NATION BUILDING IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA:
TRANSFORMING GENDER AND RACE RELATIONS THROUGH SPORTS

DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

South Africans experienced dramatic changes in the political and social orders of their nation during the 1990s. The long history of white minority rule officially ended in 1994 with the first democratic, all-race elections. During the political transition, a broad-based women's movement emerged and gender equality became an autonomous aspect of democratization in South Africa. Most of the scholarship on South Africa's political transition focuses on changing race and class relations and ignores shifting gender relations. In this dissertation, I take up the question of shifting gender relations in post-apartheid South Africa by examining grassroots efforts of women athletes to transform gender and race relations through sports. South African sport is of particular interest because the new government is using sport as a unifying mechanism in the nation-building process. To understand women athletes' contributions to transforming gender and race relations, I conduct a case comparison analysis of women's competitive netball and soccer using both qualitative and quantitative data and methodologies. I base the analysis on 48 semi-structured interviews, 381 self-administered surveys, archival evidence, and participant observations. I draw from collective identity theory, as articulated in the social movement literature, and feminist theories of the interlocking systems of race, gender, and class inequalities. I bridge these two theoretical perspectives to expand our understanding of the ways structural inequalities both facilitate and impede
the construction of collective identity among diverse groups. This analysis demonstrates that through the construction of new collective identities, women netball participants are actively challenging dominant racial hierarchies and inequalities and women soccer participants are challenging dominant gender hierarchies and categories. This research contributes to current debates among South African scholars and activists about the sustainability of a racial diverse women's movement and the development of theories on the dialectics of race, gender, and class. This study vividly illustrates that South African women are not a unified, homogenous group who shares common interests. Sisterhood, or a collective consciousness or identity, among South African women can only be forged through concrete historical practices. Finally, this analysis adds to the literature on gender and social movements by demonstrating the role of movement actors in transforming racial and gender categories and hierarchies.
Dedicated to my mother and sister

Marie Fabrizio Pelak and Dr. Victoria Pelak
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Major Field: Sociology
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANC</td>
<td>African National Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASANU</td>
<td>All South African Netball Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CGE</td>
<td>Commission for Gender Equality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAF</td>
<td>Confederation of African Football</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DSR</td>
<td>Department of Sport and Recreation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIFA</td>
<td>Federation of International Football Associations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IOC</td>
<td>International Olympic Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NASA</td>
<td>Netball Association of South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NOCSA</td>
<td>National Olympic Committee of South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NP</td>
<td>National Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSA</td>
<td>Netball South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSC</td>
<td>National Sports Council (old name: National Sports Congress)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAC</td>
<td>Pan African Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SABC</td>
<td>South African Broadcasting Corporation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SACOS</td>
<td>South African Council of Sport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAFA</td>
<td>South African Football Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAFA-WP</td>
<td>South African Football Association-Western Province</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SANA</td>
<td>South African Netball Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SANOC</td>
<td>South African National Olympic Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SANROC</td>
<td>South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SASA</td>
<td>South African Sports Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SASC</td>
<td>South African Sports Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAWSFA</td>
<td>South African Women's Football Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAWSNA</td>
<td>South African Women's Netball Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SISA</td>
<td>Sports Information &amp; Science Agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USSSASA</td>
<td>United School Sports Association of South Africa</td>
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NOTES ON TERMINOLOGY

South Africa has been deeply shaped by race over the past 350 years and the language used to represent race and race relations in South Africa has been and continues to be contentious, variable, and context specific. For those who are not aware of historical relations in South Africa, the terms and language used to represent South African life will be confusing. For those intimately connected or familiar with South Africa and its racial histories, the racial terms and language used will be read as highly political and problematic. Unavoidably, these terms appear in this dissertation and thus it is necessary to acknowledge these dilemmas and explain how I understand these terms and the context in which they arise.

Under the segregationist system of apartheid, The Population Registration Act of 1950 classified individuals into one of four racial groups: Africans (also officially referred to as Blacks, Bantus, and Natives), Europeans (later referred to as Whites), Coloreds, and Asians (mostly of Indian descent). In 1951, the South African population of approximately 13,864,300 individuals consisted of 69.6% Africans, 19.1% whites, 8.6% Coloreds and 2.7% Asians (Mfono 2001). One's racial classification determined virtually everything in one's life—where you lived, worked, traveled, went to school, who you could marry, etc. Within the apartheid framework, racial categories were hierarchically ranked by the power, authority, and privilege afforded to each group. By law, whites had the most power, then Coloreds, then Asians, and at the bottom rung,
Africans. I recognize that in many ways, using these racial terms reifies the categories rather than illuminates their social and political constructions (Omi and Winant 1994). Therefore, I will use the terms, African, White, Colored, and Asian, only in cases where individuals self-identify with one or more of the categories or when the goal is to understand the effects and consequences of these racial categories.

As a political strategy in the context of the anti-apartheid movement of the late 1970s and associated with the Black Consciousness movement, some South Africans adopted the term "Black" to refer to any person not treated as white under the apartheid system. Since the new political dispensation, the meaning and usage of the label "Black" is changing (Jung 2000). However, I will use the term Black to collectively refer to individuals identifying or identified as African, Colored, or Asian. It is important to note however that for some South Africans, particularly some Coloreds and Asians, the term Black refers only to those of African descent and not a collective of people of color. In these cases a distinction will be made, otherwise the term "Black" will refer to non-white South Africans.

Finally, in the following text I occasionally place racial categories and racial modifiers within quotation marks. For example: a "Colored" township or a "Black" sport. I use quotation marks to avoid reifying racial categories and to remind the reader of the social construction of race and the political processes of racialization in South Africa. I do not use quotation marks on every occasion in which I use a racial modifier. I believe this may distract the reader's attention. I use quotation marks at times when I wish to remind the reader to the highly political nature of a racialized concept or notion.
CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Statement of Purpose

After two centuries of resistance against settler colonialism and decades of anti-apartheid struggles, the first democratic, all-race elections were held in South Africa in 1994. During the 1990s, South African society experienced a dramatic transformation from a white minority-ruled apartheid government to a Black majority-ruled democratic government. The end of apartheid in South Africa did not only mean a new racial order but also a new gender order. Transitional societies, such as South Africa, offer scholars tremendous opportunities to examine processes by which dominant power relations are contested, challenged, and changed. Transitional societies can be productive contexts for exploring power dynamics because power structures tend to become more visible and observable. There is a growing body of scholarship that aims to understand how major social and political institutions in South Africa were dismantled and re-constructed in the 1990s. Most of this work, however, focuses on shifting race, ethnic, and class relations and ignores changing gender relations. Researchers have not adequately considered how gender relations have shaped social relations in South Africa or how gender politics influenced the recent transition. This omission is not surprising given the history of
racial and class oppression in South Africa. Apartheid was, after all, a policy that distributed economic rewards and privileges based on a racial hierarchy. However, apartheid was also strengthened by historically specific gender relations (Bozzi 1983: Breckenridge 1998; Goodwin 1984; Morrell 1998; Walker 1982, 1990). For example, under apartheid women's and men's role in the migrant labor system differed. African women were largely forced to live and raise children in destitute homelands while African men migrated to urban centers to sell their labor. Gender relations in South Africa, thus, demand scholarly attention as do the connections between multiple systems of inequality based on race, gender, and class.

As part of the democratic transition, South African women gained an impressive set of political and economic rights. For example, they gained land and property rights, divorce and child custody rights, pregnancy and abortion rights, and protection from sex and gender discrimination in the workplace as well as benefiting from affirmative action programs that recognize women as a disadvantaged group (UNISA 1998). This research takes up the question of shifting gender relations in post-apartheid South Africa. The context in which I examine gender relations and gender inequalities in contemporary South Africa is the social institution of sport. Sport is a befitting context for examining the transformation of power relations because sport in South Africa has played a prominent role in both constructing an ideology of white male superiority and dismantling apartheid (Booth 1998; Nauright 1997). The international sport boycott against South Africa between 1960 and 1992 is widely recognized as one of the more effective tools of the anti-apartheid movement because it directly affected the everyday
lives of white South Africans. Over the course of the twentieth century, sport played an important role as a site of political resistance within Black communities. The following quote, from a District Six Museum exhibit on sport in disadvantaged communities of the Western Cape, articulates the role of sport as a means of creative cultural expression. A museum pamphlet read:

When people had limited opportunities for exploring their talents, sport made it possible for them to develop their own stories, values, and strengths. People emerged from this process with a sense of identity and with dignity (District Six Museum 1996).

Because of the importance of sport in identity formation, the social institution of sport is being used by the new government for building national unity. In a 1995 sports policy document titled "Getting the Nation to Play" sport is described as "a unifier, healer of wounds, creator of work opportunities, booster or the national image, and consolidator of international ties." But, what are the implications of using a gendered institution to unify South Africans? By labeling sport a "gendered" institution, I mean that gender differences shape and constrain who participates in sport, how sport is organized and structured, and the social and cultural meanings attached to sport. I also consider sport as a gendered institution in that it often reflects and facilitates boys and men's social, political, and economic advantage over women. This research addresses the concern of South African sport reinforcing dominant gender relations rather than challenging them.

Without diminishing the importance of the highly racialized South African context, I bring to the fore gender relations to contribute to three broad questions. First, has the new political dispensation in South Africa created space for challenging the dominant gender order in sports? Second, are women athletes coming together across
racial, ethnic, class, language, and cultural boundaries to construct collective identities that challenge the dominant gender and race orders within the social institution of sports? Finally, how are the shifting collective identities within women's sports contributing to the reconstruction of race and gender within the new South Africa?

The focus on gender relations and women's experiences in sports in the new South Africa is of theoretical and empirical importance for several reasons. First, although national liberation struggles are often deeply gendered, scholars often devalue or ignore gender relations and women's role in such movements (Amadiame 1996; Bloom, Hagemann, and Hall 2000; West 1997). Moreover, scholars tend to create a false dichotomy by separating women's movements from nationalist movements (Beall, Hassim, and Todes 1989). In South Africa, women played a central role in the national liberation movement and the political transition (Bernstein 1985; Gilliam 1991; Kuzwayo 1985; Mangaliso 1997, Meintjes 1998; Ramphele 1995; Walker 1982). They continue to play a role in the democratizing process within a diverse set of contexts and locations. I argue that women's practices, identities, and demands within organized sport are an integral part of the democratizing and unifying process in the new South Africa. Thus, by exploring the transformation of gender relations and intersecting structures of power within South African sports and placing these changes within the context of the national democratizing process, we can understand the gendered nature of the broad democratizing processes taking place within contemporary South Africa. Ultimately this serves the scholarly goals of accurately representing gender dynamics within the histories of liberation struggles, understanding the complexities of intersecting power relations,
and delineating the gendered nature of the nation-state itself (Connell 1990; Eisenstein 1997; Phillips 1991).

Second, by focusing on gendered experiences of women across racial, ethnic, and class boundaries, we can develop our theoretical understanding of the intersectionality of race, gender, and class structures. Questions regarding how, when, where, and why women come together across race and class boundaries to address gender concerns is a major focus of much of contemporary feminist scholarship (Berger 1992a, 1992b; Hill Collins 1990; hooks 2000; Marks 1994; Mohanty, Russo, and Torres 1991; Twine and Blee 2001). In this study, I bring together two theoretical perspectives—collective identity theory as articulated in the social movement literature and feminist theories of the intersectionality of race, gender, and class. I bridge these two theoretical perspectives to expand our understanding of the way structural inequalities both facilitate and impede the construction of collective identity among diverse groups.

Understanding the opportunities and constraints of South Africans coming together to work for a shared goal across boundaries of race, gender, and class is directly useful to grassroots women's organizations/networks interested in building diverse coalitions to struggle against gender oppression in ways that have relevance to all women. For gender activists and scholars, the question of building a diverse, sustainable gender movement in South Africa is of paramount importance (Connell 1998; Donaldson 1997; Fester 1998; Goetz 1998; Lemon 2001; Marks 2000; Rosenthal 2001; Steyn 1998). Lemon (2001: 7) maintains that, "there is an urgent need for the development of a feminist theoretical debate and discourse on the complex dialectics of race, class and
gender." This empirical examination of relations among women within sports aims to contribute to the developing feminist theoretical debate and to informing the concerns of grassroots organizers of gender movements in South Africa within and outside of sports.

Finally, by focusing on women's sporting experiences, this project addresses the major gap in the literature on sport in South Africa. Virtually all the research conducted on social, political, and cultural aspects of South African sport focuses exclusively on men's experiences (Archer and Bouillon 1998, Baker and Mangan 1987, Black and Nauright 1998; Booth 1998, Jarvie 1985, Lapchick 1975, Mangan 1988, Nauright 1997, and Nauright and Black 1998). The androcentric bias of researchers contributes to the construction of men's experiences as the "universal" South African sporting experience. The omission of women's experiences is particularly problematic considering the gendered nature of the institution of sport. Research on gender and South African sports is needed to understand how sport is shaped not only by race and class relations within South Africa but also gender relations. In a recent text on sports and identity in South Africa, Nauright (1997: 20) states that "the history of women's sport in South Africa is crying out for researchers, particularly in sports such as netball which had a large following among white women and became popular in many townships." This research is one effort to answer the cry and to address the glaringly gap in the scholarship on gender and sport in South Africa.

To introduce adequately and historically contextualize the purpose, content, and specific research questions of this study, I turn to discuss gender politics of the post-apartheid democratic transition. I follow with an outline of the theoretical framework
that informs my study, methodological approach, and the organization of the chapters in the dissertation.

**Gender Challenges and the Democratic Transition**

The emergence of new thinking about women's emancipation in South Africa during the late 1980s constituted a break from earlier thinking that women's oppression was at the bottom of the hierarchy of oppressions and that national liberation took priority (Beall 2001). The attention toward gender equality as an autonomous aspect of democratization in South Africa and the gender-based rights, protections, and benefits that South African women gained during the political transition did not come about without struggle. As political leaders dismantled apartheid structures during the early 1990s, a national gender movement emerged and successfully demanded that women be an integral part of the negotiations with the outgoing apartheid government.

Building on their long history of political activism and their knowledge about how women's contributions to nationalist struggles are often forgotten once national liberation is won, South African women seized the moment to insure that they were not left behind in the new democratic South Africa (Mangaliso 1997; Seidman 1999; West 1997). Led by women in the African National Congress (ANC), women organized for inclusion in the political negotiations and the process of constructing a new constitution. The form of organization they used—the Women's National Coalition—was a nationwide coalition of some 100 women's organizations that crossed race, class, and geographical boundaries (Steyn 1998). Despite vast differences, members of the Women's National Coalition (WNC) came together with the shared goal of making sure that gender oppression was
recognized as an integral aspect of democracy and that a positive constitutional framework supporting gender equality was created (Seidman 1999).

Between 1992 and 1993, the WNC drafted the *Women's Charter* that served as a blueprint for the new constitution in terms of women's rights and a non-sexist South Africa. The mass organizing and the internal lobbying within political parties, particularly the ANC, resulted in a strong constitutional framework built on the principle of non-sexism, and the impetus for the construction of new gendered institutions to encourage and monitor the progress toward gender equality. The new South African Constitution, adopted in 1996, is one of the most progressive in the world. Founded on values of non-racialism and non-sexism, it protects against discrimination based on "race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language, and birth" (Bill of Rights, Section 9.3 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). The constitution also mandates the establishment of the Commission for Gender Equality (CGE), which is an independent watchdog organization for gender equality in the new South Africa.

Besides constitutional protections and independent bodies such as the CGE, gender activists fought for the establishment of other state machinery and mechanisms to increase awareness of gender inequality and to eradicate gender oppression. Shortly after coming to power in 1994, the ANC adopted a strategy of "National Machinery for Advancing Gender Equality" (Beall 2001: 138). This strategy emerged in the context of preparing for the United Nations' Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. Building national machinery for gender equality was central to the "Platform of
Action" that was adopted at the conference (Beall 2001: 136). Examples of the new state structures include: the Office of Status of Women (OSW) located in the President's Office, women's desks within all the ministries, a special commission for women within the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Graybill 2001), and an official public holiday to recognize women's role in the history of the liberation struggle. The new government also repealed sexist laws regarding marriage, divorce, property ownership, labor practices, and inheritance (UNISA 1998).

Another goal of gender activists during the political transitional was to increase women's political representation at all levels. The major mechanism to achieve this was a gender quota for electoral lists. In a proportional representation system, party electoral lists of candidates are used to determine representatives in proportion to the votes each party receives. The ANC passed a quota of at least 30% women on their electoral lists. Other political parties included more women on their lists to avoid alienating women voters. Since the ANC won a vast majority of votes in the first, and subsequent election in 1999, the 30% quota has meant a dramatic increase in women's representation. When the new democratically elected government took office in 1994, 26.7% of the national parliamentarians were women, which made South Africa's national legislative body one of the most gender-balanced in the world (Seidman 1999). After the second national elections, the National Assembly was 29.8% women and the provincial legislatures was 25.8% (CGE 1999). The second democratically elected president, Thabo Mbeki, also increased the representation of women as ministers and deputy ministers.
Despite the positive changes, gender activists have expressed concerns about the insufficient state funding for mainstreaming gender equality within institutions of the new South Africa (Beall 2001, CGE 1998). Gender activists also argue that the success of institutionalizing gender equality depends on the vibrancy of women's organizations in civil society (Beall 2001). The weakening of the autonomous Women's National Coalition during the political transition in the mid- to late-1990s raises the question of a sustained women's movement in South Africa (Lemon 2001; Meintjes 1998). Will women continue to come together across boundaries of race, class, and geographic location to struggle against gender inequality and oppression in South Africa? Will racial and class differences prevent South African women from constructing collective identities to challenge oppression in their lives? How will the new constitutional principle of a non-sexist South Africa be taken up within civil society? As women make strides in the political sphere by increasing their representation, are they also making inroads in other contexts in civil society to struggle for effective and substantive gender equality? These questions are addressed in this research through an examination of a prominent socio-cultural sphere in South Africa, that of competitive sports.

**Research Aims and Theoretical Contributions**

Much of the emerging research on reconstructing dominant gender relations in South Africa focuses on the formal political sphere. Scholars have yet to document significant gender changes within civil society. This research takes up the question of the reconstruction of gender relations in civil society, specifically within the social institution of sports. Given that sport historically has been a male dominated institution central to
the construction of white male superiority in South Africa, it is theoretically and empirically relevant to ask how the emergent gender movement in South Africa has affected the democratic transition within sports? Recent challenges and changes within South African sports have been documented by scholars, but these works are silent on the question of women and gender relations in sports.

This research speaks to that silence with three research questions as previously outlined. First, has the new political dispensation in South Africa created space for challenging the dominant gender order in sports? Specifically I ask, what organizational and policy changes have been instituted within South African's national sports structures to address the persistence of women's disadvantage and gender inequality within sports? Drawing on the scholarship on the sociology of sports and South African sports, I gather empirical evidence to describe changes that have taken place within the South African national sporting structure during the mid- to late-1990s. I present the findings of this question in Chapter 4 after I outline the historical and political context of sports in South Africa.

The second research questions of this study is whether women athletes are coming together across racial, ethnic, class, language, and cultural boundaries to construct collective identities that challenge the dominant gender and race orders within the institution of sports? Thirdly, how are the shifting collective identities within women's sports contributing to the reconstruction of race and gender within the new South Africa? To address these questions, I will draw on two distinct theoretical perspectives. First, feminist theories of intersectionality that recognize the importance of the intersections of
systems of racial, class, and gender inequalities to the experiences of women in postcolonial contexts. Using this perspective, I assume the category of women is not a unified, homogenous group of individuals who experience a common oppression. Borrowing from the work of Chandra Talpade Mohanty (1991: 58), I do not assume that women athletes will form a sisterhood based on gender. Rather, I understand that any collective experience among women athletes is forged through concrete historical and political practice and analysis. The second theoretical framework I draw from is collective identity theory as articulated in the social movement literature. Collective identity has been useful to gender scholars for explaining why women's shared common structural location is not sufficient for mobilization against gender inequality and oppression (Ray and Korteweg 1999). Social movement scholars use the concept to examine the processes of how groups define who they are, construct a group consciousness, and mobilize against perceived injustices (Friedman and McAdam 1992; Melucci 1989, 1996; Taylor 1989; Taylor and Whittier 1992). Collective identity theorists maintain that in order for people to act collectively rather than individually to address their problems, they need to come to some common understanding of their experiences (Taylor 1996; Taylor and Whittier 1992). In this research, I use the notion of collective identity to understand the degree to which South African women athletes of diverse racial and class backgrounds construct a shared definition of themselves and develop the solidarity that is necessary to challenge gender discrimination and norms of gender appropriate behavior. I will show that differences among women athletes based on race, culture, class, and geographic location have constrained their ability to build a
collective identity necessary for the successful challenge of women's grievances of
gender discrimination within sports.

I will examine women's diverse and varied experiences within two sports, competitive netball and soccer. These sports are the top two participatory sports in South Africa. More South Africans play soccer and netball than any other sports. These two sports also have complementary histories and contemporary statuses. Netball, a traditionally female-typed sport has historically has been controlled by white, Afrikaans-speaking women although more netball participants are Black than white women (SISA 1997). Interestingly, netball is the only sport played in all schools across racial and ethnic communities in South Africa. Soccer on the other hand has been a historically male-typed sport in South Africa but now is an emerging sport for Black women. The racial demographics of participants and the sex-typed nature of soccer and netball make interesting comparisons for illuminating the intersections of race, class, and gender within sports. In addition, the contrasting level of development of women's netball and soccer (netball is well-established and soccer is just now emerging) allows for a comparison of how the various structures of sports facilitate or constrain cultural transformation based on gender and race. The experiences of South African women in netball and soccer are presented respectively in Chapters 5 and 6.

To address this study's research questions of cultural transformation through sports in the new South Africa, I conducted an extended case comparison analysis of the status of women's netball and soccer in contemporary South Africa using a multiple methods approach. I used both qualitative and quantitative methodologies including
interviews, participant observations, documentary analyses, and surveys, which are appropriate for exploration and identification of new issues and concepts, and the development and elaboration of theory. I used the documentary evidence primarily to understand changes in the macro-structural context of sports in South Africa. The case comparison analysis of netball and soccer is based primarily on 48 face-to-face interviews and 332 self-administered surveys from South African women athletes and sports administrators. Finally, the participant observations and archival evidence are used to contextualize and interpret the interview and survey data.

Outline of Chapters

In the next chapter, I present the theoretical framework that grounds this research. In Chapter 3, I discuss the methodology and data used in this research. Chapter 4 reviews the social and political history of sports in South Africa starting with the rise of modern sport at the end of the nineteenth century and analyzes the macro-structural context of contemporary sports in South Africa with a special emphasis on women's sports. I use both primary and secondary data sources to develop this chapter on the historical and contemporary context. In chapters 5 and 6, I present the findings pertaining to the two cases, women's competitive netball and soccer respectively. Specifically, I examine the collective identities of women athletes with attention to intersecting systems of race, gender, and class inequalities. The concluding chapter summarizes the findings of the dissertation, outlines implications of the results, and discusses future research in this area. To supplement this analysis of power relations within contemporary South Africa, I have included a brief review of the political and social history of South Africa in Appendix A.
This review is not intended to be exhaustive, but aims to provide readers without knowledge of South Africa with important background information.
CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORY

This research bridges two theoretical perspectives—collective identity theory as articulated in the social movement literature and feminist theories of the intersectionality of race, gender, and class. I bring these two theoretical perspectives together to expand our understanding of the way structural inequalities both facilitate and impede the construction of collective identity among diverse groups. In addition to integrating these two theories, I draw from several other theoretically based literatures including the social construction of race and racial categories, African feminist thought, and a critical theoretical perspective of the sociology of sports.

Iris Berger (1992a) argues that identities of race, class, and gender are not always self-evident in South Africa and do not automatically emerge from structural positions. Rather, identities are constructed and given meaning through the process of struggle (Berger 1992a). Berger’s assertion is consistent with new social movement theory that recognizes that collective identities emerge within the context of collective struggles and is not simply a precursor to those struggles. Collective identities are important because they potentially challenge or reaffirm dominant structures and relations. In this study, I explore whether
South African women athletes are building collective identities within netball and soccer to contest dominant constructions of gender and race.

The theoretical and substantive contributions of this study are threefold. First, this examination extends our theoretical understanding of the intersections of race, gender, and class by exploring the potential of building solidarity among a diverse group of women. To accomplish this I develop an analytical strategy using collective identity theory to elucidate the opportunities and constraints of building solidarity across race, gender, and class cleavages. Second, this work contributes to the scholarship on the gendered nature of democratizing processes within transitional societies. The empirical evidence demonstrates that women, even women athletes, are political actors who contribute to the national liberation movements and the transformation of power relations in a democratizing nation. To accomplish this I draw from the scholarship on the social construction of race and the work of African feminists. Finally, this research contributes to a major omission in the literature on sports in South Africa, particularly in reference to gender. The focus on women's sports is valuable because it provides an opportunity to grapple with the gendered nature of sports in South Africa and also makes visible the reality that not all women share a common experience or unified subordinate position in relation to all men. Given that gender inequalities in sports are not uniform, but vary greatly by racial group, age, class, and location, organizing women's sports in South Africa is not a simple undertaking. This study examines the conditions under which women athletes come together to contribute to the reconstruction of race, gender, and class in South Africa. Thus, my aim is to contribute to empirical knowledge and
theoretical understanding of the intersections of structures of power in an ever-increasing globalizing world.

**Collective Identity Theory**

Collective identity theory addresses the processes by which groups of individuals create solidarity and translate their experiences of social injustice into social protest. Social movement scholars use the concept of collective identity to examine how groups define who they are, construct a group consciousness, and mobilize against perceived injustices (Gamson 1997; Melucci 1989, 1996; Taylor 1996, 1999; Taylor and Whittier 1992, 1995).

There is a renewed interest in the process of collective identity formation among social movement theorists interested in explaining the emergence of new forms of social movements in contemporary post-industrial societies (Castells 1997; Giddens 1991; Melucci 1989, 1996; Touraine 1985). These "new" social movements, which are dispersed, diffuse, and loosely organized, are understood as a response to macro-structural changes including the changing position of the state and shifts in the global economy from post-industrial to informational technologies. A renewed interest in collective identity has developed in response to the inadequacies of resource mobilization and political process theory to grapple with how and why participants come together across their differences to form "new" movements. Resource mobilization and political process theories, the dominant approaches to social movement theory in the United States today, focus on structural and organizational aspects of social movements and maintain that the emergence of movements is the result of increases in resources and changes in
the political environment and opportunity structure (McAdam 1982; McCarthy and Zald 1977; Tilly 1978). These approaches define social movements as normal political activity and considers movement participants and their actions to be rational. While resource mobilization theorists acknowledge that people will be linked around grievances, they do not address the linking process.

In contrast, new social movement theorists are interested in how individuals construct shared meanings of their worlds and come together to make collective action possible. New social movement theorists maintain that for people to come together collectively rather than individually to address their problems, they need to come to some common understanding of their experiences. The constructions of collective identities allow diverse and disconnected individuals to develop shared meanings, similar experiences, and most importantly, a connection to collective efforts that are larger than their individual participation.

Taylor and Whittier (1992:105) argue that "identity construction processes are crucial to grievance interpretation in all forms of collective action, not just the so-called new movements." They define collective identity as the "shared definition of a group that derives from members' common interests, experiences, and solidarity" (Taylor 1989; Taylor and Whittier 1992:105). Melucci (1996: 67) conceptualizes collective identity as "an interactive process through which several individuals or groups define the meaning of their action and the field of opportunities and constraints for such an action." He argues that collective identity must be conceived of as a process because it is constructed, negotiated, and maintained through ongoing relationships linking people. According to
Melucci (1996), collective identities are constantly negotiated and renegotiated among actors and a failure or break in this constructive process makes the action by the collectivity impossible.

Taylor and Whittier (1992) propose three factors in the construction of collective identity: boundaries, consciousness, and negotiation. *Boundaries* are defined as the social, psychological, and physical structures that highlight differences between subordinates and dominants; *consciousness* refers to the interpretive frameworks used by challenging group's to define and realize its interests; and *negotiations* are the symbolic and everyday actions subordinate groups take up to resist and restructure existing systems of domination. As a characteristic of all movements, collective identities change over time and influence the life of the movement itself (Friedman and McAdam 1992).

Collective identity theory has been useful to gender scholars for explaining why women's shared common structural location is not sufficient for mobilization against gender inequality and oppression (Ray 1999; Ray and Korteweg 1999). Without a shared definition of the group, women of diverse social locations will not come together to address gender oppression. Much of the past scholarship on women's movements around the world relied on the notion of "women's interests" or Molyneux's (1985) concept of "gender interests" to understand women's mobilizations. More recently, however, the concept of women's *collective identity* has become more useful in understanding the emergence and nature of women's movements. Ray and Korteweg (1999: 50) maintain that "rather than imputing identity from articulated interests, and asking whether meeting these interests would change subjectively held identity, scholars now center identity,
asking what subjectively held sense of self motivates women to act collectively." This switch from objective criteria of women's or gender interests to subjectively held collective identity averts the tendency of some scholars to impose Western-based "gender interests" on women's collective action globally and avoids the danger of reifying social categories (Rupp and Taylor 1999).

One of the major challenges of gender activists in South Africa today is to facilitate the processes by which a disparate group of women come together to challenge the dominant gender order. Germaine to this research is the question of how South African women (and men) cross boundaries of race and class to organize collectively against gender inequalities within sports. To accomplish this aim, I examine the collective identities of two groups of South African women athletes —namely netballers and soccer players. Although the two groups of athletes do not represent formal social movement organizations nor do the players identify themselves as political activists, they do intentionally mobilize to challenge the existing gender and racial orders within the traditionally masculine domain of competitive sports. Social movement scholars recognize that social protest can take many different forms including diffuse, loosely structured coalitions of actors (Buechler 1990; Melucci 1989; Taylor and Whittier 1992; Whittier 1995). Based on a fluid conception of social movements, Staggenborg (1998: 182) uses the notion of social movement communities "to encompass all actors who share and advance the goals of a social movement." Although formal oppositional sport groups of the anti-apartheid movement have become institutionalized, some collectives are still intentionally mobilizing against social inequalities. I argue that women's sports groups in
contemporary South Africa are part of the broader racial and gender movement communities in South Africa because they intentional organized against their exclusion and lack of resources in sports. Viewing women's sports groups as members of movement communities is also consistent with Katzenstein's (1990, 1998) work on how the women's movements have proliferated within previously male-dominated institutions such as the military and universities.

Melucci (1996: 6) argues that researchers must begin their investigations of collective action by identifying the field of conflict first and then explain how actors bring such conflict to the fore. The field of conflict in this research is gender and racial inequality within South African competitive sports and the actors bringing these issues to the fore are women athletes and administrators. As an analytical framework, I use Taylor and Whittier's (1992) three dimensions of collective identities-- boundaries, consciousness, and negotiation—as an analytical framework to organize the empirical findings of the experiences, conflicts, and challenges of a diverse group of South African women. My data indicate that women athletes are engaged in a process of constructing collective identities as serious athletes in the course of organizing for more opportunities. The data also show that diverse structural locations of women athletes often impedes the process of redefining boundaries and developing a shared group consciousness necessary to challenge norms of gender appropriate behavior and to transform the gender/race hierarchy within sports. To understand the highly racialized context of South African sports, I next discuss some important theoretical assertions from the race literature that informs this research.
"Race" and South African society

Race is a constitutive element of South African society. To understand virtually any dimension of historical or contemporary South African society, one must understand the role that race and racism have played in constructing social relations and structures in the country, as well as the construction of the South African nation-state itself (Marx 1998; Seidman 1999b).

Scholars identify race as a relatively recent historical concept. Its emergence and importance paralleled European exploration and colonialism starting in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (Miles and Torres 1999; Omi and Winant 1994). As Europeans had sustained contact with peoples from all corners of the world, they developed a worldview based on beliefs of white, European racial superiority. Generally, Europeans viewed themselves as the children of god, distinct from “others” who were perceived as primitive, heathen, and inferior to Europeans in virtually all respects. Historically, the idea of race has evolved from many diverse social and political sources and has been shaped by different classification systems based on social customs, linguistic peculiarities, and anatomical differences (Guillaumin 1999). The development and prominence of Western scientific discourse and practices in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries further reified the notion of separate races and an hierarchical racial classification system in which whites/Europeans were seen as superior to dark skinned individuals (Guillaumin 1999; Omi and Winant 1994). Adherents to this racial classification system view racial categories as discrete and homogenous groupings based on biological or cultural differences (Torres, Mirón, and Xavier Inda 1999). They also
viewed races as natural or essential phenomenon whose meanings were determined without human interference. Rejecting the biological basis for distinct racial groupings does not mean that there are not genetic or physical variations between population of linguistic groups. There is surely a great degree of genetic variation. However, the social construction of racial categories is supported by research that shows there are greater variations within geographic population groups than between them (Torres, Mirón, and Xavier Inda 1999).

European explorers, missionaries, settlers, and colonialists of southern Africa were part of the broader process of the global development of modern racial categories, discourses, and ideologies. The notion of "races" and a racial hierarchy were not indigenous to southern Africa but imported during centuries of colonialism and cultural imperialism. Almost immediately upon the arrival of Europeans to southern Africa, racial distinctions were critical in structuring social relations, building political institutions, and constituting the nation-state itself (Denoon and Nyeko 1990; Marx 1998; Omer-Cooper 1994). Racial divisions in southern Africa before the twentieth century were not simply drawn between Europeans and Africans but also extended to dividing white Europeans into two separate races—the British and the Boers (who were of primarily Dutch heritage). The history of migration and immigration of geographic population groups in southern Africa has been extremely complex. Khoi Khoi and San peoples are considered indigenous to the region. Between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries, these hunting and gathering societies were deeply affected by the settlement of Western European farmers of Dutch, German, and French heritage, colonialization by the
British, and migration of Africans from the north and east (Denoon and Nyeko 1990; Omer-Cooper 1994). There was also forced immigration of people from Asia, including Indians who were brought as indentured laborers to work the sugar cane fields in the Natal region and Malaysians who were brought to the Cape Colony and sold as slaves.

The single event changing the course of history of racialization in the region was the discovery of gold in 1886 (Marx 1992). The exploration and mining of gold and diamonds in the Transvaal region during the late 19th century intensified the construction of discrete races and reconstructed a hierarchical racial classification system. The desire for a cheap labor by the mining companies reinforced racial distinctions and hierarchies. Tensions between British colonialists and Dutch settlers heightened during this period over control of mineral-rich land and culminated with the Anglo-Boer War of 1899. After the war ended white power was consolidated with the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910. This marked the beginning of a more intense racialization of social life in the region. White minority rule passed the 1913 Land Act that appropriated 87% of the land to whites and the remaining 13% to the rest of the population, who constituted about 85% of the population. Dividing South African land according to racial distinctions greatly contributed to the naturalization of race, racial categories, and racial inequalities in South Africa. Long before the codification of apartheid in 1948, race was used to construct and justify existing social status, social structures, and social inequalities in South African society. The Population Registration Act of 1950, a cornerstone of apartheid, classified individuals into one of four racial groups: Africans (also officially referred to as Blacks, Bantus, and Natives), Europeans (later referred to as Whites), Coloreds (generally
referring to those of mixed racial heritage), and Asians (mostly of Indian descent). In 1951, the South African population of approximately 13,864,300 individuals consisted of 69.6% Africans, 19.1% whites, 8.6% Coloreds and 2.7% Asians (Mfono 2001). One's racial classification determined virtually everything in one's life—where you lived, worked, traveled, went to school, who you could marry, etc. Within the apartheid framework, the racial categories were hierarchically ranked by the power, authority, and privilege afforded to each group. By law, whites had the most power, then Coloreds, then Asians, and at the bottom rung, Africans.

Today, the legacy of the racial apartheid categories is still deeply felt. The new South African government is faced with the difficult task of simultaneously addressing horrendous racial inequalities while avoiding the reification of racial categorization. Despite the understanding that race is a social construction and not a biological imperative, race has real consequences and biology will continue to be referenced to give meaning to racial categories in South Africa. With such a long history of race structuring South Africans' lives at all levels from everyday interactions to national politics, it is difficult to imagine that race will lose its salience in South African society (Klandermans, Roefs, and Olivier 1998, 2001). Nonetheless, racial categories are not fixed but fluid and historically and contextually based, which means individuals, groups, organizations, and national leaders are all engaged in the reconstruction of racial categories and meanings within contemporary South Africa. Jung (2000) has shown that political identities in South Africa during the 1990s continually shifted and were not rigidly based on racial or ethnic boundaries, which themselves are fluid.
In this research, I take up the question of how South African women in the context of competitive sports are reworking racial boundaries, meanings, and identities. As a starting point, I assume that existing social inequalities between racialized groups in South Africa are not the consequence of biological inheritance but rather the result of historically based power relations (Marx 1998). In addition, I aim to examine the racialization process among South African women through a gendered lens. That is to say, I aim to articulate the ways race and racial meanings intersect with that of gender and gender meanings (Stepan 1998). To accomplish this, I draw from feminist theories of the interlocking systems of race, gender, and class, which I now discuss.

