarily…a certain stability and predictability in accumulation" (Jessop and Sum 2006:4). Understanding change therefore requires integrating analyses of social, economic and political changes and examining the impact that each have on society.

Second, stemming from the inter-relatedness of economy, politics and society, the RA highlights inherent crisis tendencies to the reproduction of capitalism, based in the iterative relationship between the Accumulation Regime (AR) and Modes of Regulation (MoR). Jessop (2002:5) argues that all capitalist societies tend to display a transient structured coherence based on the relationship between the AR and MR. The accumulation imperative, the central logic of capitalist society imposes its capitalist expansion and accumulation logics on society. In support of the AR are the MoR, such as institutional laws, social norms, forms of state, policy paradigms and institutional practices. These provide a situated context for the AR. The differing logics in AR and MoR tend

towards periods of stability, but have an “inherent tendency towards forms of crisis” (Jones 2008:380; Jessop and Sum 2006:4). Managing these tensions and contradictions provides the foundation for social fixes and transformation in society and economy

Third, managing crisis tendencies creates the need for “institutional fixes” (Jessop and Sum 2006:4) aiming to resolve contradictions in the accumulation and modes of regulation logics. The RA emphasizes the integrated and complementary functions of mechanisms such as institutions, collective identities, shared visions, common values, norms, networks and modes of calculation (Jessop and Sum 2006:4) to the crisis tendencies, problematic reproduction of capitalism and transformation. For the RA, the state is a central structural form (Jessop and Sum 2006: 231) addressing contradictions. This makes the state both a product and site of crises and contradictions and crises.

Jessop (2002:7) argues that analyzing economic and political relations in complex social contexts suggests that searching for uniform rules, processes and outcomes are challenging. Instead, we should acknowledge that multiple social relations exist and that changes in one or more arenas may produce new economic structures and/or institutions. For the RA, analysis of social change in capitalist society must take into account iterative processes between economic and non-economic elements.

Criticism of the Regulation Approach

Critiques of RA focus on three core areas. These are criticisms of economic over-determinism, limited attention to meso- and micro-level theorization and insufficient attention to difference in society.

First, in spite of its own critique of economic determinism, RA has also been criticized for generalizing the logic of growth and accumulation (Peet 2003:475) and that social fixes (Jessop and Sum 2006: 378) aim to create new economic structures and institutions. In spite of RAs claims to social embeddedness of capital accumulation, Jessop and Sum (2006:256) argue that

the inadequate acknowledgment of social, cultural and political mechanisms such as collective identities limit the full value of the RA.

Second, privileging a macro-approach to social change, limits a fuller evaluation of the possible effect that local factors may have on social change. Jessop and Sum (2006:256) suggest that in spite of the RA emphasizing that economic activities are embedded and regularized socially, they neglect specific subjectivities, considerations of strategic calculation and actions by individuals and institutions and an acknowledgement that individuals and institutions are situated at various scales.

Associated with the first two, the third criticism highlights the RAs inability to incorporate difference into its analysis. Jessop and Sum (2006:379) shows that in conjunction with over-emphasizing macro-economic imperatives, lack of attention paid to strategic capacities and calculations of actors, denude analyses of social change of "a subject" and subjectivity. Considering institutional rivalries, balance of forces, culture and identities will reinsert necessary subjectivity into outcomes of the capital accumulation logic.

Jessop and Sum (2006), responding to critiques of RA, accentuate Gramsci's theory of hegemony and philosophy of praxis to help understand transformation in capitalist societies integrally. Adding Gramsci as well as Foucault to the RA created the foundation for Jessop and Sum's "cultural political economy" (CPE) approach, considered below.

Extending the Regulation Approach: Incorporating Political Specificities and Culture

Jessop and Sum use Gramsci's philosophy of praxis to introduce the specificity of the political (2006:349), the impact of culture, and to expand conceptualization of the state and state power (Sum 2004) into analyses of social change. Using Jessop and Sum (2006) I stress that a more dynamic analysis of change and transformation requires the reinsertion of socio-cultural

practices and a closer examination of impacts of multiple modes of governance on social change processes.

Reinserting Gramsci and Foucault into the Regulation Approach

Adding Gramsci's theory of hegemony and philosophy of praxis contributes to an integral understanding of state, society, politics and social change. Gramsci's philosophy of praxis depicts, "society as a field of relations" consisting of complex linkages between economic structures and political-ideological superstructures (Jessop 2006:350). Gramsci (1971:160) argued that the distinction between politics and the economy exist for analytic purposes and social change needs to be examined in a broader philosophy of praxis. Praxis here refers to a process consisting of perpetual cycles of action, reaction/reflection and action, anchored in particular social, cultural and institutional milieus. Social change hence does not simply reflect the structure of economic relations, as suggested by the RA, but reflects a complex and dynamic interplay between economic and non-economic factors that comingle in practice. These cycles of praxis contribute to the development of everyday or routine stabilizing actions, but could also lead to conflict relations, contestation and subsequent change in society, including the economy.

Politics is central to the philosophy of praxis (Jessop and Sum 2006:367) and key to examining transformation. Political programs shape everyday strategic positioning by groups and individuals. These groups or individuals act politically responding to specific political conjunctures, organizational necessities, or may simply miscalculate political action. Dynamic situations therefore create possibilities for more than one set of actions, outcomes and changes to fields of social relations. Inserting Gramsci into the RA allows us to consider uneven processes of social change and unpredictable ways in which groups or individuals confront crises.

This does not suggest that unstructured processes of social change. Institutions and governance systems shape political programs and strategic

positioning of actors and agents. Taken for granted institutions and governance processes should be interrogated. Jessop and Sum, in their Cultural Political Economy approach, incorporate both philosophies of praxis and Foucauldian governance approaches to understand social change.

Cultural Political Economy and Governance

Cultural Political Economy (CPE) explores social change in contemporary society emphasizing the embeddedness of economic actions in social and cultural contexts. For CPE examining the role of institutions, especially the state, is central to understanding political and economic change and constructions of identity (Jones 2008: 383). The state is a central actor in social change, selectively using culture, discourses and ideologies to secure hegemony and reproduce social relations. Sum (2004) and Jessop (1990, 2007) draw on cultural influences in their critical approach to the state. The state is both a participant in and product of changes to culture and social relations. For the CPE, culture plays a critical role in filtering messages, producing ideologies and creating subjective meaning in shaping or resisting social change.

Sum (2004:1) suggests combining elements of Foucault and Gramsci to eliminate the problematic theoretical middle ground between culture, politics and economy (Jones 2008:382) and to move away from institutionalist, regulatory and state-centric accounts of the existence and exercise of power in society. Foucault and Gramsci share an interest in the ways in which power is expressed "within the systems and subsystems of social relations, in the interactions...(and)...in the microstructures that inform the practices of everyday life' (Sum 2004: 3). Each contributes in different ways to deeper explanations of power, hegemony and social reproduction. Foucauldian governance approach highlights the importance of social coordination systems based in interlocking and multiple processes, informal networks, mechanisms that exist beyond government, and tangled hierarchies of multiple-scaled institutions (Jessop and Sum 2006:249). This governance approach places emphasis on the strategic and relational considerations of actors and institutions housed in and found

outside formal structures of coordination. This is a valuable addition to Gramsci and the RA.

Significantly, power is not structured solely around the hegemonic role of the state (Green and Houlihan 2006:48) but forms part of a complex set of relationships that transcend the divides between government, non-government and quasi-government institutions. Forms of social coordination and power extend beyond the formal machinery of the state. What then is the modality of the de-centered state? Scott (2001:94) argues that the state and state processes aim to "shape, guide and direct the conduct of others". In the Foucauldian analysis of social change, "government seeks not to govern society per se, but to promote individual and institutional conduct consistent with government objectives" (Raco and Imrie 2000 quoted by Green and Houlihan 2006:480). Foucault argues, "power is immanent and relational" (Sum 2004: 3). This element of Foucauldian analysis is problematic as it simply accepts the existence of power but does not seek to interrogate the significance of the exercise of that power and its contribution to social domination and resistance. We need to return to Gramscian formulations of integrated state, society and politics to close this gap in Foucault's analysis. Social and cultural practices provide the foundation for political practice and power that in turn provides the foundation for the administrative practices by state apparatuses that Foucauldian analysis focus on.

The development of CPE by Jessop and Sum is a valuable advancement of the RA, but still lacks sufficient development in two areas: a clearer examination of the variability of change that is dependent on the scale under consideration; and the impact of decisions by individual agency in institutions, the skills they possess to influence transformation processes and their ability to develop strategic alliances to either advance or resist transformation.

The spatial unevenness of the expansion of global and market processes signifies that change in capitalist formations and social relations do not result simply from a haphazard accumulation of context specific projects but from a

“patterned and patterning process” (Brenner, Peck and Theodore 2010b: 24). The patterned process referred to by Brenner, Peck and Theodore emphasizes the interplay between inherited and new institutions that collide within a particular context, and the regulatory reorganization that emerges from this collision, shaping a new set of landscapes at micro-, meso- and macro-scales. This is what Brenner, Peck and Theodore (2010:30) refer to as “variegated” patterning, producing a “messily persistent form of disequilibrium” (Brenner, Peck and Theodore 2010:32) in institutions, networks and agency.

Acknowledging this consistent systemic disequilibrium highlights the elusiveness of social fixes and the perpetual breakdown in systems and regulations causing flux in networks and strategic alliances. Stable institutions are therefore “never on the cards” (Brenner, Peck and Theodore 2010:32). The variegated approach of Brenner, Peck and Theodore permits a deeper and more inclusive analysis of social change existing in the space between mechanistic approaches to global encompassment and “unpatterned institutional flux” (Brenner, Peck and Theodore 2010:40), stimulating contestations at local, national, regional and international arenas. The scalar question is therefore critical to examining the different ways in which the global, national, provincial and local levels interact with each other and in certain instances compete.

Brenner, Peck and Theodore (2010:3) extend Jessop and Sum’s argument by emphasizing situated rationales, and argue for an analysis of “variegated”, systemic production of institutions, ruled behavior in particular locations, and generation of complex systems of relations (Brenner, Peck and Theodore 2010b: 4). This variegated approach is useful to analyzing transformation, emphasizing greater flexibility in analyses of the integrated nature of economy, society and state/institutional processes across scale, time, and varying situated complexities. Greater complexity emerges in reality when we examine actual institutions, in different localities, at a variety of scales, and their responses to actual crises, social norms and cultures in real time.

This approach is useful. However, the role of individual agents within actual institutions, who may respond to crises in a variety of ways, remains under-developed. Jessop and Sum (2006:379) do argue to reinsert subjectivity into a political account of social change. It is however not clear how actions by variously positioned, skilled and empowered (or disempowered) individuals impact on everyday practices in institutions. I will explore this theme in the empirical analysis

In sum, considerations of particularities of culture, multiple mechanisms of coordination between state and non-state systems, the specificity of scale and space and consideration of the tangled webs of interdependent power hierarchies are valuable additions to the Regulation Approach. Looking at these approaches together, we are in a better position to broaden analysis from the macro-scale approaches of political economy, to incorporate meso-scale analysis of state, government processes and pay attention to the complexity of micro-scale contestations.

This analytical frame provides a useful backdrop to my analysis, but three conceptual areas relevant for my analysis remains a concern. First, while it is important to consider culture as an important constituting element of the social, we need to examine in greater detail *how* culture actually matters and the significance of its implications. Second, the extended RA recognizes that social stratifications exist in society but assumptions about homogeneity in an undifferentiated civil society remains problematic. It is important to consider what difference is; how this is to be accounted for in dynamic social relations; and what is to be done about these differences? The third concern is the assumed homogeneity and conceptually undifferentiated nature of the state in the extended Regulation Approach. By not considering the implications of scale and relative power relations between various state scales we ignore the implications of variability and verticality within state apparatuses and its implications for exercise of power and impulses for social change. We cannot ignore the state,

the development of its apparatuses and public policy in shaping the contours of political economy, social relations and identity formation.

By examining the ways in which culture matters, unpicking the impact of social and cultural differentiation on policy, strategic alliances and choices, we are able to focus on different pressures and impulses that emanate from local situations. Below I consider work by Fraser to assist in my examination of transformation and identity formation.

How and Why Does Culture Matter – Identity and Redistribution Theory

Conceptualizations of social change highlighted above emphasize that culture matters, but reflecting on the ways in which culture is interpreted, used, and actually matters in local situated practices, is important. Considering the impact of culture on decisions and strategy contributes to a deeper understanding of the multiple levels of social change that further contributes to uneven, discontinuous, contested, contradictory transformation processes. I argue that culture and political economy are not dichotomies, but two fluid and integrated components of the multiple layered interrelationships in society. Identities (including class and national identities) cannot be explained simply by referring to material conditions as the constitutive factor, but we need to question how identities become accepted and how identities in its turn may be contested in both the economic and cultural domains. Finer lines of difference such as race, language and ethnicity are not sufficiently theorized and therefore the full impact of its implications cannot be assessed. Considering difference is not only about recognizing that differences exist, but we need to reconceptualize the constitutive impacts of heterogeneous and differentiated civil society.

In contexts where differences such as race and ethnicity are central social fissures, the key question is how differences based in culture and class overlap and articulate. The articulation between culture and economic difference poses analytical challenges for both state and non-state institutions. It impacts on political projects by the state (at various levels) and non-state institutions in

coordination and governance. Referring to the difficult intersections of race and class as interrelated categories of difference, C.L.R James (1980:283) argues "to neglect race as merely incidental is an error only less grave than to make it fundamental" (St Louis 2009:115). The conceptual task is to unpack the relative salience of each category of difference, examine the relationships between the various categories and search for paths of analysis consistent with a cultural political economy approach. Examining difference as a subject position, allows us to create space for an analysis that considers the variable stability and instability of categories of difference and the ways in which it impacts (and is used by institutions and agents) on social contestation and politics. Difference needs to be examined critically without disengaging it from the material, political and social interests that constitute it at various scales.

Given the theoretical frameworks and limitations presented above, we have to consider that there may not be a single narrative that can address various forms of identity or demand for transformation. Theorists such as Fraser (1995, 1998), Young (2000) and Goldberg (2008) highlighted the significance of difference and multiple identities that frame broader institutional rule regimes. In a polemic with Young (1995), Fraser (1995: 212) points out that a polarity has emerged between the politics of recognition and of redistribution. She argues that difference based in race, ethnicity, gender or sexuality are not forms of false consciousness in opposition to class difference but subjective positions in race for example, give expression to real categories of injustice. Fraser (ibid) shows that although group identity has supplanted class interest as the chief medium of political mobilization, increased identity struggles has ironically occurred in a world of exacerbated material inequality. This is a conceptual as well as a political challenge. Fraser (2000) examines the redistribution / recognition conundrum and suggests that it is possible to chart a path through distorted politics of redistribution and identity in transformation and searching for social justice in complex societies.

Dilemmas of Redistribution and Recognition

In the past two decades, struggles over social justice increased in intensity, leading to the demise of authoritarianism in the soviet bloc in 1989 and apartheid in South Africa in 1990. During this period an increasing number of movements framed their claims for emancipation in the idiom of recognition and identity, resulting in recognition becoming the dominant terrain of political conflict (Fraser 2000: 107). Consequently, identity struggles superseded the emancipatory ideals of egalitarian redistribution that featured prominently in struggles for equality in the 1970s and 1980s. Analyzing these shifts is important to understand processes of social change and identify ways in which culture, economy, politics and the state intersect. Grappling with the following questions have political and conceptual implications. First, why have shifts to identity politics and recognition occurred on a widespread basis, overturning demands for egalitarian redistribution? Second, why has this shift occurred in a period of increasing economic inequity?

Grappling with these questions, Fraser has concluded that current conceptualizations of identity politics and redistribution politics are not sufficiently nuanced to help us understand social transformation in complex societies. Fraser (1997:68) argues that we need to shape a new conceptual and political framework that allows us to address the complexity of the link between the politics of difference and the politics of redistribution. The conceptual and political charge, given the shift in politics of justice, is to develop a critical theory of recognition that adequately recognizes important aspects of cultural politics of difference and that can at the same time be coherently combined with the politics of redistribution and material inequities. Addressing these questions at a conceptual level could contribute to a political project that pilots a philosophy of praxis in which cultural recognition and social equality support rather than undermine each other (Fraser 2000:70). Resolving the redistribution and recognition dilemma is the central political and conceptual challenge.

To understand the shift to recognition politics, Fraser (2000:109) suggests the development of an identity model. In this model, the dominant politics of recognition is based on Hegelian notions (Fraser 2000:109) of a dialogic process of mutual recognition between equal but separate sets of subjects. The identity model seeks to understand cultural and political subjugation and suggests that denial of recognition, referred to as being 'misrecognized' by another subject, results in being devalued as a subject. Misrecognition forms an important part of social injustice and prevents formation of vigorous cultural identities. Once this conceptualization is followed to its conclusion, the political challenge is how to overcome misrecognition in practice.

Responding to social injustice viewed in this way, the political project undertaken by 'marginals' (Sum 2004: 14), suggests strategies that focus on repairing internal self-dislocation (Fraser 2000:109) and negative self-image. Projects may be aimed at contesting negative cultural and identity depictions of the group, creating new positive identities or producing a new publicly asserted and affirming culture.

Although there is value in developing active strategies to overcome the effects of racial oppression and subjugation, through public affirmation of cultures and identity, Fraser argues that the conflation of the politics of recognition with identity politics is "founded on faulty premises" (2000: 110). It argues for group justice to be achieved through revalorizing the misrecognition of marginalized groups through a "cultural valuation structure" (Fraser 1997:76). This valuation structure contests the cultural misrecognition and focuses on projects that celebrate cultural diversity and multiculturalism. The practical tasks focus on attaining mutual cultural recognition in a new cultural valuation structure that is assumed will lead to the dissolution of injustice. However, this only deals with one aspect of the distortion in social injustice. The arguments of inter-relationality between culture, economy and society presented above alerts us to the problematic nature of focusing on cultural value and marginalizing the impact of politics, economy and the actions of the state.

In sum, there are three problems in the identity model: the notion of a 'free standing cultural harm'; ignoring the role of institutions in devaluing culture and their role in revalorizing culture; and the unintended consequences of reification of cultural groups (from Fraser 1997: 73; and 2000:110). These constructs do not stand independently of each other but are always contextualized by local, territorial, national, regional and global impulses. I highlight three challenges.

First, the relationship between identity and the economy is misconstrued as it treats misrecognition as a "free-standing cultural harm" (Fraser 1997) and is silent on the critical subject of economic inequality. Delinking the subjugation of groups based on cultural marginalization from an analysis of the economy ignores the ways in which economic and material injustice are co-implicated in cultural devaluation. Even though some theorists do recognize that cultural and economic injustices are linked, they limit the way in which these elements relate and interact with each other. In this view proponents argue, "maldistribution is merely a secondary effect of misrecognition" (Fraser 2000:111). The remedy suggested is to revalorize devalued identities, resulting in the dissolution of economic maldistribution. Following on my arguments presented in extending the Regulation Approach, the identity model ignores the mutually constitutive elements of the political and economic dimensions. Cultural valorization, devalorization and revalorization are underpinned by material supports. It is therefore problematic to ignore the impact of strategic action and reaction from the economic, political and social spheres to the revalorization process.

The second problem is its misconceptualization of the ways in which institutions and practices contribute to the devaluation of cultures in the first place, and by implication the potential strategic role that institutions could play in revalorization. Cultural injustice does not stand on its own but is reflected in and created by institutional structures, apparatuses and practices that deny marginalized cultural group members equal social status. Marginalized groups therefore experience devaluation and misrecognition in institutions and daily-

situated practices. These may be expressed through practices that go beyond simple group identity. Revalorization of group identity therefore has to integrate responses to marginalization and social subordination in areas other than culture such as employment, housing, land and access to a broad range of resources. By simply revaluing identity, the material inequalities and institutionalized practices that prevented equal participation by group members still remain. The process of revalorizing group recognition remains incomplete if questions of material inequality and the role of institutions in the devalorization/revalorization processes are not addressed simultaneously.

The third problem is the potential of the unintended consequence of reifying identity (Fraser 2000:112). The identity model simplifies group identity into a collective undifferentiated whole, denying complexity within the group or in people's individuality. It therefore ignores differentiation of groups into sub-groups that may be fluid and compete over the authority to lead that group. Differentiating different agendas and political positions within collective identity acknowledges that contestations may occur within hegemonic groups or political parties. By ignoring these critical contestations, the model devalues the role of power struggles over dominance within the group, its influence on strategy and the impacts that battles over conformity, intolerance of difference and paternalism may have on the struggle for social justice.

These three problems collectively make the model theoretically and politically problematic. The prominence of an identity model for social change in the last two decades has shifted political strategies to focus on elevating marginalized and non-dominant groups in society. They do not question social and economic structures that co-created and continue to sustain these injustices. I argue that economic and cultural injustices reinforce each other dialectically and are rooted in processes and practices that systematically advantage some groups over others. In order to develop a politically relevant model, attention needs to be paid to social processes that give rise to structural inequality in society and that gives sufficient recognition to the effects of group

and individual identities. Cultural and economic injustice has to be addressed simultaneously. In addressing these injustices simultaneously, Fraser alerts us to a difficult dilemma (1997:74), which she refers to as the "redistribution-recognition dilemma". Resolving this dilemma is fundamental in developing an effective transformative process.

The dilemma stems from the tension inherent in the respective strategies for redistributive and recognition justice. In sum, both lay claim to tactics that potentially interfere with, or work against, one another. Claims for economic justice and redistribution, require political-economic restructuring (Fraser 1997:73) that ultimately seeks to dissolve and abolish group-based stratification and difference such as race, gender, ethnicity and sexuality. In contrast recognition strategies require a revalorization of group difference and therefore elevates its importance to transformation strategies. This implies that group specificity is highlighted and that group differentiation is paramount in seeking to overcome injustice. While the one strategy focuses on justice that seeks to dissolve social differentiation, the other seeks to elevate difference. The consequence in trying to combine these approaches in strategy leads to contradictions and a dilemma that is difficult to resolve. Fraser identifies racism in a capitalist social formation as an example of a "paradigmatic bivalent collectivity" (Fraser 1997 78). Her conceptualization of racial bivalence and propositions for overcoming the effects of injustice in race based capitalist social formations is relevant for my analysis.

The Challenge of Race in Transforming Capitalist Social Formations

The bivalent character of race is the source of a critical contemporary dilemma (Fraser 1997:81). People of color or blacks suffer two distinct forms of injustice, one cultural and the other economic. In the recognition paradigm, blacks or people of color are regarded as culturally inferior in terms of particular norms and standards and the group as a whole is devalued. Being black or classified as "non-white" is a cultural devaluation that has material consequences. The materiality of race as a category of difference is used to

support the economic exploitative regime. It is therefore a challenge both conceptually and practically to separate class and race. Race resembles class as it is a structuring element of political economy, and class in its turn takes on race characteristics.

Therefore, what are the practical challenges for remedying injustice based in racial bivalence? For the recognition paradigm, remedying racial injustice requires positive recognition and revalorization of the devalued race group. Yet, developing cultural strategies focused on race in a capitalist society requires a redistribution strategy that simultaneously promotes logic of recognition that on the one hand revalorizes and reifies race specificity and simultaneously tries to put race out of business. It is critical for theory and political practice to respond to this duality in a coherent way.

Fraser (1997: 82) suggests looking at potential remedies that fall into either affirmative or transformative strategies. In the first case, affirmative remedies for injustice aim to ameliorate social consequences of inequitable social arrangements but do not emphasize the need to dislodge the political economy that generates that injustice. This aligns with a politics of recognition. The logic of politics of recognition and affirmative redistribution aims to redress economic injustice and group based maldistribution, leaving intact the economic structures that generate class disadvantage. This requires constant surface allocations of resources and access to opportunities for the revalorized group, aimed at ameliorating maldistribution and inequity. However, two interlinked consequences emerge as a result of these continual surface allocations. First, once a process to make surface reallocations has been engaged, it is likely that allocations would have to be made over and over (Fraser 1997:84). The ability of the group to sustain the positive impacts of the remedy is constrained by the underlying political economic structure and the associated disadvantages. Second, due to the continued need to allocate resources to the disadvantaged group, they are marked as “inherently deficient and insatiable” and always in need of assistance (Fraser ibid). Paradoxically, such a group may over time

appear to be privileged and the unfair recipients of special treatment, access to public resources and affirmative action. An approach aimed at redressing injustices of distribution in this way can thus end up creating injustices of recognition. The inability of groups to sustain social change due to underlying political and economic constraints and the stigmatizing effect of affirmative redistribution at best is of limited value in the short term and could at worst be politically counterproductive on the long term. The affirmative redistribution route is in sharp contrast to transformative remedies for injustices.

Typical strategies for a transformative approach combine numerous strategies (Fraser 1997:85), for example social welfare programs, macro-economic policies aimed at employment creation, a large non-market public sector, and collective decision- making over social and economic challenges and responses. They address the underlying causes that the affirmative strategy does not speak to. I support this strategy in its attempts to destabilize class differentiation in society, as it does not stigmatize marginalized groups that benefit from transformation. By restructuring the underlying political economy, this approach will alter social conditions for everyone in society by changing the conditions of labor and redressing economic inequality. Inevitably this process has to occur over a longer time frame than strategies located within politics of recognition. We have to recognize that interest based in race and culture is more immediate than general claims to class interest and identities. Therefore while I support targeting economic disadvantage, we have to be attentive to culturally constructed social divisions in developing strategy.

It is furthermore important to note that at a practical level, the potential for political, social and economic resistance to transformative strategies should not be underestimated. Its structural and political implications are immense. On the one hand those who are privileged in terms of class would resist or at a minimum raise objections to these changes to protect their own advantage. On the other hand the appeal of more immediate high profile episodes, such as

sport events may contribute to elevating group recognition and is therefore more seductive than politics of transformation.

Although each of these strategies holds promises for social justice and transformation, Fraser (1997:87) points out that we “sit squarely on the horns of the redistribution-recognition dilemma”. Developing strategies aiming to resolve this dilemma has real social and political consequences. She argues that there are no neat theoretical moves that can extract us from the dilemma, even though we need to develop a strategy where both recognition and class differentiation is dealt with sufficiently. She suggests that addressing vicious circles of mutually reinforcing forms of cultural and economic subordination requires us to consider approaches that minimize the conflicts between redistribution and recognition (Fraser 1997: 92).

I seek to examine options and strategies suggested by Fraser that would lead to the creation of progressive remedies overcoming the unavoidable dilemma between recognition and redistribution. Fraser (2000:108) suggests developing a status recognition model that deal with both struggles over redistribution as well as the reification and contestation of group identities. She argues (2000:119) that instead of recognizing group specific identities, the status of individuals as full partners in social interaction must be privileged. The transcendence of group specificities opens the way for people to become diverse, multifaceted citizens responding to multiple forms of injustice, in both redistribution and recognition. I explore the place of the state and its apparatuses at various levels, balancing strategies within the status recognition approach. In South Africa, the role of the national, provincial and local state levels are important in reshaping the contours of politics, economy, culture and public policy.

CONCLUSIONS

Current struggles for recognition and group identity have been in the ascendency over the past two decades. Concepts, theories and associated

political projects based in identity politics mask the transformation challenges in integrated, multiple layered and societies. Transforming social relations holistically, taking account of variable shifts in political, economic and cultural domains, is the key conceptual and practical problematic at present. Fraser has presented a key challenge that confronts us. How do we finesse the redistribution– recognition dilemma? Finessing this dilemma must take into account the multiple fields of social relations, intersecting political and economic contestations and multiple narratives of transformation.

In this dissertation I reexamine the taken for granted processes and institutions that impact on sport transformation, policy and strategies. I analyze sport transformation using concepts and theories in RA, CPE and transformative praxis dealing with the recognition-redistribution dilemma. In this analysis I emphasize systemic contradictions and contestations, complex institutions, and co-evolving institutions and processes in various domains and at various scales.

CHAPTER 3

CONTRADICTIONS IN STATE, SOCIETY AND SPORT IN APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA

INTRODUCTION

Sport is a multifaceted arena where many worlds, political tendencies, value systems and agendas collide. It has been and continues to be one of the more decipherable and public digests of changing social and power relations in South Africa and an important platform to shaping identities. In critically analyzing the current conjuncture of sport transformation, I examine how past processes of cultural production and economic reproduction contributed to situated sport practices in the present. This chapter examines sport in South Africa historically, analyzing it as a highly contested and contestable ensemble of activities, events, structures and institutions that supports, undermines and at times surpassed apartheid and anti-apartheid political initiatives. I consider sport as not simply an exercise in physical endeavor or bureaucratic practices but as an important symbolic device, site of cultural and political production and contestation. Sport is integral to political, economic and social change in South Africa.

Reflecting on sport's convolution with politics, culture and the economy, in this chapter I examine the impact of apartheid on sport in three periods: From 1952 to 1976, the first period under discussion, illustrates the ways in which the apartheid state controlled and supported sport institutions such as the white South African rugby, cricket and tennis sport bodies and the white South African National Olympic Committee (SANOC). The state, acting from a central position, used its apartheid policies and resource distribution strategies to influence and effect control over sport governance systems and the culture of sport. The main antagonist to the apartheid state and white controlled sport institutions was the

South African Council on Sport (SACOS). SACOS was a key anti-apartheid institution in the context of state repression and economic subjugation. SACOS used sport at the local level as a platform to respond to central state policy in the political, economic and cultural domains, using sport to agitate for a non-racial society beyond sport. Between 1977 and 1988, the second period of study in this chapter, SACOS was acknowledged as the voice of anti-apartheid sport at a global level and acted as an important platform for anti-apartheid political activity, successfully circumventing state repression against political activities by for example, the African National Congress (ANC). Third, I focus on the period 1988 to 1990. I examine the establishment and domination of the National Sports Congress (NSC). The NSC came into existence in 1988, two years before the demise of apartheid in 1990. I examine the socio-political factors that stimulated the sudden rise to prominence of the NSC. The prominence of the ANC in the political transition in South Africa and the simultaneous escalation of commercialized global sport at the start of the 1990s provided the platform for the NSC to dominate the sport discourse and strategies. Global demands for elite success superseded demands for social transformation in sport in South Africa in 1990. Contestations between different political tendencies within the anti-apartheid sport movements shaped and had a greater impact on the sports agenda than the contest between apartheid and anti-apartheid sport movements. These battles are embedded in current contradictions, sport policy, institutions and governance system.

I argue that politics, economy, culture and sport have been mutually implicated in changing South African society and its sport policies and identity. In different ways, each has contributed to the society's relative stability, and its often-destabilizing contradictions. These mutually constituting processes have been embodied in institutional actions, that at times were successful and at other times had unintended and yet significant consequences for social change.

The purpose of this chapter is two-fold. I first set a historical foundation for examining post-apartheid sport institutions, policies and processes by

analyzing contestations in sport, and its co-evolution with changes in politics, society and economy in the three periods outlined above. Although my focus is on sport my analytical interest is not in "sport *qua* sport" (Giardina 2005:136), but to reflect on tensions and contestations that sport highlights and the ways in which it is implicated in changes in these terrains. In this chapter, my examination of the history and legacy of apartheid government control of sport and the practices of resistance to government policies highlights the multiple intersections between sport, politics, economy, scale and time.

The second purpose is to reflect on the ways in which sport agents inscribed and interpreted boundaries between various sport institutions sometimes positioning each other on opposing sides of an unbridgeable divide and at other times as co-producers of a common destiny. I will argue that the inscription of boundaries created in 1990 produced the post-apartheid contradictions making the contemporary period challenging and the legacies of the apartheid past enduring. I conclude by demonstrating that unresolved contradictions between competing discourses *within* the anti-apartheid sport movement during the 1988 to 1994 period shaped the current contradictions and paradoxes in sport policy, the core focus of this thesis.

APARTHEID IN SPORT TRACKSUITS: 1952 to 1976

In this section I highlight the contradictory role that sport played in apartheid South Africa. At certain times sport simply reflected apartheid policies and at other times became situated practices for breaking embedded practices of racial politics. Through sport, relations of power were consolidated and reformed as a consequence of local contestation and renegotiation and international anti-apartheid pressure.

Linking Politics and Apartheid Sport

From the inception of apartheid legislation in 1952[6], social life in South Africa submitted to the race agenda. Sport institutions conformed to the dictates of apartheid socio-spatial regulation prescribed in the Group Areas Act (RSA 1952) and the Separate Amenities Act (RSA 1954). Apartheid laws determined that racial groups be separated in work, play and socialization. This meant that white, Indian, coloured and African race groups[7] were spatially alienated resulting in sport being managed and resourced differently for the various race groups.

Apartheid politics, legislation and racial hierarchy dominated sport decisions. For sport institutions, this meant that sport for the white race group was administered by a National Department of Sport and Recreation, which created its own systems, budgetary processes and expenditure patterns. The Department received resources from the national state for sport facilities, programs and international tours. The Sports Department and the white National Minister of Sport were the only recognized and sanctioned sports institutions by the apartheid state. While the obsession with sport among whites was elevated by the state, interest for sport among other race groups were actively discouraged (Odendaal 1995, Odendaal 2003; Desai 2003; Merrett 2009). Sport for Indian, colored and Africans was subjected to different state regulations and control. For example, the Minister for Coloured Relations, who reported to Parliament, administered all aspects related to the mixed race group. All issues related to education, housing, social welfare and sport were subsumed under the Department of Coloured Affairs. Similarly, the Minister of Cooperation and Development was responsible for all issues related to the African race group.

[6] The National Party came into power in 1948 on the basis of an apartheid mandate but started promulgating racist policies and laws from 1952.

[7] This terminology is used to denote the apartheid classification of the major race groups. When the term black is used in this dissertation, it takes on political connotations combining the disenfranchised Indian, coloured and Indian race groups.

While sport was encouraged to be a centerpiece of white popular culture, sport for other race groups was regarded as unimportant by the apartheid state.

The racial hierarchy was entrenched through a political and administrative resource distribution system. As sport was not regarded as important for race groups other than white, minimal resources were distributed to sport clubs and teams in Indian, coloured and African group areas. In 1967 the Minister of Sport stated the intention of the Sports Department that "we are not here to build turf (cricket) wickets for the colored people" (Merrett 2009:229). Instead he pointed out in parliament that state resources for sport would be used to strengthen social ties in "the white community" (ibid) and that sport for other race groups would be regarded as "own affairs"[8] and of lesser importance[9].

Although the apartheid state's primary sphere of influence was over sport in South Africa, they made an attempt to universalize racial separation at international level. They insisted that other nations do not select their own indigenous populations to play in sports events against South African teams. For example, until 1970 the New Zealand rugby authorities succumbed to the South African state decree that no New Zealand Maori would be permitted to play against South Africa. However, due to increasing pressure on South Africa, the New Zealand All Blacks toured South Africa in 1970, sending an apartheid sanctioned "multiracial team". The inclusion of Maoris[10] was sanctioned in South Africa, "as a result of international pressure (exerted on) South African resolve"

[8] Common terminology used by the apartheid state.

[9] The apartheid state also influenced the selection of international sport teams. As the apartheid state recognized white sport institutions and the rights of white athletes, the right of black sportsperson to compete internationally was delegitimized by state institutions. I mention two examples to highlight the state's strategy to impose its racial classification locally and globally. First, Basil D'Oliviera[9] , a 'colored' born in Cape Town immigrated to England to further his cricket career. He was selected to be included in the English cricket team to tour South Africa in 1968 (Gemmell 2004:147-151). His selection elicited strong state reaction from the South African government. President Vorster indicated that the South Africa would not approve of the England team to play against South Africa. The team was said to be politically motivated, not based on sport merit: "The team as constituted now is not the team of England but the team of the anti-apartheid movement.[9]" (President John Vorster quoted in Jarvie 1985:6).

[10] The Maoris was the racial term used for indigenous New Zealanders who would have been classified as Coloured or Black under apartheid.

and resulting in the South African government allowing Maoris to travel as 'honorary whites'" (New Zealand History Online[11]). The concession by the South African state to permit Maoris as temporary whites, came amid increasing international opposition to apartheid sport policies and continued intransigence by the apartheid state between 1970 and 1972. The softening of the non-negotiable racial stance by the state to sport appears however to be at odds with its rejection of international censure in other spheres, such as the economy.

Sport as a Riposte to Apartheid Crimes Against Humanity

The United Nations declared apartheid a "crime against humanity" in 1962[12] and, yet, the apartheid state consistently acted with impunity rejecting these censures publicly, leading to even more draconian state action against anti-apartheid forces. The apartheid South African state successfully imposed its segregationist policies on sport and sport in turn played an important role in buttressing apartheid policy, both in South Africa and internationally. The white anti-apartheid politician Helen Suzman argued in parliament in 1971 that the apartheid state's control over the economy, society and politics was absolute, enabling the authoritarian regime to disregard international political and economic sanctions and local resistance. She argued that a response to draconian state policy should recognize South African's obsession with sport and utilize sport as a platform for resistance because "sport…is the only thing that really hurts South Africans where they feel it" (South Africa Parliament 22 April 1971 quoted in Jarvie 1985:6). Suzman highlighted the link between political economy and culture. According to Suzman, encompassment of state policy and political power required a cultural response. A significant shift occurred in both the economic and cultural domains in 1972. Sport and the labor

[11] Extracted from 'Politics and sport - 1981 Springbok tour', URL: http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/1981-springbok-tour/politics-and-sport, (Ministry for Culture and Heritage), updated 24-Feb-2009
[12] UN 1962: Resolution 1761.

movement emerged as two key sites of resistance to apartheid policy. I will focus on the emergence of resistance to apartheid in the sports domain.

