# The Role of Sports Institutes in Higher Education for the Promotion of Sports Cultures: A Case Study of Three Universities in South Africa

**Kiran Prabhat Odhav**


Orcid ID: https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4665-4769

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**Promoter: Prof M. Mapadimeng**

**Co-promoter: Dr. R. Mokgadi**

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**Abstract**

The key research question of this thesis is what forms of hegemony exist at three university soccer clubs to promote sports cultures, and what policy implications emerge from the findings. The method of collecting empirical data was through interviews, of students who play soccer for the first team at universities and with their respective soccer coaches. The universities sampled were the University of Pretoria (UP), the University of Johannesburg (UJ) and North West University (NWU, Potchefstroom campus). It includes the historical and analytical aspects relating to the social game of soccer, and the variety of viewpoints about that social game. The conceptual framework of the study is within the discourse theories of Laclau and Bourdieu, and with the use of Raymond Williams' cultural analysis, as against the functionalist viewpoints articulated by Emile Durkheim and Robert Merton. The key findings are that hegemony continuous to operate in sport, and soccer and sport are becoming commodified in higher education institutions. Soccer is seen to be marginal to the core business of the sampled campuses and there is also comparatively low support for soccer there.

**Key words:** Soccer clubs and rugby at South African universities, hegemony, discourse analysis, functionalism.

**Dedicated to Ashok Odhav**

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**Tables**



**Abbreviations**

| | |
|---|---|
| ABSA | Amalgamated Banks of South Africa |
| ABSA-SASOL | SAFA women's football league |
| AFCON | African Cup of Nations |
| AmaTuks | UP's soccer team |
| ANC | African National Congress |
| BRICS | Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa |
| CAF | Confederation of African Football |
| CCMA | Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration |
| CODESA | Congress for a Democratic South Africa |
| CEO | Chief Executive Officer |
| COSATU | Congress of South African Trade Unions |
| CPUT | Cape Peninsula University of Technology |
| CSIR | Council for Scientific and Industrial Research |
| DHET | Department of Higher Education and Training (SA) |
| DUT | Durban University of Technology |
| EMS | Economic Management Sciences |
| EU | European Union |
| FAP | Football Association Program |
| FASA | Football Association of South Africa |
| FHU | Fort Hare University |
| FIFA | International Football Association (Fédération Internationale de Football Association) |
| FNB | First National Bank |
| GDP | Gross Domestic Product |
| HBU | Historically Black Universities |
| HBUC | Historically Black Universities and Colleges |
| HPC | High Performance Centre |

| | |
|---|---|
| HPI | High Performance Institute |
| HSRC | Human Sciences Research Council |
| IBF | Institutional Bargaining Forum |
| IMF | International Monetary Fund |
| ISR | Institute for Sport Research |
| KOERS | Bulletin for Christian scholarship |
| KZN | KwaZulu-Natal (province) |
| LGBTI | Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transsexual and Intersex |
| LOTTO | National Lottery in South Africa |
| MUT | Mangosuthu University of Technology |
| MDC | MultiChoice-Diski Challenge |
| NEHAWU | National Education Health Allied Workers Union |
| NFD | National First Division |
| NFL | National Football League |
| NMMU | Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University |
| NPSL | National Professional Soccer League |
| NRF | National Research Foundation |
| NSL | National Soccer League |
| NSFAS | National Students Financial Aid Scheme |
| NWU | North West University |
| PSL | Professional Soccer League |
| PSYCHED | Psychological assistance program (UP) |
| PU (for) CHE (PUKKE) | Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education |
| PUK1 | First team of the PUKKE (NWU) |
| Puksport (PUKKE) | The sports body for PUCHE (PUKKE or NWU) |
| PUKTAWANA | Name for the first team for soccer at Potchefstroom campus |
| PWC | Price Waters Coopers |
| PWV | Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vereeniging (region) |
| QS | Quacquarelli Symonds world university rankings |
| RAG | Reach out And Give (student based charity organization) |
| RAU | Rand Afrikaans University (changed to UJ) |
| Rhodes | Rhodes University |
| SA | South Africa |
| SAAFA | South African African Football Association |
| SAFA | South African Football Association |

| | |
|---|---|
| SAFA SASOL | South African Football Association SASOL Women's League |
| SABS | South African Bureau of Standards |
| SACFA | South African Coloured Football Association |
| SACOS | South African Council of Sport |
| SAIFA | South African Indian Football Association |
| SAPTU | South African Parastatal and Tertiary Institutions Union |
| SARU | South African Rugby Union |
| SASF | South African Soccer Federation |
| SAU | South African Universities |
| SASA | South African Sports Association |
| SASL | South African Soccer League |
| SASSU | South African Students Sports Union |
| SRC | Students Representative Council |
| SRSA | Sport Recreation South African |
| SU | Stellenbosch University |
| TukSport | Sports Department, University of Pretoria |
| TUKKIES (Tuks) | Alternative name for University of Pretoria (UP) |
| TUK | Transvaal University College (old name for UP) |
| TUT | Tshwane University of Technology |
| TWR | Technikon Witwatersrand |
| UCT | University of Cape Town |
| UEFA | Union of European Football Associations |
| UFS | University of Free State |
| UJ | University of Johannesburg |
| UK | United Kingdom |
| UKZN | University of KwaZulu-Natal |
| UL | University of Limpopo |
| UN | United Nations |
| UNISA | University of South Africa |
| UNIZULU | University of Zululand |
| UP | University of Pretoria |
| USA | United States of America |
| USSA | University Sports South Africa |
| USSR | Union of Soviet Socialist Republics |
| UWC | University of Western Cape |

| | |
|---|---|
| UV | University of Venda |
| VC | Vice Chancellor |
| VUT | Vaal University of Technology |
| VAAL | Vaal campus (NWU) |
| WATTA | Western Area Table Tennis Association |
| WB | World Bank |
| WITS | University of Witwatersrand |
| WSU | Walter Sisulu University |
| WTO | World Trade Organization |

**Chapter 1 :** Outlining the aims, background and research problem.

*1.1 Introduction*

> Three prevalent…(soccer)…discourses…(are)…propagated by intellectuals, states…and civil society…the Soccer War discourse… (between nations)…the Nobel Prize discourse…(nominated for Nobel Laureates), and….(to)...support dictators and the status quo, yet also engender movements for popular social transformation (the Gramscian discourse) (Tamir Bar-On, 2017: 188) (1).

South African sport has many sides or realms to it and, as the above quotation reflects, it includes various elements. Sports games involve particular rules, but also other aspects, such as how the sport is organized. While rules are an important part of the game, this research focuses more on the second aspect, bearing in mind that the two are not completely divorced as some may be led to believe. A case in point is how some forms of sports organization can result in the rules being changed, such as in 20-20 cricket, where changes have been made to the number of overs, playing time and even playing styles (2).

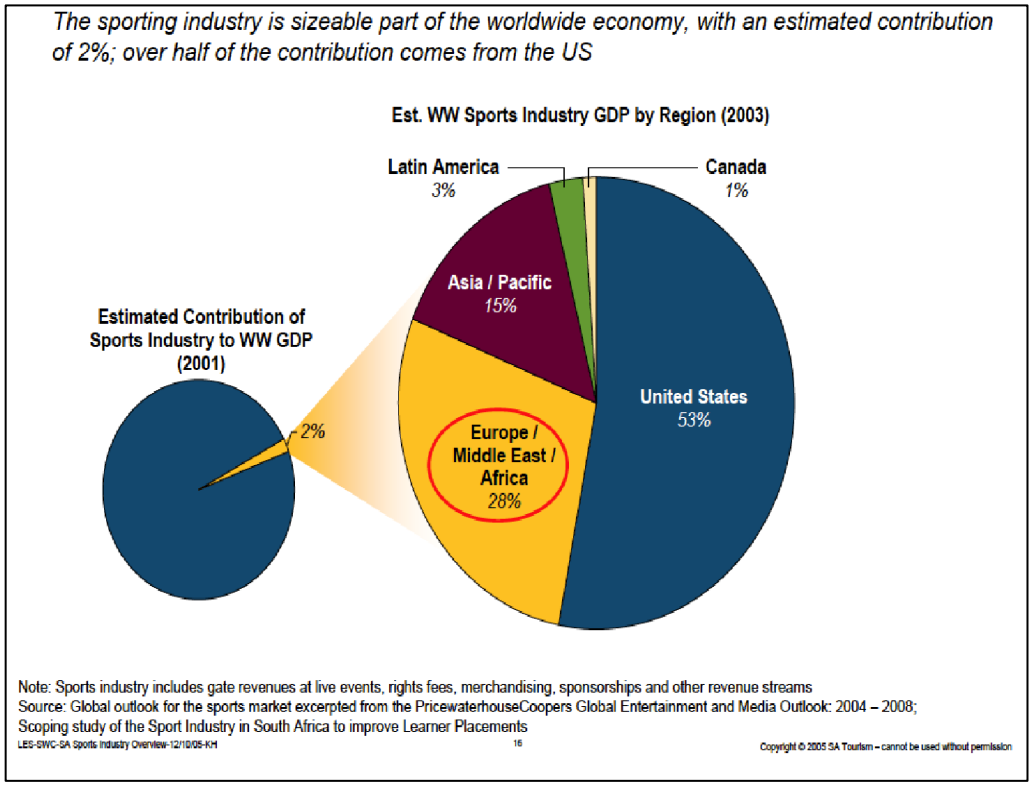
Crucial to understanding any sport is that it is a social game, which is somewhat neglected with the current global, popularized and mediatized valorisation of sport and its related sciences, nationally and internationally. Sport arises from a set of unique conditions. The various sports forms in South Africa provide an example of this, not just in terms of their racial histories but also in their social histories, even if these remain intertwined in the apartheid context. A case in point is the organization of cricket, rugby and soccer or football (terms used interchangeably herein), the three main sports both in the country and at its universities. There are many other sports played in South Africa, but these three are widely reported, popularly followed and receive most funding if considered at a national level.

Each of these sports has taken a different organizational path and form, within particular and peculiar sets of conditions, yet they also share some common characteristics. Such commonalities and differences are explored where relevant to this study. Suffice to say for now, that each sport as a national entity, viz., cricket, football and rugby, is differently corporatized and has different ties to the global context of sport. For example, only after 1994, with the opening up of South African sports to the international world, did soccer fans relate more to the African continent. There was a greater exposure to radio and the media, through the continental matches reaching the public imagination of ordinary South Africans. Local fans now get glimpses of Africa and its football, through media broadcasts of such matches. This is in contrast to previously white sports, viz.,

cricket and rugby, that were always in the global arena, from the international boycott era to the newly found status of cricket and rugby teams as the country's global sport champions.

While sport in South Africa made important contributions to the anti-apartheid struggle, their emerging forms are also interesting. Rugby has a central head, viz., the SA Rugby Union (SARU). It has club franchises with huge corporate funding injections at club level, and a number of organizational layers across the whole spectrum of civil society. These range from primary schools and community clubs, to universities, federations, and provincial and other leagues, apart from the various rugby academies and institutes. Cricket is also centralized as Cricket SA, and corporatized, but its franchise is somewhat less pervasive in civil society as compared to rugby. It too has massive corporate funding. Its organizational networks seem less complex when compared to rugby in the country, despite its leagues, community clubs and academies across the country. Local cricket is a force to be reckoned with at international level. Soccer is also club franchised but with a difference, in that individual agents are involved in 'buying and selling' players to and from clubs. The economic clout of its league and clubs is an instance of the tail (club) wagging the dog (league). Rugby follows a similar trend, with a franchise system that is based in clubs, but not all clubs are as financially well-endowed as some of the bigger franchises. However, all three sports have their challenges and have achieved some form of global presence. It is within this broad context that this study of soccer at three universities is presented. The sampled universities are the University of Pretoria, North West University and University of Johannesburg. The reasons for such a sample are explained in the methodology chapter (chapter 4). The following section outlines a short summary of the global sport industry, and of South African sports, in order to provide the necessary background to the study.

*Figure 1: The worldwide GDP breakdown*




Source: *Overview of South African Sports Industry Competitiveness*, Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, South African Tourism (October, 2005): 16.

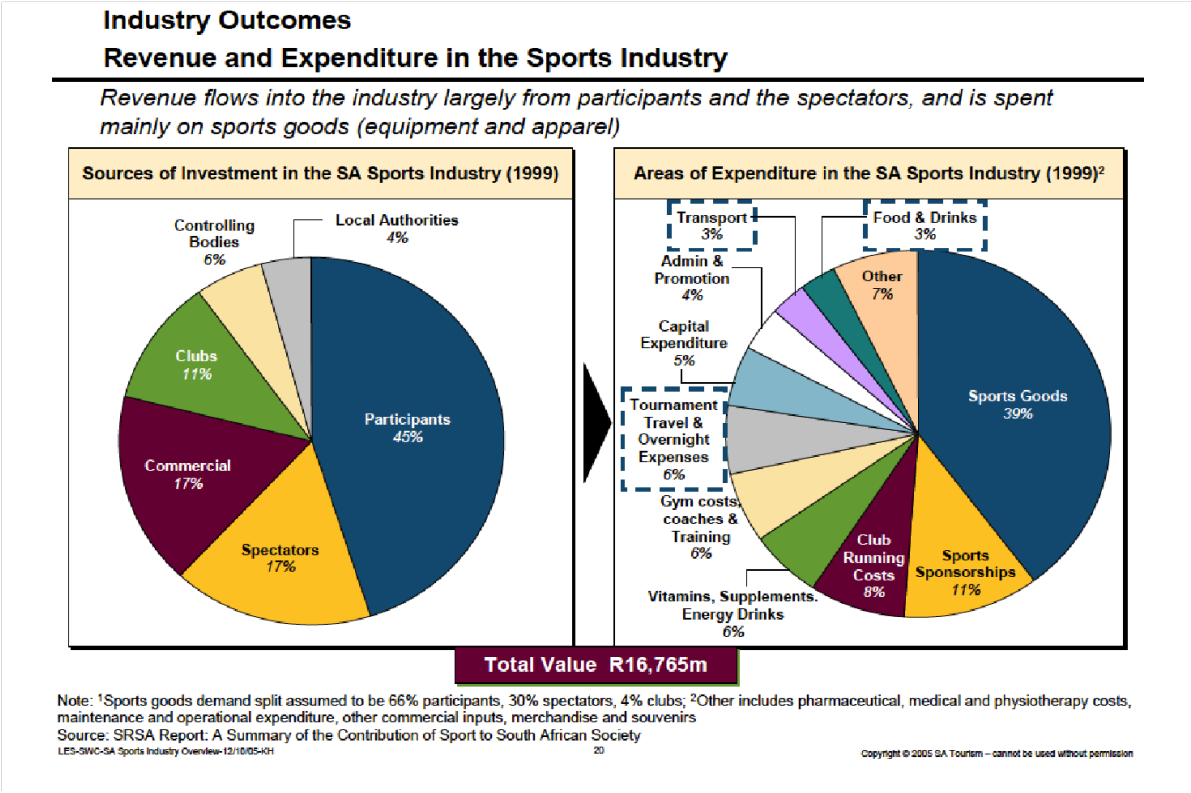
Figure 1 (above) (3) shows the contribution of sport to the global economy (2%), and the dominance of the United States of America (USA) in the sports industry market (53%). Europe, Africa and the Middle East have almost half a combined percentage (28%) as compared to USA's share. While sports sponsorships are higher in SA (71%) than the USA (69%), the former's international performance is ranked lower.

More recent figures reflect the following trends: the global sports market value is $488 billion (2018), and is expected to grow at a $614,1 billion (2022). Growth came mainly from emerging markets and rapid urbanization. Spectator sport is growing phenomenally with the team and club market share at 72.5% (2018). North America remains the largest market for the sports industry, followed by Western Europe, the Middle East and other smaller players. Top opportunities in the sports markets will come from the participatory sports, which will gain $70,17 billion worth of global annual sales by 2022 (4).

Figure 2 (below) (5) presents the sports industry's national revenue breakdown with a total value of R16.765 million, with revenue sources (left of Figure 2) dominated by participants (45%). Clubs contribute a third of this (17%). This study focuses on soccer clubs at South African

universities that are not state sponsored. It means the figures probably exclude university sports. Yet they give a broad picture of sports nationally. The revenue for the South African sports industry has recently grown exponentially to $121m in 2019 for the sport and outdoor segment (Statista, 2019) although the same site (2020) states that the sports and outdoor revenue is projected to reach $428 million(6).

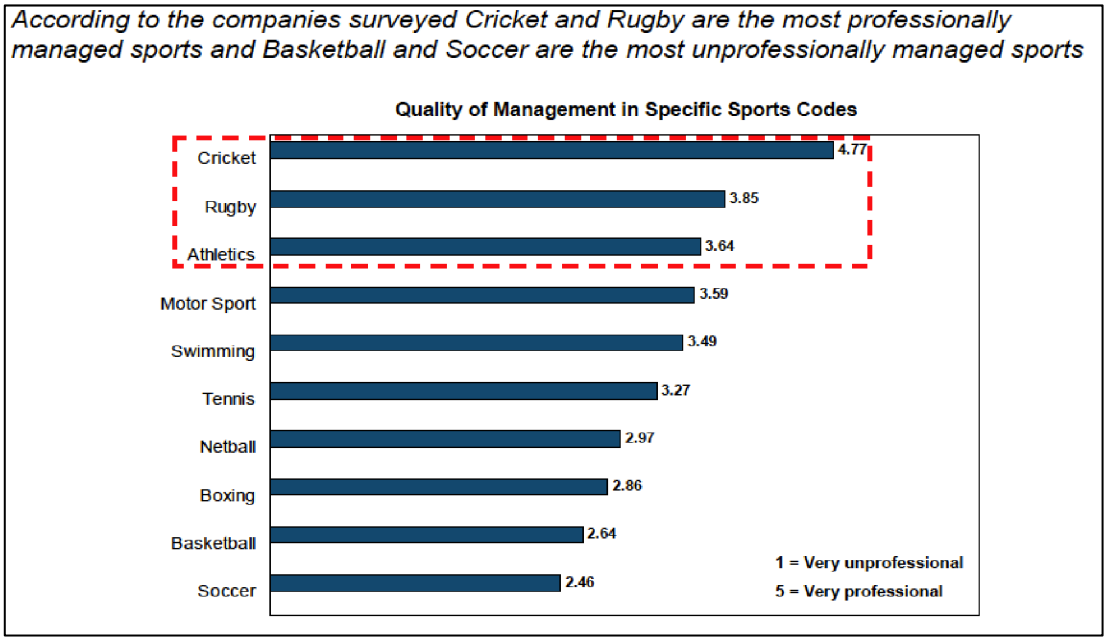
*Figure 2: Revenue and expenditure in sports*




Source: *Overview of South African Sports Industry Competitiveness* (2005): 20 (The missing 2%, to add up to 100% in the right-hand column, is as per the citation).

Figure 3 (below) (7) provides a hierarchy (1 to 5) of quality management offered in sports. Of relevance is that soccer is among the most unprofessionally managed (almost half in percentage of the 'well-managed' sport of cricket, and in similar proportions to rugby).

*Figure 3: Private sector views about the quality of management in specific sports codes*




Source: *Overview of South African Sports Industry Competitiveness* (2005): 26.

More recent research also shows that football remains an underprivileged sport. It requires advanced sports information from industry experts, and improvement of education for coaches, in order to overcome a host of shortcomings (Mcilroy, 2010: 114) (8).

Table 1 (below) (9) provides an indication of the main problems confronting South African sport. International success and racial representation head the list (90%), whilst facilities (34%), political interference (29%) and unprofessionalism (22%) all score quite high. Other aspects include a failure to develop talent at all levels (12%), the lack of vision or a tunnel vision (12%), low crowd attendance (11%), lack of integration at top levels (9%), a systems failure for throughput of young players (7%), a failure to gain coaching skills (6%) and difficulties in getting sports administrators to accept accountability (5%).

*Table 1: Private sector view of major problems facing sport*

*90% of the companies surveyed cite staying successful internationally while getting teams to be racially representative as the biggest challenge facing SA sport*

**Major problems facing SA sport according to companies surveyed**

| Problems | % That Mentioned It |
|---|---|
| Difficulties experienced in staying successful at international level while at the same time managing to get teams to be racially representative | 90 |
| Failure to supply facilities where they are needed; A perceived inability to catch up with the backlog of facilities | 34 |
| Political interference | 29 |
| Unprofessionalism in sports administration | 22 |
| Failure to develop talent at all levels | 12 |
| A lack of vision; tunnel vision: no overall strategy | 12 |
| Difficulties experienced in getting crowds to return to matches and attend games at the venues | 11 |
| A lack of integration of sport at top levels | 9 |
| Failure to create opportunities for young players to come through the system | 7 |
| Failure to develop coaching skills | 6 |
| Difficulty experienced in getting sport administrators to accept accountability | 5 |

Source: *Overview of South African Sports Industry Competitiveness* (2005): 27

Racial representation continues to haunt the sports industry of South Africa. This occurs as questions are still raised on racial targets in national teams, and of interference in their selection of players. The other side of the coin is reflected when regulation defines the number of players of colour to be included in national teams, and concerns are raised about deliberate racial engineering in this regard (Desai, 2019) (10).

*Table 2: Priorities for the sports industry*

*Government's list of priorities for the industry are a result of the realisation that sport and recreation have a pervasive influence of on all aspects of society*

| Government Priorities for Sport in SA | Assessment of Priorities |
|---|---|
| 1. Confirm roles and streamline the responsibilities of the various stakeholders in sport and recreation to ensure that coordination and economies of scale are realised<br>2. Provide funds for the creation or upgrading of basic multi-purpose sports facilities in disadvantaged areas<br>3. Develop the human resource potential required for the effective management of sport and recreation in South Africa<br>4. Motivate the community to develop active healthy lifestyles and to channel those with talent towards the competitive areas of sport<br>5. Develop a high-performance program that is geared towards the preparation of elite athletes for major competitions<br>6. Ensure that all sport and recreation bodies meet their affirmative action objectives<br>7. Develop a code of ethics for sport and recreation in South Africa<br>8. Develop an international relations policy in concert with national government policy | • Priorities demonstrate an awareness of key challenges facing the sports industry e.g.<br>– Shortage in infrastructure<br>– The lack of management skills<br>– The lack of coordination and fragmentation Unclear strategy for talent development<br>– Poor racial representation within industry<br>• However, areas exist that still need to be addressed<br>– Limited focus on driving economic competitiveness and growth<br>– Focus is on enhancing certain factor conditions and there is an insufficient focus on outcomes and measures of economic performance<br>– Insufficient focus on driving private sector involvement and participation<br>• Lacks clearly outlined metrics / targets for success |

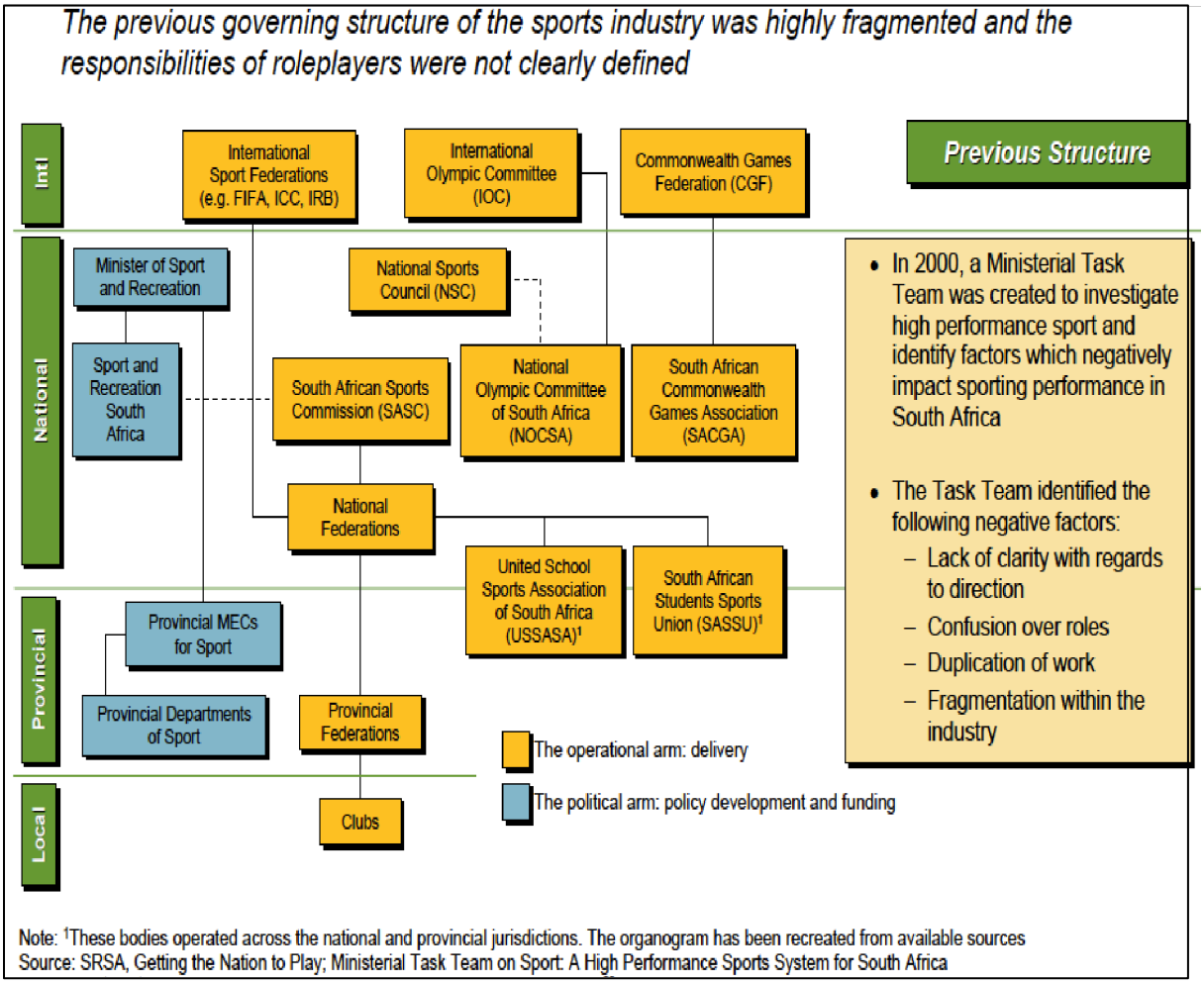
Source: *Overview of South African Sports Industry Competitiveness* (2005): 34

Table 2 (above) (11) outlines government's sports priorities. They include confirming and streamlining stakeholder roles and responsibilities; providing funding to the disadvantaged and for human resources to manage sport and recreation; developing a high performance program for elite athletes; ensuring that all sports bodies meet their affirmative action objectives; formulating a code of ethics for sport and recreation, and formulating an international relations policy that is in concert with national government policy. The column on the right (above, Table 2) cites the remaining challenges in the sports industry.

Recently there has been a global focus on sports and recreation. This stems from these two international pillars to support a successful sports system in order to create an enabling environment with the aim of achieving national and global priorities. The South African

government has particularly identified this as being important, due to the social history of the country. This relates to the imbalances of transversal issues. Furthermore, the country has three pillars in place - recreation, school sport and a campaign to promote participation, in order to achieve their vision and mission of a national winning nation (SRSA, 2011) (12).

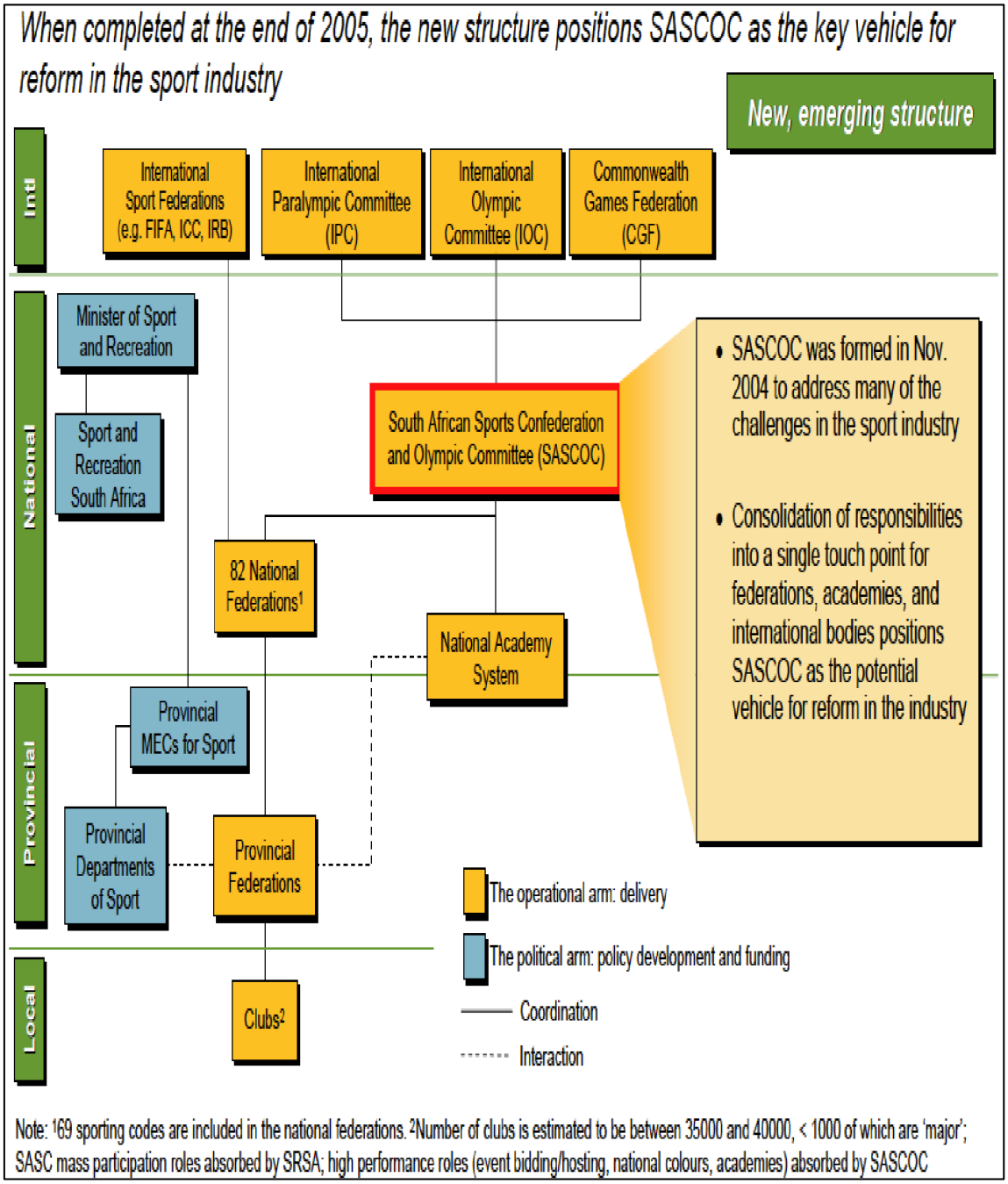
*Figure 4: Previous governing structure of the sports industry*




Source: *Overview of South African Sports Industry Competitiveness* (2005): 36

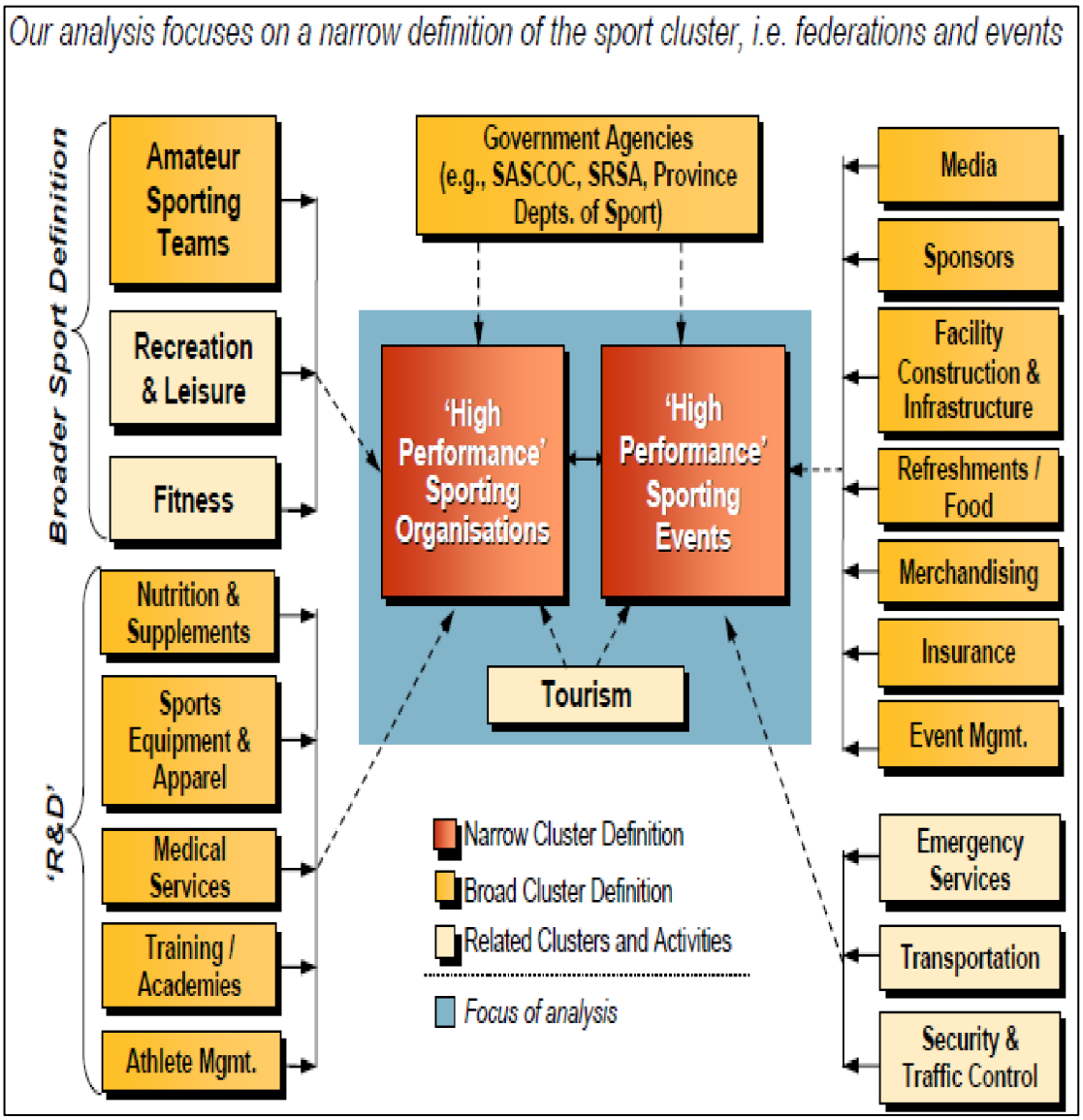
Figures 4 and 5 (above and below, respectively) (13) reflect the differences in the old and new governing structures of sport in South Africa. The latter structure is a much simpler.

*Figure 5: The new governing structure of the sports industry*




*Overview of South African Sports Industry Competitiveness* (2005): 3

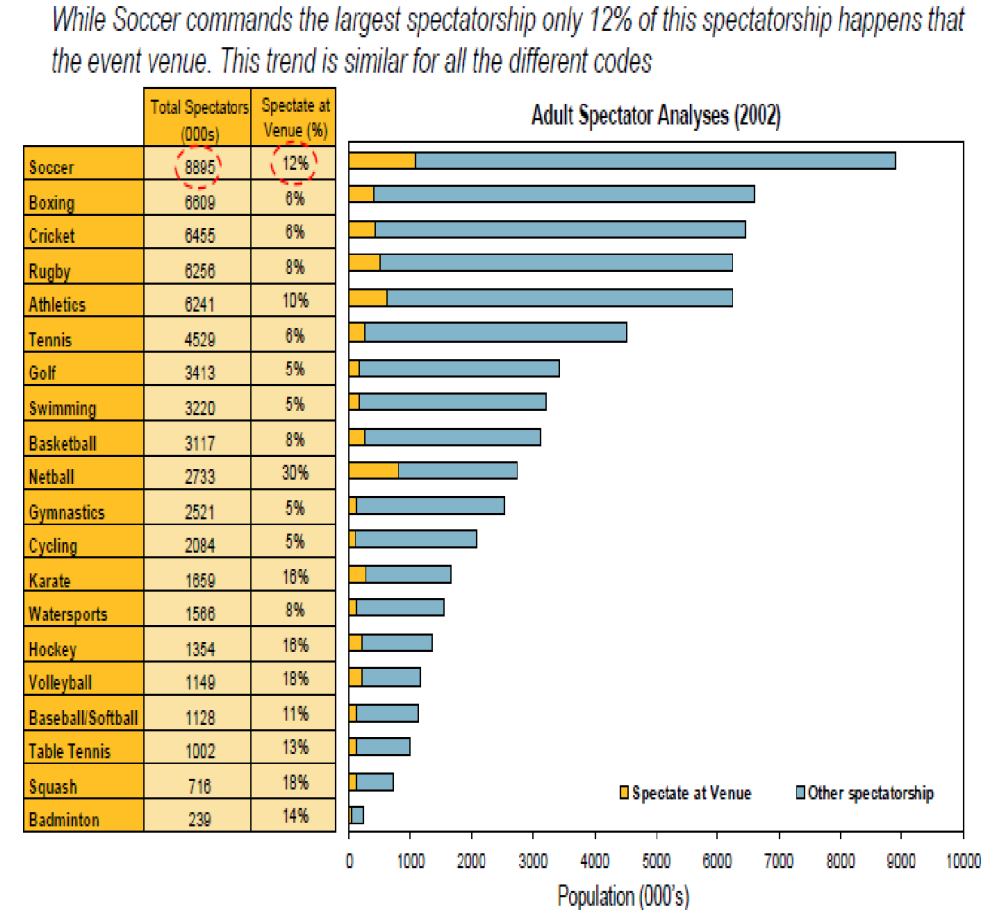
*Figure 6: The South African sport cluster*




Source: *Overview of South African Sports Industry Competitiveness* (2005): 4

Figure 6 (above) (14) reflects the central role of high performance or elite sport in South Africa (SA), with attendant industries feeding into it. Table 3 (below) reflects the spectatorship levels at sporting events. It shows that soccer enjoys the most support. Despite the intensity of high performance sport in South Africa, the latter lags far behind the USA and China that are sporting superpowers in winning world medals, even if South Africa can boast of the odd Olympic champion or occasionally break a world record. While South Africa remains a world competitor in cricket, and now in rugby too after winning the 2019 Rugby World Cup, this cannot be said of its soccer.

*Table 3: Demand conditions: general spectatorship vs. event attendance*



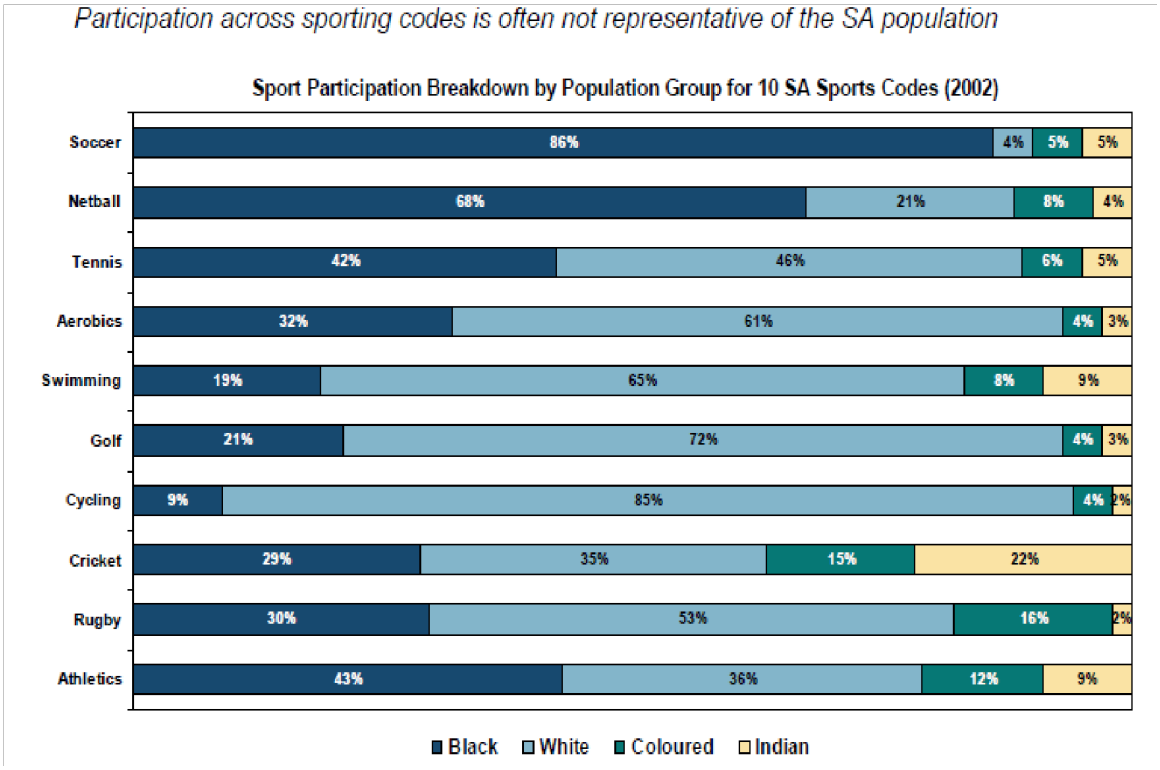

*Overview of South African Sports Industry Competitiveness* (2005): 53

Table 3 (above) (15) shows the spectatorship levels of different sports codes in 2002: soccer is highest overall (almost 9 million or 12% spectatorship) but netball is highest in percentage terms (30% or 2733 spectators). Radio and television account for the majority of other spectator forms. The level of interest through television (74%) overtakes radio (63%), and is more than double that of event attendance (35%) and almost four times that of recreational participation (21%) and club level participation (12%). These statistics reflect trends that may easily be overlooked. For example, netball is a female sport and enjoys higher attendance levels than football. Yet it has been historically neglected despite the fact that it's ranking reached among the top five teams worldwide, even though it has been an amateur sport up to 2019. Many of the sports cited above also have high levels of spectatorship, yet their international performances are not as visible as cricket, rugby or soccer. This is despite such visibility being in the hands of the mass media in the current mediatized era.

The above statistics on soccer are corroborated by more recent reported figures of the participation and spectatorship rates for football: sport in general contributes to 2 percent of the national Gross Domestic

Product (GDP). With a passionate fraternity of football followers in the country, the South African economy has reaped the benefits of substantial investment in the sports industry, particularly through the major sports such of rugby, cricket and football. Football in particular evokes passion among the majority of South African population, and it is the country's premier sport from both a participation and spectatorship perspective. Despite the sluggish growth of the economy, the football industry succeeds as a business. ABSA bank invested 50 million over 5 years for the Premier Soccer League (PSL) and SuperSport invests up to R1,6 billion for PSL's international broadcasting rights (16).

*Figure 7: Factor Conditions: Sport participation by population group*

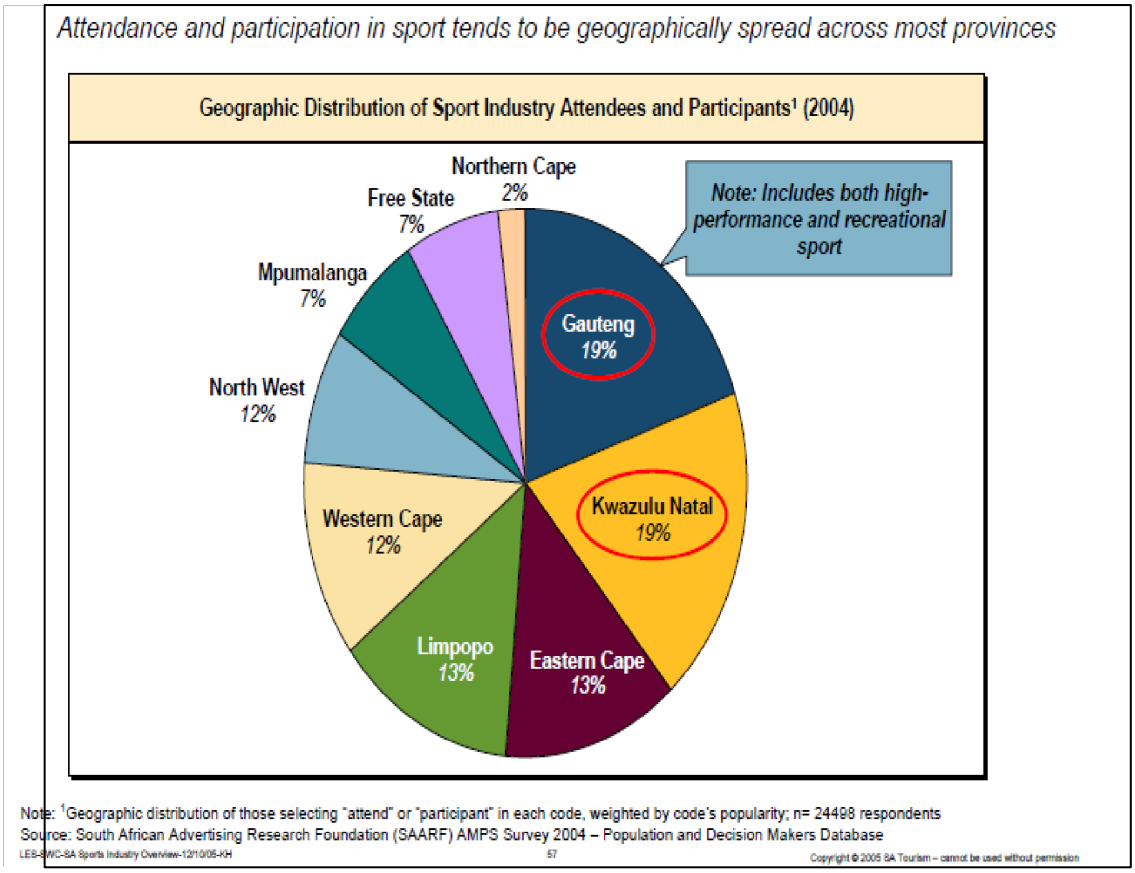



Source: *Overview of South African Sports Industry Competitiveness* (2005): 46

Figure 7 (above) (17) reflects the persistent racial nature of South African sport in 2002. As in the apartheid era, soccer and netball are predominantly black, while cycling, golf, swimming and aerobics remain overwhelmingly white (at 85%, 72%, 61% and 32%, respectively), with blacks at 9%, 21%, 19% and 32%. Athletics and tennis are shifting towards black participation (43% and 42%, respectively, as compared to 36% and 46% for whites, respectively). Indians are stronger in cricket (22%) but Coloureds are ahead of them in athletics (12%), and rugby (16%). Such statistics may not mean anything, based as they are on apartheid population categories that are slowly eroding. Yet they do reflect both the legacy of apartheid and the limitations of the present era: both in its leaps and its transgressions in sports participation. More recent reports indicate cricket and rugby remain the

bastions of the white minority, and soccer continuing to be seen as a preserve of the black majority (18).