**Interlocking systems of Race, Gender, and Class**

Feminist researchers, across multiple disciplines, are now looking at gender from the perspective of race, gender, and class. Gender scholars are regularly challenging the conception of women as a unified category and recognizing the importance of race and class and other sources of power in understanding the social construction of gender. Such theoretical frameworks call for research on the simultaneity of oppressions, the interlocking systems of inequalities, and the intersectionality and multiplicity of women's social locations. This scholarly project is grounded both in Black feminist thought produced by North American scholars and post-colonial feminism developed by "Third World" scholars. This intersectionality framework is an evolving interdisciplinary body of theory and practice that has its' roots in numerous intellectual traditions, such as socialist feminism, race and ethnic studies, and post-colonial feminisms (Andersen and Hill Collins 1995; Baca Zinn and Thornton Dill 1996; Cuádraz and Uttal 1999; Hill
Collins 1990; hooks 2000; Hurtado 1989; Mama 1995; Mohanty, Russo and Torres 1991; Smith 1995; Wing 2000). Its' various identifiers—black feminism, womanism, multiracial feminism, third world feminism, post-colonial feminism, indigenous feminism, and multicultural feminism—suggest divergent origins and analytical foci (see Baca Zinn and Thornton Dill 1996; Hill Collins 1999). In this study, I use the term intersectionality theory to describe this body of work.

Intersectionality theory draws attention not only to the power relations between women and men but also among women. Beyond simply recognizing differences among women, this tradition examines multiple structures of domination. Intersectionality theorists focus is on how systems of inequality and oppression are crosscutting rather than operating in isolation from one another and how individuals occupy multiply and often-contradictory status positions simultaneously (Hill Collins 1990; Mohanty, Russo and Torres 1991). Gender inequalities from this perspective are examined through lenses of race and class inequalities. Using this multi-lens approach allows researchers to understand consequential differences among women (or among men) rather than simply differences between women and men. Thus, this framework is useful to explain why women's shared common structural location as women is not sufficient for mobilization against gender inequality.

The academic theorizing within this project is directly rooted in the practical concerns of building diverse grassroots coalitions of women (and men) to fight against gender and other oppressions. Hill Collins (1995:pg) maintains that "race, class, and gender studies emerged, not in the rarified atmosphere of academia, but in conjunction
with social movements populated by people who had a real stake in understanding and changing inequalities of power resulting from systems of oppression called racism, patriarchy, and class exploitation." To elucidate this framework, I have identified five basic assumptions or assertions of intersectionality theory. These assertions have shaped this research in every respect. They include the conceptualization of gender as a structure, the rejection of the a priori assumption of women as a unified category, the existence of interlocking systems of inequality and oppression, the recognition of women's agency, and the encouragement of historically specific, local analyses. I discuss each of these issues below.

**Conceptualization of gender**

According to intersectionality theory, gender is not simply conceptualized as a social characteristic of an individual, but it is understood as structure, or a set of enduring relations, that operates at multiple levels in connection with other structures, such as race, class, and sexuality (Connell 1987; Lorber 1994). Moreover, gender is understood as a social construction and not a predetermined, biological phenomenon. Like the social construction of race, as elaborated above, gender is socially, historically, and contextually based rather than biologically or naturally fixed. Sandra Harding (1991: 79) explicates this conceptualization of gender in her claim that "there are no gender relations per se, but only gender relations as constructed by and between classes, races, and cultures."

**Analytical category of "women"**

Scholars working within this framework do not assume the analytical category of "women" prior to an investigation (Baca Zinn and Thornton Dill 1996). The category
"women" is also not assumed to be an homogenous, unified group of individuals who experience a common oppression. Mohanty (1991: 58) states that "sisterhood cannot be assumed on the basis of gender; it must be forged in concrete historical and political practice and analysis." This understanding is useful to explain why women's shared common structural location is not sufficient for mobilization against gender inequality. It also assists in breaking down the binary divisions between women and men and draws attention to the power relations among women.

**Interlocking systems of inequalities**

A central component of intersectionality theory is how individual experiences are linked to social structures. This theoretical framework assumes that individuals' lives are affected by interlocking systems of inequalities, such as those based on race, class, and gender. Women and men occupy multiple and often contradictory status positions that simultaneously advantaged and disadvantages their lives. Patricia Hill Collins (1990) identifies the interlocking systems of inequalities as a "matrix of domination," which is a model of interlocking rather than additive connections between inequalities. Hill Collins' matrix of domination is a criticism of the construction of binary oppositions of oppressed/oppressor or black/white; it rejects the "either/or" dichotomy while embracing an "both/and" position. The matrix of domination operates at two distinct analytical levels, as delineated in the following quote.

First, the notion of interlocking oppressions refers to the macro level connections linking systems of oppression such as race, class, and gender. This is the model describing the social structures that create social positions. Second, the notion of intersectionality describes micro level processes—namely, how each individual and group occupies a social position within interlocking structures of oppression described by the metaphor of intersectionality (Hill Collins 1995:492).
At both levels of analysis, gender relations and inequalities crosscut other systems of power rather than operating in isolation. A woman's gendered experiences are always framed in the context of her racial and class locations. Therefore, gender relations and gender inequalities are best examined through lenses of race and class inequalities. Using this multi-lens approach or the notion of the matrix of domination allows researchers to: (1) ground feminist scholarship in the histories of racism and imperialism; (2) highlight how status positions are relational and to show how positions of privilege and disadvantage are connected; and (3) understand consequential differences among women (or among men) rather than simply differences between women and men.

Women's agency

Intersectionality theory also explores the interplay between social structure and human agency. This perspective critiques scholarship that overemphasizes the powerlessness of women and only represents women as victims, exploited and dependent on men or represents third world women as ignorant, poor, uneducated, tradition-bound, domestic, family-oriented rather than agents of their own identity (Mohanty 1991: 56). Intersectionality theorists focus on strategies of creative resistance that women employ to survive and thrive in oppressive situations and the instances that women are empowered through rejecting those dimensions of knowledge that perpetuate objectification and dehumanization (Hill Collins 1990; Mohanty 1991).

Hill Collins theorizes that "domination operates not only by structuring power from the top down but by simultaneously annexing the power as energy of those on the bottom for its own ends" (1990: 227-8). By altering the patterns of power relations from
a hierarchical, vertical model to a more fluid model of interrelatedness, we can begin to analyze the dynamics of domination and resistance in new ways. Hill Collins (1990) argues that resistance need not be institutionalized. For example, she recognizes two forms of black women's activism: the subtle undermining of institutions through the creation of female spheres of influence within existing structures of oppression (because direct confrontation is neither possible nor preferred) and the institutional transformation consisting of direct challenges in the form of trade unions, boycotts, marches, sit-ins, and so on. The importance of recognizing the interplay of social structures and human agency is that it allows for the possibility of social change.

Historically specific and local analyses

This race/gender/class framework calls for historically specific, local analyses that seek to understand the complexities of the specific mode of patriarchal organization and generate theoretical categories from within the situation and context being analyzed. The call for historically specific, local analyses also demands that researchers not impose a specific ideological or universal theoretical formula to interpret their findings. Post-colonial feminism offers a strong critique of the tendency of Western feminists to interpret and judge "Third World" women's activism through a Western feminist or "first world" framework rather than indigenous understandings and definitions of feminist activism (Amadiume 2000; Mama 1995; Nnaemeka 1998). As a response to this critique, I draw upon scholarship produced by African gender scholars and activists with a particularly focus of work regarding the southern African context to interpret the experiences and subjective orientations of the South Africans in this research. I turn now
to those theoretical and empirical insights from African-based researchers of gender and feminism.

**African Based Scholarship on Gender and Feminism**

The forms, ideology, and nature of feminist thought and activities in Africa are diverse, just as they are in other regions of the world. Some scholars use the plural form of "feminisms" to draw attention to the multiple activities and perspectives identified as feminist on the African continent (Fester 1998; Nnaemeka 1998; Miles 1998). The term feminist itself is highly problematic and often rejected by African women because of its connection to an agenda of white, middle-class women from the West (Hudson-Weems 1998; Mikell 1995, 1997; Mangaliso 1997). Many African women activists hesitate to call themselves a feminist because of its connection with Western hegemony, which is central to their experiences of oppression in their lives. Some women will use an alternative label for feminism, such as womanism, to distance themselves from Western feminisms (Chukukere 1998; Hudson-Weems 1998).

**Strategies and forms of African women's resistance**

The question of what constitutes feminist actions is highly debated within the African context as it is in most contexts. Should one classify African women's long history of political protest against colonialism as feminist? Is feminist action a new phenomenon on the African continent or one with a long history? These questions defy definitive answers, and I argue that such questions are less engaging and productive than questions that ask how gender influences women's and men's resistance to oppression and injustice in their lives, regardless of the basis of that oppression and injustice? Moreover,
how do women's (and men's) political activism or patterns of resistance differ across time and space?

Although African feminisms defy simple or definitive categorization, scholars have recognized some distinct themes and characteristics that broadly define the forms and nature of African feminisms. Feminist priorities in Africa are created by specific African social structure. Ania (1998:77) asserts that "with the unique history of racism, colonialism, neocolonialism, and imperialism in Africa, it becomes easy to overlook sexual oppression and to face those other forms of oppression which are seen as demanding more urgent solutions." For example, given the long history of colonialism and apartheid in Southern Africa, gender activism has been historically embedded within the context of broader national liberation movements of the region (Bernstein 1985; Walker 1982). Feminist scholars such as West (1997) are now arguing that the separation of women's movements and national liberation struggles constructs a false dichotomy.

Nnaemeka (1998) argues that African feminism style of resistance or strategies of organizing are often processes of negotiation and compromise rather than direct confrontation. Chukukere (1998: 139) describes Nigerian feminism/womanism as "a non-violent, non-confrontational concept which places a high value on disciplined freedom, self-determination, and the ability of women to produce maximum results through cooperative endeavors."

Organizing women in Africa is also difficult given differences among women based on class, ethnicity, geography, religion, and national origin. Aina (1998) identifies
the major challenge to the growth of feminism in Africa is the gap between the elite, urban, feminist-conscious women and the rural, grassroots women who are the majority. Mikell (1995) argues that the emergence of a new African feminism of the 1980s and 1990s is grounded in the national crises and political transitions in Africa. She characterizes this new African feminism as "political, pragmatic, reflexive, and group oriented" (Mikell 1995:405). According to Mikell (1995), the national crises and political transition of African nations in the late twentieth century have created "dialogue spaces" that have opened-up opportunities for gender dialogue. Consistent with other scholars, Mikell (1995) recognizes that African women's movements are made up of a wide range of organizations that can be conceptualized as a continuum of women's associations instead of one coherent women's movement. The emergence of gender movements in South Africa during the 1990s is consistent with these claims.

**Dual-sex system of African societies**

Scholars debate the contours of the traditional nature of the dominant gender order in Africa. Often this debate is based on ideological beliefs rather than empirical evidence. Some view traditional African societies as highly patriarchal, while others perceive traditional African societies as women-centered. Generally, scholars argue that pre-colonial African societies were characterized by a dual-sex system in which women and men filled different but similarly valued positions within their communities (Ndewu 2001; Sofola 1998). This was a complementary system whereby both women and men contributed to the working of the whole community. Evidence of powerful spiritual and political roles that women played in pre-colonialist West African societies are often used
to argue that historically women and men shared power (Jell-Bahllsen 1998; Sofola 1998). Without denying the way women were disadvantaged relative to men, most scholars agree that historically African women were empowered by a system of separate spheres that gave them decision-making power and control over resources.

Ryan (1998) argues that colonial states made use of existing patriarchal structures and gender inequalities in African societies to further their own hegemonic practices. Research has shown that based on their Victorian beliefs about women, male colonialists in southern Africa often ignored and did not appreciate the nature of women's power within their communities when they were installing African leaders into colonialist political structures (Bozoli 1983; Guy 1990; Manicom 1992). Thus, women's traditional powers were undermined during colonialism and their lack of power persists today. This does not necessarily mean women and men shared equivalent amounts of power and status in pre-colonial African societies, but it does suggest that the gap between women's and men's status widened through the colonial period. A relevant example of how European forms of patriarchy were imposed on peoples of southern Africa is the importation of the gendered institution of sports. Part of European settlers and colonialists establishing control in southern Africa was the imposition of specific cultural practices, such as those of modern sports. The dominant British model of sport during the nineteenth century, in particular, was a highly gendered and patriarchal set of practices in which women were largely seen as outsiders or simply supporters of the masculine domain of sport.
I next turn to elaborating theoretical constructs from the sociology of sport literature that informs this analysis.

**Theoretical considerations from the Sociology of Sports**

Scholars have theorized about sport from many diverse and contradictory perspectives. I ground this analysis of South African sports in a critical approach that views sport as social practice embedded within a specific historical and cultural context structured by material power relations and legitimated by dominant ideology (Carrington and McDonald 2001, Gruneau 1983/1999; Hargreaves 1994; Theberge 1985, 1987). In other words, I understand sport as a human social invention greatly shaped by those in power rather than a predetermined set of structures and practices. Gruneau (1983/1999: 17), one of the scholars contributing to the development of this critical theoretical framework, argues that

> Sports can be seen as active constitutive features of human experience that must be viewed in the context of a struggle over [the] limits and possibilities and over the appropriation of the rules and resources that define them. Depending upon their association with divergent material interests, the meanings of sports, like all cultural creations, have the capacity to be either reproductive or oppositional, repressive or liberating.

In the context of South Africa, modern sport, which emerged in connection to European colonialism, has played an important role in both supporting and challenging the status quo of white, affluent, male colonial rule. The history of rugby in South Africa offers many examples of how sport is organized to support the status quo (Grundlingh, Odendaal, and Spies 1995; Nauright 1996). Adler (1997) offers an example of how sports can challenge the status quo with his analysis of how rugby was used as a social basis of automobile worker solidarity within apartheid South Africa. Moreover, Booth
(1998) has documented how sport was used as a liberating force of the anti-apartheid movement.

The activities of the anti-apartheid sport movement, including the international sporting boycott against South Africa, sparked scholars' interests in critical examinations of South African sporting systems (Archer and Bouillon 1982; Brickhill 1976; Jarvie 1985; Lapchick 1975). Much of this early scholarship focuses on sport within apartheid South Africa. Since the dismantling of apartheid, there has been a renewed interest in the meanings, practices, and development of modern sports in South Africa (Booth 1998; Nauright 1997; Odendaal 1988). Much of this emerging scholarship focuses on intersecting racial and class dynamics within South African sports. For example, Odendaal (1988) has written about how the development of modern sport in South Africa was closely linked to assimilationist goals of colonial politics and the process of African class formation. Cricket before the turn of the century, Odendaal (1988) argues, was part of English missionaries' civilizing project for African elite males. However, these efforts shifted at the turn of the century with the rise of the economic elite's desire for a cheap and compliant Black labor force to work the mines. Expressing the importance of sport for the British civilizing mission, Odendall (1988: 196) writes:

British games, particularly cricket, which the Victorians regarded as embodying 'a perfect system of ethics and morals,' were taken almost as seriously as the Bible, the alphabet and the Magna Carta.

Other scholars such as Nauright (1997) and Booth (1998) have added much to our theoretical understanding of the history of South African sport and its connections with racial domination, worker control, nationalism, and cultural identities in South Africa.
Their work demonstrates that sport is not simply a reflection or a microcosm of the broader society but also an important institution in the construction of dominant social relations within societies. I elaborate on this body of research in Chapter 4 when I explore historical and contemporary themes of South African sports.

The scholarship on South African sport is however limited in that it does not grapple with sport as a gendered institution or examine the convergence of race, class, and gender relations within and through sports. In the context of South Africa, researchers have explored the intersections of racial and economic power relations within sports but have ignored the importance of gender in shaping sport practices and structures. This analysis takes up the question of gender relations within sport in South Africa and the intersections of race, gender and class dimensions. I rely on the work of feminist scholars within sociology of sport to interpret and understand how sport in South Africa is a gendered institution. By the label—'gendered' institution—I mean that gender differences shape and constrain who participates in sport, how sport is organized and structured, and the social and cultural meanings attached to sport. Sport is also gendered in that it reflects and facilitates boys' and men's social, political, and economic advantage over women (Birrell and Cole 1994; Duncan, Messner, Williams, and Jensen 1994; Hargreaves 1994; Messner and Sabo 1990).

During the 1980s, scholars primarily in North America, Western Europe, and Australia, began giving serious attention to gender relations and the social institution of modern sports. The primary focus of the sociological scholarship has been describing gender inequities within sports and elaborating on how men's social dominance and
women's subordination are reproduced through competitive sports (Boutilier and SanGiovanni 1983; Bryson 1987, 1990; Gruneau and Whitson 1993; Lenskyj 1986; Messner 1988; Messner and Sabo 1990; Willis 1982). Researchers have given less attention to explaining processes of gender challenge and change within sports (Birrell and Cole 1994; Birrell and Richter 1987; Theberge 1987). We know a significant amount about ideological barriers and macro-structural constraints that women face in competitive sports, however we understand relatively little about how these barriers and constraints are weakened and transformed. Moreover, the research on gender relations and sport has focused, almost exclusively, on sporting practices of North America and Western Europe. There is a dearth of scholarship on gendered experiences of women and men athletes and gendered practices within sport on the African continent. In this dissertation, my aim is to address the major gap in the literature on gender and sport within South Africa and to contribute to the emerging scholarship on processes of gender change through sports by examining the transformation of gender and race relations within netball and soccer in post-apartheid South Africa. Given the Eurocentric bias of theories of gender and sport, I also draw from African based scholarship on gender relations and intersectionality theories that articulate an understanding of how gender relations and gendered experiences are deeply shaped by intersecting relations of race and class in a post-colonial or neocolonial context.

Rigid distinctions between so-called "male sports" and "femalé sports," are classical examples of how dominant groups construct social, physical, and cultural boundaries to highlight differences between subordinate and dominant groups. Scholars
theorize that competitive male sporting preserves or "flagship masculine sports" reproduce the subordination of women by “naturalizing” men’s privileged social position (Bryson 1987; Dunning 1986; Gruneau and Whitson 1993). Gender scholars also argue that elite contact sports historically have sustained a dominant or hegemonic model of masculinity by rituals of conformity, injury, and pain, social isolation from women, and deference to male authority (Sabo and Panepinto 1990; Willis 1982). Contact sports, such as rugby in South Africa, are quintessential masculine sports that link maleness with highly valued and visible skills and positively sanction the use of aggression/force/violence. In South Africa, the very physical game of rugby has been closely linked with the construction of white masculine power and Afrikaner nationalism (Black and Nauright 1998; Grundlingh 1995). For Black men in South Africa, I argue that soccer has served as a racialized flagship masculine sport and ideological cornerstone for the maintenance of Black men's dominance within their communities and families. I maintain that competitive sports in South Africa contributes to the on-going construction of a hierarchy of racialized masculinities, which affirms white, middle-class men's dominance and non-white, poor women's subordination while simultaneously allowing for the possibility of change.

In South Africa, the quintessential feminine sport is netball, which has been historically dominated by white Afrikaans speaking women. Theoretically, women's entrance into netball does not radically challenge gender appropriate behavior or dominant constructions of gender. However, women-dominated sports associations, such as netball, do afford women the rare opportunity of decision making control within the
social institution of sports. In contrast, women in soccer challenge the social
collection of gender and the notion that soccer players are men. However, within the
male-dominated preserve of soccer, women have only limited control and decision
making power. Women in netball and soccer, thus, pose different challenges to the
dominant gender order in South African sport. Theoretically the ways that athletes
challenge and/or reaffirm dominant social relations in traditionally "female-typed" sports
and "male-typed" sports are distinct. Therefore, to fully understand the differences,
researchers must conduct local and historically specific examinations of such dynamics.

As mentioned in the beginning of this section, this research expands on the critical
theoretical understanding of sports as "structured" forms of human activity that have the
capacity to create and constrain different possibilities and choices. As Gruneau
(1983/1999:28) argues, it is the rules, traditions, and organizations that define sports as
both enabling and constraining. Moreover, Gruneau argues that to understand the
conditions which variously influence these options for different agents or groups of
agents in sports, we need to

...situate our study of play, games, and sports in the context of understanding the
historical struggle over the control of rules and resources in social life, and the
ways in which this struggle relates to structured limits and possibilities (Gruneau

The experiences of South African women athletes is part of the larger historical
struggle over the control of resources within South African sports, which both imposes
limitations and creates possibilities for action. Situating South African women athletes'
organizing in that context allows us to address the androcentric biases of the scholarly
literature on South African sports. Further, it expands our understanding how women

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athletes are part of the broader racial and gender movement communities that struggle against social inequalities. By bridging the theoretical frameworks of collective identity theory and intersectionality theory, I contribute to our understanding of how structural inequalities among South African women enable and constrain their capacity to challenge their disadvantage positions within the social institution of sports. In the following chapter I map out the data and methodological approach used to meet these empirical and theoretical goals.
CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY AND DATA

To advance the theoretical and empirical goals of this dissertation, I conducted a case comparison analysis of women's competitive netball and soccer in contemporary South Africa using a multiple methods approach. I used both qualitative and quantitative methodologies including interviews, participant observations, documentary analyses, and surveys, which are appropriate for exploration and identification of new issues and concepts, and the elaboration and development of theory (Denzin and Lincoln 2000; Reinhartz 1992). I collected data from three distinct contexts: the national institution of South African sports, competitive women's netball, and competitive women's soccer. First, I collected data on the national sporting structures and practices in South Africa including interview data with national level sporting administrators, documentary evidence on national sporting policies and Department of Sport and Recreation. These data offer the historical and political context for my comparative case analysis of women's competitive netball and soccer in South Africa. The sources of data for the analyses of netball and soccer includes interviews, surveys, fieldnotes, and archival materials. Before discussing the process of data collection and the analytical strategy
employed in this research, I outline the epistemological and methodological framework guiding this research.

Epistemological and Methodological Framework

This research project borrows from multiple epistemologies including an interpretivist perspective, feminist standpoint approach, and post-colonial thought. Recently, an eclectic epistemological approach seems to be more common within the social sciences (Olesen 2000). Rather than adhering to the rules and procedures of one grand epistemology, social researchers are recognizing the complexities of the knowledge production process and simultaneously borrowing from multiple perspectives that are sensitive to those complexities. Taking an eclectic approach however runs the risks of generating irresolvable contradictions within an analysis. Instead of attempting to avoid such risks by rejecting an eclectic approach or ignoring the complexities of understanding the social word, I adopt a reflexive approach that encourages the engagement of such contradictions and recognizes the limitations of any research project.

Following a long tradition of interpretivism within sociology, I understand human action as meaningful and I embrace the interpretivists' commitment to understanding the subjective intentions and meanings behind human action within a particular historical context. This approach can be traced to Weber's (1968) notion of *Verstehen*. Weber (1968) argued that since human behavior emerges from individuals' understanding of the situation and their perception of the options open to them, the behavior itself is only the starting point for fully understanding individual and collective experiences. Weber and other critical sociologists thus assert that to explain human behavior, one must explore
people's subjective understandings and perceptions of the particular situations. In this sense, I aim to understand the subjective experiences of South Africans participating in contemporary sports. However, while I appreciate this goal of *Verstehen*, or the complex process by which one attempts to understand another's subjective motivations and life world, I question the interpretivist belief of the value-free objective researcher, who stands outside the research process and captures the subjective meanings of the participant's views, beliefs, and actions. Drawing from feminist standpoint epistemology, which offers a critique of androcentric social science, I recognize the interplay between researcher and participant in producing knowledge. An underlining assumption of this research is that my particular social location and that of the study's participants will inherently influence the knowledge production process (Andersen 1994; Cannon, Higginbotham, and Leung 1988; Fonow and Cook 1991; Taylor 1998).

Taking into consideration both interpretivist and feminist standpoint epistemological approaches, I develop a strategy of "passionate objectivity" or "strong objectivity" as described by Hargreaves (1997:193) and Harding (1993:71), respectively. These strategies call for the critical examination of the researcher's social location and the investigation of the power relations between researcher and participant. Thus, while I aim to draw valid conclusions about the social experiences of South Africans through the use of systematic observational procedures, I also appreciate that I am firmly embedded in the political and social context of this investigation rather than a non-interested, objective observer positioned outside the research context (Harding 1991). By the terms "passionate" and "strong," I wish to make visible how my feminist sensibilities have
shaped the conceptualization of the "research problem" and influenced each step in the research process, from collecting data to drawing conclusions. By feminist sensibilities I mean the belief that gender relations are an important organizing principle in contemporary societies and that inequalities and injustices based on gender needs to be transformed. By using the term "objectivity," I acknowledge that this project is embedded in social science practices of using systematic, well-documented, and logical procedures that aim to produce valid understandings of the social world. Nonetheless, I am skeptical of the notion of "objectivity" given that I understand all scientific research as socially and politically bound (Harding 1991). Therefore, I use and understand the term "objectivity" as a guiding principle rather than an attainable goal.

A central aim of this research is to examine how race, class, and gender influence and structure women's experiences in sports in South Africa. To accomplish this I develop a theoretical framework that is grounded in women's views and experience of the world, rather than imposing from above a theoretical framework. Women's embodied experiences, in particular, form the basis for the development of such women-centered knowledge. In-depth interviews and participant observations allow the participants to represent their experiences in their own voices. Feminist scholars have argued that in-depth interviewing and participant observations are also useful for understanding women's lives and experiences that have been ignored or neglected by mainstream research (Acker, Barry & Essevald 1991; Blee and Taylor 2000; DeVault 1990; Oakley 1981). These methods allow for the privileging of the voices and lives of South African women athletes over predetermined theories or assumptions.
The issue of giving voice to South African women brings up questions of representation. Can I speak for South African women? How do power differentials between myself and participants influence the representations that I produced? There has been a fierce debate among feminist scholars about the race and class biases of white Western feminists, like me, doing cross-cultural research with non-Western people of color. Third world feminists, women of color scholars, and post-colonial researchers have critiqued the imposition of white, middle-class, Western-centered values and perspectives on research of "Others" or Third World, non-Western peoples. These critiques were foremost in my mind throughout this research process. One approach I considered early in my graduate school training was to give up fieldwork in communities of "Others" and "stay home" in the U.S. to conduct research (Visweswaran 1994). However, given the increased level of globalization of economies and other social-political institutions, staying home is becoming less and less possible. Moreover, given my intellectual and political interests in understanding global power relations, I choose to engage in cross-cultural research.

Another possible research approach or strategy identified by Haggis and Schech (2000:397), two Australian white feminists, is for white feminists to roll up their sleeves, start the hard work of shifting feminist whiteness, and forge bridges with 'Others'. They argue that white researchers need to acknowledge that our power and privilege cannot be wished away or ignored. The write:

'Our' text, as white, Western, middle-class, and academic, are always powerful constructions of our research subjects, however collaborative attained. White [researchers] must roll up their sleeves, start some hard work and be prepared to risk being BAD, not (only) as 'girrrrls' contesting conventions of
patriarchy, but as makers of powerful knowledges about others. Short of giving up our institutional locations and silencing ourselves, this must involve a transparency within our knowledge products of the politics of the text, in ways which acknowledge and reveal the partiality, privilege and situatedness of our knowledge...There is, in this sense, no safe pace for those who wish to shift feminist whiteness (Haggis and Schech 2006:397).

So, with this project, I roll up my sleeves and risk being 'BAD.' I aim to privilege the voices of the South African women and men however I acknowledge that those voices are framed, selected, and mediated by my own voice. I look to varied discourses among feminist scholars to understand how my social location influences my work with South Africans and for guiding strategies for grappling with issues of representation and voice (Andersen 1994; DeVault 1990, 1999; Fonow and Cook 1986; Harding 1991; Hill Collins 1990; Johnson-Bailey 1999; Kirsch 1999; Mohanty 1991; Richardson 1990). One issue that emerges in this body of scholarship is that of the ethics of reciprocity, or in a South African term--mbuntu. Rather than proceeding in a one-sided manner in which I take from the participants in the study, I worked at building reciprocal relations throughout the research process. This was especially important given the long history of foreign researchers going to South Africa to satisfy their own research and career needs (Stanfield and Dennis 1993).

Two examples of my ethics of reciprocity include a fundraising effort and a yearbook project. During my preliminary fieldwork, I initiated a fundraising project to assist a Black identified woman triathlete seeking to travel to United States to compete in a world triathlon championship. These efforts were a way for me to learn about the daily struggles of Black women athletes in South Africa and also a way for me to share the material resources that I had access to through social, professional, and familial networks.
Another illustration of my ethics of reciprocity was the creation of a yearbook for members of the women's soccer league in the Western Cape. The yearbook, which consisted of photographs of each league teams along with action shots of games, was a means by which I could give back to the study participants. I gave a yearbook to each of the individuals I interviewed and donated a dozen yearbooks to be sold as a fund-raiser. In many ways, these actions are trivial however they served as an effort to invest in the lives of research participants.

In terms of the limitations of my outsider position within South Africa, my language limitation and my American status were two of the most influential. Although I am multilingual, I speak only one of the eleven official languages in South Africa--English. I was thus limited to conducting interviews in English. There were, however, several occasions in which a translator assisted me when speaking with individuals whose first language was not English. A native Afrikaans speaker was also used to translate newspaper articles written in Afrikaans. I did consider translating the netball survey into Afrikaans, a Dutch-based language of many of the netball participants. I decided against this because of the apartheid history of that language and the fact that many South Africans identify Afrikaans as the language of the oppressor (Kaschula and Anthonissen 1995). Short of translating the survey into all ten of the other official languages, I chose to limit the survey to English. Within the context of women's soccer, my language limitations had the most impact. For a majority of soccer players, English is a second language. English is however a common second language in South Africa and given the relatively young age, middle-class status of the participants, almost all were proficient in
English (Kaschula and Anthonissen 1995). In addition, since my target population was urban South Africans, the likelihood of participants speaking English was greater than the overall South African population.

In terms of my social location as a white, middle-class, American woman, my American status seemed to be the most salient. Since I interviewed and interacted with South African's of diverse racial, gender, and class backgrounds, I acted as both insider and outsider dependent on the context. However, in terms of my nationality, I was always an outsider. Participants viewed and interpreted my presence in South Africa in varied ways. Most thought I was an American reporter coming to write stories about women's sports. Those who understood my efforts as research for a dissertation still were very curious about why I chose "them" for the research. The lack of media or research attention on women athletes in South Africa worked to my advantage because participants were very eager to share their stories with me. They complained about the lack of interest in women's sports and thus mostly embraced my presence. This is not to say that some were not suspicious of me or quite guarded about sharing their thoughts. I experienced a range of types and levels of resistance and tried simultaneously to respect participants' hesitations while building rapport. Overall, while I recognize that my outsider status in the context of South Africa limits my research in many respects, I do not believe it prevents me or researchers from other social locations from constructing a useful and valid account of social experiences of South Africans. Moreover, by engaging in reflexivity during the research process, I aim to take responsibility for my unearned advantages and attempt to do the hard work of conducting non-destructive, non-
oppressive research. A critical part of this strategy of reflexivity was to seek out scholarship regarding methodological and ethical concerns of doing social science research in the African context (e.g., African Studies Association 2000; Bless and Higson-Smith 1995; Goduka 1990).

In the remainder of the chapter, I will describe the data collected and analytical methods employed in this research and conclude with a discussion of limitations of this study.

**Preliminary Data Collection**

The data were collected during two extended stays in South Africa—June and July of 1999 and June through September of 2000. I collected preliminary data in 1999 to assist in the development of a feasible research design and to address questions of sampling, entree, and access, the site of data collection, and the many other issues germane to planning field work. Before traveling to South Africa to conduct preliminary research, I sent out multiple requests on electronic mailing lists for names of scholars, athletes, and sport administrators who would be willing to meet with me during my visit. Using my "pre-existing relations of trust" (Loftland and Loftland 1984: 25) facilitated my making connections with South African contacts. This process elicited numerous contacts and resulted in four semi-structured interviews and many less-formal conversations. I formally interviewed a regional sports administrator, an elite female athlete, a sports marketing agent, and a women's sports advocate. These interviews lasted from 35 minutes to 2 hours and were tape-recorded and transcribed in full. The informal conversations included meeting with three university scholars who have done research on
gender relations and/or sports and speaking with numerous individuals ranging from bus
and taxi drivers in Cape Town and Johannesburg to women engaged in lawn bowling at a
private sports club situated off the Atlantic coast. The individuals with whom I spoke
were diverse in terms of their gender, racial background, occupation, and education level.
Starting conversations with South Africans about sports proved to be easier than I
anticipated. As an outsider, I believe it was easier for me to ask questions about race and
gender politics in the context of a conversation about sports than it would have been to
raise such issues in the context of talking about, for example, the recent political election.
Overall, I found the South Africans I met very willing to talk about sports and politics
and enthusiastic about research on the role of sports in the transformation of South
African society.

Besides conducting preliminary data collection during this initial trip to South
Africa, I participated in a month-long academic tour of Cape Town, Durban, Pretoria,
Johannesburg, and their surrounding areas. As part of this tour, I visited such places as
Robben Island Prison, informal housing settlements, "Black" townships, wealthy suburbs,
traditional rural villages, university campuses, a gold/diamond mine, the historical site of
the Soweto 1976 student uprisings, and much more. Having lived and traveled
throughout Sub-Saharan Africa during the mid to late 1980s, I was already somewhat
familiar with African cultures and history. This tour afforded me the opportunity to learn
a great deal about South Africa within a short period. In summary, my initial visit to
South Africa afforded me the opportunity and resources to do the following: (a) collect
preliminary data that was necessary for developing research questions and a feasible
research design; (b) network and initiate contact with individuals who participated in and helped with this research; and (c) gain first hand experience of traveling in South Africa, which was important to successfully planning and carrying out my field work during the following year.

After returning from my initial trip to South Africa, I continued to make contact and network with individuals in South Africa through electronic mail. Although the Internet is a limited means of communication because of the access inequalities among South Africans, it provided me with an efficient and affordable means to make crucial contacts before conducting fieldwork. Given my limited financial resources, the utilization of the Internet and electronic mail for purposes of communication and information gathering greatly facilitated this research. Another important resource for networking and gathering information about South Africa was meeting with South Africans in the United States. After my initial trip and before my fieldwork, I sought out every occasion to meet South Africans who were in the U.S. participating in academic forums interactions were also important for formulating research questions and fieldwork plans. Relying on my preliminary research data, travel experience in South Africa and other African nations, and other interactions with South Africans, I decided to focus my case study of race, gender, class and sports in South Africa on national sports policy and women’s experiences in competitive netball and soccer.

**Selection of Sporting Contexts**

I made the decision to examine women's sporting experiences in netball and soccer in particular for theoretical and empirical reasons (Stake 2000). First, the top two
participatory sports in South Africa are soccer and netball. Netball, a traditionally female-typed sport, is the top participatory sport for women in South Africa (SISA 1997). Historically netball has been controlled by white, Afrikaans speaking women although more netball participants are Black women than white women (SISA 1997). In addition, netball is the only sport that is played across all racial and ethnic communities in both rural and urban South African schools. Soccer on the other hand has been a historically male-typed sport played predominantly by Black men in South Africa. Women's soccer is now an emerging sport that is dominated by women of color. Besides the level of participation, the racial demographics of participants and the sex-typed nature of soccer and netball make interesting comparisons for illuminating the intersections of race and gender within women's sports (Ragin 1994; Ragin and Becker 1992). In addition, the contrasting level of development of women's netball as well-established and women's soccer as emerging allows for a comparison of how the various structures of women's sports facilitate or constrain cultural transformation based on gender and race.

The Setting

The sites of the interviews, participant observations, and survey administration were primarily the urban contexts of Pretoria, Johannesburg, and Cape Town. However, participants came from all over South Africa. There are several reasons for conducting the research primarily within select urban settings in South Africa. First and foremost, the development of women's sport in South Africa is an urban phenomenon. The realities of rural women lives in South Africa, particularly Black women who make up most of the rural population, are framed by poverty. Therefore, within rural contexts, women and
girls may desire to participate in sports but the material reality of their lives has not made such leisure activities a priority and/or a possibility. I selected Pretoria and Johannesburg as research sites because that is where national governmental offices, non-governmental sporting agencies, and the national soccer and netball organizations' offices are located. Cape Town was selected because it was the location of the 2000 National Netball Championships and in the region in which competitive women's soccer is most developed within South Africa. Extending this research beyond these locations was constrained by financial resources, time availability, and my language abilities, which were limited to one South African language—English. Consequently, Pretoria, Johannesburg, and Cape Town served as research bases in which I conducted this case study of national and local sporting practices.