While the apartheid state ignored international calls for racial transformation in South Africa, contests over the use of local sports fields emerged as an important site of contestation and mobilization. As the apartheid national state and local authorities sought to control sport activity, increasing numbers of local black sports clubs were denied use of municipal sports fields in Johannesburg (Roberts 1987 and 1988) and Pietermaritzburg (Merrett 2009) if they did not assent to apartheid policies. As the state increasingly sought to widen its reach, resistance emerged simultaneously and in direct response to state policy. In 1973, the anti-apartheid, non-racial South African Council on Sport (SACOS) was formed to resist state policy collectively. At its formation and in the initial stages of its development, the anti-apartheid sport institution, SACOS initially accepted certain elements of the apartheid system and worked with the state to reform these. SACOS acceded to the demand by white sport institutions that white athletes would not be prevented from competing in international sport. In exchange, they requested that the state provide better sport facilities for black sport clubs and allow the creation of unified and non-racial sport federations (Merrett 2009: 270). Drawing on the national obsession for sport and yearning for elite international competition SACOS started to demand that unified and non-racial sport institutions be established to run sport in South Africa. SACOS started demanding that the state repeal its racial requirement that sport events across the color line required a special state permit. By arguing for exceptionalism of sport to broader apartheid socio-economic policies, SACOS set in motion the first cycle of contestation over and contradictions in transformation in sport. Choosing to work within the dominant system of state authority and not challenging the hegemony of racial hierarchy, led to contradictions within the anti-apartheid sports movement. Decisions were controversial and to understand the choices made by leadership we have to

examine the positionalities of leaders within SACOS and the roles that they played in society outside sport.

The composition of SACOS leadership was instrumental to and reflected the cooperative strategies initially selected. The first President of SACOS, Norman Middleton, was also a politician on the apartheid-created Coloured Representative Council (CRC). Middleton's political position on the CRC restricted options for SACOS to contest the apartheid state policy. SACOS instead used strategies to increase its share of sport resources without challenging state constructed racial imaginaries. While SACOS leadership baulked at resisting state policy in its entirety, broader political contestation radicalized strategies within SACOS. The emergence of SACOS in 1973 coincided with increasing labor mobilization[13] and growing civil unrest, culminating in the 1976 student uprisings. These factors led to increasing polarization in South African society and Middleton was replaced as SACOS President. The conjuncture of social, political and economic contests thus stimulated a change in the state <u>and</u> in anti-apartheid sport discourse.

COMPETING SPORT DISCOURSES I: 1977 to 1988

In 1977, a significant change in sport discourse and policy occurred. Unlike President Vorster who argued within a racial domination frame in 1969, the then Minister of Sport, Piet Koornhoff, suggested in 1977 that: "Let us admit here this afternoon that play and sport are strong enough to cause political and economic relations to flourish or collapse" (Hansard 18 May 1977). The apartheid state's strategy in sport became increasingly entangled in dynamics and terrains that they wished to shape and control. The apartheid state gradually relinquished its totalizing control of society and shifted its sport practices.

[13] The modern labor movement in South Africa emerged in local labor disputes around Durban harbor in 1973 (add a reference).

Multi-National Reform and Sport

Koornhof announced a multi-national sport program in 1977, a program confirming that racial categories would remain in society, but that certain sport events would be classified as multinational. Under certain state defined conditions, white and black would be allowed to compete as equals in the same sport events. Seen on its own, this change could be viewed as a positive reform measure. However, locating it within a broader analysis of political change occurring at the time, suggests a broader role for sport and the reform measures. The implementation of the multi-national sport policy coincided with the political program creating independent states out of the previous Bantustan Homelands such as Transkei, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana. While the apartheid state enforced the harsh Bantustan policies, forcefully repatriating millions of citizens from 'white' urban areas to ethically defined rural homelands, sport became a platform for the apartheid state to create the impression that "positive attitudes can exist among different nationalities" (Koornhoff 1977) through the promotion of multi-nationalism at all levels of sport from club to international level.

In certain instances, the multi-national sport reform program permitted people of different race groups to play sport together, also on the same team, albeit under very strict state-managed conditions. For example, the world-renowned Comrades Ultra Marathon was declared a multi-national event, permitting different race groups to compete in the same race. Under the new multi-national sports policy, the Department of Sport was required to manage "international" entrants by providing nationality identification badges to athletes. While no national identification badges were required for white English, Dutch, French, or other European entrants a complex bureaucratic system had been developed to accommodate black South African athletes who came from apartheid created Ciskei and Transkei[14]. The state portrayed this sport event to

[14] Newspapers highlighted the chaos that ensued at these multi-national events. At the 1977 event, the administrators ran out of ethnic identification badges leading to a bureaucrat-created

an international audience through the media as an example of positive relationships that could emerge among different racial groups, even though racial separation remained in all other aspects of South African society. This change in apartheid sports policy created an opportunity for white South Africa to demand that they be permitted to compete in international sport as politicians trumpeted claims that "apartheid is dead" (Koornhoff 1977 in a Speech to the United Nations). These claims were used to undermine anti-apartheid claims by SACOS and its growing demands for non-racialism. At the international level, rugby tours by the New Zealand All Blacks, including Maoris, were welcomed and sport tours to the United States and Canada were supported by the apartheid state. Sport was symbolically used to promote the idea that the apartheid state was creating conditions for the demise of racial discrimination in the economy and politics. Instead, subjugation and inequities deepened.

Inequities in social, political and economic conditions remained unchanged, ensuring that the apartheid political and economic project remained intact. While the multi-national sports policy promoted equal competition on the playing field for the duration of the sports match, laws remained preventing players and spectators mixing before and after matches. All activities that surrounded the playing field, sharing of public toilets, sharing of seating facilities, mixed stadium entry and exit points were not permitted[15]. While the state acceded to changes in sport practices, its control and intransigence in the political and economic arenas produced gaps and contradictions.

Besides sport, no other aspect of society was permitted to deviate from the apartheid project, a contradiction that sometimes was difficult for the state to explain and justify[16]. For example, the anti-apartheid sport movement as a basis

---

consternation among athletes as a shortage of Zulu badges occurred, requiring the substitution of these with Xhosa badges (Merret 2009:308).

[15] One area that created debate was state permission for the sale and consumption of alcohol at "multi-national" matches. In terms of the new sport policy, alcohol could be consumed at these multi-national games, by special permission from the state run Liquor Board.

[16] In 1982, for instance, a rebel Sri Lankan cricket team toured South Africa, where Sri Lankan members of the Press were issued with passes indicating "For Europeans only".

for contestation and to create an anti-apartheid critical consciousness highlighted the state's resolute use of race labeling for sports participants. SACOS used the paradoxes in road running where a black marathon runner, Seleke, rested on a grass bank before a multinational race next to a sign indicating "for whites only" (SACOS AGM Minutes March 1983). They highlighted that Seleke would not be arrested by the apartheid regime at that point but once the 'multi-national' sporting race commenced ordinary life in South Africa proceeded as normal. Once the race was completed, the grass bank, and the social and economic hierarchy marked on it, once again returned to apartheid normality, - for 'whites only'.

Multi-National Sport Reform and Intensifying Apartheid Contradictions

Managing the link between the multi-national sport policy and the socio-political apartheid frame became increasingly difficult for the state and in its turn reforms produced censure and contradictions from its own conservative constituency. Questioned by mainstream politicians in parliament on the likely impact that the new sport policy would have on the sport system and on apartheid society, the Minister of Sport argued that, in spite of the promotion of multi-national sport events, racially "mixed sport is rejected and apartheid sport remains 99.9955 percent successful" (Minister of Sport 1976 in Merrett 2009:313). Maintaining the impression of apartheid racial separation locally was as important as creating the impression of reform to global audiences. Walking the tightrope between the need for reform and maintaining the fundamental tenets of apartheid became increasingly difficult for the state. Changing sport strategies produced new tensions and contradictions for the apartheid project.

The multi-national sport policy sought to shift apartheid rule from a simple set of bureaucratic apparatuses and practices in which bureaucrats wielded a set of blunt and draconian instruments to a more nuanced approach to power. Sport became a symbolic device to make apartheid socially palatable while the state maintained authority over apartheid politics and economy. The state used the multi-national sport program to symbolize that changes were being

undertaken in apartheid South African society. However even though the state exerted control over the new multi-national sport configuration, new practices of government paradoxically opened new spaces for contentious politics. In particular, the politics that emerged out of the multi-national sport policy created an opportunity for SACOS to contest and mobilize against the apartheid state's system and authority. Sport policy and the apartheid state itself became a site of cultural and political contestation and reproduction in the ensuing period.

Although the apartheid state controlled the conditions in which sport could be practiced, its totalizing control was increasingly contested by SACOS who promoted an anti-apartheid political and economic agenda. While the apartheid state sought to manipulate the conduct of sport people and institutions by providing opportunities for black participation in some events and closing the possibility of participation in others through its multi-national sport policy, sport practices by SACOS shifted the terrain of negotiation highlighting new contradictions and tensions.

Competing Sport Discourses II: Sport Fronting as Politics of Contestation

Whilst the anti-apartheid sports movement had historically agitated for equality in sport before 1976, the multi-national sports program provided the platform for anti-apartheid organizations to mobilize for change beyond sport. In the period after 1977, contentious politics dominated the sport discourse. While the state sought to portray the multi-national sport strategy as symbolic consent by the oppressed groups in South Africa, SACOS, used the policy to highlight contradictions and tensions within state strategies. SACOS reframed sport as a political and economic issue.

No Normal Sport in an Abnormal Society

SACOS framed its resistance to state sport policy with the slogan "no normal sport in an abnormal society" (Howa 1977[17]), countering the state dominated sport system by linking change in sport to the lack of change in society. They argued that even though the apartheid state presented the multi-national sport policy as a natural and multi-racial progression in society, SACOS emphasized the contradictions between changes in sport and authoritarian policies in the economy and society, highlighting deeper injustices in politics and the economy.

SACOS chose symbolic action as a form of resistance, challenging the dominant system of authoritarianism through sport, inserting in its place an alternative imaginary and non-racial identity. Symbolic action aimed at both the local and international levels were used to discredit the minimalist changes made by the apartheid state, and promoted an anti-state, non-racial post-apartheid social formation. Three strategies linked sport and change in politics, society and the economy. First, SACOS aimed to unsettle the racial superiority-inferiority complex central to apartheid ideology; second, they explicitly linked inequitable distribution of resources in sport to exploitative conditions in the economy; and, third, they organized and institutionalized alternative and non-racial forms of sport governance.

Demythologizing Racial Inferiority Through sport

The primary anti-apartheid project sought to demythologize the racial inferiority - racial superiority myth through sport. When the state implemented the multi-national sports policy, SACOS highlighted contradictions that this policy stirred in other spheres of social life, such as the marathon runners in road races expected not to step on grass verges designated for whites and being subjected to harsh economic exploitation (SACOS Sport and Liberation

[17] SACOS Minutes 1981, 1983, and 1989.

1983:13). In response to the state's implementation of the multinational sport system, SACOS leaders lobbied international sport organizations to isolate South African sport, arguing that any change in sport would not be acceptable unless the "whole apartheid apparatus" (SACOS Minutes 1981:82) was dismantled. Linking the changes in sport to lack of change in politics and the economy resulted in international condemnation for a South African rugby tour to New Zealand in 1981. Even though the South African rugby team included blacks, SACOS successfully argued that it was a myth to present this mirage as racial integration in other aspects of society[18]. Instead, they demonstrated that sport and the inclusion of blacks were tokens of apartheid multinationalism, retarding more fundamental transformation in the economy and society.

SACOS's anti-state position solidified during 1983. At its Sport and Liberation conference in Cape Town, they argued that the state used the multinational sport policy to lure political opposition into a false consciousness, while it "summarily rejects us to a position of inferiority" (SACOS 1983; SACOS Minutes 1983a: 144). The anti-apartheid sports movement resisted the idea that sportspeople could participate as equals on the sports fields while complying with the racial and economic hierarchies inherent in the apartheid social and economic system. In response to the multi-national sports strategy, SACOS argued that counter actions needed outright "rejection of racist practices and institutions that regulated human relationships based in racial categories[19]". SACOS highlighted that "non-racialism in sport is not an end in itself; it is a means towards that end in society" (SACOS Minutes 1983a: 144). While the state promoted the idea that ten nations existed in multi-national South Africa, SACOS argued that there was only 'one race, the human race'. Creating a non-racial imaginary, opposing multi-racial and multinational sport practices shaped SACOS strategies throughout the 1980's.

[18] During the 1970 and 1980's sport became "a potent instrument (that) Apartheid use (d) to consolidate and entrench itself" (SACOS Minutes 1983a: 144).
[19] This is a key ideological distinction between non-racialism and multiracialism referred to in this dissertation.

To deflect the lure of state sponsored multi-national sport, SACOS embarked on a strategy to "create occasions of belonging… (where) every single person's chest would swell with pride identifying 100% with a sense of non-racial achievement in sport" (SACOS Minutes 1983). In a position paper entitled "Sport and the Nation", presented at the SACOS Sport and Liberation Conference (SACOS 1983b: 2), activists argued that the state attempts to "split up a language group such as Xhosa and divide them into bogus 'Ciskeian' and 'Transkeian' nationalities…to entrench the unique Herrenvolk assumptions of white superiority." Contesting these assumptions required overt resistance, through collective action as well as the creation of alternative symbols and imaginaries that counteracted the state's authoritarian hegemonic position.

One of the strategies selected by SACOS was hosting major non-racial sport festivals, such as the "Olympic Games of the Oppressed" in 1983 and 1988. Hosting these games was popularized as: "The BIGGEST and most successful mass sports activity undertaken by the liberatory sports movement (and brings together) a new imaginative and creative strategy to involve the sports masses in struggle…in the ghettoes, locations, squatter camps and homelands" (SACOS BGM Minutes 1989). The Olympic Games of the Oppressed emulated the Olympic Games ceremonies, such as the opening ceremony seen in Figure 2 (Page 56).

These mass events highlighted achievements in both elite and mass participation sport. The Olympics of the Oppressed paraded sport talent beyond apartheid sport and showed that SACOS was able to increase support among, what SACOS called, "the sport masses" (SACOS BGM Minutes 1983). News media claimed that in excess of 11,000 runners participated in non-racial mass events [20]. The increased stature of non-racial sport as opposed to multi-national

[20] The state exercised power to control the sports agenda by using local governmental apparatuses to reduce the ability of the non-racial sports movement to organize its sport. The state used tactics, such as maintenance works on sportsfields, to undermine SACOS's activities. The apartheid state used local governments to undermine non-racial sports events. In instances such as those indicated in Figure 1, the municipality claimed that it needed to undertake maintenance on the sports field, when a major non-racial sport event was scheduled. At other

sport was highlighted in the rise of private sector sponsorship for these mass events.

Even though SACOS activities were constantly subjected to state censure and harassment through banning of officials and leaders, cancellation of events by local government, and blockades by military and police forces preventing players and spectators from reaching sport venues (see Figure 1 SACOS Events Sabotaged), international sport sponsors such as Adidas provided equipment and sponsorship for the Olympics of the Oppressed and committed to growing the sponsorship in ensuing years (South Newspaper June 1988). These sport events were used to highlight athletic prowess in the non-racial sports movement, to bring attention to the critique of apartheid racist state policy and action and to develop a non-racial South African identity through sport.

---

times more overt strategies were used by the state, such as proposing to pass municipal laws preventing SACOS from using and controlling state owned sportsfields (Cape Herald June 1985: 1; see Figure 2). This battle was symptomatic of the larger battle between the multi-national dispensation and non-racial sport.

Figure 1: UNDERMINING OF NON-RACIAL SPORTS EVENTS BY CAPE TOWN MUNICIPALITY (SACOS Biennial Report 1985)

Internationally focused actions included resisting sport tours by multi-national teams from South Africa and creating local platforms for high profile non-racial sport events that also contributed to demythologizing the primacy of race in determining sport participation and excellence. The nucleus of the anti-apartheid sport movement struggle during the 1980s, SACOS highlighted and organized against the effects of inequitable resource distribution in sport and general life under apartheid built on the unjust "racial capitalist apartheid system" (SACOS Sport and Liberation 1983:13). At the Olympics of the Oppressed in 1988, SACOS flew their flag at half-mast to draw attention to authoritarian state action in the country (See Figure 2). SACOS used sport as symbolic action to highlight inequity in the economy and resource distribution in sport. In the next section, I highlight the argument by SACOS that changes in sport could have meaning only if accompanied by transformation in the economy and society beyond sport.

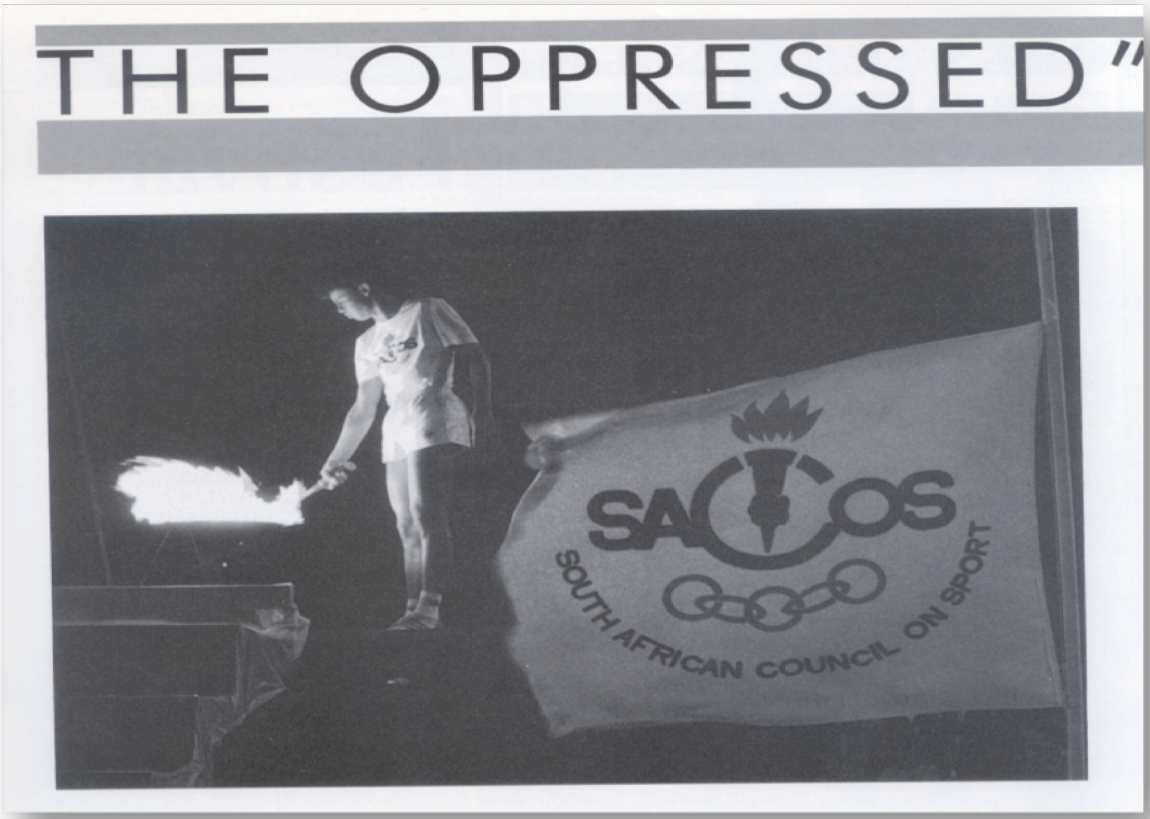


Figure 2: SACOS FESTIVAL 1988 – "FESTIVAL OF THE OPPRESSED" OPENING CEREMONY AT ATHLONE STADIUM FLAG FLYING AT HALF MAST (SACOS BGM

Contesting Apartheid Resource Distribution

The anti-apartheid sport movement highlighted the economic system as the root cause of inequities in sport. At the 1983 Sport and Liberation Conference activists argued that: "SACOS operates under a unique situation of Apartheid Capitalism" where "the people who produce the wealth of the land cannot enjoy it because their wages are too low" (Sport and Liberation Position Paper 1983:1). SACOS argued that, decisions to play or not to play sport; which type of sport to play; and when to play was determined by economic and not sport-related factors. Moreover, SACOS demonstrated that mass participation in sport such as soccer, athletics and netball "are favored by blacks as these do not require expensive equipment and proper facilities" (Sport and Liberation Position Paper 1983:3), and thus the very patterns of participation in sports,

assumed to be a virtue, in fact reflected apartheid inequalities. Through this debate, SACOS successfully argued that any struggle for non-racial sport must be located in a struggle over material conditions. They positioned their resistance and contestation with the state through the argument that "the system of racial capitalism lies at the root of the entire segregational, discriminatory structure in sports as well as society as a whole"(Sport and the System 1983:2). This created the platform for organizations such as Halt All Racist Tours (HART)[21], American Committee on Africa[22] and the Australian and Canadian Embassies to argue for increased isolation of South Africa in economic and political spheres[23].

The role of the state was seen as a central force in maintaining the social system through strategic resource distribution in education[24] and in sport. SACOS thus used inequitable resource allocation in sport to substantiate the broader challenge in apartheid society:

> "A total of R4, 891, 500 was budgeted last year by the Government for Sport and Recreation…. R1, 540, 748 had been spent to further sport among THE WHITE POPULATION OF SOUTH AFRICA (emphasis in original). The Minister of Coloured Relations said that a total of R141, 207 was spent on the promotion of sport FOR COLOURED PERSONS (emphasis in original). The Minister of Cooperation and Development said that R128, 954 (was paid) from public funds to further sport amongst THE AFRICAN POPULATION (emphasis in

[21] Halt All Racist Tours (HART) became an international force using sport to highlight the economic, social and political injustices. International anti-apartheid sports movements became key lobbyists for continuing the economic and political isolation of South Africa.
[22] The American Committee on Africa used the heavyweight boxing match between heavyweight champion John Tate and South African Gerrie Coetzee to pressure NBC not to televise the match in the US (Paul Irish in Address to United Nations March 1980).
[23] SACOS Biennial Conference May 1981.
[24] Per capita resource distribution for education in 1981 was: White R913; Indian R513; Coloured R253; and African R139 (SALDRU Working Paper 1984).

original). --- NO FUNDS ARE RECEIVED FOR NON-RACIAL SPORT" (emphasis in original). (SACOS 1981:78[25]).

This led SACOS President, Frank van der Horst, at his 1983 inaugural address, to argue for intensifying the strategy for resistance through sport by ensuring that SACOS was part of the broader liberation struggle. SACOS needed "to build a united front with the workers in the trade unions, residents in the civics, students, youth, women and other working community organizations" (SACOS BIENNIAL AGM MINUTES 1983). From the mainstream SACOS perspective, the sports movement needed to intensify the focus on issues of redistribution in sport **and** society (SACOS BGM Minutes: 1983). The link with redistributive struggles increasingly came to the fore as the decade progressed. In reports on the 1988 "SACOS Olympics of the Oppressed", delegates to SACOS meetings pointed out that the festival "was a triumph for the anti-apartheid liberatory sport of the exploited workers…and a major advance for genuine, just, new and non-racial society based on equal human rights and led by the working class" (SACOS Meeting Minutes March 1989: 150). SACOS thus dismissed government reforms as a sham (SACOS BGM Minutes 1985), arguing instead for 'all or nothing' approach to regime change. State reform would be acceptable only if it was part of the total dismantling of the economic system in South Africa.

In response to the apartheid state's strategy to create social unity and consensus while relentlessly privileging some identities and interests over others through the multi-national and multiracial reforms, SACOS built counter-hegemonic strategies through sport and localized forms of political representation. Paradoxically, state reform and the concomitant local and international resistance to these reforms created the impetus for SACOS to

[25] Contestation over the local state sport resources policies gave impetus to the sport struggle during the 1980s. In various localities, sports clubs and communities challenged the local state over access to sports fields, swimming pools and sports halls. Access to adequate resources filled the agenda of many sports clubs[25] and formed the basis of the daily struggle for existence as these affected club viability.

organize functioning, alternative and non-racial sport governance structures. Sport and its institutionalization under a non-racial rubric provided the basis to construct a counter-hegemony based on an alternative collective will. Establishing alternative governance structures represented a conscious effort to create visible resistance politics and practices.

Institutionalizing Non-Racial Sport Governance

While the apartheid state made its power and misleading unity visible through the multi-national sport policy, SACOS set out to make itself visible in communities by establishing anti-state sport governing institutions among sport clubs and organizations. Central to governance in such institutions was the refusal to consent to new state practices accommodating apartheid. Through such organizing at the level of local sports clubs and organizations, the anti-apartheid sports movement reshaped local anti-apartheid political, economic and social struggles.

The SACOS sport governance model consisted of a network of community based institutions that promoted collaboration and collective action among sport clubs. At the institutional level, racially divided sport clubs between African, coloured and Indian classified race groups, were integrated into SACOS-organized, non-racial local, regional, provincial and national systems of governance[26], called Councils of Sport. Councils of Sport collectively challenged local authorities and the national state on material issues such as access to sport facilities and inequitable resource distribution at the local level[27].

Daily struggles with the municipality over access to sports fields, sports halls and swimming pools became the key terrain of resistance for local sports councils. By highlighting the inequity of state provision of resources to ordinary

[26] In 1982, nine provincial Councils of Sport affiliated to the national SACOS.

[27] Local community sport institutions devised a number of high profile boycott strategies aimed at businesses that supported apartheid sport events and excluded non-racial sport. An example is the Simba Chips boycott, of 1981, where the large corporation sponsored the South African Grand Prix Motor Race and provided SACOS with two boxes of potato crisps that they could sell at their events to raise funds (Personal Involvement).

sports clubs, SACOS consciously focused on unsettling the state strategy by demonstrating contradictions within the state's multinational sport policy. Through challenging this state practice, SACOS produced spaces for local organizations to construct a collective will around building a critical and anti-state consciousness. By building consensus "among everyone on the ground" (SACOS Minutes: 1983) SACOS focused on unsettling the dominant social order and domination of certain racial and economic interests in the sports arena. Highlighting inequitable material conditions was a critical strategy in building a counter-hegemonic identity.

The growth in non-racial sport escalated. By 1983 increasing numbers of sport councils emerged in urban and rural areas in all provinces of the country (SACOS Minutes 1983). For example the Eastern Province Council of Sport reported an increase in numbers of sport affiliates from 15 to 21 and growing numbers of local sport clubs among these affiliates. The Natal Council on Sport (NACOS) reported an increase of nineteen affiliates between 1982 and 1987 and identified four additional communities that were in process of establishing community based sports councils. Peripheral towns such as Graaff Reinett, Uitenhagh and Pietermaritzburg reported revitalization in local sport structures and sport clubs (SACOS General Council Minutes 1987: pp 137 and 141). High profile non-racial sports such as rugby, cricket, swimming and track and field grew as a result of shaping collective will around non-racialism and politics of contestation through redistribution. The growing number of sport councils, sport players and communities that affiliated to SACOS during the 1980s reflected a growing acceptance of the political leadership of SACOS and the concomitant rejection of the apartheid state's policy of multinationalism.

Sport governance structures helped create coherence and a common frame for social and community activism. They brought together struggles of ordinary sports people, school pupils, teachers and international sport activists under a common frame of non-racialism that also responded specifically to the apartheid sport system of multinationalism. In this period, SACOS reached its

zenith as an institution, accepted as the voice of the anti-apartheid sports movement and as a force shaping contentious anti-apartheid politics. SACOS's governance system was considered a success by the anti-apartheid political leadership. Dullah Omar, a patron of the ANC aligned United Democratic Front, Mass Democratic Movement and later Minister in Nelson Mandela's Cabinet, argued in 1988 at the Olympics of the Oppressed that "SACOS policy has been a major success. It must be intensified, not relaxed" (SACOS BGM 1988: Minutes). International anti-apartheid institutions also highlighted the key role that SACOS played in maintaining pressure on international governments in isolating the apartheid state economically and politically[28]. During the mid 1980s, a large degree of homogeneity emerged within the non-racial collective will to shape a new post-apartheid social order.

While the anti-state authority of SACOS was increasing in sport throughout the 1980s, contradictions within its own regulations and principles started to create another arena for contestation. The inability of leadership in SACOS to manage contradictions in its policies, associated with shifts in the broader political landscape and the reshaping of dominant political interests during the mid 1980s, seriously challenged the organization. Although SACOS could resist state multinational sport policies utilizing anti-state discourses, its inability to provide sport facilities and resources outside of the apartheid state institutions limited the attainment of its non-racial objectives. SACOS could argue for non-racial sport at a political and ideological level, but the apartheid state retained control of resources and sport infrastructure. The fact that SACOS was unable to shift its anti-state strategy to consider strategic compromises with the state resulted in the emergence of a sub-hegemonic movement within the counter-hegemonic and non-racial SACOS sports movement. Maintaining a coherent sport governance system without control of its own sport facilities

[28] A letter from the "Movement Anti-Apartheid Paris" to SACOS in 1981 argued "…your firm opposition to all forms of collusion with 'multinationalism' …has helped the French public and the French government to understand the problems of black South Africans…"(March 7, 1981 Extracted from SACOS AGM Minutes 1981).

unsettled the authority of SACOS and created the conditions for the emergence of the third competing discourse in sport, discussed in the following section.

Competing Sport Discourses III: The ANC in Tracksuits – 1988 to 1990

In the growing contradictions within non-racial sport practices, I now examine the relationship between contradictions in sport and the emergence of the ANC as a political force in exile during the late 1980s. The re-emergence of the ANC created the conditions for new sport practices, particularly the shifting of political strategy from principled anti-state and non-collaboration practices to negotiation and participation.

Paradoxes in Anti-State Politics, Contests and Sport

Advocating anti-state strategies during the 1980s, the SACOS sport movement increasingly needed to confront contradictions emanating from its own internal organization and positions of its key activists, the challenge to organize everyday sports activities in an apartheid context, and changing conditions in politics and the economy. In 1988 the contradictions in SACOS policy climaxed in criticism from a broad spectrum of activists, focused on the need to move from simply a critical diagnosis of injustices in South African to a more strategic prescription for change.

Although the contradictions boiled to the surface in 1988, the 1985 SACOS General Council Meeting in Durban was a critical moment in shaping the direction of non-racial sport. Two key areas were hotly debated. First, Yunus Carrim, the representative of Table Tennis, chastised SACOS leadership for being out of touch “with the masses” (Cape Herald May 18, 1985: INSIGHT). He pointed to the conundrum of holding onto “holy cows”(Cape Herald 1985: ibid) at the expense of taking opportunities for sport to contribute to mass mobilization in communities. Whilst acknowledging the importance of adhering to principles, such as the rejection of apartheid permits and the multi-national sport system, he argued that unceasing and principled anti-state stance became increasingly

impractical as the political economic terrain around sport was shifting. Carrim argued that: “A person living in Soweto expects to see a soccer match in Soweto, and he has every right to do so. And if it means that we have to obtain a permit to play non-racial soccer in the townships, we should do so” (Cape Herald May 18, 1985). The second contentious area was over a report commissioned by SACOS to investigate breaking down racial barriers within the non-racial sports movement. In the investigation by Peter Jones a worrying specter of deepening racial divisions within the non-racial sports movement was highlighted. Jones remarked that a debilitating gulf existed between the position of non-racialism held by the leadership and the “very uneven development of the principles of non-racialism among the rank and file membership” (SACOS Minutes 1985: Appendix; Cape Herald May 18, 1985). He highlighted a critical paradox in holding onto principles of anti-establishment solidarity and the “stringent double standards ruling”[29] which in his assessment led to ethnic chauvinism within the non-racial movement (Cape Herald May 18, 1985). Paradoxically in practice, refusing to apply for apartheid state permits to play across the color bar and use apartheid created facilities meant that claims to non-racial sport itself became an illusion. To circumvent this paradox, Jones recommended that closer relationships be forged between the sport movement and political organizations.

These two stinging criticisms echoed concerns by members that “until recently SACOS, perhaps arrogantly, functioned in comparative isolation” (SACOS Minute 1985). In a stinging rebuke towards the end of the meeting, an

[29] SACOS anti-state ideology pre-determined a strictly non-collaborationist stance with any state organ, sport organization or individual sportsperson deemed to be associated with the state. The acceptance of the double-standards resolution (DSR) drew a decisive distinction between adherents to anti-state activities and those who were deemed to be collaborating with the state. In sport, distinctions were made between those who played under the multi-national sport system and those who remained in non-racial and therefore non-collaborationist sport. The Double Standards Resolution whilst serving to draw specific ideological lines between pro-state and anti-state activities and allegiances, hid a greater complexity in sport and race politics during the 1980s. This resolution may have drawn a distinction between those sportspersons who ascribed to the full principles of non-racialism and banned those who played in racially mixed leagues, however contradictions emerged in practice. For example a person who participated under the SACOS affiliated squash league could not participate in racially mixed football teams or cycling races. These individuals would be sanctioned and banned from all non-racial sport activities. Whilst the Resolution was accepted at the height of the powers of SACOS, new complexities and contestation emerged through policy challenges; alternate policy agendas; and practices. Contestation over the Double Standards Resolution gave rise to new sport agendas and emerged as broader political and social shifts starting emerging approximately in 1988.

activist argued, “we are essentially lower middle class intelligentsia and we have the audacity to stand here and take decisions on behalf of the masses” (Cape Herald May 18, 1985). In spite of SACOS growing in numbers of organizations and individual sports players, the non-racial anti-state collective will was being challenged by marginalized social forces within the sports movement and the broader social formation. Leadership and member institutions of SACOS were forced to re-examine the shifting relationship between politics, society and sport organizing. Emerging networks that developed between the marginalized sub-hegemonic group within SACOS and the rise in political leadership of the ANC changed the dynamics within sport irrevocably.

Paradoxes in Race and Redistribution Logics: 1988 to 1990

Criticism highlighting competing strategies to meet the race and redistribution paradoxes increasingly came from within SACOS, the ANC, academics, and trade union movement and from the anti-apartheid sports media. The critique centered on the relationship of sport to social justice and democracy. Within SACOS Cheryl Roberts[30] (1988), a leading sport and social activist, argued that SACOS should take the lead in society to re-examine its sport agenda and construct an alternate sport discourse that would contribute to social and political transformation and not sport *qua* sport. She argued that for SACOS to remain relevant in “the changing political climate”, SACOS needed to “offer… the **black** working class different programs to gain ideological control” (Roberts 1989a: 9). Her arguments attempted to add nuance to the race and redistribution logic inherent in the brand of non-racialism offered by SACOS. She contended that SACOS’s non-racial class argument and the assumption of the working class as a monolithic entity ignored the realities of social, cultural, racial and spatial divisions pre-existing and generated by apartheid. Disjunctures and paradoxes emerge once the non-racial stance of SACOS is situated within the realities of the apartheid system. Ignoring the realities of spatial separation

[30] Roberts was subsequently isolated from SACOS. She later competed for South Africa in table tennis at the 1992 Barcelona Olympic Games.

of various races – created by the apartheid regime through the Group Areas and Separate Amenities Acts - that made up the black working class, and institutionalized apartheid compromises that had benefited races differently through unjust policies for resource distribution in sport, required a more nuanced approach to sport politics and transformation. The prospect to make transformation in South Africa meaningful required a class analysis, but one that emphasized social and economic variations between black, Indian and coloured working class social strata.

Sport also became a key platform to shape the discourse over broader social transformation. Political journals such as Solidarity shaped the discourse on sport transformation in a post-apartheid political order. Contributors argued that while "sport helps to support the (apartheid) system; sport must be shaped into a weapon which challenges all that the system stands for" (Solidarity 1988: Vol. 3). Increasingly SACOS's non-collaborationist and anti-state strategy was critiqued as limiting the possibility for sport to contribute to more fundamental social, economic and political transformation objectives. In this view, the non-racial sport struggle needed to consider strategies that highlighted both racial and economic dimensions. Contesting the principled anti-state policy of SACOS, Alec Erwin, then a Trade Union leader[31], went further by arguing at a SACOS sport summit that sport should lift sanctions against the use of all facilities as well as sportsmen, "even those playing in multi-national organizations" (Erwin 1989). He argued: "Sports organizations predicated on an anti-apartheid basis alone are no longer adequate. We are not able to provide facilities and resources outside the facilities provided by the apartheid structures" (SACOS BGM: 1989:160).

The implication of the new discourse shifted the emphasis of the non-racial sport struggle. Whereas mainstream SACOS arguments sought to focus on questions of redistribution and actively delegitimize race as a category of

[31] Alec Erwin later became a senior Government Minister in the post-1994 democratic Government of National Unity (GNU).

analysis and political object, the new approach sought to build organizational strategies around the realities of racial differentiation and to thus work with racial nuances as a political object. This was a radical change in approach resulting in the formation for the National Sports Congress in 1988. Explanations for the emergence of nuanced sport discourses in 1988 are to be found in the shifting political context.

The Shifting Political Context

In 1988 the banned African National Congress (ANC) convened a conference in Harare, Zimbabwe, to develop political strategies seeking a path for dismantling the apartheid regime. Sport was identified as an important part of ANC political strategy (Bailey 2009: Personal Communication; Jurgens 2009: Personal Communication) [32]. Two roles were identified for sport by the ANC: continue its traditional role in the anti-apartheid sports movement as a weapon to isolate the apartheid regime; and, a second role which sought to use sports to create conditions for political negotiation. Activists who attended the conference indicate that sport was spoken about as the "soft underbelly of the apartheid regime" [33] (Jurgens 2009: personal communication) and the "second religion of the apartheid state"[34] (Bailey 2009: personal communication). Sport was so important to white South Africa under apartheid that it was equated to a national religion. In consequence, sport was used as a bargaining chip by the ANC in negotiating a peaceful transition in South Africa (Bailey, 2009: personal communication) resulting in the formation of the National Sports Congress (NSC). The NSC was both an anti-apartheid sports body and contested sports hegemony with SACOS.