*Figure 8: Geographic attendance and participation in sport in South Africa*




Source: *Overview of South African Sports Industry Competitiveness* (2005): 57

Figure 8 (above) (19) reflects the spread of sports across South Africa's provinces of Gauteng and North West, where the sample of universities for this study was located. It shows different trends in attendance and participation, of 19% and 12%, respectively for the two provinces. Among the factors to explain this spread is the urban-rural differences of the two provinces, and that Gauteng is more likely to host international sport. Such factors also impact on sponsorship.

The above figures are supported by more recent reported percentage of per capita support for soccer in the provinces: Gauteng (35%), Mpumalanga (19%), KwaZulu-Natal (15%), Limpopo (10%), Free State (8%), Western Cape (5%), Eastern Cape (4%), North West (3%) and Northern Cape (1%). Soccer has 13.5 million spectators (a quarter of the national population), with the most participants (40%) across all sport. It has a growing average attendance, as indicated by the recent figures of spectatorship at the First National Bank Stadium outside of Soweto (20).

In summary, South Africa's sports industry is worth 2% of its GDP, as is the global sports budget (Overview, 2005: 13, 16), with the South African revenue dominated by participants' contributions (43%). The data as to who these participants are, is not provided. Club contribution (17%) follows participants' contribution. Soccer is also one of the most unprofessionally managed sports. The main problems confronting South African sport are international success and racial representation (90%) followed by facilities (34%), political interference (29%) and unprofessionalism (22%) (Overview, 2005: 27).

Government priorities include defining roles and responsibilities, funding and human resources to manage sport and recreation, and to develop high performance programmes for elite athletes. While the sports structures have been streamlined, elite sport remains its central concern, particularly in the three most popular sports, cricket, rugby and soccer. However, the performance of these three sports at international level is uneven. Soccer may boast of the most spectators across all sport, but as has been mentioned earlier, South Africa lags far behind the USA and China in winning Olympic world medals.

Soccer is also fortunate to have the highest sponsorship levels (+- R9 million). Radio and television are its main spectator forms, with stadium attendance cut to half, and with club level interest even lower (12%). Participation in sports in South Africa still retains its racial nature, and soccer remains predominantly black. Finally, differences in attendance and participation in sports in the two provinces where this study was based, Gauteng (19%) and North West (12%), result in sponsorship differences that affects sports in those provinces.

### 1.2 *Problem statement*

Modern sport is fast becoming highly corporatized, which has impacted on sporting activities, and resulted in the invention of new ideologies, and the re-orientation and re-ordering of fans and the public. With the support of the media, it is able to refashion what the meaning of sporting activities are, and what they should be about. For example, the Olympic Games mainly include western sporting forms that reassert a particular western hegemony. Such forms of dominance do not go unchallenged. China has recently risen as an Olympic contender of note, Brazil remains the global soccer champions, and India leads in 20-20 cricket, causing changes to the rules of the classical game of test cricket.

Soccer is the most popular game in South Africa, followed by cricket and rugby. But they have all become corporatized, in that they deal with huge financial assets, purchases and functions at multiple levels through professional institutions. University sport has also been substantially transformed from

being a public entity organized by a public body, University Sports South Africa (USSA), to being 'administered' through Varsity Sport that enables private entities to run their sport and to emphasize so-called 'elite sport'. While soccer has developed at a phenomenal pace in SA, civil society remains at a distance from the sports arena, particularly in African townships in terms of the development of various sports, including soccer. Two tendencies can be discerned. The first is that of using sports structures and processes to control people. This is reflected in the lack of transformation in many sports. The second trend is on-going contestations for hegemony of commercial and medico-legal models against the more marginal areas of sport such as mass-popular, recreational, leisure- oriented or indigenous models of sport. These can be translated into the 'power model' versus the 'pleasure and participation model,' with the former being less democratic. The power model predominates over the former in the media, in sport organization and in national and international events. At universities there may be subliminal contestations between academics and coaches. More pronounced contests that continue between soccer students and sports structures are related to language, race and culture, that are pertinent to this study.

Hegemony in sport is the fundamental problem of its organization in South Africa. Hegemony basically refers to control or power over sports organization. Further clarification is required of its various operational and theoretical definitions in different contexts. For instance, one such definition of sport relates to its technical aspects, with regard to certification of coaches. This is controlled by sports federations and not academia, whereas funding for research (technical or otherwise) is usually more available to academics even though the federations are supported by the state. This somewhat dual structure is not the only example of a fractured hegemony, albeit in the technical-academic sense. The practitioner-academic divide is resolved to some extent by sports coaches upgrading to master's level. However, the problem is a dualistic structure, particularly when synergies are required across them. Late in the research, a UP master's student studying sport offered an example of possible synergy by suggesting to the researcher that rugby and soccer grounds could be shared at the University of Pretoria. The suggestion is an attempt to try and work against the inherited racial divide between a white dominated rugby community and a black dominated soccer community. This opens up the possibility of a combined game evolving from these two historically divided games. Other countries invented sporting hybrids of kick rugby or Aussie rules (Australia), or American football (USA), and crafted them as national sports in their respective countries.

This study examines the organization and processes involved in sports and its development at South African universities, focusing on the universities of Pretoria, Johannesburg and North West, with a focus on soccer as the most popular sport in the country. Hegemony in sport also relates to

organizational or institutional forms as they impact on the control and coordination of each particular sport, not just for its administrative organs but also for its particular structures and processes. The organization of the three selected sports is different. Each has different financial conglomerates at their helms, operates under different conditions, and each has its own fan base. The media also plays a large part. Varsity Sport, as invented by ex-Springbok rugby captain (Francois Pienaar) aims to reinvigorate universities with a plethora of sports and sports competitions. Drawing on the media to publicize the initiative, and with the support of significant financial leverage, after a hundred years of voluntary rugby, the sport has been transformed at youth level. The researcher noted murmurs of dissatisfaction in some data, with regard to the marginalization of the older university sports organization (USSA). However, this did not receive much media attention. While Varsity Sport has produced high calibre sportspersons, this is currently skewed in favour of rugby. However, the situation is still evolving.

### *1.3 Aims and Objectives of the study*

The study aimed to examine data collated from three university soccer clubs, so as to assess their role and significance in developing sports cultures in soccer. Soccer receives coverage on national television and radio, but is also associated with certain population groups. This could affect funding for student participation and achievement.

The study's main objectives are to investigate how sports clubs are able to promote the sports cultures of soccer at selected universities; solicit the views and experiences of sports students or students who play soccer, as well as selected staff, especially those involved in sports management such as coaches, on the construction of sports relations at particular institutions; and to consider the policy implications of these views for the development of soccer at universities in South Africa.

### 1.4 *Main research question*

The key research question is, what forms of hegemony do sports clubs as organizational structures follow when sport is offered at universities, particularly in soccer? The three sub-questions are:

- What role do sports clubs play in promoting sports cultures, particularly soccer, at the selected universities?
- What are the views of participants on the organizational set up of their semi-
- professional sports organizations of soccer at the selected universities?
- What are the implications of the research findings for university and national sports policy, and for the development of sports cultures at South African universities?

In order to shed light on these questions, a basic working definition is needed of the two aspects that constitute this concept i.e. sport and culture. Sport involves competition and cooperation between individuals, teams and nations, and is central to identity formation and self-understanding. It also represents significant media-linked institutional interests and trans-national corporate finances at a global level. Sport encompasses a wide range of activities, including displays of skill and drama, reflecting structural and societal conflict, and special social institutions such as sports clubs, social relations, as well as norms of behaviour and traditions (See Stewart and Odhav, 2020; and Barinov, n.d) (21). Culture as related by Ferrante (2016) relates to a shared pool of knowledge and symbolic meanings that inform and guide behavior. Such norms are accepted within a given context where group identities are formed and projected in and through sports. Thus, sports culture, as Barinov (n.d) notes, is the element of culture that is connected to sport, in that sports cultures promote or devalue the development of such meanings. Such cultures develop discourse-practices that involve language and its distortions, if language is taken in the wider sense, that is, not simply our verbal language but also the languages of symbolism, of the body and of institutions and corporates that distort or give meaning to the sport and its cultural configurations (22)

The game of soccer refers to what appears in the media, including perceptions and even myths created in the sports industry. What is of significance for this study is that, like any other sport, soccer refers to different sociological, socio-economic, historical and linguistic aspects of the game. One example is in the symbolic play and allusion to the local derby game of Chiefs versus Pirates: it pits rivals against each other with substantial spectator support for both teams. The match usually resembles a battle. It is referred to as a match between the team that represents 'love and peace' (Chiefs) and that which represents 'skull and crossbones' (Pirates) as linguistic-metaphorical entities rather than as representatives of such political ideologies. Historically, it can refer to long rivalry to be the dominant soccer team, just as the battle between Manchester United and Manchester City is a territorial-fan rivalry in the city of Manchester on a global level. It also represents a rivalry to be dominant in the midlands of the UK. Liverpool also contests against Everpool for regional dominance there. All of them contest to be champions in the midlands against the London city based teams like Tottenham and Arsenal. As such, they are social and political battles, as will be evident when the interviews with students are interpreted. Another classic example is the cricket rivalry between India and Pakistan, that historically stems from their political independence from colonial rule. When India was partitioned it witnessed the deaths of an estimated one million people (23). Sport is a modern industry with sub-industries of paraphernalia, signs and team symbols. These are important departure points as institutions of modern society. This study focusses on one aspect of that industry: the organizational form of university soccer. The next chapter reviews the literature on the topic.

*Figure 9: Decapitated picture of Lionel Messi*


The decapitated statue of Lionel Messi, the Argentinian legend in international soccer (1)

## *2.1 Introduction: the infusion of colonial sport in Africa*

The study of sport as a human activity remains strangely on the margins of political and policy research in mainstream sociological literature, particularly in South African sociology (Burnett and Bolsmann, 2015: 2) **(**2). Figure 9 (above) depicts a picture of a decapitated Messi. He is currently regarded as the world's best soccer player, testifying to the importance of the discourse: the iconic status of a footballing legend is turned violently into dust. Such phenomena are emerging in world sport where heroes are desecrated, and social protests are growing, as with the massive Brazilian protests during the soccer World Cup (2014). This may prompt one to ask why such acts of soccer vandalism occur in modern day sport. It may have been due to Messi's alleged tax evasion. The picture may also lead one to consider if the act of covering up the desecrated statue may have been some form of shame and to hide the latter as it is a vandalous act on an international soccer hero, instead of removing it.

The point is that strong social, political and economic trends, as well as powerful symbolic discourses occur in and around sport. These events sometimes impact directly on the game, while, at other times, sport has a direct impact on social and political life. George Weah's political candidacy as president in Liberia is the most obvious case of the latter. Another example is that of the International Federation of

Football (FIFA) has 211 countries in its fold, which is more than the 193 nations belonging to the United Nations. This is another prime example of how political life is intricately involved with sport. Countries like Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales qualify as footballing countries, despite being excluded from the United Nations' (UN) list of countries. National entities can come into existence and operate as such, through football. Politics is affected by soccer, but politics also impacts on soccer. A recent example are the claims of Catalian statehood, which voted itself out of Spain: this impacts on the European soccer league: its top team (Barcelona) comes from that region. Such political reverberations also demonstrate the interactivity of sport and politics (3).

Modern African sport has come a long way from its early beginnings at the start of the 20th century. Excelsior is known to be the first football club formed (1903) in Ghana (Naumann, 1970: 12-20). The first Pan-African games took place thereafter, followed by the first 'community games' in Antananarivo (Madagascar). Sport continued to play a special role in African people's lives over the past century. It opened up opportunities that were not possible in other areas of life. Given that African sport has much to offer both in sports performance and for opportunities outside of sport, research is required to sustain such offerings. Research can ensure that they are exploited to their full potential, and to discern their paths and tendencies. Sports cultures can also be vital to civic structures in African settings.

On the other hand, the political dynasty-making, corruption and dictatorial governments that are regularly cited in the mass media, albeit in a one-sided manner, have a negative impact on sports in Africa. While international efforts have been launched to develop various sports on the continent, there are also regular negative national flashpoints relating to player reimbursement, national and infrastructure support or international exposure. It can thus be concluded that, in general, Africa does not do justice to its sports talents and abilities, and does not sufficiently acknowledge sports ramifications for civil and political society. De Coning and Keim (2014: 296-315) **(**4) did some empirical research on the existence and quality of public policy and legislation on sport and development in nine African countries (Benin, Burkina Faso, Kenya, Malawi, Mozambique, Nigeria, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda). They found that while some of these countries had up to-date policies on sport and development, they were virtually non-existent in other countries.

Amusa and Toriolo (2010: 666-680) (5) noted that Africa has a dual history of resistance and incorporation in sport. Its evolution can be divided into four phases. First, in pre-colonial Africa, multi-functional sporting traditions existed in a variety of cultural, material and physical aspects of people's lives. Physical prowess was revered in this tradition. The second phase occurred in the colonial period, when these traditions were wiped out as they were seen to be 'primitive, immoral and anti-Christian.'

They were replaced by colonial and missionary education models of military drills, physical training, formalized activities and teacher's training. Britain's syllabus was thus spread to all its colonies in 1933. The third phase, at independence, witnessed a resuscitation of African traditions that were repressed during colonialism. Sport and physical education was redefined to contribute to sports development, and for Africa to develop as a sporting power. However, there was no pattern that emerged from sport and physical education. The fourth phase, in the last decade of the 20th century, witnessed serious setbacks due to global socio-economic challenges, with many physical education and sports programs collapsing due to a lack of funding. In the 21st century, the physical and sports model continues to replicate the colonial or post-independence models. Political independence did not lead to concomitant changes in the structures of physical education and sport in Africa. In short, politics and sports development are closely tied, with positive developments in the former leading to progress in the latter.

### 2.2 *The legacy of the most popular game in Africa: football or soccer*

Three imperial powers, Britain, Belgium and France, led the diffusion and early development of African football (Darby, 2000: 61-87) (6). Western cultural products, including sport, had a negative impact on existing indigenous culture, and football featured in colonial exploitation and cultural imperialism in the first half of the 20th century. However, in the later stages of African colonialism, football functioned as a form of resistance. Newly appropriated structures in the independence period led to the construction of a new national identity and communication of that identity. The International Federation of Association Football (FIFA) played a limited role in mediating football's early growth in Africa, including democratization of the game's global institutional and competition structures. FIFA reflected a missionary philosophy: it was elitist and exploitative at times. Darby (2000) argues that understanding Africa's politicized aspirations within FIFA requires an appreciation of the sports' intertwinement with political independence, nationalism and struggles for global recognition. The formation of the Confederation of African Football (CAF, 1957) was crucial to the development of the game in Africa. In some instances, CAF was the first international organization that an African country joined. CAF was explicit about its desire to be the symbol of African unity. It banned apartheid South Africa due to the latter's racialization of football teams. However, European administrators marginalized both Asia and Africa, and consolidated their positions to maintain European hegemony over international soccer. Historically, therefore, soccer has been infused by imperial powers, with a negative impact on indigenous sports. While resistance to European colonialism and a new identity began to be constructed in post-independent Africa, African football was globally limited by the role and actions of FIFA, the world governing body of soccer.

## 2.3 *The development of colonial sport in South Africa*

The colonial history of cricket and rugby is outlined in this section, for heuristic purposes. This is because the development of soccer cannot be viewed in isolation, and aspects of rugby become pertinent later in this thesis.

Colonial cricket offers some lessons. Two contrasting cricketing nations emerged in 1948, which was a seminal year for a transformative West Indies team under its first black captain (Headley). In South Africa, racially designated teams emerged under the leadership of the architect of apartheid, Hendrik Verwoerd. The myriad of race laws enacted by the National Party entrenched structural apartheid. These included the Group Areas Act (1950) that separated ethnic and racial groups geographically; and the Extension of University Education Act (No. 45 of 1959) that established separate universities for different population groups. Sport was also segregated. The cricket culture in universities and secondary schools was strengthened for whites and undermined for blacks: 90% of cricket pitches in the country were for the sole use of white schools (Beckles, 1999: 174) (7). Furthermore, blacks were denied entry into elite white schools where cricket culture, like Christianity, was part of the curriculum to strengthen the colonial legacy. In sum, while South African cricket's colonial motif continued, the West Indians aimed for Pan-African liberation.

However, too close an analysis has its dangers, as South Africa is a complex country (Naughright in Nongogo and Toriola, 2014: 1294) (8). Both blacks and whites advanced in many sports despite the exclusion of blacks (Nongogo et al.: 1295). Rugby and cricket were integral to community life, especially in the Eastern Cape, where they served as a vehicle of popular culture and from which civic and intellectual figures emerged.

British colonialism brought capitalism (1795), formal military organization and sports institutionalization (1875-1885) to South Africa. The latter resulted in clubs and competitions in a variety of sports.

Racism was not yet entrenched, but was firmly rooted in sports. Archer (in Nongogo and Toriola, 2014) questions official views (SA Yearbook, 1977) that sees blacks coming late into rugby, to show that such views justified inequality in participation, facilities and achievements. But these views reflected whites' ignorance of the history, culture and trends in black society (Archer in Nongongo et al.: 1295; Alegi in Nongogo et al.: 1295-1300).

As British colonialism expanded in the 19th century, a huge shift occurred from an agrarian to industrial society - in one generation. Concomitantly, sport became a significant part of urban black society and culture. For Alegi:

> (Sport)…encapsulated the radical social changes brought about by rapid industrialization, land dispossession and economic dispossession in modern South Africa (Alegi in Nongogo et al., 2014: 1299).

The political landscape impacted on sports, and rugby players perpetuated a variety of myths: 'blacks can't play rugby' or 'they are not natural players'; 'blacks are not trainable in rugby or cricket'; 'blacks have only played for a decade'; 'rugby is not part of their culture'; or 'blacks should rather play soccer.' Many whites came to believe such myths, often explaining racial discrimination as 'natural' (Naughright in Giulianotti: 189; Schmidt in Nongongo et al.: 1300) (9). This also explains the playing conditions and facilities for black rugby players that were atrocious in the Eastern Cape, despite its popularity there.

### 2.4 *The history of Soccer in South Africa*

South African soccer is a complex mix of many strands. It includes the individual brilliance of many players inside and outside of the country. It witnessed a white administration that used sport as an antidote for urban ills, and a black elite that endorsed such an approach. Educated blacks were able to exercise political, economic and administrative control in sport. However, popular official histories do not mention soccer in their sports sections. Bantu Associations emerged at the turn of the 20th century, even if they had limited opportunities. Natal exported soccer to Johannesburg, and educated men led its administration, including the likes of Dan Twala and John Dube.

To summarize more recent trends in the institution of football, amidst the various black (1932), Coloured and Indian ethnic football associations (1951) that emerged in the early part of the century, an all-white association was formed (1952). The latter was admitted to FIFA. However, FIFA put pressure on the association to delete the exclusionary racial clauses in its constitution. While South African black players made history at the time ('Kalamazoo' Mokone played for Cardiff, and David Julius for Sporting Lisbon), FIFA officially recognized the Football Association of South Africa (FASA), the white soccer body to which the South African Bantu Football Association was affiliated. However, following the formation of a white National Football League (NFL) (1959), CAF expelled South Africa (1960), and FIFA suspended FASA (1961). This suspension was lifted in 1963, and re-imposed in

1964. South Africa was only expelled from FIFA in 1976. An anti-racist Federation league was formed in 1961 but it folded in 1966 due to the lack of playing grounds. Rare matches between white and black teams took place in neighbouring states, but some such matches were cancelled by the apartheid regime. In 1969, the non-racial South African Soccer Federation formed a professional league called the South African Soccer League (SASL).

The South African Bantu Football Association formed the National Professional Soccer League (NPSL) but this league ceased operations after only a year. The Federation requested Coloured and Indian players to deregister (1969/1970) from the racial league. Orlando Pirates protested and left the anti-racist league. Despite the rule not changing, Pirates returned to the league and the Keg League was formed (1971) (10).

The National Soccer League (NSL) was formed after unity talks between the anti-racist
Federation and the Football Council broke down (1985). This did not stop the unity talks (1988). As the first democratic elections loomed (1994), four historically divided bodies united to form the South African Football Association (SAFA), which was accepted into FIFA. In 1996, when South Africa won the African Cup of Nations, a united Premier Soccer League (PSL) was formed. However, its darker side persisted, with the Pickard Commission highlighting corruption and mismanagement in top flight soccer. The PSL became the richest league in Africa (2007) after signing a deal with the pay TV channel SuperSport. It should also be noted that during apartheid, soccer matches were often used as platforms for meetings with regard to anti-apartheid activities, since the authorities perceived soccer as apolitical.

All in all, South African soccer is rife with institutionalized conflict and politics. It is deeply fractured in its positions, and very unequal in terms of distribution of infrastructure and opportunities. Class, race and gender inequalities continue to persist in soccer. This study explores the university as a societal institution, to examine the changes that have occurred at this level in relation to soccer in particular.

In sum, South African sport has a manifold character. It has various tendencies but also exceptions, including symbolic, organizational and global characteristics. It is diffused across all areas of life thanks to the modern media, and in the vast network of sport related industries within sport and external to the sporting action, and within universities.

Having outlined the history of sport and soccer in South Africa, the discussion turns to global sports conditions.

2.5 *From western history to global sports*

Modern sport is a product of western history, that of the Graeco-Roman-Renaissance. It reproduced dominant societal patterns since those with fewer resources participated less (Coakley, 2001: 58-61) (11). Competitive global sport largely grew as a result of industrialization. The potential organizational force of big gatherings threatened the industrial bosses. Local events were therefore controlled to benefit the powerful (Guttmann in Coakley: 67) (11). As concerns for workers' health grew in Europe and the USA in the first part of the 20th century, fitness became a public issue. The Emancipation Proclamation (1863) asserted that slaves were free to engage in any sport. In the second half of the century, sport became more rationally organized. Class distinctions were reinforced, and clubs or organizations did not sponsor working class sport. The status of sport as a diversion was replaced by a set of organized and highly competitive games (Guttmann in Coakley: 67) (12).

Modern sport has multiple set of characteristics. It is secular and for participants, involving personal gain. It also provides for equal competition, with no restrictions pertaining to birth or social background. Specialists dominate in different sports codes. Sport has been rationalized, and has many rules with a variety of techniques for play and participation. It is bureaucratized, with complex local and international organizations that create and enforce rules, certify records, organize, oversee and control sport to sanction athletes, teams or events.

The global hegemony of sport by the wealthy continues, through a consensus on its forms and meanings. Resource usage encourages others to define sport in terms of proper attire, equipment or social occasion. Business promotes sport and fun, mainly to expand capitalism.

Sports globalization includes the Soviets' ideological brand, and even a local military thrust to sporting activities (Morton in Loy, 1969: 192-210) (13). The sport of international leagues and tournaments in the last century resulted in a diversified globalized industry. Like FIFA, the Olympics involves more nations than the United Nations. Sport is a 'process and an outcome'; it represents internationalization through cross-border trade of players, ideas and competitions, and also through media ownership. Government control of business is liberalized through the World Trade Organization (WTO) and also through European Union (EU) and US free trade agreements (Houlihan: 553-555) (14).

Sports internationalization involves the exchange of tendencies or forms, of both cross border trade and media ownership, as well as liberalization of trade and media ownership. This is reflected in the Bosman EU court ruling (1995) (15) that disallowed the Union of European Football Association

(UEFA) decision for restrictions to be placed on the number of foreign players in any one local EU team. Sport globalization increased the universalization of culture as existing cultures are synthesized to produce homogenous cultures (e.g. global TV diets). It also de-territorialized sport, to alter the spatial organization of social relations, and perceptions of space, location and distance. Live TV now overtakes live games as global teams go beyond the nation. Some theories of globalization stress the economic bases of sport, and others stress its cultural bases. Houlihan (14) discerns both the outcomes and reach of globalization, and its internationalization and multi-nationalization in sport. He also describes the responses of recipient cultures as passive, participative or conflictual.

Policy, in and of sport, is complex across the globe. It has various models, including the symbolic, procedural or perspectivist models, with multiple forms of decision-making. Ironically, policy can be in action or through inaction. As sports organizations or processes continue to be privatized, underdevelopment is entrenched. In the UK, for instance, 25 percent of children and 33 percent of adults are classified as poor (Collins and Kay, 2003: 239-251) (16), and such poverty prevents participation in sport. Indeed, Hilton (in Collins et al.: 2003: 250) (17) asserts that sport serves to reproduce inequality.

Studies on sport focus varies, from micro-analyses to military traditions, and from basic units of individuals or groups, through institutions, culture or societies (Loy: 37-38) to sports for learning (Sutton in Loy: 37-38) (18). It can promote societal health or take the form of ritualized modern competition. Sport is intertwined with politics as sports federations become instruments of governments. International sport is an ideological battle, as in the case of the sports race between the USA versus the USSR. It can be controlled by commercial interests; indeed, professional sport is killing amateur sport due to its hegemonic reach. Class contradictions in sport include a proletariat that shows little interest in sport, and an upper class view of sport as 'gentlemen in action,' as in England and Australia respectively.

Loy's (1969: 306-319) (19) comparative account of sport finds a natural fit between US sport and its industrial folkways. He notes that the formal division of labour on the field is highly competitive and that new rules may provoke and control. Competition in UK sport is seen as 'natural' as it is in industry. However, this is only the case if it is re-created by the imposition of artificial systems of social rules. While both countries played 'rough rugby', the US game defined, limited and conventionalized symbols of violence. In contrast, British games had no shouts and signals. UK sport was more disorderly, more amorphous, pre-industrial and feudal in the 'house of the industrial revolution.' Loy asserts that game innovation and careerism were tied to immigration and democratic fraternity. He cites

three sports participation standards: a business standard entailing cash for entertainment as in many business models; the 'upwardly mobile gentleman' model as in the UK and in Australia; and the standards of education committees where participation depends on academic work and through the control of compensation. South Africa sits between all three, with heroism added in the form of modern gentleman heroes, giving value for money, and with some involvement of education committees at the university and parliamentary levels.

In Australia, the typical idea of a 'sports gentleman' emerged from its ethno-linguistic consistency and from its welfare benefits, to create impressions of group mobility. It alone continues to associate sport with the 'whole class political texture of society', especially in its 19th century revolution. This made sport available to the rising middle classes, though Loy argues that the US and UK also come close to this.

Denney (in Loy, 1969: 306-319) (20) finds that in English-speaking industrial countries, youth movements are associated with industrialism and high consumption. Asian and Latin American countries responded differently due to the absence of these factors. Denney posits that sports achievements in industrialized countries are linked to educational opportunities and the growth of secondary schools and colleges. If this is true, South Africa's rationalization of higher education means that sport is being constricted.

Denney (Loy: 306-9) argues that, in class terms, US sport can be defined as sitting between the UK and Australia. While the UK maintained its amateur traditions as its 'class revolution was orderly since the 1800s,' Australia maintained its commercial stances as it judged all sportspersons and spectators as gentlemen: 'what gentlemen decide about sport is definitionally right, no matter what they decide.' The US hesitated between a 'socialistic and patronizing Aussie way', and the UK way that does not fit, as social mobility in the USA is faster, for more people and occurs in a variety of circumstances. Oriental and Latin sports are more master-slave based, except in revolutionary countries where sport becomes a display.

Research recommendations that are relevant for this research are to treat all sport professionally, including amateur sport. This means that all sport needs to qualify or be certified for particular events. The implication is that funds need to be obtained for amateurs from individual, corporate and athlete taxes. It also means that civil society has to rise to the challenge of getting access to funds to optimize facilities, traditions, staff and networks.

To sum up the patterns of modern sport, it remains a western hegemonic practice in its forms and meanings. It is tied to industrialization and an expanded capitalism. It is biased in terms of race, class and gender among other pertinent issues. On the other hand, it *has* become more secular, highly competitive, and relates an individual personal quest that is highly specialized, with equal competitive conditions. Modern sport has rationalized, bureaucratized and is comprised of multiple international networks, with high levels of rationalization and quantification. Spatial relations have shifted as sport is imported into people's living rooms through live television broadcasts. Its privatization has resulted in lower levels of development. It has many strands, including a focus on learning and health. It is intertwined with politics that involves a number of contradictions. These include massification versus the biases of class, gender and race in relation to its global services and provisions. Its tendencies differ from country to country; hence, the different national social impacts on how the game is played, what national players form its teams and how this impacts on their playing, as well as the common thread of sport and its civilizing function both inside and outside of the ex-colonies. A more focused approach to soccer presented in the next chapter, sheds more light on sporting tendencies.

## 2.6 *Soccer in Italy, Brazil and Germany*

Sport reflects but does not simply imitate the societal conditions of capitalism in the west, including its class relations, racial and gender contradictions, and the many social effects and causes. This analysis of sports practices in selected countries illustrates some pertinent trends.

In Italy, class explanations of English hooliganism using employment status or cultural life- worlds, are incongruous with a football fan's identity and culture (Dal Lago and De Biasi in Giulianotti, 1999: 3) (21). Data from AC Milan, Internazionalle and Genoa reveals 'tifo' (football fanaticism) and macro-conflicts, with strong and often conflicting regional animosities. But this does not overshadow local rivalries. Italian football identity stems from two modes of fan association: a more populous and centralized one than the English one, or conversely, in the tensions between militant (or ultra) fans and their clubs, that are variously mirrored on a broad stage by commentators and other fans from outside Italy. This results in such support being confused with 'organized hooligans' (Giulianotti, 1999: 3) (22).

In Brazil, whose football style is dominant on the global stage, a shift has taken place from a white elite pastime to a professional sport that was appropriated by working people and people of colour. While some (Lever in Giulianotti, 1999: 15) (23) stress the social cohesion and bonding arising from collective engagement in the game, Brazil's stratification and slave history is key to its distinctive football style. Such style is thus deemed either as 'artistic and romantic' or 'disorderly and uncivilized'. Nonetheless,

the aestheticization of Brazil's football came from below. It disregarded functionality and results, through emancipating its 'mestizos' or 'mulatos' (mixed races) from their structural impoverishment. However, re-colonization occurred by white elite groups, after the peerless 1958 and 1970 soccer squads. Deep socio-economic inequalities weigh heavily on ethnic stratification and the political dimensions of the national game: white elites control the economy and important cultural structures such as the football industry (Giulianotti, 2001: 54-63). A long line of black or mixed players challenged this, ranging from Pele, Garrincha and Didi, to Jairzinio, Romario and Ronaldo, even though most such players only secured their economic fortunes after overseas transfers. However, as inequality grew, white players rose in the ranks. The 'favelas' or mountain homes of the poor, struggled to produce the next generation of fit and healthy players or to produce dedicated fans. Nonetheless, Brazil's football shifted from its elite origins, and race and class biases when it became a national pastime. Working class input include their soccer style, flair and their catalytic contribution to a national identity through the game. Academic contributions may have also have played a role. Two contributions that may have been of relevance in this regard are Freye's 'Masters and Slaves' (1933), and Fihlo's 'Blacks in Brazilian Football' (1947) (both in Giulianotti, 2001: 92-3). The latter relates how the working class contributed to soccer as a social game, rather than as a merely tactical, professional or psycho-scientific one. Furthermore, there were also signs of an international trend, represented by the coach Pimenta and the left leaning Saldhana, who was the coach during soccer's creative phase and who defended its working class players (Giulianotti, 2001: 92-3).

Brazils football history is rife with models for the sociology of soccer. They include its coaching trajectories, and its physical education degrees linked to its army. Its former players became coaches, and transformed football energy into one for social emancipation, with its subconscious physical energy and hidden social conflicts over exclusion from spheres of power that led to a public movement of class crossovers. Its shift from amateurism to professionalism led to a diverse labour market of players, coaches and related professionals, popularizing the game and a national identity, with sports at its centre. The debates on Brazil's racial mixture were also contributory factors and a basis for self-criticism, with valorisation of its playing style after 1958. However, soccer's democratization did not distance the elite from its amateurs. Rather, they secured jobs as directors of clubs and federations or in government sports organizations. The result of the unconscious struggle between coaches that were moulded in physical education schools, and players, was formed by popular football. The latter adopted spontaneous body techniques that favoured Brazil's playing style and owes much to the working class appropriation of football (Sergio and Lopez, in Giulianotti and Armstrong, 2001: 86-93) (24).

In Germany, football emerged among the middle classes, which explains the bias against workers' teams. However, the city of Ruhr experienced class crossovers, since it was an industrial centre. Similarly, Borrisa Dortmund practiced moderate politics but drew on its working class traditions and stressed local community obligations. This class crossover occurred despite the right wing appropriating the national side towards nationalism, xenophobia and racism. Football significantly redefines social and regional identities in the new Germany. Indeed, it could be the most powerful symbol of unification, although players migrate from the east to the west to escape the poor quality football in the former (Merkel in Giulianotti and Armstrong, 2001: 54-63) (25**)**.

All in all, international sport is strongly tied up within the capitalist mode, as in Canada where sport is commodified, despite its complex sports structure, with popular consciousness penetrated by the values of those who control its rules, resources and the game. While cricket had witnessed this imperial moment at the global level, it had also seen various forms of resistance, where the Indians and West Indians 'hijacked' the game for their own cultural and political purposes. In soccer, while fans differ across Britain and Italy in their identity formation, transformation occurred in Brazil from a white elite national pastime to working class insurgencies into the game by its best players, with inter-class and crossovers in the game and its administration. Similarly, in Germany, some teams have experienced crossovers, with social and regional identities being redefined. Interestingly, in the USA, where rugby remains invisible to the media, there was separate development, as many immigrant communities participated in the sport. This resulted in a desire for a collective identity. On the opposite side of the spectrum, New Zealand's iconic All Blacks rugby team continues to confront the challenge of a globally dominant capitalism that is intent on doing away with its indigenous culture as is evident in legal resistance to advertising such culture.

International sport has dominant players who define the institutional rules of sport, and how it should be practiced and understood. This is evident in Canada. The international game of cricket reflects a social form of British global hegemony, with resistant counter-hegemonies from the West Indians and the Indians that have redefined and even indigenized the game. Various micro, macro and identity trends continue in sport, as in Italian football. Brazilian football reflects the widest array of tendencies from liberation through to its racial forms. It even witnessed coaches contributing to academic views on soccer. Other tendencies include issues related to class, race and xenophobia, or class alliances as in German football. If American football is not considered to be a form of rugby as we know it, the latter's lack of development in the USA is peculiar to its separate development. Yet the USA also has an indigenized sport, American football, as is the case with New Zealand's extreme sports.

2.7 *South African sport: an overview of the literature*

Various authors cite the importance of sport in South Africa, whether as a powerful symbol of post-apartheid South Africa (Burnett and Bolsmann, 2015: 1), as a rainbow nation builder (Desai in Burnett, 2015: 1), or as a medium for integration (Booth in Burnett et al., 2015: 1). However, race still matters (Burnett et al., 2015: 2); rugby and cricket fans remain mainly white, and soccer is predominantly a black sport in South Africa. Furthermore, the sociology of sport remains marginalized, as it is not seen by some academics as a serious area of study. There is thus a lack of critical analysis of sport in a country that ironically trumpets sport as a nation builder.

However, an initial body of literature exists from the 1960s (Magubane, Kuper, Thompson, Lapchick, Brickhill, Bouillon, Ramsamy and Jarvie in Burnett et al., 2015: 3), which was built on by historians in the 1980s (Couzens and Jeffrey in Burnett et al., 2015: 3; Grundlingh, Odendaal and Spies (in Burnett and Bolsmann, 2015: 3; Alegi, Bolsmann and Cottle in Burnett et al., 2016: 3). Recently, there has been an increased academic focus on sport with articles by Brown on athletics and space; Oggunyi's research on female football players' experiences contributing to changing social relationships in households and institutions; Fletcher's study on fandom mediations by race and social spaces; Langer on sport development; and studies on the World Cup and heritage issues (Waardenberg, Van Den Berg and Eerkeren; Grundlingh; Pillay, Thomlinson and Bass, both in Burnett and Bolsmann, 2015: 3). The general sports literature includes Kubayi, Coopoo and Moriss-Eyton's (2016: 103-108) study that focuses on the perceptions of female coaches (26). However, the majority of these studies do not focus on university sport. Moreover, marginal individuals or communities are often neglected. One exception is Cleophas and Van de Merwe's (2011: 226-238) (27) study that traces Edward Henderson's playing, coaching and administrative career in softball, baseball and badminton in the Cape between 1949 and 1979.

Halforty and Radder (2015: 97-111) (28) report the decreasing participation in organized sport, and identify the following six constraints at a university in the Eastern Cape: 'time and scheduling, accessibility, lack of partners, personal or psychological factors, socializing activities and facilities.' They find significant differences between the sexes in terms of lack of partners as well as in 'accessibility', 'socializing activities' and 'facilities,' relative to the amount of money available for leisure. Structural constraints are found to be more pertinent than inter-personal constraints to explain the lack of participation in sport. Intra-personal constraints include negative physical, attitudinal or informational issues. Inter-personal factors include dependence on family members, partners or friends, or difficulties in finding co-participants. Structural constraints relate to the inappropriate location of the

sporting activity, lack of sufficient time, money for membership fees, equipment or travel. These findings are in line with the literature that notes the racial nature of sport, even after the first democratic elections (1994) in South Africa. Before looking at the lack of transformation of sport, it may be pertinent to look at the rising commodification and commercialization of sport.

### 2.8. *Commodification and commercialization of sports globall*

Commodification refers to trade of items not previously on the market, when it was practised for pleasure at an amateur level. It now sees products and players become subject to the process of commodification. Sports commodification is uneven in South Africa, and its three most popular sports, soccer, rugby and cricket, are commodified in several ways.

First, while sports coaches speak of the players' relation to the ball, the field or to other players, the skills of exceptional players are put up for sale, and usually advertised by a club with huge sums of money being exchanged for such players. Players become willing commodities, subject to the last contract signed with a club.

Second, the system of commodification is sanctioned by rules and laws, such as the window period as to when players can be transferred to and from other clubs. There are rules of entry and exit, referring to the number of games, the number of foreign players, the ranking of players between countries and ways of assessing the qualification of players before they can apply for permits to play in countries other than their own. Some of these rules can be quite stringent or strange: The UK requires South African players to have national caps for their own country before playing for the local league in England, as if to equate the status of their own local league to the international team status of South Africa.

Third, there are different forms of capital organization of teams, clubs and leagues, as well as various forms of financial and administrative bureaucracies involved in sport. These further reflect the commodity form of sport. This has been developing for over half a century in South Africa, with different forms developed in the differing sporting codes. The franchise system dominates rugby, with a central financial organization as at any commercial franchise. Such franchises are linked to university teams, and players are recruited at schools in order to source contracts with youngsters who strive to play for the national team (Springboks). In soccer the situation is similar in at least one sense: the tail wags the dog in that teams are richer than the league. In soccer, players are marketed by individual agents for club transfers and the like. In cricket the franchise system is top down, in that players are only paid when they

play for a professional team, which results in professional cricket being separated from its amateur league (Odhav K. and Stewart P. in Stewart and Zaaiman, 2020) (29).

The commercial aspect of sport is closely tied to its commodification. Commercialization involves numerous aspects, of markets, public relations and consumerism. The following indicates one aspect of such a commercial drive.

> The business dimension of sport…(is)…pronounced in recent years…(with) listings on the stock exchange, hostile take-over bids, globalized markets for players…and clubs as brands and…small clubs…to provide business plans for funding…All sports…have the potential for commercial exploitation…(with)…the commercial complexity of sport…(evident in)…the scale of mega-events such as the 2016 Olympic Games in Rio with 11, 237 athletes…50, 000 volunteers…16,000 media staff…and an operating cost (of about)…$10 billion…(*But to adopt)…best business practice that facilitates strong social, economic and environmental legacies through sport still has a long way to go in various parts of the sports industry* (my emphasis) (Hassan D., 2018: 7) (30).

Translating this in terms of a global consumer culture is not difficult. Vast sums of funds go to sport. Soccer's commercialism and sports consumerism in South Africa is also tied to corporate sponsorship.

The next section deals with the lack of transformation in South African sport.

### 2.9 *The lack of transformation in sport in South Africa*

Desai and Ramjettan (in Habib, 2008: 289) (31) contend that cricket in South Africa represents a curious mixture of 'progress and regression', with benefits accruing to the middle strata. The failure to amend regulations to prescribe transformation of sporting codes is a function of two factors, namely, seeking political legitimacy among whites through incremental redress and the lack of change in South Africa's economic base, bar the black elite. The state thus increasingly seeks symbolic and discursive victories to parade before its electorate. Desai (2008) suggests that although those working for transformation argue in terms of a development logic, they confine themselves to a particular sporting code. A single sporting code is thus the unit of analysis. It becomes evident later herein that this is not the case in this study. Desai (2008) argues that more consideration needs to be given to the effect of sporting teams' policies on the wider society. For instance, affirmative action in cricket and rugby is compromised by privileging of race over class. Such policies favour the middle and upper classes and promote racial representation that

correctly equates blackness with disadvantage (Desai in Habib: 304). However, Desai (2008) also notes that more investment is required in poor communities to promote transformation and develop black players and teams. In South Africa, race is never far from the doorstep, despite the promulgation of affirmative action in sports. Quotas are limited to particular white sports. For Desai (1989), due to the lack of a carefully considered and implementable sports policy, and intermittent affirmative action that is class biased, as well as the micro-focus on sports codes, sports and citizenship became uncoupled. Transformation is diverted into status quo orientations. Such policies exacerbate socio-economic inequalities. For meaningful transformation and national player representation, opportunities need to be opened up to the majority, to train and compete for positions. Rather than merely counting numbers by race, class has to be built into the sports transformation agenda. This needs to begin at school level, where the main clubs are located.

It is not simply a matter of how much money is spent by administrators and corporates, but where they invest their resources (Desai in Habib: 312). The next section outlines an important precursor to the present conjuncture of sport in South Africa, that is, a history of soccer history in South Africa.

2.10 *South African soccer history*

Various tendencies exist in South African soccer. It ranges from locals playing in foreign leagues during apartheid, to individual success and skills. It also includes both white administrators promoting soccer as an antidote to South Africa's urban ills, and the black elite agreeing to such antidotes. Sports administration, particularly for the educated elite, was a key area for black people to exercise political, economic and administrative control. Bantu associations emerged on both sides of the turn of the 20$^{th}$ century, but with limited opportunities in competitions. The South African African Federation (SAAFA) was a highly centralized, relatively stable, black-controlled body, that was not averse to white assistance for black recreation. Black sports organizations survived apartheid, while white officialdom attempted to 'civilize' Africans to instil 'proper behaviour' and use it as a release of non-political energy that was crucial for white minority rule (Naughright, in Giulianotti et al., 2001: 189).

The growth of South African soccer occurred due to the thousands of inter-district competitions through the latter half of the last century. It was also due to the representations of soccer in the streets, yards or sections in various townships. Around mid-century, regular competitions and professionals emerged, in the form of the non-racial South African Soccer Federation. FIFA rejected the proposed observer affiliation for the latter, despite the 46, 000 players on its books. FIFA claimed the Federation did not

represent all football in the country. The splinter National Professional Soccer League (NPSL) became the national soccer league in the 1970s.

The current Premier League (2019) is run by the South African Football Association (SAFA). Its elite teams are now removed from their local communities, after gaining major sponsorships. Television soccer and full-scale professionalism emerged in the 1970s. The Packard Commission (1996) investigated corruption and the use of drug money to run a leading national league team. However, the league's best players play mainly in Europe, and talent is even imported from poorer southern and central African nations. Three continents and 23 countries are represented in S.A. (1996) (Naughright in Giulianotti et al.: 193-201).

Levels of corruption remain a problem and the recent (2013-14) investigation of pre-2010 match fixing of the national team's friendlies did not seem lead to any action by FIFA, SAFA or the South African government. Still, the majority of South African fans see the game as their own. All in all, history shows that South African soccer signified 'respectability', African initiative, political struggle, individual freedom, escapism and capitalism through its pervasive role in urban communities. The national soccer team's early successes in international football after the first national democratic election (1994) led to the game becoming a major force to generate transracial identification in the new political dispensation. The following section reviews the literature on soccer in South Africa.

### 2.11 *The literature on soccer in South Africa*

Hill's (2010: 12-28) (32) historical study employs Bourdieu's three notions of cultural capital. Firstly, cultural capital relates to cultural dispositions gained by means of socialization, to appreciate cultural goods that are consumable only by appreciating their cultural meaning. This cultural form exists in an embodied state of the mental and physical dispositions that constitute 'habitus'. Secondly, cultural capital takes an objectified form as in the case of books, instruments or sports paraphernalia, that requires transmission in material form, but its appreciation or consumption requires specialized cultural abilities or embodied capital. Objectified goods are thus appropriated materially and symbolically. 'Fields' refer to powerful patterned and institutional forms of accumulating objectified forms. A cultural field is more inclusive than the market and it suggests rank, hierarchy and exchange relations between consumers and producers. Such a field is a structured space that is organized around specific combinations of capital. 'Doxa' relates to fundamental commitment to the stakes of the field for both orthodoxy and heterodoxy. Hill uses the field as a metaphor, particularly for sport, and explains the origins of 'association football' as a heterodox colonial code. He concludes that the term 'football' has an ambiguous meaning.

Questions arise as to whether it refers to rugby or soccer, and how the shift occurred in the use of the term 'code' from law to language, sports and other cultural domains. Cultural diffusion masks the social dynamics and conflict that always accompany cultural distribution of a powerful cultural code. Such codes thus accumulate within stratified systems and can be seen as varieties of cultural capital. Using Bourdieu's social theory, forms of cultural capital occur in the UK: soccer and rugby emerge as discrete forms of cultural capital within the field of an empire; with soccer establishing itself as the dominant football code in the UK, and rapidly spreading to other parts of the world. Rugby remained middle class with an amateur status to facilitate closure, and to construct white national identities in the southern territories of the empire. Rugby and soccer emerged as distinct football codes (from 1859 to the 20th century), being sub-fields in the Cape and Natal, respectively, and later extending to the industrial heartland (the Witwatersrand). The tri-factors of English education, the colonial military and its media promoted association games. But this was rapidly undermined by the status ascribed to rugby in the post-1910 national education system. Soccer and rugby's integration, as sub-fields, into two contrasting transnational fields changed the relative status of the two football codes in a politically unified and increasingly stratified post-1920 society. Rugby emerged as a dominant form of capital among whites, and coincided with gradual appropriation of football by communities that were urbanizing along with other marginalized communities.

In summary, South African sport has been tied to power relations in society, with strong links to an imperial hegemony. It is currently contradictory in that its transformation hides class under race, retaining its middle class base in cricket and rugby. Historical inequalities add to factors such as services, resources and infrastructure, and sports liberationists are marginalized or compromised in sports unity talks. Soccer has witnessed various successes among both black and white communities and currently (2019) in the national league. However, problems remain in its organizational make up. Black soccer ingratiated itself to white power wielders and was able to survive. Nonetheless, popular discursive fan resistance continued.