**Data Sources**

I discuss the data and data collection process according to the context of data collection and the type or source of data collected. The three data contexts include (1) macro-level observations of the South African national sports policies and structures, (2) observations of South African women's experiences in competitive netball; and (3) observations of South African women's experiences in competitive soccer. The data types or sources include documentary evidence, semi-structured interviews, participant observations, and self-administered surveys. In total, I interviewed forty-eight individuals. Two individuals were interviewed on three different occasions and a group interview was conducted with three individuals. All other interviews were conducted individually face-to-face. I tape-recorded all interviews and transcribed them in full. Of
these 48 interviewees, 43.8% identified as white or Afrikaner, 31.2% identified as Black African, 22.9% identified as "Colored," and 2.1% identified as Indian. Seventy-five percent of the interviewees were women (36) and twenty-five percent were men (12).

Table 3.1 summarizes the interviewees' racial background and gender by the context type of the interview. Other demographic characteristics of the interview samples for each context are reported below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interviewees' Racial Identity and Gender</th>
<th>National Sports Context</th>
<th>Netball</th>
<th>Soccer</th>
<th>Totals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African/Black</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>31.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colored/Black</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>22.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>43.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>14 (29.2%)</td>
<td>17 (35.4%)</td>
<td>17 (35.4%)</td>
<td>48 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.1. Interviewees' racial and gender backgrounds by context of the interview (N = 48; 75% women and 25% men).

Observations of National Sports Structures and Policies

To place the experiences of the women netball and soccer athletes in the broader macro-structural context in South Africa, I collected data on the national sports structures and policies in place between 1994 and 2000. This period reflects the six years following
the first democratic elections in which all adult South Africans had the right to vote. These data assist in understanding the relationship between the institution of sports in South Africa and the new political dispensation. With these data, I examine what new structures and policies have been put into place by the new South African government and explore the question of how new national sporting structures and policy have constrained or created sporting opportunities for South African women of diverse racial and class backgrounds. Finally, I use these data to assess the relationship between state initiatives targeting gender and race equity in sports and the everyday experiences of women's sporting experiences. The primary data sources include documentary materials and semi-structured interviews (Berg 1989; Silverman 1993).

**Documentary Evidence: National Sports Context**

The major sources of documentary evidence include: National sports policy: "Getting the Nation to Play" (1998); a policy discussion paper: "A Case for Sport and Recreation"; a Draft Policy Framework for Advancing Sport and Recreation for Women and Girls in South Africa" (1999); Annual Reports of the Department of Recreation and Sports for 1994 through 1999; and the report "Strategic Framework for the Department of Sport and Recreation: 1998-2003." I obtained copies of the Department of Sports and Recreation annual reports and national sports policy documents from the Government Documents Collection of the University of Cape Town Library in Cape Town, South Africa. These documents provided information on the history and nature of the political transition of sporting practices and structures from 1994 through 1999 in South Africa.
I supplemented these main sources of documentary evidence with that of multiple South African newspaper articles and transcripts from sports talk radio and television shows addressing social issues in sports in South Africa. These data served as background information to support my understanding of national policies and data obtained through informant interviews (Lofland and Lofland 1984: 48-49). The data from popular media outlets (newspaper, radio, and television) are crucial for understanding the socio-political context surrounding cultural transformation and sports in South Africa and contextualizing the micro-level experiences of women athletes. The SAbinet’s *South Africa News* database was searched for newspaper articles on women’s sports and the macro-sports structure between 1994 and early 2000. The *SA News* database covers articles from more than 120 South African newspapers and periodicals and indexes the articles in Afrikaans and English according to 22 topics. Because of the volume of newspaper coverage on sports, I limited my search to articles on women’s soccer, netball, and macro sporting structures such as the National Sports Council, the Ministry of Sports, and the Department of Sports and Recreation. Access to the Sabinet’s media database was obtained through the University of South Africa in Pretoria, University of the Western Cape in Bellville, and University of Pretoria in Pretoria.

During my preliminary data collection and actual fieldwork in South Africa, I regularly watched televised sports shows and listened to radio sports talk shows. Given that my accommodations varied while in South Africa, I did not have access to television or radio at all times. Therefore, the collection of these data was not systematic. As with the case of newspaper articles, transcripts from radio and television shows were used to
contextualize the systematic data collected. I taped and transcribed the television program "Mabaleng" that aired a panel discussion on national sports policy, "Getting the Nation to Play," on June 26, 1999. The moderated panel discussion included well known journalists, a director from the National Department of Sport and Recreation, and a director of a Provincial Department of Sport and Recreation. All the panelists and the moderator, a television broadcaster, were men of color from diverse ethnic backgrounds. In addition, to the panelists dialogue, pre-recorded clips of various leaders in the sports world were included throughout the show. Spokespeople in these clips were of diverse gender, racial, and regional background. Issues of racial equity and racial politics in sports were the focus of the panel discussion, however the participants also addressed gender equity and disability in sports issues.

The evening sports radio show that I regularly listened to was based in Cape Town but aired nationally. The show, in English, is constructed around listeners calling in to respond to opinions expressed by the announcers about some current "sports issue." A vast percentage of the discussions revolved around performance of the national and professional men's rugby and cricket teams in South Africa. However, the issue of racial quotas in sports did receive some attention during a national rugby tournament in which a racial quota policy was instituted. Excerpts from these shows, airing during August 2000, were taped and transcribed, excluding commercials. The announcers and, without exception, all the callers on the show had male voices and identified themselves by masculine names. The absence of female callers and announcers was glaring. These radio transcripts, although limited to the opinions of English speaking men in the Western
Province is used a source of understanding the complexities of the issue of racial quotas or racial affirmative action being instituted in South African sports. These data were especially helpful for interpreting the interview data with netball participants regarding racial politics in netball.

**Interviews: National Sports Context**

Potential informants were identified and recruited through multiple strategies: establishing contacts during the preliminary data collection, using snowball sampling techniques, and networking over electronic mail during the year prior to data collection. I purposively sampled interviewees based on the institutional sporting context in which they were located and their anticipated knowledge and experience of institutionalize sports in South Africa (Berg 1989: 110; Cuádraz and Uttal 1999:162). While in South Africa, I relied on telephone contact and personal office visits to secure interviews. A total of fourteen face-to-face, semi-structured informant interviews were conducted to gain information on the current status and recent changes in the national sports policies and structures in South Africa, particularly in connection to the dynamics of race and gender relations in South Africa. In the naturalistic tradition, interviews are used to gather information on the emergent language, emotions, motivations, symbols and meanings that individuals assign to their experiences (Berg 1989: 9). I relied on semi-structured interviews because I could ask each interviewee a number of predetermined questions, allow the interviewers freedom to digress from the specific question, and probe beyond responses to standardized questions (Berg 1989: 17).
Given the objective of examining the intersections of race, gender, and class, I sought to interview, survey, and observe a diverse sample of people, reflecting the racial and class diversity of the South African population. However, I did not determine racial or class quotas for selecting my study participants. Instead, I regularly reflected on the diversity of the participants throughout the fieldwork process to make sure I was gathering information from people who might have diverse perspectives and experiences. Since this research was a case study of women's sports in South Africa, it was important that I interview and gather data from people involved in this domain rather than select people based on gender, racial identity, or class status. This however, does not mean that racial identity and class background of the participants were not an important factor during the interviews nor does it mean that I ignored the racial and class identities of participants. Given the saliency of racial categorizing in South Africa's history I approached the data collection process by simultaneously focusing on the historical and cultural importance of race while avoiding making assumptions based on participants' racial and class identities or appearance.

Of the fourteen informant interviews conducted to assess the particular historical political context of women's sports in the 1990s, nine interviewees were women (64%) and five were men (37%). Of the nine women, four identified as white, three identified as African/Black, and two identified as "Colored"/Black. Of the five men, three identified as white, and two identified as African/Black. Therefore, of the fourteen interviewees, 35.7% identified as African/Black, 14.3% as "Colored"/Black, and 50% as white. The first row of numbers in Table 3.1 reports the breakdown of the racial
background and sex of the interviewees who served as informants of the national sports structures and policies. The ages of these individuals ranged from 27 to 67 years and the average age was 44.1 years. The occupational positions of these interviewees also varied and included: a university sports director, a university sports deputy director, a social development director at Nike-South Africa, four staff members of the South African Sports Commission (two high level directors, a middle manager, and a project manager), a director of a national sports science institute, a board member of the United School Sports Association of South Africa (USSASA), a women's sports advocate and regional rugby union staff member, a regional gender and sports policy developer, a regional staff member of the Department of Sports and Recreation, a business agent specializing in travel for the sports industry, and a Black female elite level triathlete. In terms of gender, racial identity, and age, the sample of informant interviews is a diverse group that reflects the composition of the larger community of sports administrators and sports advocates in South Africa.

I used a semi-structured interview schedule to guide the interviews with informants about the political and organizational dynamics in South African sport. However, due to the diverse nature of the individuals' institutional context, these interviews were flexible and open-ended. I used probing techniques to explore unanticipated issues during each interview and used data gathered from previous interviews to confirm information provided by informants and to explore emergent issues. Since I am not comparing across these interviews, the unstructured nature of the interviews is not a concern. Rather, the interviews were conducted to gather as much
information about contemporary gender and race relations in South Africa and from as many different perspectives as possible. The foci of the interviews were on: (1) the participants' experiences competing, administrating, and advocating within competitive sports; (2) the changes that their sporting organization and other entities they work with have gone through since 1994; and (3) the organizational and political dynamics surrounding race and gender inequities in sports in South Africa.

*Observations of Netball*

To address the questions of the experiences and attitudes of women and administrators involved in competitive netball in South African I primarily use semi-structured interviews and surveys. The interviews and survey focused on the participants sporting experiences and their views of the racial transformation taking place in Netball South Africa (NSA). To complement these data and explore the dynamics of contentious race relations within netball, I gathered documentary evidence and conducted participant observation of netball activities. In the next section, I discuss the interviews I conducted and then follow with describing the surveys, participant observation, and documentary materials gathered.

*Interviews: Netball*

Seventeen semi-structured interviews were conducted with individuals associated with competitive netball in South Africa. Of these seventeen interviewees, three were administrators and fourteen were competitive athletes. The interviews with the fourteen athletes took place during the 2000 National Netball Championships in Bellville, South Africa in July 10-15, 2000. This is an annual national tournament in which select teams
from all regions of South Africa compete. An interview with one administrator took
place at the tournament while the interview with the other two administrators took place
at their respective netball offices during August 2000. The administrator interviewed at
the tournament was also interviewed a second time in her office during August 2000.

To assist in maximizing the number of interviews with athletes at the tournament,
I trained a research assistant to conduct interviews. She conducted six of the fourteen
interviews with athletes. The research assistant was a former student of the primary
investigator from the Ohio State University, who was in South Africa to assist with the
project and conduct her own research. The training of this assistant consisted of
observing two formal interviews conducted by the primary investigator and extensive
discussions of the interview guide and purpose of the interviews. After each interview
we conducted, we talked about the strengths and the weaknesses of the interview in order
to improve subsequent data collection.

I used random selection from the top ten netball teams at the national tournament
to draw the sample of players to be interviewed. Each player on the top ten teams, which
totaled 105 players, were given a number and two numbers for each team were randomly
chosen. The rationale for selecting players randomly was to avoid selection bias if the
coaches or another team member decided who was to be interviewed. Given the
contentious nature of the quota policy instituted at the tournament, it was likely that
individuals with power within the team could influence who was chosen to be
interviewed. Random selection of players also lessened the potential of jealousy forming
among team players because of who was selected to be interviewed by the international
guests. Of the twenty names selected, 14 players were interviewed. Given that I had a limited time at the tournament to conduct interviews, surveys, and participant observations, not all selected players were interviewed. I stopped the face-to-face interviewing at the tournament when I felt the interviews met the criterion of saturation (Charmaz 2000: 520). Saturation means that conducting additional interviews would have likely not added any additional information. I had also hoped to interview players outside of the context of the tournament however, time did not allow for additional interviews.

The interviews with the players followed a semi-structured set of questions to guide the interviews. We used probing techniques to explore unanticipated, emergent issues during each interview. The foci of the interviews were on the following: (1) the participants’ sporting history including how they were socialized into sports and what type of encouragement they received; (2) the personal, structural and organizational changes within sports that they have experienced since 1994; and (3) their attitudes and thoughts about issues of gender equity and racial equity in sports in South Africa and in Netball South Africa in particular. The average duration of the player interviews was forty-seven minutes.

I selected the administrators to interview based on their experience and position with Netball South Africa (NSA). Two of the administrators were currently serving on the NSA board when interviewed and the other had previous served on the board and now was the director of a leading netball region. The racial backgrounds of the sample of interviewees reflect their relative representation in competitive netball in South Africa.
White women are over-represented relative to their percentage in the population and Black women are under-represented. One of the administrators identified as African/Black and the other two identified as white/Afrikaans speaking. Of the fourteen competitive athletes, ten identified as white/Afrikaans speaking, and four identified as African/Black. All netball interviewees were women. The ages of the players range from 20 to 36 years and the average age of the players is 25 years. Two of the administrators were 62 years old and third one was 38 years old.

The interviews with netball administrators were focus on two levels—that of the participant's individual experiences and perspectives and that of the history of netball in South Africa. To understand the administrators' personal experiences, I used a semi-structured interview schedule to guide the interviews. Our structured conversations focused on the administrators' history and experiences within sports, their attitudes and perspectives on changes in the political context of sports in South Africa, and specific views on racial and gender inequities in netball. Due to the lack of written histories of netball in South Africa, these administrators also served as informant interviewees who shared their knowledge about the history of netball. This portion of the interviews was unstructured. Probing was used to solicit additional information and to clarify information offered. Besides tape-recording these interviews, I also took notes to insure the accuracy of the transcriptions. In addition, one of the administrators drew diagrams as she talked to illustrate her narrative and to draw interconnections between events and groups. The average duration of the interviews with administrators was one hour and forty minutes.
**Surveys: Netball**

A self-administered survey was used to understand the experiences and views of competitive netball players, coaches, and managers in South Africa and to complement the data obtained from face-to-face interviews. The survey sample includes 251 adult participants (206 players and 45 coaches/managers) randomly selected from a representative pool of regional-level netball participants. Two questionnaire forms were used—one for players and another for coaches and managers (see Appendices B and C). The survey questionnaire included items on respondents' demographic characteristics, experience playing, coaching, and managing netball, opinions on the status of women's sports in South Africa, and views on racial transformation in netball. Both forms were self-administered and contained both closed- and open-ended questions.

I collected the survey data between 10-15 July 2000 during the South African National Netball Championships at the Velodome in Bellville, South Africa. The sample was drawn from players, coaches, and managers from 30 regional teams represented at the championships. Survey forms were distributed to players, coaches, and managers of all teams competing at the tournament except the ten teams competing in the most competitive level, Section A. Rather than survey Section A participants, I randomly selected Section A players for face-to-face interviews as indicated above. The aim of these interviews is to complement and enrich the survey findings with more in-depth information on the experiences and views of the top netball participants in South Africa.
My decision not to both survey and interview the top athletes was made out of consideration of the participants' time and focus during this national tournament. I thus weighed my desire to collect as much data as possible with my desire to maintain a good rapport with the netball organization running the tournament and my intent not to negatively impose my research agenda on the lives of those I researched (Stake 2000: 447). Given that I collected surveys from such a large proportion of the target population and that I randomly selected participants to interview face-to-face, I am confident in the generalizability of the netball data.

The official tournament program was used to determine how many survey forms each team required so that each player, coach, and manager would receive a survey. The team packet of questionnaires was distributed via the team manager of each of the 30 regional teams. Team members were instructed to individually fill out the surveys and then return the completed surveys to the team manager who would then return the surveys. Respondents also had the option of individually returning their completed survey to the central collection location. Out of the 30 regional teams sampled, 24 regional teams returned the forms for a team response rate of 80%. An estimated 382 individuals made up the 30 teams sampled. A total of 260 surveys were returned but only 251 were usable. The response rate by individual team member is estimated to be 68%; however this is a conservative estimate since it is highly likely that not all individuals listed in the official program attended the tournament. One reason for the high response rate could be that staff members from Netball South Africa and tournament organizers assisted in the distribution and collection of the survey forms.
The responses to the survey were entered into a computer program, Statistical Program for the Social Sciences (SPSS). To insure accuracy of the data entered, the responses were initially entered into the computer and then re-checked, question by question. I coded answers to the open-ended questions and then entered into SPSS. Approximately 15 respondents completed their surveys in Afrikaans and these surveys were translated by a South African secondary school teacher before leaving South Africa.

**Documentary Evidence and Participant Observations: Netball**

I use documentary evidence to supplement the interview and survey data to examine social relations within netball. These documents include newspaper articles and press releases, Netball South Africa's transformation and affirmative action policy statements for 1999 and 2000, a written transcript of speech delivered by the Minister of Sport at the 2000 National Netball Championships, and NSA annual reports for 1996-1999. Specifically, I used the archival materials to generate questions for interviews, to verify information provided by the interviewees, to learn about the netball policies regarding racial transformation and public opinion surrounding these issues, and to understand the nature of the media's representation of netball in South Africa.

As indicated above, I used the Sabinet's *South African News* database to obtain newspaper articles on women's netball between 1994 and early 2000. The *South African News* database covers articles from more than 120 South African newspapers and periodicals and indexes the articles in Afrikaans and English according to 22 topics. Articles written in Afrikaans were translated into English before leaving South Africa. In addition, I searched the World Wide Web for additional articles regarding netball in
South Africa and international netball competition. I cannot estimate the completeness of my archives of newspaper articles, given the lack of knowledge about how women's sports were handled in the indexing process. However, given the extremely poor media coverage of women's sports in South Africa, this would not be a good source in general for understanding women's sports in South Africa. Therefore, I will not use these articles to make generalizations. These articles are used to identify issues, verify information, and give a broader context for understanding netball in South Africa.

Beyond these documents, I recorded field notes during and after attending the following events: five days of the South African National Championships in July 2000; one day of the Under-21 National Netball Championship in Stellenbosch, South Africa; and the netball banquet that took place Friday night of the National Championships at a Holiday Inn in Cape Town. These field notes are used to establish a basic understanding of the culture of netball and the nature of interactions between netball participants.

**Observations of Women's Soccer**

To address questions of the history of women's soccer in South Africa, the lived experiences of women's soccer participants, and the recent changes in the development of women's soccer in South Africa, I primarily relied on data from semi-structured interviews and participant observation. I interviewed administrators and players at both the national and regional levels and conducted observations of a regional women's soccer league. To supplement these data, I conducted a self-administered survey with women soccer players in the region of my participant observation and gathered documentary evidence of women's soccer in South Africa from the late 1980s to the late
1990s. In the following sections, I describe in detail the data collection process for this aspect of the study.

**Interviews: Soccer**

Seventeen semi-structured interviews were conducted with individuals associated with competitive women's soccer in South Africa. Of these seventeen interviewees, ten were administrators and seven were competitive athletes. An additional interviewee, who was a national board member for women's soccer and an informant of the national South African sporting context, will serve as the eighteenth interviewee for the soccer case study. For accounting purposes however, I will count this administrator as part of the national sporting context data rather than part of the soccer data. I conducted all the soccer interviews between July 2000 and September 2000 within two regions of South Africa—Gauteng Province (Johannesburg and Pretoria) and Western Cape Province (Cape Town and surrounding areas). I sampled administrators and players using a purposive sampling strategy (Berg 1989: 110). My aim was to interview players who were involved in competitive soccer at the regional and/or the national level and to interview administrators who worked at the national level with the South African Football Association (SAFA) or at the regional level with the South African Football Association-Western Province (SAFA-WP). To start the selection process, I chose the most central actors involved in women's soccer at both levels. Four of the seven players interviewed were members of the National South African soccer squad who also played at the regional level while the remaining three players played only at the regional level for varying lengths of time. Four administrators interviewed were from the regional level.
and seven worked at the national level. The roles or positions of the national level administrators included a manager/coach and assistant coach of the national women's soccer team, a board member of the national women's soccer committee, a general manager of SAFA, a development officer of SAFA, a manager of provincial affairs of SAFA, and a sport psychologist of the women's national team. At the provincial or regional level, I interviewed the president of the women's league, the president of football in the province, a board member of the women's league who was also an umpire and coach, and the secretary of the women's league.

The individual demographic of the respondents reflected the racial composition of individuals involved with women's soccer at the national level and in the Western Cape Province. Of the seventeen individuals interviewed, ten were women (58.8%) and seven were men (41.2%). In terms of racial backgrounds, nine identified as Colored/Black (52.9%), five identified as Black/African (29.4%), two identified as white (11.7%), and one identified as Indian (5.9%). The administrator that served as an informant for soccer and the national sporting context was a woman who identified as African. (See Table 3.1 for additional information about the gender and race composition of the interviewees.)

The average age of all the respondents was 37 years old; the average age of athletes was 27 years old; the average age of administrators was 44 years old.

I used a semi-structured interview schedule to guide the interviews with the soccer participants. However, I also used information gathered from previous interviews and documentary evidence to frame additional questions beyond the interview schedule. The content of the interviews was also determined by the institutional location and
unique experiences of the respondent. The interviewees spoke about their own experiences as well as those of the broader organization in which they were a part. In general, the interviews focused on (1) how the participants got involved playing soccer and/or administrating soccer, (2) participants' experiences in soccer including motivations, obstacles, and sources of encouragement, and (3) participant views about changes, opportunities, and constraints on the development of women's soccer in South Africa during the 1990s. The duration of the interviews ranged from 30 minutes to 2 hours and averaged 1 hour. One interviewee was interviewed on three separate occasions and one group interview was conducted with three national level administrators. The location of the interviews varied and was determined by the participants. Most interviews took place in the participants' offices, and the others took place in participants' homes or at the soccer fields.

**Documentary Evidence and Participant Observations: Soccer**

The other important sources of data for the soccer case study were participant observation and documentary evidence. I conducted participant observation of the South African Football Association's Western Province women's soccer league between July 2000 and September 2000. I initially made contact with national level women's soccer administrators who put me in touch with league organizers for women's soccer in the Western Cape region. The league played on Sundays and an occasional weekday. All the fields that I visited were located within historically "Colored" townships in the Cape Town area. I attended the league games on seven different occasions between July and August 2001. The specific locations of the games were soccer fields in Rocklands,
Bishop Lavis, and Westridge areas. The fields were fenced and an entrance fee was charge to enter the grounds. Typically, multiple games were played at the same time and there were two separate time slots. The league was made up of a novice division and an advanced division. An average of eight league games between 16 different teams were played on a given Sunday during the season.

My attendance at the league games served multiple purposes. First, it gave me the opportunity to make focused and unfocused observations of soccer games and the interactions between players, coaches, umpires, fans, and administrators (Jorgensen 1989: 82-84). Second, it allowed me to build rapport with the soccer community and to make contact with soccer participants whom I wanted to interview. Third, attending league games gave me the opportunity to engage in casual conversations with participants and conduct informal interviews (Jorgensen 1989: 88). Unlike formal interviews, as described above, informal interviews were not tape-recorded although I did take notes during the conversations when appropriate. Like formal interviews, informal interviews with players, coaches, umpires, and fans were a source of systematic information about participants' perspectives. The general foci of casual conversations with participants included:

- how they got involved in soccer;
- what they liked about their involvement;
- what challenges, barriers or constraints they experienced in women's soccer;
- what personal, structural and organizational changes within sports have taken place over the last few years; and
- their views regarding racial and gender equity in sports, particularly in women's soccer.
On two occasions, I conducted informal interviews with entire teams, in the form of focus groups. These conversations were tape-recorded and transcribed. The focus of these group interviews was on gender relations and soccer. The group interviews were especially interesting because the players became extremely animated in the group setting. The group interviews thus gave me a good sense of the intimacy between team members and the collective joy they experience through soccer.

During my attendance at league games, I also took photographs. As a mechanism to build rapport (Jorgenson 1989: 103) and give back to the participants who I was researching, I took team and action photographs and gave copies to those in the pictures. Taking photographs of the teams was an effective way for me to introduce myself as a researcher and to explain the purpose of the research. In addition, the photographs serve as a visual recording of the physical environment and setting of the soccer fields (Jorgensen 1989: 103). Overall, the players and coaches appreciated the photographs and enjoyed the attention of a researcher.

The documents I used in the soccer case study include newspaper and magazine articles of women's soccer in South Africa, official programs for the Women's Provincial Soccer Tournaments in South Africa between 1987 and 1995, SAFA's 1999 Annual Reports, SAFA's Women's Football Development Policy Framework for 1999-2000, and the Report of the Pickard Commission of Enquiry into the South African Football Association and the National Soccer League. These documents were primarily used to verify information provided by the interviewees and a source of questions for the interviews (Jorgensen 1989: 92). In addition, these materials added to my understanding
of the socio-political climate in which women participated in competitive soccer in South Africa.

**Surveys: Soccer**

I used a self-administered survey to understand the experiences and views of competitive women soccer players in the Western Cape region of South Africa and to learn about the background characteristics of soccer players in the region. The survey data are used in concert with the data obtained from face-to-face interviews and participant observations and to analyze the everyday experiences of women in a traditionally "male" sport. The survey sample includes 84 adult women who participate in a regional women's soccer league. The survey questionnaire included both closed and open-ended questions on respondents' demographic characteristics, experience playing, coaching, and managing soccer, opinions on the status of women's sports in South Africa, and views on racial and gender transformation in soccer (see Appendix D).

I collected the survey data between July and August 2000 from players who competed in the Women's Western Province South African Football Association league (WP-SAFA). Survey forms were distributed to each of the teams in the league who were active during July and August 2000. One of the active teams was excluded from the sampling frame because all the players were under 18 years of age. Surveys were given to eighteen teams and returned by nine teams for a team response rate of 50%. One of the teams surveyed responded via the Internet. This team was the only predominantly white team in the league. Of the 18 teams surveyed I only had contact with 14 of the teams, the other four teams were located a distance from Cape Town and did not play at
the fields at which I conducted participant observation. A league administrator delivered the surveys to the teams that I did not have direct contact with, however I have no assurance that the forms were received. Unlike the organization of netball, women's soccer is an emerging sport and lacks well-developed formal organizational structures that would facilitate the data collection process. Besides these administrative challenges, collecting the self-administered survey was difficult for a number of reasons including language barriers, the young age of some respondents, the lack of familiarity with survey conventions, and the tendency to fill out the surveys collectively rather than individually. These limitations raise questions about the validity of the surveys and thus I cautiously interpret the findings.

Analytical Strategies

I employ both inductive and deductive reasoning to analyze the data. In general, I use an inductive approach for analyzing emergent themes from the interviews, participant observations, and documentary data, while I use a deductive approach for analyzing the survey data. In practice however, I use inductive and deductive strategies concurrently. To insure validity and reliability of my findings I use multiple types of data sources and triangulation procedures (Jorgensen 1989; Stake 2000). The multiple forms of data—interview, survey, participant observation, and documentation—are each considered simultaneously for verifying observations and substantiating interpretations. In addition, I made every effort to express personal characteristics of dependability and trustworthiness during the process of collecting data in the field to build rapport with participants and to elicit quality data. I also conducted "member checks" in the field by
reflecting back to respondents how I interpreted what they were saying. Member checks were also a mechanism I used to demonstrate trustworthiness and communicate credibility toward research participants (Lincoln and Guba 1985).

Two computer software packages were used to assist in the analytical process. I used a qualitative computer-assisted data analysis program NUD*IST 4 to manage and conduct content analyses of the interview, participant observation, and documentary data. The NUD*IST software is designed to assist with coding and retrieving textual data and for building theory (Coffey and Atkinson 1996: 165-180). The second computer data analysis program I used was SPSS 10 (Statistical Program for the Social Sciences) to assist in the analysis of the quantitative survey data. To insure accuracy of the survey data, I entered responses into SPSS and then double-checked the data question by question on the surveys. To insure the accuracy of the qualitative data, I transcribed the interviews in full and double-checked any areas of confusion by reviewing the tape recording and hand written notes that I took during the interviews.

To analyze the intersections of race, class, and gender at play among South African sports-people, I draw from the methodological strategy outlined by Cuádrax and Uttal (1999). They recommend using individual interview data to overlay the social categories of race, class, and gender while understanding how these biographical positions intersect with multiple structures of race, class, and gender. They suggest a two-step process. First, the researcher should treat individual accounts as individual experiences, without making assumptions about race, class, and gender or how group membership might shape those responses. Second, the researcher then should examine
how the categories, views, and issues that emerge from the collection of individual accounts are possibly shaped by each respondent's social location as a member of different kinds of groups, such as those defined by race, class and gender (Cuádraz and Uttal 1999: 173). Cuádraz and Uttal (1999) maintain that this second step "both historicizes the individual view, identifies common experiences across individual accounts, and brings the material context of their lives into the analysis" (Cuádraz and Uttal 1999: 173). I use this analytical strategy in combination with the guiding frameworks of collective identity and intersectionality theories to understand how structural inequalities both facilitate and impede the construction of collective identities among diverse women athletes.

**Summary and Limitations of the Study**

The combination of interviews, participant observations, surveys, and archival materials provides an extended case study of the status of women's competitive sports in contemporary South Africa. I have chosen two specific cases—netball and soccer—to compare and contrast how relations of race, gender, and class influence the social and political dynamic of women's sports in the context of a transitional society. I have also taken care to collect data that would assist in the process of contextualizing these case studies in a broader macro-political structure of South African sports and society.

This study has certain limitations. First, I was not able to interview or observe all the numerous individuals and activities within women's netball and women's soccer. Given that lack of documentation of women's sports in South Africa and the diversity of women's sporting activities across racial communities, I aimed for a broad picture of
what is happening with women's netball and women's soccer in contemporary South Africa. Additional research projects in this area can address the limited scope of this one study.

Second, the study is limited in terms of the regions of the country where I conducted the research. I chose the Cape Town and Pretoria-Johannesburg areas because the strength of women's sports in those regions, the locations of national offices and the 2000 Netball Championships, and language considerations. Yet, questions of regional generalizability arise. It is well documented that South Africa is extremely regionally diverse. Economic structures, political context, size of urban population, racial demographics, and much more create important regional differences that have a direct influence on the institution of sport and more particularly the history of relations based on race, class, and gender. To counter these limitations, I interviewed a regionally diverse group of netball participants who came from all over South Africa to attend the National Netball Championship in the Cape Town area. And, I observed a training camp for the national women's soccer squad whose players came from all over South Africa. Unfortunately, the camp was prematurely interrupted and I was not able to interview soccer players for other regions outside of the Western Cape. Only national studies could speak to regional differences in women's soccer.

In the next chapter, I discuss the historical context of competitive sports in South Africa and elucidate some of the critical political dynamics of race and gender relations within contemporary South African sports.
CHAPTER 4

HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY CONTEXT OF SPORT IN SOUTH AFRICA

Historical evidence suggests that people of all cultures have engaged in some type of ritualistic physical play or movement (Guttmann 1991). However, the meanings, organizations, and structures of these physical activities vary across time and place within specific social, political, and cultural contexts. Indigenous African peoples in southern Africa, like other peoples, have long engaged in physical activities. For example, within Zulu traditions prior to colonialism, boys and men competed in wrestling matches during festivals while girls and women took part in dancing activities. And not unlike these historical ethnic group practices that sporting tradition is perhaps never more true than today. The history of British colonialism and Dutch settlement has had an enduring impact on sport in southern Africa and thus it is central to understanding contemporary sport in South Africa. The focus of this chapter is on the history of modern sports in South Africa, which is fundamentally influenced by European cultural practices through European settlement, colonization, and capitalism.

It is difficult to find a more complex social and political history of a contemporary nation-state than that of South Africa. Any historical account of social relations in South Africa is sure to be incomplete or partial due not only to the inherent constraints of the
writer's perspective, but also the sheer complexities of historical relationships.

Nonetheless, a particular historical account potentially contributes to our overall understanding of the complexities of social relations in South Africa. In this chapter, I have two major purposes. The first is to contextualize contemporary sports in South Africa within a socio-political history. To this end, I highlight important moments and social dynamics that have shaped the institution of sports from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. More specifically, I focus on the influences of European cultural practices of sports on South African sports and the unequal power relations that have directly shaped competitive sports in South Africa. The second aim of this chapter is to interrogate competitive sports in contemporary South Africa as a gendered institution deeply informed by multiple bases of power such as race and class. Specifically, I analyze changes in public discourse around power relations within sports and transformation of national sports policy and structures since the first democratic elections in 1994 through 2000.

I divide the chapter broadly into two main sections paralleling these primary aims. First, I review historical themes of sport in South Africa including:

- the importation of British sports culture on the Cape colony;
- the relationship between the changing political economy and sport development in South Africa;
- the role of sport in building white cultural identities
- the relationship between the apartheid policy and sports; and
- the anti-apartheid sport movement and international sport sanctions.

In the second part of the chapter, I use primary and secondary empirical evidence to discuss: (1) how an individual's structural location affect her/his participation in sport; (2) the male dominance in national sports leadership positions; and (3) the lack of media
coverage and South African women athletes’ opinion of governmental support for
women’s sports. Finally, I examine the specific gendered and racialized policy,
organizational, and structural changes influencing the development of women’s sports in
South Africa in the 1990s.

Historical Overview of Modern Sport in South Africa

I begin this review of historical circumstances of South African sport during the
mid-nineteenth century, a time when modern sport was rising in popularity and becoming
institutionalized in Western industrialized societies. Modern day sport, typified by
British sport in the nineteenth century, emerged within the context of industrialization,
bureaucratization, urbanization, and colonialisation (Coakley 1998; Mangan 1986).
Dominant racial and gender ideologies along with the interests of white capitalists of the
period conditioned and shaped the structure and meanings of sport in South Africa.
Scholars have given much attention to race and class relations within South African sport,
however have largely ignored gender as an analytical category when documenting social
histories of sport in South Africa (Archer and Bouillon 1998, Baker and Mangan 1987,
Black and Nauright 1998; Booth 1998, Jarvie 1985, Lapchick 1975, Mangan 1988,
Nauright 1997, and Nauright and Black 1998). Nearly all written histories focus on
male-dominated sports and are told from the perspectives and experiences of men
although they are presented as gender-neutral histories. There is however a small body of
work that focuses on sport and masculinities in South Africa (Grundlingh 1995; Nauright
and Chandler 1996; Roberts 1992). This chapter attempts to address the androcentric
bias of the scholarship and the gap in the literature on women's experiences in sports in
South Africa by examining gender relations within South African sport along with the
intersections of race, gender, and class.

*British sports culture and the Cape colony*

By the mid-nineteenth century, the British had taken control of the Cape colony in
South Africa over various groups, including those identifying as Xhosa, Khoikhoi, San,
Dutch, French, and German. As more and more British settlers arrived in the Cape
colony, so did sports such as cricket, horseracing, rugby, and tennis. Establishing sport in
the colony was one way to re-create British cultural practices in southern Africa and
construct dominant ideology of the superiority of white masculinity (Archer and Bouillon
1982; Grundlingh 1995, Mangan 1988, Nauright 1997). In the context of colonialism and
increasing urbanization, indigenous African people adopted these cultural practices
within their communities. The British sports of cricket and rugby were two sports that
became popular among black men in southern Africa.

The British political order during this period was based on a Victorian liberal
ideology that emphasized individual rights, specifically those of affluent white men, and
the free market. One sport that British colonialists regarded as embodying the ideal
Victorian values, ethics, and morals for men was that of cricket (Nauright 1997,
Odendaal 1988). Cricket, as other British sports, was popularized in the Cape colony
through missionary schools and developed with assistance from the political elite.
Odendaal (1988) argues that participation in cricket not only served as a political function
for British elite males but also for African elite males. Sport in general, and the
Englishman’s game of cricket in particular, was a central element in the process of
85
male Victorians adopted cricket as a means of social mobility and British political
leaders and missionary heads encouraged their interests in cricket due to their belief in
the game’s civilizing power. The first African cricket club was founded in 1869 in Port
Elizabeth (Odendaal 1988) and clubs of "mixed races" were not uncommon. The
development of Indian cricket unions based in Durban took a similar path as African
clubs during this period. Sport, was thus a social and political training ground for elite
British, Indian, and African males alike.

I speculate that women’s participation in sport in the Cape colony was extremely
limited. There is evidence to suggest that elite women of mostly British descent
participated in sports such as tennis, horse riding, and croquet (Archer 1982). The social
and cultural meaning of their participation was most likely consistent with Victorian
gender ideology that demanded that "respectable" women (i.e. white, affluent women)
maintain their genteel femininity at all times. It is also very likely that sports
opportunities for women in southern Africa were limited to those of a high class standing
in urban settings. Given that urbanization was a gendered process, it is also likely that
women's predominance within rural settings contributed to the lack of women's sport
development. The specific ways that the colonialist context in southern Africa contoured
women's sporting participation during this period, however, is open to investigation.