---

[32]This strategy was initially discussed at the **INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE AGAINST APARTHEID SPORT,** Harare, Zimbabwe, 5-7 November 1987 (Report on 4th International Conference Against Apartheid In Sport held in Stockholm, September 1990 and Reese 1997:3)

[33] "Look to white South Africa, sport is a religion…so…non-participation in the Olympics and rugby was a big issue for white South Africa" (Jurgens, 2009).

[34] Reverend Stofile argues, "We always defined sport as apartheid in tracksuits". South Africa's sports heroes were ambassadors for apartheid and sport "was that opium that kept whites in happy ignorance; the opium that numbed white South Africa" (Carlin 2008: 65).

During 1988, rapid changes were made in football (soccer), the most popular sport in South Africa, and rugby, the dominant sport in Afrikaner culture. For example in football, the four racially based football associations were the first sport to discuss the creation of a unified association under a non-racial banner. These changes were stimulated by the conference in Harare, ongoing negotiations between the exiled ANC and apartheid political leaders, and were strategically put into the public domain by the National Sports Congress (NSC) -- "Towards a single Soccer body" – (NSC News, 1989). Discussions for unity in rugby commenced between the white South African Rugby Board (SARB) and the anti-apartheid South African Rugby Union (SARU) in 1988. Clandestine negotiations between SARU and SARB was subjected to scrutiny at numerous SACOS Council meetings (SACOS BGM Minutes 1988 and 1989) and led to public denials by rugby leadership. However, political considerations beyond sport became more prominent and the contradictions within the non-racial stance of SACOS more pronounced. A sport activist at the time reflected, "we have to admit that the National Sports Congress was the ANC in tracksuits" (Jurgens, 2009: Personal Communication). As broader political changes were taken into account in the sports discourse, strategically positioned activists within the sports movement, aligned with the ANC, raised a central contradiction within the non-racial sports movement. SACOS was criticized for its predominantly colored membership, its middle class leadership, and its inability therefore to attract leadership and sportspersons from African black townships. This concerned the political leadership (Jurgens 2009: Personal Communication; Bailey 2009: Personal Communication; Booth 2003:487; Roberts 1988). In the context of this critique, momentum shifted from a generalized anti-state and non-racial stance to a more nuanced approach to dismantling the apartheid state.

By focusing on prescriptions for social change rather than organizing against injustice, historical divisions of establishment versus non-establishment sport, state sponsored versus non-state sponsored, and, in practice, white

versus black were blurred. In its place differently positioned agencies and actors established new relationships between state and anti-apartheid sports organizations, contradicting the SACOS non-collaboration strategy. While the anti-apartheid sport movement was arguing for total non-collaboration with apartheid state strategy my critical analysis points to the contradictions in demands made by SACOS. The anti-apartheid sport movement demanded that the apartheid state guarantee benefits for marginalized groups and expand resource allocation to black sports institutions from the state. Nonetheless, the state remained in control of resources and its calculated strategies shaped the sport landscape and what was thus possible in the anti-state strategy promoted by organizations such as SACOS.

The political decision by the ANC specifically to engage with the apartheid state and establishment sport changed the terms of contestation in sport more generally and created the opportunity for a third competing sport institution to emerge. Booth (2003: 490) argues, for instance, that the new ANC aligned National Sports Council's (NSC) ability to be more flexible led to the NSC seizing control of South African sport. Krish Naidoo, Chairperson of the NSC in 1989, highlighted the change in strategy to negotiation and participation as strategies to transform apartheid. He contrasts this position with the total non-collaborationist and anti-state strategy, arguing, "we're past the stage of straight anti-apartheid resistance. We're building a new non-racial South Africa and there's a proper way of doing things through consultation. The time has come to sit down and start talking"(Finance Week 31st August 1989; Booth 2003: 490). By 1989, new strategies and forms of rationality emerged in the anti-apartheid sport movement, focusing discursively, at least, on building a non-racial society. Sport in South Africa, intersected with national political processes and global sport scales in new ways, reshaped aspirations, beliefs and desires. Entry of the ANC into the sports discourse realigned and complicated contestation in sport politics, unsettling the dominance of SACOS as the primary counter-hegemonic force. In particular, new politically networked sports institutions, aligned with the

political objectives of the ANC and the apartheid National Party and interests driven by international sports organizations, led to a differently situated and scaled hegemonic order in South African sport. This realignment meant that contestation in sports went beyond the simple domination – resistance dichotomy between apartheid, racist, establishment sport, on the one hand, and anti-apartheid, non-racist and progressive forces, on the other.

This change stimulated a realignment of national sport politics and identities. The authoritarian politics of the apartheid state and attempts by SACOS to dominate resistance through its mobilization for non-racial sport were superseded by the diffusion of political power beyond the apartheid state to the political arena. Realignment of political forces, resulting from political changes in South Africa between 1990 and 1994, shaped a new agenda for post-apartheid sport. In the next section I examine post-apartheid government rationality, calculated programs of state intervention in sport and the new role of sport in shaping post-apartheid identity.

The post-apartheid prioritization of sport unification: 1990 to 1994

In February 1990, the state announced the end of legislated apartheid, unbanning anti-apartheid institutions, and the commencement of a negotiated settlement to democracy. Unbanning anti-apartheid sport institutions and activists changed political and sport strategies, practices of government and the dynamic between state and civil society in momentous ways. The non-collaboration strategy, hallmark of SACOS anti-apartheid sport movement, ceased as a strategy for sport activism and was replaced with a new sport culture. Articulated around rhetoric of unity, democracy and nation building (Jurgens 2009: Personal Communication), the new sports philosophy stimulated social change, created new opportunities for South African sport but also highlighted critical contradictions. In this section, I focus on two of these: the influence of global institutions on post-apartheid South African sport processes, and the creation of a new role for sport in the post-apartheid national political discourse.

Sport governance for national unity and global pressure

Immediately after February 1990, all South African sport organizations negotiated on equal terms for the first time. It was now possible to negotiate a common sport destiny without state imposed limitations. Reflecting on this period, sport activists highlight, "sport was ahead of the political negotiations" (Hendricks 2000: Personal Notes) and showed the rest of the country what was possible if antagonists sat around a table to negotiate a common future (Jurgens 2009: Personal Communication; Bailey 2009: Personal Communication). NSC leaders argued that sport "brought people around the table and showed that the various races had more things in common than differences…" (Jurgens 2009: Personal Communication). The popular press similarly presented sport negotiations as signs of 'healing'[35]. Donald Woods, leading anti-apartheid journalist argued, for instance, that "one of the earliest and most dramatic signs of the new feeling of national unity came through sport… proving to be a healing agency in our national life" (Merrett 2003: 34). Moreover, exploits of South African teams in international competition occupied an important space in the national media headlines.

While South Africans were excited about international competition, sport headlines masked the practical realities and influences of differently positioned agencies. Agencies operating at the global, national and local scales influenced outcomes of sport transformation processes in post-apartheid South Africa in different ways. Whilst the broader scales shaped conditions of possibility at national and local scales, South African sports organizations were confronted with demands for transformation at local level. New forms of resistance at different scales and in different sites inverted the contest between the National Sports Congress and SACOS and repositioned the relationships between sport and politics.

[35] "Sport doesn't have to wait for politics" The Daily Mail, 27th August 1990; Cape Argus: Cape Times;

Repositioning Sport and Politics in Post-apartheid South Africa

Engaging in the practical politics of sports unity, nation building and growing demand for international sport competition in 1990, the new hegemonic sport institution, the NSC, identified four requirements for lifting the sports sanctions (Bam 2009: Personal Communication; Bailey 2009: Personal Communication)[36]. First, they argued that there was an imperative to move from racially divided and unequally resourced sport federations to one unified national sport federation per sport and a non-discriminatory constitution. Second, they demanded the removal of apartheid legislation in its entirety, thereby allowing for the free movement of sports teams and sportspersons, overcoming previous racial divisions. Third, the promotion of sport development programs was arguably critical to shape the new sport discourse, and fourth, they renounced all apartheid symbols such as the apartheid national flag, anthem and springbok emblem. Meeting these demands were minimum requirements for non-racial sport in post-apartheid South Africa (NSC Position Paper 1990; SACOS BGM Minutes 1991: 52; The Citizen 5th November 1990[37]) and approval by international sport organizations for readmission by South Africa to international sport.

Negotiations emerged simultaneously within particular sport codes and in the key organizations mobilizing sport at a national level, particularly the NSC, SACOS and the South African National Olympic Committee (SANOC). During the course of 1990, "a minimum of 20 sport federations was engaged in unity talks" (Association of National Olympic Committees of Africa Unity Coordinating Committee Report[38]; Jurgens 2009: Personal Communication). Sport negotiations focused on immediate needs for international competition as well as imperatives for long-term transformation in sport (Cameron Smith 2009: Personal Communication). Strategies to promote development of previously disadvantaged communities and sportspersons became a key agenda item in

[36]Also summarized in Merrett 2009:36 and Booth 1998: pp 180-191.
[37] "Sports Boycott goes on until apartheid ends' The Citizen 5th November 1990.
[38] SACOS Meeting Minutes March 1991.

many sport meetings (Bam 2009: Personal Communication; Jurgens 2009: Personal Communication). Overall, the NSC's four requirements for lifting sport sanctions framed the debate.

Unification of sports codes progressed rapidly throughout 1990. As a result, international sport federations accepted ninety South African federations between 1992 and 1993 and South Africa was readmitted to participate in the Olympic Games and the Cricket World Cup in 1992, and was promoted as hosts for the 1995 Rugby World Cup. Booth (2003:491) comments that, with the simple stroke of a pen and rewriting of existing constitutions, international sport federations appeared naively to accept that "sport had triumphed over racism".

More critical analysis points to a complicated reality in which pragmatic politics had instrumentally shaped sport transformation discourses and processes. In effect, by the end of 1990 broader socio-political changes pressured anti-apartheid sport organizations to concede to reducing the four demands made by the NSC into a single objective (Bouah 2009: Personal Communication; Bailey 2009: Personal Communication; Merrett 2003:36). The official unification of sports institutions across apartheid-era racial divisions became the sole demand made by the NSC and the ANC. Prioritizing the technical unification of sport, subordinated other critical issues and debates. For instance, debates over resource redistribution, creating post-apartheid sport emblems and devising sport development programs that embraced the poorest, marginalized and largely black sports people[39] fell off the agenda. Instead, global and national political considerations gained precedence over local sport considerations. The rationality of this sudden shift is central to subsequent debate about post-apartheid sport transformation issues at the heart of this thesis.

[39] The haste with which sport for national unity was approached denied national sport institutions the opportunity to engage in a discourse focusing on the process of sport transformation in post-apartheid South Africa.

The Influence of Global Imperatives over Local Desires

The role of global institutions such as the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and Association of National Olympic Committees of Africa (ANOCA) increasingly exerted pressure on South African sport governance processes in the period including and following 1990. Global pressure from ANOCA on the restructuring and transformation of sport in South Africa was significant in the post-apartheid period. During the early stages of sport unification, the President of ANOCA, Jean-Claude Ganga, argued, "a new generation of South African authorities and a change in attitude among older generations have enabled South Africans to look towards the future with optimism" (ANOCA report in SACOS Minute March 1991:43). South African sports leaders would lead "the utter eradication and elimination of apartheid in all its forms" (ibid: 44). According to ANOCA, IOC and South African institutions, developing sustainable post-apartheid sport institutions and processes depended on local sport leaders negotiating their own resolutions to apartheid in sport. ANOCA was the first institution to call for the leadership of NSC, SACOS and SANOC[40] to jointly develop a post-apartheid sport process (IOC Continental Report 1990). To enable this to occur, Ganga indicated that transformation required a slow process of undoing the institutional, physical, and psychological harm that apartheid had created (SACOS BGM Minutes 1990).

However, by March 1991, four months after the initial statements by ANOCA, Ganga announced that ANOCA had altered their position, as negotiations were not proceeding fast enough. At the ANOCA Monitoring Committee Meeting in Gaborone, Botswana (IOC Report 1991), he stressed that Africa was waiting for South Africa to resolve its problems, but that the international community could not wait indefinitely for South African sport to develop unified sport institutions (ANOCA report in SACOS Minute March 1991:43). Ganga warned that the international community had already

[40] The South African National Olympic Committee (SANOC) was the sport institution controlled by whites under the apartheid regime.

recognized South Africa's post-apartheid status in sport, and that, therefore, white establishment sport "would be entitled to apply for membership of international federations when apartheid [officially] ended " (SACOS Minutes March 1991)[41]. Categorically, if a white South African sport organization were to apply for international membership, their application would be considered "in spite of what non-racial sport said" (SACOS Minutes March 1991). Behind the scenes, IOC officials had warned the NSC that if they were to reject attempts by federations to be readmitted to global sports arenas, the IOC would confer recognition on SANOC only, cutting off the NSC and SACOS from engagement at the global scale (Booth 1998:190). The influence of ANOCA radically changed the relationship between the NSC and SANOC, making it difficult for the NSC to hold apartheid establishment, white sport accountable for redistribution to black federations and organizations and demanding the relinquishing of their power.

Dennis Brutus, a leading anti-apartheid sport activist[42], appealed to both the NSC and ANOCA in 1991, that "we cannot…through indecent hasty desire (to compete in international competition) or an unseemly jockeying for power, abandon our principles now that victory is possible" (Merrett 2009:35). Brutus promoted a multi-faceted approach to sport and social transformation in parallel with the SACOS argument that international sport competition was of secondary importance to fundamental social and economic transformation. Yet, in sport policy and practice, sport transformation was swept aside, prioritizing South African participation in global sports competition.

Demands for a locally driven process for sport unity and democracy, as argued by SACOS did not align with international interests and South African political needs for reconciliation. The NSC leadership acceded to political pressure exerted by the ANC and accepted the ANOCA ultimatum to enable

[41] The repeal of the Population Registration Act determining racial classification was expected by June 1991.
[42] Dennis Brutus, sport activist and exiled SACOS leader, led the international non-racial sports movement from the 1960s and remained critical of post-apartheid sport transformation.

reconciliation and unified sport institutions. The spokesperson of the NSC, Mluleki George argued that those who refused to be part of the unity process were people "who wish to wear oppression like a badge and who want, in fact, to appear oppressed even if the solution is in their hands" (ANOCA Monitoring Committee Meeting March 1991 in SACOS Meeting Minutes March 1991: Appendix). As a consequence, the NSC aligned itself with ANOCA and SANOC, prioritizing international sport participation and performance. In effect, in doing so they rejected the need to link change in sport to issues of social and economic injustice within South Africa.

To understand the significance of the acquiescence of the NSC to the demands of global sport institutions, I highlight the depoliticization of sport as a facade, particularly the way in which it became an important placebo for social, political and economic change in South Africa between 1990 and the first democratic elections in 1994.

Post-Apartheid Sport Identities as Antidote to Political Instability 1990-1994

Post-apartheid transformation in sport was sacrificed to achieve political and economic ends. Activists involved in the sports negotiations emphasize that sport was crucial in maintaining the political support of white South Africa for the political and economic transition (Bailey 2009: Personal Communication; and Bam 2009: Personal Communication). At the same time, the largely white leadership of establishment sport, who still controlled the majority of sport resources and expertise, rejected SACOS's demands for deeper transformation. For example, in response to the International Rugby Board demanding unity before considering South Africa's re-admittance (Sunday Time 24th February 1991), a white rugby official is quoted as responding, "we will not be bullied into surrendering all we have built up through the years" (Booth 1998:181). In spite of negotiations for unity, establishment sport insisted on relinquishing little control of power and resources in sport (Hendricks 2000: 2). Unintentionally, the new sport approach, seeking to create national unity, created a new arena for contestation in sport. Passive reform of sport, based in politics of identity, was

prioritized, marginalizing the need for fundamental and multi-dimensional transformation in sport.

Prior to the first democratic elections, the ANC set about creating a new post-apartheid identity, using sport as a platform. Sport was a gesture to whites in exchange for black majority rule, demand for change in economic ownership and social transformation (Jurgens 2009: Personal Communication; Carlin 2009; Merrett 2009, 2003; Booth 2003; Booth1996). On 14th February 1990, immediately after the release of political prisoners, media reported that the Executive Committee of the ANC "will sit down to formulate a response to the challenge thrown down to them by President de Klerk's reform initiatives announced two weeks ago" (Cape Argus 14th February 1990). The Argus (ibid) suggested, "The speed of the developments has been so breathtaking that there is immense pressure on the ANC to make some reciprocal gesture of reconciliation". With the ball fully in the ANC's court, the lure of international sport participation became an important motivation. For instance, the ANC and the NSC jointly agreed that South African teams could participate in global events such as the Barcelona Olympic Games (1992), the Cricket World Cup in Australia (1992) and agreed to host the Rugby World Cup in 1995. Nelson Mandela argues that the ANC had decided that "sport (had) the power to change the world, inspire (and) to unite people that little else has…It is more powerful than governments in breaking down racial barriers" (Carlin 2008:4). Media hype about pending participation in international cricket, soccer, rugby tournaments and the Olympic Games stimulated positive emotions and masked deeper divisions in the sport and political negotiating chambers.

Political negotiations remained tentative, and violence increased between 1990 and 1994. In response to resurgence in right wing representation in the White Parliament, an all-white referendum was held in March 1992. An ultimatum was put to the white electorate – "Should the National Party continue with negotiations with the ANC?" Media headlines read "Vote Yes to keep

South Africa Batting[43]", leading critics to suggest that the successful 'yes vote' in the referendum "had more to do with the support for the cricket team than the abstract notion of power sharing" (Weekly Mail Editorial February 5, 1993; Merrett 2009:38) and economic transformation. Indeed, between 1990 and 1994, international, competitive, and elite sport was increasingly used as the foundation for nation building[44] and the creation of a post-apartheid identity.

The ANC's sport spokesman Steve Tshwete, later the first post-apartheid Minister of Sport, argued explicitly that "the Barcelona Olympics are just around the corner – we cannot afford any political nonsense at this stage of the game" (Booth 1998:184). Creating a unified sport structure, without deference to race, became the sole criterion for entry of post-apartheid South Africa into international competition. Responding to pressures emerging from political negotiation and the symbolism of international sport participation over-rode national debates about sports transformation and its role in broader social change. As Tshwete indicated, participation in the Barcelona Olympic Games beckoned, superseding the imperative for concrete negotiation of structured processes for the redistribution of sport resources and sport governance.

Driven by the ANC and the allure of international competition, national political objectives allowed global sport institutions to shape significantly the post-apartheid sport transformation agenda[45]. In the context of such national

---

[43] The referendum happened to occur at the same time as South Africa reaching the semi-finals of its first cricket world Cup in 1992.

[44] In the sport negotiations between SACOS, NSC and SANOC serious differences over the meaning of non-racialism in sport emerged. This affected the strategy employed in achieving post-apartheid sport transformation. The white controlled SANOC argued that South Africa was racially transformed as a result of the 1990 political announcements and therefore declared that they "would love to co-operate with those interested in INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION and ACCEPTANCE" (ANOCA November 1990 extracted from SACOS Minutes March 1991:47). The NSC supported this argument, suggesting that SACOS was in fact resisting non-racialism due its demands for economic change. The SACOS affiliated Cricket Board President was forced to point out that "Our views are not anti-white or black; we want everybody to play sport to their heart's content in a normal society and represent their country with pride." ("Rumpus Over NSC 'Deal' with Cricket", Cape Argus 14th February 1990).

[45] The sudden shift by both ANOCA and Tshwete is significant, even though it is not the focus of this dissertation. The strategic importance of South Africa to global and African sport post-1990 was based on three factors: sport commercialized rapidly in the aftermath of the cold war; Africa

political imperatives, ANOCA went as far as to claim that: "any sport organization that blocked the unity process would be left behind and the train would leave the station without them" (Ganga in SACOS Meeting Minutes March 1991:52).

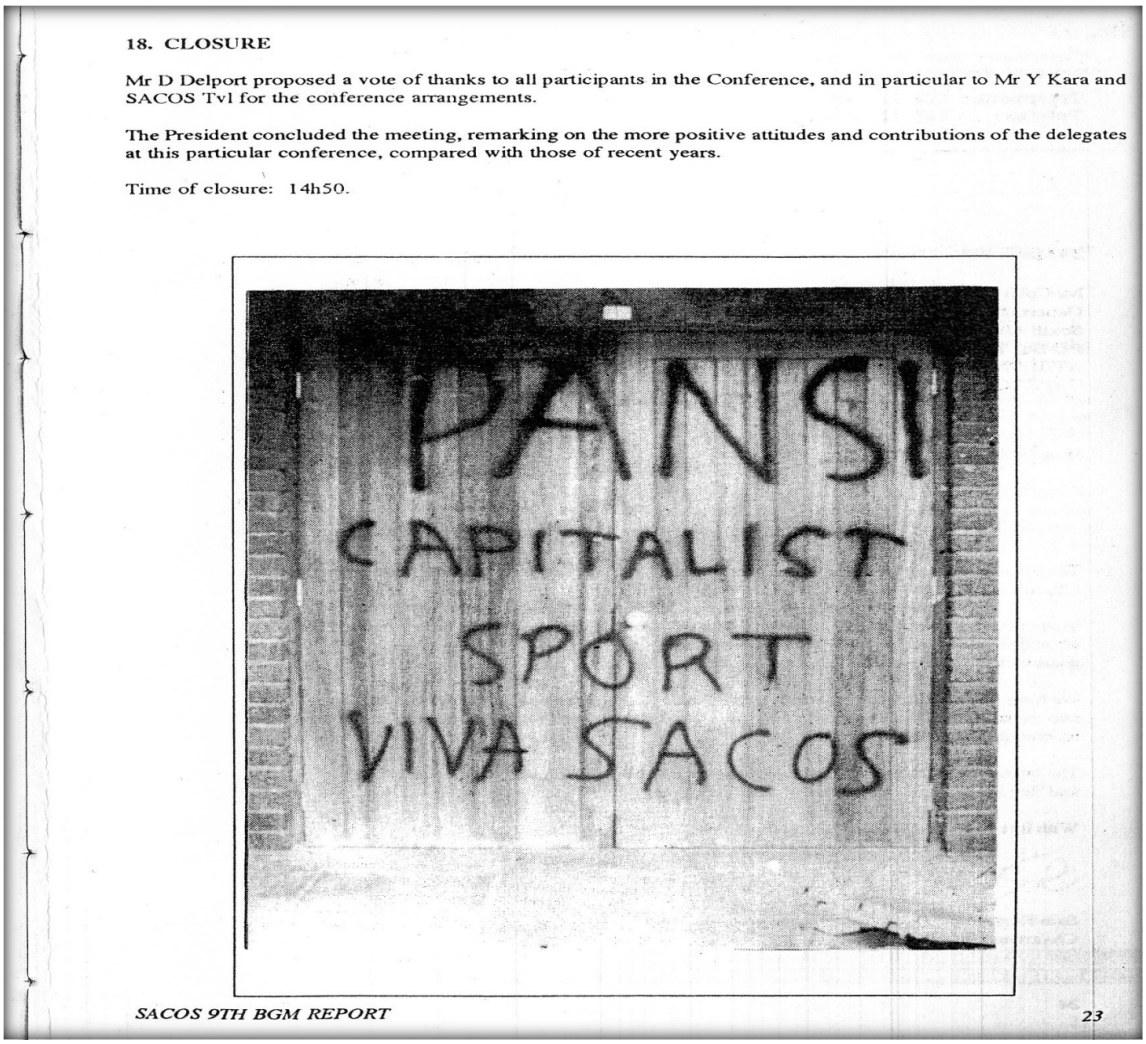
Resistance to the ANC, NSC and ANOCA strategy was muted by media frenzy. SACOS and other radical sports leaders continued to raise critical questions, asking, for instance, 'whose train are we on' and 'perhaps we should leave the train and take our bus' (Mayibuye August 1991: 36 quoted in Booth 1998:189). At one of the last mass-based SACOS meetings, resistance to the new ethos in South African sport was encapsulated in a photograph (see figure 3) inserted without comment at the end of the minutes (SACOS Meeting Minutes March 1991: 23).

While the graffiti, painted on an entrance to a sports field in Cape Town, highlights at a practical level the discontent with and critique of the changing sport objectives in post-apartheid South Africa, and the dominance of international and elite interests, the conceptual implications of these shifts are important for this dissertation. The response of the newly marginalized sport activists in SACOS decried the insertion of international, elite and commercial interests into the local sport strategy. For SACOS, questioning strategies seeking capitalist expansion through sport and SACOS demands for redistribution of resources remained central considerations in a post-apartheid sport strategy. SACOS highlighted the recognition – redistribution dilemma argued by Fraser (1997:84) as an important contradiction in post-apartheid sport transformation strategies. Without changes to the political - economic foundation of society, SACOS's argument suggested that disadvantaged groups

---

were searching to increase its stake in global sport; and various international organizations such as the IOC, ANOCA, International Athletics Federation wanted to claim the high ground in being first to accept South Africa back into major sport competitions (Booth 1998:187). The emergence of South Africa form apartheid Interplay of global and national politics and economy are mutually implicated in affecting sport and South African society in different ways. Each has contributed to relative stability, interruptions and contradictions in sport since 1990.

were likely to require continued public resources and affirmative action strategies to sustain the positive impacts of post-apartheid change. Paradoxically, disadvantaged groups could be perceived as inherently deficient, insatiable and always needing assistance. The new hegemonic sport institutions aimed to address injustices of recognition through a politics of identity, using elite sport and events. Contestations between opposing sport institutions and strategies for social change highlights complex paradoxes both practically and conceptually.



18. CLOSURE

Mr D Delport proposed a vote of thanks to all participants in the Conference, and in particular to Mr Y Kara and SACOS Tvl for the conference arrangements.

The President concluded the meeting, remarking on the more positive attitudes and contributions of the delegates at this particular conference, compared with those of recent years.

Time of closure: 14h50.

SACOS 9TH BGM REPORT 23

Figure 3: PANSI CAPITALIST SPORT (SOURCE SACOS MINUTES 1991:38)

Conceptually, the rapid shifts in sport hegemony and strategies for counter-hegemony between 1985 and 1994 indicate that contests over transformation are complicated by multiple institutions, operating in fluid political and social environments, and respond to complex and emergent relationships between local, national and international scales and imperatives. Society, politics, economy, culture and institutions all contribute to systemic change.

CONCLUSION

In the apartheid period through 1994, debate on sport may be read constructively as public digest of changing social and power relations. During the apartheid period sport was a highly contested ensemble of activities, events, structures and institutions. At times sport simply reflected the social order; at others, variously placed institutions and agents used sport to actively support, undermine and at times surpass political initiatives. An overriding feature of sport until 1994 has been the centrality of state action and responses of non-state institutions and agents to state strategies. In contestations in sport, the apartheid state, SACOS and the NSC were locked in a continual negotiation and renegotiation of transformation and representations of that change.

Also at play is the role of scales other than the national scale in stimulating, supporting or resisting change. Organizations and agents may use various geographical scales to support their objectives or undermine opposing agendas. Sport and political institutions in post-apartheid South Africa increasingly focused on international elite sport competition, driven by political and nation-building considerations, marginalizing local imperatives for sport transformation. The tension between the need to create a common post-apartheid South African identity, on the one hand, and the amelioration of social, physical and psychological ravages of apartheid, on the other, framed the sport agenda in this period and shaped debates in the post-apartheid period, discussed in the remainder of the thesis.

CHAPTER 4

TRANSFORMING SPORT AND THE STATE IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA – NATIONAL IMPULSES BETWEEN 1994 - 2005

At the onset of democracy in 1990, dichotomies such as racial versus non-racial sport; good versus bad; establishment sport versus marginalized sport; progressive versus conformist; global versus local interests; and capitalist versus popular / 'peoples' sports intersected in complex ways. New sport and state institutions emerged establishing different sport processes, systems and policies attempting to undo forty years of state imposed racial segregation. Divided sport policy, inequitable resource distribution and the composition of race-based sports teams needed attention.

In this chapter I analyze sport processes and policies emphasizing the national scale. I examine how sport and state institutions managed competing demands made by South African sport organizations and international sports institutions. To describe the complexities embedded in this transition, I examine sport transformation in post-1990 South Africa in three phases.

In the period immediately after 1990, sport emerged as an important political tool to galvanize post-apartheid South Africa. I first highlight the practical implication for sports organizations such as rugby and I use this to identify challenges confronting the first non-racial Department of Sport to formalize post-apartheid sport policy. In the second phase I highlight significant contests in the period 1996 to 2000 that stimulated the reexamination of sport transformation and creation of new sport institutions. The third phase of sport transformation was stimulated by 'failures' of South African international sport teams around 2000. Attempts to deal with purported sport failures heightened contestation over sport leadership, policy, institutions and resource distribution from 2000 onwards. In each of these periods and at multiple scales I explore the tensions,

contestations, discontinuities and contradictions in national sport discourses and their impact on South African sport policy, institutions and resource distribution. I critically assess state centered post-apartheid sport discourses privileging international and elite competition and diminishing significance of community considerations between 1990 and 2005. Meeting the needs of the international sport agenda determined national sport policy, strategies, and resource distribution, to the detriment of community sport.

Using Sport as a Political Tool to Galvanize the Nation – 1990-1996

The unfolding social transformation process post-1990 was characterized by excitement and hope, mixed with uncertainty and trepidation (Cape Argus February 14, 1990: Page 1). Stimulated by the role that sport played in the anti-apartheid period, sport and political negotiation became tightly linked between 1990 and 1996. Nelson Mandela, the first President of South Africa argued the ANC had identified sport as central to transformation prior to the fall of apartheid because "sport … is more powerful than governments in breaking down racial barriers" (Nelson Mandela quoted in Carlin 2008:4). Thabo Mbeki (ANC Today 1999), then the country's Deputy-President, indicated that participating and hosting elite sport events during the early 1990s gave "us an opportunity as South Africans to begin to forge a national identity". At national level, sport had an important place in political strategy for political leadership.

Similarly, on the ground, media and sport leaders highlighted that the passion for sport and the excitement created through international participation by unified South African teams in international sport galvanized post-apartheid South African society (Bouah 2009: Personal Communication). NSC and SACOS sport activists emphasize, "sport played a catalytic role…a reconciler used to galvanize people to think like a rainbow nation. The feeling was amazing" (Bam 2009: Personal Communication). Between 1990 and 1996, South Africa participated in the 1992 Olympic Games and it hosted major events such as the Rugby World Cup in 1995 and the African Football Cup of Nations in 1996 and numerous other world sport events. Cape Town hosted the World

Cross Country Athletics Championships, Modern Pentathlon World Cup Finals, Mountain Bike World Cup, World Junior Fencing Championships, and World Junior Weightlifting Championships in 1996. Archbishop Tutu, for instance, reflected that the 1995 Rugby World Cup victory by South Africa "made us realize that it was actually possible for us to be on the same side (and) one nation" (Carlin 2008). In spite of its own challenges to transform deeply segregated sport institutions, sport and in particular specific elite sport episodes became an important tool to generate a post-apartheid national identity that was still being contested in political negotiations between political parties.

However, the euphoria masked practical challenges of change within sport organizations and national institutions. Although sport was expected simultaneously to play a role in social transformation beyond sport at a political and a national level (Hendricks 2000:3), sport needed to respond to its own challenges at the national and local scales. Meeting national, often elite-oriented, and local demands for equitable redistribution challenged the policy discourse and, I will argue in this chapter, deepened contradictions in sport. In spite of its important political role, specific sport institutions required transformation of segregated social organization, geographically separate administrative zones, governance processes and governance cultures.

In 1990, sport institutions remained in apartheid-created economic, racial and ethnic enclaves. For example, unifying separate sport institutions for rugby into a single administrative body presented significant challenges. In Cape Town, the creation of a single rugby union was challenging due to historical, racial, ethnic, economic and geographic factors (Abrahams[46] 2009: Personal Communication). A rugby union had to be created in Cape Town, unifying six racial, class, ethnic and geographically based rugby unions that had managed rugby in Cape Town separately since 1886. Although this amalgamation might seem to be an uncomplicated administrative task, complex socio-economic and

[46] Current Acting CEO of Western Province Rugby Union.

cultural factors constrained choices and made these processes intensely political.

The white controlled Western Province Rugby Football Union (WPRFU), established in 1883, dominated sports unity negotiations in Cape Town. The WPRFU controlled the majority of resources in rugby and owned Newlands Rugby Stadium,[47] the best-resourced venue for rugby in the region. The WPRFU controlled large sponsorships and financial revenue streams that allowed the union to employ professional managers and administrators. These highly skilled administrators negotiated post-apartheid sport unity on behalf of their members. On the other hand, the anti-apartheid rugby unions in Cape Town consisted of four coloured and one 'African' rugby union[48]. These unions controlled minimal resources and were managed by part time administrators. They too were part of the unification process, struggling in negotiations to challenge powerful organizations and interests such as WPRFU. The apartheid apparatus made organizing and playing sport in African areas impossible (Odendaal 1995; Grundlingh 1995), resulting in weak organizations and low membership of rugby clubs.

When these divergent unions merged in 1990, new leadership was confronted with great disparities in resources, skills, and playing ability. Deliberations and negotiations aiming to resolve these challenges were soon

[47] Newlands hosted the opening ceremony of the 1995 World Cup Rugby finals and remains the headquarters of South African Rugby.

[48] However, to examine transformation of local and regional sport structures through a racial lens only reduces appreciation of the deep cultural and economic complexity of sport unification. One of the four unions consisted predominantly of Muslim / Malay clubs[48] principally located in the Cape Town inner city[48], and three were unions located in coloured group areas on the outskirts of the city. These unions[48] developed divergent histories resulting from government dictated racial engineering and self-imposed social divisions. For example, the Western Province Coloured Rugby Union and the City and Suburban Rugby Union were established in 1886 and 1898 respectively, yet remained separate until the 1990s. The former was predominantly Muslim and based in the inner city, while the latter union "banned Muslims" (Nauright 1997:49) from becoming members. Although this rule was relaxed during the 1960s (ibid: 48) it created the foundation for continued social and ethnic division exacerbating state controlled racial divisions. While City and Suburban drew its membership from the largely middle class areas of the southern suburbs, Tygerberg and Somerset West Unions drew its membership from economically disadvantaged coloured suburbs on the periphery of Cape Town. Finally, the most under resourced of the six rugby unions were the African clubs.

subsumed by the call from South African political parties and the International Rugby Board for South Africa to host the Rugby World Cup in 1995. In spite of racial, economic, ethnic, and geographic divisions that lingered, demand for international sport undermined an emerging national dialogue focusing on the ways in which rugby policies and institutions needed to be transformed. Hosting and participating in elite sport events such as the Rugby World Cup in 1995 represented a broader set of political decisions inspired by nation building rhetoric in post-apartheid South Africa, silencing debate on how sport should be transformed beyond elite events (Bam 2009:Personal Communication). Sport leadership made strategic choices that privileged needs for international and elite sport over needs of local communities.

The transition of sport structures in South Africa between 1990 and 1996 was primarily based on global considerations of elite competition, driven by international sport organizations, ignoring the complex social, economic and geographical realities of sport. Elite competition was made to be the pinnacle of success for sport in post apartheid South Africa, displacing the importance of social and economic reconstruction and redistribution. These choices shaped the nature of policy and institutional change after the first post-apartheid political elections in 1994. In configuring post-apartheid sport institutions, processes and policies, South African sports leadership and the politicians with whom they engaged, juggled local, continental and global pressures, framing the way in which the first post-apartheid sport policy was developed by the new Department of Sport and Recreation (DSR) in 1996.

The Department of Sport and Recreation[49]: Institutionalizing National Sport Transformation – 1996-2000

The post-apartheid Department of Sport (DSR), established in 1994, contended with complex global, national and local factors, each exerting its own pressure. International sports bodies such as the International Olympic

[49] The full title of the Department is the Department of Sport and Recreation. I will use the Department of Sport or the abbreviation DSR for brevity.

Committee (IOC) manipulated the speed of transformation in South African sport by pressurizing South African sports bodies to reintegrate into international sport, undermining the calls by organizations such as SACOS and the NSC to deal with complex post-apartheid realities and the need to reconstitute sport institutions (Cameron Smith 2009: Personal Communication). Globally, pressure intensified on national sport institutions to embrace global changes[50] and commit to an elite sport discourse. Inescapably, the DSR needed to reconcile the varied impacts of global sport, and confront the realities of sport transformation in a coherent post-apartheid sport policy. In this section I highlight dilemmas and strategies employed by the Department of Sport in developing post-apartheid sport policy.

Transforming Sport through "Getting the Nation to Play"

The first post-apartheid policy for sport focused on balancing local and global interests in a single national policy titled "Getting the nation to play", outlined in the White Paper Policy for Sport and Recreation (SRSA) of 1997. At the outset, contradictions emerged in sport policy and governance cultures.

At the outset and on the surface the DSR sought to ground its policy in the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP), the ANC manifesto for the 1994 election, which stated, "this program must become a people-driven process. Our people, with their aspirations and collective determination, are our most important resource... Development is not about the delivery of goods to a passive citizenry. It is about (the) active involvement and growing empowerment" of citizens (Reconstruction and Development White Paper 1994; section 1.3.3.). The participatory approaches to sport fit into the RDP principles.

[50] The challenge faced by the DSR in developing a new sport policy and governance system coincided with the global realignment of sport nations due to the dismantling of the eastern bloc countries (see Numerato 2008; Girginov and Sandanski 2008). Sport became an important vehicle for displays of nationalism resulting from the realignment of nation states and an intensification of the global interconnectedness between sports and (Maguire et al 2002:7; Keys 2006:184).