Other significant studies include Burnett's research on the long term development of athletics (Holl and Burnett, 2016: 1067-1069**)** (33) for progressive human growth and development with differential social development phases through socialization in and through sport, which underpins elite sport participation. Such research is useful, but remains limited to elite sport development. Burnett's study on service delivery (2010a: 72-84) (34) to the sports industry categorizes university types and resource availability. The study identified nine facilitating student experiences, four focusing on student sport, and five within a commercial and professionalized training sporting environment. Four also fall between the second and third categories, of providing competitive sport with relatively limited commercial products and service

provision. The study does not take account of marginal campuses, such as NWU's Mahikeng or Vaal campuses. A third study (2010b: 182-192) (35) is psycho-social. It examines networks and stakeholders for sporting excellence and talent development to attract sponsors and sports federations, with universities mediating with communities, sportspersons and schools. This is useful, but the crucial question is whether the private sector is willing to provide funding for rural universities. A fourth study (2010c: 72-84) (36) highlights the need for both inter-disciplinarity and an African paradigm among diverse sports fields. It includes sports medicine, wellness, sport and historical sociology, sport management, sport science, ergonomics, sport recreation and management, leisure studies, and the psycho-social aspects of sports, education and training. While African medicine and traditional African diets are not mentioned, they may be implied. The final study by Burnett (2011a) (37) concluded that University of Johannesburg (UJ) students' choice of institution was mainly determined by the influence of peers, friends and family. The fact that 'UJ is best' in a particular academic field is also a main attractor. The primary sport-related attractor is the high level of sport at UJ, the quality of its facilities and a specific coach. This mainly pertains to cricket, rugby, volleyball and netball. The current research focusses on university soccer students' experiences. The low level of demand of soccer as an attractor for students to register may be suggestive, but such anomalies are considered later in this thesis.

All of Burnett's studies are useful in that they flesh out some form of development within university sport. As outlined in chapter one, this thesis focuses on hegemony and its articulations. It seeks to question the dualisms of popular and elite sport, of marginal and mainline sport, of under-resourced and well-resourced sport, and well-organized and under-organized sport. It seeks to do this particularly through the eyes of students (or 'student players') and some staff, such as coaches and some managers.

Mavhandu-Mudzusi and Azwihngwisi's (2014: 710-720) (38) study examined a rural based university with a focus on lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and intersex students' (LGBTI) experiences of university sport. LGBTI individuals experience stigma and discrimination in most sports activities, that negatively impacts on their participation rates and their quality of life. Programmes are suggested for behavioural change, focusing on advocacy, education and support to ensure equal access to all qualifying students with regard to all university activities. This includes sport and recreation, without discrimination, in order to ensure adherence to LGBTI human rights.

Van den Berg, Cuskelly and Auld's (2015: 127-141) (39) comparative study of university and other organizations' sports volunteer motives and constraints in Gauteng and Brisbane (278 and 208 students, respectively) found slight egoistic differences. There was a low motivation factor in both countries, but equally perceived confidence in their ability to solve problems when volunteering. Van Den Berg and

Cuskelly (2016: 167-177) (40) conducted research on volunteerism among university sport students using a leisure constraints theory approach. With student volunteerism declining in several countries, and South African sport dependent on volunteers, they sought to identify the factors that constrain volunteerism among university sport students using data from an in-class convenience sample. The study found that 153 of 279 Gauteng students classified themselves as 'never volunteered before'. The five constraining factors identified are 'organization environment perception, perceived workload, psychological aspects, perceived lack of skills and time constraints.' Some of these are examined in the data analysis in chapter seven of this study.

Nolan and Surujlal (2012: 321-331) (41) compare male and female sports students' perceptions of body image, using a sample of 344 participants. They found that female students focused more on their appearance and were more conscious of illness and weight. Male interviewees focused on their health evaluation and fitness. Both sexes expressed similar views on their investment in activities relating to a healthy lifestyle and were mostly satisfied with their physical characteristics. University students have a positive perception of their body image, irrespective of their sex, and the media appears to have a limited influence. They can therefore concentrate on their academic performance and their future career, regardless of their body shape and the perspectives of others. Hegemonic bodies may prove useful as an academic area of study, but, as outlined in chapter one, this research mainly focuses on other forms of hegemony.

Kruger, Edwards and Edwards (2013) (42) tested the mental skills of imagery, mental preparation (goal setting), self-confidence, anxiety and worry management, concentration, relaxation and motivation among 121 students. The study found that soccer players and netball players had the highest mental skills score, with the latter scoring slightly higher. Cleophas (2015) **(**43) concludes that rugby clubs reflect power and language in sport. Such clubs emerged as the Cape industrialized, with its new social patterns, and village games were transformed into suburban clubs. Rugby and soccer were adopted in 19$^{th}$ century Cape Town, representing new social relations and power balances. Sport has to be embraced by the dominant classes to be an acceptable cultural form. The term 'football' embraced various games, including rugby and soccer, and had less cultural value than cricket. The ruling elite resisted it, but accepted it after football became part of the club culture.

Alegi outlines the early politics and history of soccer (in Soccer and Society, 2014) (44). The use of discourse for participation and the organization of football codes in history is explored by Hill (45). He speaks of white football in South Africa, and how it sought to establish relations with the UK to popularize football for white South Africans and to avoid international suspension. Alegi uses the

biography of footballer Darius Dhlomo to support transculturalist arguments, with black media as an agency promoting black footballers, and the psychological impact of segregation and football migration. Pelak (46) examines the obstacles to the development of women's football and its altered demography of participation. Television acted as a stimulus, and its subsequent reform is due to emerging feminist ethics and gender struggles over equity in the new political dispensation. A more recent study by Fleitcher (47) looks at football organization and fan cultures. It problematizes club support in terms of racial subjectivity and identifies several determinants of participation in sport. These include class, wealth and access to the internet and satellite television. Cultural and geographical locations and identity and security issues are also important determinants of participation in sports. Sean Jacobs (48) narrates South Africa's integration with British club football, but he limits it to events rather than processes. He thus misses the contiguous territories' national and ethnic belonging, and of South African football in local and international situations.

Cubizolles **(**49) examines the Stellenbosch Local Football Association's dedication to modern amateur leagues in the heartland of rugby. The latter is where football fields are scarce and where club parochialism hampers local amateur football. The obstacles to the growth of football are related to differences of opinion between municipal corporations and sports boards. Unequal wealth distribution and historical racial and social divisions are thus also obstacles to the development of football. For Naha (50), a collective memory of apartheid means that race fissures cannot be eradicated in two decades. However, there are modernizing tendencies, the development of a more democratic media though its progress is limited, and linkages to global football that have led to some positive outcomes.

Darby and Solberg (51) argue that player migration and local football development are determined by the extent of professionalism in administration. South Africa's cash rich soccer league warrants an influx of quality players. There are confused structures in Ghana and elsewhere in Africa, which result in indigenous players migrating to Europe and elsewhere overseas. The authors also outline a pilot scheme to develop football in Southern Africa.

Three papers on the World Cup relate an intention to develop black agencies, but this did not reach fruition as branding, commercialization and mediation overtook everything else. The first paper by Ndlovu (in Naha, Soccer and Society, 2014) explores peace, equality and solidarity as underpinning the vision of the event. It is articulated from an isolative position which reifies the government's initiative to build a community of interests as opposed to national exceptionalism. The second paper (Desai and Vahed, in Naha: Soccer and Society, 2014) argues that the World Cup's Pan-African rhetoric was couched in hyperbole to gain mass support. South Africa is seen to act as a sub-imperialist entity, with

Cup-related projects and their economic benefits reinforcing the traditional 'white' and 'new black elites'. Finally, Ngonyama (in Naha, Soccer and Society, 2014) shows that mega-events do not promote poverty alleviation or employment opportunities.

For Naha (ibid., 2014) race and apartheid are inextricably linked to South Africa's sports history, extending to the inclination in African sport to unsettle race from its central empirical location, and to deliberate on reflexive categories like migration, mega-event and globalization. There is a tendency to equate international fixtures with globalization, and this undermines the latter's complexity. However, it does expand the debates on trans-nationalism and the plurality of social distinctions as central elements in football culture or the organization of mega-events.

Given the lack of research on soccer and universities, Burnett's (2011b) (52) account hereunder, is about the provision of sports at South African universities. It may assist with regard to their contexts, and with its university typologies and pillars, despite some weaknesses of this account.

2.12 *Sports Pillars and a Typology of University Institutions and Sports in South Africa*

South African universities offer many sports to develop talent, and their main focus is elite or dominant sports codes. Burnett (2011b: 32-40) cites seven pillars and three size-based university types in terms of full-time institutions. These are smaller rural institutions based on leagues and high performance numbers; medium institutions; and large sports institutions that deliver specialist services for many competitive and elite sports participants.

Socially, a tri-fold university structure is described. First, a transforming Afrikaans universities that advocate 'equitable dispensation and resourcing for diverse students.' Second, the English liberal institutions (Wits, UCT) 'continue both a critical role and research' due to academic excellence there, and facilitate student participation in sports. Third, resistant universities (UKZN, UWC) aim for redress and work for optimal educational opportunities, with a variety of local community outreach programs. Ex-homeland universities (Venda, Limpopo, Fort Hare) follow suit, and forge international partnerships for community-based projects, and to train students as active citizens and as change agents. Universities of technologies are more career focused in Sports Management or Sports Science areas. Such a typology is useful in describing sports at these institutions, but it underplays the historical resistance of some other ex-Bantustan universities, and neglects what may be called black campuses as is the case with NWU's Mahikeng campus.

Three generic under-graduate and post-graduate offerings exist in sports curriculum. First are the professional offerings in Sports Management, Communication, Marketing, Logistics, Economics and Law. Second, health-related offerings include Bio-Kinetics, Ergonomics, Rehabilitation, Sports Medicine and Sports Science. Third, there are the combined specializations consisting of Bio-Kinetics research, Sports Science and Recreation; Sport, Recreation and Exercise Science; Bio-Kinetics and Leisure Science; and Tourism, Hospitality and Sports.

The provincial spread of sports programmes is also outlined as follows: Gauteng (6), Free State and Limpopo (2 each), KwaZulu-Natal, Western Cape (4 each) and North West (1). Only 42% (34 of 82) offer sports programmes. Poor academic progress affects integrated service delivery to sports stakeholders. The institutions in deep rural areas are disadvantaged, lacking in private investment and receive only marginal subsidies (Burnett, 2011b:12).

Academic entities are cross-disciplinary and straddle various faculties, with Sport Bureaus, Institutes or administrations for research and sport. Specialized, medical or sports science laboratories and services are there to support sport. Most lack integrated service delivery, impacting on their strategic delivery. High Performance Centres (HPC) mainly exist at well-resourced urban universities to develop elite sportspersons. These are linked to commercialized units for third stream income, as in the charges effected for gym attendance.

Burnett's (2011b: 7) seven-pillar university sports model describes each area with its content or descriptors, and its organization, forms or formats. The first pillar, *education and training,* is for learning and certification, through workshops, clinics, and training provision to students, club management, sports federations and communities. These are formal or informal, internally or externally linked, and are short-term or on-going in their operations.

The second pillar is *research* for 'innovation, niche and specialization at centres or institutes, and inter-university collaborations.' It is dominated by high performance sport, bio-medical research, mass events and corporate wellness. Research occurs in disability, sport administration, industrial design, corporate wellness, leisure and recreation, psycho-social child fitness, physical literacy, and indigenous games/medicine (Burnett, 2011b: 34-39).

Third, a *community projects pillar* has coaching, administration, event management, school capacity building and to develop regional and national objectives (Burnett, 2011b: 3946).

Fourth, is the university s*ports participation pillar* (7% to 20%) that has males dominating in soccer, rugby and cricket (65%). On average 10, 000 people participate in sports leagues per institution. Soccer is the most popular, rugby is fourth and cricket sixth. Elite sports and national success is due to the myriad of leagues, clubs and university sports administrations. Sports science predominates in sports degrees due to student demand, which this study takes issue with in terms of its own findings. Overall, the league participation is high, and mass participation is low, but there are strategic external links (Burnett, 2011b: 4659).

Fifth, the *resources pillar* includes staff, facilities and funding. It is driven by fundraising, especially for smaller sports, and by 'priority sports' policies (that receive 80% of bursaries) or funds from the student sports levy. Coach-sports administrator contact is triple that of academic-student ratios, which is contentious if sport is not core to university functioning as defined by the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET). Thirteen per cent of staff at sports bureaus are professional staff. Sports academia ranges from 2 to 12 departments, 2 research chairs, 7 NRF rated researchers, and ongoing Master's and Doctorate programmes. Funding is led by discrepant and non-discrepant bursaries that are conditional on community service, or a discrepant SA Sports Association (SASA) subsidy that is based on rural or city location or institutional size. Larger institutions offer life-skills and academic mentoring for holistic growth (Burnett, 2011b: 59-73).

Sixth, the centralized *marketing, sponsorship and commercialization pillar* involves many public relations efforts. However, sport is not ostensibly used to recruit students. Local and international sponsorships fund and provide products and sports services. Some universities are accredited international service providers. Others create commercial bodies to market, manage and facilitate income-generating activities with pro-rata division of funding to service delivery by other university entities, staff and/or implementation agreements. The national lottery ('Lotto') is a huge sponsor. Third stream income is generated from research, coach upgrading, education or talent spotting. Contributors include corporates, sports federations and the Sport Development Department. Most (77%) sports clubs make a profit, some (20%) break even and a few (2%) lose out.

Notably, for later findings herein, rugby leads in sponsorship ranking and soccer comes last. Most universities share national sponsors in various sports, such as that with ABSA bank. Burnett argues that while commercialized sport at universities is rare, teams form companies to fundraise and for inter-departmental commercial activities. Service provision is external (67%) or internal to staff and students (32%), with staff and student services rendered (79%) or through outsourced services (21%). One institution boasts of 15, 000 beneficiaries (64% are male). Campuses obtain naming rights that are

sometimes extended to their sports institutes. The main partners are sponsors but strategic long-term partners also exist (Burnett, 2011b: 73-78).

Pillar seven is comprised of *stakeholders, and strategic and network participation.* Collective identities are embodied by missions, university entities or human resources as stakeholders. Collaborators in sporting efforts include sponsors, federations or cross-disciplinary international exchanges (Burnett, 2011b: 78-88).

Overall, students are the 'backbone of sports and sports academia' (Burnett) through performance, scholarships and closed clubs. There are integrated community outreach programs with academic, sports, fund raising events (RAG), student bodies (SRC), or talent development programmes to benefit constituencies. Various departments offer inter-curricula programmes. Vested stakeholder interests are key for service delivery. Sports bureau networking is not possible due to multiple co-existing networks, with many levels of participation and complexities; various collaborations and stakeholders get income, and deliver on national goals whilst being relevant to local communities and constituencies. Moreover, there is a highly competitive and changing global environment, with internal politics and some lack of buy-in from executive management. Sustained institutional relations structure the networks, with social capital feeding off network size. Ties of collective values and expectations depend on effective norm solutions, communication and shared identity. Universities have mutual obligations through their structures and functionalities; by peer reviews, conferences, external exams and sports. A threefold cluster exists. First, the Sport Science and Bio-Kinetics cluster relates to wellness, chronic disease, injury, rehabilitation and community health. Second, the Sport Science cluster follows FIFA's excellence programme, identifies talent, services disabled in high performance sports and conducts bio-chemical analysis. A third cluster relates to post-graduate studies, seeing multi-stakeholder engagement and impact assessments of community based sport development programmes. Problems include the lack of strong national leadership and collaboration and low levels of integration (e.g.: 'Life Orientation' is placed outside Sports Departments). Universities that excel are the well-resourced one's, those seen as 'politically significant,' or those that can harness the collective power of various sport entities for network formation and integrated service delivery (Burnett, 2011b: 15). Unfortunately, 'politically significant' in this account remains partly misplaced as some historically rural African universities are assumed to have been non-resistant in this account, and thus lack any categorization or are relatively invisible in this descriptive model. Furthermore, while the typology may be useful in some senses, the missing link remains as to whether and how national liberation aims are translated, relayed or transferred to, or by, the various sports fraternities at universities (or not, as the case may be). The next chapter outlines a conceptual framework for this thesis.

# 3 Chapter 3: Conceptual framework

## 3.1 *Introduction*

This chapter provides the conceptual background for this research on soccer at three public universities in South Africa. By definition, this framework is not closed in light of the notion of 'generativity' discussed in the following chapter on the methodology. This means that some ideas are generated through the research and are not necessarily linked to pre-existing social theory. Such an approach precludes the possibility of pre-defining reality in accordance with existing theory. It enables the researcher to develop concepts and notions that might not seem applicable in the social sciences but can still be used therein. Some of these notions may need adaptation or reworking in order to fit, explain and interpret the reality at hand. This generativity cannot operate in isolation as it runs the risk of empiricism. There has to be some form of theory to guide the research and this chapter provides for this.

The theoretical ground covered in this chapter includes the following. First, the theory and concepts of functionalism provide a basic launch pad for understanding sports at universities, as this paradigm is evident in many of the sports discourses in and out of higher education. Since the study examines first team soccer at universities, the focus is on such clubs and the context of their position within the overall sports structure. Functionalism as a theoretical orientation is appropriate to explain the variety of basic functions of sport, particularly the functions of sports clubs studied within the context of both the university and the broader parameters that they operate within. A university may serve particular sports functions. For instance, it may produce national sportspersons. However, it can do so without exposure to the overall considerations of freedom and liberation needed in the curriculum. It may therefore not yield sportspersons as free, knowledgeable and liberated citizens.

Second, a related perspective focusses on organizations, and their dynamics and processes, to understand sports. Organizations function on various levels and have different forms. Sports organizations and universities are no exception. For instance, organizations may be democratic or autocratic. Within these two paradigms they will have different kinds of relations or structures. An autocratic structure will be top down in its decisions and policies, while a democratic one may be more interactive and consultative. It may be worth considering what kinds of organizing systems occur within sports clubs and university sports cultures since these have an impact on their overall functioning and productivity. It is also worth clarifying such a structure, so that individuals in such structures may discern social patterns within them.

Third, macro-theories are important, but they only serve a wider purpose for an overall understanding. For this reason, the notion of discourse is employed in this research. The aim is to investigate the more micro aspects of sport, particularly in soccer. The notion of discourse serves to analyse particular aspects as explained hereunder. It needs to be said from the outset that although language is an important aspect of discourse analysis, discourse is not simply an analysis of language practices. It is not merely a matter of linguistics, but that of discourse-practice which is also elaborated hereunder. All practices are discursive in that they have a language attached to them, be it symbolic, real, practical or subversive. In a wider sense, such language practices construct and deconstruct our realities. Understanding these discourses means exploring that reality, even if this is a partial understanding. The claim herein is therefore moderate. Other interpretations can compete to make counter-claims backed up by further evidence and arguments for their case.

The fourth aspect of the theoretical ground is the notion of 'hegemony' that emerged late as a category in the theoretical exploration of writing up the dissertation. Hegemony provides another basis on which to analyse soccer at universities. Sport is usually seen simply as a competitive physical activity, as the prevailing global paradigm and what the mass media make it out to be. This is certainly not the case. All sports practices have histories and are constructed out of local and international relations. It is no coincidence that the USA and the UK lead the sports race, or that Russia were contenders for the sports race, and now China contends for a first place in global sport. Sport reflects various forms of hegemony and this study attempts to articulate some of them.

The following section outlines the classical view of Durkheim's functionalism.

### 3.2 *The functionalist perspective: Emile Durkheim's solidarities*

Emile Durkheim represents classical sociological functionalist theory. This approach may be useful to understand the perceptions of staff and students that practice sport and give functional explanations for it. It will also be useful as an entry point for the more radical views outlined below. Durkheim's views on mechanic and organic solidarity, social cohesion, and division of labour are outlined, and initially applied to sport.

As a proponent of functionalism, Durkheim was impressed with the development of the biological sciences, and thought it appropriate to use it in sociology:

It expresses the corresponding relationship existing between…(living)…movements and certain needs of the organism…. we speak of the digestive… functions…To ask what is the function of the division of labour is to investigate the need to which it corresponds (Durkheim, The Division of Labor, 1984: 11) (1).

Durkheim also argued that the division of labour links the functions very closely together:

> The most notable effect of the division of labour is not that it increases productivity of the functions but that links them very closely together…Its role is not simply to embellish or improve existing societies, but to make societies which, without these functions would not exist (Durkheim, 1984: 21).

Durkheim's concern with society's division of labour lay in the specialization of tasks, and its impact on individuals and society. Economic specialization is not necessarily harmful to both individuals and societies' moral cohesion. Social solidarity has two forms. The first is mechanical solidarity which occurs where feelings of similarity exist in small, simple and traditional societies. People are compelled to be generalists in producing and distributing goods. Specialization that excludes some people, is not possible in this form of solidarity, since each provides numerous contributions to the group. The whole family (or sports team) participates in harvesting (or a match) and in celebrations hosted by traditional societies (or clubs). Such shared work (or sports) experiences result in group solidarity, a shared 'collective conscience' which is integral to the maintenance of social order (or a sports club).
The second type of solidarity is organic solidarity. Here, people are solitary and differentiated in their work, beliefs and ideas, but they remain interdependent. Solidarity as a feeling of oneness, arises from cultivating individual differences rather than from believing or doing the same things. It also arises from each person knowing that he or she contributes to the good of the whole. However, increased specialization in modernity does not necessarily lead to a decline in social stability. Population density leads to a specialized division of labour that results in a different type of social cohesion. It is not automatic that the organic type is solidary, as the task allotted to each person has to befit him or her. In a forced, exaggerated or abnormal division of labour, individuals can be isolated in their special activity. This becomes a source of disintegration for the person or society. A rigid division of labour can lead to dissension among classes and castes. An overly specialized division of labour is 'anomic', i.e., lacking in moral regulation (Durkheim, 1984: 31-68; 291-309).

Based on this, Durkheim (1984) then focused on solidarities among societal members:

> A social solidarity exists, which arises because a certain number of states of consciousness are common to all members of the same society…The share it has in the general integration of society depends upon the extent….of social life included in the common consciousness and regulated by it (Durkheim, 1984: 64).

Durkheim (1984) finds that societies are characterized by mechanical or organic solidarities. He describes the first as follows:

> All members of a group are not only individually attracted to one another because they resemble one another, but they are also linked to what is the conditions of existence of this collective type, that is, to the society that they form by coming together (Durkheim, 1984: 60).

Such a coming together arises from affiliations of fellow citizens and due to their love for their country. Durkheim adds that society insists that its citizens resemble one another as this is a condition of its cohesion. Mechanical solidarity occurs where individuals resemble one another in most things, and they work as a collective (Durkheim, 1984: 61):

> The solidarity that derives from similarities is at its *maximum* when the collective consciousness completely envelops our total consciousness, coinciding with it at every point. At that moment our individuality is zero (Durkheim, 1984: 84).

Organic solidarity is different in that:

> It assumes that that they (individuals) are different from one another…the collective consciousness leaves uncovered a part of the individual consciousness... (to establish) …those special functions it cannot regulate. The more extensive this free area is, the stronger the cohesion that arises from this solidarity…. In fact, each organ has its own special characteristics and autonomy, yet the greater the unity of the organism, the more marked the individualization of its parts (Durkheim, 1984: 85).

Just as in a factory, sport embraces specialization, and specialization of tasks follows. This applies to both the actual playing of the sport or in a club's administration, with greater concentration of capital and its developing division of labour. However, each of these is dependent on the other. The woes of

the national soccer club in South Africa may not be its own. They may lie in the form of organization of soccer, reflecting the interdependence of administration and the actual act of playing. Moreover, for Durkheim, the totality of a society's sentiments and beliefs form a determinate system. This also occurs in sport, with the contributions of players, administration, fan clubs, the public and the insights of sports science as an entity of scientific specialization. In contrast, mechanical solidarity relates to individuals being directly bound. It exists where the totality of the beliefs and sentiments of the same society form a determinate system, and thus the existence of a diffuse collective conscience (Durkheim, 1984: 152-154),

The collective conscience applies to small and large societies. It is independent of the individual's conditions and continues to exist as individuals pass on, connecting different generations. It compellingly hangs over individuals as a fact. While sport is voluntary, each sportsperson is substitutable, yet the team continues. It is pre-eminently a collective act; even individual sports draw large audiences. Moreover, as Sartre (1968) asserted:

> In a football match, everything is complicated by the presence of the other team (2).

In the case of organic solidarity, the division of labour in modern society assumes that individuals are different as per their peculiar tasks or actions. The collective conscience thus has to leave some part open for special functions to develop, which it cannot regulate. Specialization grows out of such specialized functions and so does solidarity, as labour is divided. Yet, as Durkheim argues, it is also integrated.

Similar trends of dependence and individualism occur in modern sport, whether in teams or in their organization. Collective movement is enhanced and unified, as individuals gain more freedom of movement, even in the organization of sport. Durkheim contends that the division of labour varies in direct ratio with society's volume and density: increasing specialization means more people cooperate (Durkheim, 1984: 337).

The demise of segmental clan based societies necessitates specialization, which partly lifts individuals from organic environments. This double emancipation leads to independent individual action, spurred by the division of labour. Specialization becomes more complex, freed from collective action and hereditary influence that are enforced on simple and general things (Durkheim, 1984:102; 149-152; 286; 280-81).

To sum up, in relation to sports on the field, the team makes the individual, but each player specializes with his or her own unique function, depending on his or her position and in relation to its organization, and with autonomy, makes the whole team work. Mechanical solidarity may be seen to exist in sport, despite the players' specialization, and organic solidarity emerges as morality grows in modern society. Sport is a voluntary act, but is increasingly complex as the division of labour emerges on and off the field. Parsons' version of functionalism offers further clarification.

3.3. *Parsons' functionalist theory*

Like Durkheim, Parsons explains the social order of society through external enforcement of a common system of rules based on common values.

> In so far…as action is determined by the ultimate ends, the existence of a *system* of such ends common to the members of the community seems to be the only alternative to a state of chaos – a necessary factor in social stability (Parsons, *On Institutions and Social Evolution*, 1982: 87-88) (3).

Parsons continues with Durkheim's biological metaphor, in seeing the structure of the empirical system as consisting of units (such as a cell) and patterned relations among units (such as relative distances, organization into tissues and organs) (Durkheim, 1982: 258).

Parsons defines structure as being contained in institutional patterns, with a clustering of normative expectations that regulate action, and whose stability and change should be the focus of sociology (Scott, 1995: 32). Thus, for Parsons…

Normative rules…define what immediate ends should…and…should not be…and limit the choice of means to them…other than those of efficiency…This system of rules, fundamental to any society…is what I call institutions (Parsons, 1982: 90).

Parsons' functionalism has an empirical base: in that generalization arises from systematic observation. Each science has a different conceptual scheme and none have absolute validity over the others. After a factual description of society, scientists theorize with generalized concepts (Scott, 1982: 34-35) (4).

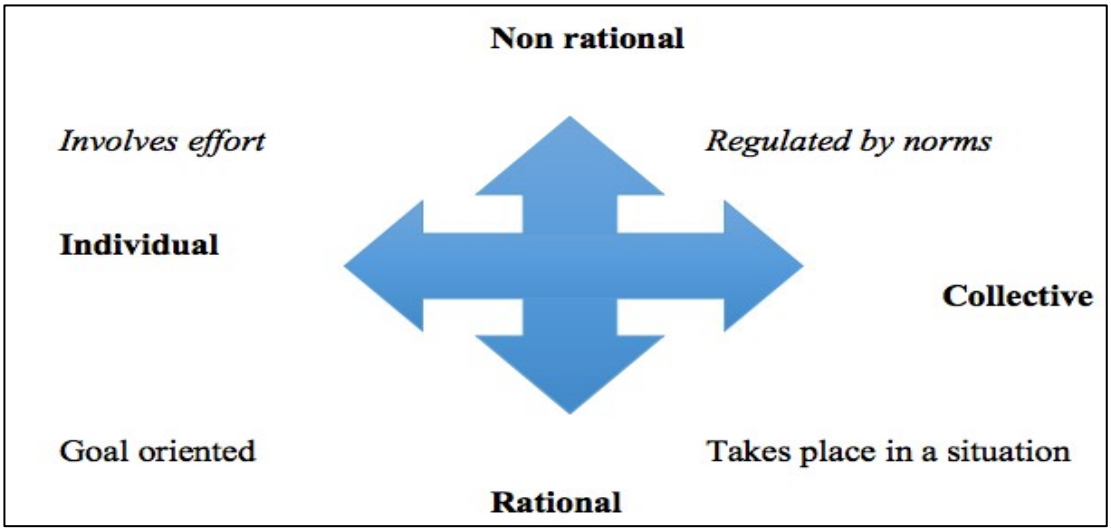
Parsons speaks of a 'moving equilibrium' that is contained in social systems:

> A system is…stable…in equilibrium…(of)…relations between its structure and …(its)…processes, and between it and the environment, are such as to maintain those properties and relations which…have been called its structure, relatively unchanged (Parsons, 1982: 257).

Analytical laws emerge from scientific research, when uniform relations are found between the values of many analytical elements. Sociology cannot formulate precise laws, but it can discern patterned variables. A moving equilibrium is affected by allocation (component distribution) and integration, as relations with the environment are mediated. Systems boundaries are maintained, with a systems unity relative to its environment. Self-maintenance controls the environment and its tendencies to change from within systems (Applerouth and Edles et al., 2008: 49-51) (5)

Parsons also posited a sociology of action in a constellation of systems, with a unit actor bound by various conditions and parameters. Action systems are used to analyse phenomena. Social action comprises actors' orientation to goals or ends in relation to physical and social objects, and is normatively regulated. Figure 10 (below) gives a pictorial view of what Parsons means by an action system.

*Figure 10: Parsons' Action System*




Source: Applerouth et al., *Sociological Theory in the Contemporary Era,* 2008:36.

Figure 10 (above) sums up Parsons' model of human systems. The two other crucial concepts are role set theory that interconnects sets of roles (complementarity, detailed obligations for interaction and

actors' roles), and pattern variables. There are five choices in personality systems, and patterns of values in cultural systems. The five choices of pattern variables are:

- Affectivity/affective neutrality: to satisfy emotions (as when a coach praises a player); or inhibiting impulses (as when the coach mentors a player but is not tied to a player).
- Self-orientation/collectivity relates to moral standards: self-interest in terms of goals and needs, or being for others or the community (e.g. play for the team or for oneself).
- Universalism/particularism: the former has relative primacy of cognitive and

  cathectic standards: universal, general laws/moral rules (e.g.: sports club decides its rules); Particularism: priority or attachment actors ascribe to relationships/situations (e.g., Hansie Cronje, South African cricketer, is bribed but he maintains support amongst many in his Afrikaans speaking community and among many cricket fans too) (6**).**
- Ascription/achievement: objects are seen as quality or performance complexes; ascriptive action based on attributes (race, sex or age to vote or drink); or action to achieve/perform (e.g.: a regular goal scorer in soccer).
- Specificity/diffuseness is about the scope of significance of the object. The first relates to objects based on specific criteria or roles (e.g.: role of the coach or player); the second relates to open guidelines for action (teacher befriends players, beyond the coach-student role) (Applerouth et al., 2008: 26; Parsons, 1982: chapter 6).

For Parsons, a social system is the level of integrated interaction between actors, and their ideas or intentions. Such systems are not material structures of institutions but a complex arrangement of inter-connected roles. Roles are complementary, detailed sets of obligations for interaction and involves role set theory. Each social status involves an array of roles. The coach trains players, and players internalize the training. The personality system differentiates each coach and each player. Cultural systems arise from values, norms and symbols that guide actors' choices, but also limits their interactions. A coach can be democratic or autocratic based on cultural contexts (Parsons, 1982: chapter 6; Applerouth, 2008: 26).

These systems interrelate in an ordered way. Actors face a dilemma to gratify or control their impulses, which depend on various cultural, personality or social system choices (affectivity or affective neutrality, respectively). There are dilemmas of collective versus private interests (in cultural,

personality or social system aspects); and dilemmas of transcendence versus immanence (universalism or particularism in cultural, personality or social system aspects). In terms of applying the dilemma of object modalities (how to treat an object), ascription and achievement are applied in the cultural, personality and social system aspects in different ways. In the case of the dilemma of the scope of significance of the object, diffuseness or specificity is what matters in the cultural personality or social system aspect of the choice to be made (Applerouth et al., 2008: 26, 42-43).

There is another social theorist, Robert Merton that also gives some outline of functionalism, to which we now turn.

### 3.4 *Merton's functionalist analysis*

Robert Merton (2017: Social Theory and Social Structure*:19-82)* (7) has contributed to functionalist theory in a way that might serve the purpose of this thesis more than the classical perspectives, despite the valuable contributions of the latter. He dissects the notion of functions into five meanings: i) As an event in the sense of a work function. ii) As being virtually equivalent to the term occupation, as the distribution of occupations in a group of people, which economists refer to as occupational analysis. Weber saw occupation as the 'mode of specialization, specification and combination of the functions of an individual so far as it constitutes for him the basis of a continual opportunity for income or profit' (Weber in Merton: 20). iii) As a special instance of the last meaning, used popularly and in political science, of the occupant of an office or political position which gives rise to the word functionary or official, but such functions are also performed by many activities, social processes, culture and belief patterns of a society. iv) A mathematical meaning of a variable related to one or more variables in terms of which it may be expressed or the value on which its own value depends. Thus Merton sees the terms 'functional interdependence' and 'functional relations' imprecisely used in social science. For Mannheim, every social fact is a function of the time and place in which it occurs, or as demographers cite birth rates as a function of economic status. v) The fifth meaning is central to functional analysis in sociology, of interdependence and reciprocal relations. It partly stems from mathematics but is adopted from the biological sciences when it refers to 'vital organic processes as they contribute to the maintenance of an organism, referring to inter-dependence' or 'reciprocal relations' or 'mutually dependent variations' (Merton: 20-21).

There are three social science variations in the meaning of function that emerge from the last meaning: first, as the functional unity of society (Radcliffe Brown in Merton: 25); second, of universal functionalism, that every custom, material object, idea and belief serve some vital function (Kluckhohn

and Malinowski in Merton: 30); and third, of every civilization, custom and material object having some task to establish, and to represent an indispensable part within a working whole (Malinowski in Merton:32)

All these social science conceptions are holistically oriented. They do not consider dysfunctions that a discourse perspective takes into account whether in custom, language, in belief or practice. Such a view is problematic, as shall become clear when outlining discourse theory hereunder: holism imagines a totality with no external referent, nothing outside of it, with little that is dysfunctional, making it untenable for the purposes of this thesis.

More pertinent is Merton's (2017: 19-85) distinction of latent and manifest functions that are often conflated, and which Durkheim also used when speaking of the latent functions of punishment (consequences for the community) rather than manifest functions (consequences for the criminal) (Durkheim in Merton: 61), and which relate to the difference between motivations of social behaviour and its objective consequences, respectively. Merton (2017: 65) cites Durkheim's point that ceremonies are positively functional in serving group unity by applying the notion of latent function. Rain dances in traditional societies, as a cultural form, provide an instance of such a unifying function. While such instances of latent functions are useful for knowledge (Merton: 68) and shifts our common sense perspective to a more sociological one, it remains in the order of holism that is part of the problematic, as some functions are dysfunctional, non-unifying and disorderly as the data in later chapters herein indicate. One aspect of Merton's latent function is useful, in that it relates to unintended consequences. Veblen's (Merton: 69) conspicuous consumption is an instance of latent functions, as the aim of consumption is to use the goods one purchases. But conspicuous consumption again leads analysis to latent functions of status enhancement in the purchase of such goods. This is all well and good, but latent functions are again functional and what remains important, and not given due acknowledgement, is that conspicuous consumption can become dysfunctional. Bahule (2017) (8) has cited the instance (called 'izikhothane') of South African youth burning expensive clothes, despite not being able to afford them as a double edged sign of status: to acquire such clothes *and* of their dysfunctionality as a form of conspicuous consumptive destruction. This is notwithstanding that South African soccer has another form of positive consumption of sorts in its fandom: the invention of a 'Makarapa' hat: a self-invented, home-made sports headgear that became a self-made business success of a die-hard Kaizer Chiefs fan, Alfred Baloyi (9).

Having outlined three classical functionalist theories to understand sports practitioners' views, the following section looks at other pertinent social theories to understand sport.

3.5 *Bourdieu's social theory.*

Bourdieu's sociology attempts to re-establish the relationships between people and society, without reducing it to economism or objectivism. The social division of labour is replicated in the division of scientific labour (Bourdieu, In Other Words, 1990: 156) (10). He thus notes that members of the professions, who have high incomes and high qualifications, very often emerge from the dominant class. They also consume large quantities of material and cultural goods as compared to, say, office workers (Bourdieu, Distinction, 1984: 287) (11).

Bourdieu's topographical sociology seeks to understand people in multi-dimensional spaces, as a result of differential distributions and the ability to confer power in such spaces. The relative social positions of individuals begin to define agents or groups, and forms a field of forces and objective power relations imposed on all who enter that field, and that are irreducible to its agents. He thus asserts that:

> The differences stemming from the total volume of capital almost always conceal…the secondary differences which, within each of the classes are defined by overall volume, i.e., different distributions of their total capital among the different kinds of capital (economic and cultural) (Bourdieu, Distinction, 2018: 290).

Bourdieu sees capital as the form of property and culture in its symbolic form over the accumulated products of past labour, and thus over the mechanisms to produce particular goods from a set of incomes and profits (Bourdieu in Applerouth et al., 2008: 461-2).

Bourdieu also speaks of the notion of habitus. This gives a birds-eye view of the whole set of points from which ordinary agents (including the sociologist and the reader in their ordinary behaviour) see the social world (Bourdieu, Distinction, 2018: 291). Habitus structures all experiences, perceptions and practices. It is an internalization of externality rather than an internal compass. It gives us a sense of place, an acquired system of generative schemes, for all possible perceptions, thoughts and actions inherent in its production conditions. Habitus is a function of family networks through generations. For example, institutional culture is imbibed by internalizing rugby culture. Habitus functions to unify the practices and goods of agents and classes of agents. Habitus relate to distinctive practices: what a worker does for sport and the way it is done (as with politics or even food). They are classificatory schemes for vision, division and for different tastes. They make distinctions between what is good, bad, right, wrong, distinguished or vulgar (Bourdieu in Applerouth et al., 2008: 448, 463).

Bourdieu describes habitus as necessity internalized into a disposition that generates practices and meaning-giving perceptions. It's a general, transposable disposition which carries a systematic, universal application carrying a systematic, universal application. It is a limit of what is learnt. A necessity of inhering in the learning conditions.

The habitus structures and organizes practices and their perceptions. The whole structure of conditions is inevitably inscribed within habitus, as presented in the life experiences of a life- condition, occupying a particular position within that structure. The most fundamental positions in structure such as rich/poor or high/low, tend to structure themselves as fundamental structuring principles of practice or perceptions (Bourdieu, Distinction, 2018).

All perception categories result in symbolic differences as a real language. Differences are linked to different positions: of goods, practices or manners that function like differences to become a symbolic system of signs, myths and language codes for Bourdieu. Power relations are institutionalised in sustained statutes, and arise out of different capital distributions, and appropriate objectified products of accumulated labour and are socially recognized or legally guaranteed. This occurs between social agents objectively defined by their position with different fields and chances of access to the specific profits they offer (Applerouth et al., 2008: 463).

Bourdieu further argues that fractions whose reproduction depends on economic capital, usually inherited from industrial and commercial capital at the higher level, with craftsmen and shopkeepers at the lower level. Those at the higher level are opposed to fractions that are least endowed with economic capital, and whose reproduction depends mainly on cultural capital, such as primary school teachers at the intermediate level and high school teachers at the higher level (Bourdieu, Distinction, 2018).
The principles of division (for example, the volume and structure of capital) determine the social space structure, reinforced by division principles independent of economic or cultural principles (e.g.: ethnic or religious affiliation). Ethnic groups may be identified by their members' social positions and their dispersion rate, and by the degree of social integration despite this dispersion. Ethnic integration may thus ensure a form of collective mobility (Applerouth, 2008: 463).

Habitus is a system of durable disposition, formed in individuals as related to overall volume of capital owned, and relative cultural and economic capital possessed. The closer individuals are to the amount of capital owned, the more they share lifestyles, tastes and aspirations.

Habitus thus becomes a union of structure and practice, with unintended consequences, producing subjective dispositions that produce structured actions, which in turn reproduce objective structure. The result is an unintended legitimation and reproduction of a social order. One result is that the children of the rich expect success and wealth as they grow older, and poorer classes have lower expectations of success, or 'know their place'.

Universities are charged with separating the cultured from the uncultured by applying processes and entrance exams, separating the last to pass and the first to fail, and to demarcate the boundaries between the sacred and the profane. Possessors of symbolic capital soften raw or direct capital with prestige, reputation, honour or charisma. In terms of the latter, they use 'magical powers' to transform the results of self-interested exercise of economic and political domination into what is seen as the 'naturally inevitable'. Low and high cultures betray a divided social order of the refined against the brutal, the subtle versus the vulgar, or the forced and the free (Applerouth et al., 2008: 450-4).

Habitus incorporates individual and collective aspects, to constrain and enhance actions, and reproduce the same conditions that structure habitus. Capital distribution, especially economic and cultural capital, structures position relations in specific spaces where individuals seek to legitimize categories of perception (Applerouth, 2008b: 458).

There is an indeterminacy to the social world as historical objects, with a plurality of world views, and symbolic struggles for the power to produce and impose a legitimate world view. The social world objectively achieves symbolic status, and organizes a logic of difference (like phonemes) constituted as significant distinction. Social space and difference function symbolically as group lifestyles. Symbolic lifestyle is distinction, nothing other than capital, as agents internalize distribution structures. Distinction is symbolic transfiguration of de facto differences, of orders, ranks and all hierarchies (Applerouth, 2008: 467).

Furthermore, Bourdieu contends that reproduction strategies of a ruling class 'tend to consciously and unconsciously maintain or improve their position in the class structure or class relations, by safeguarding or increasing their capital. It constitutes a system which functions and transforms itself' – by being the product and emerging out of the same unifying and generative principle, viz., their disposition about the future determined by the 'objective chances of reproduction of the group', i.e. by its objective future.' (Bourdieu in Robbins, The Work of Pierre Bourdieu, 1991: 100) (12).

Such future orientation evades finalism or rule-governed mechanistic human behaviour. The concept of habitus refers to behaviour that expresses a class ethos, and every class ethos has a set of objective future possibilities. Future possibilities may seem to determine individuals' actions but this is only because those actions are the unconscious expression of class dispositions which have future possibilities contained within them (Robbins, 101). Bourdieu's theory of social change rests on the discrepancy between position and disposition, between opportunities and expectations within a given field (Burawoy and Holdt, 2012: Conversations with Bourdieu: The Johannesburg Moment, 2012: 192) (13)

There is also the symbolic order that sees a preponderance of notions of field and habitus, viz., a flexibility or freedom through the determinism of structure can be challenged by imagining alternatives (Burawoy et al.: 199). As Bourdieu states it:

> …symbolic power…intervenes in that uncertain site of the social existence where practice is converted into signs, symbols, discourses, and it introduces a margin of freedom between their objective chances or the implicit dispositions that are tacitly adjusted to them, and explicit aspirations, peoples representations and manifestations (Bourdieu in Burawoy: 199).

Symbolic power suggests a margin of freedom between habitus and field, a space for interpretation and contestation. It's a site of double uncertainty since the meaning of the social structure remains open to several interpretations, since agents are capable of multiple ways of understanding their actions. Habitus and field become sites of uncertainty, in contrast to Bourdieu's main argument that the belief that this or that future that is desired or feared, is possible, probable or inevitable, in some historical conditions, and it may then mobilize a group to favour or prevent the emergence of that future (Burawoy: 199).

The following section focuses on Bourdieu's sociology of sport and uses a primary source as it relates directly to the topic at hand.

### 3.6 *Bourdieu's approach to the study of sport*

The above background highlights Bourdieu's concepts of sociological theory, but Bourdieu has also written on sport, and what follows may be useful for analysis later herein. For Bourdieu, the phenomenon sport has various implications:

> Representations…(of)…specific schemes of perception and appreciation… different classes have of…costs…(economic, cultural, physical)…and benefits attached to…different sports...physical…economic and social benefits (upward mobility)…of deferred symbolic benefits linked to...distributional or positional value of…the sport considered…(and)…clear association with a class…(as with) football…(or)…rugby evoking…working classes…(and of)…gains in distinction accruing from the effects on the body…(slimness, sun-tan, muscles) or from the access to highly selective groups some of these sports give (e.g.: golf, polo) (Bourdieu, Distinction, 1984: 20).

Bourdieu elaborates the historical uses of sport, and the imposition of an aristocratic definition of education within the academic institution, where knowledge and erudition are contested by other values (Bourdieu, 1984: 93). All these were favourable to the children of the petit bourgeoisie. They included energy, courage, the virtues of leaders (the army or business that were almost similar in the 19th century), and personal initiative, 'baptized self-help' or enterprise that are all linked to sport. This mode of thinking is still prevalent today. This involves cultural struggle:

> Struggles over the legitimate definition of culture…(and evaluation)...are only one dimension of the endless struggles which divide every dominant culture…Thus the glorification of 'character building' sport and the valorisation of economic and political culture, at the expense of literary or artistic culture…(as)…strategies (of)…dominant fractions of the dominant class aims to discredit…values recognized by…intellectual fractions of the dominant class (Bourdieu, 1984:93).

Spaces defined in cultural areas are organized by the structure of social space determined by the volume and composition of capital. The lifestyles of each cultural practice are defined for each class fraction or configuration of capital by a generative formula of habitus. The latter retranslates the necessities and facilities characteristic of that class, of its relatively homologous conditions of existence, into a particular lifestyle. It's a matter of determining how habitus dispositions are specified for each major area of practice, by implementing one of the stylistic possibilities of each field. Rugby was ambiguous when first introduced in English schools, but in France it is typical of middle and lower classes. The UK saw the game co-opted by the elite that infused it with an aristocratic ethic and world view (e.g.: 'fair play,' 'will to win'). But sport also has more complex processes, of lagging or hysteresis:

> The 'aristocratic' image of…tennis…or golf can persist beyond a relative transformation of the material conditions of access…But distributional properties are not the only ones conferred on

> goods by the agents of perception of them. Because agents apprehend objects through schemes of perception and appreciation of their habitus. It…is...naïve to suppose…all practitioners of the same sport…confer the same meaning on their practice or even…are practicing the same practice…Different classes do not agree on the profits expected from sport…physical…or extrinsic… social relationships…or possible economic and social advantages (Bourdieu, 1984: 209).

For Bourdieu, only through methodological analysis of the different meanings of various sports can one avoid abstract and formal typologies that are genre based. Some sports have strict dress codes, and if not adhered to, it is not considered as a sport. The Cameroonian football team, for instance, were told not to wear a one-piece T-short and shorts. Sepp Blatter, then head of the International Federation of Association Football (FIFA) said:

> The rules are very clear…one shirt, one shorts and one socks…. They cannot do it. You cannot play a game against the laws of the game. We are the guardians of the laws of the game – the laws are universal (Sepp Blatter, FIFA head) **(**14).

There are class variations in sport which are as much due to variations in perception and appreciation of immediate or deferred profits, as they are to variations in cost. The latter include economic, cultural and a degree of bodily risk and injury. These are the broad outlines of sport, within the limits of economic and cultural capital, as well as spare time (Bourdieu, 1984: 212).

Popular sport has tacit associations with youth, licensed to expand physical and sexual energy, but also to abandon it early in adult life or after marriage. In contrast, bourgeois sport, which is pursued for its health maintaining functions and their social profits, has a later retirement age, which perhaps explains its higher prestige (Bourdieu, 1984: 212).

But Bourdieu also finds sport to be complex, with its many variables. These relate to its historical evolution, how it was learnt, how often it is played, its socially qualified conditions of place, time, facilities and equipment. It also includes how it is played (player positions or style), and the different interpretations of its statistical data. For instance, gymnastics is practiced in various places such as the school gym or as a professional sport. It is also included in athletics and in the new forms of gymnastics.