Sport development and the shifting political economy

The welcoming of male African elites into cricket and other sport communities
waned in the late 1800s alongside shifts in the political economy due to the discovery of
precious minerals in the Transvaal and Orange Free State regions (Nauright 1997). From
the 1880s, the ideals of racial integration gave way to the belief that the proper role of
Africans was that of a laboring class. The demand for cheap labor for the diamond and gold mines undermined Cape liberalism and encouraged more separatist racial policies and practices. European colonialists and settlers hostilities against Africans grew fiercer on the sporting fields, as in other social and political arenas, and strict race-typed sport emerged. Sports became a critical institution for the overall construction of the emerging class order rigidly based on racial differences (Nauright 1997). For example, soccer, boxing, and athletics became identified with the Black working-class while cricket, tennis, and rugby continued to be identified as middle- and upper-class elite sports within rigid race boundaries. Within mining camps, sporting facilities and competitive sports were common fixtures that were developed to assist in maintaining social control over workers. The mining industry became increasingly involved in the development of African sports, such as boxing and soccer, as a means of maintaining ethnic divisions among Black African workers. Rather than a mechanism of social mobility, sport was seen as a way to develop discipline of workers and to distract workers from the evils of alcohol and sexual immorality, which were considered rampant around the mines (Odendaal 1988).

The development of sports within African, Colored, and Indian communities declined with increasing restrictions on political and economic freedoms (Archer and Bouillon 1998; Booth 1998). The organization of clubs, inter-town and provincial competitions, leagues, and national governing bodies that emerged in the mid- to late-1800s declined quite rapidly with the changes in the political economy and the consolidation of white power around the turn of the century. Nonetheless, modern sports
remained popular among Africans, Indians, and Coloreds, even in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal where a rigid system of racial segregation existed.

Sports and white national identities

Symbolically, rugby is perhaps the most important sport for constructing white national identities in South Africa (Grundlingh, Odendaal and Spies 1995; Nauright 1996, 1997; Nauright and Black 1998). Afrikaner and British males developed rugby unions, leagues, and organizations extensively before the onset of the Anglo-Boer conflict of 1899. The importance of rugby for white males continued during the war as many Afrikaner males learned the game of rugby in the prisoner-of-war camps. Like cricket for British elites, rugby emerged as a central agent for political socialization among Afrikaner males and for forging an Afrikaner national identity (Grundlingh 1996; Nauright 1997). At powerful Afrikaans-speaking schools, such as the University of Stellenbosch, rugby became a central feature of student life.

After the Anglo-Boer war ended in 1902, the animosity between the British and Afrikaners was extremely strong. However, to maintain political and economic control over Blacks, the majority of South African peoples, and to protect their mutual white interests, the two warring groups needed to reconcile their differences. Nauright (1997) argues that rugby was an important part of this difficult reconciliation process between British and Afrikaner political leadership. He argues that in 1906 the first South African rugby tour to the British Isles took place as a public way to try to reconcile the two groups and contribute to the construction of a single white national identity. Nauright (1997) asserts that the success of the mixed team of Afrikaner and British players on the
rugby tour was an important event for bringing the two white groups together, which eventually led the way for the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910.

Rugby continued to hold great political significance for whites during the mid-twentieth century. The control of the rugby administration shifted from the British to the Afrikaners during this period. The strong connection between the rugby administration and the Afrikaner Broederbond, a secret political and cultural organization that worked to promote Afrikaner interests, illustrates the political character of the sport. Afrikaners regarded rugby, although an English game by origin, in nationalistic and ethnic terms and believed that rugby was as a perfect game to demonstrate their “ruggedness, endurance, forcefulness and determination” (Grundlingh 1996: 187). British settlers on the other hand regarded rugby “as part of the imperial sporting ethos” (Grundlingh 1996: 187). As political tensions between Afrikaner and British settlers continued, sport (and particularly rugby) was both a mechanism to display their mutual animosity and to construct a common consciousness (Booth 1998).

Apartheid policy and sport

As apartheid policy developed in the 1950s, the oppression of Blacks became increasingly abhorrent. Apartheid laws affected every sphere of South Africans lives, including sport. Booth (1998) argues that before the World War II, African, Colored, and Indian athletes were hindered in developing sporting activities through neglect rather than direct action. This dramatically changed after the National Party took office in 1948 and established the apartheid system. Black communities had received little encouragement, opportunities, and material resources to develop their interests and competencies in sport before the institution of apartheid, but after the development of sport in Black
communities became even more daunting (Krotee 1988; Krotee and Jaeger 1979).

Although there were no formal laws targeting racial segregation in sport, laws such as the Bantu Urban Areas Consolidation Act of 1946 and the Group Areas Act of 1951, which restricted urban migration of Blacks and determined residential location according to four racial categories, greatly hindered sport development in Black communities and the opportunities for racially mixed sports activities.

In the 1960s, after incidences where Blacks competed successfully against whites, a more direct racial policy for sports was instituted. For example, after Sewusunker ‘Papwa’ Sewgolum, a South African Indian golfer, won the Natal Open golf championship in 1963, National party leaders outlined four principles of the new governmental sports policy. The policy stated:

Each racial group would form a separate controlling association in each sport; white associations would control the code, send representatives to world federations, and assist the development of black associations; racially mixed teams would not represent South Africa; and sports officials would not invite racially mixed teams from abroad to play in the Republic (Booth 1998: 61).

This policy made it clear that the white minority ruled government feared interracial contact within sports and fought hard during the apartheid years to maintain racial segregation and white dominance in every socio-political sphere including sports.

The disparities of sporting facilities and opportunities for whites and those for Africans, Coloreds, and Indians were, and continue to be, dramatic. These inequities are illustrated in the report of a 1982 study, Sport in the Republic of South Africa, conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council (cited in Booth 1998: 67). According to the report, white-schools owned 79.9% of the school-based athletic tracks, 88.6% of the cricket fields, 87.7% of the rugby fields, and 72% of all the school-based sporting
facilities in South Africa. Considering that whites constituted only about 15% of the population, these figures represent a vast discrepancy in the distribution of sporting resources across racial groups in South Africa. Booth (1998) identifies the racist ideology and legislation, material deprivation, and poor-health as the main factors influencing the disadvantages suffered by Africans, Coloreds, and Indians in sport during the apartheid era.

Anti-apartheid sport movement and international sanctions

To combat racial injustices within sports in South Africa, sport leaders formed the South Africa Sports Association (SASA) in 1958, which was the first nonracial sports organization in the country. This association aimed to promote non-racial sports by influencing international sports federations to cease recognition of white-only sport organizations in South Africa (Booth 1998). The formation of SASA marked the beginning of the multifaceted anti-apartheid sport movement that operated both domestically and internationally. The response of nations and peoples outside of South Africa towards the apartheid system in South Africa varied over time and place depending on economic, racial, and national interests. The brutal deaths at the hands of the police at a peaceful pass-burning protest in Sharpeville in 1960 was one event that galvanized an international response to the human rights abuses in South Africa. The international sporting community was among the groups that responded (Macintosh, Contenlon, McDermott 1993).

After the apartheid government placed heavy restrictions on the SASA organization and banned key leaders, group leaders created the South African Non-racial Olympic Committee (SANROC) in 1963. The main objective of SANROC was get the
white-dominated South African National Olympic Committee (SANOC) expelled from the Olympic movement as long as race was used to determine eligibility for South African national teams. SANROC used the strategy of an international sports boycott to achieve its main objective (Booth 1998, Nauright 1997). Because of the level of repression within South Africa, SANROC was forced to move its operations outside the country in 1966. The South African eligibility debate was highly contested within the International Olympic Committee (IOC). White South African sport leaders had a considerable amount of influence with the IOC. However, under great international pressure, the IOC withdrew South Africa's invitation to the 1964 Olympics in Tokyo and did not invite South Africa back into the Olympic movement until 1991 (Booth 1998).

In the 1970s, some nonracial sport activists expanded their protest to a challenge of the entire apartheid system, not just racism within sports (Booth 1998; Nauright 1997). They felt that Blacks would continue to face discrimination in sport within an apartheid state and that there could be "no normal sport within an abnormal society." Within the context of this shifting philosophy, some non-racial sport leaders formed the South African Council of Sport (SACOS). Although there were regional differences across SACOS affiliates over time, the defining characteristic of the organization was their principle of non-collaboration with the white sport establishment (Nauright 1997; Roberts 1988). In the 1970s and 1980s, SACOS and SANROC were the two leading organization in the anti-apartheid sport movement that promoted the international sports boycott against South Africa.

In the context of intense repression of group activities under the apartheid system, sports were often used by non-sport leaders for political organizing beyond the sports
domain. Given the governmental restrictions on large public gatherings and interracial contact, sport contests became one site where Blacks could gather in large numbers without too much harassment. Political activists, such as Steven Biko, used such opportunities to spread political messages to large numbers of people. For example, Biko frequently spoke about the Black Consciousness Movement at soccer stadiums before the start of matches. The sporting context was also a site where interracial solidarity was fostered. Alder (1997) demonstrates that rugby fields were an important site where male automobile workers of different racial backgrounds could communicate and build coalitions.

Paralleling a broader political discourse of the 1980s, government officials initiated a reform strategy of multinational sport, in which each designated racial group would develop their own sporting associations while white establishment organizations would control each sporting code. Booth (1998) shows that although white sporting bodies attempted to demonstrate their commitment to racial equality by establishing sport development programs in Black townships, they simultaneously defied the sport boycott with rebel sporting tours both inside and outside the country. Reform efforts initiated by government officials failed to convince the world that South Africa should be readmitted to international competition and South Africa's isolation continued through the 1980s (Nauright 1997).

Over time, the growing power of SACOS created a division among anti-apartheid sports activists. The discord was between those who upheld the principle of non-collaboration with white establishment sport and those who negotiated or were involved in white establishment sport (Booth 1998). Some non-racial sport activists argued that
non-collaboration should be only a strategy not a principle and that non-collaboration stifled the growth of Black sporting institutions. Those collaborating with the white sports establishment during the apartheid era were often barred from non-racial sports organizations and competitions. Those who had sacrificed their sporting careers by not participating with the white sports establishment were later rewarded with political leadership positions when the new government took office in the mid-1990s.

As political negotiations emerged between the apartheid government and the mass democratic movement leaders in the early 1990s, so did the negotiations between the white sporting organizations and those of the non-racial sport movement, particularly the newly formed National Sports Congress (Kidd 1991). (Note that the during the early 1990s, the National Sports Congress changed its' name to the National Sports Council.) During the early 1990s, organizational power shifted from SACOS to the NSC, which was heavily aligned with the African National Congress (Booth 1998). SACOS vehemently disagreed with entering into negotiations with the white government, while the NSC saw negotiations as a way to move the transformation process forward.

In the early 1990s, with the dismantling of apartheid laws, the international sporting boycott against South Africa ended and the difficult work of racial transformation in sports began. In July of 1994 the Department of Sport and Recreation was established (DSR 1995a). Since the 1994 elections, there have been two macro sport organizations in control of sport in South Africa—the National Sports Council (NSC), a government-funded umbrella organization for sport in South Africa, and the National Olympic Committee of South Africa (NOCSA). As I will elaborate on in the next section, the new democratic government led by the ANC appropriated the social
institution of sports to assist in the nation-building process. However, this was not an uncomplicated task. For example, the controversy surrounding the retention of traditional apartheid sporting symbols such as the Springbok emblem, which was used by national sport teams under white minority rule, demonstrates the difficulties of using sport to unify South Africans (Nauright 1997).

Gender, Race, and Contemporary Sports in South Africa

Sport in South Africa, as all over the world, is a highly gendered social institution. By “gendered” I mean that gender is an important factor that shapes who participates in sport, how sport is organized and structured, and the social and cultural meanings attached to sport. In addition, sport is a gendered social institution in that it often reflects and facilitates boys and men’s social, political, and economic advantage over women (Birrell and Cole 1994; Bryson 1987, 1990; Hargreaves 1994; Lenskyj 1986; Messner and Sabo 1990). Gender segregation and inequality within sports is so pervasive that it is generally seen as acceptable and natural. For example, although some thirty-four countries prohibit girls and women from competing in the 1992 Olympics Summer Games, the IOC has never banned a country from competing in the Olympics Games because of their gender-based eligibility policy (Davenport 1996). Whereas racial exclusion in sports has been seen as improper and unjust (Booth 1998), gender exclusion is acceptable and generally unremarkable.

In the following sections, I analyze several dimensions of how the social institution of sport in South Africa is gendered and racialized. First, I examine how differences based on gender, race, economic class, rural/urban context, and culture constrain who participates in sports in South Africa. Second, I explore the degree of
male dominance within national sports leadership positions in South Africa. Next, I discuss and present evidence of the lack of media attention on women's sports and the lack of public recognition afforded to women athletes. In addition, I document the changes in the public discourse around gender and sports and the development of national policy, organizations, and structures to address gender inequalities within sports during the 1990s. Finally, I analyze the ways in which these changes have facilitated and constrained the transformation of gender and race hierarchies and relations within competitive sports in South Africa.

*Structural location and participation in sports*

Like women around the world, South African women have not enjoyed equal sporting opportunities as those afforded to men. However, like men, women's participation in sports varies greatly by individuals' racial and economic class backgrounds. According to a 1997 study of South African women's participation in sports conducted by the Sports Information and Science Agency (SISA), 21% of women compared to 40% of men participated in sport in South Africa (SISA 1997: 4). In 1997, an estimated 2.5 million of the 12.5 million women aged 18 years and older participated in sport in South Africa. Of the women sport participants, 48% are racially identified as white, 32% Indian, 18% Colored, and 15% Black-African. Moreover, participation among married women (18%) is much lower compared participation among unmarried women (25%). According to the study, 52% of those women not doing sports would like to do sports and 70% of women aged 18-14 years old would like to start sports (SISA 1997: 5).
In terms of international sports participation, there are also vast gender disparities in South Africa. Hargreaves and Jones (2001: 1087) report that South Africa sent sixty-two men and twenty-five women to the 1992 Olympics; eighty men and thirty-two women to the 1994 Commonwealth Games; 259 men and seven women to the 1995 All-African games; seventy men and eighteen women to the 1996 Olympics; and 130 men and eighty-two women to the 1998 Commonwealth Games.

The 1997 SISA research identified several critical barriers to women’s participation in sport including women’s household responsibilities, pregnancy, financial constraints, and lack of encouragement and facilities (SISA 1997: 5). One major factor why white middle-class women have been advantaged over Black working-class women within sports is because they have access to cheap domestic labor and childcare assistance (Cock 1980; Roberts 1992, 1993). Very few African, Colored, and Indian women have the economic resources to hire domestic and childcare labor and thus they have had fewer opportunities to participate in sports. Most Black women’s access to sports comes through school physical education programs, however given the economic poverty of Black schools, the sporting facilities and programs are very limited (Roberts 1992, 1993). White South African women have participated in a broader range of sports over a longer period than African and Colored women in South Africa. Women of Indian descent have had the most limited sporting history among women in South Africa due to cultural and religious based restrictions of public activity of Muslim women.

Netball is the most popular sport among South African women. One explanation for the high participation rate in netball is because it is played only by women and it is played in all schools across South Africa (Roberts 1993). Overall, the legacy of historical
disadvantages based on race and class oppression still greatly influences Black women's sport participation in contemporary South Africa. However, given the dramatic changes that South African society is experiencing, it is very likely that women's participation in sport is likely to increase substantially in the future.

*Gender representation in national sports leadership*

One noteworthy indicator of sports as a gendered institution is the gender composition of high-ranking leaders and administrators at the national, regional, and local levels. Since the rise of modern sport in southern Africa, white men of economically advantaged backgrounds have dominated leadership positions within South African sport organizations. The institution of sport itself in South Africa has historically operated to serve the needs and interests of white, middle-class men (Booth 1998; Naughton 1997; Roberts 1993). White men have benefited the most within sport in terms of opportunities for participation, gaining political power, and generating income. Since the early 1990s, there have been dramatic shifts in the racial composition of individuals holding leadership positions within South African sports. White men now share the power of leadership positions within South African sports with Black men.

To understand how historical disadvantaged groups fare within the leadership of South African sport, I examined the gender composition of top national and provincial sport organizations in the late 1990s in South Africa. I use documentary evidence such as annual reports to determine the gender composition of leading sport bodies in South Africa. First, the two Ministers of Sport serving between 1994 and 2000, Steve Tshwete and Ngconde Balfour, are both men. The chief executive officers or directors of the National Sports Council, the new South African Sports Commission, and the National
Olympic Committee for South Africa are all men. Of the nineteen commissioners serving in 2000 on the South African Sports Commission board only three were women (15.8%). At the provincial level, of the eighteen Directors and Head of Departments of the provincial governmental body in charge of sports in 2000 only four were women (22.2%).

Speaking to the issue of the lack of women in powerful decision making positions, a project coordinator from one of the provincial Departments of Sport and Recreation comments on how women staff members are concentrated on the bottom of the organizationall hierarchy. She said:

You know there is one issue that we have in the office regarding the management. It is only men, it is all men. It is true that there are a lot of women, but we are saying that you don’t have women who can represent us in management. All the women are at the bottom (Interview G13).

This example of gender hierarchy in sports management is consistent with those reported by Hargreaves and Jones (2001: 1086). They found four women out of ten members on the NOCSA executive committee; two women out of eight members of the NSC; four women out of the eight members of the NSC Sports Development Committee; and one woman out of nine provincial ministers with responsibility for sports. In addition, they report that there are two female members of parliament who are concerned with the promotion of sport and out of 140 sport federations, only 65 have Women’s Desks or sections.

Overall, these findings demonstrate that at the turn of the twenty-first century, men still hold the vast majority of leadership positions in South African sport organizations at all levels. Although space has opened-up in South Africa for women to
make gains within the institution of sport, radical changes have yet to take place in terms of equitable gender representation.

**Media coverage and public support of women’s sports**

The lack of media attention and public support of women athletes and sports dominated by women is widely recognized among South Africans. According to a 1997 nationally representative survey of South African women, 80% of adult women believe that sports dominated by women are not given enough television coverage and 78% believe that there is not enough newspaper coverage of sports dominated by women (SISA 1997).

Consistent with these findings, the sport administrators and athletes I interviewed expressed frustration with the paucity of media attention of women's sports. The following quote, from a top woman sport administrator, addresses the process by which women's sports news is often ignored. She stated:

> The print media are naïve when it comes to the women’s issues. They tell you they're supposed to give the information to the public the way it is, but they sift through it and present it the way that it’s right for them. You can send them a fax and the men will send a fax...but they concentrate on the men's fax and leave the women’s fax...They’ll give the men's event a big page and they’ll give the women’s just two lines, or nothing at all. If it appears at all, you’re lucky for two lines (Interview G5).

The lack of media coverage of women’s sports is not unique to South Africa. The gender disparities within the sports media in the United States are well-documented (Duncan, Messner, Williams, and Jensen 1994). However, according to interview data from this study, women netball and soccer athletes generally believe that the media coverage of women's sports has recently gotten better. For example, the following quote from a 22
years old white netball athlete from Gauteng Province reveals the perception that the media coverage is slowly improving. She remarked:

I think there is a bit more happening at the moment. You do see a bit more articles in the paper. It is slow, but it is getting there. Very slowly, once a week or once a month, there is something about netball in the papers. So, the support and the media are getting better.

Although there may be improvement, an article "once a week or once a month" on women's netball, the most popular sport for women in South Africa, is hardly impartial coverage given the large volume of sports news produced on a daily basis in South Africa. Gender imbalances in the sports media have emerged as a salient political issue in the new South Africa. Addressing the lack of media coverage of women's sports, a 1993 ANC Policy Guidelines document states:

The typical focus and promotion in the South African media and advertising during peak recreation times, of traditionally male sports, excludes most women from enjoying their right to sport and recreation. The ANC should strive to address this issue with the intention of promoting non-sexism in sport and recreation (ANC 1993: 40).

Recognition of the gender disparities in media and advertising and the small changes in the coverage may be initial steps to addressing the problem, however the persistent lack of media coverage on sports dominated by women suggests that sport is still a male preserve in contemporary South Africa.

*Gender, sport, and transformation in post-apartheid South Africa*

In the remainder of this chapter, I use documentary evidence and informant interviews to discuss the changes that have taken place in South Africa regarding the transformation of gender discrimination and inequalities within sport. The documentary evidence includes national and regional policy documents, Department of Sport and
Recreation annual reports, African National Congress policy documents, Women and Sport South Africa (WASSA) reports, and newspaper articles (See Chapter 3 for more details). Where possible I have triangulated the data to verify and confirm my findings. However, given the emergent nature of the discourse on gender and sport in South Africa and the relative lack of media attention and material resources committed to the issue, this analysis is exploratory and additional research is warranted.

As discussed in Chapter 1 of this dissertation, the new South African government views sport as a means of "knitting together the new South African society" (DSR Annual Report 1994: 1). Although much of the government's focus on sport as a mechanism of nation building relates to reconciliation between racial groups, sport is also seen as a way to address unequal gender relations and other divisions among South Africans. The following quote from the 1994 Annual Report of the DSR illustrates the government's view that sport can serve as a bridge between various social boundaries in the new South Africa, including gender boundaries. The report reads:

[Sport] alone remains unsurpassed as a bridgehead that transcends racial, ethnic, linguistic, cultural and gender boundaries precisely because of the simplicity of language with which it tackles all these problems that are today staring the Government of National Unity in the face (DSR 1994: 5).

The emergence of the new government's concerns of gender inequalities in sport are directly related to the broader political discourse on gender equality in South Africa that started to develop in the late 1980s. As negotiations between the apartheid government and opposition groups got underway in the early 1990s, women political leaders successfully fought to bring the issue of gender inequality and gender oppression to the negotiating table (Seidman 1999a). Consequently, the ANC-led South African government committed
itself to addressing gender discrimination and inequality in many social and political
arenas, including organized sports. Formal governmental policies regarding sport's
development at the national, regional, and local levels includes language and programs
that suggests a commitment to addressing gender inequities within sports. Even before
coming to power, the ANC recognized sport as an effective means through which to
address gender inequalities. In a document on ANC policy guidelines adopted at the
National Conference in 1992, the ANC outlined some basic principles in regards to
gender relations and sport and recreation. An excerpt from the document reads:

The ANC, in line with its other affirmative action policies on gender, will
promote the participation of women in different sport codes, administration,
training and advancement. This will be done with the intention of breaking the
past racial privilege and domination of men in particular sports (ANC 1993: 39).

As illustrated in the above statement, the commitment to addressing the problem of the
dominance of men in particular sports emerges along side of the goal of "breaking the past
racial privilege" within sports. Although racial privilege and discrimination is of primary
importance in the transformation of South African sports, power imbalances based on
gender, geographic location, and physical ability are also a target for change. The
commitment of the new government to use sport to address gender and racial inequalities is
demonstrated in the 1995 Draft White Paper on Sport and Recreation—"Getting the Nation
to Play." This draft policy document addresses the need to, among other things, "encourage
the move towards more gender and racially representative teams and sports activities (DSR
1995b: 9) and institute "appropriate affirmative action controls aimed at redressing racial,
gender and demographic imbalances, and at narrowing the gap between able-bodied and less
able sports persons" (DSR 1995b: 10).
The issue of gender and sport as a national concern seems to have first emerged in the organizational context of SACOS in the late 1980s. Cheryl Roberts, a SACOS leader and an advocate of gender equity within sport, was one of the more vocal individuals working to raise the issue of gender disparities within public discourse on transformation of South African sports (Roberts 1993). As the National Sports Council emerged in the early 1990s as the leading sport organization in the political negotiations with white-establishment sport, the concerns about gender inequalities in sport were placed on the NSC agenda. In 1992, the NSC established a Women’s Desk with the financial assistance from the Australian Sports Commission, and in 1993, an Interim Committee was formed. In 1994, this interim committee became the Women's Sport Foundation, which was responsible for monitoring gender affairs within sport (Hargreaves and Jones 2001; WASSA 1997).

According to a report written by the leading women and sports group in South Africa, during the early 1990s there was a general lack of understanding of the concept and role of a Women’s Desk at the National Sport Council (WASSA 1997). It was not until the mid-1990s that the issue of ‘women and sports’ started to become more broadly understood as a valid concern for the sporting community and formal structures were put in place to address gender inequality within sports (Interview N12). In the 1995 Annual Report of the DSR, the Minister of Sport is quoted as saying,

The absence of female leadership in the sporting fraternity deeply concerns me. I therefore challenge all sports and recreation codes to address this area of sports and recreation development as a matter of urgency and to provide the women in their ranks with sufficient opportunities to hone their leadership skills. I have to stress that the identification of promising female athletes and the encouragement of girls to participate in sport and recreation is a priority and a policy of my Department. The fostering of an awareness amongst women for the intrinsic
benefits of participation in sport such as enhanced mental and physical fitness
and quality of life experiences, will be entrenched in this policy (DSR 1995a: 13).

This statement illustrates the sport minister's strong commitment to increasing women's
participation in sports at all levels. The specific goals outlined in the above statement
include: (1) increasing the number of women in leadership positions in sports at all
levels; (2) increasing girls and women's participation in sports and recreation; and (3)
increasing women's awareness of benefits of sports. The minister's statement is typical of
broader discourse on gender and sport issues in contemporary South Africa in that sexism
within sport is framed as a women's/girls problem and not a problem for men/boys. The
focus of the goals specified above is on women's/girls' behaavior rather than on gender
relations per se. The unequal power relations between women and men are not explicitly
named or articulated in this statement. As I will argue below, this type of framing limits
the kind of gender changes that could be forthcoming.

At the end of 1995, a Women's Standing Committee of the National Sports
Council (NSC) was established, and in August 1996, a meeting to discuss women's sports
development was convened between the Department of Sport and Recreation (DSR), the
Minister of Sport and Recreation, and the NSC (WASSA 1997). At this meeting the
NSC women's committee expressed frustration with the lack of full-time staff and
finances to co-ordinate the women and sport project (WASSA 1997). These concerns
continued throughout the late 1990s (Interview N12).

Some gender and sport activists describe the years 1996 and 1997 as a "turning
point in the sporting fortunes of girls and women" in South Africa (WASSA 1997: 4;
Interviews G3, G5, and N12). On 15 March 1997, the Minister of Sport, Mr. Steve
Tshwete, launched WASSA—Women and Sport South Africa (DSR 1997/8: 6). The Minister of sport appointed Ntambi Ravele, an assistant director in the DSR, as the Chairperson of WASSA (DSR 1997/8: 6). The mission of WASSA is:

To develop a culture where all girls and women will have equal opportunities, equal access and equal support in sport and recreation at all levels and in all capacity as decision makers, administrators, coaches, technical officials as well as participants in doing this it ensures that women and girls may develop and achieve their full potential and enjoy the benefits that sport and recreation have to offer (WASSA, Unpublished 1997:7).

During the years 1996 and 1998, there were a series of workshops, activities, and research aimed at developing women's sports in South Africa. The stakeholders in these efforts included the DSR, NSC, National Olympic Committee of South Africa (NOCSA), United School Sport Association of South Africa (USSASA), South Africa Student Sport Union (SASSU), and provincial representatives. Examples of the workshops and activities include: a national strategic planning workshop on gender and sport between 29 November and 1 December 1996; a gender training course for national and regional WASSA coordinators during July 1997; Women's Day programs on 9 August 1997; workshops for national federations and the women's committees of the NSC, NOCSA, SASSU, and USSASA held in November of 1997; and a Communications, Assertiveness and Negotiations Skills training course held for women in March of 1998 (DSR 1997/8: 6). In May 1998, DSR officials attended the World Conference on Women and Sport held in Namibia and in July 1998 WASSA hosted a follow-up conference to review and chart the path for development of women's sport in South Africa (DSR 1998/9: 12). One measurable outcome of these activities was a 1999 draft policy statement titled “Advancing Sport and Recreation for Women and Girls in South Africa.” However, the
policy has yet to be advanced and adopted. In addition to these developments, in 1997 the first national level research project on women's participation in sport was commissioned by the Sports Information and Scientific Agency (SISA 1997).

At the end of the 1990s, the Minister of Sport led the reorganization of the Department of Sports and Recreation (DSR) and the government-funded National Sports Council (NSC). In an attempt to streamline the DSR and strengthen the national umbrella organization for sports in South Africa, the NSC was transformed into the South African Sports Commission (SASC). Most of the DSR staff members transferred to the new SASC and the DSR was eliminated. According to informant interviews, during the transitional period of the new organizational structure, there was a loss of the momentum of activities for gender equity within sports at the national level (Interviews G2, G3, G5, G6, and N12). For example, when the lead gender equity person, Nambi Ravele, left the DSR in 1999 to head Netball South Africa she was not replaced. Therefore, there was not an official, paid staff member under the Minister of Sport responsible for gender issues and sport in 1999 or 2000. This unfilled position became obvious on Women's Day (9th of August) in 2000 when the government published in daily newspapers across South Africa a two-page advertisement listing the names of contact persons for gender equity issues within each governmental ministry, department, agency, and office. The Ministry of Sport was the only governmental entity that did not have a contact person listed. The lack of a designated staff member to handle gender issues suggests that the issue of gender and sport lost political saliency in the late 1990s.

Within the new South African Sport Commission, issues of gender equity fall under the "Access and Equity" division, which targets women, rural residents, and
disabled individuals. These groups represent historically disadvantaged groups within recreation and sport in South Africa. Consistent with the framing of WASSA, or Women and Sport South Africa, the Sport Commission has framed gender equity issues within sport in terms of "women's access." The focus on women rather than "gender" or "gender relations" implies that gender equity in sports is a "women's problem." This interpretive framing is best described as a liberal feminist approach that aims to bring women/girls into the existing social structures rather than transforming those structures. Gender scholars within the sociology of sport literature have critiqued this liberal perspective within sport because it takes the focus off men's collective power and privilege (Hall 1996). Some of the limitations of framing the issue as "a woman's concern" are articulated in the following comment by a South African sports advocate in the Western Cape. She expresses skepticism about the sustainability of a gender movement within South African sport that is based only on increasing the numbers of women involved.

She remarked:

I think it is a fundamental flaw to focus on women and not on gender...[F]ocusing on women rather than gender is actually problematic for us in the future. So, while we had enormous progress, and a lot of it is contributed to the general ideology of human rights and everybody has space and so on. I don't know how much of that is actually sustainable or has progressed enough to be sustainable...If the focus was on gender, I'm not sure how sympathetic the men would be in giving us space, because then we are actually challenging the very base on which they get their power. But with the focus on numbers, how many women are going to the Olympics, they are not actually challenging the relationship, the gender relationships. And the amount of progress that is made, I don't think is being sustainable enough that when [women] no longer can be used politically to further somebody's career, we might lose quite a lot of ground. Money might not suddenly be as forthcoming in projects for WASSA (Interview G3).

This informant suggests that the advances South African women have made within sport, which are linked to the emergence of a general ideology of human rights, may not be
sustainable in the future because increasing the number of women in sport may not remain politically salient. Focusing on "the numbers" of women in sport has been politically salient during the mid-1990s, however it does appear that gender issues in sport may be losing momentum at the end of the 1990s. The lack of a gender equity and sport administrator within the office of the Ministry of Sports along with the framing of the issue as a "women's problem" does raise questions about the sustainability of a gender movement within South African sport. Although this question is beyond the scope of this study, these dynamics are still important to historically contextualize the following case studies of women's netball and soccer in South Africa.

The national discourse on gender and sport not only shapes the experiences of women netball and soccer athletes but it is also important in shaping their expectations of the state. In turn, the athletes' expectations of the governments will have a direct impact on the formation of collective identities among women athletes. According to interview and survey data collected in this study, women sport participants are aware of these national gender dynamics. For example, the survey findings show that women athletes strongly believe that the South African government should do more to improve the status of women in sports. With a closed-ended survey question, I asked 331 netball and soccer participants: "In your opinion, should the government do more or less to support women's sports in South Africa?" The response categories offered included: much more; somewhat more; no more/no less; somewhat less; and a lot less. I present the findings to this survey item in Table 4.1. As shown, 94.4% of the netball respondents and 93.8% of soccer participants said that the government should do "much more" to support women's sports in South Africa. Only 3.2% of netball participants and 3.7% of soccer participants
surveyed said that the government should do nothing or do less to support women's sports in South Africa. This indicates overwhelming consensus among netball and soccer participants that the government should do substantially more to support women in this traditionally male-dominated domain of sports.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Netball Participants</th>
<th>Soccer Participants</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Percentages (Frequencies)</td>
<td>Percentages (Frequencies)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The government should do more or less to support women's sports in South Africa?</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Much more</td>
<td>94.4% (236)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat more</td>
<td>2.4% (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nothing more/ nor less</td>
<td>1.2% (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat less</td>
<td>0% (0)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A lot less</td>
<td>2.0% (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>100% (250)</strong></td>
<td><strong>100% (81)</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4.1. Netball and soccer participants' opinions of the government doing more or less to support women's sports in South Africa (N=331).

Interview findings were consistent with the survey findings in this regard. During an interview with a 38 year old Black woman netball administrator, I asked whether she thought that the government, particularly the Ministry of Sports and the Department of Sports and Recreation, should do more for women's sports. She responded:

Much more. This thing of women should only be in the kitchen, it's no more like that. They should consider women's sports and open opportunities for women. And, I think if the Minister of Sport was a woman, I think we are going to have the opportunities because she would support women (Interview N12).

This comment addresses the issue of women serving in high level decision making positions within the social institution of sports. It is this administrator's belief that
opportunities for women within sport are directly linked to whom is serving in decision-making positions.

Concluding Remarks

As illustrated in this brief examination of sport in South Africa, since the mid-nineteenth century, sport organizations, structures, and meanings are intimately tied to the political, social, and cultural forces of a particular time and place. Throughout the history of sport in South Africa, the social constructs of race, class, and gender are crucial for understanding of social and political significance of sports in South Africa.

Although there has been some important changes instituted by the new government to address gender discrimination within sports, given the gendered nature of sport in South Africa, it is reasonable to expect a great deal of resistance to women’s full and equal participation in sport in South Africa. In spite of the government's official commitment to gender equity in sports, the vast majority of leadership positions are dominated by men. There are still very few women, especially Black women, in powerful positions within sports and still very little media and public support for women athletes in South Africa. Moreover, the interpretive framing of gender inequities within sport as "a women's issue" rather than as a gender issue that encompasses men and male privilege, may limit the sustainability of the gender movement within sport in the future.

I now turn to take a closer look at the experiences of South African women athletes and how women athletes are collectively challenging historical relations of gender and race within the new South Africa.
CHAPTER 5

RACIAL TRANSFORMATION IN THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA:
A CASE STUDY OF NETBALL

In this chapter, I turn to an empirical case study of South African netball to examine the transformation of race relations and the complexities of the intersections of race, gender, and class relations. Historically, netball has been constructed as a white woman's sport. Although introduced first by English speaking white settlers, Afrikaans speaking women have dominated the game since the 1960s. Netball, like other sports and social institutions in South Africa, was organized along racial lines until the political transition of the 1990s. In 1994, efforts to transform netball into a non-racist sport became formalized with the unification of the separate racially based netball organizations.

I draw from collective identity theory to analyze the shifting collective identities of South African netball athletes. Drawing on semi-structured interviews with netball participants and self-administered surveys, I explore the shifting collective identities among netball athletes. Specifically, I use the concepts of boundaries, consciousness, and negotiations drawn from a collective identity approach to social movement analysis to examine how separate collective identities within netball are in a process of merging. As I found that netball participants are reconstructing racial boundaries to a greater extent
than gender and class boundaries. In addition, I found that netball players share a
unified consciousness in terms of gender inequalities within sports but have a fragmented
group consciousness regarding structured class and race inequalities. Finally, in terms of
negotiating existing dominant relations, I found that netball participants are engaged in a
more significant challenge to racial hierarchies and boundaries than gender hierarchies
and boundaries.

To contextualize this analysis, I preface it with a brief history of netball in South
Africa. This history highlights the emergence and development of netball in South
Africa, the relationship between the anti-apartheid sports movement and netball, the
process of unifying netball, and a history of contentious racial politics within netball.

**Brief History of Netball in South Africa**

*The Roots of Netball*

Netball has its roots in basketball that emerged during the late nineteenth century
in Northeastern United States. In 1892, James Naismith, working at the YMCA (Young
Men’s Christian Athletics), created basketball as an indoor activity that would keep youth
physically fit during the cold winter months. Shortly after, young women at the YWCA
(Young Women’s Christian Athletics) started playing basketball. However, based on the
strong middle-class beliefs about sex differences during this period, the rules of
basketball varied by sex of the participants. Physical educators at the YWCA constructed
women’s basketball on principles of "proper" ladylike behavior, which meant restricted
movement on the court, passing rather than dribbling the ball, and no contact between
players. Rules for men’s basketball on the other hand included dribbling and freedom of
movement all over the court.
Around the turn of the century, "basketball" for women emerged in Britain. Historical accounts suggest two distinct explanations for the diffusion of women's basketball outside the United States to Britain. Martin (1980:6) suggests that an American visitor to Madame Osterberg's College of Physical Training in Hampstead, England taught the game to women students using waste paper baskets for goals. Smith and Humberston (1978: 11) maintain that two female English educators watched the game at the YMCA in the United States and brought the game back to England. Regardless of the particular path, the game of basketball played by women spread to Britain in the late nineteenth century. Over time the rules of the British game were varied and the game evolved distinct from that of women's basketball in the United States. In England, the game took on the name "netball" when some schools started to play outside and used rings and nets instead of baskets (Martin 1980). In 1901, official rules were written for women's netball and 250 rulebooks were printed and distributed to physical educators in England (Martin 1980: 6). Netball grew in Britain during the early and mid-twentieth century and remained an exclusively women's sport. The global diffusion of netball took place through British colonialism. British colonialists imported sporting practices to the colonies as a means of establishing British culture throughout the world (Archer and Bouillon 1982; Mangan 1988). Today, netball is played throughout the former British colonies, such as Australia, Barbados, Bermuda, Canada, Hong Kong, India, Jamaica, Malaysia, New Zealand, West Indies, and South Africa.