At the launch of the RDP government policy, President Mandela emphasized that all activities by the new post-apartheid state apparatuses "should operate in an open manner guided by the wisdom of the people themselves" (Mandela 1995: i). The implication for sport was that communities and civil society organizers were seen as the key drivers of sport transformation, and not government. Donny Jurgens, a sport activist in SACOS, then the National Sports Congress, the post-apartheid NSC, and government sport institutions, highlighted that "the NSC felt strongly that communities and locally organized sports organizations must play the leading role in running sport" (Jurgens 2009: Personal Communication) in post-apartheid South Africa. The NSC argued that they should be in charge of sport, and not government. Jurgens argued: "Government should create an enabling environment" (Jurgens 2009: Personal Communication). Instead, communities aimed to rebuild post-apartheid sport. Even official documentation at the time emphasized that "community involvement and empowerment is fundamental to transforming sport" (NSC 1994:3) in post-apartheid South Africa. In reflecting on this period, NSC activists argue that they were adamant that building an active partnership between the state and the NSC (Bam 2009: Personal Communication; Cameron Smith 2009: Personal Communication) was critical to meet demands for sport transformation.

Moreover, this approach was not peculiar to sport. It was a key element of the government's RDP and the publicly claimed position of the Minister of Sport. In addressing the NSC's concerns, the Minister of Sport emphasized the importance of community participation in sport and developed the motto: "More South Africans, More active, More often - Getting the Nation to Play" (DSR 1997:1[51]), that framed the sports policy and foundation for sport projects. Political statements and practical realities of global sport constrained national attempts to assent to locally driven sport agendas.

[51] Extracted from the Parliamentary briefing by the Department of Sport on 4th April 2000 titled "Sports and Recreation: An African Perspective 1995-2000 Review". (PMG extracted 8 July 2009).

Four contextual factors framed the first post-apartheid sport policy (White Paper on Sport 1997:2). First, establishing post-apartheid sport depended on "addressing imbalances between economically advantaged and disadvantaged communities" in sport. Second, the policy aimed to develop a non-racial sport strategy providing a new vision and strategy for post-apartheid sport in South Africa. Third, the policy aimed to ensure that South Africa "should take its rightful place" in global sport (White Paper on Sport 1997:2) and fourth, the Department acknowledged that it had to deliver sport to a demanding population on a budget that catered "for 20% of the population in the previous (apartheid) dispensation" (White Paper on Sport: ibid). The policy therefore attempted to address global and local considerations, redistribute sport resources in South Africa and support elite sport competition without improvement in state budgetary allocations.

Minister for Sport, Steve Tshwete announced programs for social action and national reconstruction through sport, emphasizing that all sport programs should be based on "the critical participation of every citizen"[52] and in line with the national Reconstruction and Development Program. To enable citizens to participate effectively in sport the Department emphasized "education and training…unlocking the energies and creativity"[53] of the population. This, Tshwete argued, would "jointly address weaknesses in society" (Tshwete 1997) and contribute to undoing the effects of apartheid in sport. The new sports program, hinged on empowering schoolteachers, community workers and community based sports officials, groups he called "Sport Pioneers". Emanating from the commitment to empowerment programs, Tshwete announced that approximately 2000 schoolteachers were trained during 1996 "to promote sports activities within marginalized communities" (Sports Budget Speech: 1997)[54]. In addition, 600 schools were involved in generic sport training workshops[55]

[52] RDP White Paper The First Year Reviewed 1995
[53] RDP News 1995(1):7
[54] Minister of Sport Budget Speech to the National Assembly on 8th May 1997
[55] Such as "superkidz", "playsport" and "modified sport".

focused on mass participation[56]. The Minister of Sport and the DSR highlighted the importance to create opportunities for empowered communities, especially youth.

Through these programs, the Sports Minister committed the Sports Department to promote community based sport programs focused on "youth, in particular those that have been marginalized" (Tshwete: ibid)[57]. Sport leaders and activists (Cameron Smith 2009: Personal Communication; Jurgens 2009: Personal Communication) underscored transforming sport from the bottom up, as the essence of national reconstruction and identity. The state built particularly on its relationship with civil society, noting that the programs institutionalized through policy "were not creations of the state but (the state) provides institutional credibility for programs and processes that were established by communities and civil society themselves" (Tshwete Parliamentary Budget Speech June 1996). For Tshwete and the DSR (8th May 1997), creating an alternative sport system required both state and civil society action, moving beyond elite sport events: "our efforts in our projects are all geared towards creating a culture for sport and recreation on which we can build tomorrow's stars today, whilst making life in South Africa a fulfilling experience even for those who do not end up being stars". For Tshwete, creating a new sport culture required a shift from authoritative power through government institutions such as the DSR, to an integrated set of sport institutions through which new and innovative sport practices and institutional capacities could be generated.

New sport practices and institutions needed to balance two competing tensions. Balancing the tension between community based and elite sport initiatives remained a challenge for the DSR. On the one hand between 1994

[56] These sport programs focused on multi-scaled development programs for youth through sport. The "superkidz" program focused on elite sport development while "playsport" created opportunities for mass community participation. The "modified sport" program provided training to community based sport officials to develop innovative sport programs and revise sport rules where access to facilities and equipment are limited.

[57] Tshwete announced that in 1996 six of the nine provinces had introduced "superkidz" programs, which focused on "creating tomorrow's stars today" (Tshwete May 8th, 1997).

and 1997, the state confirmed that sport transformation required partnerships between an active state and recognized organs of civil society, interacting within a structured frame for consultation. This required a slow process, requiring the DSR to create an enabling environment for empowering community leaders and community sport institutions. On the other hand, elite events provided convenient episodes for mass outpouring of national emotion – the creation of a spontaneous ideology. In essence success at elite events provided an antidote to the long-term commitment required for a community based sport transformation approach. Even though talk of transformation permeated many aspects of debate in South Africa from 1990 onwards, when stated intentions of participatory democracy in sport intertwined with national political and global elite imperatives, the DSR confronted tough policy choices and dilemmas.

Making sense of these tensions, the DSR developed a National Sport Institutional Model apportioning responsibility and accountability to role players, and created new bureaucratic practices. This model, reflecting paradoxes between political intent and state centric policy, is addressed below.

The National Sport Institutional Model: "Getting the Nation to Play"

At its inception in 1994, the DSR focused on de-racializing sport, amalgamating sport functions of race based bureaucratic structures and systems and incorporating competing elite interests of National Olympic Committee of South Africa and community based NSC. In amalgamating these functions, the new sport department confronted the challenge of building a unified bureaucracy, taking into account new sport governance cultures and renegotiated relationships between government and sport communities. This was the political mandate provided by the ANC and national RDP.

The Department faced three challenges in devising a national institutional model. First, the DSR sought to clarify the relationship between it and political organizations. The Department accepted that the relationship between sport institutions and political processes needed clear guidelines due to the political

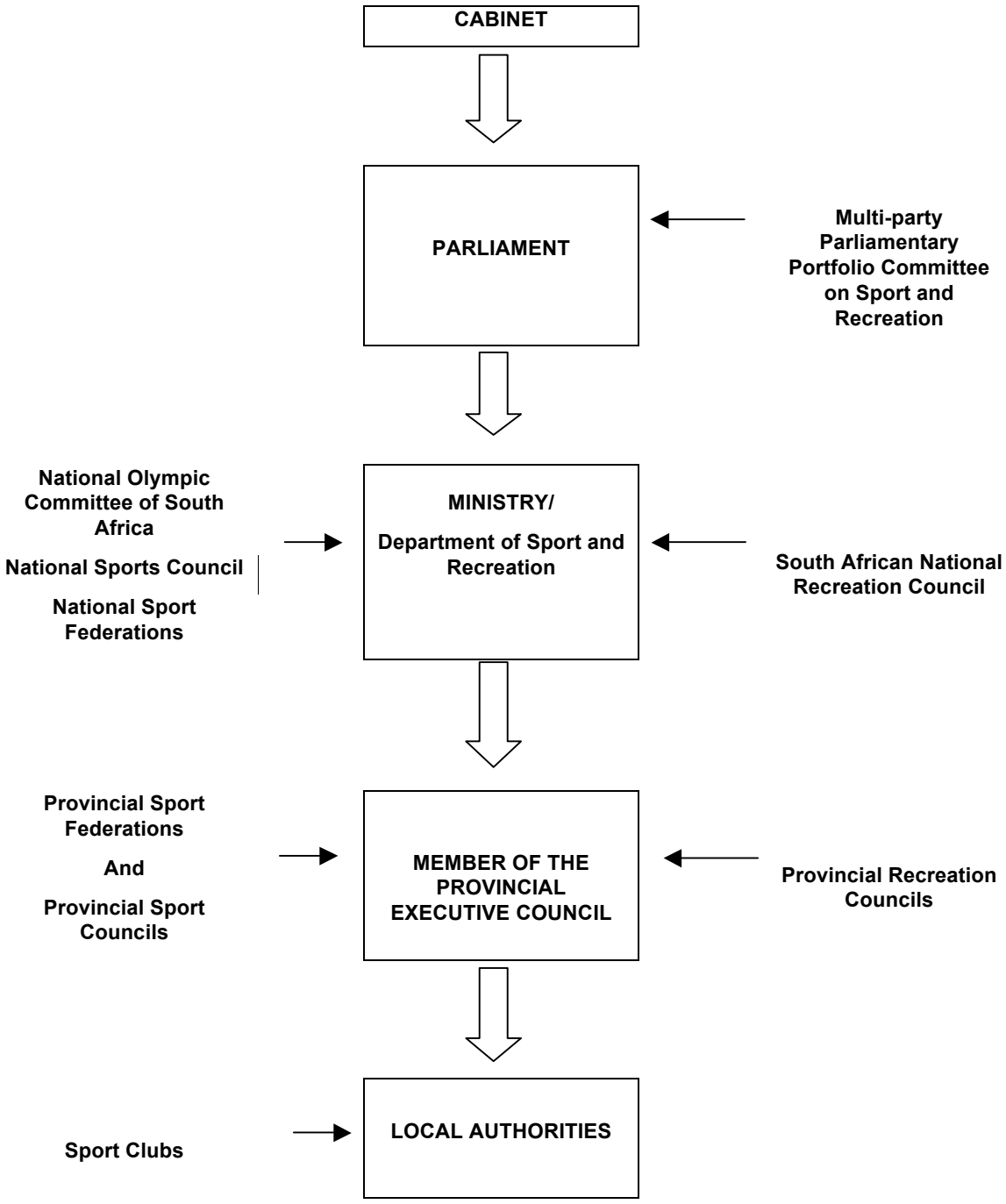
role identified for sport. Second, the relationship between the national Department of Sport and other tiers of government, such as the provincial and local Departments of Sport, needed clearer articulation. These levels of government were critical elements to implement and monitor community sport projects in particular. Third, the relationship between the DSR and civil society institutions required specification. If the state were to lay claim to leading the sports hierarchy, it had to contend with contentious politics intrinsic to sharing the policy space with empowered community sports organizations. These three factors, combined with demands by global sport and national political organizations created strategic dilemmas for the DSR and sport policy.

The Institutional Model developed by the Department of Sport in 1997, shown in Figure 4, focuses operations in the state and the Department of Sport. At the nexus of the hierarchy of power is the Cabinet and Parliament. In grappling with the relationship between politics and sport institutions, the DSR accepted that the Ministry of Sport provided political direction for the activities of the Department. Whilst the Minister of Sport provided the political mandate, The Department of Sport was at the center of bureaucratic and administrative power, encompassing sport activities at national level.

All sport activities, procedures and decisions were channeled through the DSR, who emphasized that no sport organization should “act in a way that can be interpreted as competing with the DSR/Ministerial initiatives” (White Paper of Sport 1997:8). In doing so, the Department established a vertical and state-centered hierarchy to sport governance and culture. In spite of political statements to the contrary, authority to design sports programs and determine resource distribution was centralized in state bureaucratic practices.

Figure 4: National Sport Institutional Model 1997

(Source: SRSA White Paper 1997:5)



By establishing a vertical and state centered hierarchy for sport, two sets of relationships changed. In the first instance, the relationship between the state and civil society was altered. Sport organizations such as the NSC, National Sports Federations, Provincial Sport Councils and local sport organizations were required to defer to the higher functions of control and regulation of the DSR. Second, the top-down decision-making process affected the participatory governance cultures that existed in South African sport institutions. In spite of political statements, sport policy emphasized that no sport organization or other level of government "may compete with national government initiatives" (White Paper 1997:7), instituting a state-centered, top-down and hierarchical sport governance system.

While the Sports Minister and civil society sport leaders both argued for stronger community ownership in sport processes (Cameron Smith 2009: Personal Communication), sport leaders highlighted emerging tensions in the sports policy. Of particular concern was the difference between policy objectives, political statements and the actual relationship emerging between the DSR and civil society. Jurgens (2009: Personal Communication) pointed out that he did not doubt that government officials supported cooperation between themselves and civil society, but it was thus a surprise when government claimed ownership of sport process in the policy document published in 1997. He recalled that community activists openly expressed concern that the state was gradually moving away from the principles agreed to by the NSC and contained in the RDP. Government increasingly favored "centralized control", marginalizing communities to a supporting role (Jurgens 2009: Personal Communication; Cameron Smith 2009: Personal Communication; NSC Policy 1994:3). Concern was heightened because leadership in the post-apartheid sports department had emerged from the activist SACOS and NSC sports organizations (Cameron Smith 2009: Personal Communication) but appeared to

succumb to bureaucratic systems[58]. The state and the national Department of Sport aimed to encompass the sport transformation agenda, despite civil society leaders' and organizations' disquiet.

These policy outcomes, however, do not reflect individual choices or shifting allegiances of differently placed actors, but serious endeavors by new state actors to grapple with contentious politics through policy. Reflecting on the changes in the mid 1990s, the then Director General of Sport, Professor Denver Hendricks argued that: "many sport organizations had to be dragged kicking and screaming into the new political and sporting order" (Hendricks 2000: 1[59]). In saying this, Hendricks points to contestation that emanated from myriad competing positions. On the one side the DSR, having accepted political and global imperatives of elite sport, increasingly promoted international sport events, irrespective of the success of local transformation. On the other side, and in acknowledgment of the unequal racial and economic development of sport, the DSR accepted that it had to increase pressure on the elite, predominantly white dominated sport federations to intensify the sport transformation agenda, and still contribute to the nation-building project through elite sport events. For example, Ngconde Balfour, Minister of Sport from 1998 to 2002, resigned from the national Rugby Union in 1995, in the aftermath of the World Cup 1995 victory, to express his disgust that elite sport abused the discourse of racial transformation to attain international status but had no intention of contributing to sport transformation. Elite sport success deepened contradictions between the elite sport discourse and the politics of redistribution.

The politics of redistribution cast a shadow over the sport discourse and competing transformative remedies for sport injustice between 1996 and 1998. The DSR had to respond to "remnants of SACOS hardliners" (Arendse: Sport Transformation Colloquium 2008), who rejected the post-apartheid DSR focus

[58] The DSR claimed the "overall responsibility for developing sport policy, determining objectives and strategies for the provision of sport services and infrastructure and monitoring the activities of all sport civil society institutions" (SRSA 1997:8).
[59] Titled "Sport Transformation: A Decade On"

on elite sport at the expense of community driven sport transformation. SACOS still demanded radical redistribution of power and resources. The challenge to the state, intensifying at this point, was how best to balance elite sport with community sport, state centrality with community empowerment and variously positioned institutions, all simultaneously exerting pressure.

Evidence of the simmering tensions and contestation between elite and community interests are found in statements made by Sports Minister Tshwete during his budget speech in 1997. In his 1997 (second) budget speech, the Minister of Sport stated that:

> "Armed with the RDP on the one hand and the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy on the other, the Sport and Recreation Ministry focused on fine-tuning its sports policies between 1996 and 1997 (Sport and Recreation Budget Speech May, 8th, 1997).

The reference by Tshwete to holding the RDP and GEAR simultaneously was more significant than a simple balancing act. Indeed the competing governance approaches underlying the RDP (1994) and GEAR (1997) created tensions that would challenge sport policy makers at all levels of the state over the ensuing years. Implicit in the RDP was a focus on community, consultation, and 'people-driven' development, while GEAR emphasized policies aimed at reducing state bureaucracy, increasing market liberalization, and responding to global imperatives. The emphasis on GEAR was an attempt by the ANC and the state to engage with globalization, and overcome what it believed to be the constraints that were inherent to the RDP. The ANC argued that "the pre-conditions and only route to economic growth and development" existed through facilitating capital flows, promoting exports, trade liberalization and reducing the role of the state (ANC, 1997a: 5). In the context of sports, GEAR translated into a prioritization of international competitiveness through success in international sport participation and hosting global sport events such as the Olympic Games and the Football World Cup. These became important elements of the new political strategy to create an attractive investment climate in South Africa.

The ascendancy of arguments in favor of GEAR at the political level necessitated that the DSR emphasize and "be responsive to global influences" (SRSA 1997:2). For the Department, the new approach to sport implied that "the effects of political, social and economic forces, such as the role and influence of multi-national corporations, commercialization of sport and proliferation (of) the media sector, ***cannot be undermined***" (SRSA 1997:2, emphasis in original). Satisfying global, elite and commercial interests was increasingly favored over strategies for community empowerment, consultation and local development[60].

Managing this tension stimulated even more changes in sports policy and institutions, most evident in the new national sport organization, the South African Sports Commission (SASC), created in 1998.

The South African Sports Commission:

The Embodiment of GEAR and the Global Face of South African Sport – 1998 -2000

The creation of SASC amalgamated, controversially, the responsibilities and activities of the Department of Sport and the National Sports Council into a single sports institution. The creation of the SASC represents the start of the second phase of post-apartheid sport in which, I argue, elite interests were consolidated and community concerns were marginalized. The SASC was established as a State Owned Enterprise or Public Entity[61] in 1998, along with similar organizations such as the national airline carrier (SAA) and national electricity distribution agency (ESKOM).

Approved by the National Parliament (RSA Act 110:1998), the SASC incorporated the national Department of Sport and the National Sports Council

[60] Private investment in sport grew exponentially during this period (see Figure 1 and Table 1 in the Appendix). Growth in sponsorship grew gradually between 1985 and 1994 and accelerated from a low base at $14 million in 1985 to $691 million in 2007, representing an average annual compound growth rate of 19,3% (BMI-Sport 2007:2). This outstrips the global average of 11.9% (IEG Sponsor Report 2007).

[61] Creation of Public Entities became common practice in South Africa from 1997. These were state owned enterprises and government was the primary shareholder.

into a single sports institution. The Department argued that establishing the SASC as a Public Entity (RSA 1997) would enable a more professional approach to sport and permit greater flexibility not possible in the cumbersome operations of government, in the Department of Sports specifically. The DSR remained in existence, yet its functions, mandate and funding were down-scaled severely.

The functions of the SASC[62] were broad ranging and encompassed all aspects of sport in South Africa, including elite and recreational sport. First, the SASC was required to promote and develop sport from community level to the elite level. Second, due to the legacies of separate apartheid sport institutions the SASC was obligated to "coordinate governance between all sport agencies" at national, provincial and local levels. Finally, the SASC was required to "empower the Minister to make regulations" (RSA 1998:2); in other words, they were intended as a 'think tank' directing ministerial initiatives. In essence the SASC was expected to be the super coordinator of all sport processes and programs that would contribute to 'South Africa becoming a winning nation' and 'get the nation to play' (SASC Act 107 of 1998). At the same time, as a public entity, the SASC could operate as a business[63] but remained answerable to the state. Through the SASC Act (107 of 1998) the SASC Board was required to report to national parliament annually. Creating SASC set in motion a deepening crisis in South African sport, especially between the elite and transformative agendas. The design and the mandate of the SASC was huge and contradictory, therefore it is not surprising that, as discussed later, the SASC

[62] The SASC was managed by a full time, paid Chairperson and Deputy Chairperson, appointed by the Minister of Sport. The Chairperson ensured the functioning of the Commission, consisting of 32 members (RSA 1998a Bill: 4) who were either elected or nominated by the NSC (7 members); National Olympic Committee (7); Minister of Sport appointed members (5); Recreation Council (2); and one member from each Provincial Department of Sport (9). Although each of the Provincial Departments of Sport were guaranteed a permanent place on the Commission Board and were expected to participate fully in working groups, they were non-voting members.

[63] The SASC's role was clarified further in 1999, when Parliament approved the SASC Amendment Bill indicating that the SASC "would be more like a business entity in that it will be expected to procure additional funding from the private sector and will accordingly by run by the (SASC) Chief Executive Officer" (RSA Amendment Bill B25-1999: 4).

and by implication South African sport failed in numerous respects. The SASC was simultaneously autonomous, responsible for all sport governance processes, yet was closely tied to the Minister and DSR by being the head policy developer for the Ministry.

In spite of government championing SASC as an independent public entity to run sport, the Minister and the Department of Sport ensured that state officials retained control of the strategies and policies of the SASC. The SASC was required to report to the Department on a regular basis through "mechanisms agreed to between the SASC and the Department" (SRSA White paper 1998:9). The new relationship between the state and the quasi-government SASC raised a challenging question: who was responsible for sport transformation in South Africa? Then Minister of Sport, Ngconde Balfour addressed the tricky relationship between the SASC and the state: "in a nutshell the SASC plays a supportive rather than regulatory role in sport in South Africa. Its services and products are geared to help make sport in South Africa available to everyone and to create champions both here and abroad" (SRSA White Paper 1999). The mandate to the SASC ranged from local to international scales, and demanded attention to multiple agendas, for instance to equity concerns and to the creation of world champions to represent South Africa internationally. In essence, the SASC reversed the ideals of the state as an enabler to community empowered sport, trumpeted by Tshwete a year before.

Not surprisingly, this model of regulation and governance and its implementation was contested. Interestingly in the Western Cape government and civil society organizations contested this change in policy. The Western Cape Provincial Government presented a "Position Paper" (Western Cape Department of Sport 1999: Unpublished) contesting the establishment of the SASC, highlighting concerns about multi-level consultation between state institutions and pointing to the insufficient attention that was paid to the way in

which national decisions would be implemented at local level[64]. The Western Cape Sports Department officials argued "the advent of the SASC was fraught with various difficulties, impacting negatively on the (provincial sport departments)" (WCDSR 1999:1). They sarcastically and incredulously commented that "we have heard the SASC Act was the culmination of years of negotiation between government and the NGO sector dealing with sport" (ibid: 1) culminating in the SASC legislation[65].

Provincial government officials argued that the creation of the SASC was a national "negotiated solution which seems to have had benefits on a national level only and nowhere else" (WCDSR 1999:2). Provincial officials argued that the consequence of establishing the SASC was the "uneven development (of sport and sport institutions) across the provinces" (ibid) undermining the authority of the provincial tier of government. Developing national sport strategy in isolation of provincial and local discourses contributed to deepening contestation. Rather than follow the lead of national government and the SASC, the Provincial Department took an alternative path. It collaborated with civil society sport institutions in the Western Cape in search of options to transform and modernize sport institutions. The consultative process engaged by the Western Cape sport institutions concluded that a Provincial Sports Commission similar to the SASC would not serve sport interests in the Western Cape. They favored "a well-oiled machine where non-government organizations complement the work of government and vice versa – "Integrating government and civil society action is the minimum for the successful delivery of sport" (ibid: 5). Attempts to centralize policy development and implementation in one national sport institution escalated contestation and deepened tensions in sport institutions and among actors.

---

[64] The Western Cape Provincial Government hosted a conference with sport civil society institutions in 1999 to debate the responses to the formation of the SASC. My comments are based on written documentation handed out, personal notes and recollections of the proceeding.
[65] Joint Sport Summit between the Western Cape Department of Sport and the NSC: Western Cape at the University of Stellenbosch in 1999.

Concerns also emanated from within the SASC itself. Donny Jurgens, now a sports commissioner, reflected that “it was impossible for the SASC to (manage) mass participation programs and at the same time try to increase the number of medals at the Olympics” (Personal Communication 2009). He felt that Commissioners accepted that the SASC could not focus effectively on both elite and mass participation programs. In sum, these informal changes to the approved sport system created crises among national, provincial and local levels of government and civil society.

Reconciliation and unity of the earlier periods gave way to a new culture of elite competitiveness, individual achievement and international elite success, measured by the amount of trophies and medals won. In consequence, mass, democratic and accountable governance processes and cultures were sacrificed in favor of individual and elite actions. Sport activists and leaders have highlighted, how changes to governance culture elicited deepening contradictions and tensions. For example, contesting leadership positions in national sport bodies shaped disputes and policy debates rather than defining what transformation means and how it should be implemented. A sport leader highlighted that “time was being wasted on politics rather than actually getting on and doing the job” (Cameron Smith 2009: Personal Communication). A long term sport activist and proponent of community sport argued that sport leadership of the SASC and government became increasingly distant from local sport programs and community sport leadership (Teladia 2009: Personal Communication). He suggested that South African sport could not improve if the “same leaders are recycled” albeit in different sport institutions and roles (ibid). By 2000, contestation intensified over the meaning of transformation, how it would be measured and who would lead post-apartheid sport transformation strategy.

Intended to institutionalize transformation in post-apartheid sports, in the period between 1996 and 2000, sport processes and institutions foundered on unresolved contradictions and contestations. In spite of media profiled

successes and failures at elite level sport events, and their associated euphoria and despair, choices made at a policy level about institutions governing sport, particularly the ring-fencing of power at the national scale and the consequent prioritization of a private-sector and elite, global-focus in sports, led to much discontent in civil society and in local and provincial sport departments. The creation of the SASC strengthened an elite, internationally focused agenda at the expense of regional and local demands for community sport programs and resources. Crucial to the next period was the intense discourse and engagement that emerged about the meaning of transformation and how this should be measured.

Sport in Two Nations: Growing Dualism in Sport Transformation 2000 to 2005

The sport discourse that emerged in the period 2000 to 2005 centered on managing the growing divide between transformations focused on elite sport and community empowerment programs. In the following section I highlight tensions and contradictions that emerged in the sport policy discourse between 2000 and 2005. I first examine emerging discourses among sport leaders over sport transformation and required government responses. Second, I highlight a Sport Minister sponsored reformation of the sport system called the Ministerial Task Team (MTT) process. I stress the challenging paradoxes that faced the Minister of Sport, the national Department of Sport and sport institutions, and emphasize the disinclination of government to grapple with the complex debates over sport transformation.

By 2000, the symbolism of reconciliation and unity engineered through post-apartheid sport events in South Africa, and the value of sport in creating a common South African identity, was increasingly questioned and contested. In spite of 'transformation' being a focal point for post-apartheid South Africa, divisions in sport intensified the tensions between elite and community sport. Contestation between the demand for success in international elite sport and more vocal disquiet over lack of access to sport opportunities by largely poor,

black and working class sectors of the population emerged. This tension presented a conundrum in sport transformation materializing in an increasingly divisive discourse in sport.

Post-apartheid sport disproportionately benefitted the economically advantaged and largely white sectors of the South African population. Sport activists point out that resources, expertise, equipment and opportunities remain skewed towards the white population group (Bailey 2009: Personal Communication; Bouah 2009: Personal Communication), who had retained access to privileges gained under apartheid. In post-apartheid South Africa, small numbers of black sportspeople from middle and upper income families had benefited from elite and high performance sport. For the majority of the economically disadvantaged and predominantly black population, however, “nothing has changed” (Dotchin 2009: Personal Communication). While a minority of sport people had access to international standard sport facilities, equipment and expertise, the majority played on waterlogged and sandy football fields, with tattered footballs and makeshift goal posts. Wallace Mgoqi, previous City Manager of Cape Town referred to this as the ‘Tale of Two Cities” (Presentation to World Cup Committee 2003: Personal Notes). The prominence of race and economic privilege in South Africa intersected in particular ways to maintain apartheid created marginalization of black sportspersons from elite South African sport teams. Sport discourse and policy contests during this period centered on searching for interconnectivity between two features of the South African sport challenge. At one level, choice between short-term racial redress and long term sustainable development of sport became a defining feature of the sport discourse. Simultaneously, choices over resource distribution were increasingly divided between spending on high-performance elite sport projects as opposed to sport that would include the majority of the racial and economically marginalized sectors of South African society.

Advocate Mgoqi, used President Mbeki’s inaugural Presidential address in 1998 to accent the growing contradictions and disjuncture between the

globally lauded economic and political changes of post-apartheid South Africa and the limited effects on observable measures of social transformation. Mbeki argued that "South Africa and its cities remain a tale of two nations, where you have the socio-economically advantaged sectors of the citizenry having full rights to the benefits of transformation whilst the previously marginalized remain largely excluded from access to resources and opportunities" [Inaugural Presidential Address: RSA Hansard 1998]. Placing this in a sports context, he later argued at a sport sponsorship dinner that "the legacies of apartheid and the social divisions it generated means that the ongoing transformation of divisions along race, class and gender entrenched under the apartheid system will take time to be ironed out" (Mbeki: Sport Sponsors Dinner 1999 in ANC Today: Extracted March 2009). Mbeki's powerful imagery of 'two nations', irrevocably divided, impacted on the ways in which sport challenges were analyzed and framed.

Statements and actions by sports activists between 2000 and 2003 highlighted the tension and uncertainty over the definition of sport transformation and strategies that need to be employed. At a general level, there was consensus over what is required of transformation. At the 'Colloquium on Racism in Sport' held in Durban in September 2001 delegates argued that transformation must address the persistent prejudice of "racism, exclusion, marginalization and the failure to create an environment that would be conducive to creating equal opportunities for all" (Colloquium on Racism in Sport 2001: Colloquium Minutes). Delegates argued that the failure to address the persistent inequalities reflects in continued lack of black sportspersons in South African national sports teams. Strategies should therefore be developed to ensure "demographic distribution of race groups in South African sports teams" (Balfour 2001: Western Cape Sports Indaba). The Minister of Sport, Balfour argued that if sports organizations failed to include greater numbers of black sportspersons that government would intervene and prescribe racial quotas for sports teams. He argued that "there remains a tendency in significant circles to

pay lip service to transformation in sport" (Parliamentary Press Briefing: February 13, 2002; Natal Witness February 13, 2002:2) and therefore he concluded that transformation cannot be "left to the goodwill" of individual sports persons or organizations. Government would therefore consider imposing legislation "to speed up transformation" (ibid) in South African sport by imposing national legislation predetermining racial representivity in elite sport teams. He acknowledged that sport leaders "would probably shout and scream and throw their toys out of the cot" (Natal Witness February 13, 2002:2) but that government was determined to transform South African sport. Paradoxically, this approach contradicted the non-racial ethos of the anti-apartheid sports movement and White Paper on Sport. Reinserting racial definitions to the sport system paradoxically cemented race as the defining feature of sport transformation. Creating a non-racial society through a bottom-up community sport system was sacrificed for short-term racial redress. In spite of Minister Balfour's intent to impose sport transformation legislation, the Department of Sport aimed to create a deliberative discourse on sport transformation (Bouah 2009: Personal Communication) through national Transformation Indabas[66].

In its preamble to the Transformation Indabas, the DSR argued that in order for sport transformation "to align with the social transformation agenda of government", both the proponents of transformation as well as those who "either resist change or pay lip-service to the transformation policies of their respective (sport) federations" (SRSA 2002:1) must be allowed to deliberate in an open manner and develop a common approach to transformation. Bouah (2009: Personal Communication), current President of the Western Cape Sports Council points out that sport leaders welcomed the new deliberative approach to transformation. The new approach by the DSR appeared at the surface to acknowledge that developing strategies for transformation and reversing

[66] Sport leaders, public officials and ordinary sports organizers supported the approach advocated by the Minister of Sport. In addressing the growing concern at the deepening paradoxes, The National Department of Sport and Recreation hosted conferences called 'Sport Transformation Indabas", to re-evaluate the efficacy of "sport's contribution to creating a non-racial nation" (SRSA Sport Transformation Indaba Cape Town 2002:1).

injustice required more than government legislation, static policy interventions and elite sport discourses. Instead, the new approach created an opportunity for differently placed actors, to present competing views in the sport transformation dialogue.

However, beneath the surface, government and the Minister of Sport were still grappling with defining what transformation is and how it should be achieved. Although the DSR accepted a deliberative approach to the transformation discourse, it precluded full participation highlighting that the transformation agenda of government would be served and that any dissenting voices would be required to comply with collective decisions. In his opening address at the Western Cape Transformation Indaba, the Minister of Sport asserted that: “the pace of transformation is being delayed, not because of the absence of good policies but rather as a result of the failure to implement existing policies that insist on racial equity in sport teams” (Transformation Indaba Cape Town Meeting Minutes 2002:2). In linking transformation and representivity in this way, they shaped the ensuing debates on transformation in sport, particularly the placing of race as the key element of the transformation process. Demand for equitable racial representivity, based “on the demographics of the country” (Bailey 2009: Personal Communication) was privileged over other potential aspects of social transformation. Therefore, discussion at this Indaba focused on how to guarantee that sport leadership positions, coaching staff, teams, managers and employees reflect the racial demographics in the country (Transformation Indaba Cape Town Meeting Minutes 2002:4). The Transformation Indabas, although using non-racialism as its starting point to post-apartheid sport policy paradoxically reverted to race based strategies, in order to achieve non-racialism in sport. Tensions and contradictions within this paradox continue to thread through strategies to transform sport in post-apartheid South Africa.

Mbeki’s ‘two nations thesis’ provided the content to a particular type of discourse on sport transformation. The Minister of Sport extended Mbeki’s

formulation to focus his concern specifically on race and highlighted the government's concern at the "growing inequality between two sport nations" in South Africa, "one white, one black" (Transformation Indaba Western Cape 2002: Minutes). `Transformation in sport meant seeing black faces in teams and leadership positions, ignoring the socio-economic foundation of inequality and the complex variations of apartheid racial demographics and geographic variations.

Within Minister Balfour's speech he highlighted the key dilemma referred to by Fraser (2000) in his suggested strategy. He lamented that even though "people of color now sit in leadership positions" the pace of transformation is being stymied because "they have become good natives[67]" (Transformation Indaba Western Cape 2002:4 Minutes). Once elected into leadership positions, blacks continued to play a subservient role and refrained from addressing the race or broader transformation question. The complex character of transformation in sport was crudely reduced to a discourse centered on 'racial quotas' and racial representivity as the sole defining feature of social transformation in sport. By focusing the debate on the unwillingness of black sport leaders as individuals, critical questions about the elite, commercialized and centralizing system and governance culture of these organizations were neglected. Contradictions and dilemmas stimulated new rounds of policy review, strategy and programs.

A Tale of Two Transformations: One Elite and the Other Grassroots

Sports Minister Balfour appointed a Ministerial Task Team (MTT) in November 2000 to investigate "the failure of sport in South Africa" (MTT Report Summary 2002:1). Failure, in his account, took on multiple characteristics, but was most evident in South Africa's poor performances at the 1998 Football World Cup and the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games. In addition, sport leaders,

[67] Native is a pejorative term used for blacks in apartheid South Africa. It was used by Balfour to signify that black leaders remained subservient, in a master / servant relationship although they were in sport leadership positions.

media and communities expressed dissatisfaction with the ways in which sport transformation was managed. Responding to news headlines such as "Issa Disaster" (Cape Argus July 18, 1998:1)[68] and the failure of South Africa's Olympic Team at Sydney in 2000 (Balfour 2002 Transformation Indaba Opening Address), the National Department of Sport argued that the entire sport system needed to be transformed. I will examine deepening contradictions and inequality in South African sport, policy responses and sport discourses. In a different way this period reflects The 'Tale of Two Cities' analogy used by Mbeki and Mgoqi as a *Tale of Two Transformations: One elite and the other grassroots.*

Launching the Task Team meeting (Opening Address MTT Workshop on 17 August 2001), Minister Balfour indicated that he was convinced that, as a nation, South Africa could deliver better sports performances internationally (Personal notes 2001) if a more systematic sport strategy were developed. Three areas of concern were raised (MTT 2002:4): lack of synergy between national, provincial and local governments; the disjuncture between government and civil society; and battles between various national sport institutions in South Africa. These concerns spurred the Minister of Sport to instruct the Task Team to focus on strategies that "affect the entire sport system" (MTT Report 2002: i). Perceived failure in addressing injustice in sport, measured by the number of black sportsperson representing South Africa, as well as the decline in elite sport performance, measured by number of medals won, again motivated the attempt to reconfigure the approach in sport, even though the Minister emphasized (MTT Report 2002:4-5) that a new strategy needed "to demonstrate its contribution to improving the quality of life of all South Africans". Sport should therefore; he argued contribute to eradication of social injustice similar to housing provision, poverty alleviation, and increasing social security. The

[68] The headline reflected the poor performance of the South African national team at the 1998 FIFA Wold Cup. Pierre Issa scored two own goals in South Africa's opening World Cup Game against France in 1998 reflecting the pendulum between delirium and despair in South African sport.

creation of the Task Team created an opportunity for all sport institutions in South Africa to approach transformation in sport vigorously and contribute to social equality beyond sport.

Deliberating potential strategies, numerous contributors argued that sport transformation had to be placed within broader social transformation processes because sport "is an essential part of community life" and "in the new South Africa, sport can be a most powerful tool for reconciliation and for the development of disadvantaged communities" (MTT Report Minutes 2002:2). Views were recorded that sport should once again become a powerful tool for empowerment and social transformation. The Task Team acknowledged strongly held views that sport should promote community enthusiasm, participation and provide an avenue for "social development, particularly amongst the young, (and should be used) to educate youth about social issues" (MTT 2002:3). Consultants who developed the MTT plan argued that in spite of the argument that sport provides an important platform for "re-instilling democratic values …by empowering people, teaching leadership, citizenship skills and co-operation towards shared goals" (MTT 2002:3), promoting elite sport would instead result in social transformation. For the members of the MTT, benefits of successful elite international performance would trickle down to community sport[69].