For Bourdieu (1984: 213) rugby is a violent physical battle of strength and speed. It is about manliness, toughness and a taste for fighting. It may include dominant fractions of a dominant class, or even its intellectuals, that aesthetically and ethically invest in macho values mixed with aestheticism of violence and man-to-man combat. Its first degree practitioners are thus relegated to a managerial discourse as docile and a brute force (as in 'gentle giant') working class strength in its approved form (of self-sacrifice and team spirit). More elite meanings point to the heroism of rugby, its modern tactics and training, and it's relations to industrial labour metaphors or trench warfare: as in 'attacking the coal face' or in the trench warfare that the infantry dutifully engage in when facing enemy fire.

The meanings and functions of different sports change over time, including their identification with different groups. Its class distribution is not explained simply by the nature of various sports. The logic of distinction is explanatory, but relationships between different groups and different practices are not fully understood without its objective potentialities.

As for the empirical aspects of sport, European statistics show that farmworkers are the least active (1.7%), followed by junior executives (24%), while professionals are the most active (32%). The trend is similar with education levels. Participation declines in terms of sex differences, as one moves down the hierarchy. Soccer is mainly played by manual workers, with crafts persons and shopkeepers following. Such differences are partly due to the encouragement given in school sport. But age also brings about a decline in such activity and this is most abrupt among workers. 75% of workers and peasants abandon sport around the age of 25. However, this trend is slowing down since sport is invested with health giving functions as in children's physical development (Bourdieu, 1984: 214-215).

Finally, Bourdieu (1984: 214-215) notes that team sport needs physical or acquired competences that are fairly distributed among classes, and therefore equally accessible within the limits of time and energy available. Such competencies might be expected to rise in frequency, as it does in individual sport, as one goes through the hierarchy. Yet their very accessibility and its implications of undesirable contacts, discredits them in the eyes of the dominant class. In France, aristocratic interest shifted as football and rugby became more popular, with their common publics. Furthermore, their values and virtues of strength, endurance, violence, sacrifice, docility and submission to collective discipline, are contrary to bourgeois role-distance and exaltation of competition. Thus, Bourdieu asserts the following:

> To distance themselves from common amusements, the privileged…(are)… guided by the horror of vulgar crowds which always leads them elsewhere, higher, further, to new experiences and virgin spaces, exclusively or first theirs, and also by the sense of legitimacy of practices, which is

> a function of their distributional value, of course, but also of the degree to which they lend themselves to aestheticization, in practice or discourse (Bourdieu, 1984: 215).

Having outlined Bourdieu's social theory and its application to sport, the discussion can now move on to conceptualizations of the notion of hegemony, by focusing on the views of Gramsci (1971), Laclau (1989) and Williams (1981, Culture; 2011 in Szeman and Kaposy). The conceptual literature is reviewed to outline some of the basic concepts used in this study. These include theories and concepts from the three above authors (15).

It may be useful to repeat Tamir Bar-On's (2017) quote at the beginning of chapter one, of three types of geo-political soccer discourses recognized by intellectuals, states and civil society, namely, war, Nobel Prize and the Gramscian discourse. The focus here is on the first and last discourses, and in their interstices. This is the general context for this dissertation, and also what the overarching elements of 'culture' entail, as a starting point.

Raymond Williams' (Williams 1981: 10-11) view of culture also relates it historically to crop culture, which is extended to human culture. The latter involves active mind cultivation of a way of life, and of an informing spirit (ideal, national or religious), ranging from partial to total culture. He also sees culture as ordinary (Williams in Szeman et. al., 2011: 53-54) as societies create contours, aims and meanings, expressed in institutions, arts and learning. Society itself emerges from common meanings, and grows as a result of active debate and amendments after experience, being (re) made in every mind by learning these contours, and being tested in experience. It is traditional and creative, not trivia, or a separated arena of life from the common person's life.

Williams (2011, in Szeman et al.: 55-59) elaborates culture as an underlying system of production, and systematic organization, which includes the economic aspects affecting the aesthetic aspects. There are real and living working class cultures just as there are bourgeois cultures. In seeking alternative cultures as Marxists do, these cannot be translated into how one should think, as cultures are common meanings and grow from the collective input of a society. While class exclusion continues in education, for example, national cultures cannot be said to be exclusive. Industrialization brought about 'dirt and exploitation,' but also improved transport and communication, and ordinary people also gained therefrom, and are not always endowed with low and trivial tastes and habits. Yet with industrialization, the masses became the new word for what was called 'the others, the mob, the unknown, the unwashed, the crowd beyond one.' (Williams in Szeman, 2011: 57). In arguing against the proposition that popular education brought about commercial culture, Williams sees the 'bad new commercial culture' emerging

out of the social chaos of industrialism, and out of the success in this chaos, of the 'masses formula'. On the other hand, he rejects observations on the current widely distributed popular culture, as a true guide to people's state of mind and feelings, as an essential quality of life of its consumers. Living and real people, including all their types and classes, are palpable, have quick discernment ability and have a wide range of experiences. Furthermore, the emergence of popular, widespread 'bad culture' does not mean that 'good culture' disappears, as with the widespread distribution of good music, literature and art. We are living in what Williams (2011 in Szeman: 59) calls an 'expanding culture' that also sees each element expanding. The relative rates of such expansion also means that the resultant social and economic problems also gain import.

Hermes (2005: 15) (16) similarly articulates popular culture as that domain of allegiances that we feel connected to, and which is stabilized through an effect of the social order. Hermes asks how cultural citizenship produced a social and cultural force, and if it affects real change or whether this happens elsewhere, viz., in the offices of multinationals or of their CEOs. Popular culture thus balances various push-pull forces. However, for Hermes, popular culture rarely produces revolutionary impulses.

Having outlined some notions of 'culture', the following section focusses on the notion of hegemony.

### 3.7 *Revisiting the notion of hegemony*

Hegemony usually refers to authority, domination or ascendency, but sociologically its use is wider. This digression simply seeks to contextualize the notion. The idea of an expanded use of the concept is to understand how such domination emerged; it is not part of the natural order but rather a socio-historical construction and is usually based on class and group alliances. Gramsci reworked Hegel's division of authority into political and civil society, with two modes of control, namely, force and consent:

> …levels of force and consent, authority and hegemony, violence and civilization, of the individual moment and…the universal moment ("Church and State"), of agitation and propaganda, of tactics and strategy…(Gramsci, Prison Notebooks 1971: 170).
>
> Force and consent are hard and soft power, respectively in politics, and with soft coercion and cooperation relating to voluntarism in civics. Hegemony enables tacit consent through popular consensus, of which one expression is in sport. It mediates between the individual and the exercise of choice, permeating structures within which choices are made possible. It alters our

> knowledge of the world, creates an ideological soil and determines a reform of both consciousness and methods of knowledge (Gramsci, 1971: 365-6; Jenks. Culture: 81-2) (17).

Gramsci further argues that:

> A "relation of forces"…is closely linked to the structure, objective, independent of human will…The…development of the material forces of production provides a basis for the emergence of the various social classes, each one of which represents a function, and has a specific position within production itself...(and a)...subsequent moment is the relation of political forces…an evaluation of the degree of homogeneity, self-awareness, and organization attained by the various social classes…(and)…the third moment is that of the relation of military forces which from time to time is directly decisive (Gramsci, 1971: 180-1).

From these moments described above there arise three further moments. The first is a solidarity moment (e.g., all trades people). The second is a moment of class solidarity (solidarity of the interests of all groups in a class, not just trades people). The third moment transcends the economic and economic phases, with awareness of subordinate groups' interests. It involves the move from structure to superstructure with party formation when ideologies condense, or where one ideology dominates. The aim is to propagate it in society to unite political and economic aims, and to unite political and moral life on a universal plane to create hegemony of a fundamental social group over a series of subordinate groups (Gramsci, 1971: 181-2).

While this account focuses mainly on parliament and ruling groups, the primary idea is to balance force and consensus in order for such groups or parties to gain, maintain and sustain their power. A provisional alliance of social groups exerts 'total social authority' over subordinate groups, not simply by means of coercion but by making the domination of ruling classes appear 'legitimate and natural.' Hegemony is successful in so far as the dominant classes succeed in framing competing definitions within their range, so as to control, if not contain, all subordinate groups. This occurs within an ideological space that appears permanent, natural and outside of history, as part of the natural order and beyond particular interests. To further clarify and explain how all these relate to this research, education and other functions that are included in hegemony, Gramsci states the following:

> School as positive….courts as repressive…educative functions…(are crucial)…state activities….(Many)…private…activities…(follow suite)…(as an) apparatus of…(ruling classes)….political and cultural hegemony (Gramsci, 1971 : 258).

> A…mass…does not become independent in its own right without…organizing itself…there is no organizations without…organization (Gramsci, 1971: 334).

The above quotes reflect Gramsci's open view of how hegemony works, in its many forms and on many fronts, sport being one of them, for the ruling classes. This is clarified further on in the general account of hegemony. The second quote seems tautological but relates to forms of organization that uphold a particular hegemony within a field of many structures and practices. British cricket rules are also about the 'gentlemanly conduct': of a dress code, of fair play and a stiff upper lip. These relate to other hegemonic practices of the British empire, such as table manners and of elaborate cutlery settings that reflect its microcosmic aspects. The next section outlines Raymond Williams' further theorization of hegemony.

### 3.8 *Raymond Williams and hegemony*

Raymond Williams (in Jones, 2004: 73-74) **(**18) refers to three forms of hegemony, namely, dominant, residual and emergent practices. In the first, a 'central system of meanings and values depend for their renewal on the process of incorporation of elements of residual and emergent forms, albeit with the primary incorporating agencies being socializing institutions, selective traditions and formations' ('informal, artistic or intellectual groupings'). British hegemony in a given period is one example of this form. Second, residual forms survive from formerly dominant forms, being reduced but active, unlike archaic forms that are fully incorporated into the dominant forms. Such residual forms may assume an incorporated, alternative or oppositional role towards the dominant form. The idea of a rural community, or organized Christian religion is an example of a residual form. Thirdly, newly emergent forms, often emerging from a rising class, new formation or new social movement, may assume an incorporated, alternative or oppositional role towards the dominant form. The 19$^{th}$ century radical British popular press, which moved from an oppositional to an incorporated form, is one example. Finally, the pre-emergent or what Williams calls 'structure of feeling' pre-articulates 'social experiences in solution' at a stage before achieving an objectivated form' (Williams in Szeman, 2011a: 353-356)**.**

Since sports practices are also social practices, and due to the fact that social domination and resistance also occurs through sports, it is important to consider the notion of hegemony in its various forms. It usually refers to authority, domination or ascendency. Such a phenomenon is a socio-historical construction and is not part of the natural order. Gramsci's view relates to two modes of control, those

of force and consent. Societal control occurs through both in different measures, depending on the nature of the society. During apartheid, force was predominant, while consent is more predominant in democratic formations. Having outlined Williams' theories, a summary of relevant aspects of Laclau and Mouffe's (1989) views follows hereunder.

### 3.9 *Laclau on hegemony, discourse and antagonism*

Laclau's theory relates to language practices, and how our multifarious roles in society can contribute to democratic practice, so as to proliferate relevant political initiatives for each role that adds to such practice:

> Hegemony… (are tensions between)…very different relations:…of the hegemonized task and…class agent(s)…(and the same) task and the class hegemonizing it.… Hegemonic relations supplement class relations…Hegemonic relations are facts of parole…class relations are…that of langue (Laclau and Mouffe, 1989: 50).

Langue relates to language, including the language of sport, while parole refers to speaking and the action of sport. Activity in sport can be constructed in class terms, but such activities are not always class reducible. They may be constructed in popular, ethnic or national terms (Odhav, 2019) (19).

Identities are relational rather than fixed, and articulation determines its hegemonic task that is also not a necessity. The system of relations is not fixed or stable for hegemonizing tasks to defer every social identity to a final suture, that never arrives (Laclau et al., 1989: 86). If all identities are unfixed, class as a natural agent of the hegemonized task that it is supposed to fulfil, also becomes unnecessary, as it depends on articulation. Identity is therefore relational. But this system of relations is itself not fixed or stable, so as to make hegemonic tasks possible. It constantly defers every social identity. It is a final suture that never gets fulfilled (Laclau et al., 1989: 86).

Social relations as identities are not totalities, but institutional aggregates, forms of organization, practices and agents with no causal principle of consistency, which differ in form and are not essential to one another (Laclau et al., 1989: 103) due to overdetermination:

> Overdetermination…(sees)…all literality…constitutively subverted and exceeded… (and not an)…an essentialist totalization or separation among objects. The presence of some objects…prevents...their identities from being fixed (Laclau et al., 1989: 104).

Discursive structures are also material, as in Wittgenstein's language games, including language and its actions. If we apply Laclau's theory to sport, it is not just about the idea of a particular sport but also the practice of it. Diverse subject positions appear within a discursive formation of sport, in a system of differences. Rather than being purely linguistic, they penetrate the 'material density of multifarous institutions, rituals and practices that structure a discursive formation', and with the centrality of the notion of discourse, it enlarges the field of objectivity (Laclau et al., 1989: 109).

As for 'discourse', it is a system of differential entities or 'moments', only existing as a partial limitation of a 'surplus of meaning', which subverts it. Every discursive situation has inherent surplus, a necessary terrain constituting every social practice. This is called the field of discursivity, indicating the form of its relations with every concrete discourse, and it determines the necessarily discursive character of any object, and the impossibility of any given discourse to implement a final suture. This is in line with the contemporary notion (Derrida, Wittgenstein) of the impossibility of fixing meanings (Laclau et al., 1989: 1).

Another discursive form is 'antagonism' that renders impossible any stable difference and objectivity. Antagonism, or the other's presence, prevents me from being totally myself. Rather than a relation full of realities, it arises from the impossibility of their constitution. Antagonism escapes the possibility of being apprehended through language, since language exists to fix that which antagonism subverts (Laclau et al., 1989: 122-5).

Hegemony emerges from articulatory practices, where elements have not crystalized into moments. Hegemonic practice cannot occur in a closed system of relational identities, where each term has a fixed meaning. Articulation cannot occur in a fully successful system of differences without a floating signifier, since the repetition principle would simply dominate every practice and there would be nothing to hegemonize. As Laclau asserts:

Hegemony supposes the incomplete and open character of the social…It can take place only in a field dominated by articulatory practices (Laclau et al., 1989: 134).

However, hegemony is not only about articulatory moments, as articulation necessarily contests other antagonistic articulatory practices; hegemony has to emerge from a field of multiple antagonisms and supposed equivalences and frontier effects. Hegemonic articulation needs antagonistic forces and unstable frontiers, which split them, with a vast area of floating elements and the possibility of articulation to opposite camps (Laclau et al., 1989: 135-60).

Hegemony is also metonymical; its effects always emerge from a surplus of meaning which results from a political relation rather than a topographical concept, and is also not an irradiation of effects from a privileged point. The beyond cannot consist in something positive; thus, it has to consist in something negative. However, the logic of equivalence introduces negativity into the field of the social. This means that a formation manages to signify itself, or to constitute itself as such, only by transforming its limits to frontiers, by constituting a chain of equivalences, which construct what is beyond the limits as that which is not. It is only though negativity, division and antagonism that a formation can constitute itself as a totalizing horizon (Laclau et al., 1989: 141-144).

This also means that the category of the social is open and indeterminate, giving negativity and antagonism a founding and primary character to enable articulatory and hegemonic practices to exist. Relations of subordination refer to agents subjected to others' decisions, as in employer-employee relations, such that relations of oppression are subordination sites that become transformed into sites of antagonism (Laclau et al., 1989: 144-154).

Laclau argues that only when democratic discourse becomes available to articulate the different form of resistance to subordination, that conditions will exist to make possible the struggle against different types of inequality. Feminism used democratic discourse from equal citizenship to relate the equality between the sexes. However, for this to happen, the democratic principle and liberty had to impose themselves as the new matrix of the social imaginary to constitute a fundamental nodal point in constructing the notion of the political (Laclau et al., 1989: 155).

Democratic discourse becomes potentially subversive, to allow equality to spread into many other discourses and act as a fermenting agent in different struggles against subordination. Thus, the multiplicity of social relations from which antagonism and struggles originate - habitat, consumption or a variety of services - can all constitute terrains for the struggle against inequalities and to claim new social rights (Laclau et al., 1989: 155-161).

Antagonisms left free to themselves are floating signifiers, 'wild antagonisms' that do not predetermine the form in which they can be articulated to other elements in a social formation. The political left has limited itself, Laclau argues, by determining in an a priori manner the agents of change, levels of effectiveness in the field of the social, and privileged points and moments of rupture (Laclau et al., 1989: 172-179).

For democratic equivalence to emerge, a new common sense is necessary, to change the identity of the different groups to articulate the demands of each group equivalentially with those of others: just as Marx contended, the 'free development of each should be the condition of the free development of all' (Laclau et al., 1989: 183).

Every hegemonic position has an unstable equilibrium. Our constructs emerge from negativity, and are consolidated only if the positivity of the social is successfully constituted. These two moments are not theoretically articulated, but outline the space of a contradictory tension, which constitutes the specificity of different political conjunctures. These two differing and contradictory social logics can also co-exist (Laclau et al., 989: 189-90).

Finally, Laclau also refers to societal effects. For a radical democratic project, the left needs to reject any essence of the social, affirm the ambiguity of every essence, and affirm the constitutive character of social division and antagonism. A 'ground' is alive only in as far as it negates its fundamental character of an order existing only as a partial limiting of disorder, of a 'meaning' constructed only as excess and paradox in the face of meaninglessness, viz., the political field is never a zero sum game, as players and rules are never fully explicit. These games that elude the concept are what is called hegemony (Laclau et al., 1989: 192).

## 4. Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 *Introduction*

This chapter describes the methodological approach used for this research. First, it discusses the notion of hegemony that is central to this thesis, and how methodological questions arise therefrom or how the investigation method includes hegemonic practices. Hegemony involves power, and methodology also involves forms of power. This research explores these within the context of university sport and in social science.

Second, all research has a personal or subjective aspect, and this has some impact on the methodology used. Such aspects are usually ignored by the positivist tradition, to discard all subjectivity in the name of objectivity. This research seeks to retain these subjective elements, if not accidental events, even if they only form the background, while retaining some sense of objectivity. Many scientific inventions have been discovered through subjective accounts or by accident, including Galileo's laws of pressure when he got into the bathtub, or Newton's discovery of gravity as the apple fell. Such a view is aligned to the 'progressive-regressive method' (Sartre, 1963), without a closure or essentialism implicit in his notion of 'totality'. It does not lend itself to some form of subjectivism or objectivism.

Third, a broad case study approach of multiple institutions is used to examine three different university campuses. Each of the latter has its own culture of sport at a soccer club, which form the study units of this thesis, encased within an organization, institute, academy or bureau, as the case may be at North West University (Potchefstroom), University of Johannesburg (UJ) and the University of Pretoria (UP). This chapter explains how the research was conceptualized and applied, through a narrative of the unfolding events as they occurred rather than imposing a methodology on the empirical data. One can compare this to the left-right shoe phenomena. We are all said to have one bigger foot, but we wear the same size shoe on each foot. It is probably the case that the manufacturer adjusts the most dominant foot as the bigger one, but labels them the same size, whereas there are slight differences in the actual shoe. A similar condition applies here. While a method or methodology is certainly used in this thesis, its application will assume differences in the context it finds itself in, and the contents it examines.

Fourth, combined with some social theory principles (Goulding, 1999; Glaser, 1992; Strauss, 1987) (1) the uncertainty principle (Heisenberg), as in post-structural views of ambiguity, an explanation of data is generated, and the facts collated from a position of radical uncertainty.

It is not that everything is uncertain, but that everything can and usually does change, especially in an empirical and socio-historical world. Further, polysemia as a principle emerges from social theory, and applies to methodology too. Thus, data is generated from interviews, but observation leads to diarization, notes, ideas or recalled events.

Fifth, the raw data that are collected are not just simple facts complying with theory or methodology, but are used to make sense of many forms of sports realities in the selected universities' sports worlds. Each site, interview, observation and datum is examined with a view to generating various accounts of sports practices in institutions. Institutional complexes are the meso-structure within the related sports narrations. For example, if the case study method is used for particularity, it is 'broken open', to investigate sports on three campuses. The notion of hybridity is defined as a form of resistance to and engagement with dominating power (Hommi Bhabha in Jackson, 2008: 147) (2), whether as a sign of empowerment or a symptom of dominance, and can be used as a terrain on which this research is based. The method is also more of a geological mélange (a mix of rocks with no continuous bedding), rather than the triangulation method of three artificially separate and distinct research methods. It involves concurrently using multiple methods to generate data, within a qualitative framework. This involves a 'snap-shot' or 'cross-sectional case study' to generate data, by skimming the surface of three different university locations but without ruling out the intensity of the case studies. It involves in-depth interviews at the three campus sites. The research is therefore both a case study and not a case study, or in their interstices, so to speak.

Sixth, such data generation methods also apply in another form to the instruments used to collect data. These took the form of interviews, observations and participation. The latter took place both from a close up view, and from a slight distance through different forms of observed participation, and with documentary study and informal methods of gathering data. Such forms of data collection do not make the data more unworthy, invalid or unreliable. They simply outline what has been found in particular circumstances, keeping in mind the polysemic nature of actions, social reality, institutions, methods and methodology. New data is generated, or the same data is viewed from a different standpoint. Such a method is explored herein. Indeed, one can go further by asserting polysemy that infects data gathering methods. An interview can be many things, including a useful structured in-depth interview or an accidental informal one that can be just as useful. The latter kind of interview was used when the researcher interviewed a rugby player, but did not pursue studying university rugby.

Eighth, the sampling method is quite traditional in orientation, being a mixture of convenient, directed and accidental samples of institutions' sports units. Such units turned out to be soccer clubs at the three

campuses under study, as the study became more focussed on soccer. These are located in differing and complex sports organizations of the universities concerned, of which an overall picture is presented in chapter six and its sub-chapters (6.1, 6.2 and 6.3).

Finally, while the above paragraphs introduce the study, a methodology of the study is also entailed. This research involves a documentary study, mainly through a literature review, with some data obtained through virtual or other records, data, archives and documents of organizations. Data was also collated by noting the collection of pictures on walls at university sports institutes or bureaus, on their billboards, or on their stadia paraphernalia or architecture. Other data was gleaned through displays at sports offices as a form of archive, posters or historical photos. However, the majority of primary data that was used was collated through interviews at the site of sports delivery, in particular, at the campus soccer club. Most of the literature was obtained from the NWU library website through its massive online journals and other relevant websites, and from the University of Witwatersrand (Wits) main library and its Education campus library, the University of South Africa (UNISA) library, and other relevant online sports blogs or websites.

### 4.2 *Hegemony and methodology*

Research begins, if there is ever a singular starting point, as a methodological endeavour, and it involves all aspects of the research process. The question at the heart of each thesis is about where to begin. One starting point is in the area of power where it is not usually located in the traditional literature on methodology.

While many text books explain the writing of a thesis, with justification, due to issues of reliability, validity, relevance and significance of the research, it also behoves one to be aware of the hegemony emerging in any order, which in this case is a methodological order. Methodologies, like most other knowledge that is recognized as knowledge, have been constructed mainly from patriarchal traditions. Despite the many useful insights of the founding 'fathers' of sociology, their predominant patriarchal reference remains.

Feminism and the recent stress on indigenous traditions have resulted in some shift in focus in the content of sociological studies, but the challenge remains to shift that focus, together with methodological approaches that offer new sites of knowledge, or vantage points, particularly to the dominant western tradition. While De Vault (1996: 29) states that there is no single feminist methodology, the approach here is to attempt to explore a feminine methodology. If society constantly changes, then the challenge is to adapt to such change. This is not a new challenge, but it has plagued

western thinking since Heraclitus who declared that: ‘no man ever steps in the same river twice, for it's not the same river and he's not the same man.’ (3)

While the missing gender in Heraclitus’ metaphor is also perhaps telling, such exploration can be justified by a number of theoretical positions, including Derrida’s ‘remainder’, Foucault’s stress on the historical and institutional nature of discourses, and Butler’s view of male logocentrism, and how these can be applied to methodology.

### 4.3 *Background to the researcher’s interest in sport*

The researcher’s biographical history in relation to sport is a critical subjective element of this thesis. The digression hereunder is biographical, but it also relates to the methodology in terms of the inspiration and background and motivation for this research, and the choices made therein. Methodology as it is traditionally understood relates to the entire set of background choices, empirical and philosophical. This is supported by the data, cited later herein, generated from students in chapter six (6.1, 6.2 and 6.3), as family interest in sport is found to be an important precursor for students’ motivation to partake in sports.

The researcher spent much of his youth playing social football and jogging as a teenager. His older brothers and peers were involved in sports from opening sports clubs in Johannesburg such as the Knights Eleven Cricket, which was probably a first black cricket team in Fordsburg, if not in Johannesburg. Other family landmarks were to have opened the first black swimming club (Atlantis), Ajax football club and Western Area Table Tennis Association (WATTA). These were all ground breaking efforts by two of his brothers. The latter three were organized through the South African Council of Sport (SACOS) that resisted apartheid in sport. The researcher’s interest in this research into football stems from playing at school and locally in amateur football, and following the white National Football League (NFL) soccer in South Africa in the 1960’s. The latter began due to a generous uncle, ‘Dalookaka’ (uncle Daloo) who transported the neighbourhood kids to the Rand Stadium in Johannesburg. This is where the famous Highlands Park team played, coached by Joe Frickleton, later to become a veteran premier football coach in South Africa (1980s). Later, the researcher turned to follow the local non-racial Federation football, and the National Professional League (NPSL). After television was introduced (1976), there was greater exposure to international teams such as Manchester United (UK) or Roma (Italy).

On enrolling at the University of Durban-Westville, the researcher was confronted by a boycott of its facilities due to its ethnic status as a university. This was an early form of political education about not supporting racial football. He began supporting Federation football games at Curries Fountain (Durban) and in Lenasia (Johannesburg). After gaining employment at North West University, this interest continued, mainly in relation to football. The researcher also founded the first schools league in Mahikeng (the PWC Schools league) that has continued operating for over a decade. The researcher's interest in sports as a social phenomenon began around 2009, resulting in recent publications on sport. The researcher shares CLR James' (2013) (4) view that sport teaches us about politics, and also has an aesthetic value. The following section discusses the role of the researcher as a quasi-partaker.

### 4.4 *The researcher as observer and quasi-partaker or sports fan*

One may ask about how the above personal digression is related to methodology. Broadly, as *observer* or quasi-partaker instead of participant observer; and as a fan of sport, with a growing intellectual interest in it. There are methodological consequences in the position the researcher takes in observing sports across the three campuses under study. This methodological position is first and foremost historical, in the local sense of consuming South African sport, and later international sport. Another pre-cursor to the intellectual exposure is being a young fan of boxer Cassius Clay (Mohamed Ali) with his political rhetoric (5).

In addition, the observer as quasi-partaker role is at a distance, as the researcher does not work on any of the three campuses whose soccer clubs are under the spotlight as part of their sports organization, but does work at the Mahikeng campus, that is one campus site of NWU.

Furthermore, the researcher played a unique insider-outsider role. Given his sociological training and his cultural, union and political activism, his insider role was to play social sport and teach at NWU. Then there is the outsider role of not playing professionally but as a fan on the outside of teams, which makes it a unique 'in-out' location. Furthermore, the researcher works on one campus of the institution (NWU, Mahikeng) that forms the background to the study. Mahikeng is not included in the sample due to the difficulty of managing multi-campus research. Again, the insider-outsider role impacts on methodology. The researcher plays social sport, and watches live Varsity Sport on national television.

Bailey (1978: 215-221) (6) regards observation as a method to generate data from non-verbal behaviour as superior to survey research, experimentation or document study. Unstructured observation is flexible and enables the researcher to focus on any variable that may be important. In this research, the observer

had an existential relationship with the observed, particularly since they share the same education space of being university employees, who fall under the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET). Due to these back and forth movements (inner/outer, fan/analyst, observer/partaker), some level of objectivity remains within the researcher's grasp, without forgetting the context of polysemy discussed earlier. This means that a variety of views within a socio-historical and institutional context needs to be considered. Observation generates primary data while surveys yield secondary data from a few minutes interviews. The focus is on the 'natural' social environment of the participants and actors in the field. The technique is neither as restrictive as the survey, nor as artificial as the experiment. Unlike the experimenter's subjects that may see an environment as alien or even hostile, the observer's studies are based on the subject's natural environment.

Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Painter (2006: 307-309) (7) elaborate further on this method. They argue that the observational method occurs while the action of the research is happening, bringing one close to the data. But in this research it's not as close up as the participant observer, who partakes fully in the action. The researcher did not live and play with sports students, but did attend and watch university soccer matches. It is non-intrusive and highly reflexive and not in the same realm as pure observation where the studied subjects may react to the study. Terre Blanche (ibid.: 310) distinguishes three types of observation. First, 'descriptive observation asks the question: 'what is happening here?' It seeks a full descriptive account of what is witnessed by the researcher, usually in sequence. It is an exploratory or scoping approach that usually generates ideas before a researcher knows which questions are the most focused and the most useful to ask. In this research, the researcher attended sports events, scanned the relevant university websites, spoke to sports related personnel and interviewed students. Second, 'focused observation' leads to more particular questions asked about general events and looks out for particular kinds of interaction. In this research, it included how sports units organized campus sport, and why such arrangements are in place. Third, 'selective observation' means selecting particular events, with specific questions relating to the event. Thus, university sport may involve numerous aspects, including finance, ideology, lifestyle and such aspects interwoven into the fabric of the sport. Some of these need to be unpacked and are therefore explored in this research.

In qualitative studies, observational research is usually conducted in a naturalistic environment. Such studies may be structured or in-depth, and unstructured or impressionistic. This research used both forms of observation in conducting the broad research as an open unstructured entity, in addition to structured interviews with respondents. Many observational studies take a participatory form, but this study did not employ a participatory approach: the researcher did not play or stay with sports students or staff. Some observations were diarized, and others were recorded in notes after the interview with

participants. However, observation extends to observing the contexts of students' sport, as in the signs at university stadia, or the names of sports centres, that relate some or other meaning of relevance for the research.

Table 4 (below) outlines where this research lies in the degree of structure of the interview and observational setting.

Table 4*: Degree of structure of the interview and observation*

| | **Natural Setting** | **Artificial Laboratory** |
|---|---|---|
| **Unstructured** | *Type***:** Completely Unstructured Field Study (e.g.: Mead, 1939; Whyte, 1943; Gearing, 1970) | *Type:* Unstructu Laboratory Analysis (e.g. Axline, 1964) |
| **Structured** | *Type*: Structured Field Study (e.g. Sears, Rau, Alpert, 1965) | *Type*: Completely Structured Laboratory Observation (e.g. Bales, 1950) |

Replicated from Bailey, 1978: 219

The classifications above (Table 4) are a guide to where this research can be placed. The research was structured through appointments with a common set of questions for staff and students, respectively, which puts it in the middle bottom box ('structured field'). However, the unstructured observation method, discussed above, puts the research in the top middle box. This means this research lies between these two fields of data generation. Bailey (1978: 220) justifies such a stance, when he asserts that the lines of demarcation between the two boxes in question are not that clear. The research also does not fit into the mould of complete structured observation or a laboratory study, since the natural setting is explored and examined. It is a semi-structured study. As Bailey (1978: 235-7) describes it:

> To capture the rigor and ability, to quantify…the structured study but not…(its)…artificiality…(a researcher may)…conduct a study in a natural setting (e.g. field study) using a structured observational method (Bailey, 1978: 235).

The advantage of this method is its natural setting. It enables some ability to control extraneous variables. One disadvantage is the 'halo effect' that stereotypes individuals and rates them by the use of such stereotypes (Bailey, 1978: 237).

There is another dimension of qualitative research that relates to observation but that goes further than the latter. The notion of generativity is relevant here. It is an overriding validity construct and derives from Vithal (in Amin, 2010) (8). Amin speaks of generalizability:

> Vithal makes a case for democratic participatory validity (quoting Vithal) "researchers never completely escape generalisation…(and)…constantly make judgements about the applicability of findings of other research to their own situations." Generativity is about creative thinking, finding applications "to explore the possibilities and potential for a critical perspective." Vithal co-produces ideas and thoughts for rethinking mathematics education with participants (Amin, 2010).

This study seeks to make the creative leap to make theoretical analysis out of reading transcripts of interviews with soccer students and their coaches and university staff. This is done with the assistance of the conceptual framework that is relevant to the data, and in an attempt to deconstruct such data. Participatory validity is suggested but within a context of the relativity of players and coaches' experiences.

4.5 *The interview as a form of data generation*

The importance of an interview as a form of data generation is that it is constructed as a one-on-one situation. This format allows the researcher to react, respond, interact and create a dialogue with the participant. One golden rule is silence, even as a probe:

> Sometimes the best probe is silence; if the interviewer sits quietly with pencil poised, the respondent will probably fill the pause with additional comments…or… "How is that?" or "In what ways"…(or)…"Anything else?" (Babbie, 2013:253) (9)

A real advantage of the interview is that it is live. The researcher's observation skills allows the researcher to be open to the participants' behaviour, and the immediate environment. Where necessary, explanations were sought after the participants' initial responses. Before the interviews commenced, the researcher briefly explained what the research was about and what would be done with its findings. For

the group interviews with students, the participants were asked to provide their names and those of their institution for record-keeping purposes, but they were also guaranteed that their responses would remain anonymous (Bailey: 252-4).

The researcher remained neutral throughout all the interviews. His sole interest was to gain information. He kept to the set of questions to be asked with some digressions when this was necessary, but with a keen interest in what the participant had to contribute to the discussion.

The challenges faced by the researcher included being obligated to the interviewee for his/her time and for the information provided. The researcher was also aware of the Hawthorne effect of interference in the data as the researcher was the new element in the situation. The researcher overcame these issues by ensuring that the interview situations were relaxed and informal but ensured that the aims of the interview schedule were adhered to. The interviewees were requested to volunteer their time and prior permission was obtained to audio tape the interviews. Babbie (2013: 250) notes that the advantages of interviews include a high response rate. Most of the prospective participants contacted by the researcher were interviewed, with a few not able to make it due to their busy schedules. The interviews began with an explanation of the PhD thesis with an assurance that anonymity would be maintained (see Appendices 1 and 2). Building rapport between the researcher and participants was a priority. This was achieved by introducing the researcher as someone with an interest in sports, sportspersons and sporting activities, followed by an introduction to the format of the interview. All these strategies assisted in ensuring an open and trusting relationship. The interviews were then conducted using a set of questions.

This leads to the next section that explains and justifies the interview process in research.

4.6 *Interviews: individual (one-on-one) or group-based (researcher: a few participants)*

In both the individual and group interviews, a set of questions was used to guide the conversation, rather than having completely pre-determined questions. The interviews were held in a quiet space away from the noisy sports grounds.

The researcher interviewed each first team coach of soccer at the three university campuses, with a telephonic and/or email pre-arrangement of the interview time and venue. As there was only one head coach per campus, these took the form of one-on-one interviews. In the case of NWU, the assistant coach was interviewed due to the unavailability of the coach. In general, the university's first team for soccer was divided into two small groups of six to seven students each (based on availability), at each

of the three universities. The venue for the interviews was the university sports club or the dressing room. A schedule of questions was used for a conversation on the organization of sport, particularly soccer, at the university and club in question. This allowed for an hour long interview, with formal and informal interactions with players and the coach.

The group interviews offered the players the opportunity to talk in a safe space. They also saved time as teams had their training schedules too. The research focused on three clubs. When meeting the team, for instance, while they were practicing, players would voluntarily come, six to seven at a time, to be interviewed by the researcher. Most such interviews took place on the campus grounds where students play. When not practicing, arrangements were made with the coach or administrator in charge to meet with the set number of player-students for a group interview. Given that the students are young they could speak in a group more easily and 'dominant' speakers could lead others in terms of speaking out on issues. However, the group format could be a disadvantage as it might mean that some members of the group do not participate meaningfully. The researcher counteracted this by circulating the questions amongst the respondents, and using his previous experience of chairing meetings and being able to offset such disadvantages.

The four areas covered in the interviews with the coaches were (see Appendix 1):

i) Background information: the nature of the coach's work, how sport is organized at the university, and how the coach interacts with student-players.
ii) Questions about university policy, its origins and dissemination at the university, if any documents exist on sports policy, and university processes for such policy.
iii) Questions about university support structures: if they exist for sports students, what forms they take and how effective they are in meeting individual needs.
iv) Questions about other forms of coach-student interaction, including in and out of the class or the sports field that benefit students' academic, sporting or social life.
v) Questions about other forms of coach-student interaction, including in and out of the class or the sports field that benefit students' academic, sporting or social life.

The four areas covered in the interviews with players were (see Appendix 2):

i) Background information: what motivated students to play soccer; how they came to study sports; their views on university academic and sports offerings; their achievements in sports and academia; their plans after completing their degrees.
ii) Policy do sports structures and policies satisfy students' needs; are the sports

structures adequate; what are the challenges students face in relation to sports bureaus, academies or sports clubs; how to improve sports and academic offerings; is accommodation automatic for sports students; what affects their performance and what improvements do they suggest?

iii) Sports curriculum what gains are there for sports students; what conceptual difficulties do they find in courses; are the assessments of such courses adequate; are there any aspects of learning related to social, historical and cultural aspects of sport; does sports studies cover any social research aspects of sport?

iv) Sports programs: to elaborate on the sports program; do external factors affect sports students' performance; students experiences of diversity of the student population at the university; their experience of diversity and curriculum content; and finally, who funds their studies and is it sufficient?

Table 5 hereunder outlines all the interviews done for the thesis

*Table 5*: *Outline of the interviews conducted with students, coaches and managers.*

| Position | University | Racial mix | Representation | Reason for choice |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 12 Soccer Players | North West University: Potchefstroom | 1 white & 11 black first team players: NWU | First team: soccer | Player experiences: sports structures, processes, policies |
| 14 Soccer players | University of Johannesburg | 8 black & 6 white first team players: UJ | First team: soccer. | Player experiences: sports structures, processes, policies |
| 12 Soccer players | University of Pretoria | 6 black & 6 white first team players at UP | First team: soccer | Player experiences: sports structures, processes, policies |
| 3 soccer coaches | One each from UJ, UP NWU (Potchefstroom) | 1 white coach each: UP & UJ, 1 black coach, NWU (Potch) | First team: coach represents himself/team | Coach's experiences: sports structures and coaching |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3 soccer managers | 2 UP managers, 1 UJ soccer manager | 2 white, and 1 black manager | All represent sports management | Manager's experiences of sport structures: UJ, UP and NWU |
| 2 informal meetings with rugby players | Both at UP | Both white Masters students | One represents rugby, other is an ex-player | Accidental meeting: 1 ex-player, 1 post-interview talk with rugby player |
| 1 interview with a soccer coach | University of Pretoria | A female white coach | Represents herself/femal eteam as coach | Experience of coach for female team |
| NB: Some interviews were conducted with academic staff, cricket & rugby players, coaches & administrative personnel at the three universities, but were not used for this thesis. | | | | |

The section below explains and justifies qualitative research as a form of data collection.

4.7 *Qualitative field research*

The interview is a qualitative technique that requires justification, in the context of being a field research technique to collect data. For Babbie (2013: 324) qualitative research is an observational method that is distinguished from methods that produce data for quantitative or statistical analysis, such as in survey data. Field research is about qualitative data:

Observations are not easily reduced to numbers…a field researcher may note the "paternalistic demeanor" of leaders…or…"defensive evasions" of a public official…without…(expressing)…paternalism or the defensiveness as a numeric quantity or degree. Although field research can be used to collect quantitative data…typically, field research is qualitative (Babbie, 2013: 324).

Qualitative research has its advantages and disadvantages (Babbie, 2013: 353). Important advantages include its in-depth and flexible nature, and it enables the study of nuances in attitudes, behaviours or social processes over time. Its weaknesses include a lack of statistics and observation of causal relations, behaviour or events that may be untrustworthy. Nonetheless, qualitative research can yield useful insights.

Babbie (2013) notes that field research observation is not simply a data-collecting activity but frequently generates theory. It has few hypotheses to test, but it enables the researcher to make sense of an ongoing process that cannot be predicted in advance. It begins by making initial observations and thereafter revising the initial conclusions. It is a combination of methods: of inductive reasoning to induce a theory into the data; and deduction, with generalizations also being used to make sense of the data (Babbie, 2013: 74-75).

Zifonun's (2015: 15) (10) study of ethnic communities that are regarded as modern communities, highlights how qualitative research is relevant for sport. It's focus is on how the life worlds of the German Turkish community segment into the various social worlds of soccer, immigrants and the local community; and sub-worlds of teams, cafés and prayer rooms. All these overlap with contradictions, but being of different worlds, the contradictions are kept apart. It may be as a sequentialization of activities' roles; or a structured order of orientations and attitudes that achieve what segmentation achieves along spatial and institutional lines; or even an open 'weltaanschauung' (world view) and a philosophy to absorb and manage everyday reality; and even the kinds of stylization to symbolize self-defined statuses and to express identities. The Turkish club being studied integrated its membership by offering interpretations and lines of action that were appealing to Turkish immigrants: it saw both active and passive involvement in soccer, and an opportunity to speak the Turkish language, and to socially engage at a Turkish café, and have relations at a prayer room and such social orderings of life in a Turkish soccer club in a German context.

As Babbie (2013: 346) contends, this type of information emerges from open-ended and in-depth interviews. The current study employed semi-structured, in-depth interviews that were open-ended to some extent, in order to obtain as much information as possible, despite the fact that questions were preset (see Appendices 1 and 2).

A qualitative interview involves interviewer-participant interaction (Babbie, 2013: 346). The interviewer has a general inquiry plan, including the topics to be covered, but not a set of questions that *must* be asked using particular words and in a particular order, but more so in a semi-structured interview form. This research did not fit exactly into this mode, being open but not open-ended. It used a set of questions as a framework to conduct the interview, even though the exact wording was not used in each case. The main idea of each question, within the general themes, was followed but with an openness to probe, and even drift from the topic to allow for interplay between the interviewer and respondent. An interviewer may be compared to a traveller conversing with people as he/she meets

them, and wandering along many domains to let people tell their own stories of the lived world. Babbie (2013) thus describes a qualitative interview as…

> Essentially a conversation in which the interviewer establishes a general direction for the conversation and pursues specific topics raised by the respondent. Ideally, the respondent does most of the talking (Babbie, 2013: 346).

Interviews are a flexible method to generate data. A particular question may not yield a satisfactory response, and listening to and interpreting the response means following up with a lead or a probe on a particular aspect of the participants response. Conversations can be useful to collect data, but they need structuring, in that they need to be pursued in the direction of the research questions. An interview is not a normal conversation that can stray into areas that are not of interest to the researcher. Such leads and probing were pursued in this research, by allowing the conversation to a flow by showing interest in the respondents' activity, but not allowing the conversation to become free flowing such that it that drifts far from the topic at hand.

Given the form of the research, field studies or ethnographic studies were seen as relevant in this study, with certain provisos. It is not a fully-fledged field or ethnographic study as in the case of a sociologist becoming a fully interactive and participative member of the group in order to study it in the classical tradition. This is in contrast to field studies that were conducted by Mead on Samoan Life, or Spradley's 'You owe yourself a Drunk' on urban skid-row inhabitants (both in Bailey, 1978: 221). The research was conducted in the field of the researcher's work, with quasi-participation that occurred in a living setting.

Ethnographic or field research is about describing a particular culture, with no structured questionnaire. The aim is to describe the culture in as much detail as possible, including language, customs, values, religious ceremonies and laws. As noted earlier, the researcher is an academic at one of the NWU campuses, viz., Mahikeng campus. This campus was not included in the sample as this would have rendered the data unmanageable. The proviso is that the orientation was structured within that setting, through the interview questions (see Appendices 1 and 2).

### 4.8. *Recording and Transcription*

The researcher constructed notes with a diary of events and happenings, and kept in touch by attending live first team soccer matches at the Mahikeng campus (NWU). The researcher also kept watching

weekly televised university matches, under the umbrella body, Varsity Sport. This formed the study's background in terms of the researcher as observer quasi-partaker.

The interviews were recorded and professionally transcribed in written form, with an electronic copy for the researcher to counter check. All the transcriptions were checked by the researcher for errors in transcription, content misrepresentation and the like. These transcripts were used as raw data for the analysis and organized in relevant themes. The analysis is presented in chapter six (6.1, 6.2 and 6.3) in three parts, one for each university soccer club. Direct quotes are used in these sub-chapters. Some of the most pertinent themes that emerged were chosen as they related to hegemony in university sport and to the key aims and objectives of the study.

In terms of ethical considerations, the participants were informed of their rights and that their particular responses would remain anonymous. Permission was also sought from the participants to record the interviews. The research proposal was approved by the Ethics Committee of the university (NWU) where the researcher is based.

4.9 *Sampling*

The four general aspects related to the sampling process included the institutions or campus chosen, the sport in question, the population of sportspersons and the (quasi)-case study. Three universities with substantial sports offerings, both in practice and in academia, were selected. These universities straddle two provinces. The first is North West University (NWU) located in a peri-urban area in North West Province. The second is the city-based University of Johannesburg (UJ) in Gauteng province. The third is the University of Pretoria (UP) that is also in Gauteng, Pretoria. The three universities were chosen as they crossed provincial borders as well as for convenience in terms of the distances between them (200 km to 320 km apart) and for their notable achievements in sports.

In terms of university sampling, South Africa is home to 26 public universities, including Universities of Technology that are geographically spread across the country. Each has a unique history, but they also share some commonalities. In common with other institutions in the country, universities were not left untouched by apartheid policies and practices. The first impact of these policies relates to equality and the division between rural-based historically black and the mainly metro-based historically white universities. This was engineered to perpetuate institutional divisions between the black and white populations, with a third of the population in the rural areas (+- 19 million). The second division, arising from the historical legacy of the battles between the English and the Afrikaans speaking groups,

was that between Afrikaans and English speaking universities, with the historically black universities (HBUs) being English medium. The three campuses selected are all former Afrikaans speaking universities, although they do include campuses that were/are predominantly black, viz., Mahikeng at NWU, Mamelodi at UP, and Soweto campus at UJ that have different post-1994 histories. For purposes of manageability, only three campuses were selected, namely, Auckland Park (UJ), TuksSport (UP) and Potchefstroom (NWU). The accidental linguistic sample of Afrikaans campuses was fortunate, as the data revealed an important factor of the sport of rugby that dominated previously Afrikaans dominated campuses.

The second aspect of the sample, that of population, emerged from the sport selected. Soccer was relatively neglected in the official year books during apartheid. It suffered a relative lack of development during apartheid and thereafter, particularly in disadvantaged areas. Yet it is *the* national sport, in that the large majority of disadvantaged South Africans follow it. Coupled with the researcher's personal interest in the game, this led to soccer being the researcher's choice of study. The target population was soccer players at each of the three universities, while the study samples were first team soccer players and the head coach or assistant coach. The unit of study was the football clubs on the three university campuses. These choices made the study manageable, and allowed the researcher to interact with the university first teams and generate information, data and processes that could be used for analysis. The sample of students was not a probability sample. Due to the stretch of the population sample across the three institutions, the sample became a quasi-case study.