The histories of netball in South Africa have not been documented. I, therefore, have constructed the following historical account from archival material and informant
interviews with long time netball participants. I offer this history to provide a social and political context in which to understand the subsequent analysis.

*Emergence and development of netball in South Africa*

In the 1950s, netball emerged in South Africa, primarily among the white female population in the school context. Netball developed first at English speaking schools in three of the four South African provinces—Natal, Orange Free State, and Cape Province (Interview N6). Because there were only a few English speaking schools for girls in the Transvaal, netball was not well established in the region until Afrikaans speaking schools introduced netball during 1957 and 1958. South African netballers competed in their first international matches in 1959 and their first world championships in 1963 (Interview N6). In 1960, an international federation of women’s basketball and netball was established at a meeting in Ceylon, now Sri Lanka, by representatives from England, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and the West Indies (IFNA—International Federation of Netball Associations 2001). By 1970s, almost all Afrikaans speaking schools in the Transvaal played netball. The organizing body of netball in South Africa during this early period was the South African Women's Netball Association (SAWNA). All the leaders and members of SAWNA were white women, mostly Afrikaans speaking (Interview N6). Netball developed most strongly among Afrikaans speaking South African women.

Although virtually nothing has been written about the social and cultural meanings of the emergence and development of netball among Afrikaner women, interview data, writings on the role of men's sports, rugby in particular, in the construction of Afrikaner national identity and Afrikaner masculinity (Grundlingh 1995)
suggest the role that netball may have played in Afrikaner communities. The centrality of sports in Afrikaner communities suggests that netball served, like rugby, to build community, cohesion, and solidarity among Afrikaans speaking women. Although Afrikaner culture is considered extremely patriarchal (Cock 1993), netball offered Afrikaner women and girls an acceptable sport that contributed to the larger project of Afrikaner solidarity while not challenging dominant norms of femininity and womanhood. Netball has been historically constructed as a social, female-typed, non-contact sport. Even the netball uniform of a skirt and blouse suggests that netball is a "suitable, proper, ladylike" game for women. This particular gender construction of netball, which affirms gender differences, created space for Afrikaans speaking women to develop the sport without major resistance from men. Seen as an appropriate sport for females, netball was a sport that was encouraged and supported by parents and families within Afrikaner communities (Interviews N6, N2, and N12). The national political climate of the 1950s and 1960s in South Africa was one of strengthening apartheid, building a strong Afrikaner national identity, and projecting an image of the state as successful and capable of garnering more political power within the country. The emergence of netball during this period suggests that the sport did not contradict the broader political goals of the Afrikaner community. Like other popular sports, netball contributed to the construction of Afrikaners as a strong, sporting people.

As apartheid developed in the 1950s and 1960s, the repression of Blacks in every sphere, including sports, became increasingly aggressive. Segregation laws, such as the Bantu Consolidation Act and Group Areas Act, further politicized sport in South Africa by imposing barriers on Black-white relations and creating antagonistic contact between
Africans, Colored, and Indians (Archer and Bouillon 1982). Apartheid legislation and segregation customs not only greatly constrained racially integrating sport but also resulted in the outright humiliation of Blacks in general, including those who participated in sports (Booth 1998).

The disparities between sporting facilities and opportunities across racial communities were dramatic. White South Africans enjoyed the greatest access to sporting opportunities and facilities. Comparing the number of netball courts to the population of each racialized group community illustrates the level of inequalities among "non-whites." According to the South Africa 1977 Official Year Book, the number of netball courts to the total Asian population in South Africa was 1: 382,500, the ratio of netball courts to the Colored population was 1: 9,463, the ratio for Africans living in "white" areas was 1: 20,035, and the ratio for African living in Bantustans (homelands) was 1: 310,443. Thus, those classified as Colored under the apartheid system thus were advantaged as compared to their African counterparts but not as advantaged as their white counterparts. The small number of netball facilities found in Asian communities speaks to the constraints imposed on Muslim women.

The Anti-apartheid sports movement and netball

Interestingly, at the very moment that netball was emerging in South Africa, so was the anti-apartheid sport movement. Black people resisted racism in sports immediately after the National Party came into power in 1948 by building their own sport associations and lobbying international sport federations to recognize Black rather than white sports organizations (Booth 1998). Under great international pressure, the IOC barred South Africa from the Olympic Games movement from 1964 through 1991.
because of their racist policies in sports (Booth 1998; Kidd 1991; Krotee 1988; Nauright 1997). The international sports boycott grew throughout the 1960s as more international sporting associations joined the boycott.

The international sport boycott against South Africa directly affected South African netball starting in 1970 and continuing until 1994 (Interviews N6 and N2). The last South African netball team to compete outside of the country went in 1970 to Australia and the last team to come into South Africa was England in 1973 (Interview N6). During the isolation from international competition, South African netball focused on developing the sport regionally within the country. A long time netball organizer described how they, as she said, "kept the home fires burning" during their isolation:

We selected one South African team and said, "if we were still international, it would be you who would play." And, those players would then go on tour to an area for a week. For instance, the first team would tour the Free State area giving clinics, courses for coaching and umpiring and assisting players to become better players, etc. The next year we would descend down to the Cape, the next year the Eastern Cape, the next year in the Northern Province, then to KwaZulu Natal (Interview N6).

This development program of SAWNA was limited to white netball participants until 1976 when development clinics and courses were conducted in Black communities. A white woman who was involved in this program described these efforts:

In the year 1976, we had a course in Pretoria for 100 Black physical education teachers from all over the country, male and female, which ever the school or area sent. We had a netball course because we wanted a sport that goes in the schools. Boys had soccer. So, these 100 teachers went from here with this matter to spread the gospel of netball. From the year 1976, which was a very difficult year in South African history, Soweto, etc., we, now as white women, went to all the different townships inclusive of everyone and we gave the courses all over. Then in January 1977, we had a group of 40 women at the squad camp where we selected 21; these are now all Blacks. And, we trained them really hard and July 1977 was the first time a Black team participated in the South African Championships (Interview N6).
This comment and the overall history of netball development programs in the 1970s parallels changes in the broader political context of race relations and sport in the 1970s. The government initiated a policy of 'multi-national' sport in the early 1970s as an effort to gain favor of international sporting bodies while maintaining the apartheid philosophy and practices of separate development of racial groups (Archer and Bouillon 1982; Booth 1998). The emergent multi-national state policy consisted of three parts (Archer and Bouillon 1982: 211). First, mixed teams from countries would be permitted to tour South Africa and to play, separately, against white teams and 'non-white' teams. Secondly, Black sportsmen affiliated with white federations would be permitted to take part only in separate 'multi-national' competitions within South Africa, but international competition might take a relatively 'open' form. Finally, no racial mixing would be permitted at the provincial or club level in South Africa (Archer and Bouillon 1982: 211).

Within this political context, white Afrikaner netball organizers, either in an effort to improve their image of race relations and/or out of a genuine interest in developing women’s sports, started training camps in the Black townships and lobbied school administrators to establish netball in the schools in the late 1970s. This campaign was successful in that netball for girls was established in the schools across racial communities in South Africa. Netball became the only sport, for boys or girls, played in all South African schools before the new political dispensation in 1994. Given the strict racist laws of apartheid, netball however was racially segregated up until the mid-1990s. There were separate netball organizations for Africans, whites, and Coloreds. The African organization, South African Netball Association (SANA) was formed in 1976. The all-white, establishment organization SAWNA evolved, in 1979, into the umbrella
organization—ASANU— the All South Africa Netball Union. The fact that this "new" white dominated organization, ASANU, emerged during this period of international isolation and adopted a name similar to netball organizations in England and Australia suggests that part of the impetus for its formation was to comply with government sport policy and to demonstrate improved race relations within South African netball. The so-called "Colored" organization, Netball Association of South Africa (NASA) was formed in the 1980s and did not have close contact with the white-dominated ASANU until the late 1980s. NASA was closely affiliated with the non-racial sport organization South African Council on Sport (SACOS). SACOS was one of the first national sporting organizations to begin talking about sexism and sport in the late 1980s (Roberts 1988).

Netball unity talks

It was not until 1988 that talks about racially unifying netball began, and not until 1994 that the various netball organizations merged. The netball unity talks were described by many netball leaders as very contentious, full of tension and mistrust, and a painful process of many ups and downs. Although representatives from various organizations worked side by side at the negotiating table, historical distrust and suspicion were hard to overcome. The more serious negotiations among netball associations took place between 1991 and 1993, which was after President F. W. de Kerk gave the February 1996 parliamentary address that committed his government to negotiations with opposition parties.

The main actors in the unity talks during the early years of the netball negotiations were the white dominated organization and the African dominated organizations. One of the major points of contention between these groups was the issue of men serving in top
leadership positions within netball (Interviews N2 and N6). Since the beginnings of
organized netball in South Africa, men served as coaches, umpires, and off-court officials
across the various organizations. However, leaders of the predominantly white
organization were adamant that men should not serve in the top leadership positions,
which they saw as a women's domain. The ASANU constitution read that "no men shall
hold a top post in the organization." The white women leaders generally thought
restricting netball leadership to women was an excellent vehicle to empower women
(Interview N2, N6). On the other hand, leaders of the African dominated netball
organization, SANA, disagreed with the exclusion of men and wanted the clause dropped
from the new constitution. Within Black communities, sporting opportunities for Black
women and girls were not necessarily develop separately from Black men's involvement.
Unlike white South African women, Black South African women did not have the
economic means or facilities to organize sports separately from men in their
communities. It is also important to note that overall Black men in South Africa had less
opportunities to serve in sports leadership positions as compared to white men and
therefore it is likely that Black men were more invested in being netball leaders than were
white men. A similar gender/race/class dynamic was found in organizations of United
States women athletes of African descent between 1920 and 1960. African American
women and men regularly participated in sport side-by-side whereas white American
women and men, particularly those of the middle class, typically practiced sport
separately (Gissendanner 1994).

White South African women leaders generally understood Black women's
insistence on the inclusion of men as a cultural difference and a consequence of African
patriarchy (Interview N6). Black women were represented as having a false consciousness around the issue of men in netball leadership positions. However, the supposed cultural differences in gender relations between Africans and whites in South Africa and the supposedly false consciousness of African women should be understood in the context of the vast historical economic and legal disparities between Black women and white women. In the case of netball, it appears that white women had the ideological space and material resources to organize separately from men whereas Black women were more constrained in their forms of organizing. Black women's insistence to work with men also speaks to a philosophical difference between white women's feminisms and African women's feminisms as argued by African feminists (Nnaemeka 1998).

Nnaemeka (1998) and Chukukere (1998) maintain that African feminism tend to be more about negotiation and compromise with men rather than direct confrontation with men that is characteristic of Western or white women's feminism. This is supported by Black African women's rejection of men's exclusion and white women's promotion of men's exclusion.

Besides the disagreement of the exclusion of male representation on the executive committee, the issues of an age restriction in a new ASANU constitution (Interview N6), as well as a mechanism for amending the constitution, entered the debates. Establishment sport leaders advocated for an age restriction and a clear distinction between school-based netball and netball for adult women. They wanted a close working relationship with the school-based netball associations but wanted to focus on opportunities for women outside of the school context. The SACOS-affiliated netball organization, NASA, which entered the negotiation process with SANA and ASANU in
October 1992 (Booth 1998: 198), fought against the age restriction because many member clubs formed their teams with school aged players. NASA also argued for a constitutional provision that would return all proposed constitutional amendments to ordinary members for ratification (Booth 1998). Although the age restriction and constitutional amendment issues caused delays in the unity talks, the gender restriction of top leaders was much more difficult to resolve and much more disruptive to the talks. In 1993, another delay in unity talks was caused by the late entrance of the South African Netball Committee (SANC), which was an association representing African players in Transkei region (Interview N6).

As the netball negotiations floundered, representatives from the National Sports Congress (NSC)\(^1\), a nonracial national umbrella sports organization closely associated with the African National Congress, entered the talks. Booth (1998: 177) argues that the formation of the NSC, officially launched in June 1990, was a turning point in the nonracial sports struggle. The NSC used its links with the mass democratic movement to become a formidable player in the nonracial sports movement that forced establishment sport to negotiate with independent sport associations and develop new democratic sporting structures (Booth 1998). The NSC assisted in the formation of Netball Congress, which united with the establishment ASANU, to form Netball South Africa (NSA). It was in 1993, when establishment netball officials agreed to remove the male restriction clause in the constitution, that independent African association, SANA, was willing to unify. In the same year, although not every contentious issue was resolved, the

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\(^1\) The National Sports Congress changed its' name to the National Sports Council in the early 1990s and evolved into the South African Sports Commission in 1999.
first unity netball games were held in Pretoria. In July 1994, the SACOS-affiliated NASA conceded to the terms of the other groups and joined Netball South Africa, the contemporary, national unified netball body.

The racialized conflicts continued in netball after official unification. At the national netball trials in Johannesburg in August 1994, Black players complained about racial discrimination in the selection process, which resulted in an all-white national team (Motsei 1994a). Some Black players argued that the all-white selection committee was racially biased and that Black players were not given enough time on the court to prove themselves. Consequently, the Soweto Netball Association threatened to pull out of the newly unified Netball South Africa if conditions did not improve (Motsei 1994b). In 1995, controversy re-emerged around an all-white team traveling to the World Netball Championships. Amidst the controversy, Rita Ooshuizen, a white woman on the executive committee, was forced to resign so that an all-white South African netball team could attend the World Championships that year (Interview N6). The pressure to resign came from both internal and external sources (Interview N2, N6, and N12). The executive committee for Netball South Africa at this time was made up of four people each from the 'old' NASA, SANA, and ASANU organizations and had a rotating chairperson. After this controversy, a new committee was appointed which ran the organization from 1995 to 1997. Much of the conflict in netball centered on racial transformation in the organization. African women argued that racial transformation in netball was taking too long and that white leaders were not working hard enough to establish non-racist netball—or integrating Black women into netball at all levels. In 1996, African women organized protests at the national championships and stopped the
competition from proceeding. The problems got so intense that officials from the Ministry of Sport and the National Sports Council (NSC) stepped in to mediate the conflict and assist in the transformation process. At the July 1999 South African National Championships, the whole executive committee was forced to resign and a month later, representatives from all regions in NSA got together to elect a new leadership. During negotiations with the NSC, the NSA agreed that the new executive committee would consist of five elected members and four appointed members by the NSC. This executive committee was serving its second year when the data for this research was collected.

*Contentious racial politics in contemporary netball*

Since 1995, the netball leadership instituted a number of affirmative action policies to increase Black women’s participation and influence in netball.\(^2\) One of the most controversial policies is that of racial quotas for regional team membership. The racial quota policy mandated that teams integrate racially. As a starting point, in 1995 racial quotas were first instituted in the lower age divisions, the under-19 and under-21 year olds. By July 2000, the quota policy was instituted at the highest level of competition--the National South African Netball Championships, the site of my fieldwork. Provincial teams lost points in the competition if they did not have a racially integrated team, which meant at least 40% representation of Blacks or whites on their squads. For example, a 12-player team needed to have either 5 Black players and 7 white players or 7 Black players to 5 white players. Both white dominated teams and Black

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\(^2\) Information regarding the affirmative action policies in netball was gathered through interviews (N2, N6 and N12) and documentary evidence such as policy statements from Netball South Africa.
dominated teams were penalized if they did not meet the quota. In addition, the quota policy required that there be at least two players of the underrepresented race playing on the court at all times.

I used both survey and interview responses to understand netball participants' opinions of the racial quota policy adopted by Netball South Africa. In the survey, I asked netball players, coaches, and managers whether they thought such policies were positive or negative. Table 5.1 presents the survey data for this item. As shown, 25.2% of the respondents said that the quota policy was very positive and another 17.1% said it was somewhat positive. Overall, 42.3% of respondents said the quota policy was positive. Forty-six percent of respondents however, thought the policy was very negative or somewhat negative. Almost 12% of respondents said that the policy was neither positive nor negative. Overall, there were slightly more netball participants who viewed the policy somewhat negative or very negative (113 respondents) than those who thought the policy was somewhat positive or very positive (104 participants). This, however, is directly related to the over-representation of whites or Afrikaners within netball and the tendency that whites/Afrikaners are less supportive of the racial quota policy than Blacks.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In your opinion, are quotas or affirmative action in netball a positive or negative policy for Netball South Africa?</th>
<th>Percentage of total</th>
<th>Number of responses</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very Positive</td>
<td>25.2%</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat positive</td>
<td>17.1%</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither positive nor negative</td>
<td>11.8%</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somewhat negative</td>
<td>22.8%</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very negative</td>
<td>23.2%</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1. Frequency distribution of netball respondents' opinion of racial quotas in netball (N=246).

Survey findings show that respondents' opinions of the quota policy vary significantly by respondents' racial identity. Table 5.2 presents the crosstabulations of respondent's opinion of racial quotas by their racial identity. As shown, Blacks/Africans are more positive about the quota policy than any other racial group (65.4%). Indians (62.5%) are only slightly less positive about the quota system than Blacks/Africans. Excluding the mixed heritage group, which only has three respondents, Whites/Afrikaners are the least positive, and the most negative, about the quota policy. Only 19% of Whites/Afrikaners feel positive about the policy and 70.7% either feel somewhat negative (37.9%) or very negative (32.8%) about the policy. And, a greater percentage of Blacks/Africans than Coloreds or Indians said the policy is very negative.
5.2. Crosstabulations of respondents' racial identity and their opinion of racial quotas in netball (N=243).

The racial differences in netballers' opinions are confirmed by the interview findings. It is important to note, however, that not all white or Afrikaner women felt negatively towards the quota policy. Moreover, many players understood the benefits of the policy while at the same time disagreeing with the manner or the timing of its' implementation. For example, a 25 years old Afrikaner woman from the Western Cape acknowledged the aim of the policy but expressed concern about the policy being forced upon teams. She remarked:

I can understand why they're doing it, because they want development...but you can't force it (Interview N7).

Many of the Afrikaner players interviewed qualified their lack of support for the policy with the belief that Black players were not at the same skill level as White/Afrikaner players. The following comment from a 25 years old Afrikaner player from the Free State illustrates how some players qualified their negative feelings towards the policy so that they did not appear racist. She commented:
I think it is a good thing at school level or university teams, but you can’t just change everything in three or four years...Because they haven’t been playing competitive netball. They haven’t got skills and experience. It’s not that time. Um, I’m not trying, I am not a racist, I really want to give them chance (Interview N9).

Another common reason why players disliked the quota policy was that some regions, particularly smaller regions, lacked the racial diversity necessary to form integrated teams. Although racial residential segregation has decreased slightly over the past six years, South Africa is still one of the most spatially segregated nations in the world (Christopher 2001). Given that netball teams and regions are formed on a geographic basis, racially integrated teams are not common. In the following comment by a long time netball administrator, who identifies as white, talks about the drawing of regional netball boundaries as geographical and not racial. She stated:

The regional divisions are not racial, it was purely geographical, but some have their own groupings, preferences to go, etc. The department of sport would have an office in certain areas and they thought it would be good division to keep these together. But, this was not racial, this was geographical. This was a region making it more accessible in terms of travel distances, making it easier to get people to play games or whatever (Interview N6).

It is hard to argue with the reality of spatial segregation in South Africa. However, since residences have been historically organized according to racial categories, it seems misleading to make the sharp distinction between geographical divisions and racial divisions. Presenting divisions within netball in non-racial terms is of great political importance. Overall, I found that white netball administrators took special care to present netball structures and divisions as built upon on non-racial logic and motivations.
The conflict regarding the racial quota policy highlights the differences among netball participants and the difficulty in building a collective identity among them. As discussed above, netball has been constructed historically as a feminized, social game dominated by Afrikaans speaking women and girls in South Africa. With the dramatic political transformation of South African society, netball is going through radical challenges. In the early and mid-1990s, Black women in netball staged ongoing protest of white dominance within netball. In many ways, Black netballers formed a unified collective identity to challenge the racial status quo within netball. Their protests were generally successful in that NSA now has an African woman president, a racially diverse executive committee, and strong affirmative action policies and programs. Although these changes have taken place, there are still significant racial conflicts at all levels within netball.

Contentious racial politics was not the only issue facing NSA during the 1990s. As a sport dominated by women, netball struggles to get sufficient financial backing, media coverage, and public support, which is in contrast to popular sports dominated by men/boys within South Africa. The issue of racial politics, gender, and class disadvantages do intersect and influence one another. In the following analysis, I explore these intersections by focusing on the formation of collective identities among netball participants during the late 1990s. Overall, I found that netball participants are engaged in the process of forming new, unified collective identities. Specifically, racial boundaries between players are being dismantled, group consciousness of race, class, and gender inequalities is being developed, and challenges to racial and gender categories and hierarchies are being negotiated. In the remainder of the chapter, I analyze three
dimensions of collective identity—boundaries, consciousness, and negotiations—with special attention to interlocking systems of oppression, namely race, gender, and class.

**Collective Identities and Netball**

New social movement theorists use the concept collective identity to examine how groups define who they are, construct a group consciousness, and mobilize against perceived injustices (Gamson 1997; Melucci 1989, 1996; Taylor 1996; Taylor and Whittier 1992). In this study, I use collective identity theory to explain how diverse and disconnected South African athletes develop shared meanings, experiences, and most importantly, a connection to collective efforts that are larger than their individual participation. According to Melucci (1996), the construction of collective identities of individuals or groups are constantly negotiated and renegotiated among actors and a failure or break in this constructive process makes the action by the collectivity impossible. This interactive process of collective identity formation includes three main factors: the construction and maintenance of boundaries, the development of a group consciousness, and the processes of negotiating the status quo (Taylor and Whittier 1992; Whittier 1995). I will begin this analysis of collective identities and netball by examining boundaries, and then address the processes of developing a group consciousness and negotiating change.

**Boundaries within Netball**

Theoretically, boundaries mark the social territories of group relations by highlighting differences. Boundary markings are central to the formation of collective identities because they raise awareness of group's commonalities and frame interactions between in-group and out-groups (Taylor and Whittier 1992). My analysis of interview
and survey data suggests that contemporary netball structures, policies, and interactions reinforce gender and class boundaries and both reconstruct and challenge racial boundaries. Strict gender boundaries within South African netball have been historically marked and maintained since its emergence during the 1950s. Netball has been and is currently constructed as a feminine game played almost exclusively by women. The new political dispensation and emerging discourse on gender equity within sports have encouraged the discussion of increasing men's participation in netball. However, there have been no sustained efforts made on the part of NSA to develop men's netball. Dismantling gender boundaries within netball is not viewed as a priority given the pressing needs around racial conflict and the lack of financial and public support for netball.

Class boundaries within competitive netball are rigid in the sense that only those with the economic means can spend the time and money it takes to become an elite athlete. Those South African women who compete in netball at the highest level generally have access to the economic resources necessary to sustain their participation. Those who do not have the economic means drop out or never participate. This class boundary within netball is characteristic of most organized competitive sports (Coakley 1998). Women and girls who are economically disadvantaged are especially constrained within competitive sports because they generally lack the widespread support offered to men and boys within the social institution of sports (Birrell and Cole 1994; Lenskyj 1986; Theberge 1989). Given the historical links between economic class, gender, and racial identity within South Africa, it is poor Black, rural women who are the most disadvantaged within competitive sports. There are substantial efforts being made within
netball to increase public and private funding for increasing opportunities for poor South African women, however class boundaries still operate to distinguish between insiders and outsiders within netball.

In summary, the gendered and class boundaries within netball in the 1990s are being reconstructed and maintained. It is the racial boundaries that are being significantly reworked. I now turn to examine these shifting racial boundaries within netball.

**Marking Racial Boundaries**

Netball's emergence within an apartheid context meant that the sport has a long history of being organized along rigid racial distinctions. Inter-racial or a non-racial netball did not emerge until the establishment of the new political dispensation within the 1990s. Before this period, netball had been constructed as a domain for white, Afrikaans speaking women. Afrikaner women, who are (on average) taller than other South African women, are seen as particularly well suited for netball because of a height advantage. The collective identity of netball athletes as Afrikaans speaking is currently being challenged. In this section, I present evidence of the how racial boundaries within netball are both being re-inscribed and re-constructed.

As mentioned in the historical review of netball, racialized spatial divisions within South Africa are consequential for marking and maintaining racial boundaries within netball. Racialized spatial (or residential) boundaries between white and Black South Africans crosscut with the issues of crime and safety and the costs of transportation. White women's fear of crime constrains their traveling to historically Black townships and Black women's lack of financial resources limits their traveling to historically white.
central cities, where most of the sporting facilities are located. For example, the following quote from a 22 years old, white woman of Johannesburg expresses her fears of traveling to Black townships. She remarked:

We don’t dare go and live there [Black townships]. There is a lot of murder and things going on there as well. So we don’t dare go near their places. Like townships and things like that, we don’t go near that. It is too scary (Interview N14).

The following quote from a 36 years old Black woman from Soweto describes the financial difficulties in travelling to white dominated areas within Johannesburg. She commented:

When we travel to Johannesburg, we take taxis. We collect only 10 rand per player and we take a taxi. They drop us there and then they come long after the games have finished. The whites drive their own cars. After the games, they take their cars, they leave us there. If maybe one of them is nice enough, she can take you to the nearest point but not all the way home (Interview N10).

Beyond racialized residential segregation, athletes discursively construct racial boundaries within netball. The following comment by a 21 years old white player from the Free State illustrates the racialized construction of netball. Talking about her career in netball, she said:

Um, in South Africa it’s, it’s, everything goes with, it’s black, okay. They must come in everything you do. And it’s not fair, because I think the best player must get the position in the team, and um, it doesn’t work like that. They must be in the team. And at the end, the white people will move out, the best players, will move out to give them space. So, I don’t know if I have a future in netball. A lot of my friends went overseas just to work. But I don’t think that running is the answer. To me, just to go overseas and run away from them, it doesn’t help. That’s what they want. They want to take over our country. So, I don’t want to give them that satisfaction (Interview N3).

The boundaries between "us" and "them" are clearly articulated in racial terms in this quote. This young white player sees her space in netball (and South Africa) as being
threatened and invaded by Blacks. She does not seem willing to redefine boundaries in sport nor the broader society to share space with Blacks and build a unified South Africa. During the interview, I asked this player whether she saw South Africa as a rainbow nation. She replied:

No, there’s not even black in the rainbow [laughter]. So I don’t know where they get that expression from. No, I don’t see a rainbow actually. Usually it was apartheid between white and black, now it’s changed the other way around. It’s between black and white.

This player rejects the symbolic imagery of South Africa as a rainbow nation. The notion of the rainbow nation has been used by leaders, such as Nelson Mandela, to build solidarity among South Africans and ultimately a unified national identity. As the above quote suggests, even in the context of women's sport, building a shared collective identity among South Africans of diverse racial backgrounds is a formidable task.

Racial boundaries are not only constructed between Africans and whites within netball. In an interview, I asked a 36 years old Black woman who works as a police officer in Soweto whether there were tensions between Coloreds and Africans in netball. She responded:

Yes, the Coloreds don’t have a standing place. They don’t know where they are...They must just decide whether they are white or black and then we can know where they fall. If you watch the Western Province team, they’ve got one Colored girl. And with us, the team is only white. We say it’s only white. Because once she’s there, she’s white...And even the surnames, one of them I think, it’s Johnson or Peterson. It’s white! So, they say they’ve met the quota system in that fashion. But, if they say Black, let it be a Black, you see the face is black (Interview N10).

This comment not only illustrates the tensions between Black and Colored netball players but also contributes to the discursive construction of strict categories of white and Blacks and the lack of recognition of a Colored identity. This player marks boundaries by using
the terms "we" and "they" and by referring to the colour of one's face. A person's surname is also used as evidence to support her binary construction of racial categories.

In a follow up question, I asked the player if she considered Africans, Coloreds, and Asians as "Black." She responded:

Hmm. [pause] But, if they are with whites, they don’t consider themselves as Blacks. That is the problem. They consider themselves as Blacks if they have a problem with the whites. Then they’ll be calling themselves Blacks. And, if things are smooth and nice, they are whites (Interview N10).

I respond by asking, "It sounds like you don’t trust Coloreds?" She answered:

No, no. You cannot, you cannot trust Coloreds. We can stand here and say, “Blacks this side and whites this side.” I’m telling you, they are going to fall on the white side (Interview N10).

Although this respondent's comments are contradictory in terms of "Black" being someone with a "Black-face" or simply someone who politically aligns themselves with Blacks. Her comments clearly construct strict boundaries between whites and Blacks, with Coloreds having to choose a side.

Unfortunately, the random selection of interviewees did not result in an interview with a player who identified as Colored, Indian, or of mixed racial heritage. Such players are a minority within netball (and South Africa). Using the representative survey of netball participants at the 2000 National Championships as a measure of the racial demographics of elite netball participants, Coloreds, Indians, and those of mixed racial heritage (excluding those identifying as White or African along with another category) accounted for less than 10% of all participants. Excluding respondents who did not identify any racial affiliation, the survey sample was 47.2% White/Afrikaner, 43.1% Black/African, 5.2% "Colored," 3.2% Indian, and 1.2% other-mixed racial heritage.
Given the relatively high response rate for the survey, this is a good estimate of netball participants' racial identities.\(^3\)

As reported above, the survey results show that Coloreds, Indians, and those of mixed racial heritage were not as supportive of the racial quota policy as were Africans. It is highly likely that they do not see themselves benefiting as much as Africans. In response to an open-ended question about the quota policy, two respondents identifying as Indian raised concern that the policy did not consider the under-representation of Indian women within netball. These responses illustrate that racial boundaries within netball are not strictly constructed between Africans and whites but are much more complex. The ongoing process of marking racial boundaries within netball impedes the development of a unified collective identity among competitive netball athletes, which is necessary to wage a collective protest against their gendered disadvantages within the social institution of sport.

**Dismantling Racial Boundaries**

Besides marking racial boundaries, according to the interview data, players of diverse racial identities talk about the loosening up of rigid racial boundaries within netball. The following excerpts, from white and Black players demonstrate how some see racial boundaries as being dismantled and how netball serves as a site for bringing women together despite their differences. I asked a 23 years old Afrikaner woman who

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\(^3\) Rather than selecting only one racial category, respondents were able to choose multiple racial categories to which they identify. The choices included: Black, African, Afrikaner, White, "Colored," Mixed racial heritage, Indian, and "Other." Eighty-six respondents choose more than one racial category and 164 respondents choose only one category. Given the option to select multiple racial identities, there were thirteen unique ways that respondents identified themselves racially. Due to the complexity of analyzing a large number of racial identities, these 13 unique categories were combined to create five racial identity categories: Black/African; White/Afrikaner; "Colored;" Indian; and other-mixed Heritage.
works as a teacher in Johannesburg about race relations within her team. She commented:

No, it is not bad at all. Because if you want, if you put yourself in the team then you must be there and you must accept the other players. You must accept that. It is not that you are white or black, you can’t think that she is white and she is not. People are different in culture or colour, or whatever. But, all of us are people, all of us are in the world and living together. Maybe tonight we sit down and have a talk. The white and the black differ very much. Because our religion we do this and this. In our culture, we believe in this and this. And then, you see the differences but you can do nothing about it. You must be accepting of one another and play the game (Interview N4).

These sentiments of tolerance are also addressed by a 23 years old Black woman from the Eastern Province who speaks to the issue of race relations in the following quote. She commented:

To me, I think sportsmen, whoever they are, we should build sportsmanship, no matter what culture, or whatever, we should be one, we shouldn’t judge each other by color you know. We should be one (Interview N17).

Echoing the desire to "be as one," a 24 years old, white, Afrikaner from Potchefstroom who works as an administrative assistant remarked:

If you love your sport, you play the sport. So it doesn’t matter who is with you in the team. It all depends on – not depends – it helps if you’re all together. That’s why netball is such a lovely sport. So it doesn’t matter who or what you are, it’s a team playing together. And if all seven give their best, I mean it doesn’t matter who you are, or what you are (Interview N13).

The above three quotes demonstrate the willingness on the part of netball athletes to embrace differences of race, culture, and colour and forge new collective attachments across these boundaries. The metaphors of teamwork and sportsmanship are used to express the importance and necessity of building racial unity within netball.
Reinforcing Racial Boundaries

Although the racial quota policy is facilitating the transformation of racial boundaries, I also found that the policy contributes to reinforcing racial boundaries and the reconstruction of binary racial categories of whites and blacks. In an interview, I asked a 28 years old white woman from Port Elizabeth about her thoughts regarding the quota policy. She replied:

Well, I think yesterday the first strange thing happened. One of our players got injured, one of our black players. And we had to put a white player in her place and we had to take another white player off and put a black player in her place. That’s minor and that will sort itself off. It wasn’t a problem what so ever but you had to think about it. I think when one gets used to it. It is very new to us that you have to actually go and figure out. You have to adapt to if you want to play X-players who else can be on the field. But it is not a problem, it is just, you just have to figure it out a little more (Interview N8).

The racial quota policy, thus, simultaneously challenges historical racial boundaries through racial integration of teams but also reinforces racial differences by categorizing players as either white or black. This binary construction is contradictory to the multiple racial identities of netball athletes. For example, of the 250 netball survey respondents, 13 unique racial identities were identified, suggesting that the distinction of white and black is simplistic.

In addition, despite players' support for dismantling racial boundaries and building cohesive teams, I found that some white players put conditions on that unity. The following excerpt from an interview with a 22 years old white woman from Johannesburg area illustrates how some athletes support racial diversity but only under certain terms. Speaking to the question of racial problems within her team, she said:

No, we don’t have any problems. We are a very nice team. They do what they want to do and we do what we want to do. We had this situation the other day
where there was one girl in our team; she just took off her top in the middle. And I was like, "excuse me what are you doing?" She said, "I’m hot." I said," but you don’t do that here. Everybody is hot, wait until you get the change room and do it there." But for them it is nothing to just take off your top there. You understand what I am saying. She still had her bra on but it still was in front of everybody. It is not like she was a small lady, she was a 10 D, I would say. So they are learning from us as well. If they do something wrong, we are like, no that wasn’t correct. Not for us, but in the eyes of other people, that wasn’t correct. So they are learning different kinds of things.

This athlete describes her team as problem-free team and very nice, while at the same time of uses a racialized dichotomy "we and "they." Although she states that "they do what they want to do and we do what we want to do," she tells a story of policing "what they do." This speaks to the colonialist notion that Africans are often inappropriate, especially with their bodies, and need to be taught proper behavior. The manner in which this player reprimands the African player for taking off her top and tells the story to the white interviewer hints of the "civilizing the natives" project that European settlers in Africa have historically taken up. Although this colonialist mentality was not reproduced by all white respondents, this type of discourse was prevalent among white athletes and administrators within netball.

_Consciousness of Netball Participants_

Boundaries locate persons as members of an insider group, but it is group consciousness that imparts a larger significance to a collectivity. I use the concept of consciousness to refer to the interpretive frameworks used by netball players to understanding their discontents in terms of race, gender, and class structures rather than individual or group failings. Development of a group consciousness is an ongoing processes that crystallize when a collective of individuals realize their common interests and develop a shared understanding of their situation. In the subsequent sections, I draw
from survey and interview data to describe the group consciousness of netball athletes and administrators. I found that netball participants share a strong group consciousness in terms of gender inequalities and oppression within the sports. However, they express very fragmented group consciousness in terms of race and class inequalities. I will start my analysis of collective consciousness with netballers' discontent in terms of the dominant gender order within South African sports.

**Group Gender Consciousness**

Organized sport is a context in which facilitates women and girls' development of a gender consciousness. Because competitive sports are highly gendered and typically organized along gender lines, women's experiences and men's experiences are highly visible and observable. It is in this gendered context that women use men as their reference or comparative group to understand their disadvantages. Thus, the gender consciousness of a netball athlete is forged through structures and interactions they encounter within competitive netball.

The nature and extent of a shared gender consciousness among netball participants is made evident through responses to an open-ended survey question. I asked respondents to identify the obstacles facing women in sports that men do not face. Two hundred and eleven respondents cited at least one obstacle facing women and 118 of those respondents gave more than one example of an obstacle facing women. A maximum of five responses per respondent was coded and fifteen distinct obstacles were identified. The frequencies of each response category are given in Table 5.3. The most common response was the lack of sponsorship followed by family and household commitments. Over one-quarter of all the responses identified addressed the lack of
sponsorship as an obstacle for women athletes. Other major obstacles identified were lack of money and finances, sexism, and women's child rearing responsibilities.