Privileging elite sport in this way consolidated two transformation processes. The acceptance of the MTT recommendations at national level implied an acceptance that linking the two aspects of transformation were too complex. The MTT argued in their concluding report, that "success is only possible by adopting a rigorous approach, totally directed towards the achievement of excellence. Sport, just like any other successful enterprise,

69. "There was a strongly expressed view about the need for an improvement in … sport and physical education at the community level as being valuable in itself, as well as in order to develop a base for elite sport. While recognizing these as important issues, they are not considered here. There is recognition within the Task Team of the need for a similar investigation into community sport" (MTT 2002:6 own emphasis).

must be managed and coordinated as a major national industry, run along sound business principles including good corporate governance, a clear focus on core business and accountability to stakeholders in the interests of the customers, in this case the South African public" (MTT Report 2002:8)[70]. Therefore, in contradistinction with the parallel sport transformation indabas, the MTT process highlighted greater centralism, elitism and corporatization of sport decision making. In practice and in policy, centralized authority remained with the national Department of Sport, and the SASC was defined as operating as the "corporate headquarters" (MTT 2002:6) of sport in South Africa. In the model, authority for corporate strategic planning, resource distribution and administrative control was centralized at national level. South African sports organizations such as rugby, cricket and football sport federations were described as "product lines" (MTT 2002:6) and were required to work within the national plan. Each product line would contribute to the national plan by developing elite and an internationally competitive band of athletes contributing to nation building and transformation through the creation of a highly competitive elite "Team South Africa". The benefits of success by Team South Africa would seep into the grassroots, regenerating pride, leadership skills and citizenship. The new sport strategy aligned with the 'redistribution through growth' values enshrined in GEAR. In time, the benefits of success in elite sport were expected to trickle down to community sport and the poorest sport clubs.

Evident in the sport discourses during this period, dualities such as two nations, one back and one white; elite sport and community development; racial

[70] Strategies selected favored elite sport, focusing on eleven objectives. The new language of sport was, perhaps not surprisingly: strategic planning; performance; excellence; access and equity; professionalism; national focus; national federations; athlete centered / coach driven; sports sciences; fair play; and drug free sport (MTT 2003: 7-9). Corporate language and concepts dominated the proposals. Concepts such as "corporate enterprise" (MTT 2003:9), "shareholders, the people of South Africa" (2003:11), national sport federations as "product divisions" (2003:12), and "corporate strategic planning" guided the new approach to sport. Instead of empowered communities and consultation guiding policy formulation and institution building as suggested in meetings (MTT 2002:3), business management principles structured the analysis and its prescription.

redress and transformation; race and class; and elite corporatism and mass-based sport were set in opposition. As debate became increasingly discordant in the aftermath of the MTT and Sport Transformation Indabas, it became clear that the dualities were at least at a conceptual level, unsustainable as elite and community sport strategies were intertwined in practice. Although sport is by its nature filled with paradoxes, for transformation to have positive effects beyond its immediate elite intent in South Africa, dichotomies have to be bridged. Finessing transformation dilemmas require elite sport to be coterminous with mass-based sport; racial redress with building a common identity; growth with redistribution; and addressing racial and class barriers simultaneously. The vicious circles of mutually reinforcing forms of cultural and economic injustices shaped the post-apartheid sport transformation challenges. These were the challenges that confronted the Department of Sport in 2004, leading to yet another convolution in South African sport governance and creating a new macro-level sport institution, the South African Sports Confederation and Olympic Committee (SASCOC).

"The Decade of Fundamental Transformation": Rearranging Deckchairs in Lieu of Policy Innovation?

To grapple directly with the tensions between elite and community-based sport, in August 2005, the South African Parliament passed legislation to reform the sport system and "restore order to sport" (Sunday Independent 8th May 2005). Moss Mashishi, national sports leader and later President of the newly formed SASCOC, argued that sport in post-apartheid South Africa desperately required more than "six month knee-jerk approaches" and there was a need to reduce "fragmentation and procrastination in sport" (Sunday Independent 8th May 2005). The new discourse in sport emphasized that strategies to transform sport should take account of its complexities, paradoxes, interconnectedness and the impact of multiple scales of operation. Mashishi announced at his

inaugural address that in order to break with the failures of the past that the period between 2005 and 2015 would be known as “the decade of fundamental transformation” because “transformation is the key word…and it is one of the serious gaps that exist in the sports environment” (City Press 27 February 2005: 9). Mashishi’s stress on the importance of the transformative project in sport at this point signifies that sport leaders and politicians accepted that it is necessary to deal with contradictions in “the transformative project” and “reformative” (Desai 2010: pp 2-4) elite centered approach simultaneously. The complexities, contradictions and contentiousness inherent to the approach were self-evident to most stakeholders. For SASCOC, the transformative project meant that the grassroots, bottom up approach emphasizing community, youth and other marginalized sectors of society needed greater prominence. At the same time, elite sport programs, high-performance sport centers, and individual achievement in international competitions remained a core feature of the sport system. SASCOC, politicians and sport leaders continued to prioritize reconciliation, cooperative governance (Desai 2010: 2) and success in elite international sport as the raison d’être and measure of success of post-apartheid sport. Grappling with this complex dilemma shaped sport discourse, governance, culture, bureaucracies and structures. I argue that an important opportunity emerged in 2005, to engage these complex challenges pragmatically and creatively. However, choices made in 2005 exacerbated inequalities and dichotomies in sport as the top-down hierarchical bureaucratic structure imposed in August 2005 by government neglected the potential transformative power of local sport organizations, people, collective energies and the potential creativity inherent in the messiness of interconnected multiple sites of sport governance. Instead government focused on bureaucratizing the inherently messy processes of a transformative agenda for sport.

Government legislation created two pillars for sport in South Africa, shown in Figure 5. The two pillars embodied the two horns of the transformation / reform dilemma. On the one hand The South African Sport Confederation and

Olympic Committee (SASCOC) focused on elite-sports development and participation of the high-performance 'Team South Africa' in global sports events. On the other hand, the national Department of Sports (Sport and Recreation South Africa - SRSA) was reconfigured to prioritize mass participation and sport for youth through schools across the country. Even though government had resumed its community approach to sport, SASCOC emerged as the nucleus of power for formal sport, controlling and supervising governance processes for all national, provincial and local sport institutions. At his first briefing to Parliament, Mashishi emphasized that SASCOC has become "one of the most formidable and important organizations to emerge in the new South Africa" (Mashishi Parliamentary Committee Presentation 14th June 2006) and could therefore tackle the new decade in sport with confidence[71]. SASCOC aimed to consolidate 'brand South Africa' under one institutional banner and assume responsibility for setting targets, monitoring and evaluating performances of all South African sports teams. In spite of rhetoric to community sport development, success was again measured solely by "the medals won and the number of sport sponsorship procured for elite sport" (Die Burger 14 November 2004:6). These factors remained the essence of the reform approach to post-apartheid sport.

[71] SASCOC, superseded all functions of the South Africa Sports Commission, and incorporated functions of all non-government sport institutions. The National Olympic Committee, the South African Sports Commission, Disability Sport South Africa, United Schools Sports Association and the Commonwealth Games Association (SASCOC Articles of Association 2005) were instructed to dissolve, with their functions and budgets incorporate into SASCOC and comply with a new set of regulations promulgated by the state in the SASCOC Regulations.

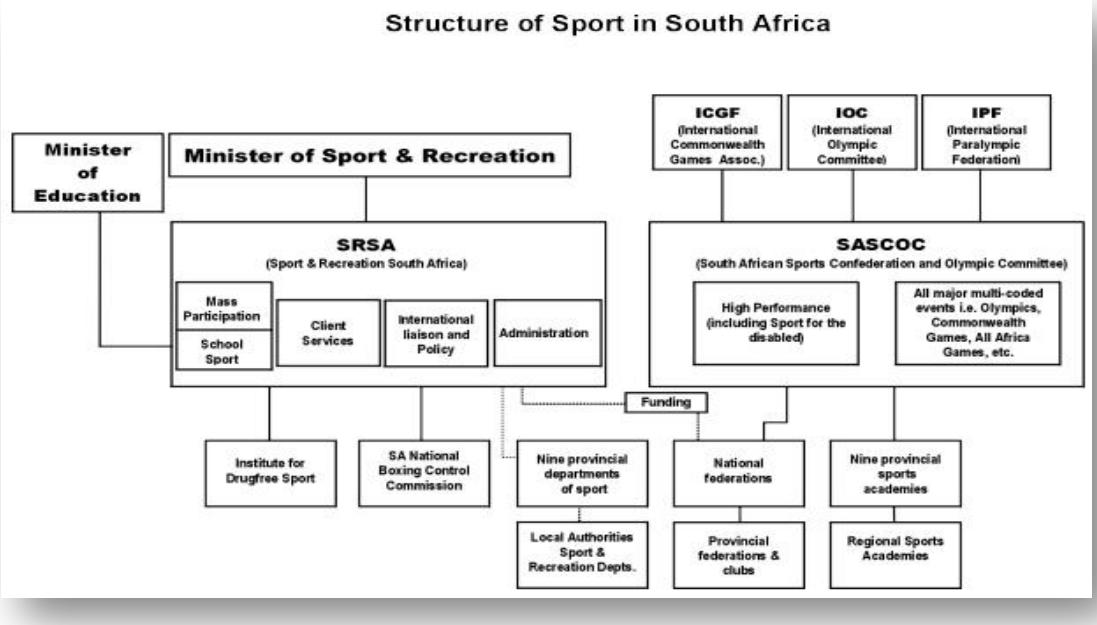


FIGURE 5: SPORT INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES 2005

(Source: Sport and Recreation South Africa 2005)

Perhaps not surprisingly, considering the rhetoric which binds debate on sports and transformation, Mashishi included in his comments that elite sport should not be viewed in isolation of community and mass sport. Thus, he proposed, SASCOC and not government was the best placed sport institution to address the challenges of transformation in sport. SASCOC suggested that the majority of sport organizations did not resist sport and social transformation, but that sport "lacked a clear vision and strategic plan on how to implement transformation" (City Press 27 February 2005: 9). Lack of management, strategic focus and long term planning in sport were presented as the key challenges for sport transformation. SASCOC suggested that it should control the transformation process, as government processes were cumbersome and lacked focus.

Not surprisingly, the candid observations by Mashishi precipitated confrontation with government. In particular SASCOC and politicians clashed

over who sets the agenda of the transformation project, balances diverse objectives, and inscribes boundaries between people and interest groups. Shortly after Mashishi announced that elite sport cannot be seen in isolation of community sport, the Ministry of Sport pointed out that "the ministry will be circumspect on how it intervenes in sport on behalf of the poor…but anybody who thinks that his / her election to leadership positions in sport is a neutral process is wrong" (Sports Minister's Spokesman Bongani Majola in City Press 23rd January 2005:10). Growing tension between the state and SASCOC leadership, in particular Mashishi, led to Butana Khompela (Chairperson of the Portfolio Committee on Sport) surprisingly arguing in August 2006 that "the Parliamentary Sports Portfolio Committee has never supported SASCOC as the establishment of the macro controlling body for sport in the country … (and) that there should be a built in mechanism for SASCOC to be monitored and called to order should they fail to serve South African sport" (Citizen 30th August 2006:17). Now, national level government was emphasizing that it claimed the authority to higher levels of rationality, regulation and ability to serve the interests of community sport and the poor. SASCOC, the creation of government, had emerged as a threat to the centrality of government in sport decision-making. The tension and contestation highlights the rhetoric of interconnectedness between various elements of the transformation project and the unwillingness or inability to bridge the two horns of the transformation dilemma.

Notwithstanding rhetorical contestation between SASCOC and government, Sport and Recreation South Africa's (SRSA) reformed mandate focused on promoting informal mass participation in sport and community led sport programs. This government led approach revived transformation strategies emphasized in 1996, prior to the dominance of the growth strategy encapsulated in GEAR that focused on high performance international sport competition. Community sport education, training and empowerment programs, once again

became the responsibility of government[72]. Revitalizing the link between sport and community reemerged as a crucial socio-political and sport objective, leading SRSA to redefine its role as "actualizing the Government's objective to ensure a better life for all South Africans" (SRSA 2008: 25). Thus community once again became a central tenet of the government transformation project.

During this process, the Sports Minister lamented that it is "inconceivable that after 12 years of democracy, we are still even debating transformation in sport" (City Press 23rd January 2005:10). He suggested that post-apartheid sport should focus on implementation and delivery of sport based in a centralized national agenda. Fourteen years following transition and many policy twists later, had sports governance actually come full circle? Post-apartheid change to sport policies, institutions and leadership reflects a continual search for a 'silver bullet' or a simple magical solution to a complicated set of challenges. Although discourse in politics and sport increasingly reflects greater recognition of the complexity of transforming sport, national government remains unwilling to accede to the full implication of this acknowledgement. If national government were to acknowledge the multi-layered nature of challenges in post-apartheid sport it would require that national government render this concession into a more flexible policy discourse, institutional design, sport culture and governance system. The unwillingness of national government to shift their approach remains a challenge, meaning that the decade of fundamental transformation started inauspiciously. Whilst the reform elite sport agenda continues to be enhanced through mega elite projects such as hosting the FIFA 2010 World Cup, the transformation agenda remains as principles and rhetorical policy statements. President Mbeki correctly lamented "there is something radically wrong with post-apartheid sport" since South Africa continually fails to succeed at participation in international sport events, even though increasing amounts of resources are aimed at elite sport.

"Lilliputian Efforts Cannot Produce Olympians"

On 9th June 2006, President Mbeki argued that international performances and "statistics communicate a very clear message…there is something radically wrong with our sports (ANC Today Volume 6, June 9th 2006). His point of reference was the continual failure of South African sports teams in international sport competition such as 2003 Cricket World Cup, 2004 Olympic Games, and the 'failure' of South Africa to qualify for the 2006 Football World Cup. In 2006, South Africa reached its lowest football ranking, leading President Mbeki to argue that "perhaps the most important lesson we should draw from the fact that Bafana Bafana (South Africa) will not step into any of the magnificent German stadia during the 2006 FIFA soccer World Cup tournament is that we should, at last, stop trivializing sport, very wrongly treating it as frivolous and unimportant. Lilliputian efforts cannot produce Olympians". (Mbeki, ANC Today, 2006). As much as this points to the poor performance of athletes, it highlights frustration at rhetoric touting 2005 to 2015 as the decade of fundamental transformation, without considering actual strategies of changing sport systems, institutions and governance culture.

In response to this repeated failure, the Deputy Minister of Sport (Oosthuizen 2006: Budget Speech) suggested, "three key inputs are required …resources, resources, resources". More resources would allow for more intense sport programs, better facilities, equipment, finance and human resources and "would bring more medals" (ibid). Once again, in spite of rhetoric and critical discourse on sport transformation escalating within sport organizations, government strategy remained tied to existing interventions and practices[73]. The number of medals at elite events and the number of black sports persons in elite teams continued to be the measure of success. The creation of SASCOC and the corporatization of sport resurfaced as unresolved tensions and contradictions in sport transformation. Whilst the Deputy Minister of

[73] More resources, training and expertise at elite level still brought the worst performance by a post-apartheid South African sports team at the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games (SABC News 22nd November 2008: "The dismal failure of South Africa at the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games").

Sport correctly argued that availability of resources is an important factor for success in sport, focusing attention on resources ignores the dynamic interconnectedness between elite and community sport, and unacknowledged deficiencies in sport governance culture. I argue that addressing sport governance cultures requires a reexamination of poorly considered linkages between legitimacy of sport processes, policy design and policy implementation. Addressing these questions will allow a more complete diagnosis and an expanded set of strategies for sport transformation. Decisions made in the period after 2005 resurfaced unresolved challenges such as two dichotomous transformations; the role of national government in sport, in particular its claim to centrality; and its unwillingness to acknowledge the multi-scaled nature of social transformation.

First, in spite of rhetorical claims to equity and construction of common identity through the lens of the 'rainbow nation', changes to sport policy, institutions and decision making deepened dichotomies and difference. The current analytical frame in South African sport policy remains trapped in dichotomies expressed in the tale of two cities; two nations – one black and one white; two economies; and mass and elite sport. These dichotomies are reflected in the current sport institutional structure of South Africa, in which SASCOC focuses entirely on high performance and elite sport, while government addresses the needs of the predominantly black masses. These dichotomies are presented as static and immutable pillars, as if there are no linking scales, racial variations, economic abilities and access to sport. The current sport system and policy is built around dichotomies such as two transformations, one elite and the other for 'the masses' in communities. It is self-evident that in practice, transformation has to manifest at the community level to enable sustainable transformation at elite level. Sport institutions and leadership are challenged to explore strategies and interventions that link the two. Emphasizing either a 'trickle up' or 'trickle down' sport strategy is inadequate.

Second, in spite of rhetoric that the sport system needs to be redeveloped in its entirety, national sport decision makers continually seek to consolidate control over sport, centralize policy development, decision-making, and assert that it be the sole judge of the success or failure of sport transformation. National level government emphasized that it assumed the authority to higher levels of rationality, regulation and ability to serve the interests of elite sport, community sport and the poor.

Third, preserving the hierarchical bureaucratic relationships between national, provincial and local sport departments meant that national interests and agenda continue to prevail over all other tiers. Maintaining this dominance ignores the possibility that framing problems at different scales will influence the strategy and scale for action. The strategies and failures in South African sport do not imply less national level government but a different modality of government. Whilst the Sports Ministry highlighted that it is inconceivable that transformation in sport remains a central element of the sport discourse after two decades of sport reform, sport leaders (Bouah September 2009: Personal Communication) highlight that it is not simply a question of delivery. Governance processes between multiple actors guiding delivery is crucial to resolving the transformation conundrum. National government acting in isolation of other scales of government and of the object to be governed, sport civic groups, has generated a limited range of strategic options.

The central challenge for sport transformation in South Africa is to grapple with the complex, variable, multi-layered and often tangled hierarchies in forging a transformation project that recognizes that sport exists in multiple fields of social relations and straddle complex intersections of social injustice. This means that new sport governance system must respond to complexities in variable local, national and global impulses. Strategic choices therefore need to blend specificities at different scales, consider varying time horizons and adapt to local sport agendas.

Conclusion

National sport institutions such as DSR, SASC and SASCOC elevated transformation as the central focus of its policies and strategies yet it continues to be the key problematic, trapping sport institutions in a succession of policy debates and outcomes that vacillates between responding to competing impulses and paradoxes between various binaries such as elite and community sport and black and white. Initial commitments to empowered community sport organizations and leaders influencing sport, were superseded by international and elite sport impulses and political economic shifts such as the Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy. Each policy shift and institutional modification contributed to greater paradoxes and dilemmas.

Dichotomies and binaries such as elite and community sport, global and local considerations, as well as racial categories such as black and white, endured as contested arenas in the post-apartheid period. Even though sport agencies, sport activists and political leadership denounced these polarities in South African sport, strategies, policies and actions aimed at rising above them, paradoxically deepened differentiation and fuelled contestation.

In practice there are no walls between these dichotomies, but a range of levels and pathways that link them. It is therefore manifest for practice and theory not to merely identify the elements that differentiate poles but search for pathways that may connect them. Evidence suggests that debating the relative merits or demerits of trickle up or trickle down strategies are unproductive. A theoretical approach based in sport praxis may be required. In this approach the extent to which elite and mass participation sport coexist and overlap becomes the central focus, stimulating an exploration of ways in which institutions and actors at various scales and levels of government could collaborate.

The gap that I highlight in policy shifts and institutional change in post-apartheid sport is the tacit and common assumption that the local level is where all these changes will be implemented while strategy is developed at higher

levels of importance. Post-apartheid sport policy discourse makes cursory reference to the local level, yet policy does not address the array of local issues confronting local governments, and the role of cities in policy debate, formulation and implementation. Addressing this challenge is key to sport transformation. In chapter 5 I examine Cape Town and its attempts to grapple with the imperatives of sport transformation and the shifting policy context that has framed sports and its governance in the post-apartheid period.

CHAPTER 5
NEGOTIATING INTRA-URBAN INEQUALITY IN CAPE TOWN SPORT

Cape Town has experienced dramatic shifts in sport since the release of Nelson Mandela in Cape Town in 1990. Referred to as the mother city, Cape Town has hosted world class events such as the opening game of the Rugby World Cup in 1995, was the South African city bidding to host the Olympic Games in 2004, and yet it has experienced significant contestation and tension in sport at local level. Cape Town is also regarded as the city experiencing the highest levels of economic and sport inequity. Cape Town has experienced demands balancing needs of elite sport and demands for resource distribution in sport. Politics, race economy and sport are conjoined in complex ways in Cape Town, making sport transformation challenging.

In this chapter I examine shifts in sport at the local level of Cape Town since democracy in 1994. While similar political, social and economic imperatives intersected at national and local levels, I examine the ways in which the national and local states responded in different ways to these challenges. Shown in chapter 4, national sport policy, institutions and processes have been predisposed to focus on application of national elite sport policy, generated by the national Department of Sport. The national Department of Sport placed itself at the centre of the transformation project requiring other levels of the state to comply with national imperatives and subsume its agendas into the national project. In this chapter I examine how Cape Town's Department of Sport and sport organizations at local level confronted transformation challenges and how it responded to national demands. I focus on existent local process, tracking how local sport institutions, leaders and government officials muddled through challenges and sought new ways to administer, manage and govern sport.

I first locate sport transformation challenges within broader political economic and social challenges that complicated local strategies. Post-

apartheid national and local state and political restructuring affected sport processes in complex ways in Cape Town. Second, I unpack the relationship between sport and the modernizing project of the post-apartheid municipality in Cape Town. The City sought to modernize its sport systems and processes and elevate its status as a global city through hosting major sport events. Third, I will reflect on the ongoing process, embarked on by Cape Town's Sports Department and local sports organizations, to develop an alternative sport governance approach based in community empowerment and co-governance.

State Restructuring in Cape Town

Restructuring democratic local authorities in South Africa was challenging. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD 2008) has pointed out that alongside the ousting of the apartheid regime and development of new functional national state institutions, the functional reformulation and expansion of local government authorities was the most significant institutional change that South Africa has experienced. Challenges associated with local government restructuring were largely under-estimated, impacting negatively on the ability of local sport organizations to transform.

During the post-apartheid transition, South Africa established an ambitious agenda to expand the scope of institutional competencies of local government, through The Constitution of South Africa (RSA 1996), regarded as the launching pad for transformation in South Africa. The Constitution may provide the broad outline for democracy but did not create the political and administrative mechanisms enabling transformation at the local level. Agreement on new local government structures was finalized in the White Paper on Local Government in 1998 (RSA 1998) and was legislatively empowered through the Municipal Systems Act in 2000 (RSA 2000). Even though South Africa had been a democracy since 1994, local governments were empowered in 2000, through the Systems Act, to reorganize its racially based governance systems and encourage the involvement of communities and community organizations in matters of local government. In spite of the RDP being an

important foundation of post-apartheid politics and development, local governments were not empowered to give effect to issues such as sport transformation until 2000.

Local governments were permitted to establish interim mechanisms and processes prior to 2000, reorganizing their social, legal, economic and institutional frameworks. Notionally, these interim measures were meant to address complex imperatives for resource redistribution and social welfare at the community level. The period until 2000 was dedicated to reengineering the racial geography of cities. Nationally, the number of local governments was reduced from approximately 1,300 race-based authorities to 283 non-racial local government authorities (Pieterse 2007; Parnell 2005; OECD, 2008:229). In Cape Town, 61 racially segregated local government entities were collapsed into one Unicity in 2000. Cape Town sport institutions had to contend simultaneously with these political and administrative changes, national demands for elite sport and local demands for sport transformation.

The Director of Sport pointed out that even though Cape Town aimed to become a world city, through bidding to host the 2004 Olympic Games, the biggest challenge that confronted the city authorities and sport leaders in 2000 was to construct a "unified city out of many villages" (Bam: Personal Communication 2009). Bam suggested that hosting the Olympic Games may have been less challenging than merging disparate, suspicious and culturally diverse communities. Unifying the administration, culture, politics and economies of these 61 "villages" exacerbated the sport transformation challenges confronting sport leaders at local and national levels.

Practical challenges to transforming actual local state Departments, changing the service delivery methodology and creating formal consultation processes between government and civil society institutions took effect in Cape Town in 2002, six years after the start of the national transformation process. However, many proposals and recommendations for spatial, social and economic transformation in Cape Town encountered frequent opposition (OECD

2008: 233). Contestation between deeply divided communities in Cape Town resulted in local government reforms being contested, regularly resulting in paralysis of government decision-making[74]. In addition, suspicion between Cape Town political leadership and those at national level led to constant challenges between national and local scales. For example, national Minister of Housing Lindiwe Sisulu argued that "Cape Town...ranks as the most segregated city in the country. Of all our cities, Cape Town still remains the most untransformed and inequitable city and is a stark...manifestation of our grotesquely divided and unequal society" (Cape Argus: 18 July 2006). The combination of divided communities, inequitable levels of service and disunity between national and local attempts to transform governance systems meant that the transformation of sport in Cape Town was complex and messy[75].

Generic statements attesting to the success of local government transformation conceals the complexity of changes to local sport procedures, sport governance process and governance culture in Cape Town. I analyze the mechanics, processes and contestations in sport, and assess the effect of institutional change in generating opportunities, new practices and new capacities for transformation at the local Cape Town level.

Cape Town: A City of Villages

Cape Town is a low density, sprawling city region (OECD, 2008:52), comprising 4 million inhabitants, covering 15 255 km^2. Due to its sprawling nature, its population is dispersed throughout an area up to 160 kilometers (100

[74] Opposition crystallized at the local level in Cape Town, more than at any other scale. It is this scale where change in apartheid-induced social and economic privileges and benefits were most tangible and keenly defended. Local government reforms were therefore highly contested resulting in further lag between national and local government reform.

[75] At the national scale the effects of local government transition were lauded. The OECD (2008) portrayed the drastic reduction in number of local authorities and subsequent transformation in local government institutions as one of the "most momentous local government transformation" processes undertaken.

miles) from the city centre. Decades of forced removals[76], inequitable service provision and economic exploitation resulted in black and predominantly poor city residents having to commute the longest distance to the center of the city.

Apartheid laws predetermined that Cape Town was politically governed through three racially based administrative systems. These were broadly white, colored and African administrations. These were further sub-divided into autonomous administrative entities with legislative competence to act within specific spatially defined areas within the city limits. Due to racial laws and natural growth of the metropolitan area, the 61 local government administrative entities consisted of 19 white local authorities, six local (white) semi-rural councils, 29 coloured management committees, and 7 black local authorities. Divisions based on geographical location, political power, race, ethnicity, culture and access to material resources intersected in complex ways to influence the ways in which local government decision making in Cape Town could be transformed.

Racial politics, the central axis of administrative decision-making, centered power and access to resources on the enfranchised white municipal structures. These administrations had access to greater resources, skills, expertise, power and networks, and controlled access to the best sports facilities in Cape Town. The second race-based tier in administrative governance, were those municipal structures that operated exclusively in “coloured group areas”. These areas were ostensibly administered by colored management committees, but were afforded no rights to govern. Coloured Management Committees were required to make recommendations to the white-dominated Cape Town City Council, who would make decisions on resource allocation and delivery of services. The third and most disadvantaged set of administrations was the Black Local Authorities that operated exclusively in African group areas. Black Local Authorities did not have decision-making powers over resource distribution and

[76] Due to apartheid policy of forced removals of black, coloured, and Indian race groups to the outskirts of the city, the main population concentration is on the periphery of the city. The centre of the city also contained the highest concentration of sport facilities and amenities.

provided minimal services to African townships. Sport was not a priority and remained underdeveloped in African townships.

In 1996, democratic Cape Town consisted of 61 administrative entities that were unequal in distribution of economic and sport resources, levels of service delivery and standards of living (see Map 3). In addition, governance processes and governance cultures varied across the racial and economic divides spanned by the 61 administrative units. Anticipated interventions to transform sport at the local level were trapped in multiple intersections of power plays, inside and outside the democratic local government structures, and were hamstrung by uneven human and technical capacities among the various race groups and geographic areas. Undoing the effects of apartheid local government structures post-1996 was complex, and power politics between 1996 and 2000 exacerbated the daunting challenges for sport transformation.

The number of local authorities in Cape Town was reduced from 61 to 39 interim non-racial political-administrative entities, grouped into six Local Authorities in 1996 (Pieterse 2007). The new alignment of local authorities consisted of Cape Town, Tygerberg, Blaauwberg, Oostenberg, South Peninsula and Helderberg Administrations. The administrative apparatuses were in place but political decision-making, governance processes and resources redistribution of the city were not addressed. The six local councils were expected to standardize service delivery, promote equitable resource redistribution, and develop uniformly applicable policies, without a national framework in place. Undoing the interim systems was later as daunting for sport as undoing apartheid legacies.

MAP 1: SOCIO-ECONOMIC GROUPS IN CAPE TOWN

(Source: City of Cape Town 2005, Used By Permission of the Cape Town Sport and recreation Department

Modernizing Sport Institutions in Post-Apartheid South Africa

Cape Town Sports Department[77] was created in 1997 (Bam Personal Communication: October 2008) in response to the upsurge in hosting international sport events in Cape Town and the national euphoria over South Africa's sports successes. Gert Bam, the first Director of Sport at Cape Town Administration indicated that 1997 was the most difficult as well as the most exciting periods for sport transformation at the local level (Bam 2008: Personal Interaction). He points out that in 1997, democratic changes were occurring at the national level under very difficult conditions. The six local administrations and sport organizations in Cape Town were gripped by demands to deal with racial inequality, material deprivation and sports transformation, and in spite of:

> "all the administrative restructuring we still had the courage to bid for the Olympic Games. It was amazing that a city like Cape Town was bidding for the Olympic Games but we didn't have a sports department" (Bam 2009: Personal Interaction).

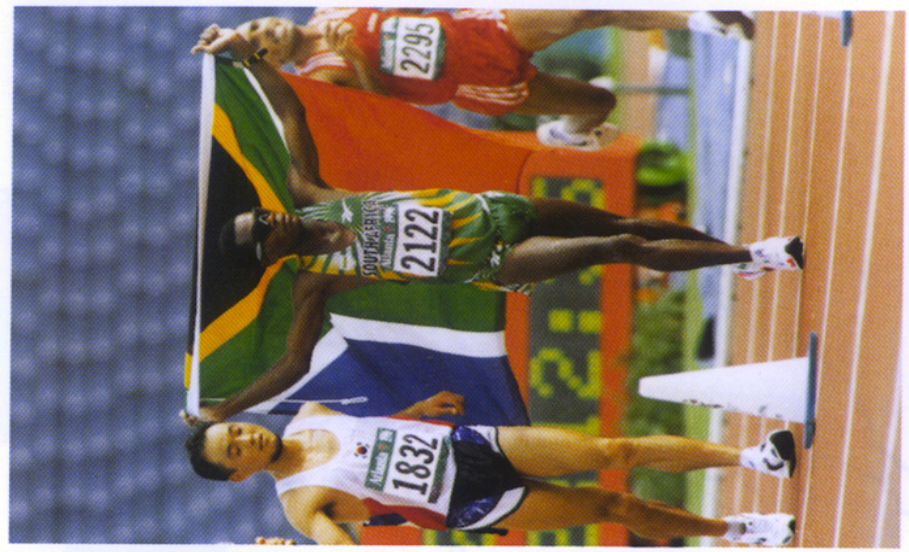
He states that establishing the local sports department in Cape Town was a response to global events and not local needs. He claims, "It is interesting that the very first post that politicians identified in the transitional local government in 1997 was the Director of Sport. They believed that the city needed a link between the Olympic Bid Company and the City." (Bam 2008: Personal Interaction). Here too, global events influenced local decisions (see Figure 6).

National concerns for attracting global sports events, promoting economic trade, and profiling Cape Town internationally, framed the first sport strategy of Cape Town's Sports Department. Although Cape Town was regarded as the most divided city in South Africa it was "constantly looking outside for its solutions…and focused on the highest sport profiled event in the world" (Bam 2008: Personal Communication) to attain that goal. While Cape Town and South

[77] One of six sports Departments in 1997 and the precursor to the current City of Cape Town Sports Department. The current Director of the City of Cape Town's Sports Department was the first Director of Sport in the Cape Town Administration in 1997.

FIGURE 6: BALANCING LOCAL EXCLUSIONS AND ELITE SPORTS IN CAPE TOWN

(Cape Town Olympic Bid 2004 “A Sporting Opportunity for Africa: Cape Town 2004 Olympic Sports Plan 1997:7)



Using sport to transform the youth of Africa.
Utilizando el deporte para transformar la juventud de Africa.
La pratigque du sport transformera la jeunesse d'Afrique.

Africa were presenting a unified bid on an international platform, divisions were intensifying in Cape Town local government administrations and between local government and communities.

The history of divided local authorities and hasty redrawing of post-apartheid local administration boundaries, meant that very few public officials responsible for sport policy development and implementation understood "what the world looked like south of the N2" (Bam 2009: Personal Interaction): in poor, black and working class areas. Apartheid restrictions may have been lifted but government sport officials responsible for implementing sport policy and transformation, in townships and informal settlements such as Gugulethu, Khayelitsha and Mitchells Plain, "admit they hardly visited townships under apartheid and neither did they in the new democracy" (Bam 2009: Personal Communication).[78] State officials found it easier to respond to demands from international organizations hosting events in Cape Town, than to the complex task of undoing the legacies of apartheid in Cape Town.

Managing tensions in post-apartheid Cape Town sport occurred in two phases. The period 1996 to 2000 represented an interim phase in local government, when sport transformation was manifested in administrative and bureaucratic restructuring. The second phase brought new rationalities to the fore, focused on flexible systems conjoining state and civil society action in community empowered institutions.

Sport Transitions in Cape Town 1996 to 2000: Interim Local Government Transitions, Sport Governance Paralysis and "Many Chiefs"

Establishing six autonomous local administrations resulted in the development of six distinctive sports policies, institutional arrangements, service delivery models and interaction within the single Cape Town metropolitan area. Each administration approached sport in a different way. Some established

dedicated sport and recreation departments engaging actively with sport bodies and promoting sport in communities, other administrations subsumed sport and recreation under service delivery departments, such as community facilities, community development, and, in others, the Engineering and Housing Departments. The lack of coherence at the broader political level resulted in shifting relationships of power at the local level. The battles over power and position in sport affected policy and relationships with the state. I examine sport models applied in Tygerberg, Blaauwberg and Cape Town administrations to illustrate the unfolding relationships within local government and between government and sport organizations between 1996 and 2000[79].

Tygerberg Administration

Tygerberg Administration developed a sport facilities plan, structuring decision-making for resource distribution, equitable facility provision and community liaison. The Tygerberg Administration established the Tygerberg Sports Board of Control, a federal sport structure (see Figure 7). The Sports Board of Control consisted of predominantly independent regional sports institutions and managed sport on behalf of the Tygerberg Sports and Recreation Department. The Sports Board of Control, a community driven sport institution governed sport on behalf of the state and in turn received an annual capital and operating grant (Tygerberg Sports Facilities Plan 1998). This grant was used to develop and maintain sport facilities and contribute to sport programs in communities and clubs. Sport leadership in government sport argued that communities could respond to challenges better than government could.

The community owned process paralleled and stemmed from the RDP, promoting community agency. The Tygerberg Sports Board of Control consisted of a central Executive Committee, managing and administering the functions of the Board of Control, on behalf of communities. The Executive Committee,

[79] I do not examine sport in Oostenberg, Helderberg and South Peninsula as their Departments subsumed sport functions within various other service departments.

comprising fifteen members, represented five area-based and autonomous sport federations: the north / east; south; west; coastal and central zones (See Figure 7). The Executive Committee received applications from community sport clubs for resources to build, maintain and manage sport facilities and programs. Formal submissions and often presentations had to be made by communities motivating and supporting their proposals.

The racial geography of the city, unequal political economy and varying access to previous networks and skills perpetuated race-based resources distribution. The differences in socio-economic status, levels of skills and access to political and administrative networks perpetuated the advantaged / disadvantaged dichotomy in within and across autonomous sport federations. The north/ east consisted predominantly of upper and upper middle class white communities; the west consisted predominantly of middle class white communities; the south and central consisted of poor, working class coloured townships; and coastal zones consisted largely of poor, black, predominantly African townships and informal areas such as Khayelitsha. The Tygerberg Administration chose not to finesse the divided geographical and racial landscape of Cape Town, meaning that the institutional architecture of the Tygerberg Sports Board of Control entrenched past divisions, networks and access to resources. Discourses on resource redistribution were marginalized.