The group interviews with students involved six to seven to participants and were held in a semi-private space at the soccer clubhouse or change room. Each first team of each university was interviewed in groups, and a one-on-one interview was conducted with each of the coaches. The total number of interviews used for the analysis was nine, but numerous other interviews with academics, rugby and cricket players and with administrators, managers and other sports personnel were conducted when the initial idea was to study three sports: soccer, cricket and rugby. However, the researcher realized that such vast data was unmanageable, and restricted the study to university soccer. As the analysis will reveal, some of these other sports interviews proved relevant and are included in the list of interviews in Table 5 (chapter 4).

The participants were not selected through a rigorous probability sampling method and do not represent any meaningfully representative population. The purpose of the group interview is to explore and not describe or explain definitively. The study also adopted the typical group interview method of convening more than one group. Group dynamics is an advantage of this method, which may yield data

that would not emerge from individual interviews. Krueger (in Babbie, 2013: 350) (11) notes the advantages and disadvantages of group interviews: the former includes the fact that groups are socially oriented and thus capture real-life data in a social environment. They are also flexible, have high face validity and produce quick results. All these are true for the current study. While it has been noted that group interviews are a low cost method, this was not entirely true in this study. The interviewer contacted each respondent telephonically and via email to ascertain their availability, and thereafter arranged a time for the interview. In some cases, the researcher had to stay overnight due to the distance between the universities (ranging between 200 and 350 km). Babbie (2013:250) notes that one disadvantage of group interviews is that they are more difficult to control than individual interviews. However, this did not pose a difficulty for the researcher. It was also not difficult to analyse the data as a number of interviews were conducted across the campuses. Babbie's caution that moderators require special skills was addressed as the researcher has sufficient prior skills in this regard. Babbie also notes that troublesome differences may become apparent between groups, but this problem was not encountered in this research. Finally, Babbie's (2013) warning that it may be difficult to assemble groups was only true at one institution where the team's intensive program made it a bit more difficult. In this case, the team proposed for group interviews with the researcher was a university team rather than the first professional side, and nothing could be done to change this. Still, consistency was maintained since the team was still the first side of the university, as is the case with the other university teams sampled, and was located at its soccer academy.

While the study is mainly cross-sectional, there are two caveats in this regard. Its time frame stretched over five years of research at the three different institutions. Individual interviews were conducted with soccer coaching staff and group interviews with soccer players to ascertain their views on the organization of soccer at each campus. The interviews generated data which can be regarded as 'frozen moments in time' since there are continuous changes at institutions and the sports complexes within them. Bailey (1978: 28) describes a cross-sectional study as a slice of life surveyed at a single point in time. This is done by sampling a broad range or cross section of a population, including persons of different ages, educational and income levels, races, religions and so on. This research is not such a cross-sectional study as it simply focused on first teams in soccer. Notions of a single point in time are relative, but this research extends this point in time to an overall five years during which the study took place. The second caveat is that this quasi-cross sectional study is spread over three institutions, with the key stakeholders of the teams, viz., players and coaches, that were chosen for interviews. This makes it a quasi-multiple case study sample with certain reservations about the extent of its cross-sectional representation, owing to the over-reach of this kind of study, and the burden it places on an individual researcher.

Given this context, the study's aims are somewhat conservative in relation to the wide net of institutions under its focus: to explore experiences and analyse them within the period determined by the time of the study (2013-2018). There was some cross-section of institutions although not in the categories as described by Bailey. The framework was a qualitative one in order to gain in-depth information through the interview and observation method of data collection. Furthermore, the criteria of observation (Bailey: 217-220) are also followed, including low control of the subjects and the interview situation, as compared to the laboratory; less concern with quantification through statistics; gathering large amounts of qualitative information for in-depth study; and a small sample size of three campuses from a total of seven multi-campus sites of the three universities chosen, out of a national total of 26 universities. Some time was also spent on observation of various kinds (attending events, talking to sports personnel and spending some time on campuses, however limited this was) with no anonymity of the observer in such meetings. The next section looks at the basic research steps and the notions of validity and reliability.

4.10 *Basic research steps*

The steps for social research suggested by Bailey (1978: 220) and marked in italics below, were used in this research, but with divergences, noted below in normal font.

- *Decide on study goals*: chapter one outlined the goals, some of which emerged in the course of the study. For example, 'hegemony' emerged as a unifying principle. The goals were broad enough to study all the campus soccer cultures and sports organization at their soccer clubs.
- *Decide on the groups to be studied*: this was decided early on and the universities selected were sports specialist campuses. They were also chosen for convenience due to being multi-campus institutions (200 to 350 km apart). Soccer was selected due to its national popularity and its global reach.
- *Gaining entry and rapport*: both were unproblematic. Interviewees were contacted by e-mail and telephone. The participants were open, cooperative and accessible.
- *Conduct study by observing and recording field notes:* On average one-hour audio recorded interviews were conducted with soccer players and coaches, and some with managers.
- *Deal with crises, such as confrontations with subjects who think you are a spy*: fortunately, this did not happen, and the subjects were not suspicious at all.
- *Exit from the observational study*: this was done after every interview, and after interviewing sufficient individuals and groups (of students), the study was written up.

- *Analyse the data*: the researcher examined chunks of the interviews with the soccer players, coaches and some managers from the three campuses: NWU, UJ and UP.
- *Write a report of findings*: Writing was part time due to the researchers full time teaching duties, but with study leave taken (2017) while teaching, substitutes (2018) assisted in teaching the researchers sociology classes (Mahikeng campus).

4.11 *Validity and reliability*

Bailey (1978: 242) contends that direct observation has greater face validity than data collected by means of questionnaires or documentary studies. The latter two methods only provide secondary data. This study employed the interview method and direct observation. Various forms of validity were in operation; a lack of anonymity allowed for free flow of information and for reporting on events; and social reality as a mental construct and a set of concrete phenomena, created what is observed partly as a picture of reality and partly the observer's expectations. The lack of structure in observation and the fallibility of the sense organs do not guarantee validity. But the semi-structured interviews covered this weakness. Other possible conditions affecting observation include stress, fatigue, hunger, fear and surprise, none of which played any significant role in the research as each interview was planned in advance and was conducted in a comfortable setting. While an attempt was made to conduct neutral observations, intervening variables can affect such efforts, as is the case with bias. The decision to choose soccer as a study object over the other sports (rugby or cricket) was due to the researcher's personal bias toward soccer, his propensity to follow it and his greater knowledge of soccer due to this personal interest.

Observation is a superior and valid method to study non-verbal behaviour (Bailey, 1978: 244). Field research also provides measures with greater validity than surveys or experimental measurements (Babbie, 2013: 353-4). For example, research on cancer patients can mean 'being there' and being able to pick up on important aspects such as fear of alienation, incapacitation, death, contagion and losing one's dignity. This research did not encounter such crises, but it did help to be at the campus site of sports re-construction, since various factors are involved in sports, especially for soccer at the chosen universities.

In terms of the reliability of the research method, Bailey (1978: 246-7) cites several factors that can affect the accuracy of observational data. These include the observer's inability to ensure the anonymity of those being observed, the subjective nature of social reality, and the fallibility of the sense organs. However, this depends on the observational method used. As this study was not a pure field study, the

negative effects of field studies such as low reliability and understanding, and a single field observer, were negated by the semi-structured interviews that were conversational. Bailey asserts:

> If the general guidelines for conducting observational reach are carried out, there is no reason why rather high reliabilities (75% or higher) cannot be achieved in structured observation (Bailey: 247).

This applies to highly structured observations rather than structured interviews combined with unstructured observations. This form is not the same as the fully structured interview that Bailey refers to. As explained earlier, it is a kind of mélange, in that multiple methods of data generation are used simultaneously. But it is also more than that, as it has a philosophical basis. If the subjective nature of field observations is said to have problems of reliability, this is taken care of through the inter-subjective nature of all science:

> Researchers…(using)… qualitative techniques are conscious of this issue and take pains to address it…(They)…sort out their…biases…and the communal nature of science means…colleagues will help them out in that regard (Babbie: 355).

With validity and reliability explained, the following section justifies the methodology in a philosophical sense.

### 4.12 *Methodological dimensions for the sociology of sport*

This section deals with the various dimensions forming the methodological basis of all research. Mouton et al. (1990) (12) cites the following five necessary aspects in this regard.

First, the sociological dimension of collaborative activity justifies the inter-subjective nature of science: researchers produce knowledge in a context or discourse of ideas and practices with colleagues. This was done formally through input by two committees: NWU's Higher Degrees and Ethics Committees. There was also input from the two supervisors and academic colleagues that had an interest in the research. It is informed by Marxist, functionalist and post-Marxist paradigms without affecting a closure to any of them, to maintain a level of academic standard, and the narrative remains sensitive to polysemia. As the sociological dimension, it includes ideology and other external interests, with an underlying interest in shifting from inherited forms of power to democratic development within university sports, in various arenas: facilities, access, sports renewal in terms of race, class, gender and

various forms of sports inequalities. The preference for qualitative research does not mean that it is biased against quantitative research. The aim was to gain in-depth information to analyze campus changes, or lack of such change as the case may be, for descriptive, ideological and analytical purposes: to describe changes and the limits of the new sports structures, processes and events following apartheid history; and also to outline further possibilities for change. It thus becomes simply terminological to further speculate if this research is an exercise in being of a particular or conceptual theoretical strand, or if it is humanist, or middle of the road flexible or theoretically speculative (viz., creative or brilliant) (Mitroff and Kilmann in Mouton et al., 1990: 11) (13).

The study of being and reality is a second research dimension (Mouton et al., 1990: 11) as an ontological field of social science. Such an ontology has diverse domains for humans, with all its characteristics, institutions, behaviour and products. Social phenomena are observable or not, verbal or non-verbal, individual or collective, historical or anticipated, and emerge from human actions or are the products of human acts, including its literature or art. There are explicit beliefs about what is real and what is not, and they also refer to beliefs about the nature, structure and status of social phenomena. While the conceptual framework (chapter three) deals with the assumptions of this study, this research also relates to the ontologies of beings. Sport is a real phenomenon as far as it exists as a social phenomenon, even if popularly projected as a physical and health maintaining exercise. It has many dimensions. One is the global sport-media nexus whose financial interactions, for instance, probably play a huge role in the inclusion and exclusion of various sports in the media such as women's sport, or that of the disabled, indigenous or traditional sports. This research seeks to examine the social reality of sports at universities within a nexus of hegemonies there, with the latter seen as polyvalent as indicated in chapter three.

Thirdly, there is the teleological dimension, whether in theory viz. for knowledge's sake, or for pragmatic purposes, or even as knowledge for power that are two sides of the same coin, rather than being an either/or (Mouton et al.: 13). The study goals are outlined in Chapter one.

Fourthly, there is 'social science praxis' relating to the epistemic status of scientific statements. This relates to the ideal of science in the quest for truth as an epistemological dimension of sociology. For Mouton et al. (1990: 14), despite differences in strands of western knowledge, their common factor is aiming for certainty of truth. This is the case with the Greeks, Bacon, Descartes, logical positivism, Durkheim, Marx's laws of necessity, and in Weber's 'iron law of bureaucracy.' More recently, Kuhn's verificationism and Popper's falisificationism means the two do share notions of certainty, though unattainable, but with the ideal of truth not necessarily being abandoned (all in Mouton et al.: 14).

However, Mouton et al. (1990:14) assert that methodological and logical considerations make certainty unattainable. This does not indicate, they argue, that the ideal of a singular truth should be abandoned. Mouton's main postulate is that alternatives to rigid objectivism or fundamentalism are neither complete relativism nor scepticism. Mouton et al. accept the principles of contextual validity, of the unattainability of complete certainty, and that subsequent research may prove earlier findings invalid. The epistemological ideal is for research to approximate truth (or a true state of affairs) as much as possible, and to strive constantly to eliminate falsity, inaccuracy and error in research (Mouton et al.: 15).

This research seeks not to assume a singular truth (particular or universal), as it explores what remains unspoken, what is relative at some points and the points of departure of what each discourse asserts as a truth. Thus, while the aesthetics of sport are individually based, and facts around them may be empirically discoverable, who is to say that a particular person has some form of truth to his/her athletic ability or non-ability, apart from the purely physiological reasons that some are endowed with, or not, as the case may be? Mouton (Mouton: 15) cites the notions of verisimilitude (Popper) or approximations (Putnam) as appropriate, whereas the notion of polysemy and several truths, gives an equally plausible argument around each truth in a particular context, without assuming absolute relativism.

The logic of the whole research process is the fifth methodological dimension defined by Mouton et al. (1990: 18). It includes the application of scientific methods to investigate social phenomena, and the decision making process in scientific research. It pertains to how research is planned, structured and executed. It also refers to how scientific logic is used to study social reality, and is about the decisions made throughout the research process. The latter include the theory and/or hypothesis used to investigate a phenomenon, and which measuring instruments and data collection techniques are used. It also includes how to analyse data, what the findings mean, and how they relate to the formulation of the problem.

This research uses a narrative method for qualitative research, to explain the multiple views of soccer players and coaches through interviews and observation. It employs content analysis for soccer clubs at three South African campuses, and is not representative of university soccer in the country. It generated data to acquire the participants' truths, with decisions made by the researcher, related herein, that are personal, theoretical and methodological. The background to such decisions is explained herein, with the understanding that the account provided is the context that the researcher found himself in. Such

preferences are based on the researcher's interests, and not any idea of a 'correct' decision. This thesis provides one approach, as best as possible, with the investigative and scientific techniques at the disposal of the researcher.

4.13 *The case studies approach: a multiple unit cross-sectional study*

Sports case studies are not common in academic research, but there are many popular books, autobiographies and team narratives. This thesis seeks to bridge the gap between such popular narratives and academic case studies. Furthermore, despite the fact that there are many black and female individuals and teams in sport, few local case studies have been conducted in this regard. This section discusses the case studies approach used in this research.

Case studies are traditionally seen as arbitrary, subjective and lacking in generalizability. This is misleading. It can be a necessary and sufficient method for certain important research tasks in the social sciences, and holds up well when compared to other social science research methodologies (Flyvbjerg, 2006: 241) (14). Scholars have noted that, to a large extent, teaching and research in professional schools are modelled on the understanding that case knowledge is central to human learning (Christensen, 1987; Cragg, 1940 in Flyvbjerg: 222). Moreover, Eckstein (in Flyvbjerg, 2006: 226) (15) asserts that case studies are likely to produce the best theories, and that Popper's notion of falsification is based on his example of the existence of one black swan to disprove the contention that all swans are white. It is noteworthy that one instance is seen as important.

Case studies generally elicit two responses. The first undermines their importance, as only one unit or case is studied, and it is therefore not generalizable. It cannot make statements about other cases. Studying the unique is an advantage but without empirical generalization.

The second response is more open to case study methods, as it involves qualitative in-depth study to fathom a particular case for qualitative detail. It may seek to find generalizations across similar cases (Gerring, 2004: 341) (16), or elicit theoretical generalizations. Goffman's (2007) (17) study of asylums is a case in point: modernity separates our play, work and sleep areas, but 'total institutions' (asylums or prisons) combine them, and split groups into managed inmates and supervisors. The notion of total institutions thus arose conceptually from a case study rather than from wider empirical generalization.

Both views of case studies are empirically bounded. The first is suspicious of their generalizability, despite case studies' contribution to knowledge; and the second is partly bounded in theory, and how to

build theory by means of particular case studies. However, this boundedness is not a closure, as described above.

The parameters of this research are slightly different. First, it involves a series of three quasi-case studies, that is, three universities with seven main campuses, of which the three 'main' campus were chosen as a sample. These 'quasi-cases' focus only on soccer first teams and not on one institution (university or campus) only, as traditional case studies do, but spread across three campus soccer clubs. The study can be described as a series of quasi-cases, case interviews or even case-snapshots across space series: they stretch across a limited time and limited space in terms of the sample sites used, viz., three campuses, described below.

Second, the spread of the research across three institutions justifies to some degree, a sense of generalizability, both empirical and conceptual, even if only within such institutions. This applies to one particular sport rather than being a comparative study, with the spread of views from the interviews and observations to generate data and analysis of university soccer clubs.

Third, generalizability may be limited, as there are 26 national higher education institutions. However, similarities exist due to their apartheid past and the mergers of some institutions.

This can lend itself to generalization if only for the particular institutions concerned. Historically, the three campuses were established as Afrikaans prototypes and this may yield some patterns. Different developments in soccer in particular, identified as an African sport or not, make this an interesting sport to examine, without reducing such institutional efforts to their apartheid past.
Fourth, as this study is not limited to one quasi-case study, it opens the possibility for future comparison, though this is not the aim of this research.

Finally, this multiple quasi-case study needs further methodological exploration, for what is gained in range may be lost in depth. But this may also be its strength. Its range across institutions allows for possible future comparison, but its depth lies in its focus on one national sport at three campuses. Furthermore, while depth is important, this study is also interested in surfaces. The latter forms a narrative reflecting what is happening in the discourse of sport. The stories that emerge will become evident in the following chapters.

Still, there is also some truth to the notion of depth, as it retains its significance in the historical and empirical sense, as the empirical material in chapter six (6.1, 6.2 and 6.3) reflect. Depth is also

important, since people and institutions are carriers of histories, and such 'baggage' needs to be unpacked in analysis as the need arises.

Having explained the case study approach, a general methodological caveat is necessary.

### 4.14 *Towards a radical methodology of social sciences*

The sub-stratum of sociology has always been its founding 'fathers', upon which it rests. Recent questioning of all traditions by all varieties of post-philosophies, creates the space for this research to ask how this implicates or impacts on the methodology of the social sciences, especially with regard to sociology as a discipline.

In this context, a historical progressive-regressive method (Sartre) is adopted for this study. This account is historical Marxist as he describes in quoting Marx, how 'men (sic) make history but not in the circumstances they choose.' Humans in a capitalist society (such as South Africa) are a product and are their own products, as one makes history and so do others. In relating this to German peasants, Sartre cites Engels in the 'War of the Peasants', which relates how their praxis is stolen simply by being separate in the division of Germany (Sartre, 1963: 86-88). Sartre speaks of the specificity of the human act as 'holding onto its determinations yet going beyond oneself', of the 'most rudimentary behaviour determined both in relation to the real and present factors which condition it, and in relation to a condition still to come, which it is trying to bring into being, in what is called 'the project.'' He therefore asserts:

> …every 'man' (sic) is defined negatively in terms of the sum total of possibilities which are impossible for him; that is, by a future more or less blocked off. For the under-classes each cultural, technical, or material enrichment of society represents a diminution, an impoverishment, the future is almost entirely barred (18).

Sartre's approach is explained through notions of race and sport, with a coloured ground crew member flying a plane across the French Channel. He has no flying experience, for as a coloured he is prohibited from flying. It is his subjective impoverishment, a denial of his race, and English racism, for a *general* revolt of coloured's against colonialists expressed in *him* by his particular refusal of this prohibition, where a future *possible for whites is possible for all.* Furthermore, an airplane thief 'particularizes a collective revolt of the colonized,' which is emancipating. Three relevant aspects are noted by Sartre (1969). First, the individual act to steal and fly a plane and die in France, but with an

‘emancipation through a collective demand and the emancipating scandal,’ as well as a relation to death. Second, the refusal and ‘assumption of a forbidden future, and his death expressing the impossible revolt of his people’ – hence, his actual relation to colonizers. Third, the ‘radical totality of his hate and refusal,’ of an inward projection of this man, of a ‘brief dazzling freedom, of a freedom to die’ (Sartre: 96, 109).

Sartre (1969) posits a dialectical relation of subjectivity and objectivity in forming the human, which relates to the methodology in this thesis:

> The project, as the subjective surpassing of objectivity towards objectivity, and stretched between the objective conditions of the environment and the objective structures of the field of possible, represents *in itself* the moving unity of subjectivity and objectivity, those cardinal determinants of activity. The subjective appears then as a necessary moment in the objective process…. the practice of union action can increase the importance and efficacy of objective significations among the experienced party militants; the wage scale and the price index can by themselves clarify or motivate action. But all this objectivity refers to a subjective reality…the subjective contains within itself the objective, which it denies and which it surpasses toward a new objectivity. (Sartre: 97-98)

This supports the earlier statements regarding the notion of subjectivity and its use in research as a methodological tool, not necessarily simply as an idealist or arbitrary tool of fiction, but as a real process in the construction of events. Thus, Sartre’s assertion that such ‘surpassings and surpassings of surpassings’ for a social object that may be constituted, taken as a whole, is a reality provided with meaning and something in which nobody can recognize himself, a human work without an author (Sartre: 100).

Furthermore, Sartre describes the situation of an industrialist in the act of hunting or fishing, in order to forget his professional activities. Such actions objectively express capital, and every word or act has a hierarchized multiplicity of significations. Sartre also sees this in Malthusianism: when a son discovers the father’s attachment to property, becoming more violent as the property is more threatened. Under certain circumstances, the child may experience the struggle against death as another aspect of this rage to possess. The child may discover, surpass and conserve, in a single movement, the anxiety of the owner on the brink of ruin and of a man, a prey to death (Sartre, 1963: 104-5). The multiplicity of significations is what is important as we have spoken of polysemy earlier, and the movement of change

in particular acts is what this research also aims to discover. The next section focusses on operationalizing the notion of sports cultures.

### 4.15 *Operationalizing the notion of sports cultures*

Operationalization is an attempt in social research to clarify concepts as many meanings can be attributed to such concepts. Operationalization refers to the process of translating abstract concepts into workable operational indicators (Sarantakos, 2013:474). Concepts can at times be confusing since they have multiple meanings, including the concept of class as argued by Ellis (in Sarantakos, 2013: 153). Class can be interpreted and used differently. Sarantakos suggests the use of indicators for concepts that need to be clarified, and to be indicative of the concept itself, as in the case of occupational status being one indicator of class. In the case of sports cultures, the emphasis is on the qualitative aspects and have various indicators (as in the concept of social transformation or social change). Nevertheless the following may be a guide for operational concepts for sports cultures, and which were the guide for the questions asked of respondents. The unit of analysis is the first team soccer club, and stemming therefrom, emerge the following indicators of sports cultures.

i. Improvements that players and coaches cite at universities, including sports policy offerings.
ii. Challenges players and coaches face and the mechanisms in place (or not) to satisfy the sports needs of players, particularly the disadvantaged players.
iii. The universities' sports development policies and their impacts on soccer players.
iv. The achievements of individual players in soccer, and factors affecting their performance.
v. Formal and informal support structures for players: alternatives such as Forums).
vi. The status of elite soccer students, ambiguous or otherwise, and the rewards attached to them, such as bursaries, free accommodation at university residences and the like.
vii. The sports curriculum contents, relating to assessments and if the latter are satisfactory, and if research is included in the curriculum and in the particular sports unit.
viii. The students' views of the racial diversity of the student population at the particular campus they attend, and the reflection of such diversity (or not) in the curriculum.
ix. The adequacy or inadequacy of funding for soccer students and for soccer operations.

With this said, the following chapter focuses on introducing the three universities sampled.

## 5. Chapter 5: Background to the three universities sampled

5.1 *Introduction*

The first section of this chapter outlines the background and context of the University of Johannesburg (UJ), followed by that of the University of Pretoria (UP), and North West University (NWU). Each of these sections begins with a broad description of the city in which the university is located, followed by its institutional context as well as its sports practices, particularly in soccer.

5.2 *The University of Johannesburg (UJ)*

5.2.1 *The city and surrounds*

The University of Johannesburg has some very interesting historical and social layers. Johannesburg is in the provincial economic hub of South Africa (viz. Gauteng). It is surrounded by previously black and white suburbs, and borders both Soweto and Sophiatown. The latter was a racially mixed area (1950's) from which black people were forcibly removed by the apartheid authorities (1). The University of Johannesburg is near Mayfair, another previously racially grey area, despite apartheid. It is close to the Western area township, a Coloured area in terms of apartheid prescriptions, and two formerly white suburbs: Parktown that is off-city centre, and Burgersdorp that remains mainly white and was created after the removal of Indian traders in Pageview (or Vrededorp). UJ is also next to the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), the mouthpiece of the erstwhile apartheid regime but now it serves the entire nation. The area is home to private and public hospitals, inner city schools, and is near a business centre (Braamfontein).

The university's central location is its key strength as it is situated in a rich cultural, social and demographic environment and is home to a diverse student population. Urban centres thrive on population density, economic and cultural activity and its concomitant infrastructural and service related developments and growth. The main campus is located on the bus route ('Rea Vaya') that emerged from the 2010 World Cup transport system. Its newly appointed Vice-Chancellors and its change of name, from the apartheid designated Rand Afrikaans University (RAU) to UJ, swiftly shifted its image from an apartheid product to a newly merged multi-campus entity with progressive and excellent academic credentials.

5.2.2 *Historical background*

Rand Afrikaans University was created and sustained by the apartheid regime to instrumentalize its ideology of anti-British imperialism. The idea was to develop Afrikaans as an official and scientific

language and to build credible higher education institutions to serve the Nationalist Party's objective of white hegemony over other language and race groups. It largely succeeded in this effort through political, cultural, financial and other means. Indeed, the cold cement labyrinth of UJ's main building symbolically replicates the apartheid's Nationalist Party bureaucracy: it resembles a cement laager of sorts, harking back to its historical identity in a modern form.

The university has undergone somewhat of a shift from its apartheid past. It has hired progressive staff in top management positions, and has opened its doors to black students. This was followed by an investment of R700 to R800 million by UJ and the State, in order to build a world class university. The Vice-Chancellor asserts that approximately 25% (13, 000 out of 52, 000) of its students come from the poorest of homes: meals are provided for 8 000 students who are unable to fend for themselves. The 'missing middle', a cohort of students deemed too well-off to receive government support but too poor to afford tuition fees, are also given support. Following the loss of a critical mass of white students, as Rand Afrikaans University (RAU) became UJ, with the demand for Afrikaans as a medium of instruction waning, it was replaced by English (2).

The recent history of UJ can be summarized as follows. It is a public comprehensive contact university that is state subsidized, and offers certificates, diplomas and degrees. It came into existence in 2005 following the 'mergers' of RAU, Technikon Witwatersrand (TWR) and Vista University (Soweto, East Rand and Daveyton). This resulted in the establishment of a key national institution located in the economic hub of Gauteng, in close proximity to important private and public national institutions. The university has been ranked among the top 2,3% in the global academic rankings, Quacquarelli Symonds (QS), where it outperformed the national average for participating universities in four of its six indicators, viz., employer reputation, staff-student ratio, international staff and international students (3).

Bawa and Visser (in Macupe, 2017) note that that rankings measure some aspects of university functioning, particularly in emerging economies (4). The university has substantial public appeal, despite two of its senior managers recently facing charges of financial fraud (5). Its popularity with students was reflected in a student stampede (2012) to register there, resulting in the tragic loss of life of one aspirant student (6).

The university's achievements need to be applauded, since the instruments of apartheid have, to some extent been dismantled. Its new student demographics point to some improvements. But as regards rankings some of them may also buy into corporate thinking (7).

More pertinent, and without negating the gains of UJ, is Mamdani's description of the state of affairs in higher education in South Africa, when the issue of fees keep rising after apartheid:

To socialize education is to…reduce fees….the institutional form of the modern African university was not African…(but derives)…from the European model of a discipline based gated community, with a distinction between clearly defined groups, administrators, academics and fee-paying students (Mamdani in Imolye, 2017) (8).

Mamdani argues that African universities were a colonial project that aimed to 'civilize' Africans by constructing a blueprint of sorts that can be associated with the structural adjustment programs of the World Bank (WB) and the International Monetary Fund (IMF).
For Mamdani, this project was somewhat of an original structural adjustment program.

Mamdani also argues that the most spoken language in Africa, Kiswahili, is perhaps the only African mode of intellectual reasoning. It is applied only at lower levels of education and not in higher education institutions, where it is regarded as a foreign language, bereft of scholarly or scientific tradition, high culture or legal discourse. This is somewhat similar to the treatment of African languages at universities in South Africa. Still, Mamdani is of the view that Afrikaans represents the most successful African decolonization initiative: it emerged from a folkloric language to become the bearer of an intellectual tradition in half a decade or so. Public funds, vast patronage and an institutional network of media, schools and universities enacted and sustained this tradition.
With this short background of UJ, we now turn to sports at UJ.

5.2.3 *Sport at the University of Johannesburg.*

*Figure 11: University of Johannesburg: Sports structure*

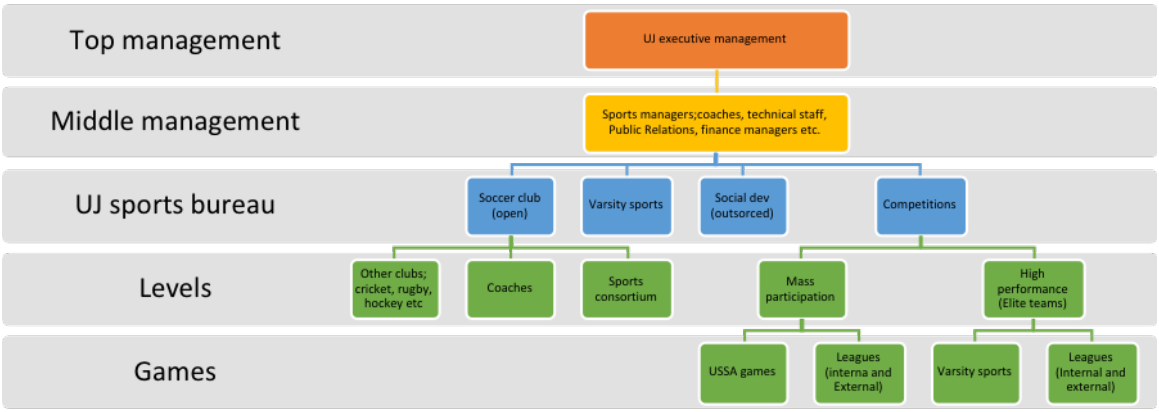



Figure 11 (above) reflects the basic structure of UJ sport with its various offerings. It includes the following. An annual multi-sports tournament (Varsity Sports) and social development for sport that is outsourced. It has a sports outreach program to some nearby schools, a soccer club and various sports competitions. The range of other sports on offer includes rugby, cricket, golf, hockey, beach volleyball, squash, sports for the disabled, netball, cycling, athletics and rowing (9). All these sports codes have coaching staff. Sports competitions are divided into mass participation or high performance sports. Further sub-divisions include the University Sports South African (USSA) games, a number of internal sports leagues, a Varsity sports tournament and the high performance leagues. Most sport falls under the Sports Bureau and its support units. There are various academic offerings in sports, including Sports Science and Bio-Kinetics, Sports Development and Sports Management.

Varsity Sports is a private structure that co-exists with the old sports structure, University Sports South Africa (USSA) as the rich and poor brother, respectively. Varsity Sports' achievements include sponsorship, media rights, advertising and the broadcasting of Varsity Sport games on national television. Rugby entered the Varsity Sports arena quite early and players gained much from this affiliation. Varsity Sports is perceived as semi-professional or one step away from the professional franchise rugby teams. This has put rugby on a professional footing but it also has a precarious footing. Players are recruited at an early stage in schools lured by club franchise contracts. However, questions arise as to whether such recruitment is harmful to the game and for players. Interestingly, the national trade union federation (COSATU) waged a protest against the fact that the public has to pay to watch rugby games on television, which effectively blocks the general South African population from watching and supporting the game. COSATU and the South African Rugby Union (SARU) deadlocked on the matter, but the protest was called off for reasons that are not known.

Sports students at UJ come from diverse racial and socio-economic backgrounds. The sports policy aims to be diverse and development oriented. The Sports Bureau houses all sports under it, and is not independent of the university. Clubs have to raise 10% of their budget from external sources. The support structures for sports clubs and players are outlined in the relevant chapters on each university (6.1, 6.2 and 6.3). Accommodation for sports persons is not guaranteed. Academic support bursaries are available but not for all the footballers there.

The following sub-section focusses on soccer at UJ.

### 5.2.4 *Football at the University of Johannesburg*

The football club at UJ is not an open club as membership is restricted to staff members and registered bona fide students. Members, including coaches, officers, club managers and any other person recommended by the club's executive management and approved by the UJ management structure, have to pay their full membership fees.

The University has several international and local sports related projects. The outreach program with Carebique, a village in the Manica (Mozambique) that was established in 2000, is a collaboration between UJ and the football club, Grupo de Manica. It assesses the needs of the local community and supports initiatives in various fields. It has a research centre for academic work, and its outcomes include sports, recreational and entrepreneurial development. It also caters for literacy in computers and the English language.

The 'Sports Sevens Project' in high schools is run by UJ's Department of Sports Management Studies. This community engagement project is located in townships (Vorentore, Westbury and Diepsloot) and in a former white area (Linden). Social projects are also run with the Grace Bible Center, the Johannesburg prison and the university's Bio-Kinetics Department that serves the public. The university has also signed a Memorandum of Agreement with the 'Dream Fields Project' which seeks to deliver soccer fields, equipment, business skills and new social partnerships to disadvantaged communities across South Africa. As a community engagement project, Graphic Design students collaborated with 'SA Soccer Legends' (2009) to design their brand identity. These legends are soccer players from the 1970s and 1980s that aim to develop young adults through soccer at the UJ campus (10).

The university has integrated its sports, teaching and research through academic collaborations since 2005. Departments involved in this effort include Sports Movement, Sport Science, the Institute of Bio-Kinetics, the Sports Bureau, Optometry (for sports vision), Sports Psychology, Podiatry and Chiropody. Coaches, administrators, athletes and technical officials are all involved in its sports offerings. The Monitoring and Rehabilitation Centre employs the latest techniques to deal with sports injuries. What is notable, to some extent, is the dominance of the natural sciences in these efforts.

Still, UJ's milestone achievements include its students competing in athletics events in the Beijing Olympics and the World Student Games (2008), as well as in water polo, basketball, soccer and sports for different disabilities (2009). Four of UJ's rugby players took part in the 2007 Rugby World Cup, and its athletes have won national and provincial awards (2005-8). The merger of UJ and Vista (Soweto) raised the latter's profile. Previously an apartheid 'higher education' separatist institution for black urban dwellers, Vista now has inter-varsity games and a football league. It has also achieved in basketball, volleyball and women's soccer (11).

Having outlined some background to UJ as a university, the next section focusses on NWU.

### 5.3 ***North West University (NWU)***

This section provides a background on NWU's Potchefstroom campus. It begins with an introduction to the context of the city i.e. Potchefstroom, where the campus is located. This is followed by a broad history of the institution, a description of its sports structures and its functions, and particularly the organization of its soccer.

#### 5.3.1 *Potchefstroom's history and the current situation*

Potchefstroom was established as a town in 1838 by Andries Potgieter, the Boer leader. The first three letters of the surname and the town are suggestive, but it may be mere conjecture. As the first head of state (1840-1845), Potgieter concluded a treaty with the Barolong tribal head (Moroka) to protect the latter against Matabele raids, in exchange for land. Until 1960, Potchefstroom was the capital of the old South African Republic. The rich history of the town includes its monuments and its triple occupation by the British in 1900. It was evacuated twice and also had a role in the guerrilla war (12). The town also has a rich heritage of sports, and its infrastructure include fields for hockey, cricket and rugby. The army barracks in the vicinity has a vast indoor space for volleyball, among other sport, that is of

international quality. Sport has been developed to an international level in the town, and its altitude advantage (1400 meters above sea level) favours athletic sports.

The origins of the Potchefstroom campus lie in Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education (PU for CHE) that emerged in 1869 out of the Theological School of the Reformed Churches in South Africa. PUCHE then came into being in 1919. Thereafter, the College was incorporated into UNISA (1921) but the 'PUK' (short for PUKKE) retained its suffix from PUKKE (or PUCHE in English) in 1933. It became known as the Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education. In 1966 the Vaal campus in Vanderbijlpark was established in response to the needs of business and industry in the Vaal triangle region which is an industrial heartland. After 'merging' with the University of the North West (UNW) in Mahikeng, PU for CHE became North West University (NWU) in 2004 (13).

The town is also historically relevant, with speculation that the term 'apartheid' may have originated in Potchefstroom and later developed with the involvement of Potchefstroom intellectuals. Giliomee regards such a view as inconclusive, but Dubow, O'Meara, Furlong and Moodie hold a contrary view (14). Nonetheless, the town is a small 'dorpie' (small town) near the erstwhile Orange Free State which was the heartland of apartheid. It has retained its mark as a quiet conservative town.

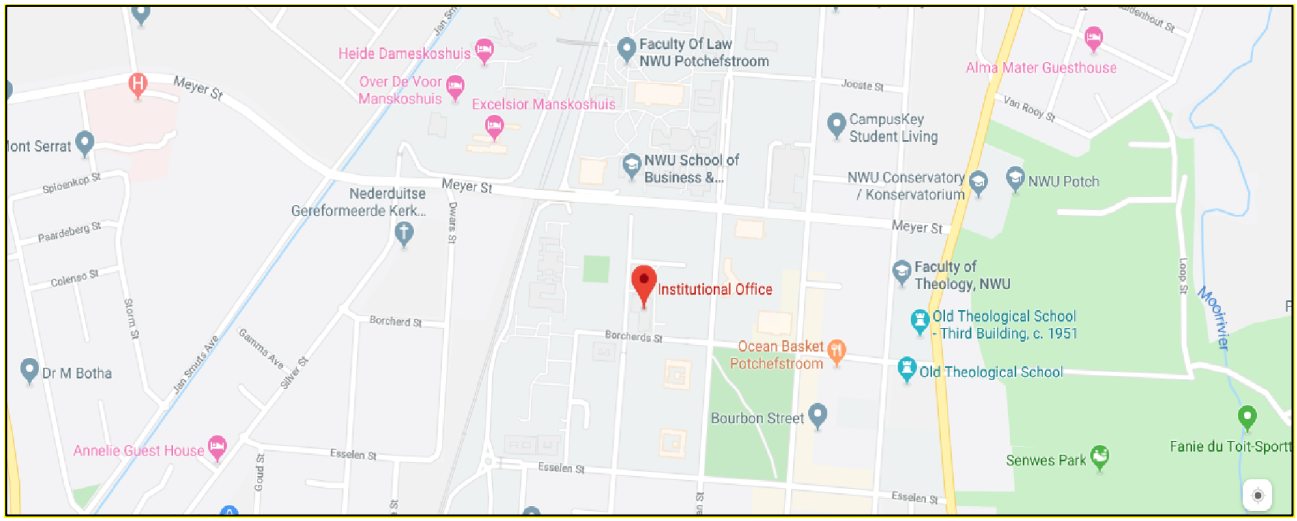
5.3.2 *North West University today: from apartheid to its future*

North West University comprises three campuses due to the merger (in effect, a takeover by the Potchefstroom campus) with Mahikeng campus in its namesake town, and Vaal campus in Vanderbijlpark which is near the Vaal river in Gauteng. The three campus sites are geographically separate, and located in two provinces: North West (Potchefstroom and Mahikeng campuses) and Gauteng (Vaal campus). NWU's mission seeks to 'unlock the future to fulfil people's dreams, across all its activities, from academic offerings and research to the student body, community engagement and sporting achievements' (15). With its vision of being a united institution, NWU is ostensibly committed to a unitary, integrated multi-campus university, to enable equity, redress and for a globally competitive teaching research environment across all three of its campuses.

However, the spatial and historically constructed racial aspect of NWU's merger is telling. The campuses are 100 to 300 km apart, with mainly white staff and students at Potchefstroom campus and a mainly black staff and student complement at Mahikeng campus. There is little evidence of redress of past inequities and injustices at the latter campus (16). The geo-demographic and racial separation that

characterizes the institution, with the overarching institutional office and its administrative structure located on the same premises, places it squarely in the apartheid era (historically and currently). The campus map in Figure 12 (below) shows the institutional office that is situated a stone's throw from the Potchefstroom campus. There is some shared space of hostels behind the institutional office, and a bridge that connects the latter with the Potchefstroom campus. Both are not visible on the map, but staff corroborated such a shared space. In effect, then, the institutional office and Potchefstroom campus are not physically separate.

*Figure 12: Location map of the Potchefstroom Campus*




Source: Google maps, 17-10-2019 (17)

Such a structure creates the impression, particularly among Mahikeng staff and students, that the Potchefstroom campus (or Potchefstroom in general) is where NWU's head office resides. It also results in perceptions (real, imagined or both) that policy decisions are identified with the mainly white Potchefstroom campus rather than the mainly black Mahikeng campus. The issue of labour relations can be cited as an example of the hegemony of the Potchefstroom campus. All Mahikeng campus workers, including academic and administrative staff, have no bargaining rights at the legislated Institutional Bargaining Forum (IBF). The IBF can serve to protect employees, their working conditions and salaries, and their general rights as employees. Mahkeng employees are usually also not represented effectively on any forum, committee or body of the university. It means that the only black union at the institution based at the Mahikeng campus, is not fully recognized. Furthermore, the predominantly white union at Potchefstroom (the South African Parastatal and Tertiary Institutions Union or SAPTU) is the favoured union even though it did not have the requisite number of members (30% across all three campuses of the institution). The 'merger' of Mahikeng campus (previously the University of North West) and Potchefstroom (University for Christian Higher Education) has in effect

made the Mahikeng campus a satellite campus. The university has not followed other universities in the country of putting an end to outsourcing certain functions (such as cleaning services) to private companies. Habib's view on historically black universities (HBUs) below, contextualizes the emerging situation at NWU's Mahikeng campus. The situation has been further complicated by the Department of Higher Education and Training's (DHET) declaration that Mahikeng campus is no longer a historically black campus.

HBUs are caught in a structural underdevelopment trap…(and)…essentially become educational reservoirs for…the most marginalized communities in South Africa…They are unlikely to overcome their institutional predicament unless their development comprises part of the broader socio-economic development of the regions in which they are located….Government has lacked the political will or imagination to effect this, despite its developmental rhetoric (Habib, 2016: 39) (18).

NWU as an institution remains conservative, even if it is productive in its research output and has received a four-star QS rating. While changes are occurring, the vestiges of the old need to be confronted but are not easy to get rid of (19). It is one of the few institutions not affected by the national decolonization movement (2016). While there are plans to restructure the institution, how this pans out remains to be seen. Restructuring may go some way in addressing some issues, but many challenges remain. These include the failed merger of a black and white university, the resultant 'Potchification' (policy and restructuring determined from Potchefstroom); the geographical and social divisions of apartheid impacting and continuing as challenges for NWU as an institution; the challenges of local exchange and collaboration across the campuses that are not prioritized; the problem of the resultant organic crisis suffered by Mahikeng campus; and how to tackle the problematic reform from above. One avenue that remains under-explored is the experiences of black and white students and staff at the Potchefstroom campus, and on the other campuses, with regard to the future direction for the university. The views of the youth, staff and workers are particularly important to explore and exploit. The local trade union at the Mahikeng campus that is not fully recognized and had the following grievances: that NEHAWU be recognized at Mahikeng with full bargaining rights, that the merger be reconsidered, that the institutional management take full responsibility of the massive violence on the campus in 2016, and that an administrator should be place at the campus (20).

These are but some crucial issues NWU. Having outlined institutions characteristics, the next section is on sports at Potchefstroom campus: from the symbolic realm to its contributions in sport.

5.3.3 *Sport at NWU-Puksport: representations of, and in, sport*

*Figure 13: Sports mascot at Potchefstroom (NWU).*


The above two pictures display the Sports mascot for NWU, called Pukki (21)

The aim of the Pukki mascot (Figure 13 above) serves as a communication medium between students, the student council and campus management. How this is to be done with the two renditions of mascots, is anyone's guess. There is a more obvious and literal interpretation of a proverbial black 'gollywog' meeting white 'Oom Jan' (a typical white Afrikaner uncle), with some vague references to R30 (a road route in North West-Free State), a telephone and a regional road map: perhaps part of a manager's obscure dream applied to the institution.

Such symbolic acts are part of a larger form of abstract symbolic identity formation of the social and sports fraternity at Potchefstroom. The sporting fraternity retains its historical name, Puksport (like UP's TuksSport), that is a reminder of the institution's earlier name (PUK as an abbreviation for Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education) as a throwback to its historical, linguistic and alumni identity. Pukki has multiple symbolic effects of a cartoonish, non-existent animal, in the vein of infant television programs, rather than with any reference to socio-historical, local or cultural aspects that may be of significance. Still, NWU has achieved some milestones in sports, which is the focus of the next section.

5.3.4 *North West University-Puksport (PUKKE) and the High Performance Institute*

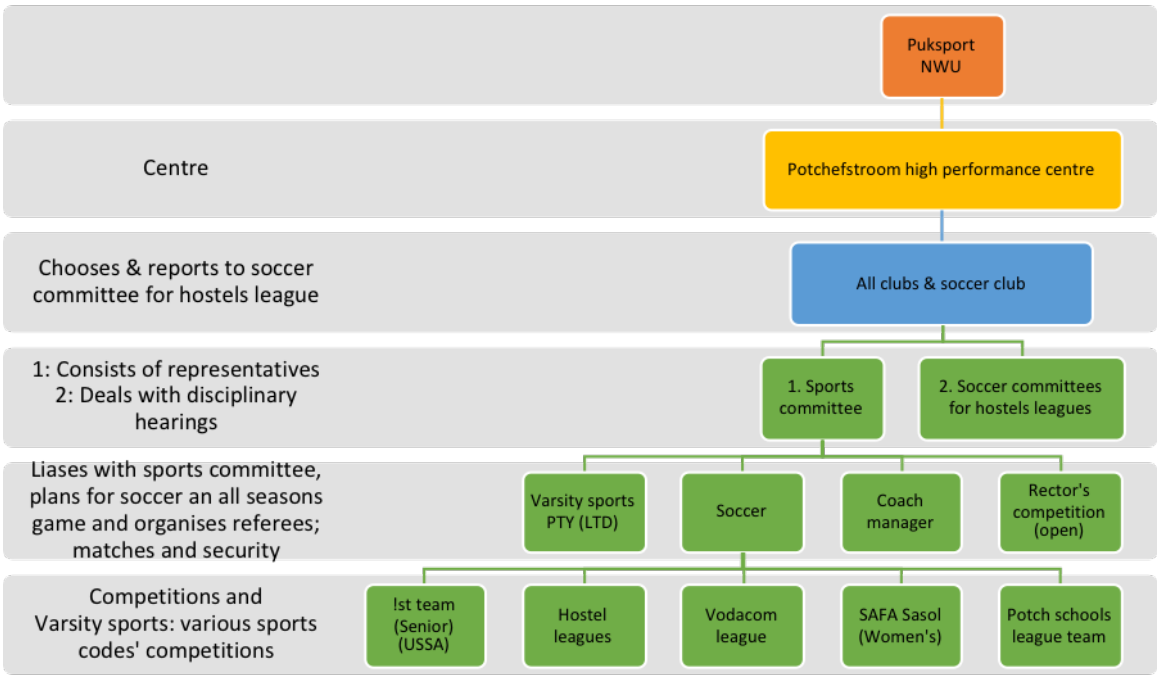



*Figure 14: North West University-Puksport structure*

Despite the practical and ideological contortions described in the previous sub-section, NWU promotes a cluster of sports that is illustrated in Figure 14 above. This is particularly so at the Potchefstroom campus, and less so at the other two campuses. This study does not include Mahikeng and Vaal campuses, as this would have rendered the data unmanageable. The campus remains predominantly oriented to rugby and cricket. This is perhaps due to the sponsorships in those sports but also due to the white history of both the campus and those sports codes. Soccer has taken off in a small way, but sees little fanfare compared to the other two codes. The student base is predominantly white and Afrikaans speaking both in language and in character: it emerged from its previous identity as the Potchefstroom University for Christian Education (PU for CHE or PUK). Its sports identity is linked to this, being named PUKKE. This remainder of the old within sporting fraternities may reflect its untransformed character, or the vestiges of the past in the present, even if this is only so at a symbolic level. To this extent then, the apartheid imaginary continues its course.