Combining the categories of household responsibilities and child rearing work demonstrates that almost one-quarter of all the responses identified addressed women's domestic duties as a barrier.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Obstacle Women Face In Sports</th>
<th>Percentage of Total Responses</th>
<th>Frequency Counts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lack of sponsorship</td>
<td>24.6%</td>
<td>90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family or household commitments; women expected to be in the kitchen</td>
<td>16.1%</td>
<td>59</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lack of finances, money</td>
<td>12.3%</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of media coverage</td>
<td>9.0%</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Responsibilities for children, giving birth, and raising children</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of support from male partners, male oppression, and sexism</td>
<td>7.4%</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women not taken seriously as sports-people, sports for women is seen as a hobby, and lack of recognition</td>
<td>5.2%</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safety issues</td>
<td>3.8%</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of equipment and facilities</td>
<td>3.6%</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women do not get paid for performing; no compensation</td>
<td>2.7%</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of support from government and politicians, lack of support for national teams</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insecurities, low self esteem</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other obstacles</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work duties (This was not a pre-determined category)</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

|                                                                 | 100.0%                      | 366              |

Table 5.3. Frequency distribution of the survey respondent's responses to an open-ended question regarding the obstacles that women face within sports (N= 211 respondents; 366 responses).
The athletes' shared gender consciousness can also be understood through analyzing interview data. Netball athletes', rather sophisticated group gender consciousness, is made evident through several themes emerging within interviews. These include discussions of gender ideology and gender differences, trivialization of women's sports and women athletes, women's lack of financial, media, and public support within sports, gender socialization through sports, and the dominant gender order within sport in which men are advantaged relative to women.

Addressing the issue of gender socialization within the Afrikaner community, a 25 years old Afrikaner from the Free State comments about gender socialization and differential support for men athletes and female athletes within the Afrikaner community. She maintained:

Men in rugy have more support. But, that is our own problem because the thing is we in south Africa, especially the Afrikaner people, the Afrikaans speaking people, our parents tell us to be respectful of the men, to do what the men want, to listen to him, to follow him, to whatever. And your mother tells you that if you are playing tennis with your boyfriend let him win, don't let him lose. Because men in Africa don't like losing, they don't like women to be stronger than them, they don't like women to run them. I know rugby, I know the rules. I know the rules for cricket. Huh, you take the man in the street and he won't even now how many players play netball. And that is our parents fault I think. You have to teach your son and your daughter to have respect for one another and we are taught to respect the man and to go with his things (Interview N9).

This comment supports the assertion that the Afrikaner community is highly patriarchal (Cock 1993). More specifically, it demonstrates how sport is used to reinforce a gender hierarchy within the Afrikaner community and how women are taught to contribute to this hierarchy by deferring to men and their desires.
An awareness of dominant gender relations is also apparent from the next comment from a 23 years old Black woman from the Eastern Province, who addresses why she thinks people are more interested in men's sports than women's sports. She said:

I think they [men] are scared that women will be superior. They don’t want us to be superior; they want to keep us inferior. I think, people just think that women can’t do it. If I am talking to someone one, and they see my tracksuit, and I will say tell them I am from Port Elizabeth and I play netball. They ask, “you’ve been overseas?” And I say, "yes, twice." And they just, especially men, they go like, "Wow, I didn’t know that netball was that serious." They don’t take us serious, they don’t think netball is a serious sport. They think it is boring. It is because they never take time to go and watch (Interview N17).

This young Black player raises the issues of gender hierarchy, trivialization of netball, and the lack of public support. Through interactions with those outside of netball (especially men), she comes to understand that netball is not taken seriously. These ideas are reiterated in the following comment by a 60-something, white woman, who has been a long time netball administrator. She remarked:

I think for the biggest women’s sport code in this country, we are getting a raw deal. Partly, because it is still a men’s world. Sponsors are more inclined to give money to men’s sport than women’s sport. If you look in the newspaper and see how much money is pumped into the male sports and you look at what is coming into netball and especially what we are getting from the people in charge. By far, it is not enough. At present, we are struggling to make ends meet. And the clubs in the regions, they have to find various ways and means of getting money into their club to run their club in a fairly organized way. And for some clubs, it is very difficult (Interview N2).

This administrator connects the issue of gender discrimination in sports to the relative lack of economic power and privilege that women have compared to men. Given that the lack of economic power in the context of South Africa is highly correlated with racial status, the structures of gender, race, and economic class converge. As highlighted in feminist theories of the intersectionality, inequalities based on gender, race, and class
intersect within concrete contexts such as sports (Baca Zinn and Dill Thornton 1996; Hill Collins 1990; hooks 2000).

Although netball players demonstrate a strong gender consciousness, I argue that unless there is also complementary race and class-consciousness, it is unlikely that women in netball will be successful at struggling against gender inequalities in sport. In the next section, I look at the how gender, race, and class-consciousness intersect in the context of netball.

**Gender, Race, and Class Consciousness**

The following interview quote demonstrates that even though some women understand they are restricted within sport because of their gender, their class privilege may lessen their chances of developing a class consciousness and the desire to collectively struggle alongside women of different class locations. Responding to a question of gender equity in sports, a 23 years old Afrikaner commented:

I don’t know, I think everyone has the right to live and play. For me, every women has the right, you know, to play netball. And, every man has the right to play soccer or rugby or whatever. But I think, I don’t know. For me I really don’t really think about that because I am just playing the sport. If I don’t like it or love it, I won’t play. Cause, I have opportunities to play tennis or whatever. Or squash, or horse riding (Interview N4).

In this statement, the player contributes to the sex typing of sports by stating that women have the right to play netball and men have the right to play soccer and rugby. Although she uses a "rights" discourse in talking about opportunities within sport, she says that she does not really think about equity issues. She is just playing the sport and she has many other opportunities such as tennis, squash, and horse riding. This player's gender consciousness is thus constrained by her privileged class position.
Another factor that can diminish the possibility of developing a shared race, gender, and class-consciousness is the acceptance of economic disparities. The following passage demonstrates a radically different response to gender discrimination within sports and that of economic discrimination. I asked a 25 years old Afrikaner woman from the Western Cape how she felt about there being more support for rugby than netball. She responded:

At the beginning, I was very angry. Why is it like that? Why do we have to pay to come and play? I was very angry, they didn’t have to work. They get everything, sponsors. I was so furious. But then I just realized that money’s in rugby. There’s not a lot of people coming to watch netball. So, I have to pay to play. And, I just sometimes wish I was a man. So I would have gone into rugby. It’s very frustrating (Interview N7).

This young woman responds differently to perceived gender inequalities within sports than that of perceived economic inequalities. This excerpt presents the player’s ambivalence about the legitimacy of women's lack of economic power in sports. Gender based discrimination within sports is unacceptable to her, but discrimination based on gendered class inequalities is understandable and not a personal affront to this athlete.

Netball players' understandings of gendered disadvantages within sports are not only framed in terms of class inequalities but also race inequalities. Although the link between class and race in South Africa is now loosening, the history of colonial and apartheid relations has meant that one's economic class has been largely determined by their racial status. The intersecting disadvantages facing Black women within netball is understood differently by netball players depending on their race and class location. The following two quotes illustrate the interlocking nature of race, gender, and class oppressions and the fragmented group race and class consciousness of netball athletes. I
asked a 24 years old, white, Afrikaner player who works as an administrative assistant why she thought Black women drop out of netball. She responded:

Well it depends. Um, I don’t know. It all depends on let’s say if they can’t keep up with the training, or can’t keep up with the techniques, that can be a problem. I don’t think money is a problem. That I don’t think. So it all depends on what they can do, or want to do. If the want is there, I think they’ll probably stay there (Interview N13).

When I asked the same question to a 36 years old Black woman who works as a police office, she said:

They normally drop out because of financial problems. And it’s heartbreaking really, heartbreaking...This thing of black women not wanting to play netball, it’s not like that. I’m 36 years old and I’m still playing today. So, these women are not playing because it’s costly. It’s costly, and we get nothing out of it. So, we are playing because we love the sport. That is why we are still in netball (Interview N10).

The assessment of why Black women drop out of netball is vastly different for the white Afrikaner woman and the Black woman. The white Afrikaner woman uses a framework of individual skills and desires, while the Black woman interprets the problem as one of financial status. This difference is characteristic of many netball athletes. In sum, netball participants express a fragmented race and class-consciousness but a strong group gender consciousness. As netball becomes more racial integrated, it is likely that a shared group race and class-consciousness will develop.

**Negotiating Gender and Race Relations**

Negotiations refer to the symbolic and everyday actions subordinate groups take up to resist and restructure existing systems of domination. The concept calls attention to the ways in which political activism is embedded in everyday life and that "doing" and "being" aren't necessarily distinct when it comes to challenging the dominant social order
(Taylor and Whittier 1992:118). Political activism embedded in everyday life can be distinguished from those generally analyzed as tactics and strategies in the literature on social movements but it does not mean that form of political activism is less transgressive. In this chapter's final section, I explore the ways that netball participants negotiate dominant race and gender relations within the new South Africa. Specifically, I focus on how athletes are engaged in a process of challenging symbolic gender and race meanings produced through competitive sports and the gender and race hierarchies constructed within sports.

Reconstructing and Resisting Gender Hierarchies and Meanings

First, by simply being serious athletes, netball participants are challenging the gendered construction of an athlete as inherently male. Moreover, by being serious athletes and expecting the same support as their male counterparts, they are contesting the unequal distribution of resources and recognition afforded to women and men in sports. The following quote from a 20 years old white, Afrikaner woman from Stellenbosch shows how netball athletes resist the notion that women should get less financial backing than their male counterparts. She remarked:

I mean we have to pay, it is actually ridiculous. This is the South African championship and we are suppose to get like sponsors from everywhere and they are struggling to get sponsors. That is actually bad. No, I mean the rugby, if they have a championship like this, they get paid for playing one match (Interview N1).

The challenge, however, is how to turn such grievances into meaningful change. As the governing body, Netball South Africa (NSA) has looked to both the government and private corporations to gain financial support. They have been successful to a limited degree. The following passages from an interview with high-level netball administrator
shows how NSA has petitioned, and continues to petition, the government and private companies for support. She stated:

It was a whole issue of saying to the government--"we need better recognition," "we need to be treated as a special project." And, they did. This year they actually gave special funding for us, for administration. That is how we managed. But, I still feel it’s not enough (Interview N12).

Speaking to the issue of corporate funding, she stated:

I think very soon we will start having a lot of companies coming in. But, we still need more. I mean all these girls here [National Championship tournament] are not sponsored, and if we could start getting most of the regions being sponsored, I think that will be best for all of us. And I think we’ll be able to get some of the players who cannot afford to be here, and they’ll start possibly being able to play (Interview N12).

As indicated by this quote, NSA is making a concerted effort to gain access to governmental and corporate sponsorship. To achieve this imperative, NSA is aiming to become more professional (Interviews N2, N6, and N12). Like many women's sports, netball in South Africa has been organized by volunteers. Given the increasing commercialization and globalization of competitive sports, NSA is feeling pressure to change. During the late 1990s, the Department of Sport and Recreation gave grants to NSA to support a paid CEO whose role was to raise money for the organization. During this period, NSA also hired media consultants and worked hard to changed its' "old and conservative" image to a more contemporary and marketable one. The shift towards professionalization and commercialization raises important questions beyond the scope of this research. As outlined in the above quote, NSA justifies seeking corporate sponsors to enable women without resources to participate. However, given the level of poverty and inequality within South Africa this may not have the desired impact. Also, given that women have controlled netball historically in South Africa, the infusion of government
and corporate sponsors raises issue of autonomy and control. These concerns are not being raised by netball administrators or by those in the broader community of sports leaders within South Africa.

Besides the challenges to gender hierarchy within sports and women's historical disadvantages, netball athletes are also contesting gendered symbolism within sports. Paradoxically, the gendered construction of netball historically created space for masses of girls and women to participate within sports in patriarchal South Africa. But because of its' particular gender construction, netball has been devalued. Netball has long been considered "a social game" for girls and women rather than a competitive sport for serious athletes. However, this is now changing. Women who take up netball do not necessarily contest gender differences because they are playing a gendered game with gender appropriate rules that reaffirm dominant notions of womanhood. Nonetheless, those who are playing at the competitive level and those pushing to take the game to a new level are challenging the gender hierarchy within the social institution of sports.

*Transforming Racial Boundaries and Hierarchies*

Although netball athletes collectively challenge gendered meanings and hierarchy within sports, this challenge is not as great as the one waged against existing systems of racial oppression and the social construction of racial categories. As South African women of different racial backgrounds come together in greater numbers to compete in netball, the social distance between them is reduced. In an interview with a 27 year old Black, African woman, I asked about race relations in netball. She responded by saying:

Things are fine. If I can say this, I’m also sleeping with them [whites] in the very same room, I mean we’re sharing this hotel, four in each room. I don’t think there is a problem, on my side (Interview N11).
Although the idea of Blacks and whites sharing a hotel room may not seem a radical step, in the context of South Africa this is a significant change. The commitment of NSA to transform the racial construction and racial order of netball facilitates this change. Without integrating teams, even the symbolic sharing of hotel rooms between whites and Blacks would unlikely occur.

Although the racial quota policy in netball has been extremely controversial, it does represent a serious commitment to the transformation of race relations within the sport. High-level sport leaders in South Africa credit NSA for taking the steps that they have to address institutionalized racism within the sport (Interviews G7, G11, and G12). The following quote from a high-level Black male sports administrator at the South African Sports Commission is evidence of this perspective. He remarked:

I think netball is much more advanced than cricket in dealing with [racial] transformation issues. Because they have been through the painful process longer. Netball is still going to have problems. But, its problems will not be transformation-related problems I think...It is because they have not taken short cuts. They have seen through all the pitfalls that were there. You can see with rugby, with cricket, with hockey, you can name most of the sports. You can sort it by the grumbles. It is still there, the stomach is still grumbling, you know. Now and again, you get the outbursts, but look at the national team. Out of the 11 or 12 players that the netball has got, or you can talk about the seven. The top seven netball players, four or three of them are Black, which is about fifty percent. In rugby, you are not even talking about fifteen percent. This fifty-percent shows that with little funding it was possible...Netball, with little funding, shows true that the pain that they have gone through, they have become more sensitive and more innovative in dealing with transformation issue than rugby would (Interview G11).

Despite the painful period in netball’s recent history, the sport has emerged in new place, one in which other sport codes have not reached. Netball has dealt with the "grumbling in their stomachs," that gut-wrenching feeling that accompanies the challenge of beliefs
and practices that were reproduced for centuries within South Africa. Netball is developing previously disadvantaged women netball players and administrators, training a diverse set of coaches and umpires, and reconstructing the image of netball as a white women's sport. Although many have left netball to avoid the pain of change, those at the helm are taking netball in the direction of transforming the many ways in which netball has been racialized. The following interview excerpt is a good summary statement of the challenges facing netball and the direction the organization is headed to address those challenges. In the context of an interview a high-ranking netball administrators declared:

Netball was just not well accepted by most South Africans. You know, you would go to meetings, you would go to functions – whatever people would say about netball it would very negative. We had to change. I think the image of netball, it’s no longer than image of being white. Whilst it’s been played by mostly white players but people can start seeing more of integration because of it’s now headed by a black woman. Which is for the first time in the country that the netball is actually having a president of a black woman because all along it had been white women. And I think that has brought a lot of acceptance of netball. Even if we’re not yet there, I think the process is there. We are moving. But, I think we haven’t gone to a position where most of South Africans feel they can give us a backing of supporting netball like they would do with most of the sporting codes. When you’re out of the country, everybody would like to know how they are performing. And we have to come to that position where when we move out of the country – South Africa as a country should be asking, what were the results today? And I think definitely from my side, we would be able to reach that point very soon. It’s just a matter of time.

This lengthy excerpt touches upon several important issues relevant to this analysis.

First, it points out that netball is attempting to change its construction as a white woman's sport to a sport for all South African women and girls. Second, it shows that this reconstruction process is being facilitated by the diversifying of the leadership. For the first time in netball history, an African woman is the president. Finally, this quote communicates NSA's goal of increasing the national profile of netball where netball
players become national sports figures. With a few exceptions, popular national sport
figures throughout history have primarily been men. However, as this case study has
shown, the new political dispensation has created space in South African society for
women to join the list of national sports heroes.

In the next chapter, I turn to the empirical case study of women’s soccer.
Women's soccer in South Africa provides an interesting comparison case to netball
because it has been historically constructed as a Black man's game. Rather than
transforming the dominant racial order and hierarchies, women soccer participants are
forming collective identities to challenge the gender order and hierarchies within South
African soccer.
CHAPTER 6

CHALLENGING GENDER INEQUALITIES IN THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA:
A CASE STUDY OF SOCCER

Just as South African women are moving into the previously male dominated
spheres of political office and the paid economy, they are breaking down barriers in
social and cultural arenas. One of the most central cultural institutions in post-industrial
societies for reconstructing normative gender beliefs, ideology, and behaviors is that of
competitive sports. Gender challenges within these contexts are especially important
because they contribute to the reconstruction of naturalized gender differences. Scholars
have found that under particular conditions, when women participate in historically male
dominated sporting domains, they often challenge beliefs about gender differences and
the naturalization of gender (Caudwell 1999; Hargreaves 1994; Lenskyj 1986; Pelak
2002; Theberge 1996). In South Africa, the development of women's football1 is a good
example of how women in the new South Africa are challenging the dominant gender
ideology and gender hierarchies, and reconstructing culturally appropriate gender
behavior.

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1 I use the terms—football and soccer— interchangeably in this article to refer to the same sport. Currently, both terms are used in the South African context. Readers in the North America should not confuse football, as used here, with that of American style of football.
In this chapter, I examine relations of power within the development of women's football in South Africa, with particular attention to mid-to-late 1990s. This analysis grapples with the shifting complexities of women's everyday experiences in sports, and connections with overarching structures of power, privilege, and politics in the broader society. I preface this analysis with a brief history of the development of women's football in South Africa. Given that there are no written accounts of women's football in South Africa, I construct this history from journal articles and newspapers, documentary evidence, semi-structured interviews with South African soccer players and administrators, and survey data from soccer players in the Western Cape.\(^2\) I focus this history of women's soccer on power dynamics and structures influencing women's soccer throughout South Africa. I then turn to an empirical case study of women's soccer in the Western Cape to understand how these broader macro structures and relations are played out in the everyday experiences of women athletes at the local level.

To understand the shifting power relations within women's football in South Africa, particularly those forming around race, class, and gender cleavages, I draw from collective identity theory. The analytical construct of collective identity addresses the process by which groups of individuals build unity through shared experiences, meanings, and perspectives. As in the previous chapter, I use three dimensions of collective identities—boundaries, consciousness, and negotiations—as an analytical framework to interrogate the shifting constructions of collective identities of women soccer athletes in South Africa. I base this analysis on evidence collected through semi-structured interviews, surveys, and archival documents.

\(^2\) At the time of the democratic transition in 1994, the Western Province was renamed the Western Cape.
Historical Development of Women’s Football in South Africa

Modern soccer or football emerged in South Africa through British colonialism during the nineteenth century (Odendaal 1988). The game became popular among Black men in the late nineteenth century through primarily missionary schools and the military, especially during the Anglo-Boer war (Couzens 1983). Later, in the early part of the twentieth century, organized soccer developed in the context of burgeoning capitalism, urbanization, and industrialization. Large employers in urban settings used organized sport, such as soccer, as a means of labor control. Mining companies and other business owners developed sport leagues as a mechanism for recruiting workers, fostering discipline among workers, maintaining tribal divisions between African workers, and increasing productivity (Archer 1982; Couzens 1983; Odendaal 1988; Thabe 1983). Employers, particularly mining companies, reasoned that soccer leagues would occupy workers with an activity they viewed as healthy, and deflect workers’ attention from activities that they perceived as harmful, such as beer-drinking, fighting, and sexual promiscuity (Couzens 1983; Odendaal 1988; Thabe 1983).

Beyond the employer-controlled soccer, the sport developed in the mid-twentieth century throughout South Africa within municipal structures, which were especially strong in the provinces of Transvaal and Natal (Thabe 1983). Written histories of soccer in South Africa suggest that the administration of the soccer was highly politicized and racialized (Couzens 1983; Thabe 1983). Successful football administrators garnered a substantial amount of political and economic power within their communities. In the context of colonial and apartheid rule, soccer was one of the rare avenues in which Black
men could express individual and group power and autonomy. Like other sports, soccer was deeply shaped by a historically specific set of gender relations in colonial South Africa. It is within the broader political context of race, class, and gender relations of the twentieth century that soccer became associated with and constructed as a Black working-class men's game. In fact, this racial, class, and gender construction of soccer is common throughout Africa. Soccer became an African game in the twentieth century. Given the low equipment needs, young boys and men kicking a ball in the streets and/or on soccer fields have become ubiquitous images in both rural and urban communities all over the African continent.

This does not mean, however, that middle-class persons, whites, or women in South Africa, or other places, have not played soccer. A 1997 study estimates that 65,000 South African women participate in recreational and competitive soccer in South Africa (SISA 1997). Although Black men dominate as both participants and administrators of organized soccer within South Africa (Couzens 1983; Thabe 1983), women have at least a thirty-year history of participating in organized soccer. Individual women and girls had participated in soccer before this period, but it was not until the early 1970s that women organized leagues to compete in soccer. Middle-class women of European descent were the first women to take up organized soccer in South Africa and they did so within urban setting where men's football was well develop, particularly the areas surrounding Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg (Interview S7).

The South African Women's Football Association (SAWFA), formed in the early 1970s, was the national governing body for women's football in South Africa through the mid-1990s. The organization sponsored annual interprovincial tournaments since 1975.
According to the 1995 SAFA Women's Inter-Provincial Tournament program guide, inter-provincial women's football competitions have been taken place annually in South Africa since 1975. Table 6.1 presents the list of tournament winners and the venues for the inter-provincial tournaments between 1975 and 1999. The lists of venues and provincial champions offer an indication of where women's football was the most developed in South Africa, namely—Cape Town, Durban, and Johannesburg.

As seen in the Table 6.1, the provincial team from Natal dominated throughout the 1980s and during the 1990s the team from Western Province dominated. There is a consensus among football players and administrators that the Western Province, now named the Western Cape, is currently the most well-developed and organized province for women's football within South Africa. At each annual interprovincial championship, players are selected for a national squad. South African women have competed in international football since 1989. The first international competition that a national squad participated in was a five-week "rebel" tour in Italy in 1989.\(^3\) Because the international boycott against South African sports was still in place in 1989, the national squad had to covertly leave the country disguised as an anonymous club to participate in the Italian tournament (Interviews S3 and S7). A second "rebel" tour to Italy took place in 1991. The first official international match that the national team took part in was against Swaziland in 1993 in Johannesburg (Hawley 1993; Pillay 1999). The first official match outside of South Africa, also in 1993, was in Harare against the national Zimbabwe team (Cassim 1993).

\(^3\) The term "rebel" tour is used in South Africa to describe the international trips that South African athletes made during the international sports boycott, which prohibited South African athletes from official sanctioned international matches.
<table>
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<th>B section</th>
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<td>Natal</td>
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<td>Cape Town</td>
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<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Western Province &amp; Southern Transvaal</td>
<td>Durban</td>
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<td>1978</td>
<td>Natal</td>
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<td>1979</td>
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<td>Pretoria</td>
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Table 6.1. Champions and venues of Women's Interprovincial Soccer Championships in South Africa from 1975 to 1999. (Sources: 1995 Women's Interprovincial Soccer Tournament Programs and informant interviews.)
Throughout the 1990s, the national women's soccer team, named *Banyana Banyana*, participated in numerous international matches in Europe, North American and throughout Africa. However, informant interviewees and documentary evidence suggest that there was a chronic shortage of international matches scheduled for the team. For a national team that has aspirations of competing at the elite level in international competitions, such as the Federation of International Football Associations' (FIFA) World Cup and the Olympic Games, the paucity of international matches poses a major obstacle to development. The following quote from a national team player describes problem of stagnant periods for the women's national team. She said:

We did nothing for three years after the 1995-qualifying matches that we lost in Nigeria. Women’s soccer was stagnant for about three years. Then, in 1998, there was the African Nations Cup. We went to Morocco, we went to England, we went to Egypt, we went to Kenya, we went to Swaziland – in that short space of time – and we played Mozambique – from February until about October. We played all those teams to prepare us for the African Nations Cup, which I thought was absolute nonsense. Because you can’t prepare a team for a big tournament like that in four or five months time. Then, we lost both our games, we didn’t qualify for the next round. We came back in 1998 and we did nothing the whole of 1999 (Interview S3).

The lack of consistent training for the team was repeated before the second African Nations Cup, which South Africa hosted and which served as a qualifying tournament for the 2003 FIFA World Cup. The national squad had only one official build-up match in two years before this second African Nations Cup (Kekana 2000). Commenting on the lack of preparatory matches, David Kekana of the *Sunday Times* reported that "the

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4 The name *Banyana Banyana* is Zulu for the Girls, the Girls. This name was adopted as a parallel to the men's national soccer team that is named *Bafana Bafana*, which means the Boys, the Boys.
preparations for the tournament were far from ideal as they had to cancel their friendlies,\(^5\) settling instead for matches against local boys' sides" (Kekana 2000).

The primary factors cited for the lack of matches include the inadequate financial support and recognition from SAFA, the governing body of women's soccer since 1993. In the following quote, a women's national team player comments on the lack of sponsorship for the women's squad and its connection to the disparities of travel monies for the men's and women's national teams. She commented:

I think the only stumbling block now in league football is that there’s not a particular sponsor for women’s football. Like for instance, Bafana Bafana, that is our men’s national team, they are sponsored by Castle. The men's under 23 years olds are sponsored by Sasol. So they can travel, and they can have training camps whenever they want. We don’t have a sponsor. So we have to rely on our mother body, SAFA to say okay, here’s X amount of cash and you can travel there. If they say they haven’t got money, then we can’t go (Interview S3).

According to athletes and administrators of the women's national team, SAFA has not committed adequate monies for the women's national team (Interviews S2, S3, S7, S11, and S18). Addressing the persistent problem of the lack of support, a long time coach and administrator of the women's national team said:

The philosophy of the federation has to change. The team cannot disband after a competition and do nothing and then reassemble before a competition. That is illogical. Like for instance, my national team played one friendly last year and American played 132. With that kind of disparity you can’t progress, it is not possible (Interview S7).

The international matches are not only important to develop the skill level of players and prepare the team for important matches, but also to increase awareness of women's competitive soccer with South Africa. Media coverage of international competition has been an important source of publicity for women's soccer in South Africa. After each of

\(^5\) The term "friendlies" means practice matches that are not part of regular league competition.
the World Cup events in 1991, 1995, and 1999 there has been a surge of interest in soccer from young South African women (Interviews S3, S7, and S10).

These historical dynamics within women's football in South Africa have been deeply shaped by both race and gender relations. Before turning to the local analysis of collective identities within women's football in the Western Cape, I now turn to examine briefly the racialized nature of women's football in South Africa. Then, in the subsequent section, I tackle the question of shifting gender relations within women's football in South Africa.

Racial Composition of Women's Football

The racial composition of women's football has changed dramatically during its thirty-year history in South Africa. During the 1970s, it was primarily only middle-class white women who had the financial resources, facilities, and time to participate in soccer. During the 1980s, although white women still dominated, women's soccer was racially integrated. Then during the 1990s, women's soccer became dominated by Black women. For example, a 1997 South African study estimated that 86.8% of women's soccer participants were Black African, 5.9% white, 4.8% Colored, and 2.5% Indian (SISA 1997). How do we account for these changes in the racial composition of women's soccer in South Africa? This question can only be addressed by understanding the broader changes in race, gender, and class relations within South Africa over this period.

Historically, women who are racially and economically privileged have often had access to opportunities within sports whereas racially and economically disadvantaged women have not (Cahn 1994; Gissendanner 1994). It thus is not surprising that it was white, middle-class women in South Africa who were the first to take up soccer in South
Africa, a historically male domain. In the context of emerging sporting opportunities for women in Westernized nations during the 1970s, white middle-class South African women created opportunities to participate in soccer. Over time, women of other racial backgrounds and economic statuses joined the game. During the 1970s, it was primarily English speaking women who participated in women's football. During the 1980s, Black women, first Colored then African women, started to enter women's soccer in substantial numbers. According to some informant interviews, racial integration was not a problem because women's soccer was so small and not taken seriously by most people (Interviews S3, S7, and S17).

Although women's soccer was racially integrated in the late seventies and eighties, apartheid and white privilege still shaped race relations within the game. For example, on September 16, 1978, the Cape Herald published a short editorial on "white selfishness" in women's soccer. The article read:

It is to the credit of Western Province women's soccer that its team for the recently-completed interprovincial tournament was chosen 'on merit,' that it was not an all-white team. It is a pity, though, that they allowed their good non-racial intentions to be outweighed by attending a racial celebration. Surely, good manners dictated that, if some of their party were disqualified from any activity surrounding the tournament, they should all disqualify themselves as well. In other words, the white members of the team should have declined to attend a dance from which their black teammates were excluded. One understands it is difficult for whites to appreciate the social humiliation (among other humiliations) which blacks have to suffer. But one believes that, at a time when South Africa is supposedly changing, whites should make an effort to learn. That they are learning is evident, but it is also evident that they refuse to learn when it is at the expense of their own comfort or their privileged position... (Cape Herald 1978).

This editorial recognizes the "good non-racial intentions" of women's soccer, but it also points out how white women players ignore the "social humiliation" suffered by Blacks and use their white privilege to their personal benefit. This article demonstrates that
although women's soccer athletes defied racial boundaries by integrating teams, social relations within women's soccer were not insulated from the social-political mandates of apartheid.

Interestingly, since the dismantling of apartheid, women's soccer has become more racially segregated. My examination of team photographs and athletes' names printed in the programs for interprovincial soccer tournaments from 1987 through 1994 supports the assertion that the racial composition of women soccer athletes has changed. In 1987, 1988, and 1989 there were 14.9%, 18.3%, and 13.4% Black women in the team photographs in each respective year. In 1990, 1992, and 1994 there were 20.6%, 40.7%, and 38.9% Black women in the team photographs respectively. These figures demonstrate a significant increase of Black women in soccer over time. This shifting racial composition also continued in the 1990s as evidence from the national team shows. For example, at the time of soccer unification in 1993, there were a substantial number of white women on the national team. However, by 1999 there were no white women on the South African national team (Interviews S2, S3, and S7). The vast majority of current players are African and a minority identifies as Colored.

The racial re-segregation of women's soccer occurred gradually as African women entered the sport and white women left, or "disappeared" as one interview respondent said (Interview S11). As more African and Colored women joined soccer, more league games were played in Black and Colored townships, places where white South African women rarely traveled. Within these spatial constraints, many white women started to play indoor soccer, which is played in facilities located primarily in white dominated cities. Indoor soccer thus became dominated by white women and outdoor soccer
became dominated by Black women, although there are token white and Black women involved within each context (Interview S10). Given Black women's lack of economic resources to travel and play indoor soccer and white women's unwillingness to travel to Black townships, women's soccer became more racially segregated within the 1990s (Interviews S3, S7, and S10). To comprehend fully these racial changes in women's soccer, one must understand the shifting terrain in terms of gender relations. I now turn to elaborate on these gender dynamics.

*Gender Politics and Football*

The rising popularity of women's soccer in South Africa can be linked to the development of women's soccer globally and the political transformation within South Africa in the 1990s. The first three women's FIFA World Cups in soccer took place in 1991, 1995, and 1999. It was also during this period that apartheid was dismantled and a new political era in South Africa began. Besides the transformation of South Africa's racial order, gender equality emerged as a salient political issue and became an autonomous aspect of democratization within South Africa. The public discourse on gender equality that emerged during the political transition is an important factor in sparking women's interest in historically male dominated sports such as football.

In the midst of radical change, most South Africans viewed the "new" South Africa as more open than the old apartheid South Africa. Constraints of race and gender, in theory and on paper, were being dismantled. Individual South Africans now imagined new possibilities. The following comment from an African man who is an assistant coach with *Banyana Banyana* illustrates this perceptual shift. He said:
Before it was sort of a tough move for a woman to play football, but now it is not that difficult. We are living in a democratic country where you can do whatever you want (Interview S8).

The democratization of South Africa has, as Mikell (1995) argues, opened up "dialogue spaces" to engage with issues of gender equality and gender appropriate behaviors. Within this context of opening up the gender dialogue and broadening of life chances and choices, television coverage of African women's soccer teams, such as Nigeria and Ghana playing in international competition, served as a mechanism of recruitment of young African women to the game (Interviews S3, S7, and S10). Until seeing Nigeria and Ghana participate in the World Cup and the Olympics, most South African were not aware that women played competitive soccer. The following quote from an interview with a soccer administer illustrates this connection.

Nigeria qualified to play in the first World Cup in 1991 and that was good for South Africa because we saw women playing football on the television, Black women. Suddenly there was a huge interest. Everyone wanted to play soccer. These girls got to travel, it was now just not running around in the streets. Black women could now see that maybe there is a future in this sport (Interview S7).

As individual women became more interested in non-traditional arenas, such as competitive soccer, structural and organizational changes took place within South African soccer. During the mid-1990s there was the shift in control of women's soccer from autonomous women-dominated organizations to that of the male-dominated South African Football Association (Interviews S3, S4, S7, S11, S17, and S18). As part of re-admittance to international competition in 1993, the South African Women's Football Association (SAWFA) disbanded and women's soccer became an associate member of South African Football Association (SAFA), which had unified racially in 1991. This change aimed to increase resources for women's football and to make soccer more gender
inclusive. As an associate member, women's soccer was affiliated with SAFA but retained the control of its finances and decision making processes.

Between 1994 and 1997, intense hostility emerged around the administration of women's soccer. The problems began at the 1994 women's interprovincial tournament in Johannesburg where players were to be selected for participation in the qualifying rounds of the African Cup of Nations the following month (Mazibuko 1994). Two teams representing the Southern Transvaal region showed up on the field to play a tournament match. One team was brought by a group of men calling themselves "the crisis committee" and the other team was led by a group who had been operating in women's football for many years (Mazibuko 1994). After a long delay, a resolution was reached and the match was played. The tournament, however, ended in chaos when players for the national squad were announced (Shezi 1994). In addition to this particular conflict, between 1994 and 1996 there were allegations of sexual harassment and mismanagement of funds made against male leaders within women's football within the Johannesburg area. As the problems escalated, women soccer officials approached SAFA leaders for assistance. Without a satisfactory response, the complaints were taken to the Minister of Sport and the National Sports Council. Consequently, a commission was convened by Judge Pickard to investigate SAFA's involvement in the hostilities regarding women's soccer. According to a newspaper report, "allegations of male interference in women's soccer to the extent of high-handed actions and sexual harassment were made to the Commission" (Alfred 1997: 24). The following excerpt from the lead women's soccer administrator at the time describes the nature of the conflict, its emergence, and the structural consequences for women's soccer. She said:
The sport [women's soccer] grew very rapidly and in 1994 we started having a lot of problems with men. They saw women’s sports growing and they wanted to come and start running it. We had huge trouble in those years--1994, 1995, and 1996. It was really a tormented time for all of us. A lot of the women were threatened by these men and their kids intimidated. It led to the police being involved and all sorts of mess. And, unfortunately the men who were trying to take over the running of women’s football had connections with the federation [SAFA] and the federation supported them instead of the women. The people in charge of the men did not take us seriously. We had to go to the Minister of Sports. And there was actually a huge commission for men and women in soccer and it took about three years to complete. It resulted in women being rendered powerless. It resulted in the federation disbanding women's soccer as a separate entity and incorporating it into the men’s structure. Of course, it is not a men’s structure but a football structure. But, unfortunately it doesn’t work like that (Interview S7).

The Pickard Commission found that SAFA was extremely dilatory and negligent in giving attention to matters of conflict in women's soccer that they deserved (Rulashe 1997, 1999). Judge Benjamin Pickard advised SAFA to increase resources for women's football and create structures to develop the women's game. This judgement led to a change in the relationship between women's soccer and SAFA. The Pickard Commission report prompted a nationwide indaba, or conference, for women's football in 1999 to work out a strategic plan for the development of women's football in South Africa. During the indaba it was agreed that rather than being an associate member of SAFA, women's soccer would be a subcommittee of SAFA. As a subcommittee, the larger body SAFA now had financial responsibility for women's soccer. SAFA was to provide the material and non-material resources to run women's soccer in South Africa.

During interviews, players and administrators identified both potentially beneficial and disastrous consequences of the merger, however most interview and survey respondents thought that joining the men's organization would be beneficial because it would bring in more monetary resources to women's football especially from
corporate sponsors. According to the survey I conducted with 84 women soccer athletes in the Western Cape, 87.5% said that joining the men's organization will help women's football, 2.5% said it will hurt women's football, and 10% said that joining SAFA would neither help nor hurt. Some administrators, however, are concerned that women are losing, and will continue to lose, decision-making power in women's soccer under the new structure (Interviews S7 and S17). The following statement from a long-time soccer administrator highlights the negative consequences of women's soccer being subsumed under the men's organization. She argued:

The federation disbanded the women's football as such and made it under their wing. That hasn't actually been for the good of the game, or for the good of women. Because now, all these little women's committees around were disbanded. And they said you must fall under the men's structure. Now, the men weren't keen to taking women into their thing. They were more inclined to say, ok, Joe, you've been here for 40 years, you're now doing women's' football. But Joe is not interested in women's football! And the women had been sidelined, and consequently, I've lost a lot of top women administrators who've been pushed out of the system because the men have come in (Interview S7).