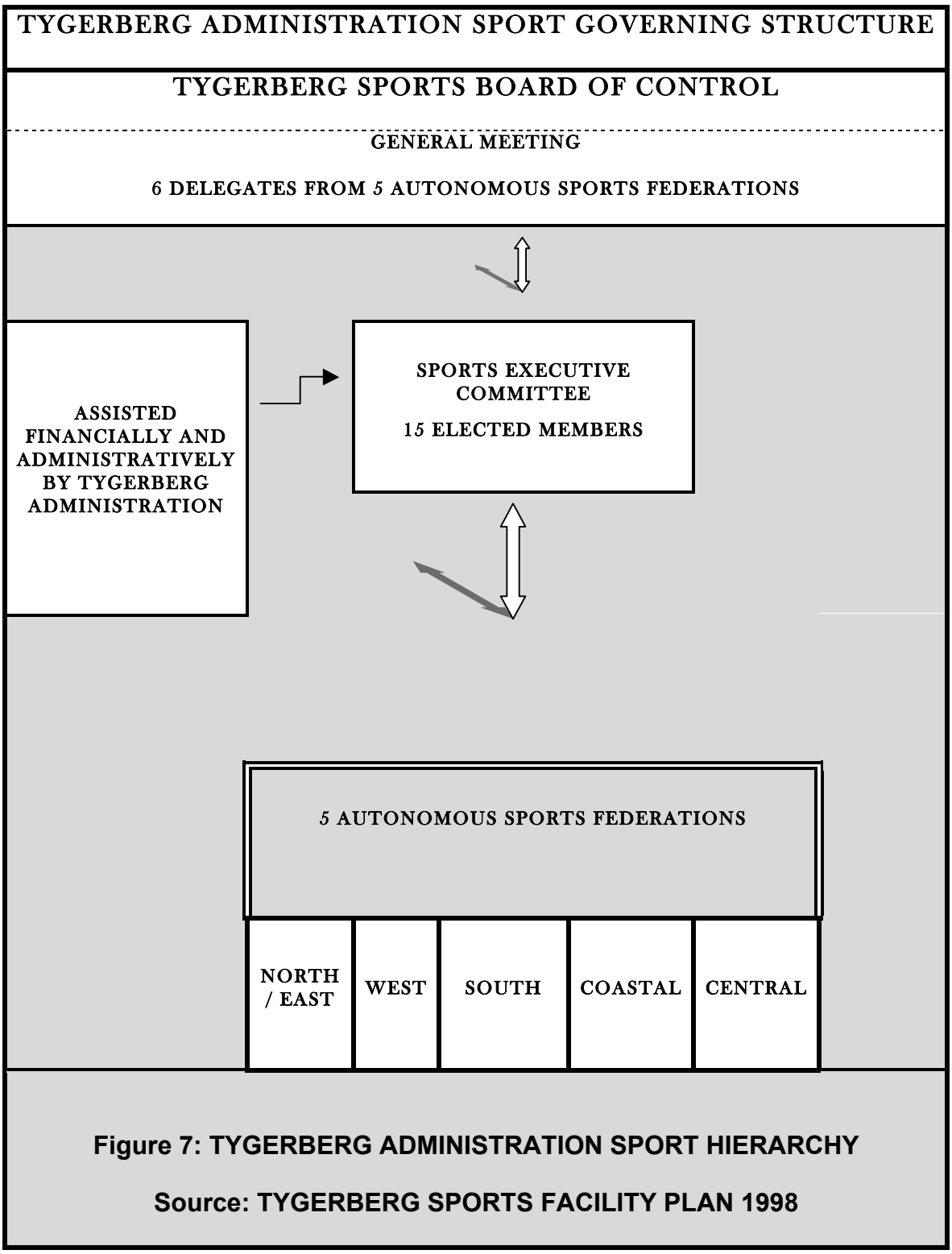


Figure 7: TYGERBERG ADMINISTRATION SPORT HIERARCHY

Source: TYGERBERG SPORTS FACILITY PLAN 1998

During this interim phase of local government reform, decision-making power may have been devolved from local government to community sport organizations, but the economic and social foundations of unequal service provision, resources and skills remained. Mlotywa (2009: Personal Communication), involved in decision-making process on behalf of Khayelitsha Township, indicates that a mounting disconnection emerged between the needs of largely African and poor communities townships in the metropolitan southeast and the demands by largely white and well off communities for continued maintenance of their standard of sport facilities. The autonomous community-based sports federations had little room for maneuver due to historical legacies, inequitable resource distribution, limited growth in budgets and greater demand for new facilities in disadvantaged communities. Tygerberg Sports Board of Control could not reform any policy without political and administrative sanction.

Blaauwberg Administration

Blaauwberg Administration embarked on a similar process in 1998, establishing a Sport and Recreation Policy Framework emphasizing sport's role in improving the quality of life of poorer communities "through the development of team building, organizational management expertise and a sense of self worth and achievement" (Blaauwberg Sports Plan 2000:i). Decision makers in Blaauwberg insisted that policy should go beyond facility provision to focus on community building and skills development.

The creation of Blaauwberg Sport and Recreation Federation in 2000 mirrored the architecture and systems in Tygerberg (Blaauwberg Sports Plan 2000:8) with one distinction. Communities and politicians agreed that dividing Blaauwberg into areas, for example north and south, "would not be appropriate as this division has taken on a political meaning…and has become a divide between generally affluent and generally poor communities" (Blaauwberg Sport Policy Framework 2000:8). Sport and political decision makers argued that three

policy interventions were required. First, the municipality should ensure a close working relationship between the Blaauwberg Sport Federation[80] and itself. Communities and politicians agreed that Blaauwberg would be divided into three regional sport councils that aimed to have a reasonable mixture of race and economic groups. Second, communities agreed the municipality would intervene where necessary to ensure "acceptable resolution" of issues. Third, the Federation would prioritize the annual sports budget based on agreement being reached between the three regional sports Councils and in conjunction with Municipal officials. Blaauwberg sport thus attempted to change the institutional architecture, governance systems and ensure that government played a key role in managing conflicts and contests between communities. Blaauwberg emphasized "the principle of sport for all", by promoting sport in disadvantaged communities and de-emphasizing competitive sport types (BSRP 2000:15). This emphasis was different than those in Tygerberg and Cape Town.

Political, administrative and community dialogue processes evolved over two years establishing a new sport system. Key drivers to the acceptance of the sport system were political will and community support, leading to the construction of a system that deviated from apartheid political, social and economic divisions. The institutional architecture attempted to adjust sport boundaries to cross apartheid race and class geographies. Similar to Tygerberg, however, and in spite of political will and community support, stark socio-economic divisions and varying levels of skill among community sport leaders, as well as different levels of understanding among community sport leaders of government processes, resulted in decision making and collaboration among communities being prolonged (Bam 2009: Personal Communication). Social and economic divisions entrenched in spatial enclaves distorted community responses to choices over leadership, resources redistribution and strategy.

[80] The BSRF was established "to manage and co-ordinate sport and recreation activities in Blaauwberg" and act as the primary advisory body to the Municipality" for all matters pertaining to sport and recreation in that part of the city, including resource distribution such as financial allocations (Blaauwberg Sports and Recreation Sports Plan 2000).

Implementing the new sport system was hindered by persistent inequities based in race, class and access to resources and networks.

Cape Town Administration

Cape Town's Sports Department, the largest administration, bidding for the rights to host the 2004 Olympic Games, had no uniform sport governance system or policy, and no consistent relationship with communities. Some independent sports boards of control managed sports complexes[81] on behalf of the municipality and others rented sportsfields on an ad hoc basis. The Director of Sport of the Cape Town Administration acknowledged that challenges faced in 2000 obstructed transformation: "It was very complicated. For example, the simple case of providing and managing sportsfields and swimming pools varied across the various communities. In most areas delivering a sport service was regarded as merely cutting grass, keeping the swimming pools clean and making sure it was available for community use" (Bam 2009: Personal Communication). Consulting and liaising with communities was not part of political processes, sport discourses and activities. Suspicion and resistance characterized interaction between communities and government officials because "very little attention was paid to community consultation" (Bam 2009: Personal Interaction; Rose 2009: Personal Interaction). This arms-length attitude to communities by the Cape Town Administration resulted in "ordinary citizens going through quite a process to speak to relevant officials or to get a response on simple matters that affected them" (Rose 2009)[82]. By 2000 very little had

[81] Sports Boards of Control leased municipally owned sport field and managed it on behalf of the Municipality. Sports Boards operated independently and many criticisms were leveled at these organizations for their bureaucratic, "gate keeping" and authoritarianism (Rose 2009; Sports Transformation Indaba 2000 and personal recollections).

[82] Even though the OECD had concluded that the 2000 local government transformation was the most momentous of the changes in South Africa, communities and sports officials experienced this reality differently. A key community activist and now community development facilitator points out that "Councilors never visited their communities. The councilors get elected and councilors disappear until it is election time again. This complaint was across the board [political, racial and economic] and in all parts of the city" (Rose 2009).

been achieved at Cape Town Administration to transform sport. Its agenda focused on attracting and hosting elite events.

Deepening social divisions, economic inequities, inequitable resource distribution, varying provision of sport services as well as the variety of sport institutional models, created a complex challenge to sport leadership in the new metropolitan authority. Widespread "mistrust and paralysis of governance of sport in Cape Town" (Bam 2009: Personal Communication) dominated the landscape. Communities, looking on, pointed out that the new system merely led to "the creation of many chiefs. Everybody wanted to be in charge" (Rass 2009: Personal Communication). Communities were marginalized in the clamor for local government restructuring, as changes at the local level had more to do with administrative and bureaucratic streamlining and positions than community development and transformation[83].

Community sport leaders were skeptical about the integrity of government and officials, pointing out "officials and the government think they are the bosses" (Rass 2009: Personal Communication). Similarly a senior ANC local politician acknowledged that the new post-apartheid state had failed to build relationships with communities, arguing "as time went on there were suspicions that we, government and politicians, want to continue destabilize and control the sport communities" (Bevu 2009: Personal Communication), even though the ANC was in power politically. Distrust and division contributed to a break down in sport at the local level. Sport leadership needed to agree on new rationalities for sport, breaking with the apartheid past, and to confront new challenges stimulated by the transitional local government phase between 1996 and 2000.

[83] "Communities became tired of the same old story that we are not able to deliver [on sport and recreation] due to restructuring and shifting boundaries. The one year communities had to interact with a particular set of policies and government officials and the next year [they] had to be part of a completely different set of administrative arrangements" (Bam 2009).

New Rationalities For Sport in Metropolitan Cape Town – Post-2000

Cape Town's tale of two cities was complicated by intersections and juxtapositions of material wealth and deprivation, service delivery challenges, housing conditions, and inequitable provision of sport amenities. Wallace Mgqoqi, the City Manager, highlighted these competing challenges, arguing Cape Town's "tale of two cities remains a stark reminder of the challenges that face city administration" (Mgqoqi 2004: Personal notes).

Sport was identified as a platform to contribute economic growth, improved service delivery, rejuvenation of city governance processes, social development and youth development (Bam 2010: Personal Communication). The challenges identified by the City of Cape Town's Sports Department are starkly displayed in Figure 8 juxtaposing race, class, material wealth and sport in post-apartheid Cape Town. The local government sports department focused attention on the social and political objectives of the new metropolitan local government; linking sport and social development.

Developing new rationalities for sport meant balancing contradictions between elite and community sport, growing social and economic inequities, and dysfunctional local government sport systems. The slogan "A child in sport is a child out of court"[84] created the axis around which a new sport system revolved. Stark socio-economic and sport contradictions hampered the development of a coherent post-apartheid sport policy in Cape Town. Material realities such as the international standard hockey stadium, in the centre and right of the collage, are juxtaposed with demands for an adequate cricket field (top left) and needs for informal recreation facilities (top right) for children. The closest pool of water in working class communities was often outside shacks (bottom right), juxtaposed with world-class beaches (bottom left) the site of international beach volleyball, sailing and triathlon events. The sports system could not respond adequately to the material contradictions in Cape Town.

[84] The national Minister of Sport, Steve Tshwete popularized the slogan in 1995.

Figure 8: Race, Class, Material Wealth and Sport in Cape Town

(With Permission City of Cape Town)

Sports Minister Ngconde Balfour, referring to Cape Town at the Transformation Conference in 2000 argued, “The early period in the national social transformation project and sport reconstruction has been unexpectedly complex because it required reconfiguring of race and class inequalities in the state and in society. These apartheid inequalities remain concretized in spatial enclaves” (Balfour May 2000).

The dilemma that faced the Department of Sport was how to revolutionize a dysfunctional sport system, overcome suspicion, and rise above material differences, while still contributing to nation-building and identity formation in Cape Town. The challenge confronting sport leaders was how best to straddle local contradictions, national imperatives and international demands for elite sport events.

“Testing the Public Pulse”

Sport leadership and government were confronted with a disaffected citizenry, suspicious communities and arms-length sport administration. The new metropolitan Department of Sport chose not to impose a new sport system, embarking instead on a public participation process that they referred to as “testing the public pulse” (City of Cape Town Minutes: 2000). The Department of Sport emphasized that, it was important to start the new process of sport transformation, without a predetermined agenda.

A senior local government politician identified the absence of social dialogue, public engagement and participation in decision-making contributing to the failure of sport transformation: “I feel that the sport structures are put there just to silence communities” (Pascoe 2008: Personal Communication). Holding meetings in centralized government venues meant that local government may have met the legal requirements for citizen participation, but the consequence of small attendance at meetings “allowed us to do all the things we want to do

anyway" (Pascoe 2008: Personal Communication). Vernon Rose (2009: Personal Communication), a community activist, argues that effective "public participation was non-existent. Meetings (were called) in the central Civic Centre and in Town Halls but two or three people would pitch up and then we claimed to have done public participation. That's nonsense - no wonder communities were not interested" (Rose 2008: Personal Communication) to be active participants in transformation and community development in Cape Town.

Supporting this perception, a sport leader indicated decision making "processes were never explained to communities. My understanding of the process is that there is an Integrated Development Plan meeting. We motivate to officials and (politicians in) Council that our organization needs a swimming pool. But when we attend later meetings and (enquire) where the swimming pool is then there is no record" (Rass 2009: Personal Communication). He states that when sport leaders in communities enquired about outcomes of consultation processes, officials and politicians "say (the) issues that you've brought up is going to be for the next cycle – but it never comes" (Rass 2009: Personal Communication). Few community members knew how legitimate community claims for distribution of resources were dealt with. A local politician, arguing "I come to our communities every year needing community inputs for the budget", supports this view. "But it's a farce" he claims as "nothing communities say can impact how we change certain things. That is a major concern" (Pascoe 2008: Personal Communication). The 'public pulse' was a process that established pathways for direct community input into "a regular process for decision making" (Adams 2009: Personal Communication[85]), in sport. Adams (Adams: Personal Communication 2009) claims that concerns prevalent before the Institutional Framework were framed in terminology such as "Here comes the Municipality to control communities again!" These perceptions constrained any innovative institutional or structural transformation initiatives to the local sport system.

[85] Adams was a community sport leader initially resistant to and suspicious of state sport processes.

The political head of the Sports Department in 2002 pointed out, “we were not doing well” (Bevu 2009: Personal Communication) in any area of sport. Leaders in politics, government and communities argued that new policy, governance system and culture were needed but, as a sport leader points out, “we didn’t know (what) the format (should be).” Adams argued that a central feature of the innovative approach in sport allowed for an indeterminate process, based in community and government agency. He argues, “We had hope in the new approach” (Adams 2009: Personal Communication) because government leaders had consulted communities from the start.

There was distrust and resistance initially (Rass 2009: Personal Communication), however, community organizations strategically agreed to continue with the process but insisted, “let’s continue pushing government. If we kept on pushing the boundaries we will one day improve the conditions of community sport” (Adams: Personal Communication 2009. Accepting the need for a new approach to sport reflects that sport transformation was not simply creating new sport institutions and bureaucratic practices but also creating sites for producing new sport governance cultures. The process referred to as ‘testing the public pulse” elevated community agency and multiple forms of strategy as two central elements of sport transformation in Cape Town.

New Sport Governance: Pragmatism and Democracy as Strategy

Both state and civil society actors agreed to approach the process of creating a new sport policy pragmatically and collaboratively (Institutional Framework 2003), creating new socio-spatial imaginaries and strategies. Attempts to create new sport governance systems, had to contend, however, with existing policy and regulations. Local Government sport officials were required to comply with legislation such as the Integrated Development Planning system and the national White Paper for Sport (Bam 2009: Personal Communication). These set limits on the extent of innovative approaches that could be tackled. Participants in the sport dialogue expressed frustration at “the overly bureaucratic nature of the IDP, service delivery and continuing lack of

consultation with communities" (Rose 2009: Personal Communication)[86]. Yet, instead of viewing this as a constraint, sport leaders agreed to address this challenge strategically.

One of the first joint decisions taken in the sports dialogue was to establish a "shared vision through an iterative and inclusive process that will serve to unify all sport organizations into a single citywide sport institution" (City of Cape Town Institutional Framework Planning Minutes 2003). Strategically, once politicians had accepted this principle, this meant that new sport policies and institutions required the continuous involvement of community sport institutions from all parts in the metropolitan area. Even though sport organizations were still required to work within government regulations, they could create more flexible mechanisms and transgress barriers structured by race, gender, ethnicity, class and geographical location to generate processes that would lead to sport transformation in Cape Town. Sport leaders acknowledged, however, that a silver bullet or single solution to sport transformation (Bam 2009: Personal Communication) would be difficult to attain in Cape Town.

I highlight one of the strategies in this new governance approach to sport. Existing and divisive institutional habits and networks constrained the creation of innovative approaches to sport transformation. Strategies were needed to break institutionalized habits through greater flexibility in governance culture.

Breaching Institutional Habits Through Governance Process and Culture

Politics in Cape Town remained contentious requiring careful deconstruction of potential areas of contestation, depoliticization of engagement and construction of new governance practices. One of the strategies identified by sport leaders was to focus on de-emphasizing connotations with existing institutions and labels. Therefore, giving a formal name to the processes, the

[86] Minutes of community meetings highlight the negative impact that the lack of effective processes for communication had leading to "failure of service delivery in the city" (City of Cape Town Institutional Framework Minutes 2003).

new sport system and its institutions was deliberately an important part of the strategy. When requested to explain why the original name, "The Institutional Framework" was not changed to Sports Council, Sports Forum or similar common sport names, both the facilitator and the Director of Sport disclosed their intentionality, aiming to reduce areas for contestation:

> "It was a deliberate attempt to have a neutral term to consolidate the process. The process was about institutionalizing the relationship between grassroots civil society in sport and the state structure at the local level. So we agreed, let's call it an institutional framework. It's the framework that institutionalizes your relationship and so for me it was describing the process and not necessarily the institutions or the structure[87]" (Rose: Personal Communication 2009).

The Director of Sport points out "the framework guides the way grassroots civil society in sport and local government interacts and establishes the mechanism that facilitates that interaction" (Bam 2009). The Institutional Framework approach diverged from the traditional sport methodology and practices at the national level, creating complicated mechanisms, systems and structures requiring complex names[88]. Similarly, community sport activists and leaders pointed out "I could never have dreamt of this in the 1990's…but we have come a long way, which means we have changed certain thinking" (Rass 2009: Personal Communication). The discourse on sport transformation suggests that no institution, structure or set of administrative systems will realize transformation without changing the culture that surround the discourses and enabling social agency to influence decisions. Structures and administrative systems were important, but not the primary focus of transformation. Bam (2009:

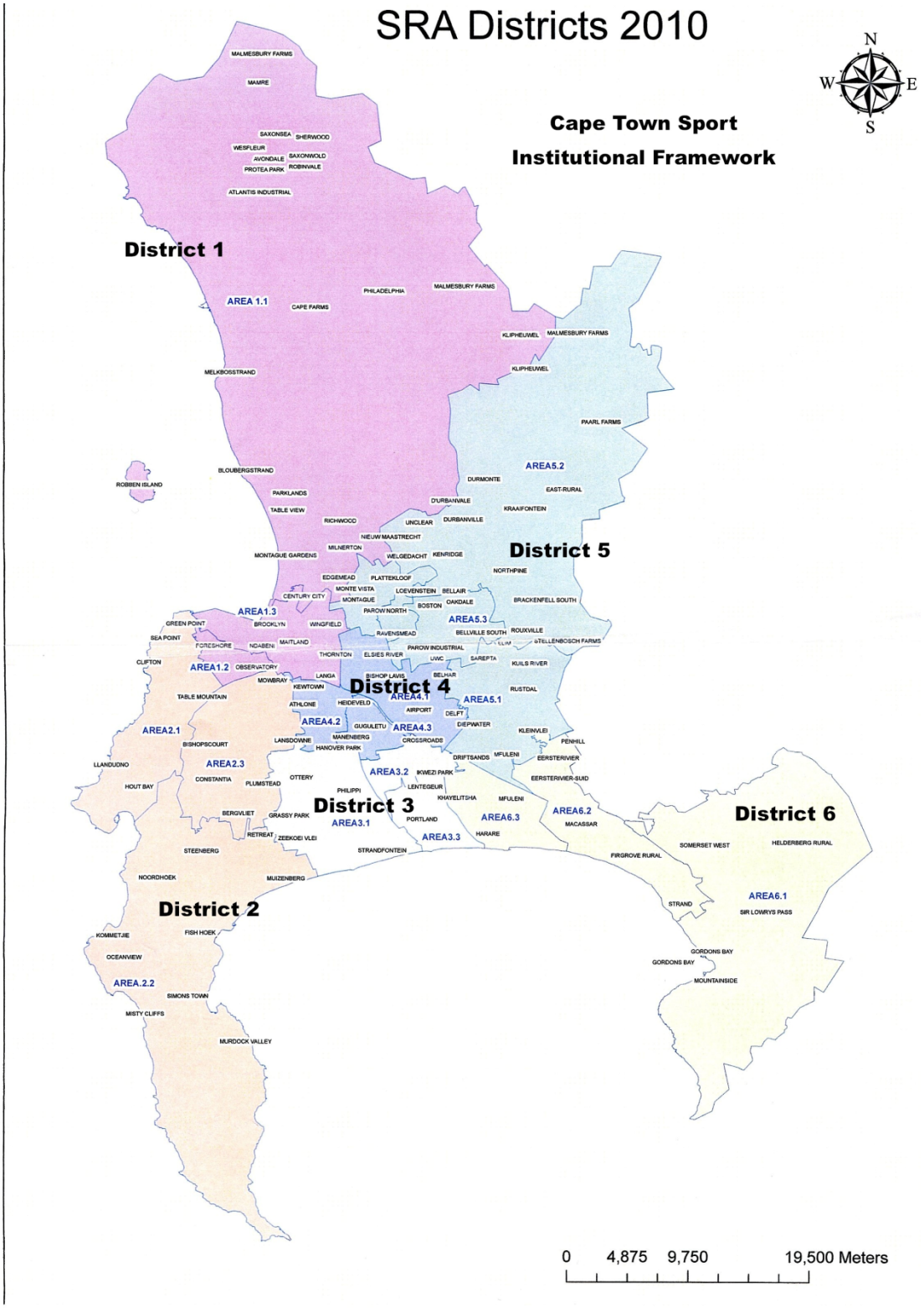
[87] The sport system developed its terminology during the course of the process. Terms such as facility management committee, district sports council, local council of sport and the City forum, were selected because they described the process and function simply.

[88] "The intention was to have a City wide institutional arrangement that cascades all the way down to the most local facility level which was never ever attempted before which really means that even the local community centre in a community would have the structure that manages it and that takes responsibility for it" Bam 2009: Personal Communication).

Personal Communication) argued that, creating an acceptable process was the product of the Institutional Framework.

As an example of the precedence of agency over structure, Rass (2009: Personal Communication) suggests that resistance to the Institutional Framework process by sport organizations emerged “because communities were (historically) separate racial communities” and any suggestion to develop unified institutions were subjected to contestation. He argues that racial transformation in these areas was stimulated because the municipality’s sports department had acknowledged that it needed to desist from enforcing transformation in a top down hierarchical manner. Community sports organizations actively engaged with the challenges to create new sport institutions. Rass points out that when boundaries for sport districts were being discussed, “Communities said no – we must have one district across the (racial divides) that could make joint decisions. We succeeded in changing thinking in government and communities by (making) that input” (Rass 2009: Personal Communication). Community sport organizations thus played an active role in shaping alternative spatial and cultural configurations, contributing to new sport institutions and policy. Map 5 shows the Cape Town Sport Institutional Framework boundaries, indicating the six District Sport Council Boundaries and the eighteen Area Sport Council boundaries.

MAP 2 CAPE TOWN SPORT INSTITUTIONAL BOUNDARIES BY DISTRICT AND AREA



The new methodology for sport digressed from the functional bureaucratic apparatuses and systems that had been established at the national level, and from previous local government sport systems. The new methodology focused on legitimizing sport processes, moving away from centralized and 'top-down' bureaucratic planning by government. The Institutional Framework represented more than the creation of bureaucratic practices, routine state operations and systems. The Sports Department acknowledged the importance of broader social and cultural processes to transformation[89]. Community sport institutions and communities themselves were not set in opposition to, or as recipients of, state sport policies, but were incorporated as integral parts of the sport governance system.

The community-based Sport Institutional Framework consolidated a process that allowed local sport organizations to co-exist with the Department of Sport, operate in the same sport policy frame, and be a source for intervention and agenda setting. Creating the space for greater authority and responsibility by non-government sport organizations did not indicate less government but a new way of governing sport, focused on creating new institutions, norms and systems of regulation. Whilst sport institutions increasingly accepted a different modality of government, bureaucratic operations of the state required clearer procedures and scalar hierarchies. Balancing bureaucratic demands and procedures with flexible and democratic decision making processes became a key challenge to the new governance culture.

Democracy and Hierarchy as Governance Culture

Between August 2003 and July 2005, officials of the City of Cape Town Sports and Recreation Department and members of a civil society elected

89 The process between 2000 and 2003, although referred to as "testing the public pulse" went deeper than merely eliciting opinions and testing innovative ideas on sport transformation in Cape Town. In addition to manifesting new governance processes, the institutional framework subtly broke pre-existing biases and cultures.

Interim Steering Committee embarked on a series of meetings with local community sport organizations. These interactions included six monthly zonal meetings with groups of community sport organizations and concluded with a Unicity sport summit in March 2004. The process of consolidating decisions culminated with two sport plenary sessions in February and March 2005 where two representatives of each community sport organization attended a metropolitan sport summit (City of Cape Town Presentation to Launch Meeting: June 2005). The purpose of these summits was to consolidate all the issues raised at the community meetings, to develop a shorter list of key themes, and to generate the framework for the new sport policy and governance processes.

At the final sports summit in March 2005, attended by approximately 300 community based sport delegates, six themes were highlighted as deficiencies in sport in Cape Town requiring intervention (City of Cape Town Minutes of Institutional Framework Meeting: March 2005; City of Cape Town Sports Policy Framework 2005)[90]. The six areas requiring intervention were first, the continuing inequitable provision of facilities between advantaged, predominantly white suburbs and disadvantaged, predominantly black communities. Material differences remained the top priority, but the solution was found in the second strategy, creating effective channels of communication among sport institutions and between sport institutions and government. Poor and inconsistent communication created a barrier to improving sport for all communities. The third problem was the lack of transparency in decision-making in sport institutions and in government processes. Although Cape Town's sport delegates focused on local issues, they emphasized, as the fourth deficiency, the need for the Municipality to develop a major events sports strategy in conjunction with community sport organizations. Community sport leaders argued that hosting major events was an important part of sport in Cape Town and therefore the focus needed to be on who determined preferences for major

[90] Communities and government officials that contributed to this process agreed that these were the issues requiring intervention. It is significant that the issues rose in the issue identification and subsequently in the issue problematization phase.

events (Rass 2009: Personal Interaction). The fifth problem area was to develop strategies where sport could be used as a platform to ameliorate social challenges such as crime and high school dropout rates. The sixth problematic highlighted the need to develop effective partnerships with other sport agencies, tiers of government and the private sector, to promote sport in Cape Town. An important aspect of the discourse at that time was the focus on process as opposed to outcomes, such as number of facilities, size of budgets and priorities. Establishing a culture for decision-making became a critical aspect of the Institutional Framework. For example, a community sports leader argued that the fundamental challenges to sport were simple. They were for ordinary people to have access to facilities "that were appropriate for their (scale) and to be provided with basic equipment, nothing big" (Adams 2009: Personal Interaction). The need for and focus on grand policies, systems and institutions was misplaced.

Adams also claimed that sport couldn't be transformed if disadvantaged communities in Cape Town do not receive adequate facilities[91], but alongside, considering who makes decisions and the way these decisions are made are equally as important. Providing physical sport infrastructure may be a simple technical solution to sport problems but focusing purely at this level hides deeper underlying problems. The real challenge lay in the process through which government deliver these facilities and programs. Instead of the traditional state driven top down process, "a collective approach to redistribution of resources" (Adams 2009: Personal Interaction) should be sought. To enable a sustainable transformation process, "our sport institutions should be of a nature where it is an interactive approach, and a 'give and take'", he suggested. The "one should reinforce the other" (Adams 2009: Personal Communication). Breaking dichotomies and divisions thus emerged as a key aspect to

[91] He highlights in the interview that a myth still persists that "South African blacks cannot swim" but if imbalances in facilities and coaching are not addressed then participation and performances will remain the same as that under apartheid (Adams 2009: Personal Interaction).

transformation and creating an effective decision making framework and administrative system.

A government official (Prince 2009: Personal Interaction) reinforces the view that disparities in facilities and resources may be the most visible problematic, but that the key challenge for sport transformation is to create a governance culture that can generate new practices and capacities in government and sport institutions to deal with multiple problems that confront sport and communities. He points out that the top-down imposition of an administrative system would not necessarily improve "responsibility and accountability of each stakeholder for their actions" (Prince 2009: Personal Interaction). Instead, the culture that surrounds the institutions and systems were more likely to create dynamic processes leading to sport transformation.

Solutions identified to the six areas of deficiency varied little from those identified at the national scale, or in the various phases of local government transformation. Solutions and strategies enabling the new governance culture were rendered visible through a pyramidal hierarchical set of institutions, shaped by particular scaled roles and responsibilities. This pyramid shaped institutional framework hierarchy created levels of authority through two key practices or features.

The key feature of the pyramidal Institutional Framework, shown in Figure 8, is the highly structured, geographically based and hierarchical regulation of organizational structures, roles and responsibilities. The Institutional Framework provided the regulatory structure generating an ordered relationship and channels of authority from the local sports club at the bottom of the hierarchy to politicians, government officials and professional sport organizations at the grass tops. Whilst vertical channels were created for organizations at the bottom to influence decisions at the top of the hierarchy, it also shaped conduct by agents in the system to act within the frame of mutually acceptable authority.

Incorporating the variety of ways in which politics and culture impacts on sport decisions at various levels of the hierarchy was a second key feature of the institutional framework. Political and government influences were built into the framework, acknowledging that they had a role to play in transformation and were likely to try to influence decisions (Rose 2009: Personal Communication). Decision makers acknowledged these influences on sport institutions at community, local / area, district and City level but their scale of their was circumscribed by defined roles within the new sport system. Defining the location, role and responsibilities of politicians and government officials at each level of the hierarchy was a key mechanism to limit their power and influence.

The micro-design institutional structure of the new sport system (Figure 9) accepts that a hierarchy of power exists linking community sport and civic organizations, with local, district and city sport councils, and with provincial and national sport institutions. Interweaving interlocking practices of accountability by politicians, government sport managers and action by community leaders produced commitment by various agents to processes of dialogue and strategic action. Collaboration, dialogue produced the framework for transforming sport governance.

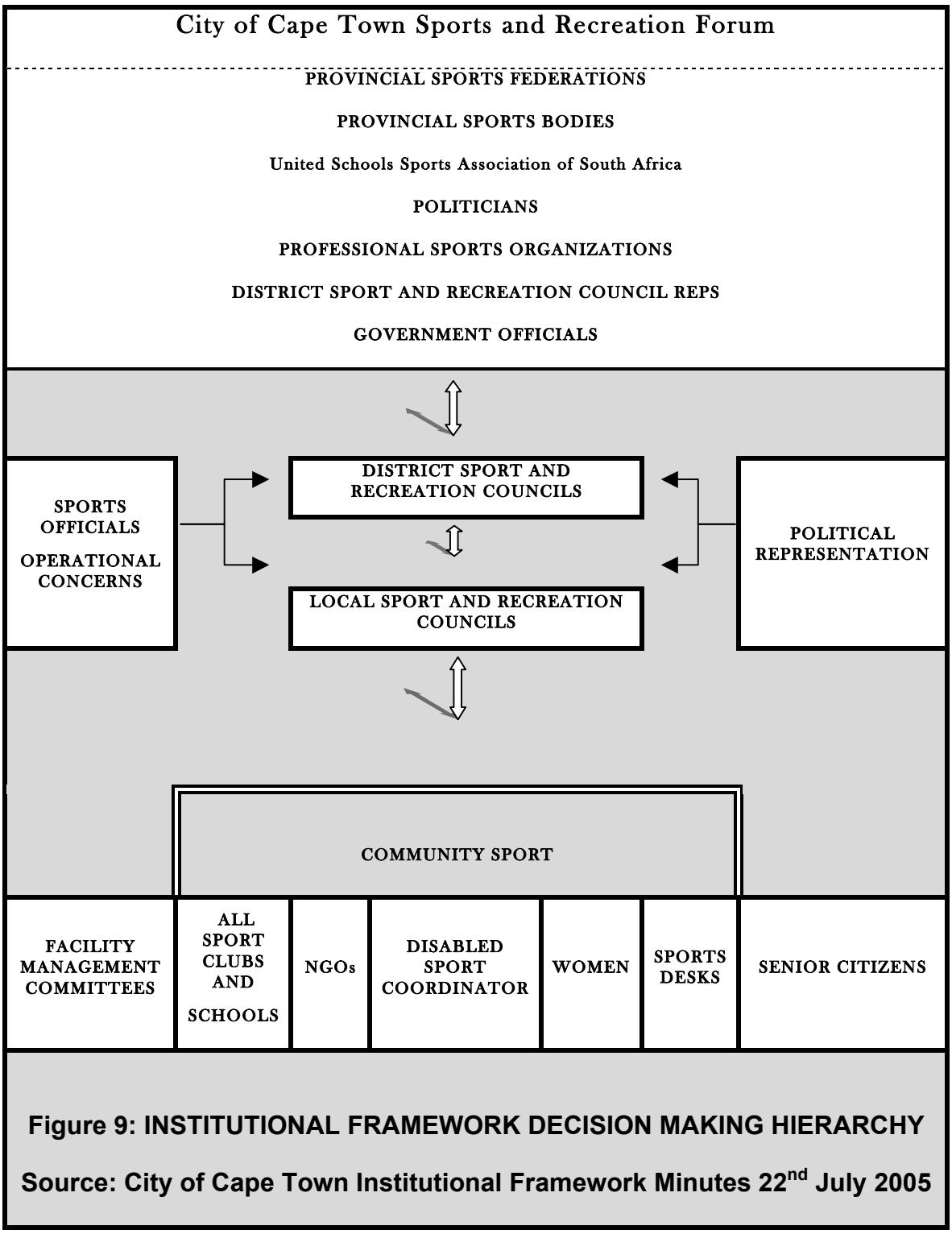


Figure 9: INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK DECISION MAKING HIERARCHY

Source: City of Cape Town Institutional Framework Minutes 22nd July 2005

At the base of the Institutional Framework were sport clubs, schools, local and international non-governmental organizations[92], and sport for the disabled, women and the aged. In addition, space was created for the sports desks of the various political parties that used sport to mobilize and fund community sport clubs. In sum, the Institutional Framework attempted to create a uniform network between the multiple stakeholders and create a platform for collective decision-making in a transparent and innovative way.

The main challenge to the Institutional Framework were not organizations that supported the system, "but those organizations who stayed outside" (Bam 2009: Personal Communication) obstructing the activities of communities. The municipality identified sports facilities that were under its control as an important tool to leverage interaction between otherwise disparate institutions. The solution identified by the Municipality and civic sport leaders was to create a Facility Management Committee (FMC) at each Municipal sport facilities. Community sport representatives and municipal officials agreed at the March 2005 Sport Summit that a formally established FMC would be granted the authority to assume responsibility for managing that particular sport facility "to the benefit of all users within the City of Cape Town Integrated Development Plan" (FMC Constitution 2005[93]). To ensure equity, each FMC consist of one member from each organization that plays sport at that facility. Being a member of the FMC created the advantage of being part of policy decisions, budget formulation, financial allocation and decisions over use and future developments of sport at that facility. Facilitating access to scarce sports facilities created the

[92] Numerous international NGOs (such as DIFID, British Council, SIDA) and various independent organizations such as the United States based basketball organization called Hoops for Hope, and local organizations such as Kicking for Peace present regular sport programs in local communities.

[93] Constitutions for each level were accepted on 14th May 2005 at a Citywide Sport Summit. This provided the authority for the creation of Facility Management Committees, Local Sport and Recreation Councils, District Sport and Recreation Councils, and the City Sport and Recreation Forum (Citywide Sport Plenary: Workshop Minutes 14th May 2005).

opportunity for the state to promote coherence in sport strategy and transformation.

The FMC became the central focus of institutionalized authority at the community level. Shaping a new agenda for sport transformation starts in strategic decisions made in community sport and at the FMC level. A number of FMCs, combined with interest based organizations such as women, disabled and political parties form the Local Sport and Recreation Council, which is one level up in the hierarchy and represent the collective interests of all communities. Figure 10 shows the relationship between the Local Sport Councils and the higher levels of the Institutional Framework in District 1.

Local Sport and Recreation Councils

The Local Sport and Recreation Councils (LSC) comprise one representative from each FMC within that local community (see figure 10). Each FMC has equal say in decisions at the LSC level and is responsible for promoting inter-community collaboration and hosting training and empowerment education programs for local sport activists. The LSC thus creates a new space for local institutions to influence decisions on matters that affected the area.

The LSC is empowered through shaping the behavior and actions of local government officials. Government officials are required to "report on, provide advice and support (to the LSC) where required" (Cape Town Sport Policy 2005; Bam 2009: Personal Communication). Attendance by local government officials at LSC meetings are mandatory, and failure by government officials to act in accordance with the LSC constitution means that inaction is reported to the next level in the hierarchy. In the event of shortcomings by a government official, and if an official were "found to be derelict in their duty", they would be sanctioned in terms of the government procedures for misconduct (Bam 2009: Personal Interaction; Prince 2009: Personal Interaction). In addition, the LSC Constitution (2005:2) guaranteed local politicians and the elected Local Councilor a seat, so that they could "report back to the Ward Council meetings" on sport issues.

Structuring the LSC level in this way acknowledges that technical decisions intersect with community and political processes, shaping particular opportunities and constraints. By linking decision making by local communities with action or inaction by its local officials, the Sports Department consolidated its objective for government and politics to enhance the capacity for local action. The Institutional Framework links actions of the LSC to the next level the District Sport and Recreation Council (DSC) through the vertical hierarchy. The creation of six DSCs in the city in 2005 consolidated the hierarchical governance structure by simultaneously regulating the operations of the LSC and empowering their actions.