Apart from the campus being one of the two main 'industries' in the town (a manure factory is the other one that sits astride the township of Ikageng and polluting the groundwater there), its sports could be said to be its third industry. Two African athletes that emerged from the Potchefstroom campus are Hezekeil Sepeng (1995-6 Olympic medallist) and Thandi Mngwewvu (2005 African Junior gold medallist).

In terms of club sports, the sports page of the NWU-Puksport website (22) cites nine sports tournaments in 2015: badminton, basketball, cycling, golf, gymnastics, hockey, netball, rugby and squash. Its priority sports are athletics, cricket, hockey, netball, rugby, soccer, swimming and karate.

The Potchefstroom campus is built on a solid sports reputation, with a Sports Institute and High Performance Centre. Notable facilities and services offered there include the following:

- Training, research and sport scientific testing of athletes in the Sports Science, Biokinetics and Sports Science laboratory.
- Sports-medical and nutrition consultation by sport physicians, physiotherapists, bio-kineticists, and psychologists.
- A computerized sports information centre, a salinated rehabilitation swimming pool, and ice baths.
- An 8 X 8 Swiss ball area and a 46-meter indoor synthetic running track.
- Bio-mechanical and game analysis, including a Game analysis centre.
- A fully equipped gymnasium with a Hammer Strength Super Circuit and apparatus for athletes' injury rehabilitation.
- Cardio equipment, a cycle-ergometer, rowing machines and treadmills.
- A Sports Science laboratory, training, lecture rooms and conference facilities.
- Steam rooms and an AlterG treadmill or anti-gravity machine (23).

The High Performance Centre and the Sports Institute on the Potchefstroom campus offer world-class facilities, in addition to the topographical advantages of the area. The NWU website notes that:

Athletes and coaches…(get)…the best accommodation, food, medical service and entertainment. Its municipality (Tlokwe) does good work for international athletes. The weather and the 1440 meters above sea level, gives athletes the best conditions to train. We tick many boxes in the Athletics Federation's checklists for the ideal training destination…a great opportunity for local and international athletes to bond and test themselves against the best (24).

Potchefstroom continues to make its mark as a sports campus, having hosted and supported Kelly Holmes, the UK 800m Olympian; Gabriela Szabo the 5000m Rumanian Olympian; and Jan Zelezny of the Czech Republic, the triple Olympian in javelin. The town itself has many sports fields, including those for hockey, cricket and rugby. The campus also has academic offerings in sport and practical applications of particular sports codes. It has also produced a number of Olympic athletes. However, questions of transformation remain critical in the context of the issues discussed earlier in relation to its

demographic characteristics, the distance between campuses and their racial basis. Current efforts to craft a unitary structure remains a top-down project. There is little meaningful and effective transformation on the ground for staff, workers, students and the communities surrounding the campuses.

NWU as an institution undertook to restructure in 2016 with minimal staff retrenchments, mainly due to the involvement of the Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration (CCMA) in the process. At the time, management aimed to create a unitary structure. However, there has been no intensification of staff and student exchanges, and little in the area of joint research across campuses, particularly in the area of inter-campus research entities or even for its proliferation at the predominantly black campus (Mafikeng). There is a lack of a commitment to involve academic and administrative staff, and students in the envisaged shift towards a transformed institution. This does not bode well for the future. A statement by NEHAWU gives an indication of the state of affairs at the institution:

CHET relates numerous staff and student grievances including rector maladministration, fear of the rector (now VC), victimization and negotiations in bad faith and unequal services on the different campuses, amongst a host of complaints. Staff related a lack of trust with management, suspensions (even by SMS), Mahikeng being an unequal partner and a high academic turnover and lack of staff exchange (NEHAWU, ibid.)

Nonetheless, some early signs of change may reverberate to other areas, to create hope for a shift towards a more progressive orientation. With this short introduction to Potchefstroom campus, its background, and its sports offerings, the following section focuses on UP.

### 5.4 *The University of Pretoria (UP)*

#### 5.4.1 *Introduction*

This section presents the background to UP, its current situation (2014-2018) and its role and place in the national higher education landscape. This is followed by a description of the sports campus, its functions and spread, and its institutional sports structures and culture.

#### 5.4.2 *The City of Pretoria*

The University of Pretoria is situated in Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality, which amalgamates several local authorities, including the suburban Centurion and the township of Soshanguve. It is the

administrative and de facto capital of the province, and is situated about fifty five kilometers from Johannesburg. Various scientific organizations are located in Pretoria, which makes it a hub of research. The Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR), Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), and the South African Bureau of Standards (SABS) are all based there. Historically, the seat of government shifted from Potchefstroom to Pretoria (1860), marking the end of the Boers' Great Trek into the interior of the country. Pretoria has retained its status as the capital from 1855 (25), through the Union (1910), to the Republic (1961) and into the period of the democratically elected government (1994).

After 1994, debate arose on whether to retain the name Pretoria (named after Boer leader Andries Pretorius), or to change it to Tshwane (from Zululand, who had settled in the area). The outcome was that Pretoria remained the name of the capital, and Tshwane that of the municipality (Hochgemuth, 2012) The longevity of the capital has wider impacts for research, administration, policy, and connectivity between various bodies or organizations, including UP.

5.4.3 *General background to the University of Pretoria (UP)*

The University of Pretoria's roots lie in Transvaal University College (TUK), which opened its doors in 1908 in the aftermath of the Boer War that ended in 1902. It became a fully-fledged university in 1932, but was exclusively for Afrikaans speakers. While UP's language policy is slowly shifting, its older vestiges remain, as evident in its nickname, TUKKIES (from TUK). The university now accepts black students and both Sepedi and English were incorporated as languages of communication after it incorporated Vista University in Mamelodi township. While English may be in more usage after 1994 due to its decentralized dual medium policy, there is no mention of language on the Mamelodi campus website (26) and it has taken almost twenty five years to shift to this dual medium direction.

The University of Pretoria's vision and mission include striving to be a leading research intensive university in Africa, and being recognized internationally for its quality, relevance and impact. It aims to develop people, create knowledge and to make a difference locally and globally. It seeks excellence in research, teaching and learning, and to engage with society and communities. It aims to use quality, relevance and diversity as its navigational markers. The mission cherishes academic freedom, creative and innovative thought, accountability and social justice. It asserts that staff and students are its core assets. It further seeks to encourage inquiry-led evidence to create knowledge and foster academic citizenship, so as to harness intellectual abilities for the nation and for humanity. The mission statement recognizes that in a resource constrained world with disparities, UP has to endeavour to produce

graduates who appreciate community service, entrepreneurial endeavour and innovative actions in order to generate employment and development in local communities.

The university also aims to be people-oriented, and focus on fully integrated students, academically or on the sports field. Its sports body, TuksSport, seeks to offer sportspersons a home, and to be able to manage and coach in a variety of sports (27).

Like the other historically Afrikaans medium institutions in the country, UP was meant to promote Afrikaans culture, both against English imperialism and in the face of the majority African languages. In this way, it supported the government and its institutions. This resulted in a highly developed Afrikaans translation industry. It was only recently (2016) that UP's language policy shifted to include both English and Afrikaans as mediums of instruction. The choice of language is currently determined by the lecturer or academic department concerned, depending on the needs encountered in each class.

The University of Pretoria is rated highly in global university rankings. It is among the top five in the country and relatively high in both the world and BRICS rankings (28). The university's research output is the 4$^{th}$ highest in the country. Its locale and historical background are not unrelated to this status. However, some do cite the low rate of equity at UP (Govinder et al., 2013) (29) in terms of race and gender. Furthermore, it occupies a low position on the graduation and enrolment index (19 out of 23 in the country) and in various staff categories, although the former may be changing of late. Student politics is also revealing, being right-wing oriented as it emerged from the apartheid era, and which is now being narrowed down to the distinct interests of students (30).

The following Figures (15 and 16) relate management and sport structure of UP:

5.4.4 *TuksSport Pty. Ltd. at the University of Pretoria: 'Sport is a science and art'*

*Figure 15: Tuks Sport Management structure (UP)*

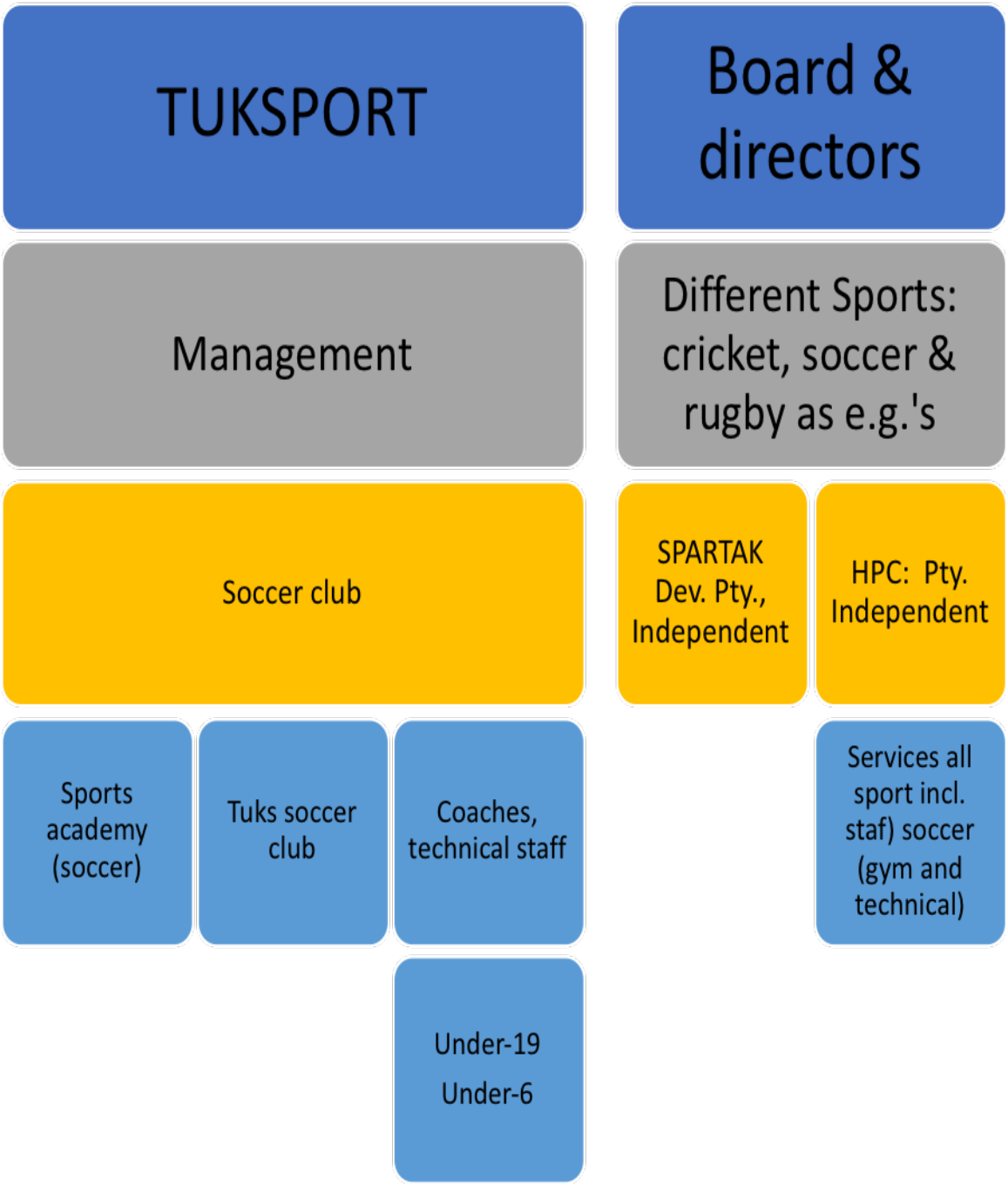



*Figure 15* (above) is a simplified picture of the management structure of Sport at UP

*Figure 16: Tuks Sport structure*

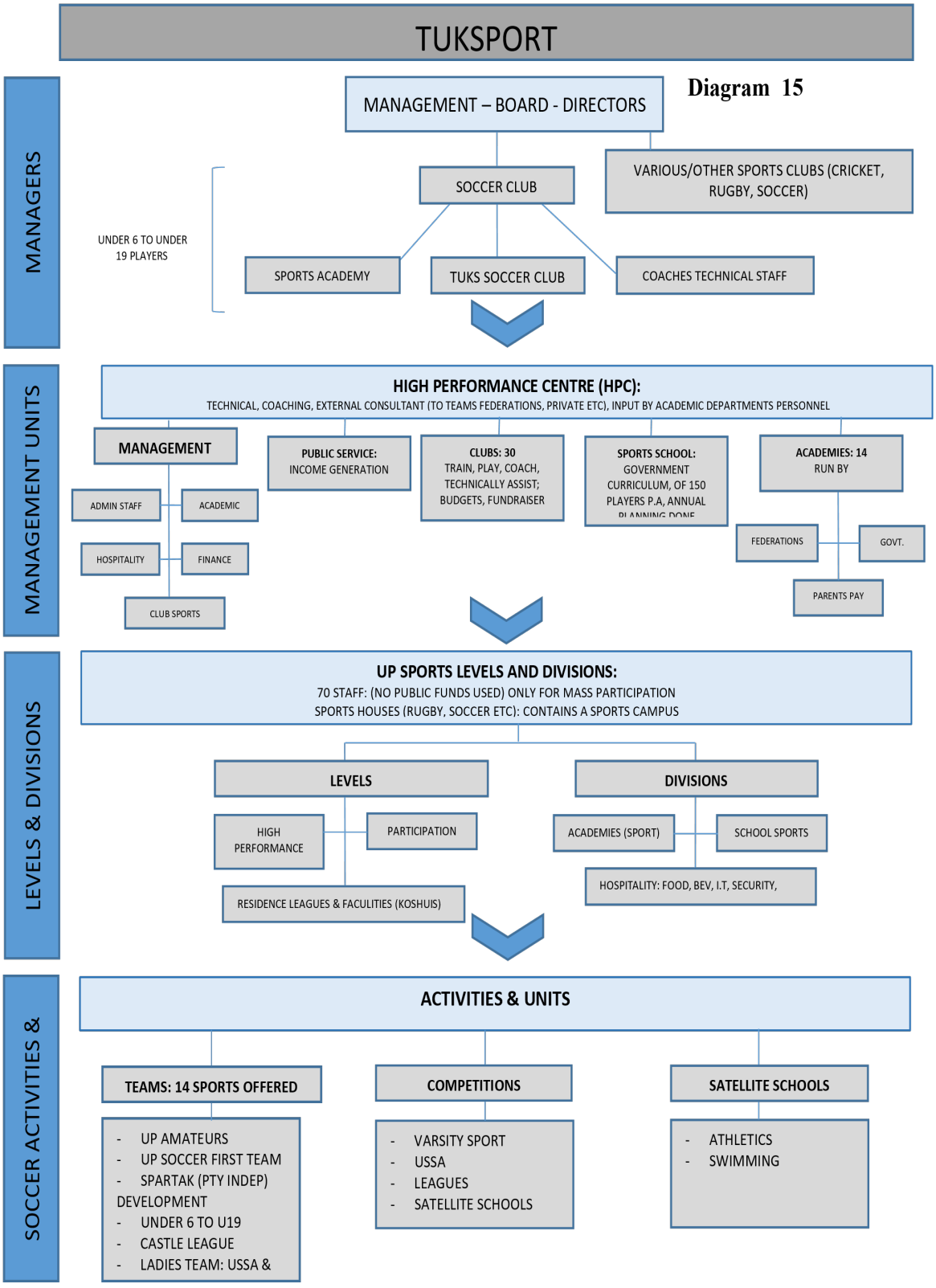



Figure 16 (above) shows UP's sports structures, policies, finances, academic aspects, external links and constituencies, and an ethos of mass participation in sport.

5.4.5 *The structure of sport at TuksSport* (31)

The UP sports structure is partly pyramid-shaped, with levels of management, support and technical staff under it. It broadly consists of two layers: a primary layer of elite sports and a secondary one for mass hostel sports and University Sports South Africa (USSA). The University of Pretoria has an impressive sports campus specifically set aside for the variety of sports codes offered. These include 10 priority clubs, 14 specialized clubs and hundreds of individual participants. It also has 12 recreational clubs, 16 sports academies and a High Performance Center (HPC). The latter is a private company that falls under the university rules. It has specialists to service athletes, particularly elite sportspersons, under the Balyi model of 'FUNdamenal training,' which is a long term sport development model. TuksSport is closely linked to the country's sports federations to service them. It also services the various campus sports clubs. About 10,000 people participate in sporting activities. These range from volunteers to international sports athletes. It has some priority sports, including rugby, cricket, soccer, hockey, squash, netball, golf swimming and tennis, among a number of other sports codes. It also offers specialized and individual sports (e.g. archery) and a third layer of recreational sport (e.g. Aikaido and basketball). TuksSport produced a phenomenal 100 plus national sportspersons in 2011. Top athletes are given much needed financial support to develop to such high levels of performance. Specialists who assist in this regard are remunerated through fund-raising. While university public funds go to the mass participation program, fundraising mainly supports the HPC or the sports clubs at the university.

The policy is to develop elite athletes but not all of them are funded. Golf and soccer are the biggest academies, but they remain self-funded at UP. In all, about 30% are funded from government's Sports and Recreation South Africa (SRSA), national sports federations and the HPC. It's expensive to enter the system if one does not have a bursary: the fees are estimated at R70, 000 per annum. Club structures fundraise about 60% of their funds.

The UP sports high school has a public (government) curriculum and is separate from the above-mentioned structures. Pupils compete in the public schools' league, which had a 100% success rate over the eight years prior to 2014. Coaching and technical staff offer support for sports such as rugby, soccer, golf, tennis, hockey and for some gymnasts. While TuksSport builds camaraderie to create a collective ethos, there are more and more players that seek travel reimbursement if they play out of town, which was not the case about a decade ago.

It is only in football that players are bought and sold on the open market in South Africa, with millions of Rands involved. It is rare for elite players to obtain another bursary, as fees are usually paid for them

(or they study without paying). If a player does not perform academically, it usually means exclusion from playing. Sports funding is context dependent, and clubs distribute the funds received from the university. Methods of disbursement vary: some students have only their fees paid, while others are covered for accommodation too.

Policies are operationalized through annual plans, and from memoranda channelled up and down the sports management system. The aim is to produce professional sportspersons, and to protect students' time for sporting activity when faced with high academic demands.

The academic degrees in sport offered by UP include Sports Science, Human Movement Studies and a Bachelor of Commerce in Recreation Management. Post-graduate studies include programs in Bio-Kinetics, Science and Recreation Management.

The historically based and growing sports club system seems well entrenched at TuksSport. This seems to make the difference. Sports clubs are playing at various levels, whether in the local league, school leagues, national leagues or in Varsity Sports tournaments. However, while the academic work groups are mixed, campus social groups remain racially separate. Purportedly, there have been no major racial incidents reported at the sports campus.

Sports academies are placed between the sports school and high performance sports in the form of national teams using TuksSport as a base camp. About 30% of the funds for the sports academies come from a combination of the government's Department of Sports and Recreation South Africa (SRSA), the sports federations, UP and the HPC. Academies are seen as a development tool. There is also some outreach when local schools need coaches with nominal pay, but the management of such outreach is a problem. However, a person has been assigned for this task: he has to manage their accommodation, among other things. Sports students' assessment is done by testing the learning outcomes of sports modules. There are several support systems. The humanities focus on wellness (individual, corporate and rehabilitative), while the Sport and Recreation Department explores how sport and leisure sciences can contribute to corporate wellness. All sports degrees have a 40-hour service learning component for which students are assessed and given a mark.

The academies are one form of education. While the sports performance level is great at academies of TuksSport, it's title ('academies') is perhaps a misnomer, as its aim is not academic. Even if such academies are highly successful at producing sports persons, there is a missing element that will be

discussed later. For now, it is sufficient to note that the medical, training and skills models are taken as the norm for many such academies.

### 5.4.6 *Mass participation*

The mass participation sports program at TuksSport is phenomenal. As mentioned earlier, it has approximately ten thousand people partake in sporting activities on its various campuses. This includes volunteers, professionals, coaches, part time staff, sports technicians and sportspersons. Mass participation is based on social leagues as distinct from elite sports participation. Perhaps this may be its major weakness. Some coaches argue that top sportspersons' performance may deteriorate if mixed with mass sport. However, there are ways to keep them distinct without such a chasm. While it is true that there is a massive mosaic of sports activities at TukSport, the dualistic 'elite' and 'mass' sport is revealing. The investment in the former far outweighs what is invested in the latter. While the mass participation sports program exists on the various campuses, it is clear that the economic, social and symbolic focus of the sports institutions is elite sport. Recreational mass sport is merely there to act as a feeder, if at all, in efforts to develop a particular sport. There are a variety of leagues for mass sports participation at the university, in the sports club system and in the numerous sports that take place, either off or on the campus. The university excels in all forms of sport, and has created an almost semi-professional sporting culture, including the newly emerging Varsity Sports, with the latter's games beamed on national television. The next section focuses on UP soccer.

### 5.4.7 *Soccer at UP: from its history to the current situation*

Soccer was one of the first sports to be established at the Transvaal University College (TUK, 1908). It died in 1911, but was revived in 1953. The college won the annual inter-Varsity cup in 1956. This was the first time an Afrikaans university won this tournament. A number of milestones followed: promotion to the first league (1958), having four teams (1961), winning the university championship (1964), and having five teams in the local league (1966). Yet the team was in crisis due to lack of lighting at the cricket grounds they played at. This limited their practice hours, resulting in players dropping out and the resignation of the club trainer. After 1970, a revival began with a residence league. It was the only Pretoria team to be accepted in the former Transvaal regional league. Another record was set with a 2$^{nd}$ place in the Transvaal league (1981), and a tie with Wits in the South African Universities (SAU) tournament. Four players were selected for the SAU team. In 1999, soccer became a priority sport at UP and the first full time coach was appointed. The club had grown to six teams by the year 2000. A Tuks football clubhouse was built in 2001. The senior team won the provincial league

in 2002, and the men's team won the South African Student Sport Union (SASSU) tournament. The purchase of a third division team led to the formation of AmaTuks. The team was promoted to the first division (NFD) of the National Football League (NFL) in 2004-5, and seven of its players were selected for South African national and league teams. By 2006-7, the club had 60 teams and in 2011-12 it won the NFD league, and got promoted to the professional Premier Soccer League (PSL).

More recent developments in soccer at UP can be summed up as follows. The sports manager operationalizes decisions of the coach, the technical team and its logistical arrangements. The first pillar is the mass participation program, run by players, with 40 teams of both sexes. A second pillar is the Football Association Program (FAP) with Spartak, the development team, that shadows the professional team. It is an independent amateur entity with two coaches and a manager. Five pertinent aspects of the club are the middle juniors in the Pretoria league, and those in the Johannesburg academy league, a Spartak Development team, the FAP and those in the University Sports South Africa (USSA) that partake in university tournaments.

The UP soccer team is the only professional sports team at UP. Its manager is paid by a private entity within UP, viz. TuksSport. AmaTuks as a team were being paid before they became professional. Academic failure affects bursaries: with students either having to pay back the funds if they fail, or losing half the bursary. Sports students generally struggle with academic work, probably due to the difficulty of juggling sport and studies. Most study Sports Science, Psychology or Commerce subjects. The team also uses video analysis to keep match records of players and match statistics. Individual evaluations are done annually at year-end by way of performance appraisals. Some such statements are contested by the first team players in the next chapter.

The university provides a soccer budget but there is also fundraising. Funds are decentralized for Spartak, for juniors and for managers. Some funds are gained from fees in the junior league. Although the sports high school is independent, it's funds also assist with payment of coaches, for the first team, and for both the development and professional teams (AmaTuks).

The structure of soccer involves a coach, an assistant coach, a junior coordinator, an under-16 coach, a professional senior team (AmaTuks) and the development team (Spartak). UP soccer has produced around 20 football players for the national soccer league. Andile Jali, the national team player, brought in R3 million, but only R1 million went to UP. Football has a fully-fledged program from under-6 to under-19. This is more than what is happening at national level for soccer. Investment in soccer is about R100, 000 to R130, 000 per annum. Soccer is thus one of the major sports among the 28 sports codes at

UP. The seven priority sports are soccer, cricket, rugby, athletics, hockey, netball and swimming, while the non-priority sports are volleyball, basketball and chess (32)

Having contextualized the three universities and their sports, the following three chapters (6.1, 6.2 and 6.3) provide an account of the three soccer clubs at the three universities, of UP, UJ and NWU respectively. The views of its first team soccer coaches and players are presented and analysed in those three chapters.

**Chapter 6: Soccer at various South African universities**

6.1 *Sport at the University of Pretoria*

*Figure 17: UP interview Quotes: Soccer coach*

*Quotes from an interview with the soccer coach at the University of Pretoria (UP):*

**On students as soccer players:**

We have an entire football program at the University. A PSL (Premier Soccer League)… under which is the student team…as…representative of the footballer, of a student athlete at the University of Pretoria. It has two components (*SIC1P*).

**On competition and the football program:**

It's the same as Varsity Rugby. All these competitions. We've got those two as our senior teams. Under…which…students play: Castle regional League and a lady's team in USSA and SASOL/ABSA League. The feeder team is a junior program, under-6 to under-19. We have 360 footballers from junior programs, of which 50 form part of our full-time academy at UP. So, we've got a football academy. That's a full program (*SIC1P)*

**On the teams:**

The Castle team plays in the regional league. The PROMO reserve team plays in the Pretoria senior league and a first team. Its five teams in total (*SIC1P*) .

The structure of UP soccer is as follows. A high-performance centre (HPC) services all its sports entities. There are five soccer teams in total, namely two senior male teams (a professional one, and a university team), one team in the Castle (regional) league, a ladies' team in USSA and one in the ABSA/SASOL league. There are also the under-6 to under-19 teams that act as feeders to the senior teams. In total there are 350 soccer players, of whom 50 are full time academy members at the UP sports school. Overall, UP has 30 sports clubs, 10 sports academies, a gym, numerous technical staff and coaches, and various academic sports offerings at under-graduate and post-graduate levels.

6.1.1 *Introduction*

This sub-chapter (6.1) is one of three sub-chapters (6.1, 6.2 and 6.3) for the three sampled universities. It presents empirical material on the first team for soccer at UP and continues the institutional description of UP soccer in chapter 5. The chapter reports and analyses the views of the soccer coach

and senior soccer players at UP's soccer club, with some references to managers or sports staff. The following should be borne in mind in this regard. Firstly, coaches and (student) players are crucial actors in (re) producing UP's soccer culture. They are on the field of play. Both face various audiences on and off the field, and they are at the centre of such a culture between managers and coaches in the soccer structure, and in the UP sports hierarchy. The senior team sits at one of the middle levels of the hierarchy of sports administration, as indicated in chapter 5 (Diagrams 15 and 16). This administration has managers, coaches, technical, administrative and financial staff, that are all involved in the operations and administration of soccer at Pretoria University.

Second, the responses reported and analysed in this chapter are those of the first team coach and UP's first team soccer players, as with the clubs analysed in the two chapters that follow. These two constituencies are interwoven by the above-mentioned structures as they participate in UP soccer. Decisions, policies and practices emerge from such interweaving.

Third, the data presented in this chapter emerged mainly from group and individual interviews with soccer players and the coach, respectively. These interviews focused on relevant themes with regard to UP's first team, and these themes form the headings hereunder, with some analytical content through interpretation of the gathered data. In-depth interviews were conducted with close-up interaction to obtain quality information from participants on the soccer culture at UP. Group and individual interviews were conducted with players and the coach, respectively, in the familiar UP surroundings. All quotes are coded to maintain confidentiality.

This sub-chapter is divided into two sections. The first relates the views of UP's soccer coach, and the second focuses on UP first team soccer players' views. In the first section the following themes are covered in relation to the views offered by the soccer coach at UP. The role of the coach; policies, bursaries and opportunities; budgets, the organizational structure of UP soccer; cultural values; outsourcing and commercialization; between and betwixt a student athlete and an athletic student; support structures for UP soccer; and lastly, contestations, conflict and tension in UP soccer. Following the presentation and analysis of the relevant data, there is a summary of findings.

The second section that presents and analyses students' views, covers the following themes: Institutional organization: culture, structure, power and hierarchy as organizing principles; Policy and the organization of soccer; Support structures for the UP soccer team; Exclusions and exceptions, as well as academic failure and the curriculum; Exposure to diversity, sports traditions and individual

achievements; Contestations conflict and tension: cultural values and the status of soccer and its organizing principles

#### 6.1.1.1 *The role of the coach and his experiences*

The senior soccer teams coach fulfils multiple roles. He coaches the first team and the team for USSA, and also manages the football academy programs. The senior team is one below the professional team. The development team, Spartak, is an independent entity that feeds players into the professional team. Two other teams are placed below these (the Castle league and the ladies' team), under which are the juniors from under-6 level. The sports academy is a commercial academy, with UP supporting five fully sponsored athletes in the program. The rest of the athletes have to pay to attend the sports academy. The UP sports school has its own enrolment criteria and chooses from approximately 150 players annually.

All sportspersons attend the same sports school, with support from the HPC. The ten academies support particular sports codes. The soccer coach prepares the Varsity team for soccer games. He plans for competitions and monitors soccer staff and specialist coaches to regulate the academy's administration and technical aspects (e.g., player fitness and conditioning). Soccer has no link to an exterior team, as in rugby with its Bulls franchise that is based at the rugby club. This is due to the fact that UP's professional entity (called 'AmaTuks') itself plays in the external National Soccer League. Lower level players aspire to play for AmaTuks, professionally, or aspire for an opportunity to play internationally. The coach asserted that professional contact is an important change:

> Professionally, having contact with our professional team, and…a lot of professional coaches, and studying…It's changed a lot in terms of managing players. It's a lot more difficult. Players get lots of money. They get a feeling of entitlement (*SIC1P*).

This statement gives some indication of aspects outside of the coach's traditional role that impinge on his work as a coach. Such aspects are explored further hereunder.

#### 6.1.1.2 *Policies, bursaries and opportunities*

While there are UP values (see chapter 5), no systematic translation exists for particular sports, except in the staff's verbal commitments, their annual operational plans and proposals approved by management that formulates policy. There is an all sports policy but there is no constitution for soccer in particular, as a club activity. The coach associated UP policy with a hierarchy:

We're all guided by values and principles of University of Pretoria. Every department is guided by those same values within the sports department. Our director reports to a Council (board). So does the director of sports report to a Council, that…(in turn)… reports to the Vice Chancellor (*SIC1P*).

He described a top-down model, where professors rule the roost:

> A board where professors represent sport, another professor…represents engineering, another professor represents research. The values all filter down. The director of sport has deputies under them. There are heads of each sport, under…(which are)…individual coaches for rugby, and me for soccer, and a hockey coach (*SIC1P*).

The coach was adamant that sports policy is constructed from the top, and that it flows downwards:

> It's coming down, absolutely (*SIC1P*).

It filters down from our value system. The culture is *imposed* (*my emphasis*) by our sports director. It allows the system to thrive. I had good success with this team (*SIC1P*).
The coach is happy with this top-down model since he felt that it has borne fruit. This view is in direct contrast to UP's mission and values: viz., integrate engagement with society and communities, and with quality, relevance, diversity and sustainability as its navigational markers. It seeks to cherish integrity, accountability and social justice. It also asserts that UP's core asset is its staff and students, with their involvement in local communities (1).
However, the coach's view of a top-down model was contradicted by other soccer managers:

> It's flexible and variable…(to focus on)…whatever benefits the students. Sometimes it will be top down, especially in terms of complaints they get there (*SM1***).**

> Unfortunately, I don't know how the decision to allow a private company to run Varsity Sport on campus, was made (*SM1*).

Another manager asserted that consumer or customer complaints do filter upwards, but with a rider, viz., if management does heed you.

> Where people want things, they push, and as that moves along, it filters through to the top and they make decisions at the top. They either help you or they don't (*SM1*).

Still, one manager stated that policy is generated from the bottom:

> Policy is generated from bottom-up, not top down, by structures of different levels. Residents say 'no, we want to see ourselves also participating, and drop-in to just kick the ball, it's not formal'. Policy is guided by structures on the ground, so it's not coming from the top. It's always been like this (*SM2*).

Such statements can be interpreted in different ways. Firstly, it would seem that soccer policy may be more top down than bottom up. Soccer as a sport is not guided by its own constitution and is historically marginal to rugby in particular as students attest here below. This is despite the 100 year history of soccer at UP. However, it could also be that policy is bottom-up *and* top-down. The coach's interpretation might represent a model projected onto UP, or his experiences could reflect such a view. It could be a mixture of both. Nonetheless, his views expressed in the quote below does not suggest a top down model in relation to budgets:

> We have input in budget. Our head of sport allocates a budget to each sports code. We run that budget. We report annually where the money goes: was it negative, was it positive (*SIC1P*)

All these statements render the structure ambiguous, simultaneously consultative and top down. The point made by the coach on whether he was consulted on the policy of selling players, is important. It appears that there is some form of consultation on the sale of players but without consulting the coach on such matters. The senior team coach was unsure as to who constituted the management board that decides on such matters. However, he was aware that sport is represented. He pointed to some contradictory relations:

> A director ensures we feed up a hierarchy which makes decisions that sometimes we don't have control of. My job is to prepare and select a team that gets the job done. That absolutely never gets interfered with. We are all accountable to deliver and never to deviate from the university values (*SICP1*).

Due to its massive youth structures, there is a high level of sports development, with a professional team at the top (AmaTuks). However, the professional team does not always include players from the

university first team. Coaches exist at all levels and players are given contracts that they sign with teams:

> In general, previously they told a player if he is not doing the job…or not playing to his full potential. Nowadays a player sulks as soon as you put pressure on him. He can go to an agent and say he wants to move. So, you have to manage them (*SICP1*).

It is evident that coaches have to manage players' aspirations and cope with the pressure to perform, *and simultaneously* not to lose talent. Furthermore, the coach has to manage processes external to the sport: choosing a player may mean a sports diva could be created, and that could cause the player to leave the club. The coach could be indirectly blamed for losing a player or a game. While the coach felt that most players are quite professional within the context of UP rules, he also cited impinging exterior environments.

The coach's views also reflect player-university relations:

> If you're an asset for AmaTuks, you're an asset of the University because *obviously, we're all owned by the University of Pretoria (my emphasis)*. Each sports program runs its budget to give bursaries to players worthy of such investment. Each has allocated budgets and works within them (*SICP1*).

This clearly defined relationship, of full ownership of the player and the coach by the university is mainly due to its investment in the player. It means that the players and coach *have* to come through in terms of their performance. The coach also identified new elements in the game.

> Athletes are bigger, stronger and more explosive. They play more games with new forms of hybrid playing styles.

> These are exciting for football, but as will become evident hereunder, pertinent issues of transformation are not directly addressed.

The following section looks at budgetary and organizational processes.

*6.1.1.3 Budgets and the organizational structure for UP soccer*

The coach noted that while facilities are adequate, budgets remain limited, even for the professional soccer team. He added that it would be ideal to provide more resources, but players make do by thinking outside the box. One or two players are sold annually by the team, and the proceeds are reinvested in soccer, to keep the soccer program alive. Budgets are the main gripe:

> We learnt not to be greedy. I've got everything but we could have more funds. All the things that we'd like to have relate to budgets. But we've learnt how to work and cope with that. We don't have a feeling of entitlement (*SICP1*).

Such optimism recognizes the limits of what is possible and knowing what is ideal. Yet the budget constraints may reflect that investment in soccer is insufficient. In a university with a strong rugby environment, that has an evolved form of franchise organization, soccer remains on the backfoot. While UP itself does not seem to have transformed sufficiently, this does not seem to matter as enrolled sports students find that UP offers them opportunities. However, they have to deal with conversing and sometimes even studying in Afrikaans though the latter slowly disappearing, or to content with UP's cultural ethos and the like. Yet most students feel that at least they are in a top-rated institution:

Tuks is more organized. A good plan. I moved away and came back (*SGS1P*).

The coach's statements quoted earlier suggested that his being there is almost robot-like for the institution. His job is at stake, and the institutional culture seems to tie him to such views.

The coach foregrounded the Vice-Chancellor's reference to the teams' racial mix as political correctness. This may explain why soccer budgets are so small on a predominantly rugby campus, as students indicate hereunder. The coach naively explained why groups separate themselves racially and in terms of class. Playing naturally breaks barriers. It seems that there is nothing beyond this, and they should only be together for work or sport. There seems to be a lack of insight on how to do things together. While more could be expected, this might be a first step. One may ask how different such arrangements were when UP was a whites only university. The situation today is probably not much different from what is was in the past. More awareness may exist, but what social analysis is there to take it forward? Still, organizationally, the coach says:

> The structure has a hierarchy to appoint people to get the job delivered with some pretty good success. We work closely together; myself and the AmaTuks technical team, and we're one big family (*SIC1P*).

The coach cited 'one misunderstanding': his players expect to play in the professional team, but this does not really happen. One reason is that Spartak, the independent development team, fulfils this function. This marginalizes the senior university team. Spartak's players are mostly from outside the university. This explains the first team's views, discussed hereunder, on the 'downward feeding' of players. External teams players are said to have better chances of getting to play for the AmaTuks' professional team.

The following section deals with what the coach sees as cultural values in the soccer club.

*6.1.1.4 Cultural Values*

UP's sports system is sophisticated, and the coach expressed some interesting views:

> You've got to manage these guys. In our structure I know many professional players with total respect for the club, even for junior coaches within our organization, guided by Pretoria University values. We've got a great system here. But the exterior environment, the press and what we get to know from players is a lot different (*SIC1P*).

Interestingly, he seems to assume that UP is doing something of value for sports, without giving any details or his own role in it. The institutional culture and system enable success for soccer, rather than the coach or the players achieving it. Players seem to be engulfed by the institution's values.

Furthermore, the statement unintentionally seems to imply that the university is able to hide what is messy; when he refers to a 'great system' it's either that the soccer club or TuksSport is great, *OR* there are good mechanisms to keep things out of the press (or perhaps both). Such sensitive handling of the researcher's questions was evident among other sports staff who requested a copy of the interview transcript to make sure of its contents, and that they were not off the mark, which points to such 'impression management.' The values of the system appear monolithic, rather than being negotiated. The coach's view corroborates this:

> Internally guided by UP values is where athletes can thrive and grow. If a player doesn't align himself with such values… (encompassing every sport program)… they quickly get filtered out of the system (*SIC1P*).

The coach did not elaborate how such players are identified, in what contexts and discourses, with what behavioural markers or tendencies, or how discipline is applied. Institutional values are not negotiated but are regarded as a monolithic law to abide by. Infringement means players can be expelled. Such assertions seem to fit with the not too distant apartheid past, seated as the campus was in the heart of the administrative capital at the time. TuksSport also grew out of that earlier context and this may be its remainder. While other staff spoke of bottom-up values, the coach cited values that filter 'absolutely top-down' from its professors. Yet he also cites 'absolute autonomy' in team preparation, and simultaneously spoke of never deviating from UP's values:

> My primary job is to prepare a team, select a team and get the job done, that never gets interfered with, absolutely never. We are all accountable to deliver what it is that we have to deliver and also *we must never deviate from the values of the university* (*italics is my emphasis*) (*SIC1P*).

The following section looks at the phenomena of outsourcing and commercialization.

*6.1.1.5 Outsourcing and commercialization - recruitment and commercial entities.*

UP soccer is complicated by a Varsity Sports team. This team is constituted by adding to an existing team. It recruits from schools, from annual trials, from other institutions or even from the senior team. This is done within the constraints of students' university life, and to control team organization. Recruitment discourse borders on commodifying players in a 'free market' within a neo-liberal paradigm. Indeed, the club survives by selling two players each year. This may be a nascent aspect of what is occurring in the global north; many sportspersons shuttle between clubs, nations and regions for big financial packages in search of a better life. The famous Brazilian player, Neymar, was sold for 222 million Euros (2017) **(**2).

Although there is one UP soccer club, five teams play in the Castle league, the PROMO team, the National First Division, the PROMO Reserve and the professional AmaTuks in the PSL. The senior team coach chooses players from all these teams for his USSA and Varsity Sport teams. Growth in

soccer is good but it opens the door to the market and its mechanisms. The club is open, in that anyone can join, but only students can play in (inter) Varsity Cup games.

In summary, soccer at UP has a complex structure, and is on the cusp of commercialization, with its initiative to sell players to fund its soccer, amplifying its brand that includes its financial, commercial and mediatized consequences. There is no doubt that soccer remains a developing sport at UP and has achieved great success there. Yet its outsourcing and commercialization of entities is in contrast to the public model of university sports of yesteryear. It is also counter to the post-'fees must fall' trend, of universities insourcing their workers. Commercialization in soccer is growing. Even the University of Stellenbosch, the home of rugby, now has a soccer team in the National First division. This is despite soccer not being part of its elite sport, that is, MatiesSport. UP's soccer may be a hundred years old, but rugby still has the upper hand there (3). Students are also located in the push and pull of being student-players, as described below.

*6.1.1.6 Between and betwixt a student athlete and an athletic student*

With regard to university policy on student players' status, the following quotes from the coach and a player are respectfully pertinent:

> I'd like to believe my students are student-athletes. Students first, athletes second. Their core business is to study, so we assess them both academically and on performance, which is a challenge (*SIC1P*).

> UP football has a very high reputation, a good brand. They offered the course I was looking for. Specifically, I came for football for development actually. The way they develop players here, is the success of the club (*SGS2P*).

The opening words in the statement by the coach are interesting ('I'd like to believe'), and perhaps point to a crucial undertone of its obverse, the student's view in the second quote that many students come to UP specifically to play soccer. Many aspire to play for AmaTuks the professional side. Studying may simply be an additional rider to playing, as an opportunity to take up an activity that accompanies it. Players had mixed responses: some stress study and others speak more of the game. It is not as unproblematic as the coach assumes:

> Varsity football requires players to get a minimum mark. If they don't attend, they are not allowed to partake in the competition. If John does not pass, if he didn't get enough credits he's not going to play, simple as that (*SIC1P*).
> They give you the benefit of the doubt (to play on, even if you don't pass) (*SGS2P*).
>
> I'm in second year. I struggle a lot and wasn't going to be able to come back next year. But through soccer I got another chance to come back and study again. I did well...but lost a year. They recommended: 'Maybe the sport was getting a bit too much, so consider it for next year, you will definitely make an improvement in academics' (*SGS1P*).
>
> But academics comes first (*SGS1P*).

The first quote (coach) asserts the policy about minimum marks to continue playing, but the second and third (students) quotes break this rule. This is probably due to a decision to remain politically correct and to retain black players. The fourth quote goes back to apply the minimum mark rule, as it stresses academic aspects as primary. Such subtle contradictions waylay the UP policy of education being primary over sport.

Other contradictions flare up in other views expressed by students:

> Sports staff are more amenable: they give more time to focus on your studies, suspend you for two weeks. You study, you work, and then come back, after you have studied everything. It works better for us (*SGS1P*).
>
> Tuks is a university and a sports campus, they don't really mix (*SGS1P*).

The first quote above suggests that sports departments are fair and allow for studies to be prioritized, implying that academics are not as fair. The second quote cites the dualistic structure of sport and academic work at UP.

Given all of the above, as well as the disadvantaged education background of many black students (though there are some who do come from Model-C schools), it may not be as easy for such students to cope with higher education studies. Furthermore, the enforced morality of academia over sport could further affect their academic work. Nonetheless, the stress on study as core to the university seems to be

based on a dual model of sport and education as separate realms. This is taken up further in chapter seven.

Some students are more interested in playing soccer than studying, while some are there to study. However, the university shifts this balance with its principle of study first and sports second. This is so both in its ethical values of a sound educational base for students, and in its practice of not seeing soccer as part of its core business. The idea is that sport as a practice cannot serve as a basis for learning anything academic, as it is for the Department of Higher Education and Training. This dualistic structure is reinforced by students' perceptions of sports staff supporting them more in their sports than the academic staff. The latter seem to be more interested in the university's core academic functions.

This brings us to the next aspect, that is, support structures for soccer players at UP which is summarized in Table 6 below.

#### *6.1.1.7 University of Pretoria Support structures for sport*

*Table 6: UP Support Structures*

| | |
|---|---|
| Support staff | Physical Education |
| | Academic Tutorial Support |
| | Technical and Administrative support (Sport) |
| Support programs | Soccer Training + Matches |
| | Counselling Courses, Psychological assistance |
| | Coaching on Field, Learn and Assist Coach, inflexible academics (No player insurance & no soccer statistics are collated) |
| Physical centres | High Performance Centre |
| | Sports School (with Soccer players) |
| | Mentoring initiatives |
| | Gymnasium: access, weekly schedule; Supplements: sometimes & Diets as per request |
| | Soccer Academy |
| Finances | Bursaries, Fees & Accomodation (but these are limited) |
| | Financial Budgets (these are also limited) |

Table 6 (above) reflects the comprehensive sports services that UP provides for soccer.

The coach said that there is 'adequate optimal support' for soccer *but* that it is budget-based:

> Everything gets managed within a budget or system. If a student wants to get extra assistance from a tutor, he can get that. If players have particular psychological needs: let's say he lost a parent, then the player asks for that. I speak to my high-performance manager. He sorts it out (*SIC1P).*

The notion of 'optimal' is therefore compromised by budgets. The system has to reproduce itself with little input from below. Tutors provide academic support. There is also psychological and counselling support. However, as discussed in the following section, students feel otherwise.

The coach was of the view that inter-disciplinary research is necessary and that this is achieved through the Institute of Sports Research (ISR). However, such research is not that inter-disciplinary, since it focuses on the fields of bio-kinetics and sports science and is natural science oriented. To the credit of the institution, the ISR services the general public, sports federations and elite athletes. But the Institute does not conduct social research on sport at a university that otherwise celebrates its research production. The focus on the body, promotion, branding and physiology is more surveillance oriented. The diversion into specializing on the body with elite sports in particular, offsets any real focus on transformation. This is so, despite their community programs being more ad hoc than ongoing and sustained:

> It is internal or external based. We also do community work where we'll be asked to go to a township and put a football clinic. We do that, it's not easy. But we ask them, we get contributions from them (*SIC1P).*

Such community service is commendable, but it is only forthcoming when a request is made, under pressure from a community, soccer or academic training program. In sum, while support structures exist to develop soccer, and there are real academic interventions, social research and community outreach is somewhat neglected. As a consequence, gaps remain in areas of transformation through what a focus on social research could bring to the table. This leads us to the theme of contestations and conflicts.