As indicated by this quote and the above history of events including the judicial commission into the administration of women's football, the mid-1990s was a period fraught with conflict. Although the hostilities were concentrated in the Johannesburg area and with the national administration of women's football, these events had long term consequences for women's football across South Africa. One of the most significant being that women's football became a subcommittee of SAFA. In 1999, SAFA set out a directive to provincial SAFA organizations directing them to make women's soccer a subcommittee of their provincial structures and to develop the women's game by instituting gender inclusive policies and practices (Interviews S7 and S11). Because of the various stages in the development of women's football across South Africa, the
structural change that made women's football a subcommittee of SAFA is likely to have different affects on the twenty-five regions within SAFA.

In the rest of the chapter, I focus on the dynamics of race, gender, and class relations on the attempts for women soccer athletes to organize collectively within the Western Cape during the 1990s. The primary aim of the chapter is to understand how women soccer athletes are collectively challenging and/or reaffirming dominant gender and racial hierarchies and meanings. The above historical review of women's soccer serves as an important backdrop for understanding the subsequent analysis of the experiences of athletes within the Western Cape. In the following local analysis of women's soccer, I aim to delineate connections between macro-structural factors, such as organization practices and structures and ideologies, to the everyday, micro-level experiences of women athletes. Specifically, I draw on collective identity theory to understand the shifting collective identities that women soccer athletes from the Western Cape are constructing. Using data from interviews with players, coaches, and administrators along with data from surveys with 84 women athletes within the Western Cape, I explore how women athletes are collectively challenging gender boundaries within a traditional male domain, developing a group consciousness of race, gender, and class inequalities, and contributing to the transformation of power relations within the new South Africa. I start this analysis by examining the ongoing construction of race, gender, and class boundaries within women's soccer in the Western Cape.

**Collective Identities and Boundaries in Soccer**

Theoretically, boundaries mark the social territories of group relations by highlighting differences. Boundary markings are central to the formation of collective
identities because they raise awareness of group’s commonalties and frame interactions between in-group and out-groups (Taylor and Whittier 1992). As was outlined above, organizational boundaries between women's and men's soccer within South Africa went through major changes in the 1990s as did the racial composition of women's soccer. The changes in racial composition and the conflict surrounding the administration of women's soccer speak to the centrality of social relations in marking, maintaining, and redefining boundaries within organized sports. In the above historical overview, I discussed gender and racial boundaries within the context of the national women's team and the national governing body for soccer. In the remaining analysis of this chapter, I take up the question of shifting gender and racial boundaries at the provincial or regional level. For this analysis, I draw from data I collected during my fieldwork on women's soccer within the Western Cape. I analyzed the interview and survey data to assess the process of re-constructing and re-affirming boundaries in soccer. I will begin by demonstrated how soccer participants in the Western Cape are working to refashion gender boundaries within soccer in the new South Africa.

In South Africa, soccer is a male preserve, and as we saw in Chapter 5 netball is a female preserve. Strict boundaries between so-called "male sports" and "female sports," are classical examples of how dominant groups construct social, physical, and cultural boundaries to highlight differences between subordinate and dominant groups (Dunning 1994; Messner and Sabo 1990). Dunning (1994) argues that male sporting preserves reproduce the subordination of women by “naturalizing” men’s privileged social position. Biology, religion, and culture have all been enlisted to mark gender differences within sports and justify why men receive the lion's share of resources. The construction of
certain sports as only appropriate for men or women works to establish and maintain dominant or hegemonic gender identities, ideologies, and practices. Soccer in South Africa is one of those flagship masculine sports, like ice hockey in Canada, which serves as an ideological cornerstone for the maintenance of men’s dominance over women. Therefore, as women attempt to enter in greater numbers the masculine flagship sport of soccer, they face formidable challenges in dismantling the boundaries that mark them as outsiders and prevent them from participating. As they forge new soccer identities as soccer players, they resist dominant gender identities, ideologies, and structures. I argue that South African women's movement into soccer not only reflects changes in the broader society but it is also an important part of initiating those very changes. Women soccer athletes in the Western Cape are part of the social movement community that contributes to the transformation of cultural prescriptions rather than simply benefit from existing transformation. Gender, race, and class boundaries within soccer in the Western Cape are constructed and reconstructed at different levels of social organization and by different mechanisms. I found that gender boundaries were being reconstructed through three dimensions:

1. everyday interactions between women and men in the context of soccer;
2. the extent of opportunities for women and men to participate in organized competitive soccer; and
3. the control of opportunities for women's and girls' soccer on the part of men.

I will now turn to discuss and illustrate each of these dimensions of boundary construction using interview and survey data.
Marking gender boundaries through social interactions

Women's experiences in the Western Cape demonstrate that soccer is marked as "men's or boys" through interactions between individuals or groups of women and men. For example, on the playing field, the person who "does not belong" may be ignored, teased, or treated with hostility with the aim of discouraging their participation. Teasing girls and women who participate in traditionally "male" sports are classic examples of how women are constructed as outsiders and discouraged from participating in these sports (Bryson 1987; Lenskji 1986). I asked soccer athletes and coaches in the Western Cape about these types of behaviors. A 25 years old Colored woman player talked about being called a tomboy when she used to play soccer with boys and how the boys got angry if they were beaten by a lady. She said:

They get cross if I score a goal. Because boys and like the other people here, if a lady beats them, they make a fool out of them. They always said that I was a tomboy. Yeah, but I don't listen to them (Interview 9).

Another player, a 25-year-old Black woman, said that vulgar language is often shouted from the sidelines of fields where women are playing soccer. She did not want to repeat the words, in Xhosa, aloud in the interview because of the vulgarity. The fact that she was not comfortable repeating the phrases suggest they were offensive to her. A 40-year-old Colored man who coaches a women's team in the Western Cape league believes that the teasing of girls in soccer is a thing of the past. He said:

With soccer there may be a bit more teasing, but we are over most of that. The whole issue of the girls being called names is in the past. We are beyond that now (Interview S12).
It may be wishful thinking on the part of this coach that the name-calling is mostly a thing of the past because most of the players I talked with informally said that verbal teasing is still an issue.

There are also other forms of hostile interactions that mark women/girls as outsiders and unwelcome in soccer. A 20-year-old African woman, who is a student at the University of Cape Town, describes such behaviors in the following interview excerpt. Addressing a question about her early involvement with soccer, she said:

I played in the streets with guys. And, soon as they realized that I was a girl, I had to stop. [She laughs.] When I was young, around six or seven years old, I basically played soccer in the streets, very unorganized, with two stones, with guys until I was 11 or 12, when they realized I was a girl. After that, they didn’t come call me. [She chuckles.] I would all of a sudden find them playing and I would get dressed and I would go out and um, they would be like, "Nah, nah, we aren’t playing anymore." I could tell the hostility. They are not passing me the ball, you know. Not that I was playing any less better. I was playing better. I remember we would go to other sections, another block, and we would go play against the guys there, and they would be like, "what, wow, where is this girl from?" They were shocked that the girls could play. Then I think they started making their conscious. Hey, you have a girl with you. I think I was about 12 or 13...Even now I go back home and there are guys playing in the streets and I’ll but on my boots and I will play. There is always some who say, “Ah, what are you doing?” It is just an oddness. So, I constantly need to prove myself in the game (Interview S10).

As illustrated in this quote, this player was accepted among the boys playing soccer at a young age, but when she turned 12 or 13 years old she was no longer welcome. Why the young men discourage this player's participation is not clear. However, based on previous research, it is likely that the young women's participation at 13 years old began to challenge the young men's masculinity. Moreover, normative heterosexuality requires that differences between women and men be naturalized and clearly marked. If women compete with men in "a man's sport" how can those "natural" gender difference be
marked and maintained? One way to address this dilemma, as reported in the above quote, is for young men to forgo playing soccer altogether if a girl shows up to play. Rather than admitting they do not want to play with a girl, they simply stop playing.

This same player also spoke about the tensions present at the soccer fields when her adult women's club team play matches. She said:

> Even when we play club games, we can feel like it is like bringing the kids. "They will be kicking the ball over there and we will be playing the real game here." It is still that kind of feeling, like we will kick the ball over there and they, the men, will play the real game over here. Or, while we are waiting for them to warm up we can get the women to kick and play. That segregated feeling is there, the tension is there (Interview S10).

This quote illustrates how interactions can contribute to the trivialization of women's sports and women athletes. Women simply "kick the ball around" rather than play the serious or "real" game. The tension and segregated feeling that this player describes is what marks women as outsiders in soccer and contributes to the historical gender construction of the game. Nonetheless, as women "ignore the name-calling," and continue to show up individually and collectively to the fields to compete in soccer they push the boundaries and challenge the construction of soccer as a man's game.

*Constructing gender boundaries through limiting opportunities*

The second mechanism for constructing gender boundaries with soccer that I observed in the Western Cape was the limited opportunities that girls and women have to participate in organized soccer. In almost every primary school across South Africa, rural and urban, girls have the opportunity to play netball. There are, however, virtually no schools that offer girls the chance to play soccer. There is some work being done in the Western Cape to get soccer programs for girls instituted in the schools, but this is not
very widespread (Interviews S11, S12, and S13). I argue that women's individual or group interest in soccer, as other socio-cultural activities, is directly related to the real and perceived opportunities within the sport. This is why after each of the Women's World Cup was televised in 1991, 1995, and 1999 in South Africa there were dramatic increases in girls and women expressing interest in playing soccer (Interview S7). South African women are more interested in netball than soccer not because of some inherent disposition toward netball, but because there are more opportunities to play netball than soccer. Therefore, as more opportunities in soccer are created for women and more South African women learn about those opportunities, the more women will desire to play soccer and in turn challenge the established gender boundaries within the male preserve.

This interest-opportunity dynamic is articulated in the following statement by a 20-year-old African soccer player. Commenting on the opportunities available to her to play soccer when she was younger, she said:

I remember when I was still at school. I wanted to play soccer from a young age. I’ve always wanted to play soccer. We found a club that I could join but the club was in Soweto. The only women’s club in the whole of the East Rand and West Rand put together, which is a large area, was in Soweto. Now, I lived far from Soweto. I was young and I wasn’t about to go all that way. It was sad. Even the club in Soweto, it was bunch of women who had organized themselves. It’s very unorganized, not structured. No one is reaching out to black girls, women. No one is developing that interest or awareness of the game. And that is the saddest thing (Interview S10).

This player's experience from the mid-1990s is based in the Johannesburg area.

According to administrators and coaches from Johannesburg, the number of women's teams is increasing slowly but the teams are still concentrated to Soweto. The player's assessment of the lack of outreach to Black girls and women is consistent with the
interview data and survey findings. The factors limiting opportunities for Black women, of course, are complex and undoubtedly shaped by interlocking inequalities of race, class, and gender. This chapter aims at articulating some of those complexities. One critical factor that the reader must be mindful of is that women's limited soccer opportunities in South Africa are inextricably linked to the question of poverty. And, in South Africa, Black women bare the brunt of that poverty (Baden Hasim, and Meintjes 1998).

In the Western Cape, the most organized province for women's soccer, there has been a steady growth of the number of teams competing in the provincial women's soccer league. According to documentary evidence, there were approximately six teams in the league in 1990, ten teams in 1994, thirteen teams in 1996, and sixteen teams in 1998. During the 2000 season, the women's football league in the Western Cape included 22 teams, which played in two divisions. This represents an increase of 267% over a ten-year period. As a response to women's soccer becoming a subcommittee of SAFA in 2000, the SAFA-Western Province organization hired a full-time staff person to assist in administering the women's football program. This is the first and only province in South Africa that had a paid staff member designated solely to administer women's league play (Interviews S7, S11, and S18).

These findings support the assertion that there has been substantial growth in women's soccer in the Western Cape during the 1990s. However, twenty-two league teams represent an extremely small number of teams compared to the men's soccer program. Nonetheless, these findings suggest that women are gaining more opportunities within soccer, at least in the Western Cape. In a reciprocal relationship, as more opportunities are created, more women athletes push for even more opportunities. In this
way, women athletes are challenging gender boundaries within the male preserve of soccer. However, one must take a closer look at the nature of those new opportunities. As women collectively forge new identities as legitimate soccer players in the Western Cape, how are the gender boundaries being reaffirmed within emergent organizational structures? I found that although women athletes are challenging their outsider status within soccer in the Western Cape their relative lack of control of the women's program raises questions about the extent of their challenge to hegemonic gender relations. In the next section, I turn to examine how leadership control over women's soccer has shifted from women to men in the Western Province and how this change mediates women's challenge of gender hierarchies and meanings within soccer.

*Maintaining gender boundaries through controlling leadership positions*

As discussed above, women's soccer became a subcommittee of SAFA during the late 1990s. Provincial soccer organizations are being encouraged, if not forced, by the national governing body to develop women's soccer structures and opportunities. Thus, gender equality within South African soccer has become a legitimate political issue. But, this does not answer the question of how the issue of gender equality is negotiated within the provinces or how gender boundaries are reconstituted within the context of these new structures.

In the case of women's soccer in the Western Cape, I found that while space for women in soccer is opening up, male dominance is maintained through the control of leadership positions. For example, each of the 22 teams in the Western Cape's women's league is coached by a man. Most of the teams are "owned" or sponsored by men. One notable exception is the "Winnie's Ladies Soccer team," which is organized by a woman.
Leadership positions within the provincial structure are male dominated, although women make up a majority of the executive committee for women's soccer. These demographics raise the question of who is controlling soccer opportunities for women. Men have always been a part of women's soccer in the Western Cape, however women's soccer was, until the late 1990s, an autonomous organization, separate from the larger men's governing body. The issue has never been one of gender exclusion, where men should not be involved in women's soccer. Rather, the contention is regarding the extent of men's involvement, the lack of women in leadership roles, and the marginalization of those who have a long history within women's soccer in the province. The following quote from a long-time committee member of women's soccer in the Western Cape articulates some of the concerns. Talking about shifts in control of women's soccer, she remarked:

"Women's soccer must be a subcommittee of the Western Province men's, which means that we are not really able to run our own books. Everything must be done through the men. They started implementing that now and I am not very happy about that. See, we have been running women's football in Cape Town. We started in 1974. And since then the women have been running, with the help of men, have been running without the men's body. And, as I said, we brought it up to where we are today. We are the strongest region in the country. And now we are falling under the men. There are going to be problems, I can see it already. It has happened in all the other regions as it will happen here" (Interview S17).

This statement raises concerns about the marginalization of leaders who have successfully organized women's soccer in the region since 1974. The author of the quote, a white woman, resigned from her position on the women's soccer executive committee because of her objections. Her concerns were echoed by other members of the committee, but not to the same degree to which she expressed them. For example, I found that Black women were concerned about women's lack of power but they were more
likely to give the men in leadership positions the benefit of the doubt. Since the committee member who resigned is the only white individual involved in the administration of women's soccer, and all the other members are African or Colored women and men, it is difficult to speculate about the racial dynamics of this conflict. However, it is worthy to raise the question of how racial dynamics are shaping the "gender conflict" around the merging of organizational structures. Prior scholarship by African feminists, particularly theoretical discussions of feminist strategies adopted by African women, reports that white and Black South African women may differ in their assessment of the merger of the women's and men's programs. For example, Nnaemeka (1998) argues that African feminists style of resistance or strategies of organizing relies on processes of negotiation and compromise rather than direct confrontation. It is not surprising that Black women in soccer are more likely to adopt a strategy of negotiation in trying to pressure the men leaders rather than a confrontational strategy.

The findings from both the survey and the interviews demonstrate that participants' opinions about the merger do not neatly or significantly vary by race or gender of the respondent. The Black men I spoke with also raised concerns about women losing decision-making power within soccer and the necessity of women taking the lead within women's soccer. The following two quotes are examples of Black men expressing concern about men's dominance within women's soccer. The first quote is from an African man who serves as an assistant coach for the women's national team. The second statement is by a Colored man from the Western Cape who is a coach and member of the executive committee for women's soccer. They said:
Traditionally in our culture the man is the head, is the moneymaker, and the woman belongs to the kitchen. So, football is a male dominated sport and run by males. Even if it is lady’s soccer, the males want to be in the forefront, in charge. It shouldn’t be like that. We need to bring in more ladies to be involved. And then, we would be moving in the right direction. That is my belief (Interview S1).

Men need to get out of women’s soccer. They want to control everything (Interview S12).

These statements support the finding that there is consensus about the importance of more women being involved in leadership positions within soccer. However, putting this desire into practice is still contested at the group and individual levels. Within the Western Cape, there is the acceptance that the gender divisions within soccer should be dismantled, but the mechanics of that process have yet to be fully engaged. Before discussing the issue of group consciousness and collective identities of women soccer participants, I will now elaborate on the issue of maintaining and/or reconstructing racial boundaries within soccer in the Western Cape.

*Racial boundary construction within women’s soccer*

As discussed at the outset of this chapter, Black women dominated women’s soccer in South Africa during the late 1990s. Findings from the survey of 84 athletes in the Western Cape women’s soccer league serve as an indicator of the racial composition of players. Respondents were given seven different racial/cultural categories of which they could select multiple responses (See Appendix B for the questionnaire instrument). The categories included Black, African, Colored, Afrikaner, White, English, Indian, mixed racial heritage and other. Seventy-nine respondents answered the question. Sixty-two respondents selected one category (Black, African, Colored, Afrikaner, White, English, or mixed racial heritage). Twelve players identified with two categories (Black
& African, Afrikaner & English, Afrikaner & White, Colored & Mixed heritage, Colored & English, or Afrikaner & Black). Finally, five players selected three categories (Black & English & White, Black & African & White, Black & African & Colored, Black & African & Afrikaner, or Black & Colored & English). These results show that South Africans' racial identities of the late 1990s are complex and do not easily fit into the four racial categories that were used to classify individuals under the apartheid system. The soccer athletes surveyed identified 17 unique sets of racial identities. I reduced these 17 unique categories into the four apartheid categories. I found that 50.6% of the respondents identified as Black and/or African, 38.0% identified as Colored and/or of mixed racial heritage, 11.4% identified as White, English, and/or Afrikaner, and 0% identified as Indian. These percentages are presented in Table 6.2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Racial Identity of survey respondent</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black and/or African</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>50.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colored and/or mixed racial heritage</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>38.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White, English, and/or Afrikaner</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indian/Asian</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.2. Frequency distribution of the racial identities of Western Cape soccer players (N=79).

As discussed above in the historical review of women's soccer in South Africa, the racial composition of women soccer athletes has changed meaningfully over the last 30 years. Although I do not have data that tracks this racial change over time within the
Western Province, informant interviewees reported that during the 1970s soccer in the province was dominated by white women and that in 1978 the first Colored women joined league teams (Interviews S3 and S16). Individual African women joined the league teams in the 1980s but the first predominantly African team—*Winnie's Ladies*—was formed in the Western Province in 1993 (Keim and Qhuma 1998). This first "African" club, started by Winnie Qhuma of Guguletu, became a model for other teams based in Black townships that began in the mid- to late-1990s. As according to the survey demographics reported in Table 6.2, African and Colored women dominant women's soccer in 2000.

It is not only demographic composition that contributes to the construction of racial boundaries within women's soccer. It is also the racialized meanings, categories, and hierarchies that are constructed and reconstructed through interactions, discourse, and structures. Although white women have a long history in soccer and women's soccer in South Africa has been historically racially integrated, women's soccer in the late 1990s was constructed as a "Black" women's sport. This racial boundary is not so rigid that one does not find any white players or predominately white teams. The dominance of Black women in soccer is not viewed by participants as problematic. Players and administrators accept Black women's dominance partially based on the belief in varying natural abilities of women of different racial backgrounds. The following quote by a player in the Western Cape illustrates the prevailing stereotype that African women have "natural talent." In this statement, the player is uses the term Black to refer to solely African rather than the collectivity of persons of color. She commented:
There are the odd few white players playing football, but many are going to other sports like basketball. And ah, I'm not trying to be funny, but lots of the white players don't have the natural talent the Black players have. I suppose they've [whites] come to realize that, "hey, I'm not going to make it in this sport any more." And you get the Black players, they've got fantastic talent (Interview S3).

According to this player, soccer talent correlates with racial groupings. White players do not have the "natural talent" and Black (or African) players have "fantastic talent." This player also offers an explanation why white players may leave soccer—because they realize that they are "not going to make it in the sport." This explanation and beliefs of the natural talent of African players constructs women's soccer as an African game, which is consistent with the dominant view of soccer. The same player also makes generalization about the distinction between Blacks [Africans] and Coloreds in soccer in the following quote. She commented:

Well, like our coach always said, the national coach always said, the Blacks might have the natural talent, but the Coloreds play from their hearts. And that's what we need, to put the two together (Interview S3).

Again, we see attributes about how one plays soccer based on racial groupings. Blacks [Africans] have the "natural talent" and "Coloreds play from their hearts." Although Coloreds may not have the "natural talent" their position in soccer is justified because "they play from their hearts." Other players also talked about the differences in the style of play of Africans and Coloreds (Interview S9). The following quote from an African woman, originally from Johannesburg, expresses how Colored women in the Cape Town area are making soccer "their game." She said:

I found that in Cape Town than in Jo’burg that it is a little more alive here. Colored women love soccer. I am shocked. I’m really, maybe it is just that I have had more exposure, but Colored women are really into their soccer, more than black women are. And I would like to think more than white women are. I
found that a lot of colored people have taken it and are making it their game. I associate women's soccer with Colored people (Interview S10).

The fact that this player is shocked that Colored women "love soccer" speaks to the dominant notion that soccer is constructed as an African game. In sum, I found evidence to suggest that although African women dominant in numbers within women's soccer, soccer is being constructed as a game for both African and Colored women. White women on the other hand are constructed as outsiders who do not have the natural talent. I did not find evidence that White women were overtly excluded or discouraged from participating but I also did not find that there were any meaningful efforts to increase their participation. Racial boundaries within women's soccer are thus not being challenged and racial differences are in fact being reaffirmed.

Overall, the data show that women soccer participants in the Western Cape are actively resisting dominant gender boundaries within soccer to construct a collective identity as serious soccer athletes. As existing gender boundaries within soccer are being both challenged and reaffirmed through daily interactions, the extent of opportunities, and the control of leadership positions, women soccer athletes are building a shared identity that is facilitating further challenges to the broader gender order within competitive soccer. In terms of racial boundaries, I found that women soccer participants are not overtly challenging the dominant construction of soccer as a Black sport, but women's soccer continues its' historical trajectory of being racially integrated. Although there are not formal efforts being made to attract more white women to the sport, women's soccer continues to be relatively free of any overt racial conflict. Given white women's material advantages as compared to Black women in South Africa, it is
generally understood that white women have the opportunities and means to participate if they desire.

As I will discuss in the next section, women's experiences of gender boundaries within competitive soccer has had a significant effect on their level of awareness or consciousness regarding gender inequalities within sport and the broader society. A unified collective identity among women soccer players is dependent on a shared group consciousness, which frames how inequalities or discrimination are understood and ultimately how the group responds to those disadvantages. In the next section, I examine the group consciousness of women athletes in regards to gender and interlocking inequalities of race and class.

**Group Consciousness of Race, Gender, and Class Inequalities**

Boundaries locate personas as members of an insider group, but it is group consciousness that imparts a larger significance to a collectivity (Taylor and Whittier 1992). I use the concept of consciousness to examine the interpretive frameworks used by athletes and administrators to explain their disadvantages in terms of race, gender, and class structures rather than individual or group failings. Development of a group consciousness is an ongoing processes that crystallizes when a collective of individuals realizes its' common interests and develop a shared understanding of their situation.

Women in soccer have developed a strong group gender consciousness. The sophistication of their group gender consciousness was apparent through participant observations, interviews, and surveys. The concepts of patriarchy, sexism, and male dominance were regularly used in my informal conversations with athletes. During my attendance at one of the Sunday afternoon league games in the Western Cape, I talked
with a group of players about obstacles facing women in soccer. Most of the women were in their twenties and identified as Colored. The following excerpt is from my field notes about the interaction. I wrote:

I ask the players why women’s soccer doesn't get recognition or sponsors. Without hesitation one of the more vocal players shouted, “Because we are oppressed. It is sexism.” Another said, “Because it is a man’s world” (July 30, 2000; Rocklands Sports Fields).

The interaction and their response is an excellent example of why it is problematic for researchers to construct third world women as "as ignorant, uneducated, and tradition-bound" (Mohanty 1991: 56). These women clearly did not need any "white, middle-class feminist from the United States," like me, telling them that they suffer from sexist ideologies and structures. One could not claim that these women were suffering from any false gender consciousness. The following excerpt from an interview also demonstrates the keen gender consciousness of soccer players. I asked a 27-year-old woman of mixed racial heritage about the resistance from men in soccer. She responded:

Yeah, that is also another big issue. We always have to do double time, double the things they have to do to get where we want to be. We always have to prove ourselves more than what they have to (Interview S2).

The assertion that soccer players have developed a group gender consciousness was also supported by responses to an open-ended survey question asking athletes to identify obstacles facing women athletes that men athletes don't face. In total, fifty-seven respondents offered ninety responses. Forty-one percent of the players identified gender-based material disparities, such as the lack of sponsorship, financial support, facilities, coaches, equipment, and transportation. About 20% of the respondents cited disparities of non-material resources, such as the lack of media coverage, advertising, recognition,
and public support. Seventeen percent mentioned sexist beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions of women athletes and women's sports. And, about 14% named structural or systematic factors such as sexism, gender inequality, or gender discrimination. Table 6.3 presents these findings in more detail.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of obstacle facing women athletes in South Africa?</th>
<th>Frequencies and Percentages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Material Resources</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of sponsorship &amp; financial support</td>
<td>41.1% (37)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of facilities</td>
<td>(24)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of coaches, equipment, &amp; transport</td>
<td>(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No professional league</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Non-Material Support</strong></td>
<td>18.9% (17)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of media coverage &amp; advertising</td>
<td>(10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of recognition &amp; public support</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Beliefs, Attitudes, and Perceptions</strong></td>
<td>16.7% (15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women's sports are trivialized, criticized, &amp; not taken</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>seriously</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women abilities are underestimated and women have</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to prove themselves</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women in sports like soccer are seen as masculine</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Structural &amp; Systematic Factors</strong></td>
<td>13.3% (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gender inequality, sexism, &amp; gender discrimination</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time constraints and the sexual division of labor of</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child rearing</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nepotism</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Safety issues</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Other Emergent Issues</strong></td>
<td>10.0% (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lesbianism</td>
<td>(4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Injuries</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everything</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menstruation</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100% (90)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6.3. Frequencies and percentages of the types of factors identified as obstacles facing women athletes in South Africa (N= 90 responses).
It is important to note that the athletes did not say that women’s lack of physical abilities or women’s lack of desire to work hard at sports posed obstacles for women athletes. On the contrary, their responses reflect the finding in the social science literature that sport is a gendered institution and women are structurally disadvantaged within that institution in multiple and varied ways (Birrell and Cole 1994; Bryson 1987; Hargreaves 1994; Lenskyj 1986; Messner and Sabo 1990).

Besides the group gender consciousness of soccer players, my data shows that soccer players have developed a shared consciousness in terms of race and class. Although, Colored women are economically advantaged compared to African women, they are sensitive to the particular hardships facing African players. Moreover, white women in soccer, who are the most economically advantaged, also expressed a high level of awareness of the structural disadvantages facing Black communities. For example, all interviewees maintained that predominately African teams dropped out because of the lack of resources. The following quote from a white woman administrator illustrates the awareness of how race and class intersect to disadvantage some soccer players. Talking about the financial difficulties facing some of the players, she commented:

It is actually very sad. You know some come to the field and they don’t have proper kit [equipment]. They don’t have shin guards. They are playing with cardboard in their socks. So sponsorship is a big issue. We must get sponsorship (Interview S17).

An important mechanism for fostering a high level of awareness of class issues it the tight-knit nature of soccer teams. It was fairly evident from my participant observations that there was a strong ethic of care among players and that commitment to one another went well beyond the soccer field. The following interview quote from one
of the national team players from the Western Cape demonstrates how athletes are not only aware of the disadvantages of some but that they also act on that knowledge.

Speaking about a young talented player, she said:

There was one girl that was attending our provincial senior trials, and she played for under 15 year olds last year. She’s quite good, but because she never attended trials that often, so she didn’t make the side. And, I mean – this is my personal opinion – I thought she would have made our provincial senior team, she was that good. But, because her mother never had money for her attend trials twice a week, she lost out. Ya, that’s where it comes in. It’s rather tough...I’ve spoken to her about it and she just laughs. I mean she’s still young, she doesn’t realize what she missed out on, but I mean she’s very good, and she’s very interested. So um, you know, maybe one day somebody will come along who will support her, like my father used to support me...There’s also this little youngster, we actually we play on the same team now, but we didn’t before. She used to play like in a cross trainer [all-purpose athletic shoe], and she’s so brilliant and slipping and sliding all over the field. I said to her, "One day when you wear my size, I’ll give you a pair of boots [soccer shoes]. And then funny enough, she didn’t come to me, I just saw her playing and I said to her, "Put this pair of boots on." And she said, "It fits." And I said to her, "Keep it." But it wasn’t – I did it because I wanted to. You know, and I – my sponsor moans at me all the time because I’m always giving my boots away. Knowing I can get some more boots. But I mean if I can help somebody get somewhere... why not? (Interview S3).

Although a shared group consciousness of race, gender, and class inequality is vital to the development of collective action of women's soccer athletes, it's not the only necessary ingredient. One monumental barrier facing women in soccer is the lack of material resources, as the athletes themselves articulated through their survey and interview responses. Women in soccer are collectively challenging the status quo that trivializes women athletes and disadvantages their expression through sports. In the next and final section of this chapter, I examine the ways in which women soccer athletes are using their group consciousness of gender, race, and class inequalities to challenge the gender boundaries within football within South Africa.

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Negotiating space for women in soccer

Negotiations refer to the symbolic and everyday actions subordinate groups take up to resist and restructure existing systems of domination. The concept calls attention to the ways in which political activism is embedded in everyday life and accentuates that "doing" and "being" aren't necessarily distinct when it comes to challenging the dominant social order (Taylor and Whittier 1992:118).

For example, by simply being serious athletes, South African soccer players are challenging the gendered construction of an athlete as inherently male. Moreover, by being serious athletes and expecting the same support as their male counterparts, they are contesting the unequal distribution of resources and recognition afforded to women and men in sports. Moreover, given the distinct constructions of soccer as a "male sport" in South Africa, women who take up soccer wage a radical challenge to construction of gender difference through sports. A young girl is unlikely to raise concern among her parents if she wants to play netball in South Africa but if she wishes to take up soccer concerns are likely to arise. Young women sometimes go to great lengths to convince their parents to agree to their playing soccer. For example, one of the national team players in the Western Cape told me a story about one young player who went on a four-day hunger strike to pressure her mother to agree that she could play on a team of her choice. Talking about how she supports young players the senior player said:

[Young players] phone me all the time, chat with me and things like that. Like this Black girl who played for another club and wanted to join our club... I mean a lot of players want to come and play for our club because of the experienced players we have and that can rub off on the younger players. This player, she's quite good, as you could see. And um, she actually went on a hunger strike for four days, because her mother didn’t want her to play for us. So, I chatted with her mother and her mother eventually said, "okay, fine." So she [the young
player] comes to training once a week, sleeps over at my place, travels with me, and then goes to school from there (Interview S3).

This young player, only fifteen years old, adopted the resistance tactic of a hunger strike to influence her mother's decision about her playing soccer. This story demonstrates that resisting dominant beliefs, attitudes, and structures not only takes place through formalized social movement tactics and strategies. Resistance also happens within women's daily lives. When it comes to resisting oppression, the "personal is political" and women athletes use such "personal" strategies to create change in their lives. This story also illustrates how soccer can serve as a bridge between Black and Colored women as well as between younger and older players.

Another "personal as political" strategy that women soccer athletes take up is that of their gender self-presentation. Some interviewees talked about how young players may adopt a masculine self-presentation if they play on a predominately all boys team. This masculine self-presentation is created intentionally to avoid attracting attention to their gender status on the soccer field (Interviews S7 and G5). Being able to "blend in" may mean escaping being teased or worse yet mistreated on the soccer field. Overall, women soccer athletes, both from the Western Cape league and the national team, tend to adopt a masculine style. Although their masculine appearance does not appear to be as problematic as that in the case of middle-class women athletes in the United States (Griffin 1998), it nonetheless challenges dominant cultural notions of gender difference. In a 1993 newspaper article titled "Skirting the issue," the issue of gender self-presentation of soccer players was addressed. The article reports on the national women's team playing in Zimbabwe during 1993. A portion of the article reads:
Team coach Terry Paine reminded the girls--kitted out in black skirts, white blouses and pretty scarves—that this is no holiday trip and that there should be "no drinking and smoking before the games..." And renowned squad member Gloria Hlalele mused: "This is the saddest day of my life. The last time I wore a skirt was 10 years ago!" (Sunday Star 1993: 41)

This player uses humor to resist gender appropriate dress as she express her "sadness" about wearing a skirt to a news reporter. Soccer offers this player a public forum to challenge gender norms.

Another salient way that women athletes are resisting gender and race subordination is by being personally empowered, physically and psychologically as women. The following comment by a long-time woman soccer administrator illustrates how sport can offer women, and in this quote particularly Black women, a community in which they are valued and celebrated. Talking about women participating in a national soccer training camp, she states:

If you read some of the reports from the team psychologist, being on this team is the biggest thing that has ever happened in the majority of these women’s lives. Because why? Because they are important. They feel that they are somebody. They’re not just an object...Some of these kids will never go home [from training camp]. I have to chase them away. They don’t want to go, they want to stay here. Here they are somebody (Interview S7).

According to this administrator, soccer offers a chance for some women to be somebody. Because competitive sport is a public activity, it is not only individual women who are impacted. These women, especially those on the national team, serve as public figures that the masses of South African women are exposed, illustrating how women soccer athletes challenge dominant gender categories and hierarchies.

Soccer opportunities for women in South Africa during the 1990s have expanded but as shown there are still great disparities and obstacles facing South African women
athletes (Egunjobi 2000). The following quote from a SAFA general manager is a good summary statement about the changes that have taken place in women's soccer in South Africa and the challenges that women's soccer is still facing. Responding to a question about gender transformation within soccer, he said:

Really, it depends on whom you are talking about. On the executive level there is a recognition that women’s football has to be treated a whole lot more seriously than had been in the past. But, how to translate that into real action is another matter. Whilst there is a commitment, the commitment on a philosophical level that it needs to change, how to do that practically, even for the people who are saying their philosophically disposed toward you know that transformation process, assessing their role in that becomes another matter. Because, you know, we are not quite sure if everyone is as committed to that as they say they are on paper. The same thing here in the office as far as the administration is concern. ... So, in essence really, depending on the level that you are talking about, even on the regional level, there may be the commitment to do that but there may not be the resources. So women’s football is caught in that cycle where there is recognition that it needs to be placed on a much more important level within South African Football Association but at the same time, there are not the resources to take the whole process forward. Now, in order to get the resources you need to get a better profile for women’s football. It is like catch 22 situation and women are caught right in the middle there (Interview S4).

This quote draws attention to the difficulty of translating the idea of gender equality into everyday practices. Gender equity within football is a politically salient issue however carrying out the commitment of gender equity in soccer is not happening at ever level of organization. Although the South African Football Association is very powerful, it has not dedicated the financial or administrative resources to moving the whole process of gender transformation forward. As stated above, in the context of highly commercialized sports, women's football is faced with a catch-22 situation in which they need a higher profile to gain more resources but need more resources to gain a higher profile. The data suggest that in the end, making money is prioritized over creating more opportunities for women.
Despite the challenges, gender transformation within soccer is underway. As seen in this chapter, women soccer players are resisting and challenge beliefs and organizational structures that construct them as outsiders in the world of soccer. In the context of competitive sports, they are building a unified group consciousness on gender, race, and class disparities that frame their challenge of rigid gender and race boundaries. The new political dispensation has created space for women soccer athletes to contribute to the broader cultural transformation taking place in the new South Africa. The reconstruction of dominant power relations not only takes place at the elite level within formal political institutions, but also at the grassroots level within socio-cultural institutions such as sports.
CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSIONS

South Africans experienced dramatic changes in the political and social orders of their nation during the 1990s. The long history of white minority rule officially ended in 1994 with the first democratic, all-race elections. As apartheid was being dismantled in the late 1980s, a women's movement emerged in South Africa, which fought for the recognition of gender equality as an autonomous aspect of the emerging democracy. Women gained significant constitutional and legislative rights in the 1990s as well as formal political representation. Furthermore, the new government instituted new state machinery, such as the Commission on Gender Equality, to facilitate the promotion of a non-sexist South Africa.