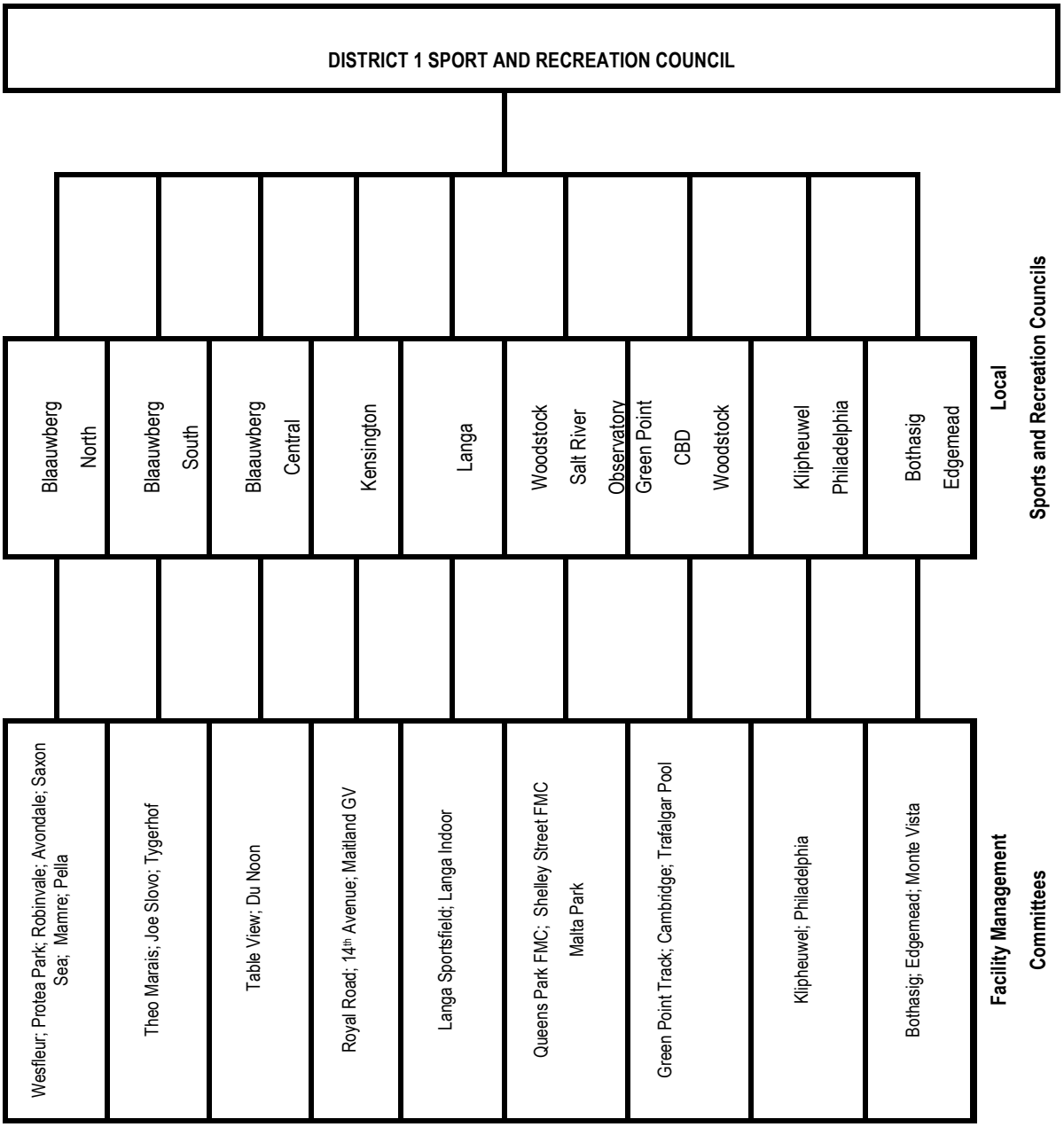


FIGURE 10: DISTRICT 1 SPORT AND RECREATION COUNCIL

District Sport and Recreation Council

The six District Sport and Recreation Councils (DSC) established in 2005 continued the new modality of governance by supplementing greater authority and responsibility for community sport institutions with government and political institutions. Each DSC consisted of two representatives from each LSC, one municipal District Manager and a nominated representative of local municipal Councilors. The powers and functions of the DSC specified its role at the district level and defined its relationship with the LSC and the citywide Sport and Recreation Forum. The role of the DSC was to act as an advisor to the Forum and play a regulatory function to the local level.

The DSC assumes authority and responsibility to devise "a development plan for the district within the context of the IDP" (DSC Constitution 2005:1) and to advise the Forum on the implementation of sport projects at the local level. Linking sport decisions to wider decision making functions and processes in the IDP represented a key shift in sport governance.

Municipal officials (Prince 2009: Personal Communication) and DSC leaders (Rass 2009: Personal Communication) pointed out that the biggest challenge to the success or failure of the Institutional Framework was a lack of financial literacy, and lack of compliance with government regulations, by sport organizations. Thus community sport leaders and government officials jointly hosted a financial management-training workshop, requiring all non-compliant organizations to attend. This training specifically aimed to provide the necessary skills for these communities to engage with government processes while retaining their financial allocations. Future budget allocations to sport institutions depended on the successful completion of the state-run financial education program.

City Sport and Recreation Forum

The Sport and Recreation Forum is the highest decision-making body for civil society, and consists of two representatives from each DSC and the

nominated and highest decision making official of the Municipality. The representatives of the DSC are the primary decision makers at this level but professional sports organizations, provincial sport institutions and national sport institutions also contribute to collective decision making on sport in Cape Town. The interaction of multiple stakeholders at this level creates opportunities to enhance the capacity for strategic action at a citywide level in sport. The Forum is the key institutional level empowered to modify processes, create new courses of action, and reverse the iniquities of apartheid and post-apartheid inequalities. The Forum's first objective is "to encourage and promote the provision of equitable Sport and Recreation facilities to all inhabitants of the City irrespective of colour, race, creed, religion or sex on an equitable non-political and democratic basis" (Sports Forum Constitution 2005:1). It is a key avenue in creating sustainable and fundamental sport transformation processes. The Institutional Framework sets out to link professional and amateur sport; community and government; and national, provincial and local levels of the state in the City Sport and Recreation Forum. This level, according to Bam (2009: Personal Communication) and Rose (2009: Personal Communication) creates an institutional space for sport institutions, local and provincial tiers of government, professional sports bodies, schools and politicians to develop symbiotic relationships and collectively develop strategies to overcome transformation challenges.

In summation, the Sport Institutional Framework has three distinct features: First, it is a grassroots approach to sport; second, collective decision-making is consolidated at each of the levels of the institutional hierarchy; and third, the role and influence of multiple stakeholders and networks of stakeholders was acknowledged and incorporated into the sport system. Advances made in sport governance cultures, however, continue to be constrained by government rationality, through systems such as IDP that remains the overarching system framing sport governance processes.

The Institutional Framework therefore faces a dilemma. On the one hand, it asserts that generative power is inherent in collective community and state participatory processes, promoting sustainable sport transformation. At the same time, the centrality of local government sets limits for full community empowerment. These are key challenges to a new modality for sport governance, considered in the next section.

Sport Institutional Framework as a New Modality of Government

Intervention by the local Department of Sport transformed sport governing processes and culture. The new methodology signified a shift from traditional top-down hierarchical approaches in governing models for sport in Cape Town, to a more dynamic and processual system. I examine below, first, the ways in which communities were able to contribute to sport transformation as a result of the Institutional Framework, and second, I reflect on the nature of power surrounding sport decisions.

Benefits of a Community-Centered Approach

The Institutional Framework was not simply creating new bureaucratic practices but was an important site shifting the focus from a state centric approach to an approach that allowed new practices and new capacities to emerge from communities themselves. The primary demand by civil society sport leaders was to develop a sport system through which joint decisions between government and local sport institutions could occur in a systematic and ongoing manner (Adams 2009: Personal Communication; Rass 2009: Personal Interaction). Similarly government officials (Prince 2009: Personal Communication and Bam 2009: Personal Communication) pointed out that effective communication between government and grassroots sport organizations was critical in creating a new sport system. For state and civil society agents, accountability, legitimacy of the policy process, design and implementation were key ingredients to developing new governance cultures, breaking down pre-existing networks and unequal positionalities and creating

more dynamic constructions of transformation. Technical processes, such as greater equity in financial grants to local sport institutions, improved as a result.

Until 2007, the Municipality provided financial Grants-In-Aid to sports organizations based on an application process. Communities criticized the funding process due to its ad hoc application that depended on the submission of good projects by networked local organizations and individuals. Organizations having access to decision-makers were inevitably favored when financial allocations were made (Rass 2009: Personal Communication). Through the Institutional Framework the Municipality and the various sports councils developed a "strategic funding partnership" aimed to make decisions more transparent and equitable. Rass (2009: Personal Communication) points out, "This was a very good and positive start". The governance partnership allowed the Sports Forum and local sports organizations to monitor projects themselves to assess whether funds were used for the purposes intended[94]. It also allowed communities to determine strategies and priorities. For example the key priorities decided for the 2007 budget period emphasized recreation programs for youth 7 to 19 years, programs focused on women, disabled and financially disadvantaged groups, and on "life skills promotion and development" (Funding Partnership Agreement 2007:4). These priorities, identified by communities themselves, were important vehicles enabling community sports councils to empower their membership to become partners in developing sport strategy at community level.

The impact of communities determining their own priorities within the broad objectives of sport transformation was an important milestone for community sport leaders (Adams 2009: Personal Communication). For example some communities decided to promote a "Learn to Swim Program" in poorer working class communities, due to the low levels of water safety skills among working class youth (Report to City of Cape Town Sport Portfolio Committee

[94] Anecdotal evidence points to the misuse of funds by some sport organizations in the Grant-In-Aid process.

May 2008)[95]. Sport leaders in District 4[96] utilized their funds to teach water skills and to promote swimming and water safety to 16,680 school children in 2007. As a result two new swimming clubs were established in this District[97]. The District Council and the Sports Department[98] jointly reported to the City Portfolio committee on Sport that the Learn to Swim program was the first intervention where civil society identified appropriate needs, determined the strategy to fill those needs and assisted government to extend its service delivery capacity. The Chairperson of the District Council argued that the key was that the community "determined a clear strategy" and was able to ensure that the program was completed on a predetermined schedule. He points out that previous programs managed by government often stalled midway through the schedule of events, due to lack of commitment or strategic shifts, and without communities reaping the full value of the program (Rass 2009: Personal Communication)[99]. The Institutional Framework created institutional spaces, at community, local, district and city levels, and pathways for negotiation between local government and community sports organizations to go beyond ceremonial participatory processes and engage in meaningful and practical ways to sport transformation practices.

Considering advantages in the new approach however needs to be balanced with critical assessment of potential limitations. Rass, Bam and Rose argue that government processes and regulations constrain potential innovative community actions. I highlight four concerns. First, despite positive changes to

---

[95] Report 5/11/1/1-2007/08 to the Portfolio Committee on Sport May 2008).
[96] Athlone, Nyanga, Gugulethu, Manenberg, Bonteheuwel and Phillipi
[97] Swimming has historically been seen as a "white" dominated sport. Numerous drowning occur annually in working class communities. The significance of this program goes well beyond merely water safety.
[98] Report 5/11/1/1-2007/08 to the Portfolio Committee on Sport May 2008: 4
[99] His sentiments are supported by the success of the Learn to Swim Program in Atlantis, another working class suburb in District 1, where 35 junior swimmers completed the learn to swim program and three successfully completed the "nipper lifesaving exam" (District 1 Quarterly Report March 2009). One of the youth from Atlantis has become a junior lifeguard on the beaches in Cape Town. The success of the program is attributable to the growth of funding from the Municipality and strategic selection of a sport project by community sport leaders. Sports Councils partnership funding increased significantly between 2006 and 2008.

the state centric approach, practices of government continued to limit prospects for engaging fully with communities in transformation. The state ensured its primacy in the partnership was ensured through both the determination of objectives and requiring communities to report on a quarterly basis.

Second, sport councils became the primary monitors of sport projects in communities. The role of government was transferred to communities (Pascoe 2009: Personal Communication). Enabling self-regulation, community leaders were trained in areas such as financial management, government procedures, strategic planning and conflict resolution skills. Successfully exercising these governance devices were important components of authoritative power, increasingly accepted by the FMCs, LSCs, DSC's and the Sport Forum[100]. By accepting this role however, communities limited their ability to contest the framework, working within its technical boundaries. A senior politician argued, greater scrutiny over state resources was required, but who is responsible for monitoring and administering surveillance? (Pascoe 2009: Personal Communication). Governmentalizing community organizations may have the untended consequence to "silence and weaken civil society" (Pascoe 2009: Personal Communication) due to their increasingly technical role.

Third, government managers continue to exercise power over resources granted to civil society, utilizing regulations, procedures and the partnership agreement as the framework. Nested forms of accountability at each scale are circumscribed by increasingly higher functions of regulation in the governance framework. Although the Sports Department and the Sports Forum operate in

[100] In a report to the Portfolio Committee in January 2008, the Sports Forum and the Sports Department jointly reported on embezzlement of sport funds by a sport leader. After the investigation had been concluded, the Cape Town Sport Portfolio Committee and the Sports Department admitted that they did not have the capacity with the previous Grant-in-Aid process to "monitor hundreds of organizations over the years" (Report 5/11/1/1-2006/07 January 2008) and the success in identifying the fraud lay in the surveillance capabilities of the Sports Forum. Punitive measures were implemented further regulating technical behaviour such as financial management.

the same governing space, the space itself has been institutionalized through specific state procedures and practices determined by government legislation.

Finally, a sports leader simultaneously called into question the distinction between state and civil society and the conundrum of state –civil society partnerships in giving effect to sport transformation. Reflecting on the Institutional Framework, the community sports leader indicated that sport practices showed that it is no longer relevant to ask whether government and civil society should work together in transformation. The challenge for sustainable sport transformation is to find pragmatic ways in which partners collaborate to affect change in a number of arenas such as the economy, politics and administrative systems (Rass 2009: Personal Communication). Sport governance is however one aspect of civil society – government relationships. Other areas of community – government contestation such as housing and crime, may obstruct the innovative interaction established by sport institutions in the Institutional Framework.

The Institutional Framework has contributed to communities and government developing more pragmatic ways to overcome the recognition – redistribution dilemma in Cape Town. Evidence suggests that an effective system of government depends on establishing effective and iterative governance cultures between various geographical levels as well as between various institutions at the same level. Furthermore, the full impact of the Institutional Framework may only be realized if supporting arenas for community empowerment beyond sport were established. The success of sport transformation depends on effectively linking economic, political and community transformation.

Conclusions

Since local government was democratized in 1994, governance processes and cultures have been complicated by constant change in politics, society and economy. Opportunities for change to sport in Cape Town were constrained by its history, the multifaceted and multi-scaled nature of the sport

transformation challenge, and various ways in which the state and communities exercised power in opposition to each other. Prior to restructuring sport institutions in 2000, complex interdependencies between class, race, culture and geographical location complicated the development of a single sport transformation discourse. National demands for local transformation were met by inaction, due to convoluted or lack of interlinked sport governance systems.

Meeting and working through these complex challenges depended on strategic choices made by individual actors, agents and groups pursuing a common principle, social change. Acting within various government administrative structures and systems, different government and community agents made strategic choices, providing new avenues for consensus building and modified state and civil society interaction. Binaries such as state / civil society; politics / economy; race and class; and competing geographical locations were interwoven through a collaborative dynamic, expressed in an institutional framework that guided relationships between overlapping hegemonic institutions at various scales in the city.

The complex narrative of sport transformation in Cape Town highlights the interplay of politics, culture and agency in transformation processes. Focusing the sport transformation discourse purely on the institutional architecture, medals and elite events ignores more important discourses at local levels that continue to shape community participation and government sport processes and sport transformation. Sport transformation at local level indicates that transformation may never reach closure, as new dilemmas and contradictions emerge from each strategy. The Cape Town case suggests that developing collaborative connections between a plurality of sport and community institutions could contribute to more fundamental institutional and structural transformation. Developing reflexive forms of participation through collaborative community and government action could contribute to making sense of complex transformation dilemmas, such as the recognition / redistribution conundrum, and develop pathways to facilitate greater legitimacy for sport transformation.

CHAPTER 6

WINNING DOES NOT START ON THE FIELD - IT STARTS LONG BEFORE[101]: SYNTHESIS, IMPLICATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Contesting approaches to sport transformation pervaded sport discourse in South Africa from apartheid to the present. The apartheid state was confronted by anti-apartheid sport organizations demanding transformation of sport, politics and economy. The overthrow of the apartheid regime, the inception of democracy and post-apartheid transformation of the social, political, economic and administrative systems liberated sport from apartheid restrictions. Yet in 2005 Rev. Stofile the Sports Minister, lamented that contestation over sport transformation remains the most vexing and divisive issue in South African sport.

Sport is one arena in post-apartheid South Africa that highlights the interplay, tensions, contestations and compromises between structural conditions (at local, provincial, national and international scales) and agency (by individuals and communities) that seek to address legacies of apartheid and shape transformation agendas and identity. Sport is also a lens through which power, its location and its effect on social transformation can be examined. I highlighted the complex interdependencies, contradictions and strategic dilemmas faced by sport institutions, individuals, and indeed government seeking to transform sport and post-apartheid South African identity. This complex story shows that there is no simple governance solution to transformation. Power and identity intersect in complex ways, in multiple sites and across a range of scales, complicating the development of a simple straightforward strategy for transformation.

[101] The idea was taken from a book by Antje Krog (2003: 13-18) relating an interview at an athletic sport event in rural South Africa, while covering the Truth and Reconciliation on atrocities in apartheid South Africa.

This chapter has two purposes. First, I synthesize the major findings of the analysis, reflect on the usefulness of the Regulation Approach (RA) and suggest ways of expanding the Regulation Approach. The second section explores potential avenues for addressing and overcoming transformation dilemmas in South Africa.

Synthesis: Challenges and Prospects for Fundamental Change in Sport and Political Practice

Sport is part of a complex set of dynamics that shape our social, cultural and political environment. Sport can therefore not be viewed as spontaneous, but as part of a more complex ***sport–politics-society*** matrix***.*** I argue that sport contestation, concessions and policy changes between 1994 and 2005 positioned sport transformation in a complex set of shifting binaries built around compelling and competing notions such as elite versus community sport, state versus civil society, black versus white, and advantaged versus disadvantaged. I also argue that these dichotomies are distractions, limiting the possibility to develop a more expansive and holistic analysis of transformation dilemmas and strategies required to overcome them. Culture and sport is political, and politics and sport is also cultural.

In order to control transformation, post-apartheid sport leaders and institutions, through the development of sport policies, institutions and administrative systems focused on institutionalizing sport transformation processes, direct outcomes, and establish intricate bureaucratic practices. Strategies meeting the transformation dilemmas were sought in technical strategies, aiming to engineer social transformation through sport quota systems, national sport institutional restructuring and elite driven sport agendas. I have argued instead that the number of medals won, or economic impact of hosting global sport events cannot measure sport transformation. Fundamental sport transformation instead combines these elite sport episodes with transformed governance process and governance culture and is situated within a set of dynamic economic, social, political and cultural constructs. These

constructs, in combination create a complex, unstable and interwoven praxis. Sport transformation cannot, therefore be analyzed without locating it within overlapping and co-constituting fields of social change and considering the role of government.

A theory of social and sport transformation in South Africa does not exist and needs developing. Current strategies focus on streamlining complex transformation challenges into a single mechanistic national bureaucratic agenda. I argue that understanding and thinking through sport transformation dilemmas require reinsertion of collaborative praxis and dynamism into integrated conceptualizations of politics, the state and governance in post-apartheid South Africa. My arguments have implications for theory and practice.

In Chapter Two I posed the research question whether the Regulation Approach (RA) is a useful theoretical approach to understanding contestations in sport transformation and how the RA might be strengthened? The thesis draws from and contributes to the RA by highlighting the integrated nature of political and economic change, its interface with culture, the convoluted nature of social change and transformation. Building on Jessop (2002) and Jessop and Sum (2006), and their incorporation of Gramsci and Foucault, I highlighted the nuanced ways in which social relations, systems, structures, and state action collectively evolve in complex ways. Evidence supports Jessop and Sum, showing that transformation is broader than suggested by the single, rational economic choice models. Using Foucault, the logic of governance is not merely found among the interests of the ruling economic class, but operates at the individual and social levels. Transformation depends on the complex interplay of systems and structures that straddle economy, politics, society and cultural practices and are influenced by choices made by numerous individuals and collective agents situated in various institutions. Conceptually and methodologically these elements (economy, politics, society and culture) are not discrete but relational and dependent on context and historical conjunctures. Peet's (2003:473) argument also assists to highlight that many situated

rationales, rules and institutional conventions, impact on transformation. Examining transformation integrally allows a more nuanced appreciation of complex social, economic and political processes.

Conceptual and theoretical debates are always context specific. Chapter 3 places the challenges and paradoxes that led up to and confronted post-apartheid sport in 1994 in its historical, shifting ideological, and spatial contexts. Social change emerges from actions by individuals and social groups each placing pressure on strategic decision-making processes at various tiers of government and other sport institutions, seeking to influence transformation at specific moments. Notions of spontaneity in sport and transformation may be attractive but are unhelpful. The interplay of race, economic contradictions and strategic dilemmas inherent to policy choices in South Africa, highlight Nancy Fraser's (2000; 1998 and 1995) argument that an inherently unstable political economy creates difficulties for strategies and policies aimed at overcoming the redistribution – recognition conundrum. Frasers's diagnosis of injustice under capitalist social formations suggests that overcoming the transformation dilemma requires finessing the conundrum through strategic and political choice. For Fraser, choosing either the redistribution or recognition pathways to transformation are not productive avenues for social change. Employing multiple strategies is likely to lead to social transformation.

Jessop and Sum's (2006) incorporation of Foucault and Gramsci helps redirect analysis of transformation away from grand theories to consider conjunctures in transformation processes. The apartheid state, aiming to assert its oppressive network of power structures through sport policy was immersed in a series of contradictions and tensions at local, national and international levels. Change to apartheid sport policy thus resulted from state strategies seeking to manage contradictions in politics and economy and responded to earlier rounds of contradictions and failures in sport policy. New policies, strategies and reinventions of coercive mechanisms, government structures, and legislation sought to manage an inherently unstable praxis, constantly requiring new

rounds of strategies. These crisis tendencies and compromises support arguments made by Jessop and Sum (2006:378) that contradictions in capitalist social formations are inevitable and institutionalized compromises in turn produce new sets of divisions and exclusions, stimulating new rounds of contradictions.

Exercising and resisting power was central to transformation of sport under apartheid. Change was not only found among the interests of dominant classes or social groups, but was diffused across multiple sites and arenas of contestation. Moving beyond simplistic state and civil society dichotomies, I have highlighted shifts in power dynamics beyond considerations of class and state to consider the role of institutions at various scales, competing, and hence impacting on transformation. I highlighted the role of SACOS as the key anti-apartheid sport institution and vehicle for political change, operating at local national, regional and international levels. Change in global and South African politics and the re-emergence of the African National Congress as a political party led to the creation of the National Sports Congress (NSC) in 1988. The emergence of the ANC as the key hegemonic political institution in post-apartheid South Africa, shifted demands for politics of redistribution, argued by SACOS to a focus on politics of identity and nation-building. This shift in the sport agenda emerged from particular political conjunctures and praxis, shaping post-apartheid sport strategy and institutions.

Rapid shifts in politics, economy and society between 1990 and 1994, shaped new post-apartheid priorities and led to a series of institutional restructuring of sports at national and local levels. Chapter 4 examines post-apartheid sport contests and transformation in state policies, sport institutions and strategies between 1994 and 2005. During this period, international impulses shaped the values, nature and character of South African sport policies, institutions and governance. Despite continued rhetorical commitment to community-driven sport development and transformation ("Getting the Nation to Play"), state interventions in sport were dominated by global elite impulses.

The weight of global and national demands emphasized growth imperatives, such as numbers of medals and trophies won, growth in sport sponsorship and hosting elite global sport events. Macro-spatial rules (Brenner, Peck and Theodore 2010:22) asserted by international sports organizations such as the International Olympic Committee and Fifa set the parameters and pace for post-apartheid South Africa's introduction into international sport and continue to shape the sport agenda. Agendas of higher scaled institutions set the parameters for sport transformation in South Africa, suggesting the constant presence of hierarchical power relations among and within institutions.

Institutions are important for transformation. I argued that opportunities, constraints and prospects for transformation depend on institutions that exist, where they are located and the ways in which they function and relate to each other. Successful implementation of the national sport transformation agenda depended on the effective functioning of institutions at lower levels in the hierarchy. Different national and local level political and administrative conjunctures meant that scalar integration in the sport strategy was absent. Instead local and provincial levels resisted national strategy. Closer examination of the nature and functioning of institutions and agency at multiple scales allows important observations of the real effect of institutions, their strategies and programs of transformation.

To further develop the analysis of local-level practices and politics, and their interconnection with the rapid policy and political shifts at national scale, in chapter 5 the thesis turns to the Cape Town context. I pay particular attention to the diffuse and complex ways in which tensions and adjustments at national level intersect with local sport, its structures, institutions and culture. The state centered national agenda, designed around a neat vertical hierarchy of institutions and decision-making systems, confronted local challenges such as multiple and fragmented local sport systems, deep cultural, economic and racial divisions between communities and ongoing suspicion between civil society sport institutions and local government. In combination, the national elite

discourse and the practicalities of local, multiple layered lived sport experiences in Cape Town complicated strategies that attempted to transform national and local sport. Notions of a “post-apartheid Rainbow nation” could not overcome the realities of discordant and conflictual politics, bound up in the instability of national shifts in policy, the realities of inequality and the rapid, frequent destabilizing political changes in Cape Town between 1996 and 2005.

Creating and implementing strategies that grappled with localized complexities, unequal access to resources, political networks and varying degrees of access to power required more than a rainbow national or spontaneous ideology. Any attempt to transform sport was, of course, embedded in the broader and deeper legacies of inequality and difference. In response to these challenges local government and community sport leadership engaged in a deliberative approach to the problems in sport transformation, acknowledging that the national level transformation dilemmas suggested that developing a grand plan for sport transformation was not realistic. Instead, local sport institutions, government officials and politicians developed a sport governance system, based on pragmatism, grassroots mobilization and an interlocking system for democratic decision-making among a plurality of sport institutions. This pragmatic local approach aimed to reverse state centered systems that made civil society sports organizations (the key actors at the local scale) and citizens (whom participated in sports) disempowered recipients of government handouts.

The local level analysis suggests persuasively that a more systematic framework for government and citizen interaction at the local level proves to be a productive avenue for sport transformation. For instance, sports activists, the leaders of the civil society organizations argued that it is no longer relevant to ask whether government and civil society should work together in finessing fundamental sport transformation, but the key to change is to identify pragmatic ways in which various institutions collaborate to effect institutional transformation in sport. Sport transformation is therefore not simply aimed to reverse

hierarchies and dichotomies[102] but developing collaborative praxis. Central to more dynamic sport praxis were actions such as empowerment of community institutions, skills development of community sport agents, and balancing power between government officials and sport leaders. Establishing collaborative and dialogic practices in sport policymaking and agenda setting emerge as key platforms of local innovation and sport interventions.

According to sport organizations and government officials in Cape Town meeting the needs for fundamental sport transformation does not therefore depend exclusively on greater resources, budgets, more policies or technical solutions as suggested at national level. Rather change builds on collaborative processes between mutually emergent structures and institutions that co-evolve in transforming processes and jointly develop approaches to restructure resources distribution and transformation strategies. These institutions may be in or outside government, at local, provincial or national levels and may operate in or outside the sport domain. The evidence suggests that blending a more heterogeneous set of sport institutions, operating at a variety of levels, and located both in and outside government could contribute to fundamental and sustainable institutional and structural transformation in sport.

Implications for Broader Debates

Sustainable sport transformation is not a single national project but a multi-scaled set of projects, consisting of a heterogeneous combination of strategies, enacted by multiple actors and situated in a variety of institutions operating at various scales. The evidence I presented has implications for the Regulation Approach, in particular its analysis of transformation and the state; the roles of institutions, state and agency; and the impact of culture and racial forms of injustice shape the sport transformation agenda. The state, attempting to manage the contradictions, tensions and exclusions, created new institutions, bureaucratic practices and administrative systems. The cultural political

[102] For a similar argument in critical feminist praxis see Swarr and Nagar (2010: 8-9)

economy approach correctly argue that state-centric and interest oriented approaches need to be de-emphasized (Jessop and Sum 2006: 261). I argue however, that analysis must further reconsider the place and composition of the state at various levels within the cultural political economy. The multi-scalar nature of transformation processes and the associated politics of scale in Jessop and Sum's (2006) account of transformation is therefore underdeveloped, requiring further analysis. Understanding differences, commonalities and interactions between various levels of the state is important. Reconstituting the state in its variegated form (Brenner, Peck and Theodore 2010) therefore suggests that we pay more attention to the multi-scalar nature of projects and the mediation of scalar contestations by a politics of praxis.

The politics of sport praxis requires a reflexive process linking practice, analysis and critique. The challenges displayed in transformation dilemmas in post-apartheid South Africa, suggests that there is not a single pathway to transformation. The Cape Town case also suggests that a methodology based in experimentation and creativity contributes to the development of more legitimate alternatives. The politics of sport praxis requires that diagnosis of problems and solutions to these problems require constant analysis for shortcomings, tensions, contestations and new prognoses and strategies.

Second, the cultural political economy approach needs to pay closer attention to individuals making up institutions and shaping strategic decisions. Specific conjunctures will push individuals on their own or in concert with others to sometimes respond to changing circumstances, and at other times strategize to actively resist and change the environment within which they operate. It is therefore necessary to link broader political contests, economic change and more detailed analyses of capacities of actors to act strategically within institutions to advance institutional and structural transformation. Different strategies will require particular sets of skills to influence a transformation agenda. Depending on the strategy selected and competing interests, individuals or a group of individuals may or may not have the skills to interpret

contests, develop strategies and shape their (or their institution's) nuanced actions. Depending on the availability of skills within an institution, individuals or groups may be able to take advantage of, or resist strategies or actions by competing institutions, or indeed miss the opportunity to influence transformation. Analyzing conjunctures based in a politics of praxis therefore contributes to deeper understanding of local variations in transformation logics. Individuals and groups shape institutional positions and strategies and exercise agency to either advance, reshape or resist transformation. Together they affect social stasis or transformation. Paying more attention to institutions and agents in those institutions will strengthen the cultural political economy approach.

Third, ignoring the importance of culture, identity and race would be a crucial error in developing a politics of praxis. Difficulties faced in transforming South African sport supports Fraser's (2000:107) political and conceptual conundrum. Transformation strategies straddle the horns of the redistribution and recognition dilemma. Politics of recognition, through sport quotas and affirmative action dominated sport politics and transformation strategy since 1990. Yet transformation remains a central arena for contestation. For sport transformation there is no simple governance solution to the dilemmas of redistribution and recognition.

Fraser correctly suggests that overcoming transformation dilemmas will be challenging. Race and class overlap in South Africa, and being of a particular race is not coincidental to success or failure in international sport performance, but is fundamental. Recognizing this fact structured state response. State policies and strategies made race and identity politics fundamental to transforming society. This has also been an error, exacerbating Fraser's redistribution-recognition conundrum in post-apartheid sport transformation. The transformative approach to social change according to Fraser requires transcending group specificities, not reifying cultural and racial groups. Fraser argues that the task to develop practical strategies that seek to finesse the

redistribution – recognition dilemma should occur by situating transformation dilemmas within the larger conjunctural social, economic and political fields.

Structuring a politics of praxis through locally situated practices and new patterns of interaction between groups, institutions and processes can create a transformative culture. Developing multi-scaled transformation projects, mediated by a politics of praxis would contribute to reversing racial dichotomies, difference and dependence on state induced transformation.

Locating sport transformation within a broadened Regulation Approach provides a foundation to extricate the insular debates about transformation beyond the narrow political polemics and binaries, such as progressive versus reactionary; non-racist versus racist; black versus white and quota-correct selections. De-centering authoritative national rule regimes and power, will contribute to constructing new capacities and opportunities for fundamental change in post-apartheid South Africa. Conceptual methodology and strategies based in praxis could become a dynamic basis for intervention in the sport transformation dilemma. I suggest below the implications of my arguments for practice.

Implications for Praxis of Sports Politics

At the levels of policy and resources distribution, should South Africans care more about inequality in selection to sport teams, relative accessibility to elite sport resources, and the obvious racialized inequalities in society? I argue that each question matters in South Africa. I presented evidence that differences between growing up poor and black as opposed to rich and white in South Africa still affects success in sport. The redistribution - recognition dilemma is real and impacts on strategies for action. Transformation dilemmas call for varied political, social, cultural, and administrative practices, requiring three interventions: first, reviving a politics of praxis in determining solutions to the redistribution – recognition dilemma; second, building institutional and human

capacity at the local level; and third, developing a different modality for government, emphasizing its multi-scalar nature.

First, a politics of sport praxis requires balancing various competing interests that impact on sport transformation. The central dichotomy that I addressed in this thesis was the dilemma between elite and community sport. I argued that the dichotomy is a political and cultural construction and South African sport institutions ignore their mutual convolution to the detriment of sustained and fundamental sport transformation. Balancing these competing interests and the institutional politics that surround them requires a reflexive process linking practice, analysis and critique, in other words a politics of sport praxis.

The sport transformation challenges and dilemmas in post-apartheid South Africa, suggests that there is not a single pathway to transformation. Sport praxis instead requires constant diagnosis of problems and solutions, compelling institutions at a variety of levels to continuously analyze shortcomings, tensions, and contestations and collectively develop new prognoses and strategies. By extension of this argument, promoting and systematizing democratic participation at the various levels and between levels (at the national, provincial, city and community levels) are key strategies to ensure praxis in sustainable sport transformation. Establishing credible and systematic democratic decision-making processes will contribute to cultivating fertile ground to critically assess problems collectively and non-ideologically. A more holistic and pragmatic approach to transformation is required.

I suggest collaborative sport praxis, calling for the development of an integrated mode of coordination, linking sport institutions vertically and horizontally. On the one hand, an integrated mode of sport coordination requires linking national, provincial and local governments into a transformative praxis. At the same time, community sport organizations should similarly be conjoined into city, provincial and national sport institutions. Both community sport organizations and the various levels of government will contribute to processes

linking practice, analysis and critique of strategies seeking to overcome the recognition – redistribution dichotomy. I argue for a multi-scaled praxis of sport politics.

Second, transformation requires devoting resources to building institutional and human capacity at the local level. This should build institutions that unlock human capacity and enable agents to become active participants in sport praxis and transformation. This in turn will accelerate access to sport opportunities at local, provincial, national and international levels. Empowering local citizens in this way will assist self-reflexive processes, revitalize debates over the most appropriate methodologies for resource distribution and strategies. Empowered communities will assist in developing more dynamic transformation processes and move away from seeking artificial closure or a particular end result to complex dilemmas.

Third, a new modality of the state and government is required to mediate the cycles of action, reflection and action, essential to transformation praxis. Even though the state has been central to facilitating transformation, national state actions have resulted in complex, often mechanistic, institution-determined bureaucratic transformation. Such top-down strategies disempowered local institutions to take initiative, to promote solutions that straddle different viewpoints and to develop a transformative culture. Together, top-down strategies led to a cycle of dependence by communities on government-resourced programs. A new flexible strategy for sport transformation requires invalidating a culture of compliance that relies on quotas, regulations and laws for validation of transformation. Therefore, a different modality of government is required in which different levels of government act as enablers for collective involvement, ceding greater authority and responsibility to non-state entities. The collaborative approach to sport transformation does not simply seek to reverse current processes, but create new collaborative and dynamic processes, the essence of transformative sport praxis.

The new modality of government requires collaborative processes within and between government, sport institutions and communities, suggesting a new set of institutional arrangements and decision-making processes. For example, the evidence presented in this thesis suggests that different rationales for sport transformation exist at national and local levels respectively. These different rationales do not necessarily imply contestation between the respective levels of government, but does mean that the particular level at which the transformation dilemma is analyzed suggests a particular level at which intervention should occur.

Instituting a politics of sport praxis in this way requires institutions and sport decision-makers to accept particular spatial orders, consisting of interlinked structures, systems and priorities, conjoining sport structures and institutions into a new mode of coordination and thereby intensifying vertical integration and horizontal coordination. I have argued conceptually and based on practice that transformation sits uncomfortably on the horns of a dilemma. Finessing a solution to transformation requires that multiple agents, operating in a plurality of institutions and at different scales, jointly construct new forms of civic agency in conjunction with a new modality of government. Politics and democratic decision-making processes are central to understanding transformation and overcoming sport conundrums such as the recognition – redistribution dilemma and shape a sport transformation program of action.

The evidence presented suggests that the sport institutional order in post-apartheid South Africa is inadequate. There is no coherent policy; no articulation between the community (base) and elite; and no articulation between the grass-roots and grass-tops decision makers. Building a clear program of action for the new approach to governance of sport praxis therefore requires attentiveness to governance through structure and governance through process. I use governance through structure and governance through process as entry points to grappling with the central tensions presented in this thesis: the dichotomy between elite and community sport and the persistence of unresolved

transformation dilemmas. I address interventions in scalar sport coordination, managing patterns of power through co-existent relationships, and reconstructing the base, community agency.