*6.1.1.8 Contestations, conflicts and tensions*

While the coach did not refer to any race related tensions, he mentioned that the odd player might cite favouritism if a white person is chosen over him. However, he added that this does not happen in his

team. This suggests that it may be occurring at lower levels, where younger uninhabited players are more vocal. The coach added that if things don't go well, questions are asked, and that's normal. However, he also claimed that racial tension is normal:

> If a black guy has a bit of a punch up, then there will be a bit of a tension. But that's going to happen everywhere in the world, not only here in South Africa. We excel because it is a sensitive country to that kind of stuff (*SIC1P).*

This coach's discourse displays tendencies in three directions, from there being 'no such race incidents' (non-event); to 'an odd race related occurrence but it does not happen in my team' (some events); and the third assertion that 'race related punch ups are universal' (global event). The uncertainties evident herein, due to their contradictoriness, imply the complex position of the coach. Some may regard his decisions as racially biased, and he has to find ways to manage raw male testosterone with race as an underlying text. All South Africans carry residual nodes of racism that surface from time to time. It would seem that the coach has not been trained to deal with racial tension and that all coaches might require training in conflict management, cultural diversity and such sensitive topics. From another interview, a female soccer coach at UP suggested that crossing language boundaries is crucial to break race barriers, but further research on this would reveal more.

The following quote reveals more about sporting practices at UP:

> A history of excellence is reflected in the High-Performance Centre: developing many great sports athletes. In all sports, we've been dominant, especially for five years. People associate the university with winning. A culture that goes to dominate them. We have that here (*SIC1P).*

Three aspects emerge from the above statement. First, the discourse of excellence predominates even in sports, particularly in elite or high-powered sport, in contrast to mass sport. But it is also attached to the institution as 'excellent education'. Both these excellence discourses prevent players and staff from examining related social justice issues. Moreover, a hidden curriculum in sport renders some things visible and others invisible (as in the case of issues relating to transformation) by imbibing certain values of the institution instead of others. The third issue is the content of what is imbibed as soccer players, sports divas or elite sportspersons and their associated aspirations, tendencies and lifestyles.

The subtle domination of a particular set of values of discipline, hard work, winning and excellence seems pervasive:

> It (individual achievement) is definitely collective. It *filters down* again from our value system and from the culture *imposed by our sports director* (*both italics are my emphasis*). It allows the system to thrive (*SIC1P*).

Nonetheless, for the coach, hard work and understanding are necessary. This includes getting everyone on board, with luck and good fortune to play a role. He added that good players and a good system promote success, and that voluntarism is an important factor (*SIC1P*).

In summary, while some basic work has been undertaken to deal with the legacy of apartheid, much remains to be done with consequences for both soccer and the institution. The following section reports and analyses the views of soccer players.

### 6.1.2 *Soccer players' experiences of sports organization at UP*

This section analyses the responses of first team UP soccer players. Most players study physical, managerial or natural science related aspects of sports, while some study sports psychology. In terms of a sports program, they are aware of how to gym, improve their performance and maintain well-toned bodies. Practical hours are compulsory in Sports Science degrees and they mainly take the form of students doing gym hours.

#### 6.1.2.1 *Institutional Organization: Culture, structures, power and hierarchy as organizing principles*

Most soccer players interviewed in the group sessions regarded Tuks as a leading institution in sport, as it is well organized and has a good plan. The system functions in a structure of sporting practices, in which players emerge from a hierarchy in the football system:

> I came here specifically because of football as a teenager. Yes, very high reputation. Good brand. They offered the course I was looking for (*SGS2P*).

> I joined the academy. The set up was actually good. The way they develop players here. The success of the club (*SGS2P*).

> Most of us came through from youth ranks to higher teams. Some started at the age of thirteen at the UP school academy (*SGS1P*).

Apart from feeling privileged to play soccer at UP, a premier sports institution in the country, students are also overawed by the prospects of studying at UP as it has a reputation as one of the top institutions in the country. They also feel that there is a moral content to what the institution offers, as indicated by the following statements:

> It's one of the best universities to qualify. That's why I came here (*SGS1P*).

> They teach us how to take care of our bodies while previously soccer players used to use alcohol a lot, and forget about the future. So here they just teach us not to fall under those situations *(SGS2P*).

Both statements acknowledge the value of the institution but also reflect some level of acceptance of the status quo, of foregrounding the quality of the institution and thereby backgrounding its transformation, apart from the personal transformation achieved by staying away from alcohol. Such obscurantist tendencies are simply noted here, but will be explored further in the discussion that ensues in chapter seven.

Mamdani (1998) argued that historically, white English-medium universities were never agents of social change despite their anti-apartheid stance, with systems of governance that made them islands of white social privilege during apartheid. They displayed little social responsibility to the South African community (4).

In a similar vein, but even more pernicious and pertinent for our sample of (ex) Afrikaans speaking universities is that the…

> Six (Afrikaans) universities'…(managements)…gave strong support to the apartheid government…(accepting it's)…ideology of universities…(primarily to)…service… government…(and)…support the higher education policies of the apartheid government…(whose implementation) was in the combined student enrolment of the six universities…(of)…96% white in 1990…(89% in 1993)…(with) few attempts to use the permit system to bring black students on to their campuses…to allow a white institution to apply for government permission to enrol black students in programs not offered by black institutions. The few black students enrolled by these institutions tended to be postgraduates who did not have to attend classes on campus (Bunting in Cloete et al.: 40) (5).

While such conditions are historical, real and effective transformation efforts on the part of such universities remain to be seen. Soccer students contended that rugby players have longer hours and many more things to do in training. One observed that UP rugby players…

> Do less modules. Some do two modules per semester to accommodate their training. We do modules and then only football must be accommodated (*SGS1P*).

Here, the principle point is 'rugby is first' as a sport rather than the UP policy of 'education first,' as stated earlier by the coach. Such a policy reversal most likely impacts the students' sport or studies. Rugby players have some continuity in their studies and their sport, but soccer players experience discontinuity, face more pressure and suffer academic overload.

This may explain why soccer players suggested alternatives, even to skip classes:

> Maybe change our schedules. Try something. Maybe training in the morning, and have our classes maybe later or we get to skip classes (*SGS1P*).

Nonetheless, positive trends do emerge: the age range for soccer players is from six to thirteen among the youth. One young player moved away from UP for greener pastures, but later returned, supporting the view that UP offers quality sports. Students also observed that:

> It's perfect. They monitor players, build you in football and as an adult, to do something else besides sport. They push you. Character is built on and off the field and it takes you off a lot of things (*SGS1P*).

> They are very professional. They teach us how to take care of our bodies. We had former soccer players using alcohol a lot, and forgetting the future. So here they just teach us not to fall into those situations (*SGS1P*).

Such monitoring is not identified with surveillance, and character building is not identified with civilizing functions. Such forgetting of the future-based ideals of national liberation is anomalous. It suffers from a similar amnesia of the past as the amnesic effect of alcohol: the former is structural and macro-related, while the latter is personal and at a micro level.

Another area worth looking at, is why students chose the Sports Science degree. Some said that they were interested in studying injuries. Most in the first team were offered bursaries to study it. The first team has a good record of winning two titles, two Castle Cups and the PROMO Cup. Still, some complain that Sports Science was not their first choice.

> Sports science is not a bad course. I think it relates more with our everyday life because we are sports persons, and we're studying sports as well (*SGS2P*).

> It's not like we're not happy. It's not a course where I can say 'No I don't want to do it.' I relate more to it because I understand it more. Most practicals are things that I do every day, like understanding the human body (*SGS2P).*

Some guys, they don't really want to come to study here. Last year, a few of the guys came for the first time. They were first years. Most of them are doing Sport Science.
Most of them are not happy with the degree (*SGS1P*).

These quotes reveal two things. First, it is negatively stated that they are happy to do the course ('not that I can say I don't want to do it'), but is further justified by the relevance of the course to the human body. Second, it is clear that some students do not really have an interest in Sport Science and are unhappy with being placed in the Sports Science degree.

On the one hand, UP's structured sport allows for their growth. This is a far cry from what players face in the professional league, with its rife corruption in match refereeing (6). On the other hand, the dualities within which this operates become clear, as is the case with the dual feeders of Spartak development and the first team to AmaTuks. Players expressed dissatisfaction with the fact that they have a slim chance of playing for the professional UP side. Moreover, the academic overload affects them negatively:

> It's hard to balance both study and sport. You have tests and training. You got games and sick tests (make up tests) that are challenging (*SGS1P*).

While players' study areas vary, they seem to be aware of life after soccer. Most are in Economic Management Sciences, with the aim of doing post-graduate studies.

Still, structural aspects do need to be considered. Most soccer players live off campus, but they emerged as players from the UP based school. Such outward movement contrasts with rugby players coming to live on campus. The latter have full contracts, bursaries and a rugby house which strengthens the argument that the university is a rugby campus. Arguments about soccer players growing up as they move out of campus have not been proven, and miss the point. Rather, it is about the structural movements of different sports, their support in terms of funds and how both these impact on the players.

The following section focuses on policy and soccer at UP.

6.1.2.2 *Policy and the organization of soccer*

In contrast to the well-structured space for sport described by the coach and some student players, one student stated the following:

> I don't think policy at this university supports football. What goes to other sports codes and to football is a bit unfair, especially, how much we've achieved in the past few years. We're still struggling a bit financially (*SGS1P*).

This was supported by the following statement:

> Rugby players get lots more money from the university. They are paid students. They get bursaries: full accommodation and studies that are paid (*SGS1P*).

One participant elaborated on rugby's position at UP:

> Rugby is the main sport. They get the most money. It's very much a rugby campus (*SGS1P*).

To complicate matters, students explained that there are two main feeder teams, resulting in a dualist structure of sorts, within a complex structure of teams and leagues:

> That's a completely different team. The PSL (Professional Soccer League) team or AmaTuks. We're the Varsity team. There's no policy saying, 'every year, two or three top students go to the PSL team.' Even just training or spending time with them and gaining knowledge. Rather, we're right next to each other, and yet it's two completely separate things (*SGS1P*).

> We see ourselves as two different, separate teams. We could be the second team but we're the first in the university, and they (AmaTuks) are a club on their own. Their own entity. They've got their own goals. We've got our goals (*SGS1P*).

Friendlies are played between the teams, but members of the Varsity team don't progress to AmaTuks. Even the first team's best players are not moved upwards. Such strict separation seems to be the rationale and policy, as the lower level teams may impact negatively on higher level players. To some extent, this may be true, but the youth cannot develop without their mentors. This format again suggests a top-down model.

There are two students in the UP professional (PSL) team, but they registered as students to gain the privileges of students (e.g.: subsidization) and for purposes of deployment to the Varsity Cup team and the first team. This means that quality spreads across teams in their role as peer sports mentors to pass on skills, advice and camaraderie to the first team players.

However, there are also downsides to such arrangements. Club traditions usually include lower structures feeding good players to the upper structures. The UP structure reverses this tradition and replaces it with a downward feeder of players. Professional student-players of the first team take quality football to a lower level. The following is expressed by one first team player as follows:

> It's not for our benefit. It's for those PSL student players. They bring them to our side, and we have to play with them. They get more out of us (*SGS1P*).

Not all players feel that they gain some benefit from this arrangement: they feel that they do indeed feed the professional side (AmaTuks). The last contention is somewhat vague, as it is not clear as to what and how much the professional students gain from first team players. Some players went further and maintained that there is little chance of players moving from the first team to the professional team:

> Other teams have better chances to get into those structures than we do. Of nine teams there's a few of our players that actually join. There's no link at all (*SGS1P*).

According to some members of the first team, the split structure of the professional and university first team impinges on the progress of the latter. However, there are opportunities for the first team, such as the national tournaments (Multi-Choice Disky Challenge, or MDC). MDC could be described as a PSL

reserve league. The students explained this in relation to the tournament structure, even when defining it as an opportunity for themselves:

> Yes, but the policy is there, the reason why they took a lot of their players from us, is because they needed youngsters. They needed under-19's (*SGS1P*).

All these comments reflect the contradictory splits in the existing soccer system, within a complex set of sports structures that allows competition. Players expressed frustration that the university first side is not a feeder to the UP PSL team. This duality is also reflected in the current university structure, with the old university sports body, USSA that is university based and public, *and* Varsity Sport that is privately owned. While their differences may be masked by the fact that they play in different tournaments, they do represent different interests. The pertinent question is how will the two gel, as they also represent different sports forms even though they also share participation in some sport.

The following section examines the support structures that exist for soccer players.

#### 6.1.2.3 *Support structures for the UP soccer team*

Support for soccer ranges from finance, to housing, equipment, and academic or psychological support (see Diagram 15 and 16 in chapter 5). However, such support may arise more from habit rather than from policy. Given the multifarious and specialized sports structures, support is decentralized to such structures, from academic and other kinds of counselling (called the 'PSYCHED Program'), to the provision of gym and sports field activities, coaches, and technical and administrative staff to service the soccer students.

While students have free access to a gym, they are responsible for their own insurance. Whilst they have a couple of coaches, soccer players say they do not do anything at the High Performance Centre (HPC). They are assisted by soccer academy managers for special assessment, including aspects not related to football. One student found that assistance with accommodation and funding for players was a challenge. Another said that while he was satisfied with the support, he felt that there was a lack of access to the professional team.

> They do cater for a lot of the team's living: there's a sports house. About 70% of us stay there, maybe 65%. We have gym access, sometimes gym supplements and a two week schedule and diets as per request (*SGS2P*).

> Yes, partially, it (funding) is sufficient (*SGS2P*).

> The support we get. The way we are treated. You wouldn't want to be in another team. Everyone has got respect. When Steve Haupt was here, he used to promote seven players in the first team from an academy (*SGS2P*).

However, the needs of African players, as a majority at the national level, are due to their socio-economic and historical backgrounds, barring some exceptions. This is despite the high levels of support for soccer players. There do seem to be gaps, particularly in directed funding where needs exist, and especially in the first team. Players noted that the problem is that there is no real database of their performance, just as there is no national data on players:

> We don't really get assessed but we keep track of who's doing well and who is not. It's not a concrete thing, as in cricket where they have statistics (*SGS1P*).

> We do big testing twice: before the Varsity Cup and at the end of the year. We've got a bit of everything (*SGS1P*).

As for bursary support, one group stated that they were self-funded, but with the qualification that they received a 40% bursary, and the remaining 60% is paid by them. They added that, either their accommodation or their fees were paid, but not both. It seems that variations exist in the kinds of student bursaries provided, depending on players' individual contracts:

> We get bursaries but the university pays 40% and we come up with 60% (*SGS2P*).

Turning to the balance between sports and academic work, a student described this as a delicate balancing act. As noted earlier, this may be specific to soccer:

> You can't make an arrangement: let's say you going to miss Monday's test because we going to Cape Town to play against UCT. They won't move the test to Saturday so you can write before. They're not very flexible (*SGS1P*).

Here again there seems to be a contradiction *between* the ostensive policy to support soccer players in their sporting endeavours as much as possible, *and* some academic staff not being flexible in their academic timetable. While classes could be held in the morning so training can occur in the afternoon,

this does not always happen. This balancing act could be part and parcel of players' growth as they have the responsibility to juggle a number of tasks, and for total focus. However, it could be argued that the university support system for soccer may not be as efficient as those in rugby or cricket, or that there are differences, even if a working system is in place. Some students asked for exemption from tests but because their lecturers are inflexible, their progress in soccer is stifled. To put it another way, some students indicated that there is great support, but academic work takes precedence over sport.

On the other hand, some students attested to support provided by coaches and of the struggle to balance academic work and studies:

> Yes, the support is pretty good. I mean lots of guys get excused from training if there are tests. Academics comes first (*SGS1P*).

> It's hard to get the right balance. You focus too much on one side to the detriment of the other (*SGS2P*).

While the organization of sport at TuksSport is quite efficient, the above statement suggests a strong division between playing and studying. There is little interplay in the area of learning, assessment and testing on the field (or vice versa, of adding ideas emerging in sport to the academic curriculum) so that a mixture of sports and study is achieved. One student's views were very revealing in terms of the dualistic structure at UP:

> Tuks is a university with a sports campus. They don't really mix (*SGS1P*).

Furthermore, it seems that it is the sports personnel rather than the academics that carry the burden with regard to flexibility. Coaches and sports facilitators are more than willing to bend over backwards to allow for study time, tests and the like. But academics are less flexible due to their core university work that does not involve sport (especially soccer; and one might ask whether the situation is the same for rugby). Soccer players felt that the different rewards accruing from UP rugby and soccer is a reversal of a fair sports policy.

> We're in different positions. We study and then play soccer. Whereas they are professionals being paid to play. And if they study, they study (*SGS1P*).

Moreover, rugby at UP is linked to the Bulls professional franchise that gives contracts, bursaries and rewards for chosen rugby players to play professionally, and to study *and* play. Some students saw their own competitive level and performance being a pressure point for the professional team (AmaTuks): the team had won the Castle League and Varsity Sports tournaments, which they feel puts pressure on the professional team (AmaTuks).

Apart from game, fan and other external pressures, there are also management pressures. While there is no open interference, pressure is exerted by the Vice-Chancellor. Two aspects are relevant here. First, some still regard the campus as a rugby campus. The second factor is the Vice-Chancellor's political correctness in declaring football '*the'* UP game as it is a national sport with the majority. Such politico-managerial and ideological pressures can create tension and undermine the team's performance. Thus, in the view of one student:

> When we don't perform. You see it from the coach. They don't want to tell us. They get pressure from the rector, although it's not interference (*SGS1P*).

It also filters down to players and is regarded as unfair:

> Last year, we lost against UJ. After that we senior players sat with the technical staff discussing how to go forward after one loss. Whereas in other leagues (i.e. rugby), after one loss, not even an eyelid is batted (*SGS1P*).

Soccer students discern an uneven playing field, not due to overt forms of racial practice but due to differences in the kinds of support offered to other sports, which is rugby in this case:

> University policy does not support football. The support structure is a bit unfair in terms of finances. What goes to other sporting codes and what goes to football is a bit unfair. We are still struggling a bit financially. Rugby players get a lot more and not just because they are with the Bulls Rugby franchise. They get more money from the university. They are paid students with full accommodation and studies. Rugby is the main sport. They will get most of the money (*SG1SP*).

> I heard the rugby students are allowed to do less modules to accommodate them. Some do two modules per semester to accommodate their training. We do modules, and football must be accommodated. This is very much a rugby campus (*SG1SP*).

If such perceptions have some truth, they can be crucial to soccer and its organizational practice. It would seem that there are material differences, unfair allocations and processes that stymie soccer. While rugby has long-term understandings, which will also develop at AmaTuks, the concern here is the university first team. Such material differences accompany a rugby ideology on campus, however subliminal, with various props and supports. Thus, AmaTuks became professional but shared a rugby ground with the rugby club.

Furthermore, the relative inflexibility of academia (not the sports personnel) adds to the dumbing down of soccer, as conveyed by the following quote (cited earlier):

> The varsity, not the sports side are not very flexible. You can't make an arrangement. Say you miss Monday's test because we going to Cape Town to play. They won't move the test to Saturday, they are not very flexible (*SG1SP*).

> There's never pressure from coaches or technical staff to miss or to come to training and miss out on studying. It's never a problem to sacrifice (*SG2SP*).

Having looked at the support structures, the following section looks at soccer students that fail but are allowed to continue studying despite a policy that disallows sports students from failing. This rule applies to all sports codes, particularly for those with university bursaries.

6.1.2.4 *Exclusions, exceptions to failing, and the curriculum*

The rule on failing, outlined earlier, provides for academic exclusion of players who fail, but exceptions are allowed. As explained by one second year exception (not the only one):

> I struggle a lot to come back but through soccer I got another chance to study. I lost a year. Maybe sport was getting too much and to consider it for next year, 'you will definitely improve academically.' They give you the benefit of the doubt and a bursary when you need one (*SGS1P*).

Despite the funding shortages reported by the coach, funds are availed in the case of such exceptions. While it is no doubt that it positively promotes players, in the context of political correctness at a campus overflowing with aspiring Springboks (where the failure rule applies), this can be problematic. Soccer is at a critical juncture and given that it is the most popular sport at the national level, this can lead to making exceptions to the rules. Losing a soccer player may mean a drop in football quality.

However, allowing him to continue studying after failing means breaking the academic rules and policy. In this regard, students cited the pressure from management to take soccer to the level of rugby as *the* sport on the campus.

There are also other aspects relating to students' views of their curriculum and its assessment. Degree choice may also be of significance. While most players were happy with their choice, the first years were not as positive, as indicated by the sample of two quotes below:

> Most are not happy with the degree. Too many tests and exams and five assessments a week. We are used to it, but not the first years (*SGS1P*).

> Some of the other guys didn't want to come study here. They are first years. Most are doing Sport Science. Most are not happy with the degree (*SGS1P*).

As the first quote reflects, such unhappiness relates to work overload as the issue of 'notional hours' is problematized by the students. The National Department of Education specifies the maximum workload of a student which is called 'notional hours'. If sport is not calculated in the norm itself, there is a structural problem at the national level. This also calls for the need to reconceive sport as liberatory, transformatory and educational in skilling and developing players and orientating them in their careers, rather than merely developing them physically.

Assessment of sportspersons remains predominantly physical (e.g. fitness and conditioning) and is conducted twice a year at UP. However, there are few statistics kept, little or no social research, and little in the way of assessing learning in or through soccer, despite the recent emphasis on new educational forms, interdisciplinarity, and inter- and intra-cultural education (7) A pertinent issue may be related as follows. If there is an educational value to soccer, the problem is how it can be used to deliver on two grounds. First, on the educational mandate of the university, as applicable to any university sport, for consideration by curriculum innovators, sports persons or specialists. Second, how can this be linked to the government's transformational mandate? Such questions are explored further in chapter seven hereunder. The following section focuses on diversity, sports traditions and individual achievement.

6.1.2.5 *Exposure to diversity, sports traditions and individual achievement*.

As for diversity, a student expressed positive views, although this is not the whole picture:

> UP is diverse. People sitting here, we've got a bit of everything. It gives you a picture of our team and the university as a whole (*SGS1P*).

However, the soccer students expressed both positive and negative feelings on UP's diversity and culture. Meeting people from all over the country was regarded as positive sign, as was the fact that they regard their own make-up as diverse in national terms. Two things emerge from such remarks. First, the comparison is in national terms, with no accommodation of non-nationals (or foreigners). The example of a South African 'Greek' player being perceived as a foreigner hereunder in the section on contestations, is relevant. Second, while it is necessary to view the issue of diversity in national terms, a local perspective is lacking.

Furthermore, not all the students agreed that UP is diverse. While some regarded the dual language policy as 'accommodating' diversity, others were more cynical or perhaps realistic:

> They have classes in two languages (English and Afrikaans) (*SGS2P*).

> There might be ten people in a class, English speaking, and…they cater for that separately in another class: so they repeat it in English (*SGS2P*).

It is interesting that African languages do not even enter the radar, despite pressure from various quarters to place this on universities' agenda. This echoes Mamdani's views, related earlier, about African universities undermining their own indigenous languages. As for the existence of diversity at UP, two students flatly denied its existence there:

> No. It's not diverse (*SG2SP*).

> I think it is not a diverse campus (*SG2SP*).

Some players were of the view that there is no diversity in the UP curriculum, while others cited the dual language policy (English and Afrikaans medium classes) as a form of diversity. Those students studying Economics and Management that lean towards science and business asserted that…

> You can't really talk about diversity in EMS (Economic Management Sciences). We don't do South African sports history, but you go through different laws, like Roman law, Dutch law and English law (*SG1SP*).

Other students struggled to articulate any view on diversity, as the following quotes reflect:

> I'm not sure, I'm struggling to answer that question (of whether there is diversity on the campus and if it exists in the curriculum) (*SGS2P*).

> I'm not sure how to answer it (but admits there is no curriculum diversity) (*SGS2P*).

In relating UP soccer's sporting traditions, students cited three streams, namely, a winning tradition, the club legacy and facilities. There is little to connect sports to liberation or the instantiation of the latter into UP sport, despite the white legacy of the institution's sport. Winning is good, but, as the following statement implies, it seems to be the be all and end all:

> A mentality of winning, the support we get, the way we are treated. You wouldn't want to be in another team if you're playing at Tuks because everyone has got respect for this club. We are all taken care of and know how to look out for other people unlike other teams where it's very bad (*SGS2P*).

Individual achievements are downplayed. This may be due to the UP ethic that encourages modesty, but it goes against the grain of South African soccer's individualistic popularity, wizardry and in the talent of players like 'Computer' Lamola, 'Black Jesus' Ngobese, '16 Valve', Doctor Khumalo and Andy 'Jesus Christ' Karajinsky (8).

The students expressed a range of views on how successful sports initiatives emerge. They stated that such initiatives emerge from hard work, or from interactions and enjoyment, good infrastructure and coaches, a positive mind-set, concentration (less distraction), healthy lifestyles, and being calm and task oriented when one is under pressure. While all these are important, these views do not cite the structural, contextual, definitional, socio-political and institutional circumstances necessary to produce successful sporting initiatives.

The following section examines students' views regarding contestation, conflict and tension.

6.1.2.6 *Contestation, conflict and tension: Cultural values and the status of soccer and its organizing principles.*

On the question of students' exposure to cultural, historical and social aspects of the game, two reactions are noteworthy. Some students declared they had no such exposure, while others spoke of various styles of playing soccer, and regional (cum racial) differences in playing styles depending on the context and place one comes from. A Greek-speaking player related this to societal issues:

> I was born here but I'm Greek. So I'm considered a foreigner (*SGS1P*).

While there is no official UP policy declaring a player as foreign speaking, never mind actually being a foreigner, the social ramifications of being seen as foreign can be burdensome in South Africa **(**9). The country's universities cannot be seen as xenophobic, but the suggestion that a distance is created between South Africans and players who speak a different language is not a good sign, although it may be harmless (10).

In relation to the distance between the first team and the professional team (PRO team), some students felt that they do relate to the professional AmaTuks team. They played friendlies with them, despite the latter's professional status, which the student team does not share. However, there are differences in the financial support offered to the two teams:

> We're getting the same support but theirs (PRO team) is more advanced (*SGS1P*).

Such support may take the form of more advanced technical, coaching or such support. Soccer is the only professional sport at UP. It is home grown, unlike the rugby franchises that emanate externally from private franchises. Still, one student spoke of a close relationship in soccer:

> In soccer, if they want a striker and whoever is not doing their job, they…invite him over…they have a look. We're a bit close in that way. For a…friendly, they invite us to…look at one who can actually perform (*SGS2P*).

As for UP's policy to produce its 'own timber', students agreed that this is the case, but it is not practiced consistently. While one student is taken from the first team to AmaTuks annually, two are fed downwards to the university team. This is seen as a policy inconsistency. Still, some students do argue that upward flow of players to feed AmaTuks, is sufficient (*SGS2P*).

In contrast, the quotes below from students in the first team describe a downward rather than an upward feeder policy, which is not really doing justice to UP's homegrown timber policy:

> We do (follow the home grown timber policy) but not all the time (*SGS2P*).

> It (the feeder system for players) flows up, it has not been consistent. I think there is enough feeder going up (*SGS2P*).

In sum, the policy is not consistently followed, and due to Spartak development and other teams that feed into the professional team, students feel that this hampers them from progressing to a professional career. Students cited a more open practice when the university team was a direct feeder:

Steve Haupt (2005) promoted seven players in the first team from an academy...Castle team to the first team feeder. Now it has changed (*SG2SP*).

6.1.2.7 *Summary*

To sum up this chapter, in the coach's view, UP has an intricate and admirable structure to promote sport. After a 100 years of the existence of soccer at UP, reaching the national Premier Soccer League is a major achievement. UP produces high quality football players and serves them well with their higher education needs. The institution also offers untold opportunities through its youth programs and its High Performance Centre and TuksSport at the sports campus. Its crew of well-trained coaches, technicians and volunteers service the campus, the local community and the international sports community.

However, critical questions remain. The perceptions of a top-down structure relate to one such problem, complex as it is with various forms of interaction between the myriad of staff and sports students. While the soccer team is autonomous (without interference in its management), and is funded and supported, students feel that it is not as well-supported as rugby. Under UP's public relations arm, the coach has to deal with aspects external to soccer that impinge on the team, the game and the university. These include the media, players' divahood aspirations, and students' decisions to leave the club if all does not go well, or to be captured and sold by soccer agents. Of importance is the hegemonic assertion that the institution owns the player or the coach due to its values and its investment, while giving international exposure to such students. Values are not really negotiated but imposed on players, even if

they mean good. Soccer budgets have not been adequate for development of the first team, even if the coach seems happy to be inventive without them. While some students appreciate the fact that UP is a high quality institution, others feel that quality is substituted for transformation. Race relations do not seem to have progressed, with groups mixing only because they share a space at the campus, even if there is now more awareness of such issues. Some first team players expressed disappointment at not being given the chance to play with AmaTuks, the professional side. The institution is on the cusp of commercializing its entities, by selling off players for the survival of the club, and is in real danger of succumbing to neo-liberal commodification of teams and players. The dual structure of private (Varsity Sport) and public (USSA) sport is fragile, reflecting a micro-version of the national situation where elite and mass sport are separately structured entities.

The policy of 'education first' is not implemented evenly across sports, and soccer players may well be negatively affected by this. This is despite UP's well-intentioned attempt to develop football. The support structures for football are diverse and useful for players, yet the students reported that budgets differ in relation to other sports. The paucity of social research on soccer remains a problem. Furthermore, aspirations for excellence, necessary as they may be, have the effect of eclipsing social transformation, equity and social justice. A fair playing field is assumed when black students have to assimilate into a historically white university campus and its values. Even then race tensions become 'normal.' Some players cited rugby's privileges, as UP is mainly a rugby campus even if many sports are encouraged there. Soccer bursaries are not as comprehensive, but rugby players enjoy more financial and other support, and are also allowed to take fewer modules. If the soccer students' views are on point, academics may be more flexible in adjusting to rugby than to soccer.

Some students cited the excellent opportunities provided by UP, the lifestyle changes and the care taken to build a soccer community. Others cited unhappiness among first year students at being registered for Sports Science degrees. There is also ambivalence about whether the first team is feeding players to AmaTuks. The practice of allowing students who fail to continue studying so that they can play seems to contradict UP's policy. Furthermore, there is some 'migration' of soccer players off the campus and the opposite movement of rugby players who move onto campus for accommodation. Such push and pull factors may well maintain the white demographic status quo, even if this is not the intention. Some soccer players feel that policy is not geared to them. While the support structures are decentralized and seem efficient for studying and training, and some students appreciate how they are treated, some still see large gaps for African soccer players that are not adequately dealt with.

The soccer players felt that sports personnel are flexible, but academics are less so when it comes to academic class clashes with sports events and the need to change test schedules. Such inflexibility is against UP policy. However, given that it is predominantly a rugby campus, it makes sense that this occurs when it comes to soccer.

Soccer and academia are seen as totally separate worlds, especially when there is no attempt to combine learning within and inside sport, and to explore the built-in discoverability of education in sport. The separate Sports Campus at UP may also have its disadvantages. Management's pressure to enact a soccer campus in the midst of a rugby one might be misguided, as it remains a political tool used by the institutional logic. In terms of soccer players' exposure to diversity, while this occurs by playing in tournaments, seems to be lacking in the curriculum. Students who play soccer also do not regard UP as a demographically diverse campus. They are not innocent, as they regard a local (Greek speaking) player as foreign, and may play victim in processes that they could be active. Finally, the predominant value they articulated is to win above all else, and be hegemonic in this sense. The result is that social transformation and liberation issues take a back-seat. The following chapter focuses on UJ and the responses from the soccer coach and his first team university players there.

## 6.2 ***Soccer at the University of Johannesburg***.

*Figure 18: UJ quotes: interviews*

Quotes from interviews at the University of Johannesburg (UJ):

**Soccer coach on the soccer program:**

We work within budgets and amateur football needs to progress higher, individually to achieve the development threshold. We are trying to achieve. Some of it is totally unrealistic in an amateur world. We can try to implement certain things but giving programs, diet, food, housing and school subsidy: all these! Some of them are unrealistic (*SIC1J*).

**Soccer players on diversity:**

Many don't have a problem with diversity. Our sporting codes are very diverse. It's not about skin colour anymore. Our team has a lot of different types of players. I've seen black guys who engage in rugby (*SGS1J*).

**Soccer players on race and diversity**

I don't see anything racially. I was born and raised in Johannesburg. I am multilingual. I speak four languages. Diversity is like second nature to me. I've always been used to that environment. It's not a big change (*SGS1J*).

**Soccer players on diversity:**

There's a gap in diversity of traditional diets. As time goes on, some of us could fill that gap (*SGS1J*).

### 6.2.1 *Introduction*

This chapter explores the discourse of soccer at another institution, University of Johanesburg (UJ) and its soccer club. All discourse has socio-economic and political underpinnings. UJ has an overarching sports structure called a Sports Bureau, an uncommon term in sport. Other institutions use the terms sports academy, sports institute, sports club, or rugby or cricket franchises. Such nomenclature might have meant something to its inventors. As noted by Weber (1), a bureau implies some form of hierarchy and offices with a variety of functions in each office and position. This will be taken up in the discussion in chapter 7.

This sub-chapter is a continuation of the discussion on sports offerings at the three sampled universities described in chapter 5. It describes and analyzes the views of UJ's senior soccer team's coach, and of its first team players, with some reference to managers or sports staff at the institution. The justification for focusing on these constituencies is similar to that outlined in sub-chapter 6.1. Students and the coach are at the 'field surface' (an equivalent to the term 'chalk face' that is used for academics) of soccer and in the hierarchy of its administration. Diagram 11 (chapter 5) outlined the levels of managers, technical and other staff that service soccer, including a network of support and functions. Academic study of sport is located in various academic departments and not at the UJ Sports Bureau.

Sports policy and decisions are not the prerogative of the coach. However, he enjoys independence in his coaching work and in various aspects of the game. The headings hereunder indicate the main themes that emerged from of the one-on-one interviews with the coach, and the group interviews with the first team soccer players. The themes relate what the coach or students experience, think and feel, with some analytical content as the data is interpreted. The interviews represent in-depth interactions, with qualitative information obtained from the participants on the development of soccer culture at UJ. They were conducted at the UJ soccer club, in familiar surroundings for both players and the coach. The justification for this method is presented in sub-chapter 6.1, and in chapter 4 on the methodology. To guarantee confidentiality, codes are used for the participants' responses.

This chapter follows the same order as sub-chapter 6.1 in describing and analyzing the empirical data. The first section relates the views of UJ's soccer coach, and the second section outlines those of soccer players at the institution. The following themes emerged in the interview with the coach: The role of the coach and the scientific and common sense approaches to soccer training; Cultural and professional differences and similarities; Drivers of soccer development; Support structures for players; Outsourcing and commercialization; and the coach's perspective on the challenges confronting soccer. The themes in the second section that were drawn from the soccer players' responses are: Players' aspirations; From sports families to schools with different sports and entering into universities; Policies, bursaries and structures; Culture and professionalism; The content of the sports curriculum: the bio-medical model versus cultural backgrounds; Soccer as a business and the relative lack of structures for soccer development; and Social, cultural and historical aspects of sport and sports research. Following the data presentation, there is analysis of the data, with a brief conclusion to sum up the chapter. It is worth noting that as an official non-core activity, sport is not supported by state funds. Yet it is a crucial marker of UJ's identity, in the same way that UP enjoys its 'diamond status' in university sport.

6.2.1.1 *The role of the coach and his experiences*

6.2.1.2 *Scientific and common sense approaches to sports training*

Two contrasting and sometimes opposed views of soccer training are examined in this section, namely sport as a science or as common sense. The discord begins with the former functioning within the limits of the human body in soccer training, while the latter pushes beyond such limits. The scientific model is a conservative approach to developing player potential that focuses on body work and increasing the players' optimal levels over time. Functional aspects of the body are conserved. In contrast, the common sense model seeks to shift soccer players' body potential to new performance levels. It seeks to constantly transcend its achievements. Both models have their merits and challenges. All bodies need time to adjust and to continue achieving better performance levels.

UJ's Sports Bureau is the overarching sports structure. Its staff report to higher structures, with direction from above. The men's first team coach assists and implements annual player recruitment. He interacts daily with students in a stringent program, which he say includes training…

> Five times a week, a match on weekends and during USSA tournaments and football leagues. Tuesday games compromises a day's training (*SIC1J*).

On a more universal level, globalization (2) enhances specialization and professionalism, with an adoption of advanced technologies and higher levels of competition. These factors broadly impact and change all sports, including technical and coaching aspects. As the coach says:

> Dynamics have changed. The pace is quicker, sharper, more focused on a dynamic approach to football. Speed, strength, agility, all come into the game. Sports science impacts. Some are for it, some against *(SIC1J*).

The coach was exposed to both of the above-mentioned models and mixes them in his coaching. In the common sense view progress is limited if players work within their range. Pushing bodily limits means achieving more. The scientific approach sees practitioners stick to the range of a player's repertoire. It monitors heart, food, diet, bio-medicals and the like.

There is scientific contestation between supporters and non-supporters of the new field of Sports Science and its influence on sport (with its physiological research based-findings), particularly in soccer. In this regard, the soccer coach asserted:

> Sport science minimizes. It doesn't show his hunger. If players work within means and fulfil requirements, he never has to experience the pain threshold. Some coaches go to that pain threshold by the player's feelings, and not by what monitors say. The machine doesn't know the player's intentions, emotions, physical or psychological state (*SIC1J*).

The coach added that football cannot be reinvented in this way. It will always remain football, even though there are different paths and coaching philosophies. There is now also more periodization in soccer. It is exposed to change in what to do, at what training times, and such like categorizations. The coach noted that players are sharper, fitter, stronger and physically able to endure more. He also cited some negative contextual conditions:

> We work within budgets and amateur football requires one to progress higher individually to achieve the development threshold we are trying to achieve. Some of it is totally unrealistic in an amateur world. We can try to implement certain things but giving programs, diet, food, housing and school subsidy. All these! Some are unrealistic! (SIC1J).

The coach implements football development and coaching, so as to…

> Develop each individual as best as I can within my means, and from what the university allows of field surfaces, maintenance, change rooms and player psyche. I can only get with what I work with, and have (*SIC1J*).

The contestation mentioned above ranges from science to material terms, in over-extending to the many student needs that may be difficult, if not impossible, to meet. This may reflect the need for political correctness at a university that emerged to cater for affirmative action among Afrikaners under apartheid. It now seeks to support a game enjoyed by the majority of black South Africans. On the one hand, the coach admits to a neglect of the game of soccer as explored hereunder, but this could be self-defeating if it suggests some form of performance based criteria to sustain itself. The state subsidy for higher education only supports core academic functions. On the other hand, it may reflect the need for soccer players from historically disadvantaged or previously disenfranchised backgrounds to be included in institutions. This may be the case even if many soccer students attended financially better off Model-C schools. A double bind then emerges; while the new policy to emphasize soccer may be on track to serve its neglected needs, it may be limited by the pressures of such a drive, and even perhaps from many students recruited from the better off Model-C schools.

6.2.1.3 *Cultural and professional differences and similarities*

Still, most soccer players emerge from disadvantaged backgrounds, with some exceptions. The coach is compromised in trying to deal with some situations. He has to ensure that clashes don't occur between players, or get rid of what he called 'bad apples'. As is evident hereunder, problematic cases are then 'shipped out'. Such players also have needs and it is almost as if the coach brushes them aside, apart from evidence of cultural differences between the coach and players. It is difficult to produce a vibrant soccer culture when there are cultural differences at play. The coach values punctuality, but there may be players that are 'irresponsible' or 'difficult'; or players that come from different cultural backgrounds; or some that struggle financially and may be late for training as they depend on lifts (not that they don't value punctuality). All these issues make it almost impossible for punctual practises, and to participate fully and effectively in training.

The coach asserted that the social demographics of players are varied. This seems credible. Yet disruption always looms. He stated that:

> We can't say we've had any clashes due to social or economic backgrounds, which speaks for the team and individuals. *Bad apples* that have a negative impact on the team are sorted out and we move on (*SIC1J*) (*my emphasis).*

The phrase 'we can't say' in the above quote is not fully affirmative. Clashes may occur but dwelling on this aspect may not be worth it. As for players' needs, the coach is steadfastly functionalist. Players need to eat and sleep well, and balance studies and football. The coach does not get involved in the social needs of players. He avoids such social responsibility and speaks of cultural differences, as his social life is very different. His statement, 'positive for himself,' also has an underside that is negative:

> That's up to them. I don't get involved with their social life. That's got nothing to do with me (*SIC1J*).

This distance between players and the coach is somewhat structural in nature, as a lack of a dialectic relationship *between* players' backgrounds and lived socio-economic reality, *and* the foregrounded campus football reality; between what matters to both the coach and the players, and what really affects such playing (including funds, transport, the domestic situation, and the like). The coach thus cited the following as a problem:

> Certain requirements are necessary in professional environments, such as punctuality. Sometimes students are unable to facilitate transport, depending on others, causing issues for a proper training resume. You know of structures in team environments. It upsets the team profile. If I start a 4 p.m. session for 22 players, and only 17 come, or plan for 18 and 27 come. We always face those challenges (*SIC1J*).

Such external issues can impact on players. Though most are funded, the impact would apply to those that are not that well off materially. Nevertheless, the coach sees the need to continue being a mentor with an open door policy:

> I offer a mentorship role if need be but not if anybody doesn't want me to. Our coaching staff has an open door policy if anyone struggles. Sometimes we are more than their own parents or families. We know players personally, but some react differently to problems. Some don't share while some want to get advice (*SIC1J*).

Three aspects of the coach's responses relate to mentoring, cultural differences and the issue of porousness. First, there is an almost hands off approach by the coach, in that he may not seek to mentor (it has to find him). Second, there are cultural differences that destabilize the coach and his ability to build a cohesive team which is necessary to win. Third, the following example reflects the porousness of the issue at hand. Jomo Sono, a South African soccer player and coaching icon, invested his private life in a public one. He interrupted his wedding to get to a game to win, as his team was losing while he was getting married. He also physically sought absent national players from the townships for national games when he was the national coach. Such porousness reflects a similar porousness of soccer players' disadvantages. It infiltrates most, if not all other aspects of their lives. One player may struggle to find a lift, while another may struggle with funds, and a third may find campus alienating and not feel at home. The structural constraints of such players' backgrounds, their family life and the conditions in their townships, can impinge on their soccer lives. Their struggles are not unrelated to other student struggles such as being unhappy with the neo-colonial conditions that they face at universities that remain insufficiently transformed. Even though they may find a home in playing soccer, some remain unwilling prisoners of their own existential conditions (3).

There are counter-struggles, despite the university's support system for players and even when players adopt the club as a public family. These relate to the living, historical and current landscapes of neo-coloniality, if not within then outside higher education institutions. Such notions cannot be discounted from sport as they remain within the context of universities that have long lasting colonial histories with

their indelible marks remaining on the higher education landscape. In such contexts, policy drivers need to be re-examined. This leads us to discuss the notion of the 'drivers of soccer development.'

#### 6.2.1.4 *Drivers of soccer development*

UJ's soccer policy may be counter-intuitive. Most policy is not enacted overnight but is constructed or enacted in stages and processes. This is not the case with UJ's soccer policy. It can be (de) constructed in five ways. First, it can be operationally defined by those on the field. Second, it can be non-existent, in that it is not written or may be created ad hoc. Third, there may be a policy vacuum with a lack of clear policies. Fourth, it can be constitutionally defined in terms of sports organization's rules. Fifth, it may emerge from habit that is taken as practice (habitus). It is odd that such ambiguities exist, when bureaus usually function as policy drivers.

The coach alluded to an apex in policy construction despite the Sports Bureau's guidelines and rules. The Vice-Chancellor's words act as policy in the absence of clear policies:

> It (policy) is in accordance with the VC. He has a large say. There has been some restructuring around UJ's Sports Bureau over the last few months (*SIC1J).*

The above quote needs to be contextualized. There have been several changes in the Sports Bureau due to the ongoing restructuring at UJ, including all managers and sports heads changing departments. Such upper echelon interventions could be due to delays in making soccer a priority twenty five years after political independence. However, the coach stated:

> Policy objectives would come from the VC. The sports manager relays it to me in terms of expectations and objectives for the following season (*SIC1J).*

If this is true, policy making is top-down notwithstanding the ongoing restructuring. This does not obliterate the space for bottom-up policy. Line managers and staff deal with operational, soccer related and technical matters. One crucial area relates to sports development policy, which was summed up as follows by the coach:

> Football was neglected over the past few years. We are in the process to grow the football brand within UJ with inroads to amalgamate with an existing development program which aids us in developing youngsters (*SIC1J*).

The above quote relates the neglect of soccer for the two and a half decades mentioned above. But UJ's soccer development is now being outsourced. An external partner assists with its recruitment strategy and development. The coach sees this as a win-win situation. He asserted that it is not part of the academic recruitment process, as at some other universities. This is so despite the size of the bureau, the variety of academic sports offerings and the actual sports offered at UJ. The question is how such outsourcing will impact on the structure of sports at UJ, and for input into the game. While the coach seemed to believe that it would not have an impact, his own position seems to have been outsourced, as he is not a full-time employee of the university.

Moreover, Varsity Cup is a new element on the national higher education landscape. It began with rugby, with other university sports being brought into its fold and that has private sector backing. Some students expressed misgivings about this development:

> Because Varsity Cup takes preference, we just hope that we can get the best offering possible to implement, in terms of budget resources (*SIC1J).*

A dual structure seems to have emerged, of a USSA league (old public structure) and Varsity sports cup (a new private structure), although some articulation exists between them. With UJ now included in the Varsity Sports structure, teams pass through USSA to reach Varsity Sports. It suggests an unofficial first and a second sports division:

> Every December for the USSA club champs, when they play in the December, your top eight teams play the following year in Varsity Sport (*SIC1J*).

Although rugby was the first sport to fall under Varsity Sport, it thrn spread to hockey, netball, athletics, cricket and then to soccer. The coach confirmed that rugby may have been hegemonic but asserted that this is no longer the case. Indeed, he volunteered this information without a question on rugby being put to him. It was as if there was silent defence of a non-existent attack by the researcher's probes in the interview. Admittedly, rugby is a point of origin for Varsity Sport. The coach responded about rugby:

There's cricket, netball, athletics and rugby. It wasn't always just rugby (*SIC1J*).

This brings us to the question of support structures for soccer in the next section hereunder

6.2.1.5 *Support structures for players*

*Figure 19: UJ Support structures for soccer*

| | |
|---|---|
| Support/staff | Academic Tutorial Support |
| | Technical and Administrative support (sport) |
| Support programs | Soccer Training and Soccer Matches |
| | Counselling and Psychological Assistance |
| | Matches, Coaching and Training |
| Physical centres | Sports Bureau |
| | Gymnasium: Access, Weekly schedule; Supplements at times & Diets as per request |
| | |
| Finances | Bursaries, Fees & Limited accommodation (within limits) |
| | Financial Budgets (these are also limited) |

Figure 19 (above) reflects the variety of support structures for soccer, including counselling and psychological services, training, gym access, academic assistance, diets for the players and limited financial aid. The coach related his role in all of this:

> My expertise is technical and tactical; video analysis work. Individual needs are handled by the Sports Bureau: on diet, stress, school or study. They give me feedback. We offer physiotherapy so that players can get treated in terms of preventative injuries or treating a current injury (*SIC1J*).