Although much of the impetus for the women's movement came from elite political leaders from the top-down, I argue in this dissertation that there also has been grassroots organizing from the bottom-up. Feminist activists and scholars recognize that the viability and sustainability of a broad-based women's movement in South Africa is dependent on activism within civil society (Lemon 2001 and Meintjes 1998). Sport is an example of one social institution in civil society where gender activism has emerged. In this study, I conceptualize South African women athletes as political actors who are part
of the broader social movement community that is contributing to the nation building
process through challenging gender and racial inequalities within sports. This case
comparison of women's netball and soccer shows how political actors in South Africa
have not only targeted the state for changing oppressive gender relations but also
institutions within civil society, such as competitive sports.

The racialized and political nature of competitive sports during the twentieth
century is probably no where more apparent than in South Africa. Sports have been
central to the construction of a white national identity as well as a site for challenging the
apartheid system in South Africa (Booth 1998; Nauright 1997). Like all other aspects of
South African society, racist divisions and ideologies structured who participated in sport
and the meanings attached to sport. Since the 1970s, scholars have been documenting the
racialized dimensions of South African sport. However, there is a dearth of scholarship
on how sport is a gendered institution and how systems of privilege based on race,
gender, and class intersect within sports (see Scraton 2001). To contribute to our
understanding of the intersections of race, gender, and class in South African sport, I
examine women athlete's collective identities in netball and soccer. Collective identity
theory is useful to gender scholars because it does not impute women's interests and
identities from their structural location as women (Berger 1992a, 1992b; Ray and
Korteweg 1999; Rupp and Taylor 1999; Taylor and Whittier 1992). Rather it demands
that identity formation and interests be constructed and understood through a process of
struggle. So, without diminishing the importance of the highly racialized South African
context, this research brings to the fore gender relations within South African sport. I
organize this investigation around three broad questions:
• Has the new political dispensation in South Africa created space for challenging the dominant gender order within sports?

• Are women athletes coming together across racial, ethnic, class, language, and cultural boundaries to construct collective identities that challenge the dominant gender and race orders within the social institution of sports?

• How are the shifting collective identities within women's sports contributing to the reconstruction of race and gender within the new South Africa?

After reviewing the findings that address these questions, I discuss the theoretical and substantive implications of this dissertation. To conclude, I discuss the limitations of the study and outline future research that this study encourages.

Summary of Findings

The first research question I will address in this summary is whether the new political dispensation in South Africa created space for challenging the dominant gender order within sports. As presented in Chapter 4, I did find evidence that the democratic transition in South Africa during the 1990s created space for women and men to organize against gender inequalities within the institution of sports. The case studies of netball and soccer presented in Chapters 5 and 6 also show that women's sports are sites for transforming not only gender inequality but also racial inequalities and racial hierarchies in post-apartheid South Africa.

As my analysis of the macro-structural context of sports in Chapter 4 demonstrates, I found that the new government, which is dominated by the African National Congress, has taken up the issue of gender equality in sports as an important aspect of democratizing and unifying the country. However, I found that the mainstream approach adopted by the government and national sports bodies, particularly the Ministry of Sports, the Department of Sport and Recreation, and the National Sports Council,
limits the potential of sports as a site of transforming gender relations. The predominant discourse on gender equality within South African sports is a liberal feminist approach that focuses on increasing the number of women's and girls' participation in sports without serious attention to transforming gender power relations and the sexist structures of sports. Although the theoretical understanding of unequal power relations between South African women and men may be understood by political elites, the problem of sexism within sports has been framed as a "women's issue" rather than a "gender issue." This liberal feminist approach is limited in that it ignores how sport structures and practices reconstruct men's power and privilege. Within this framework, men are not explicitly part of the problem or the solution. This discursive framework is also limiting because once the issue of women's representation within sports is no longer politically salient it is likely that the gender movement in sports will wane. I found that during the late 1990s, the issue of gender inequality in sports lost some of its political saliency. Overall, sport leaders in South Africa focused more on racial transformation if sports than gender change and failed to put into action the notions of intersecting systems of racial and gender inequalities. The issues of racial transformation and gender transformation were conceptualized as separate and priority was given to racial transformation. Nonetheless, the development of WASSA—Women and Sport South Africa—and the government's involvement in transforming organization structures of Netball South Africa and South Africa Football Association do demonstrate a significant shift in the government's commitment to addressing gender and racial inequalities within the social institution of sports.
The second research question I asked is whether women athletes are coming together across differences to construct collective identities that challenge the normative gender and race relations within sports. In a related research question, I asked is how shifting collective identities within women's sports are contributing to the reconstruction of race and gender within the new South Africa. I addressed both of these questions in Chapters 5 and 6, which present extended case studies of women's competitive netball and soccer, respectively.

In regard to the case study of netball, I found that the major source of conflict among netball participants was based on racial divisions. Netball has historically been dominated by white, Afrikaans-speaking women, but during the 1990s Black women posed a serious challenge to their lack of power within netball. Dominant racial boundaries were both transfigured and reaffirmed through a racial quota policy and daily interactions between Black and white women. The policy forced racial integration within teams and thus created the opportunities for white and Black South African women to interact not only on the netball court but also to share social space such as lodging and traveling accommodations. It is through these interactions that netball athletes are attempting to construct a unified collective identity. However, I also found that racial divisions and categories were reaffirmed by the quota policy because it explicitly marked athletes as either Black or white without attention to the social construction of those categories. Thus, paradoxically, the racial quota policy is both dismantling racial hierarchies and re-inscribing racial categories.

Theoretically, a central dimension of netball athletes' collective identity is a shared consciousness. I found that netball athletes developed a shared group
consciousness around gender inequalities but demonstrated a weak group consciousness around racial and class inequalities. The lack of a group race and class-consciousness limits netballers' formation of a collective identity and thus their ability to challenge their disadvantaged position vis-à-vis men in sports. Without a shared consciousness of racial and class inequalities, women netball athletes' collective identity is fragmented. For example, Black South African women tended to understand retention rates within netball as a product of racial and economic inequalities while white South African women linked dropout rates to lack of individual desire or skills. Just as athletes' gender consciousness is raised through their experiences within sport, it is likely that a group race and class consciousness may emerge if and when netball becomes more racially (and economically) integrated. In sum, the case study of netball shows that during the 1990s netball was a site for re-negotiating racial boundaries.

In contrast, the major source of conflict within soccer centers on the construction of the sport as a male preserve. Black men in South Africa have historically dominated soccer. Although South African women have participated in organized soccer since the 1970s, the development of women's soccer during the 1990s posed a new challenge to the naturalization of gender differences and gender hierarchies within soccer. I found that women soccer athletes pose a greater challenge to the dominant gender order than that posed by netball athletes because soccer is constructed as a "male-typed" sport while netball is constructed as a "female-typed" sport. As the analysis in Chapter 6 shows, gender boundaries within soccer are being resisted and reconstructed through daily interactions between women and men on the soccer field and through organizational structures. During the mid-1990s, conflict over the administration of women's soccer
emerged and escalated to such a degree that the state intervened with a judicial commission. Consequently, women's soccer became a subcommittee of the South African Football Association, the larger male-dominated governing body of soccer in South Africa. The shift of women's soccer from an autonomous organization to one dependent on the "men's" organization aims to make soccer gender inclusive within South Africa however parity between women's and men's soccer is far off. Nonetheless, women soccer participants share a collective identity as legitimate soccer athletes and are actively organizing for more recognition and resources.

Although there have been shifts in the racial composition of women's soccer, there is an absence of the overt racial conflict that was found in netball. White women "disappeared" in soccer during the 1990s as Black women entered the sport in greater numbers. Although there are token white women in soccer, the game is dominated by African and Colored women and currently being constructed as an "African" game. Despite their different social locations, soccer players have developed a sophisticated group race, gender, and class consciousness, which creates the possibility of solidarity and collective challenge. However, given their disadvantaged economic position of most soccer players, and women's sports in general, women's soccer athletes are presently constrained from gaining more resources and opportunities.

It is interesting to note that it is African women in both netball and soccer who are pushing established social boundaries and hierarchies. The new political dispensation in South Africa thus created space for Black women to organize against both racial and gender inequalities through sport. And, as this analysis shows South African women are
coming together across racial and class divides to actively construct collective identities to challenge racial and gender stratification within sports.

**Theoretical Implications**

As outlined in Chapter 1, this dissertation contributes to three relatively discrete bodies of scholarship including: (1) feminist theories on interlocking systems of race, gender, and class oppression; (2) social movement theory on gender movements, which includes the connections between women's movements and national liberation struggles and/or democratizing processes; and (3) the historical and sociological research on South African sports. In this section, I discuss how this study theoretically and empirically contributes to each of these literatures.

Although there is a growing body of sociological scholarship on the intersections of race, gender, and class, many gender scholars have not fully integrated the theoretical insights of this perspective into their empirical research agendas. I believe one of the contributing factors for this is the underdevelopment of analytical strategies designed to interrogate interlocking systems of power. The development of robust analytical strategies lags behind the theoretical insights of the perspective and thus limits the adoption and elaboration of intersectionality theory within sociological research. In this dissertation, I used collective identity, as articulated in the social movement literature, to examine the intersections of race, gender, and class systems of oppression within sports. Specifically, I bridged collective identity and intersectionality theories to expand our understanding of the way structural inequalities both facilitate and impede the construction of collective identity among diverse groups.
This study's findings support intersectionality theorists' assertions that structures of oppression are intersecting and do not operate in isolation. These data also vividly illustrate that South African women are not a unified, homogenous group who shares common interests. Therefore, when we examine gender relations we must consider multiple systems of power and privilege. Sisterhood, or a collective consciousness or identity, among South African women can only be forged through concrete historical practice, such as that on sporting fields. Moreover, in our effort to understand collective identities among social movement actors, we must consider the matrix of domination in which identities are crosscutting. This analysis adds to the literature on gender and social movements by demonstrating the role of movement actors play in transforming racial and gender categories and hierarchies (Ray and Korteweg 1999; Rupp and Taylor 1999; Smith 1995; Twine and Blee 2001; Wing 2000).

This dissertation also speaks to the connections between women's movements and national liberation struggles. Often scholars create a false dichotomy by separating women's movements from democratizing movements, as if gender equality has nothing to do with democracy. I argue through this analysis that political action takes many forms and occurs in various contexts. South African women struggling within a racialized and gendered institution, such as sports, to gain more recognition and resources is just one example of how "women's issues" are national issues. Just as South African women were politically active against injustices within their lives in the context of colonial and apartheid rule, they are politically engaged in the process of cultural transformation within the new South Africa. As scholars aim to understand and theorize about processes
of change, we must consider grassroots collectivities within civil society that may or may not be considered formal social movement groupings.

Finally, this dissertation contributes to our substantive knowledge of South African women's sporting experiences and addresses the androcentric bias of the existing research on the social, political, and cultural aspects of South African sports. The omission of women's sporting experiences within studies of sport and the absence of gender analyses of South African sports is particularly problematic considering the gendered nature of the institution. Scholars' lack of attention of South African women athletes and their "obsession" with men's sports, particularly rugby and cricket, further marginalizes women athletes and reconstructs competitive sports as a male preserve. Moreover, ignoring gender dynamics within sport constrains our theoretical understanding of the oppressive and liberatory potential of sports.

This dissertation also answers the call for scholars to grapple with intersections of race and gender in the sociology of sport literature (Scraton 2001). Generally, research on racial dynamics and sports tends to focus on men of color's experiences while scholarship that explores gender dynamics and sport commonly focuses on white women's experiences. By examining both gender and race transformation through sports in South Africa, I bridge two subfields in the sociology of sport literatures. Without the recognition that race and gender systems intersect, theorizing can not move beyond an additive model in which race and gender inequalities are conceptualized as separate.

The extended case studies of netball and soccer demonstrate that South African women's experiences within sport are significantly different from men's experiences, although there are also many similarities. Moreover, this study shows that not all South
African women's experiences are the same. Even to talk about South African "women's sporting experiences" runs the risk of falsely universalizing women's experiences.

Differences among women, particularly in regards to race and class, are as significant as differences between women and men. Only when scholars grapple with the intersections of systems of power within sports can we begin to theorize and understand the complex ways in which sports both reflects societies and contributes to the social construction of those societies.

**Limitations and Future Directions**

This dissertation is just one effort to understand the processes of cultural transformation within the new South Africa. Given the historical and contemporary complexities of power relations within South Africa it is implausible that any one study could be definitive or without limitations. As outlined in Chapter 3, I recognize that the interplay between my particular social location and that of the study's participants will inherently influence the knowledge production process. My statuses as white, middle-class, American, and a woman have all had an influence on this project. Had another researcher carried out this study, the analysis would surely be different. However, given the extensive data collection and the diversity of data sources, it is unlikely that the substantive findings would be different.

In terms of other limitations, the case study of women's soccer focuses on the Western Cape and given the vast regional differences in South Africa, the findings of women's soccer in the Western Cape may not be generalizable to other provinces. The large Colored population in the Western Cape undoubtedly has an impact on the organization of women's soccer. Future studies should examine the other provinces to
determine differences and similarities with these data. In terms of the netball case study, the absence of interviews with Colored and Indian women limits the analysis. Given the small population of Colored and Indian women in South Africa and within netball, the random selection of interviewees did not result in any Colored or Indian women being selected. Future investigations should explore the experiences of Colored and Indian women within netball.

One important dimension of cultural transformation within South Africa that was not directly addressed in this dissertation is that of globalization. Given South Africa’s history of economic isolation and the dramatic changes taking place in the global economy, future studies should examine how global economic forces are influencing sports and broader racial and gender relations in South Africa. Future studies that explore the effects of globalization also promise to uncover the ways in which grassroots efforts, such as those of women athletes, are influenced by global processes.

In conclusion, this feminist analysis elucidates that, despite persistent inequalities in the lives of South Africans, they are actively using sport to further socio-political change. In particular, Black South African women who have been historically constructed as victims, dependent, traditional-bound, and ignorant are seen here as creative agents who are individually and collectively engaged in the transformation of the social inequalities in South Africa.
APPENDIX A

South Africa: Historical and Political Background

It is difficult to find a more complex social and political history of a contemporary nation-state than that of South Africa. Any historical account of social relations in South Africa is sure to be incomplete or partial due not only to the inherent constraints of the writer’s perspective, but also the sheer complexities of historical relationships. The purpose of this appendix is to offer readers without knowledge of South African history background information that will help to contextualize this study. This discussion is not intended to be comprehensive. The references used throughout this discussion serve as good sources for more extensive histories of South Africa.

The indigenous people of the southern Africa region are Khoi Khoi and San peoples. Between the fourteenth and nineteenth centuries, these hunting and gathering societies were deeply affected by waves of mass migration of Africans, the settlement of Dutch and other European farmers and missionaries, and colonialization by the British (Denoon and Nyeko 1990; Omer-Cooper 1994). During the mid-1600s, employees of the Dutch East Indian Company established a permanent settlement near the modern day Cape Town to serve as a refreshment station for crews of ships traveling between Europe and India. By 1806, the British government had annexed the Cape Colony. As more Europeans settled in the area, they encroached on the land of indigenous groups and
conflicts over land emerged. These conflicts foreshadowed the over 300 year history of violent relations among indigenous groups, between European settlers and indigenous groups, and among European settlers (Denoon and Nyeko 1990; Omer-Cooper 1994).

Dutch settlers, later known as Afrikaners or Boers, opposed the British colonial rule, which they perceive as too liberal and oppressive. Afrikaners left the Cape Colony in mass and headed north to establish independent Boer republics (Denoon and Nyeko 1990; Omer-Cooper 1994). In the late nineteenth century, the discovery of diamonds and gold in the northern Transvaal region spurred wealth and capitalism that dramatically changed the political economy of southern Africa (Marx 1998). As the British colonialists expanded north to the site of the discovery of precious minerals, war broke out in 1899 between the British and Dutch settler colonialists over the control of South Africa. After a brutal defeat of the Boers in 1902, the two groups negotiated a reconciliation package that consolidated white economic power in the region and established four separate colonies--the Cape, the Transvaal, the Orange Free State, and Natal under British rule. In 1910, white economic interests were further consolidated with the establishment of the Union of South Africa (Denoon and Nyeko 1990; Marx 1998; Omer-Cooper 1994).

**The Dialectics of Colonial/Apartheid Rule and African Resistance**

African resistance emerged early in the twentieth century. The South African Native National Congress (later renamed the African National Congress and initially made up of African men) was formed in 1912 to articulate a unified Black response to the subjugation of Africans (Denoon and Nyeko 1990; Marx 1998; Omer-Cooper 1994). The initial concern of the organization, which was ultimately unsuccessful, was to fight
against the passage of the Native Land Act of 1913 that set out restrictions of land ownership in racial terms. Although Africans outnumbered whites six to one, the legislation set aside ninety-three percent of the land for white ownership and only seven percent of the land for African ownership. The Native Land Act of 1913, amended in 1936 to allow 13% of the land available to Africans, laid the foundation of the apartheid system that was to emerge thirty-five years later.

Because women were barred from South African Native National Congress, in 1913 African women formed the Bantu Women's League, which organized collectively against colonial rule. Around this time, the newly consolidated government had decided to extend to women the dreaded identification passes, which served to restrict the movement of Africans. In response, the Bantu Women's League organized an anti-pass campaign (Bernstein 1985; Walker 1982). Over the course of several years, thousands of women marched to municipal offices across South Africa to dump their identification passes and refused to purchase new ones. Hundreds of women were arrested and imprisoned in towns across South Africa. This mass mobilization was eventually successful; the law requiring women to carry identification passes was withdrawn.

The period between 1913 and 1947 in South Africa was one of increasing control and oppression of Africans, Coloreds, and Asians. In 1936, the limited franchise that had been extended to non-white men with property in the Cape region was withdrawn. Ironically, the passage of the Women's Enfranchisement Act of 1930 served as a mechanism to dismantle the non-white male franchise (Walker 1979). The women's suffrage campaign in South Africa, active from 1843 to 1930, was highly racialized and primarily made up of white, middle-class, English speaking women. South African
suffragists argued that if uncultured African men had the vote, then surely respectable
white ladies of high standing should have the vote. Conservative male leaders with racial
segregationist visions supported white women's limited suffrage when they realized that
the white women's vote would diminish the strength of the non-white vote in the Cape.

With the election of the National Party to power in 1948, the apartheid system
was established. Apartheid, an Afrikaans word for "apart-ness," was a system of
legalized racial segregation in all areas of society. A cornerstone of apartheid was the
Population Registration Act of 1950, which classified South Africans into four "racial"
categories—white, Colored, Indian, and African. In 1951, the South African population
of approximately 13,864,300 individuals consisted of 69.6% Africans, 19.1% whites,
8.6% Coloreds and 2.7% Asians (Mfongo 2001). This racial classification system affected
every aspect of one's life—where one could live, what schools one could attend, what
courses one could take, where one could travel, what job one could hold, how much one
was paid, who one could marry, and with whom one could have sexual relations
(Ramphela 1995). Racial categories within this classification system were hierarchically
ranked in terms of power, authority, and privilege afforded to each group. By law, whites
had the most power, then Coloreds, then Asians, and at the bottom rung, Africans. The
apartheid system was constructed upon a tremendously large number of laws that were
continually amended and/or reinforced throughout the period between 1948 and the mid-
1980s. Examples of these laws include the Suppression of Communism Act, Group
Areas Act, Separate Representation of Voters Act, Immorality Act, the Bantu Education
Act, and the misnamed Abolition of Passes Act, which introduced reference books to all
African women and men.
A central feature of the apartheid system was the migrant labor system that emerged in the late nineteenth century to satisfy the desire of cheap labor for the mines and other industries. With the institution of taxes, African men were pressured to leave their homes in rural areas to sell their labor in growing urban environments. The migrant labor system facilitated the urbanization and industrialization of South Africa. Through influx control mechanisms such as the pass system, African women and elderly men were encouraged/forced to stay in rural areas with minimal assistance from men involved in the migrant labor system. Confined to destitute areas, women’s economic options were limited to rudimentary agriculture, informal earnings, and reliance on remittances and transfers (Wilson and Ramphele 1989). To the extent that women did migrate to urban areas, most often illegally, they were largely employed in insecure and low paid domestic work. The forced separation of fathers, mothers, and children destroyed the organization and strength of families and has had a lasting affect on future generations of South Africans.

Mass protests followed the passage of apartheid laws throughout the 1950s. The Defiance Campaign, launched by the ANC in 1952, included the strategy of openly defying the unjust and inhuman pass laws. In 1955, a Congress of the People was organized and the *Freedom Charter* was drafted. This document outlined a program of action for a united, non-racial South African. During the mid-1950s, separate from the efforts of male dominated political organizations such as the African National Congress and the Pan African Congress (PAC), women collectively organized the Federation of South African Women (Walker 1982). The federation carried out a militant anti-pass campaign during the mid-1950s. Tens of thousands of women marched on Pretoria to
protest the extension of passes for African women. Mass political action by women, primarily African women, was perceived by many leaders as a threat to the entire social order and thus had a profound effect on the white apartheid government. Although the new pass laws for women were eventually enforced, the campaign radicalized African men and prompted the government to step up their violent means of control (Bernstein 1985).

By the 1960s, repression and counter resistance became increasingly violent. The massacre of 69 unarmed people by police at an anti-pass demonstration in Sharpeville in 1960 marked the beginning of a period of armed struggle in the anti-apartheid movement. After the Sharpeville massacre, the government declared a state of emergency, started detaining individuals without charging them, and banned the ANC and PAC. The decade of the 1960s was also marked with the rise of an international anti-apartheid movement encouraged by South Africans living in exile.

The 1970s gave rise to a new wave of student protests including the Soweto uprisings of 1976 and the growing Black Consciousness movement (Pityana, Ramphele, Mpunwana, and Wilson 1991). The government's responses to these protests were mass detentions, banning orders, and many other forms of violent repression. This period also was marked by the development of the international anti-apartheid movement, which used strategies such as economic sanctions and the United Nations to pressure the South African government to change. In the context of international boycotts, a failing economy, and increasing agitation from organized labor, the National Party instituted a series of reforms in the 1980s. These reform measures included establishing so-called
independent "homelands" and introducing the Tricameral Parliament, which extended franchise to Indians and Coloreds.

It was not until early 1990 when President De Klerk made significant efforts to dismantle the apartheid system. Oppositional political organizations were legalized, Nelson Mandela was released from prison, and apartheid laws were revoked, including the Population Registration Act, which classified South Africans by race. Although there was political violence in the 1990s, the political transition from the white minority led apartheid government to the Black majority democratic government was relatively peaceful. In April of 1994, the first all-racial democratic elections took place and Nelson Mandela became the new president. The ANC won almost two-thirds of the national vote and an overwhelming majority in seven out of the nine newly established provinces. The ANC retain its power in the 1999 elections and Thabo Mbeki, who served as vice-president under Mandela, was elected president.

The Legacy of Apartheid

In 1999, the population of South Africa was 40.6 million people and approximately 53.7% of South Africans live in urban areas (South Africa 1999). In 1991, the population was 75% African, 13% white, 9%, Colored or of mixed racial heritage, and 3% Indian (Beijing Conference Report 1994). In the new South Africa, there are eleven official languages (Afrikaans, English, Ndebele, Pedi, Sotho, Swazi, Tsonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa, and Zulu). South Africans identify with a diversity of religious traditions including Christianity (68%), Islam (2%), Hinduism (1.5%), and Indigenous spirituality (28.5%).
The legacy of apartheid can be see in the distribution of the levels of poverty and the patterns of inequality that correlate spatially across South Africa and along divisions of race and gender (Baden, Hassim, and Meintjes 1998). At the time of the first democratic non-racial national elections in 1994, the level of poverty, unemployment, illiteracy, mortality rates, and other quality of life indicators were outrageously high and the inequalities between Africans, Colored, Indians and whites were abhorrent. Overall, African working-class women and African women in the rural "homelands" bore the brunt of the country's history of racial oppression and white privilege (Baden, Hassim, and Meintjes 1998).

The distribution of income in South Africa is one of the most unequal in the world. "The richest 20 percent of households have 65 percent of all the income, while the poorest 20 percent have only 3 percent and the poorest 10 percent as little as one percent" (Baden, Hassim, and Meintjes 1998: 41). In 1995, the Gini coefficient for the country as a whole was 0.59 (Central Statistics, 1997:26). Since the early 1980s there have been extremely high levels of unemployment in South Africa. Unemployment rates are generally the highest for African women in the rural areas. Using a strict definition of unemployment (those out of work who have looked for work in the last four weeks), in 1996, 27 percent of African women in South Africa are unemployed compared to 16 percent of African men (Central Statistics, 1996: 23).

In terms of education, 35 percent of the entire South African population have no or incomplete education compared with 50 percent of the poor and 10 percent for higher income groups (Baden, Hassim, and Meintjes 1998: 45). In 1997, infant mortality rates were 54 deaths per 1000 live births for Africans compared to seven for whites (Baden,
Hassim, and Meintjes 1998: 46). One of the most serious health concerns facing South Africans is a high prevalence of HIV and AIDS. The number of HIV-positive individuals vary widely by racial group and the rate of infection among women has risen rapidly since 1990 (Baden, Hassim, and Meintjes 1998: 47).

A new South African constitution was passed in 1996 and is one of them most progressive constitutions in the world. The new government has put into place various mechanisms to encourage and to develop a non-racist and non-sexist South Africa.

However, the democratization of South African society is a long-term project. Given the stark inequalities among South Africans and the long history of violence in the country, it will take continued effort on the part of all South Africans to realize the goal of a true democracy in South Africa.
APPENDIX B

Questionnaire for Netball Athletes

Dear Netball Athlete:

I am conducting a study of women’s sports in South Africa. As part of this study, I wish to survey netball players. With the assistance of Netball South Africa, I have designed this questionnaire to better understand the experiences and views of netball players. This survey is completely confidential and your name will not be attached to your responses. It is my hope that the findings of this study will assist the growth of netball in South Africa. Without your assistance this study will not be successful. Your voluntary participation is most appreciated.

Please answer each question below and return your completed questionnaire to your team manager or drop off the survey in the box outside the Media office. If you have questions please feel free to contact me on my cell phone (082-4211-690). Thanks for your help and good luck with the rest of your matches!

Yours sincerely,
Cynthia F. Pelak, Doctoral Candidate
Department of Sociology
Ohio State University  USA

Please answer each question to the best of your ability.

Q1. What region of South Africa do you and your team represent? ________________

Q2. How many years have you participated in netball within and outside of school?
    Total years played in school = _____ years
    Total years played out of school = _____ years

Q3. How many years/months have you played for your current netball team? ________

Q4. What position(s) on your netball team do you play? __________________________
Q5. Year of Birth: 19 ___

Q6. Marital status: ___ Single
     ___ Married
     ___ Living with a partner
     ___ Separated/Divorced
     ___ Widowed

Q7. Have you ever actively raised or are you presently raising a child/children?
     ___ No  ___ Yes, please indicate how many? ______

Q8. What is the highest level of education you have completed? ______________________

Q9. How would you describe your family's economic background while you were growing up?
     ___ we never had enough money
     ___ we had just enough money
     ___ we had more money than we needed
     ___ Other—please describe: __________________________

Q10. Do you consider yourself as having a religion or spiritual faith?
     ___ No
     ___ Yes, my religion is: __________________________

Q11. What is your racial identity? (Please choose one or more categories.)
     ___ Black  ___ African  ___ Afrikaner
     ___ White  ___ "Colored"  ___ Mixed racial heritage
     ___ Indian  ___ Other (specify) ______________________

Q12. What major factors prevent you from developing your skills in netball? (Please check all that apply.)

     ___ Lack of time for training
     ___ Financial constraints
     ___ An injury or injuries
     ___ Family is too negative
     ___ Competition is not strong enough
     ___ Personal safety issues
     ___ None
     ___ Other (please specify) __________________________

Q13. What obstacles do women face in sports that men do not face? ______________________
     ____________________________________________
     ____________________________________________

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Q14. In your opinion, should the government do more or less to support women’s sports in South Africa? They should do…
1. much more
2. somewhat more
3. nothing more nor less
4. somewhat less
5. a lot less

Q15a. In your opinion, are quotas or affirmative action in netball a positive or negative policy for Netball South Africa? (Please circle your response.)
1. very positive
2. somewhat positive
3. neither positive or negative
4. somewhat negative
5. very negative

Q15b. Why do you think this policy is positive or negative? ______________________

Q16. In your opinion, how encouraging or accepting are players, coaches, and managers of cultural diversity within your team? (Please circle your response.)
1. Everyone encourages/accepts cultural diversity
2. Some people encourage/accept cultural diversity
3. Very few people encourage/accept cultural diversity
4. I don’t know

Q17. As far as the position of women in sport in South Africa is concerned, would you say it is better or worse now compared to two years ago? (Please circle your response.)
1. Much better
2. Somewhat better
3. Stayed the same
4. Somewhat worse
5. a lot worse

Q18. Why do you say things have gotten better or worse in the past two years? _______

Please return this survey to your manager or to the Media Office.

Thank you for your assistance!

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APPENDIX C

Questionnaire for Netball Coaches and Managers

Dear Coach/Manager:

I am conducting a study of women’s sports in South Africa. As part of this study, I wish to survey netball coaches and managers. With the assistance of Netball South Africa, I have designed this questionnaire to better understand the experiences and views of netball coaches and managers. This survey is completely confidential and your name will not be attached to your responses. It is my hope that the findings of this study will assist the growth of netball in South Africa. Without your assistance this study will not be successful. Your voluntary participation is most appreciated.

Please answer each question below and return your completed questionnaire to your team manager or drop off the survey in the box outside the Media office. If you have any questions please contact me. My cell number is 082-4211-690. Thank you for your help and good luck with the rest of your matches!

Yours sincerely,

Cynthia F. Pelak, Doctoral Candidate
Department of Sociology
Ohio State University  USA

Please answer each question to the best of your ability.

Q1. What region of South Africa does your team represent? _________________

Q2. How many years have you been involved in netball, within and beyond school?
   Total years involved within school = _____ years
   Total years involved beyond school = _____ years

Q3a. How many years/months have you coached your current netball team? ________

Q3b. How many years/months have you managed your current netball team? ________
Q4. What other position(s) in netball have you served? ____________________________

Q5. What is your year of birth: 19____

Q6. Marital status:  
___ Single  
___ Married  
___ Living with a partner  
___ Separated/Divorced  
___ Widowed

Q7. Have you ever actively raised or are you presently raising a child/children?  
___ No  
___ Yes, please indicate how many? _______

Q8. What is the highest level of education you have completed? ________________

Q9. How would you describe your family’s economic background while you were growing up?  
___ we never had enough money  
___ we had just enough money  
___ we had more money than we needed  
___ Other—please describe: ________________________________

Q10. Do you consider yourself as having a religion or spiritual faith?  
___ No  
___ Yes, my religion/spiritual faith is: ________________________

Q11. What is your racial identity? (Please choose one or more categories.)  
___ Black  
___ African  
___ Afrikaner  
___ White  
___ “Colored”  
___ Mixed racial heritage  
___ Indian  
___ Other (specify) __________________________

Q12. What are the main factors that prevent you from being the best netball coach or manager you can be? (Please check all that apply.)  
___ Lack of time  
___ Financial constraints  
___ Lack of support from players  
___ Family is too negative  
___ Personal safety issues  
___ None  
___ Other (please specify) __________________________

Q13. In your opinion, what obstacles do women face in sports that men do not face? ______

______________________________________________

______________________________________________

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Q14. In your opinion, should the government do more or less to support women’s sports in South Africa? They should do…
   1. much more
   6. somewhat more
   7. nothing more nor less
   8. somewhat less
   9. a lot less

Q15a. In your opinion, are quotas or affirmative action in netball a positive or negative policy for Netball South Africa?  (Please circle your response.)
   6. very positive
   7. somewhat positive
   8. neither positive or negative
   9. somewhat negative
   10. very negative

Q15b. Why do you think this policy is positive or negative?________________________________________

Q16. Besides quotas, how else would you like to see racial diversity addressed in netball?__________________________

Q17. In your opinion, how encouraging or accepting are players, coaches, and managers of cultural diversity within your team?  (Please circle your response.)
   5. Everyone encourages/accepts cultural diversity
   6. Some people encourage/accept cultural diversity
   7. Very few people encourage/accept cultural diversity
   8. I don’t know

Q18. As far as the position of women in sport in South Africa is concerned, would you say it is better or worse now compared to two years ago? (Please circle your response.)
   6. Much better
   7. Somewhat better
   8. Stayed the same
   9. Somewhat worse
   10. a lot worse

Q19. Why do you say things have gotten better or worse in the past two years?__________

Please return this survey to your manager or to the Media Office.

Thank you for your assistance!
APPENDIX D

Questionnaire for Soccer Athletes

Dear Soccer Athlete:

I am conducting a study of women’s sports in South Africa. As part of this study, I wish to survey soccer players. I have designed this questionnaire to better understand the experiences and views of soccer players. This survey is confidential. Your name will not be attached to your responses. It is my hope that this study will assist the growth of soccer in South Africa. Without your assistance, this effort will not be successful. Your voluntary participation is most appreciated. Please return your completed survey to your team manager, coach, or directly to myself. If you have questions please contact me at #082-4211-690. Thanks for your help & good luck with your season!

Yours sincerely,

Cynthia F. Pelak
Doctoral Candidate
Department of Sociology
Ohio State University, USA

Please answer each question to the best of your ability.

Q1. What year did you start playing organized soccer for women? ___ ___ ___

Q2. Have you ever participated in organized soccer in school?
   ___ No ___ Yes, Please specify the number of years: ___ years

Q3. What women’s soccer clubs have you played for?
   Check here ___ if you have never played for a women’s soccer club.
   Club Name: ___________________________ Years played: _____________
   Club Name: ___________________________ Years played: _____________
   Club Name: ___________________________ Years played: _____________

Q4. What women’s soccer clubs have you coached?
   Check here ___ if you have never coached a women’s soccer club.
   Club Name: ___________________________ Years coached: _____________
Q5. Are you interested in becoming a qualified referee?
   ___ Yes   ___ No   ___ Maybe   If yes or maybe include name:
       (optional)

Q6. Have you ever represented the Western Province in soccer?
   ___ No   ___ Yes, Please specify how many years: ______ Years.

Q7. Have you ever represented South Africa in soccer?
   ___ No   ___ Yes, Please specify how many years: ______ Years.

Q8. Have you participated in any other sport besides soccer?
   ___ No   ___ Yes, Please specify

   ________________________________

Q9. What is your year of birth: 19___

Q10. Marital status: ___ Single       Q11. What is your gender? ___ Woman
          ___ Married                  ___ Man
          ___ Living with a partner
          ___ Separated/Divorced
          ___ Widowed

Q12. What is the highest level of education you have completed? ____________

Q13. Have you ever raised or are you presently raising a child/children?
   ___ No   ___ Yes, please indicate how many? ______

Q14. How would you describe your family's economic background while you were growing up?
   ___ we never had enough money
   ___ we had just enough money
   ___ we had more money than we needed
   ___ Other—please describe: ____________________________

Q15. Besides being South African, what other racial or cultural group do you identify yourself with? (Please choose as many categories as applies.)
   ___ Black    ___ African     ___ Afrikaner    ___ English
   ___ White    ___ "Colored"   ___ Mixed racial heritage
   ___ Indian   ___ Other (specify)________________________

Q16. What major factors prevent you from developing your skills in soccer?
(Please check all that apply.)
   ___ Lack of time for training       ___ Family commitments
   ___ Financial constraints          ___ Transportation problems
   ___ An injury or injuries          ___ My studies
   ___ Family is too negative         ___ Lack of facilities
   ___ Competition not strong enough  ___ No one to go with

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Q17. Recently, Women’s Football in South Africa has joined SAFA, the organization traditionally supporting men’s football. Do you think this change will help or hurt women’s football? (Please circle your response.)
   1. help very much
   2. help a little
   3. neither help nor hurt
   4. hurt a little
   5. hurt a great deal

Q18. Why do you say that joining SAFA will help or hurt women’s football?

Q19. In your opinion, should the government do more or less to support women’s sports in South Africa? I think they should do…
   1. much more
   2. somewhat more
   3. nothing more nor less
   4. somewhat less
   5. a lot less

Q20. In your opinion, how encouraging or accepting are players, coaches, and managers of cultural diversity within your team? (Please circle your response.)
   1. Everyone encourages/accepts cultural diversity
   2. Some people encourage/accept cultural diversity
   3. Very few people encourage/accept cultural diversity
   4. I don’t know

Q21. What obstacles do women face in sports that men do not face?

Q22. As far as the position of women in sport in South Africa is concerned, would you say it is better or worse now compared to two years ago?
   1. Much better
   2. Somewhat better
   3. Stayed the same
   4. Somewhat worse
   5. a lot worse

Q23. Why do you say things have gotten better or worse in the past two years?

Thank you for your assistance!

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