1. Scaled Sport Coordination:

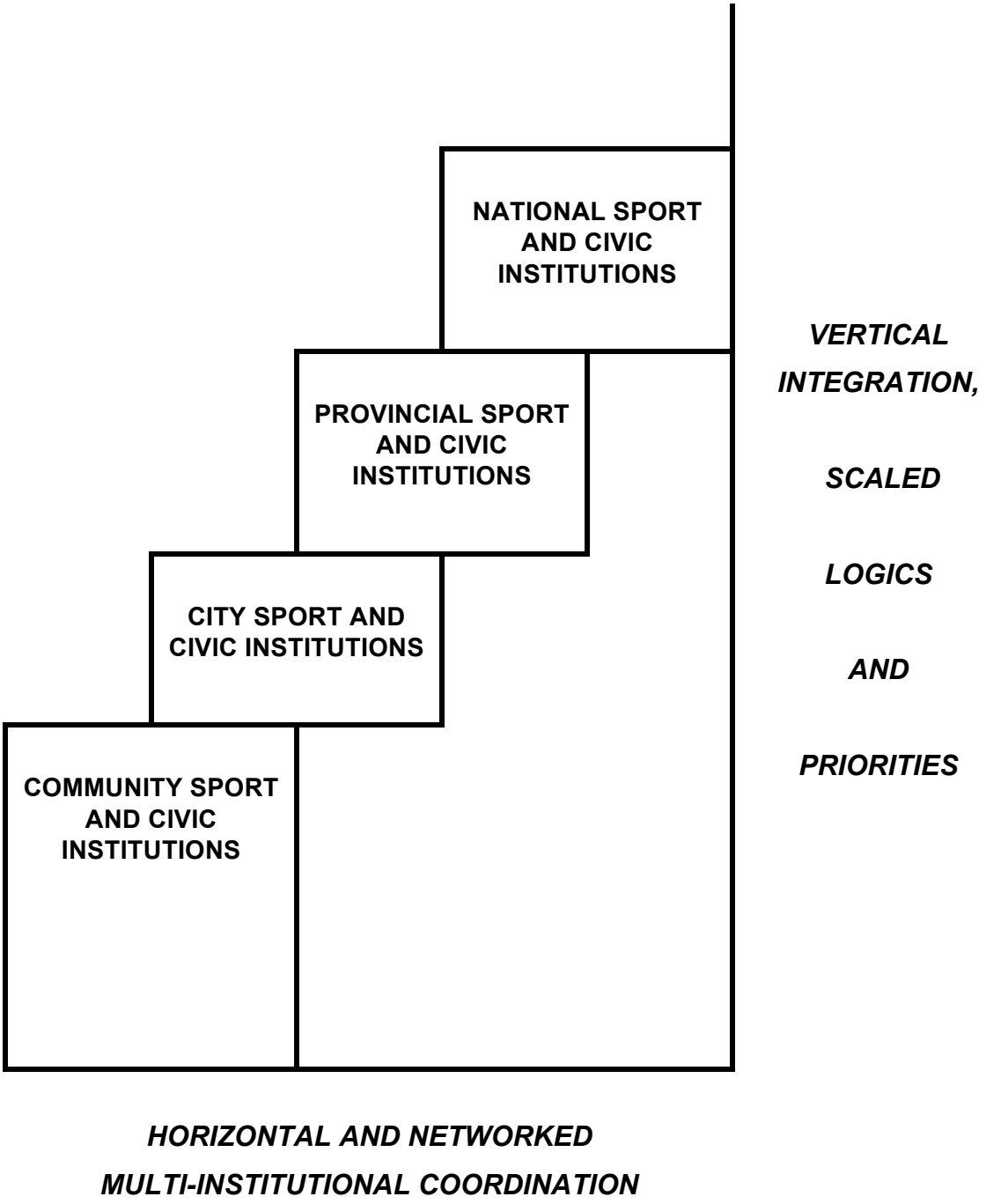
   Numerous sport structures already exist and operate in South Africa. These sport institutions operate both in and outside government, at various scales and perform numerous sport functions in conjunction with and independent of government programs. Searching for the perfect structure, institution and solution have been a seductive, but unsuccessful endeavor in post-apartheid sport. Evidence suggests that developing strategies that integrate imperfect institutions into an interlocking set of networked governance relationships could contribute to finessing the transformation challenges. This strategy includes:

   - Finessing sport governance through structure by building institutions and actor networks at various interlocking levels. In this model, each level possesses specific logics based in political, economic and social conjunctures that influence logics and priorities at that particular scale. Each level contains a degree of independence from the levels above and below but is linked through co-existent modes of coordination.

   For example, at community level, sport institutions collaborate with government institutions such as schools and community development departments and with non-government institutions such as women's and youth groups. Collaborative praxis at this level requires developing synergies between existing projects and development of new collective transformation agendas emerging through negotiation and networked governance processes. A schematic outline of a collaborative sport development model is suggested below:

FIGURE 11

COLLABORATIVE SPORT DEVELOPMENT AND PRAXIS MODEL



- Reviving a politics of praxis in sport transformation also requires new collaborative processes between the different tiers of the state, the plurality of institutions and communities. The key challenge for fundamental transformation in sport is to develop a range of actions within communities acting with and beyond government, in the public, private and the non-government realms, aiming to develop feasible alternative transformation programs of action.

A key challenge to the governance through process approach within the Collaborative Sport Development Model is its dependence on collectively establishing rules of engagement that would bind various institutions and actors. Developing a deliberative approach to collaboration is fundamental to the successful implementation of a transformative governance process.

Politics and power are implicit consequences of this approach, requiring consideration of mechanisms managing patterns of power.

2. Managing Patterns of Power:

Politics and power are inherent to the collaborative sport development and institutional governance model suggested above, For example, the tension between top down and bottom up approaches is likely to be endemic to the sport policy-making discourse. Evidence from previous sport policy processes, shows that contestation set in dichotomies such as government versus community; advantaged versus disadvantaged; and powerful versus powerless does not contribute to finessing transformation dilemmas but are unproductive distractions. The practical task is to bridge these binaries and rebuild institutions from community up, enabling community sports citizens to become active participants in sport policy design and implementation. Empowering communities in this way will reduce community dependence on government handouts, contribute to greater policy legitimacy and reduce the possibilities for manipulating outcomes by various institutions and networks of sport interest groups. Although unequal power relations will affect decisions, various levels of

government, communities and interest groups such as sport businesses will be constrained by the co-existent relationships and the dynamic and open nature of deliberation and collaboration.

Managing and reducing the impact of unequal power relations in sport requires revitalization of community agency.

3. Agency and Community Empowerment

The central problem in meeting the redistribution and recognition dilemmas in post-apartheid sport transformation has been the shift away from agency of communities, individuals and institutions, to technical and business solutions. A move towards institutional pluralism requires building capacity of communities, enabling citizens to act cooperatively both individually and collectively.

The collaborative sport development model therefore requires de-emphasizing expert and technical interventions, creating platforms for greater reliance on a citizen-centered approach. The skills required for citizens to become effective participants will emerge from praxis, in other words through practice, analysis and critique of existing sport programs, their shortcomings and deliberating over solutions, within a variety of institutions to overcome transformation challenges.

Reversing the failures of post-apartheid sport transformation requires revolutionizing social relations, building institutions and de-emphasizing bureaucratic strategies. This necessitates an integral and political approach based in praxis, seeking to balance competing social and economic interests. Viewing transformation in an integral manner further requires dynamic political practices, which in turn acquires meaning in mutually constituting social and cultural practices. These in combination provide the foundation for institutions and the administrative solutions necessary to structure strategies and projects aimed at overcoming transformation dilemmas.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abrahams, H. 2009, *Personal Communication*, Cape Town.

Adams, S. 2009, *Personal Communication*, Cape Town, *ANC Today* [Homepage of African National Congress], [Online]. Available: URL http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/aqnctoday/2008/text/at07.txt [March 12, 2008.

African National Congress 1995, "RDP News ", vol. 1, pp. 7.

Alegi, P. 2010, *African Soccerscapes: How a Continent Changed the World's Game,* Hurst and Company, London.

Alegi, P. 2010, *African Soccerscapes: How a Continent Changed the World's Game,* Hurst and Company, London.

Alegi, P. 1999, "Katanga vs Johannesburg: A history of the first sub-Saharan African football championship, 1949-50", *African Historical Review,* vol. 31, pp. 55-74.

Alegi, P. 2004, *Laduma! Soccer, Politics and Society in South Africa.* University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg.

Allie, M. 2001, *More Than a Game: History of the Western Province Cricket Board 1959-1991.*, Cape Argus, Cape Town.

ANC 2002, "Draft Resolution on Sport and Recreation." *Conference Update/1: 51st National Conference* Stellenbosch, pp. 1.

ANC Today 2006, *June 9th*, Volume 6 edition, ANC.

ANC Today and Department of Information and Publicity 1998 to 2006.

Arendse, N. 2008, "Transformation Without Fear or Favor Keynote Address", *Transformation Without Fear or Favor*, ed. Western Cape Department of Sport and Recreation, Western Cape Department of Sport and Recreation, Cape Town, pp. March 6th 2008.

Association of National Olympic Committees (ANOCA) 1990, *Association of National Olympic Committees of Africa Unity Coordinating Committee Report*.

Bailey, B. March 6 2008, *Sport Transformation: Without Fear or Favour*.

Balfour, N. 2001, *Opening Address Ministerial Task Team Workshop*, Department of Sport and Recreation, 17 August 2001, Pretoria.

Balfour, N. 2000, "*Advancing Transformation Through Engagement"*, Opening Address at the Western Cape Transformation Indaba, National Department of Sport and Recreation and Western Cape Department of Sport and Recreation, Cape Town.

Ballard, R., Habib, A. & Valodia, I. 2006, *Making Sense of Post-Apartheid South Africa's Voices of Protest*, University of Kwazulu Natal Press, Scottsville.

Bam, G. 2009, *Personal Communication*, Cape Town.

Beck, P.J. 1999, *Sporting Notes: Politics and the 90- minute Patriot*, May 4th edition, London.

Bevu, T. 2009, *Personal Communication*, Cape Town.

Blaauwberg Municipality 2000, *Blaauwberg Sport and Recreation Policy 2000:8*, Blaauwberg Municipality, Cape Town.

Blaauwberg Municipality 2000, *Blaauwberg Sport and Recreation Working Group Meeting Minutes and various Municipal Council Meetings in Blaauwberg Sport and Recreation Policy Annexure A to D*, Blaauwberg Municipality, Cape Town.

Blaauwberg Municipality 2000, *Blaauwberg Sports Plan*, Blaauwberg Municipality, Cape Town.

Booth, D., Chandler, T. & Nauright, N. 1999, *Recapturing the moment? Global rugby, economics and the politics of nation in post-apartheid South Africa.*, Frank Cass, London.

Booth, D. July 2003, "Hitting Apartheid for Six? The Politics of the South African Sports Boycott", *Journal of Contemporary History,* pp. 477.

Booth, D. 1997, "The South African Council on Sport and the Political Antinomies of the Sports Boycott", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, pp. 51.

Booth, D. 1992, "Accommodating race to play the game: South Africa's readmission to international sport." *Sporting Traditions.*

Bouah, L. 2009, *Personal Communication*, Cape Town.

Brenner, N. 2004, *New state spaces: urban governance and the rescaling of statehood,* Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Brenner, N., Peck, J. & and Theodore, N. 2010 (forthcoming), "After neoliberalization?" *Globalizations, 7 (2010): forthcoming*, no. 7.

Brenner, N., Peck, J. & Theodore, N. 2010, "Variegated neoliberalization: geographies, modalities, pathways", *Global Networks,* vol. 10, no. 1.

Brown, W. 2003, "Neoliberalism and the End of Liberal Democracy", *Theory and Event,* vol. 7, no. 1, pp. 4-25.

Brown, B. 2006, "The Destruction of Non-racial Sport – A Consequence of the Negotiated Political Settlement'" *in Sport and Liberation in South Africa: Reflections and Suggestions*, ed. C. Thomas, University of Fort Hare's National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre.

Cameron-Smith, E. 2009, *Personal Communication*, Cape Town.

Cape Argus 1990, February 14, Cape Argus, Cape Town.

Cape Town Olympic Bid Company 2004 1997, *A Sporting Chance for Africa*, Cape Town Olympic Bid Company 2004, Cape Town.

Carlin, J. 2008, *Playing the enemy: Nelson Mandela and the game that made a nation,* Penguin Press, London.

Chalip, L. 1996, "Critical Policy Analysis: The Illustrative Case of New Zealand Sport Policy Development", *Journal of Sport Management,* vol. 10, pp. 310-324.

City of Cape Town June 2005, *Speech at Presentation to Launch of the Institutional Framework*, Unpublished.

City of Cape Town 2005, *Cape Town Sports Forum Constitution*, City of Cape Town, Cape Town.

City of Cape Town 2003, *Institutional Framework Planning Minutes*, Unpublished, Cape Town.

City of Cape Town 2000, *Sport and Recreation Planning Minutes 2000*, Unpublished, Cape Town.

Davies, J. 1986, "Politics, Sport and Education in South Africa", *African Affairs,* pp. 351.

Desai, A. 2010, *The race to transform: sport in post-apartheid South Africa* HSRC Press, Cape Town.

Desai, A., Padayachee, V. & Reddy, K.V. 2002, *Blacks in Whites: A Century of Cricket Struggles in Kwazulu-Natal*, University of Natal., Pietermaritzburg.

Development Bank of South Africa 1998, *Infrastructure: A Foundation for Development*, DBSA, Halfway House,.

Dickow, H. & Moller, V. 2002, "South Africa's 'Rainbow People', National Pride and Optimism: A Trend Study", *Social Indicators Research*, pp. 175.

Dotchin, M. 2009, *Personal Communication*.

Farquharson, K., & Majoribanks, T. 2003, "Transforming the Springboks: Re-imagining the South African nation through sport", *Social Dynamics,* vol. 29(1), pp. 27.

Farred, G. 1997, "The Nation in White: Cricket in a Post-Apartheid South Africa", *Social Text,* pp. 9-32.

Foucault, M. 1991, "Governmentality" in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, ed. G. Burchell, C. Gordon, and P. Miller, Harvester/Wheat Shea, London, pp. 87-104.

Fraser, N. 1998, “Heterosexism, Misrecognition and Capitalism: A Response to Judith Butler”, New Left Review I/228, March – April 1998, pp. 140 - 149.

Fraser, N. 1997, “A Rejoinder to Iris Young”, New Left Review I/223, May-June 1997, pp 126-129.

Fraser, N. 2000, “From Redistribution to Recognition? Dilemmas of Justice in a 'Post-Socialist' Age”. Available at http://www.questia.com/googleScholar.qst;jsessionid=K8XcpKtgNQ1YWwYxLVbBRTL9B2FzbsTF32qXSxsTHhFzqLktnsVY!-476858275!686128351?docId=98679371 [2009, 11/12/2009].

Fraser, N. 2000, “Rethinking Recognition”, New Left Review 3, May – June 2000, pp. 107 – 120.

Gemmel, J. 2002, *The Politics of South African Cricket,* Routledge, London.

Girginov, V. & Sandanski, I. 2008, "Understanding the Changing Nature of Sports Organisations in Transforming Societies", *Sport Management Review,* vol. 11, no. 1, pp. 21.

Goldberg, D. 2008, *The Threat of Race: Reflections on Racial Neoliberalism (Blackwell Manifestos),* Wiley-Blackwell.

Gramsci, A. 1971, *Prison Notebooks,* International Publishers, New York.

Gramsci, A., Hoare, Q. and Nowell-Smith, G. 1972, *Selections from the prison notebooks of Antonio Gramsci,* New York: International Publishers.

Grundling, A. & Odendaal, A. 1995, *Beyond the tryline.*, Raven Press, Johannesburg.

Grundlingh, A. 1998, "From Redemption to Recidivism? Rugby and Change in South Africa During the 1995 Rugby World Cup and its Aftermath", *Sporting Traditions,* vol. Volume 14 (2), no. 2, May.

Hargreaves, J. 1986, *Sport, power, and culture: a social and historical analysis of popular sports in Britain,* St. Martin's Press, New York, NY.

Hartman, R. 2004, *Ali: The Life of Ali Bacher*, Penguin Books, Johannesburg:.

Hendricks, D. 2000, *Advancing Transformation Through Engagement,* Sport and Recreation South Africa, Unpublished.

Higham, J.A. 2006, "Sport and Tourism: A Geographic Approach.", *Journal of Sport and Tourism,* vol. 11(1) SP 31, pp. 49.

Houlihan, B. 1997, "Sport, National Identity and Public Policy", *Nations and Nationalism,* pp. 113-137.

Houlihan, B. 1991, *The Politics and Government of Sport*, Routledge, London.

International Conference Against Apartheid In Sport 1990, *Report on 4th International Conference Against Apartheid In Sport held in Stockholm, September 1990.*

International Conference Against Apartheid Sport 5-7 November 1987, *Proceedings of the International Conference Against Apartheid Sport,* Harare, Zimbabwe.

Isin, E.F. 1992, *Cities Without Citizens: Modernity of the City as a Corporation,* 1st edition, Black Rose Books Ltd., Quebec.

James, C. 1989, *The Black Jacobins,* Allison and Busby, London.

James, W. 1996, "Democracy in Action, March 1996".

Jarvie, J. 1985, *Class, Race and Sport in South Africa's Political Economy*, Routledge, London.

Jessop, B. 2002, *The future of the capitalist state,* Cambridge: Polity Press;

Jessop, B. 1990, *State theory: putting the Capitalist state in its place,* Polity Press, Cambridge.

Jessop, B. and Sum, N. 2006, *Beyond The Regulation Approach: Putting Capitalist Economies In Their Place,* Edward Elgar Publishing.

Jessop, B. 2002, "Liberalism, Neoliberalism, and Urban Governance: A State? Theoretical Perspective", *Antipode,* vol. 34, no. 3, pp. 452-472.

Jones, M. 2008, " Recovering a sense of political economy", *Political Geography,* vol. 27, pp. 377-399.

Jurgens, D. 2009, *Personal Communication*, Cape Town.

Keohane, M. 2002, *Chester: A biography of courage*, Don Nelson, Cape Town.

Krog, A. 2003, *A Change of Tongue,* Random House, Parktown, Johannesburg.

Kunene, M. 2006, *Winning the Cup but Losing the Plot? The troubled state of South African soccer*, HSRC Press, Cape Town.

Larner, W. & Butler, M. 2007; 2007, *The Places, People and Politics of Partnership "After Neoliberlism" in Aotearoa New Zealand*, Guildford Press, New York.

Leitner, H., Peck, J. & Sheppard, E. 2007, *Contesting Neoliberalism Urban Frontiers*, Guildford Press, New York.

Leitner, H., Sheppard, E., Sziarto, K., & Mariganti, 2007, *Contesting Urban Futures: Decentering Neoliberalism,* Guildford Publications, New York.

Leitner, H., Peck, J. & Sheppard, E.S. 2007, *Contesting neoliberalism: urban frontiers,* Guilford Press, New York.

Maguire, J.A. & Young, K.M. 2002, *Theory, Sport & Society,* Elsevier Press, Oxford.

Mandela, N. 1995, *Speech to Sponsors*, Johannesburg. ANC Archives

Mashishi, M. 2006, *Parliamentary Committee Presentation 14th June 2006*, SASCOC, Unpublished.

Mbeki, T. 1998, *Inaugural Presidential Address 1998*, RSA Hansard.

Mbeki, T. 1999, April 13, *Speech at a Sponsors Sports Dinner.*

Mbeki, T. *Letter from the President 18-24 May 2001.*

Merrett, C. 2003, "Sport and Nationalism in Post-Liberation South Africa in the 1990s: Transcendental Euphoria or Nation Building?" *Sport History Review,* vol. 34, pp. 33-59.

Merrett, C. 2001, "Aurora: The Challenge of Non-racial Cricket to the Apartheid State of the mid 1970's", *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, pp. 95-122.

Mgqoqi, W. 2004, *A Tale of Two Cities: Presentation to FIFA in Cape Town's bid presentation for the 2006 Football World Cup*, Personal notes, Cape Town.

Mlotywa, S. 2009, *Personal Communication*, Cape Town.

Mufamadi, S. 2008, "Foreward" in *Consolidating Developmental Local Government: Lessons from the South African Experience*, editors M. van Donk, M. Swilling, E. Pieterse & S. Parnell, UCT Press, Cape Town, pp. v-vii.

Murray, B.K. & Merrett, C. 2004, *Caught Behind - Race and Politics in Springbok Cricket,* University of KwaZulu-Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg.

Murray, B. 2001, "Politics and Cricket: The D'Oliviera Affair of 1968", *Journal of Southern African Studies*, pp. 667-684.

National Department of Sport and Recreation 2003, "Proceedings - Department of Sport and Recreation Strategic Planning Workshop 5th and 6th June 2003", Department of Sport and Recreation, Pretoria.

National Sports Congress South Africa 1993, *The Vision for Sport: A Practical three Day Conference highlighting the potential for Sports Development*

Programs in Southern Africa, Unpublished Proceedings edn, Johannesburg, South Africa.

Nauright, J. 1997, *Sport, Cultures and Identities in South Africa*, David Philip, Cape Town.

New Zealand History Online*, 'Politics and sport - 1981 Springbok tour'* [Homepage of Ministry for Culture and Heritage], [Online]. Available: http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/1981-springbok-tour/politics-and-sport [24-Feb-2009.

Noakes, T. & Tucker, R. 2007, Sport Science Institute of South Africa, Cape Town.

NSC News 1989, *Towards a Single Soccer Body*, 1st edn, National Sports Congress.

Numerato, D. 2009, "The institutionalization of regional sports policy in the Czech Republic ", *International Journal of Sport Policy,* vol. 1, March, no. 1, pp. 13-30.

Odendaal, A. 2003, *The Story of an African Game: Black Cricketers and the Unmasking of one of Cricket's Greatest Myths, South Africa, 1850-2000*, Cape Town.

Odendaal, A. 2002, *Foreward: Chairperson of Transformation Monitoring Committee of the UCB*, University of Natal Press, Pietermaritzburg.

OECD 2008, *OECD Territorial Reviews: Cape Town, South Africa*, OECD Publications, Paris.

Oldfield, S. & Stokke, K. 2007, *Political Polemics and Local Practices of Community Organising and Neoliberal Politics in South Africa*, Guildford Press, New York.

Oldfield, S. 2008, "Participatory mechanisms and community politics: Building consensus and conflict" in *Consolidating Developmental Local*

Government: Lessons from the South African Experience, editors M. van Donk, M. Swilling, E. Pieterse & S. Parnell, UCT Press, Cape Town, pp. 487-500; 22.

Oosthuizen, G. 2006, May 31, *Sport and Recreation Budget Speech 2006/2007*, Republic of South Africa National Assembly, Cape Town.

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development 2008, *OECD Territorial Reviews: Cape Town, South Africa*, OECD Publications, Paris.

Parnell, S., Pieterse, E. & “in 2002, "Developmental Local Government” " in *Democratizing Local Government the South African Experiment (eds.)*, eds. S. Parnell, E. Pieterse, M. Swilling & D. Wooldridge, University of Cape Town Press, Lansdowne.

Pascoe, G. 2009, *Personal Communication*, Cape Town.

Pieterse, E and van Donk, M. 2008, "Developmental Local Government: Squaring the Circle Between Policy Intent and Impact" in *Consolidating Developmental Local Government: Lessons from the South African Experience*, eds. M. van Donk, M. Swilling, E. Pieterse & S. Parnell, UCT Press, Cape Town, pp. 51-76; 3.

Pieterse, E., Parnell, S., Swilling, M. & van Donk, M. 2008, *Consolidating Developmental Local Government*, UCT Press, Cape Town.

Prince, F. 2009, *Personal Communication*, Cape Town.

Rass, D. 2009, *Personal Communication*, Cape Town.

Republic of South Africa 1998, *Municipal Structures Act,* Government Publishers, Pretoria.

Republic of South Africa 1996, *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa*, Government Publishers, Pretoria.

Republic of South Africa 1996, *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa,* Government Printers, Republic of South Africa, Pretoria.

Republic of South Africa 1996, *Growth, Employment and Redistribution: A Macroeconomic Strategy,* Government Publishers, Pretoria.

Republic of South Africa 1996, *Local Government Transition Act, Act 97,* Government Publishers, Pretoria.

Republic of South Africa 1995, *RDP White Paper The First Year Reviewed 1995,* Government Printers, Pretoria.

Republic of South Africa 1994, *White Paper on the Reconstruction and Development Program,* Government Printers, Republic of South Africa, Pretoria.

Republic of South Africa & Department of Sport and Recreation South Africa 1997, *More South Africans, More active, More often - Getting the Nation to Play*, Government Printers, Republic of South Africa, Pretoria.

Roberts, C. 1988, *SACOS 1973-1988: 15 Years of Sports Resistance,* 1st edn, Natal University Press, Durban.

Roberts, C. 1989, "SACOS: 15 Years of Sports Resistance", Unpublished Masters Thesis.

Rose, N. 2000, "Governing cities, governing citizens" in, ed. E.F. Isin, 1st edn, Routledge, New York, pp. 95-109.

Rose, N. 1996, "Governing 'Advanced' Liberal Democracies" in *Foucault and Political Reason: Liberalism, Neo-Liberalism, and Rationalities of Government*, ed. A. Barry, T. Osborne, and N. Rose, 1st edn, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, pp. 37-64.

Rose, V. 2009, *Personal Communication*, Cape Town.

SABC News 22nd November 2008: 2008, *"The dismal failure of South Africa at the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games"*, South African Broadcasting Corporation, Johannesburg.

SACOS (South African Council on Sport) 1991, *Biennial General Council Meeting Minutes, ANOCA Monitoring Committee Meeting Report March 1991 in SACOS Meeting Minutes March 1991*, South African Council on Sport, Cape Town.

Solidarity 1988, 3rd edition. Unpublished.

South Africa 2010 World Cup Bid Committee 2004, *World Cup 2010 Bid Document*, SA Bid Committee, Johannesburg.

South African Council on Sport 1990, *Biennial General Council Meeting*, Unpublished.

South African Council on Sport 1989, *Biennial General Council Meeting Minutes*, Unpublished.

South African Council on Sport 1983, *Biennial General Council Meeting*, SACOS, Unpublished.

South African Council on Sport 1983, *Olympic Games of the Oppressed" Event Brochure*, Unpublished.

South African Council on Sport 1983, "Sport and Liberation Position Paper", *Sport and Liberation Conference*, ed. SACOS, SACOS, Cape Town.

South African Council on Sport 1983, "Sport and the System", *Sport and Liberation Conference* SACOS, Cape Town.

Sowetan 2002, *Clarity Sought on Quota Issues",* July 9th, page 2, Johannesburg.

Sport and Recreation South Africa 1998, *South African Sport Commission Act*, Act 107, Government Printers, Republic of South Africa, Pretoria.

Steenveld, L. & Strelitz, L. 1998, "The 1995 Rugby World Cup and the Politics of nation-building in South Africa", *Media, Culture and Society*, pp. 609-629.

Sum, N. 2004, "From 'Integral State' to 'Integral World Economic Order': Towards a Neo-Gramscian Cultural International Political Economy",

Unpublished Paper from Institute for Advanced Studies in Social and Management Sciences University of Lancaster, Cultural Political Economy, Working Paper Series, Working Paper No. 7

Sugden, J.P. & Tomlinson, A. 2002, *Power games: a critical sociology of sport,* Routledge, London; New York.

Sunday Times February 24th, 1991, "*IRB demand Unity"*.

Susman, J. 1991, *Heart of Soweto: Once a Pirate, Always a Pirate*, Johannesburg Film Resource Unit.

Swarr, E. & Nagar, R. 2010, *Critical Transnational Feminist Praxis,* State University of New York Press, Albany.

Teladia, I. 2009, *Personal Communication*, Cape Town.

The Citizen 2006, 30th August 2006, The Citizen, Johannesburg, South Africa.

The Citizen 1990, "*Sports Boycott goes on until apartheid ends",* 5th November, Johannesburg.

Thomas, C. 2006, *Sport and Liberation in South Africa: Reflections and Suggestions,* University of Fort Hare's National Heritage and Cultural Studies Centre.

Tshwete, S. 1997, *Minister of Sport Budget Speech to the National Assembly on 8th May 1997*, Budget Speech, Cape Town.

Weed, M. 2005, "Research Synthesis in Sport Management: Dealing With Chaos in the Brickyard", *European Sport Management Quarterly,* vol. 5(1), pp. 77-90.

Weekly Mail and Guardian 1993, *Editorial*, February 5th edn, Johannesburg.

Western Cape Department of Sport and Recreation November 2002, "Report of the Sport Transformation Indaba: 19-20 November 2004", Western Cape Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport. Cape Town.

Western Cape Department of Sport and Recreation November 2002, "Transformation in Sport Indaba: Western Cape.", Western Cape Department of Sport and Recreation, Cape Town.

Western Cape Department of Sport and Recreation 1999, "Joint Sport Summit between the Western Cape Department of Sport and the NSC: Western Cape at the University of Stellenbosch, March 1999", Cape Town.

Williams, J. 2006, "Community Participation: Lessons from Post Apartheid South Africa", *Policy Studies,* vol. 27, No 3, pp. 197-217.

Young, I.M. 1995, “Justice and the Politics of Difference”, Journal of Political Philosophy, vol. 3, no. 2, (1995), pp. 166-80

Young, I.M. 1997, “Unruly Categories: A Critique of Nancy Fraser’s Dual Systems Theory”, New Left Review 222, March – April 1997, pp 147 – 160.

Zuma, J. 2004, March 12, *ANC Today*, African National Congress, March 12, 2008, URL http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/history/zuma/2004/jz0322.html.

Appendix: Interview Protocols

The University of Minnesota Institutional Review Board, Social and Behavioral Sciences granted approval for this research study under the IRB Code 0812P56441 in April 2009.

The following documentation is included below:

1. Letter Requesting Participation in the Study
2. Consent Form
3. Model Interview questions

David Maralack

61 Rouwkoop Road

Rondebosch

Cape Town, 7701

To: [Potential Participant Name to be inserted]

[Affiliation]

[Address]

REQUEST TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH PROJECT:

TITLE: "Sport and Identity Formation in the Development of the post- apartheid South African Nation State".

Dear [Dr. / Ms. / Mr. Potential Respondent Name]

You are invited to participate in a study titled "Sport and Identity Formation in the Development of the post-apartheid South African Nation State". You were selected as a possible participant as you work in an organization that addresses concerns linked to urban governance, sport and community building in Cape Town, South Africa. Your name and contact details were procured through the sport institutional directory, found at [*website or written documents*].

This study is being conducted by David Maralack, supervised by Helga Leitner, PhD, Professor of Geography at the University of Minnesota, United States and will contribute to the fulfillment of requirements for my PhD in Geography.

I would like to indicate that there is no obligation to participate in this study. Nor are there any risks or direct benefits associated. Whether you agree to participate or not, I commit to (a) keep your identity and any responses confidential and (b) ensure that your relations with sport organizations or academic institutions are not affected by the process and outcome of this research. If you do not wish to be part of this research, I commit not to follow up on the matter, unless you indicate otherwise at a later stage.

I include a summary of my background, research focus and process.

If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at e-mail mara0004@umn.edu, telephone 021-650 4390 or cell 082 6193200 and my advisor, Professor Leitner at email eqj6139@umn.edu, or telephone 612-625-9010.

I wish to thank you for considering being part of my research project.

Kind Regards

David Maralack

INFORMATION ABOUT THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR AND RESEARCH

1. THE PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: DAVID MARALACK

I was born in and is a resident of Cape Town. I have been actively involved in sport and community development organizations in Cape Town. Academically I have studied at the University of Cape Town (1985), The University College of London (1991) and now wish to use this research for the PhD at the University of Minnesota to contribute to the ongoing post-apartheid project of transforming South African society and communities.

2. RESEARCH FOCUS

South Africa is in the process of transformation from a state of authoritarianism to a democracy. Sport has played a significant role in ameliorating the ravages of this system and various sport strategies have been employed by the national, regional and local states to affect social transformation through sport. Sport has also been used at community level to enhance the formation of a collective identity among previously advantaged / disadvantaged racial groups and social classes in partnership with sport organizations.

Cape Town, which remains one of the most segregated cities in South Africa, has experienced significant urban and institutional restructuring. The research and the setting will enable me to investigate key conceptual and theoretical questions. The objective is to study the emergence and consolidation of sport institutions at the national, regional and local scales in post-apartheid South Africa. I will examine the efficacy of sport projects and policies in transforming sport institutions and society and evaluate its contribution to a post-apartheid collective identity.

3. PROCESS

If you agree to participate in this study more details on the study, process and my commitment to confidentiality will be sent to you. You will receive a consent form by letter or e-mail in advance of our first meeting. This will enable me to deal with any queries promptly.

CONSENT FORM

You are invited to be in a research study titled ***"Sport and Identity Formation in the Development of the post-apartheid South African Nation State"***. You were selected as a possible participant because you work in an organization that addresses concerns linked to ***urban governance, sport and community building in Cape Town, South Africa***. I ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study. This study is being conducted by David Maralack, supervised by Helga Leitner, PhD, professor of geography at the University of Minnesota, United States. This research will contribute to the fulfillment of requirements for the PhD in Geography.

Background Information

In this research project, I examine the processes of state restructuring and nation-state building in post-apartheid South Africa since 1994 through the lens of sports policies. One of the major goals of the post-apartheid state was to use sports to address economic inequalities, racial cleavages, and to foster civic participation and democracy at the same time. I am examining whether sports policies and strategies have contributed to the formation of a collective post-racial national identity against the background of the deep rooted legacies of inequality and segregation.

Procedures:

If you agree to be in this study, you will be requested to participate in an interview, which will entail answering a series of questions for about one hour.
I will ask you questions related to your involvement in and perceptions of sport. Examples of questions are:

- What is your perception of the relationship between the state / government and communities in sport?
- Do you think that the implementation of the sport institutional framework has been successful?
- Could you indicate if there are processes that need to be changed?
- What are some of the key challenges for the sport institutional framework that need to be considered?

You are free to decline answering any questions at any time.
The interview may be tape recorded, with your permission.
I hereby request permission to incorporate the information you provide in my dissertation.

Risks and Benefits of being in the Study

The study has minimal risk. Any information that you provide to me can be done in written form if you prefer to not speak directly to me about any of the topics.
In addressing the topics that I have identified, there may be issues related to sport in post-apartheid Cape Town that you may find upsetting. In the event of this occurring, you may at any stage indicate that you find certain questions upsetting and decline to respond to the question.
There are no direct benefits to participating in this study. However, participation in the study provides an opportunity to reflect on the efficacy of existing institutional frameworks and possibilities for improvement.

Compensation:

You will not receive payment.

Confidentiality:

To ensure confidentiality I have instituted the following:

- The records of all interactions related to this study will be kept private by David Maralack, the Principal Investigator. Research records and recordings will be stored securely and only the PI will have access to the records. The digital recordings will be stored on a password protected computer and any hard copies of interviews will be stored in a secure filing cabinet for a period of 2 years after concluding the research.
- Links to names will only be attached to the interview transcripts to enable further analysis, follow up interviews and aid the verification of evidence if required. This link will be retained until the interview and data analysis is complete which is expected to be for 12 months.

- I will not include any information in written reports that will make it possible to identify individual subjects, unless you request to be identified by name.

Voluntary Nature of the Study:

Participation in this study is voluntary.
Your decision whether to participate or not to participate will not affect:

- Relationships with any sport or government organizations in Cape Town; or
- Relations with the University of Minnesota.

If you decide to participate, you are free to not answer any question or withdraw at any time with out affecting those relationships.

Contacts and Questions:

The researcher conducting this study is: David Maralack, PhD candidate who may be contacted by phone at 021-650 4390, 082 619 3200 or by mail at mara0004@umn.edu. You may contact me at any stage of the research process.
The professor supervising this research is: Prof. Helga Leitner, eqj6139@umn.edu, 612-625-9010.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher or supervisor, **you are encouraged** to contact the Research Subjects' Advocate Line, D528 Mayo, 420 Delaware St. Southeast, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455; (612) 625-1650.

Statement of Consent:

I have read the above information. I have asked questions and have received answers. I consent to participate in the study.

Signature:_____ Date: _____

Signature of Investigator:_____ Date: _____

Model Interview Questions

1. What is / was your official role in sport?
2. What is your perception of the relationships between the state and civil society in sport at a national level?
3. Should there be a different relationship between local government and civil society as opposed to other spheres of government? Why?
    a. What is the relationship between the City of Cape Town **sport policy** and other spheres of government? What should the roles of the different spheres of government be in sport?
4. What was / is your involvement in establishing and implementing the institutional framework?
5. According to you, what are its key elements?
6. How successful has it been?
    a. Can you share some of the main achievements?
    b. Have the successes and failures been uniform across the city?
    c. What are the reasons?
7. What have been some of the difficulties?
    a. Were people opposed to it?
    b. What were the reasons?
    c. How was this opposition dealt with?
8. Do you think that the **implementation** of the institutional framework has been successful? How?
    a. In your opinion is there a relationship between the institutional framework and other mechanisms for participation at the community level?
        i. Ward committees; Ratepayers associations
    b. Examples from your community interaction?
    c. Which specific achievements can you mention that resulted from the implementation of the institutional framework?
9. What are the key challenges for governance through the Institutional Framework in the city?
    a. Is state - community relations improving as a result of the institutional framework?
    b. Are relationships between communities improving because of it?
    c. In your opinion what are the limits to citizen involvement in decision making through this process?
    d. What would you regard as being a positive outcome of implementing the institutional framework – 5 year horizon?
    e. At a more general level, how important is improving the relationship between the state and civil society in Cape Town and South Africa? What is the future and the challenges for state and civil society in improving service delivery?