Such support structures serve students functionally to maintain their optimal physical performance. They condition, energize and sustain players' bodies to play. While this is laudable, as noted in chapter 6.1 with regard to UP's sports model, the lack of critical social research at the point of production of soccer at the university, is crucial. There seems to be neither research on the effects of the current UJ restructuring on sport, nor on soccer within the bureau of a what is regarded as a premier research institution. Psychological, physiological and natural science related research seems ascendant, especially with the rise of Sport Science in South Africa. Without alternative views, differing theoretical alternatives, competing paradigms and in-depth analysis, progress may be blocked in soccer. This may also be true for other sports, but that is not the focus here. Such a research focus could serve to change the mechanisms or processes by which sport is enhanced or debilitated. It could lead to discussions on the forces of change that are operational at UJ that may impact on or be affected by soccer. Functional arguments only go so far in explaining sport. This does not mean that there is no

sport research at UJ, but it is not internal to the Bureau as a necessary corollary of the practice of sport, like any other far-reaching human activity.

The coach said that he aimed to reduce the players' age range to 21. This observation is demographically based, which is also sociological. As a general pattern, players retire at 30, which explains the coach's reductive strategy. He noted:

> We catch players that should be at a certain level in development, physically, tactically, technically. But we play catch up. My first six months was a huge shock for standards and a shock for players of what I expect (*SIC1J*).

He is an efficient coach who has had international playing experience, and he aims to take the UJ first team to a new level. His budget is bigger than UP's budget for soccer until AmaTuks at UP became professional. Football development is outsourced to a company called 'Midas Academy.' It scouts for UJ players, and caters for their under-13 to under-19 players. It also serves to give a six-year booster to implement strategies for the youth. While the task of upscaling soccer almost overnight may be a challenge, there are numerous sports organizations, including USSA and the UJ soccer club that are affiliated to both the local football association and leagues in the region. Apart from the numerous sports bodies, a private body (Varsity Sport) is set apart from the public one (USSA).

The coach is positive about UJ soccer. He said that he is inspired by glimpses of what he has seen in players' families through his own efforts. He spoke of decent families and level-headed students, and asserted that top level staff should lead by example. This means that his coaching team has to be punctual, disciplined and follow a healthy lifestyle. He observed that this had produced results in terms of huge improvements in the team both on and off the field:

> From what we've seen and heard from other platforms, and previous heads of departments, we are on the right track because players had absorbed what we're trying to achieve, and we've seen huge improvements on and off the field (*SIC1J*).

Every player may ultimately dream of playing professionally, but only a few make it. They are thus indirectly advised to study to get ahead. UJ managed to get two contracts for players last year but a lingering question remains in the mind of the coach:

> Where would these players have been if they had got the right development, if we have developed them in half a year? (*SIC1J)*

This question could pertain to aspects internal and external to UJ, as described hereunder. This brings us to the outsourcing of sports at UJ.

6.2.1.6 *Outsourcing and commercialization*

UJ is outsourcing, rather than insourcing its soccer development, despite the fact that the various decolonization student movements (#FeesMustFall, #RhodesMustFall and the like) managed to push most university managements to insource their labour. Areas of soccer are being outsourced, from recruitment and development, to training and coaching. Producing soccer players also means attracting more students (and players) that market the university. It becomes a cycle of growth as UJ chooses which student players to recruit. Furthermore, the sale of players which is not prevalent in the amateur traditions (except in rugby) opens up a market. In soccer this market remains highly individualistic as compared to the captured market of the rugby and cricket franchises. Contracts and player markets lead teams to commercialization, game marketization, player commodification and towards richer, more dominant teams or leagues. High player prices can negate the value of soccer as a sport.

Moreover, the possibility of footballer redundancies can emerge when players cannot make the grade to ascend in their careers, and if football strategy vacillates between small and big squads, as the coach asserts:

> We work with what we got. Players help. In a year's time we'll have to offload players again. I offloaded 15 and brought 12 players, reduced the squad, and worked with quality, not quantity of players. We are now forced to increase the squad again because of double exertion of two campaigns. We play Monday, Tuesday and Saturday (*SIC1J*).

In the meantime, UJ's first team has achieved a lot. It was promoted twice in two years, entered the professional league, and plays in the Gauteng youth league and in the Varsity Cup. The following section examines the challenges confronting soccer at UJ, as expressed by the coach.

6.2.1.7 *Coach's perspective on the challenges confronting soccer at UJ*

The challenges identified by the coach relates to finances and food. Funding for soccer is limited, in contrast to rugby, that was a previously white sport with a spread of white capital networks. To the credit of UJ, soccer is fully subsidized. The soccer manager stated:

> Currently...my club does not have anything else (bar university funds) (*SM4J*).

> We have got a good player. We want to put him through the university with a limited budget. Football at this university was not a priority sport, but surely pushing more money can be budgeted towards bursaries (*SM4J*).

Soccer is thus a step-brother sport. This may be the result of white capital supporting other previously white sport, and not soccer which is the national sport supported by the South African black majority. A soccer manager corroborated the role played by capital in this:

> Cricket and athletics managed to get some funds from a bank. It's laughable what companies are prepared to give. That bank runs the university accounts. Imagine how many millions are in the account (*SM4J*).

The market function is increasing in more than one sense. First, UJ follows the global practice of using sport as a marketing tool to recruit students and to advertise itself. The second aspect is the market networks that, as noted previously, come into play for particular sports and not for others. Furthermore, the South African Football Association (SAFA) and government's contribution to develop soccer may be wanting, inadequate or ambiguous. The rise of Varsity Sport as a weekly televised entity during its playing season is a key development. It does fill a gap, but it could also result in a second division of sorts. One manager asserted that:

> If you have fifty or hundred million Rands, you can buy UP to get national league status and give it to UJ. Existing clubs literally buy the name out and change the name in a year's time. At semi-professional level you buy, but the university is not going to pay any money for us to buy out a team, so it has to win all the way up to the national professional league (*SM4J*).

Policy-making is also a challenge, especially with regard to external bodies. The coach says:

> We had a unit within the institution for policy externally. It's not for sports but for the university. I only knew about it because a friend was accused of going to sponsors without that department's authorization. Whereas I've been in negotiations with our sponsors without the delay and the department being involved. My head of sports, the director of sports, was there. And we all went out to negotiate with them. So, the policy is there but nobody is actually practicing it (*SM4J*).

The coach identified access and academic work as added challenges. Most township pupils are accompanied by a particular culture of education. This includes passing with a below average grade. UJ targets Grade 11 and final year grade 12 students for interventions to develop such players academically before they enter university. A manager at UJ stated that:

> Schools with a good football culture and talent in grade 9 and 10: we want them coming through to show what is needed on the academic side. 'Are you struggling', 'why?' 'Can we help you improve?' We speak to their parents and say we want to develop this player. It ties them to come for university training, going through the performance exercise and see how things actually run there, because I think the whole system of academics and sport in schools has failed. Hopefully the new ministry that is trying to revive it, will work for the best. Our national football association has failed to develop football at grassroots level (*SM4J*).

Another disadvantage for football may be different levels of parental support for various sports. Football may also be lagging behind cricket or rugby in terms of families getting involved. There are different types of families, community socialization, resources, life-worlds and parental motivations that students come with. Players from challenging backgrounds struggle academically. The management of sport may inadvertently tie down such student-players academically, instead of making it easier for them to enter UJ. It may not recognize their certificates, or it may not provide bursaries. One manager observed that:

> Finance and food are the biggest challenges. Half the time he hasn't had lunch or didn't eat for the whole day because he doesn't have money to eat. Now, daily lunch meals are given out and every single player who doesn't stay on campus gets dropped by the gate. But there are other simple things like soccer boots. You need to be checking out the player. If he is a good player and you can see that he is actually struggling to have a decent pair (*SM4J*).

UJ supports soccer with full funding as sports development is not subsidized by government, and the national football association (SAFA) does not really support it as much as it should. UJ does show

sensitivity to the nutritional needs of players. It organizes workshops on what food to eat, and includes a test on what has been learnt. UJ also tests players before the summer break and after they come back in January, to determine if they have kept to a basic program and ensure that the break does not have a negative impact on their performance. The next section looks at the responses of UJ's first team soccer players.

### 6.2.2 *UJ soccer players' responses*

#### 6.2.2.1 *Players' aspirations: student athletes or athletic students*

Before looking at students' responses, some background information may be necessary. Those who play in the first team are registered in various academic programs, including Sports Psychology, Sports Management (Bachelor of Commerce), Sports Science and Human Resource Management. Most students have always played football although one started with rugby. Most come from Model-C schools that invest more in sport. They have a variety of motivations to study and play soccer. One did not want to study but was recruited from Kaizer Chiefs development with a study scholarship. Another always sought to study sports management. Still another was pushed by his parents to study and was accepted at the UJ trials. Others came through trials and received funding. Two came to study but they also love playing. Still another came for the soccer and was scouted by the coach to study. Most see themselves as soccer players first, and then as students. But they also define themselves as student-athletes: their studies come before soccer. This is probably influenced by UJ policy. One participant sought to change perceptions that soccer is not a white sport, or that only the uneducated play soccer. A sports management student, aware of soccer players' short careers (up to age 30), spoke of opportunities even if their own sport mainly focuses on the game:

> Sport is a business. You can make money off it, but it's a short time. Our studies have two aspects. Sport is different from the business part where it generates revenue, but we basically focus just on the sports part (*SGS1J*).

With this brief introduction, the next section looks at the role of sports families.

#### 6.2.2.2 *From sports families to schools with different sports, and into universities*

Academically, student players' performance is generally average. They profess to perform well in soccer. They dream to play in international leagues. Some seek to open their own businesses. Most noted that sport is their first love, but they would fall back on their degrees.

Most players come from families with a soccer background. Being placed in an academy or a sports club was crucial to their development. One player asserted that what one spends the most time on, is most valued. For another player, proper management produces good players and attracts funds. Examples cited were of Model-C schools investing in sport, parents contributing or the private sector investing in sport. But players pointed out that:

> More hype occurs around schools' rugby. School football has the Motsepe and Coca Cola Cups but with no hype. People don't really bother. You don't get scouts, but club football has Engen and Platinum Stars tournaments. In rugby it's the Craven Week and Kez rugby fest which are school based (*SGS2J*).

A weak school soccer system, and low levels of support from government and the private sector across all schools (compared to rugby for instance), among other aspects, continue to debilitate soccer. Soccer tournaments are not as big as those for rugby with its media exposure, where there are scouts involved. One white player commented on his experiences at the school he attended:

> Even for me there was not even a soccer team when I left. When I got there, there was a soccer team but when I left matric there was only rugby (*SGS2J*).

For some, soccer as a sport fades or ends in school, due to neglect or the emphasis on academic orientation at most schools. It is then split into elite or massified sport at universities. The following section looks at UJ's policies on bursaries and structures.

6.2.2.3 *Policies: bursaries and structures*

Soccer students at UJ receive a sports bursary if they maintain a 60% academic average rather than just a pass (over 50%). Some of the participants laughed and seemed slightly nervous when stating this. While the USA's university sports system punishes failure on the field by not allowing students to play, UJ's punishment is financial with advance warning. In the USA, sports students who do not make the academic grade can change what they are studying. The USA option thus punishes failure where it matters most to players, which may work more effectively, with the option to change what one studies.

Still, with regard to sports structures and policies, students undergo both medical and ad hoc drug tests. Study fees, accommodation, food, gym fees and medicals are fully paid. They receive coaching, advice

from technical staff, psychological counselling and personal tutors. As for second or third opportunity tests, a letter is required indicating clashes with sports events. A 40% mark is needed to qualify for supplementary exams, but only one is allowed annually.

The Sports Management student was not aware of university policies, bar the 60% pass rule:

> Personally, I don't really know. I only know few rules. We have to pass 60% in our modules. That's the only thing I know. The little insight I've got (*SGS2J*).

Students do feel professional at UJ's Sports Bureau. If they make it to the first team of 35 players, they are incentivized with meal allowances, residence fees and textbooks. However, not all are funded as some came late into the system, resulting in funding for only twenty players. They are encouraged, but not forced, to follow proper diets rather than fast foods. So, their teller slips specifying their food intake are also checked. They have annual player contracts so they can leave with no debt. UJ does not prefer to block players from progressing in their careers.

Another challenge for students is how to juggle sports and academic work. This makes time management important. They cited the support systems of 'PSYCHED' (psychological assistance), personal and class tutors, class lectures and lecturer consultation times and noted that assistance is always on hand. Family issues and the academic workload were cited as factors that affect their sport performance. They contend that it is difficult to balance academic and sports demands, especially around exam time.

6.2.2.4 *Culture and professionalism*

With regard to the division between amateur and elite sport in soccer, rugby and cricket, the student players noted that elite sport is better supported than recreational sport. One said:

> It depends on how many people are in it, and how many people are willing to fund the particular sport. Because soccer…started as…a recreational sport. It was just for fun and then more people got interested. Then people saw a business opportunity. The more the population it has, the more people are interested in it, the more funding and sponsors it can get (*SGS1J*).

While this may be true, these popular sports are also substantially supported by university policy, in that elite sportspersons receive accommodation; and at UJ, this applies to the whole soccer team. There are

also plans afoot for UJ's Soweto campus, which is home to the second team, to have a soccer village. The facilities were reported to be in good order at that campus, but the fields are not very good. The first team was supposed to have moved to the Soweto campus, but this was delayed: it was dependent on the development of the soccer fields. If players from the Soweto campus perform well, the soccer coach would get in touch with them and they would get trials. The first team is currently based at the UJ campus. Restructuring is happening but they have no idea of how things will change, particularly for students.

In terms of the factors that affect players' sports performance, the students cited lifestyle and behaviour, both on and off the field. None cited the ongoing university restructuring, and the impact of such seemingly external factors on their game. Such standard responses may point to what might have been acquired, reinforced or sustained at the campus Sports Bureau or any of its affiliates. These could include striving to be good, hard working and diligent students, that balances their time between studies and playing. It seems that a work ethic somewhat akin to the protestant ethic (Weber) is inculcated within a different context. Players sacrifice their dreams of glory and money for studying, since this will be their salvation when they need it. This is especially relevant if they don't make it to play professional soccer, or after the age of 30 when retirement looms. Thereafter, if not before, material wealth may follow for the 'chosen' but this remains uncertain. This is not an ascetic morality, but is inverted into a bodily one of pure fitness for its own sake, for football or for a healthy lifestyle. All these ideas are no doubt part of the standard furniture of sportspersons, but they coalesce as such without social research to understand what is actually occurring in student lives and at the institution. This can be detrimental, particularly in South Africa where social history has a huge impact on the majority. As for study methods, players differ in their approaches: ranging from pre-preparation to last minute cramming for the exams.

The following section looks at players' views on the curriculum.

6.2.2.5 *The content of sports curriculum: the bio-medical model versus cultural backgrounds*

Players use different methods to study. The psychology sports curriculum program has some difficult aspects, but support is provided to deal with such challenges. In relation to hegemonic forms, Sports Science students are exposed to a particular problem:

> Generally, many study sport but they don't know what they want to pursue because people that are passionate about sport are hands on with what they are doing in sports. In our curriculum you

> have Physics and Anatomy. You deal with bones, types of exercises and those sorts of things. For most students, it could be boring. They are just doing it for being there. Just doing the course and getting done with it (*SGS1J*).

One direction of sports lies in the hegemony of the bio-medical model, which is predominant in the Sports Science program. While this program has its uses, and does fulfil an important role, particularly for performance sports, players' interest in sport does not translate directly to an interest in the themes relating to the bio-medical model.

For operational purposes, the functional use of the bio-medical model is crucial. This relates to the players' physical performance on the soccer field. While such studies are informative, it is not necessary that sportspersons have a natural inclination for Sports Science. A passion for football does not translate into a passion for physiology. Yet, the trend is to register them in Sports Science, which is a rising discipline in South Africa. More specifically, as most African soccer players come from disadvantaged schools, the natural scientific content of Sport Science could easily put them off such studies. It is useful, but does not address the social realities of sport which are a crucial factor in African soccer players' lives. Social contexts are important, and the medical models cannot explain such contexts. Thus, in another context, Suarez of Uruguay was accused thrice of biting players and even called 'the cannibal' (4). Research and commentary focus more on misconduct and criminal intent (Martinkova and Parry, 2015; Times, London, 2014) (5). A bio-medical model would label Suarez as cannibalistic, but such an explanation is even weaker than the criminal one or the law-breaking one.

Proponents of the medical model curriculum feel that its content gels with what they practice in sport. It does not focus on one sport only, which makes it more holistic. One sports management student thus argued that there is some fit between the curriculum and their sport:

> If you want to excel in one particular sport, your own sport code, you can. But in school (university) they are not teaching us about your particular sport but different kinds of sport and the management around it. So, it correlates (*SGS2J*).

One player with a diploma in Sports Management, registered for a Bachelor of Technology in Marketing, saw different sports covered in the latter curriculum. Such curriculum diversity allows students who love to play to gain by studying. It allows one to keep fit for free, and receive educational back-up with financial assistance, as one participant asserted. Another player sought to be a better player, since the coach's methods are passed on. Still another saw leadership skills being practiced. A

fourth saw time management as a solution to academic work issues. All such factors are seen as advantageous for students. Themes that are not explored in this research include leadership content in the curriculum, and the question of buying players from soccer fraternities and placing them in an academic work environment. The next section looks at soccer seen as a business and the lack of structures for soccer development.

6.2.2.6 *Soccer as a business and the relative lack of structures for soccer development*

For one participant, soccer is more about money than anything else:

> It's basically a business. People don't care about the sport. It's just a game about making money. Not like it was. (*SGS1J*)

More crucially, it's also about structures in the country, as one player stated:

> It's the structure because in world football they play towards a prize or league which gives you money and compensates. But the foundation of talent and how they produce it, is different in terms of what we do. In Europe they have under-8s, under-6s, and so on. It's the structure throughout the team. In South Africa you don't have that. They don't have funds and they don't have proper coaching. You have your big teams that have that, but they don't have the proper structures. How about players becoming professional at a younger age? (*SGS1J*).

The lack of structures for sports development as a larger societal issue, is reflected in the second quote above. Nonetheless, students cited the Telkom Soccer School that produced Steven Pienaar who played for Everton (UK) and the national team (Bafana Bafana). The students regard the Telkom School as a quality institution. This may be due to their desire to get into such a school, or that players know about it from their networks with the school. Either way, it raises the need for what may be called the sociation of soccer. In light of the fact that the South African league is the richest in Africa, the question arises of the level of national development for soccer, and of how the Premier league teams in South Africa became richer than soccer administration (SAFA). Another question then arises about the vast amounts of money in soccer that may have contributed to eradicating that sense of freedom, liberation and joy after the national football (Bafana Bafana) won the African Nations Cup (1996) two years after the first national democratic elections. Such analysis is discussed in more detail in chapter seven. The next section focuses on the social, cultural and historical aspects of sport.

6.2.2.7 *Social, cultural and historical aspects of sport and sports research*.

A student studying sociology noted that:

> Through sport you do socialize with a lot of people. You become more familiar with other people. I do see a social aspect in sport, and we do learn about the history of sport. I studied a subject called sport history last year. That taught us about how sport, soccer and rugby came about. I learnt about social and historical views (*SGS1J*).

This is all very well and good, but such basic understandings remain somewhat surface- oriented. Without a social research office within and attached to the UJ Sports Bureau, most of what is happening inside and outside of universities may not get captured in a systematical way. It means that there is a loss of knowledge and opportunities. This is not to say that the understanding achieved by the above student is not important. There needs to be ongoing development for greater exposure to the rich social research that could be generated at the Sports Bureau. Social research in sport is left to various individuals whose interest it may be, or to different academic departments who may (or may not) explore new areas of sports research. It is not unified within the sports entity with a diversity of purpose and singularity of focus on the sociology of sport, and in this case for soccer.

It is not that UJ soccer is not doing well. Most students are fully funded. Their accommodation is paid and they also have some guidance about their diets. They have exposure to television and to some diversity. They are monitored on their late night outings, and their training is recorded. For reasons unknown they have no weight training, even when it is known that local soccer players are smaller to their counterparts on the African continent.

> Many don't have a problem with diversity. Our sporting codes are very diverse. It's not about skin colour anymore. Our team has a lot of different types of players. I've seen in the rugby teams, black guys who engage in rugby (*SGS1J*).

Another white player who was born and raised in Johannesburg sees it as a diverse city:

> I don't see anything racially. I was born and raised in Johannesburg. I am multi-lingual. I speak four languages. Diversity is like second nature to me. I've always been used to that environment. It's not a big change (*SGS1J*).

A black student who had travelled a lot and also played games nationally, asserted that he could not compare, since he is used to different people in these settings.

Such views are perhaps reflective of the new generation of youth. They show the perspectives of the post-1994 born-frees, who also reflect that socio-political reality. This could be a firm foundation on which to build new, sustainable and exciting structures for the future.

However, diversity is not singular in its meaning in terms of language or race. In relation to the diversity of curricula, one player said that it was reflected quite well in what he was studying. However, he was a lone voice. Others were less certain and became quiet when asked about their exposure to curriculum diversity. The question either confused them or students could not fathom what it meant. This may reflect some lack of curriculum diversity. If true, the university has a long way to go in constructing diversity. The basic condition should be knowledge dissemination across the disciplines. To some extent, this could make a difference in students' conceptual thinking, and their sporting and other practices.

Another form of diversity relates to the diets of different groups or ethnic foods, within the context of the wide array of cultures of the South African population. This is not just a matter of providing different diets on request, such as halal or vegetarian food. In this regard, the question arose as to whether diets included traditional African foods that are fast disappearing globally, as the commercialized food industry erodes such needs. One student responded:

> There's a gap. As time goes on, some of us could fill that gap (*SGS1J*).

On the question of the external factors that affect players' sports performance, the students cited diet, lifestyle and partying. One student said that although such external factors exist, they are personal. This goes against the tendency noted earlier of players seeing the club as a family. Private space shrinks into itself when personal issues are sought not to be made public. Another player cited the company one keeps, how one manages time in that circle and how one keeps focused on sport. Students from outside Johannesburg have no family time as they are on their own. One player saw it differently:

> For me it's only one thing that affects me so badly, but it helps me to perform good. When I drink alcohol before a game I perform very well (*SGS2J*).

This exception to the rules of morality and discipline stressed by many players can be taken lightly or seriously. If it is the former, the quote may be just one small assertion in the general order of things. But if taken seriously, it may lead us to the borderline statements that are anti-moralistic and pro-hedonist. The question is whether this trait is a response to the disciplinary regime of soccer or just an individual trait. Nothing conclusive can be said of this player's views. The player also seeks his meal allowance in cash, indicating that he may use the funds for his own hedonistic purposes. UJ previously had a policy to pay all students' expenses, but this was dropped for reasons that were not clarified. It currently pays all players' expenses, and time will tell if this works. Due to the multiple backgrounds that students bring to UJ, the policy may need to be more finely tuned. For instance, the issue of 'black tax' (6) to support siblings, parents and even households occurs in many black families. Students are sometimes the first in their families to get a job or earn some money. There may be a need to supplement such players' incomes.

Nonetheless, UJ's players see its first team soccer program as effective. They see it having sufficient support and infrastructure, and good coaches to encourage players to alert them if they struggle. The sports industry is generally also seen as a good industry to be in.

6.2.2.8 *Summary*

The pertinent aspects of this chapter can be summed up as follows. There is contestation between a scientific understanding of soccer as opposed to the common sense approach. Soccer is also changing technically and globally. Players and styles of play are changing. There is a need to extend services to meet needs that are not ostensibly related to soccer but are crucial for team unity and performance. The functionalist understanding reduces sport to a function of biology if the medical model is assumed. Most soccer players come from disadvantaged backgrounds and exhibit cultural differences, meaning that the coach is compromised in terms of his professional approach. Notions of decolonization are not foregrounded by the players or the coach, but their porousness does affect the organization of the game. Soccer policy is defined in various ways. It can be seen operationally or it can also be non-existent in that it is simply verbal. It can be constructed within a policy vacuum, or be approached from a constitutional viewpoint. It can also be simply habitual. Soccer policy is also top-down at times. Soccer development is being outsourced at UJ. With the entrance of Varsity Sport there, the private sector is now involved with the older public structure (USSA). There are many support structures for UJ soccer. It is fully funded by the university. But social research is not internal to its Sports Bureau, to make a real difference in terms of understanding the nature, organization and progress of the game and its participants.

Football at UJ is also becoming commercialized, with the onset of players being sold for the survival of the club. The possibility arises of neo-liberal commodification of players and the sport. This is also true for whole teams that can be bought. Finances determine which clubs enter the (semi) professional field. Funding for soccer at UJ is generous but it seems they are still short financially. Food is another challenge for players, but it is also about simple things that players do not have: these include soccer boots, soccer kits and the like. Then there is the double burden of playing and studying. The DHET does not take this into account when it defines notional hours that relate the maximum number of hours that students can take in a particular study period, just as much as it also does not provide for such sporting activities. Sports students struggle with time management, and are over-burdened with sports training, being coached, playing, travelling to external venues and the like. Schools and families are crucial determinants for soccer players, as is black tax. Bursaries are provided for soccer players, but academic performance determines whether it continues. However, this rule is broken at times for soccer players who fail. Support structures for soccer are manifold at UJ, with some schools' outreach and mass participation in hostel soccer. The predominance of the bio-medical model is persistent and there is no social research program internal to the Sports Bureau. There is also low support for the game in political and civil society outside of the university. Curriculum diversity seems to be lacking in the modules that soccer students register for. As for the diversity of groups, cultures and racial minorities, this campus seems to have the most vibrant culture out of the three universities sampled, and it also seems to thrive on such diversity.

## 6.3 Soccer at North West University: Potchefstroom campus

*Figure 20: NWU interview quotes with soccer coach*

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|---|
| *Quotes from an interview with the soccer coach at North West University* (NWU), *Potchefstroom campus*:<br><br>**Manager-coach**: I manage all soccer activities at the university. The hostel league, SAFA Vodacom, SAFA SASOL. All the senior teams. The school leagues in Potchefstroom: high schools and primary schools, increasing respectively from age 4 to 9, and from 4 to 12 between 2012-2013. I manage everything, competitions, senior leagues, SAFA, USSA and senior teams and hostels. We have three layers (*SIC1N*).<br><br>**Manager-coach:** Soccer is a team sport. It can be individual, but you need help from teammates or the coach. It's like an engine. Everyone has his own role that makes the team to be strong and win at the end. At the end it becomes one thing, those individuals becoming one thing (*SIC1N).* |

The above quotes (Figure 20) from the black manager-coach of NWU soccer (UP and UJ's coaches are white) reflect the structure of soccer coaching, and of one person running almost everything. They also reflect a functional metaphor of the team as an engine. Functionalism is a constant metaphor in the interviews.

6.3.1.1 *Introduction*

This chapter continues with the sports offerings at the three sampled universities, with data from NWU in Potchefstroom. It reports and analyses the views of the NWU manager-coach of the senior soccer team, and those of soccer players at the Potchefstroom campus, with some additional input by managers or sports staff.

As with the other universities sampled, the following should be borne in mind. First, both the manager-coach and student players are relevant actors in the (re) production of soccer at NWU, being on the field of play and in a central place between managers and the manager-coach. Like all universities in South Africa, NWU has various structures and hierarchies. One difference in this chapter (compared to the previous two chapters that presented empirical material on UP and UJ) is that a manager-coach (instead of simply a coach) is the participant. Despite the researcher's efforts to book an interview with the

soccer coach, he was 'unavailable'. The manager-coach substituted for the coach without informing the researcher that he was standing in, until after the interview began. Due to time, travel and logistical constraints, the researcher used the data provided by the manager-coach.

The hierarchy in soccer is as indicated in Diagram 14 (chapter 5). The senior university soccer team falls under a sports umbrella structure, above which is the sports management level of the soccer manager-coach. Above the latter in the structure is the sports or academic managers. Various support structures exist for players, and there are different levels of management above the team and the manager-coach in the wider units above the soccer club such as the High Performance Centre (HPC). The latter is located off the Potchefstroom campus and a Soccer Institute is placed at the predominantly black Mahikeng campus as it was seen to be a popular sport among the African students on that campus. A related structure, 'Varsity Sport' also exists, as well as a student controlled Soccer Committee. The latter is represented in the wider structures. This committee liaises with the manager-coach. There are also various levels in the organization of soccer. These include the university first team, a hostel league, a Vodacom side, an external league, various soccer competitions, and a SAFA/SASOL women's league. The manager-coach plans the soccer calendar and adjusts the program when he receives input from those in charge at the various levels. There is also all-season soccer to accommodate players' studies. Hostel students run their own leagues autonomously. The manager-coach arranges all aspects of the game as outlined hereunder. Above all of this is the general sports structure at the university, with various managers, technical and financial staff, and sport-related personnel.

Second, as in the previous two sub-chapters (6.1 and 6.2) participant responses are reported and analysed in this chapter, viz., those of the manager-coach and the first team players.

Third, as with other the empirical sub-sections, qualitative data were gathered by means of group (students) and individual (coach) interviews. The themes that emerged from the data are outlined in headings with some analysis of the data. The interviews were all conducted in a close-up situation and in-depth interaction took place on the topic of the organization and development of soccer at the Potchefstroom campus of NWU. Both the group and individual interviews were conducted on the Potchefstroom campus (NWU), in the familiar surroundings of the soccer club. Anonymity was guaranteed through the use of codes for the statements by students, managers and coaches.

The data hereunder is presented and analysed in two sections. The first section relates and analyses the views of NWU's soccer manager-coach, and the second those of soccer players at NWU

(Potchefstroom). In the first section, the following themes emerged: The role of the soccer manager-coach; Institutional organization and positive aspects of soccer at Potchefstroom; Soccer organization and policy at the campus; Support structures and challenges for soccer; Budgets and bursaries; Cultural values and contestations in soccer. The second section relates and analyzes students' views and their experiences of soccer and its organization at NWU, and speaks to the following: A brief background of players; The curriculum and assessment of the academic programs of soccer players; The 'island of soccer' as a form of social disorganization; Support structures for soccer (or lack thereof); Contestations in soccer: Policy and organization in the horizontal and ad hoc structure of soccer; And the institutional organization and culture.

6.3.1.2 *Role of the manager coach and his experiences at Potchefstroom campus*
6.3.1.3 *The role of the manager-coach in organizing soccer at NWU*

The step-in manager-coach that was interviewed, substituting as a coach for the men's first team, which comprises of predominantly black players (there is only one white player) as at the other campuses sampled, but more so with the Potchefstroom soccer side. Unlike with NWU rugby (Potchefstroom), where a coach exists for each position on the field, in soccer there is only one coach for the whole club. There are two daily training sessions during match weeks. The coach manages a first team, a ladies' team, a hostel league, a South African Football Association's (SAFA) team, a Vodacom team, a SAFA-SASOL women's team and the Potchefstroom schools league team. This statement of the coach is a good place to start:

> We use high schools and primary schools as a marketing strategy for our university. We help learners from schools to sharpen their skills when they come to university. The experience is that most players have never played soccer. I introduce them to it. When they come here they know how to kick and how to trap the ball (*SIC1N*).

The fact that black players have no idea of *the* national sport of soccer seems odd in view of the fact that South Africans display a strong affection for the game. As mentioned earlier, soccer is also the most popular game on the African continent. The theme of using soccer as a public relations exercise is recurrent at UP and at UJ too. The structure of soccer organization involves a sports committee that chooses a representative, with whom the coach liaises. The latter chooses a soccer hostel committee for the hostels league. For the coach…

> Students have a sports committee to choose a soccer representative with whom I liaise, and who choose a soccer committee to run the hostel league. From hostel competitions a report sums up what is happening on the field. I organize referees, medical personnel and security. The committee deals with…(on the field)…disciplinary hearings. They run it themselves. I just manage and supervise competitions, everything (*SIC1N*).

This is the basic organization of soccer at the campus. The coach manages, supervises and interacts with students in what is essentially a student process. Three layers exist: there are senior teams, a hostels league and an external schools league of public and private schools. The senior men's team play in the USSA league, and the senior ladies play in the women's league. The SASOL ladies won the provincial league. There is no national women's league.

The coach noted that one challenge confronting footballers is to study *and* play football:

> It's a challenge especially for first teams. Hostel-wise, we can manage but those playing in SAFA leagues…For the SASOL league this year we are going to change soccer seasons from August-June to February-December. This accommodates school and university learners. It's all season. You play in summer and winter (*SIC1N*).

This shift to all-season soccer, except during exams, tests and vacations makes academic sense. It aims to address the tight soccer program during the year, particularly for the SAFA league teams. The envisaged shift includes weekend training, to allow players to study during the week. However, there are those that still go out on weekdays:

> Some still go out to do their own thing in the week, without saying or thinking 'this is my time to learn' (*SIC1N*).

As for the team's racial mix at a predominantly white institution, the coach said:

> They are mixed, especially the ladies' team. We only have four blacks, two coloureds, and whites, they're really doing good in that sense (*SIC1N).*

However, this is not altogether true for all the teams. The male first team has only one white player as evidenced when they were interviewed. The coach diverted the researcher to the racial mix of the ladies' side. Yet, on a predominantly white campus, it is not surprising that more white female players

partake ladies soccer. Interesting, for future research, is evidence of female (mainly white) empowerment, without a gender office at the campus.

At a macro-level, the institutional organization of soccer is also relevant as the following section shows.

6.3.1.4 *Institutional organization: positive elements in Puksport soccer culture*

Claims of a positive soccer culture is justified by an open rector's tournament that is seen to unify: any team can participate, including multiple teams from each club. The coach noted:

> There are three leagues: a rector's tournament, a winter league and the biggest is a summer league. Some clubs bring three teams (*SIC1N*).

The coach did not identify any demographic and socio-economic challenges:

> I never experienced any challenges on that. I'm distanced from it all. The committee deals with the challenges on a daily basis, on the field (*SIC1N*).

This distance may be due to his managerial position as manager-coach, or to being at a strategic distance and not experiencing any incidents on the field, even though the researcher's question was quite broad in that it simply queried the socio-economic and demographic background of soccer students and associated challenges, rather than just on the field of play. While there is a positive energy to organize soccer, it is stymied by low levels of financial support. Other factors also come into play, such as the fact that Potchefstroom is a predominantly white and rugby oriented campus, despite the slow changes. The following section looks at how soccer is organized and policy that guides such organization.

6.3.1.5 *Soccer organization and policy*

With regard to policy making, the coach sits with a soccer committee and follows the soccer constitution. Policy works from the top, or middle-up and -down the line of responsibilities in the hierarchy. The coach asserts…

> I sit with the committee which suits me because of my background and experience. I was a full time coach but I am also doing the managing (*SIC1N*).

He added the following:

> I start with SRC (Student Representative Council) policy to see how we fit in. Integrating with them to find a strategy going forward. Policy comes from the top. From middle level and up and down from there (SIC1N).

> If I have got an input…Every year I check the constitution whether we need to amend it or not, and give it to him (upward) (*SIC1N*).

Inputs are made through constitutional amendments in the sport by the coach and handed upward in the system. Soccer plans with local schools, not previously implemented, are discussed by relevant committees and then implemented. The coach was quite positive:

> This is the second year. We've got more teams now. Last year we had only four high schools and four primary schools but now it's increased to nine high schools and over twelve primary schools. Some are adding teams. For instance, two under-13 male teams and two under-13 ladies teams (*SIC1N*).

The coach said that policy is formulated by a sport managerial structure (PukSport). His job is to refer to the constitution, and refer proposed changes upwards for approval:

> We work from the constitution where an amendment is needed: if students suggest for example, if you score more than five goals, you get an extra point. Or 'let's change this rule.' It all depends on the competition. Every competition decides on doing things differently, to make it interesting (*SIC1N*).

There are two things to note here: the assertion is that policy is not made upwards but is top down (from middle level up), and that policy is also interpreted narrowly. The sports constitution is interpreted simply in terms of soccer rules rather than in any other way (e.g., equity or transformation). In relation to policy autonomy, it's the same for the coach. The steering committee, knowing exam dates, holidays and such like, gives fixtures to him a year before. The coach sees that functional needs are met: securing referees, how many games to play, working out budgets, taking care of hostels sport subsidies for sports kits, water and the like. First team money is accrued for equipment. Team registration fees are used for soccer administration, and to note how many goals are scored, and such like, while the trophies were already bought. Soccer costs are shared 50-50 by Puksport and teams. The coach says:

> People say it's a white institution. I want to see it compete with Tuks in soccer. We are still learning. We will get there. In a few years it should be on the same level as Tuks and UJ, as one of the best (*SIC1N*).

Without indulging in comparison, as this thesis does not aim to compare universities, there are similarities between the three university campuses (UJ, UP and NWU). As with UJ, more than 20 years after political liberation, they are only beginning ('we will get there') and, like UP, academic excellence serves as a substitute for transformation in the context of its conservative nature, that is relayed to soccer. The popularity of soccer as the new 'order to follow,' is similar to UP's quest to be politically correct. Further probes revealed the following about students' demographic and socio-economic backgrounds. Students come from a variety of backgrounds, including rural areas. They all 'accommodate each other' after the hostel orientation is over. The coach defensively asserted that such 'orientation is not an initiation', and, in his view, it works well. There have been reports of student initiations on the campus, which explains this defensive stance (1). The coach further cited various campus traditions:

> When the first team play against the juniors, they sing and cheer them. Different cultures at different levels to accommodate each other (*SIC1N*).

There may be some justification for orientation, the coach attempts to argue, but the language of accommodationism also betrays itself. It's a matter of black students accommodating to the dominant campus culture, that is predominantly white and Afrikaans oriented. Some initiation incidents took place at the time of the research. For instance, a highly talented black child tragically drowned during an initiation 'fruit festival' on the Potchefstroom campus, though this is unrelated to sports (2).

While the coach was very positive about campus soccer, and being uncorrupted by negative behaviour or practices, it is also possible he does not take into account the possibility that negative behaviours occur when he is not around: as noted earlier, he does not concern himself with such practices. But with so little said on the matter, it's not possible to make any conclusions. Nevertheless, despite his assertion of integration, the language of accommodationism is revealing. If the racial make-up of the campus, predominantly white and Afrikaans speaking is anything to go by, the language of accommodationism most likely falls within a campus that is slow to change its demographic profile; both staff and students are predominantly white and the dominant language on the campus is Afrikaans with some recent pepperings of English (3).

However, the coach argued that students 'integrate' by accommodating one another. An incident at NWU's other campus (Mahikeng), during Varsity Sport could support the argument about accomodationism, symbolic resistance and cultural eruption. The recent (2017) temporary cancellation of Varsity Sport games at the predominantly black Mahikeng campus was due to a small crowd of soccer fans singing a better musical version of the SA national anthem (in contrast to a western classical tune blared to the audience, which was not the national anthem tune). The cancellation of the competition, later rescinded, represents repression of a cultural kind, of a particular musical interpretation of the national anthem. This is somewhat reminiscent of Jimi Hendrix's rendition of the American anthem at the Woodstock Festival (1969) that was more a literal musical rendition of the US bombing Vietnam (4). Such contests, real and symbolic, continue to erupt and are not restricted to the Mahikeng campus. This point is further elaborated in chapter 7.

The policy for soccer may derive from a decision to promote the university through football, as a new medium to advertise the university, particularly for black students, as student numbers are dwindling at the Potchefstroom campus. This may neutralize perceptions of an untransformed campus: it is not compliant with the Employment Equity Act (1998) for staff, and black students remain a minority there. Afrikaans occupies a dominant space on the campus, which is distinct from protecting it as a language. In essence, the policy referred to by the coach is enacted rhetorically and put into practice by an appeal to excellence in soccer.

Some policies may be driven on the ground without being the institution's policies. The opening quote of this chapter cites the team as an engine for a form of unity, echoing a functionalist approach. All parts form a whole, with an integrated unity that functions to play and win. The main aim is to be on par with UP. Soccer seems bereft of liberatory value. This is further discussed further in chapter 7.

The next section looks at NWU's support structures for soccer.

6.3.1.6 *Support structures for soccer at NWU*

*Figure 21: NWU Puksport support structures for soccer*

| | |
|---|---|
| Support staff | (Manager) coach |
| | Academic Tutorial Support |
| | Sports committee with representatives: for hostel leagues and for disciplinary hearings |
| Support programs | Soccer Training + Matches for all season soccer |
| | Rector's tournament & some opportunities to coach ladies' or junior teams |
| | Leagues: first team (USSA), hostel leagues, Vodacom, SAFA SASOL (Women's), Potchefstroom Schools league |
| Physical centres | High Performance Centre |
| | Gymnasium: access |
| | Soccer Club |
| Finances | Bursaries, Fees & Accommodation (that are limited) |
| | Financial Budgets (also limited) |

Figure 21 (above) illustrates the various support structures of Puksport.

When asked about support structures for players, the coach referred to the program for writing and learning English. Such a program probably supports Afrikaans speakers, and may not be relevant for the core of African first team players, though it may assist some rural African students that are Afrikaans speaking. The coach added that funding and bursaries for residential sports students is insufficient. Fundraising is also part of the coach's portfolio:

> As manager I do that as an added responsibility. I've been driving around Johannesburg, and here (Potchefstroom). Trying to see what I can get for my players, what I can get for the university team, so that it can be strong (*SIC1N*).

The National Students Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) gives support with loans, aiming to ensure access and retention. Players need a 60% mark in their studies to continue with soccer.

They are taught to respect both time and noise levels in the hostels. The coach monitors players' academic performance through their Sports Science lecturers. It may be that the latter academic channel

for players is established without sufficient work done on what students could possibly be interested in or have the inclination for. The group includes honours and diplomate students. The latter aim to convert their qualifications to degrees. There are no statistical records on the NWU soccer players, except for the information collated during annual fitness tests, or the count of how many tournaments they won, or of how some teams dominate. The coach pointed to an improvement in the senior team's performance as the soccer competitions increased. He also cited structured support:

> Year before last, we had Sundowns development assisting in playing (*SIC1N*).

Adjustments to learning and playing are made for players to cope with both. The coach asserted that there is also support in the academic and financial areas:

> I check one-on-one. I talk to lecturers especially in Sport Science. We have a few sports bursaries to encourage them, depending on the quality of the player and based on football merit (*SIC1N*).

This leads to the challenges faced by the soccer fraternity, as related by the coach below.

6.3.1.7 *Challenges to support structures: low government support, competition for accommodation; but positive academy support for soccer players*

In the area of government policy, or rather, practice, sport is dependent on the province:

> The Department of Sport would say 'we together with the Department of Education can take sports to another level.' For Gauteng and Western Cape, it works. But for the North West Province, there's a big problem (*SIC1N*).

The coach asserted that his players lose out in this situation, and that the North West Sports Academy, which falls under the Sports Department (in the Kenneth Kaunda region under which Potchefstroom falls) set up by the government, is doing well with all sport:

> Most school learners enter a program to train and test and are proven right: how far is their performance, and the like (*SIC1N*).

The academy assists players who have the potential to improve. Its programs are designed to assist sportspersons to compete provincially, and it administers tests that measure progress. Medical

practitioners check if learners eat well, among other things. However, government committees comprising Sports and Education Departments are usually absent for events such as the Coca Cola Cup or SAFA events. Such lack of support is not unique to Potchefstroom, but occurs in many government departments, identifiable with the national bourgeoisie, who pursue their own interests, and neglect their civic related functions.

As for accommodation, only a few players obtain residence spaces. But not all are as wanting of such space. One gave up his bursary to help other needy players. However, some obtain a sports bursary, get bored, and register to study something else. The coach holds players' bursaries as a guarantee, if they drop out of football. Students also risk losing the bursary for the following year. The coach thus remarked:

> Some of them do that. That is why I say 'No, because we're assisting you, you must commit yourself because we are paying for you' (*SIC1N*).

This lack of focus by some students can be problematic, but one may also wonder how interest in soccer developed in a town like Potchefstroom that is dominated by rugby. One reason could be that the soccer World Cup (2010) title holders, Spain, were housed in the soccer village. The latter was originally planned for the Mahikeng campus that has a Soccer Institute, but was later transferred to the Potchefstroom campus. Similar capturing of sports and other entities has occurred at the smaller Vaal campus, situated in the industrial heart of the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging (PWV) area of Gauteng province. For the coach, the popularity of football is indicated by 44 male and female hostel teams. Parents are the crucial factor to this confidence building. Some students cite football as access to both education and funding to play soccer. But some drop out of football, and continue studying:

> The player gets a sports bursary but midway can drop out, with that bursary. That's why, it's like a contract: to do this, and that only for soccer. But as time goes on, he can drop out. That's where the problem lies. This year I came in and said if you drop out then you lose this bursary (*SIC1N*).

It is interesting that some students use sport as access to education, even if it means sports bursaries are 'wasted'. This could indicate an underlying problem regarding access to higher education, particularly for African students. Nonetheless, the coach noted what the phenomena of soccer does to players, or what they invent out of it:

> It's interesting because now every young kid has a ball, and wants to play soccer and has a message to share. That's why it's ongoing (*SIC1N*).

As regards the campus rules, they are strict as in the case with single sex hostels, where members of the opposite sex are not allowed to enter one another's rooms. They can only call and meet in the foyer. There are also permanent security staff at the hostels, especially for first years. Such security is welcome, as it protects students, but it may also be compulsive. On a lighter note, players organize weekend beer-in-hand football, that is gender-mixed as a fun sport. The hostels have corridor teams that compete with one another. The coach does not concern himself with any other sports traditions. He only knows that some of it does exist in the hostel, and that they are fun-related. A personal incident can be cited here. The researcher recalls a sociology department visit to Potchefstroom campus. While parking, the driver accidentally drove over part of the hostel lawn. A white student rushed over and aggressively pointed to the damage (stepping on their turf?). It was later learnt that students look after their own hostel lawns which is probably an ownership incentive for residents.

Another theme emerging from the interview with the coach relates to budgets and bursaries.

6.3.1.8 *Budgets and bursaries as part of support structures for soccer*

Sports bursaries encourage students to play soccer and study. Yet according to the coach, such bursaries are sparse, and securing one depends on the player's quality, performance, selection for national teams, and the like. Only five or six get bursaries and the sports budget is not large. The coach added that one cannot compare it to the rugby franchises that are linked to universities. Such franchises are corporate enterprises that make contributions, handle contracts, and deal with player purchases and sales as well as marketing, agents scouting for players, and the numerous aspects accompanying their corporate identity. Such an identity is also multidimensional, and some are not directly related to rugby. Rather, it consists of a mobile community of rugby fans following their teams locally and/or internationally, or feeling at home in the old heart of the Afrikaner culture that took a British 'gentleman's game' and transformed it into a rough, fast paced, high-energy game as reflected by the big match rugby games on television (5).

This digression is useful, as bursaries are not a simple matter, since bigger forces come into play, in line with indications mentioned earlier of external forces. As a coach says:

> We have sports bursaries, learners say they will pass. Some say, 'I don't need this, I need quick cash.' When they get better offers from top teams, they say 'I can't continue, I have to take this.' That's the problem, especially those from disadvantaged family backgrounds. They want to improve their family lifestyle (*SIC1N*).

The coach felt that NWU cannot do more to assist disadvantaged students, yet it expects to retain players. The basic wage to players has now been reduced to support for study fees. This renders students into quasi-employees. The coach recounted that:

> The football team used to be paid. Not huge sums though. To encourage them. But some would say 'why should I go to class. I have something in my hand.' That's why we decided to change the policy (*SIC1N*).

The effective conversion of students to employees occurs in rugby due to the dominance of franchises, with their attached multiple functions. This is an established historical relationship that informs rugby practice, with rugby corporatizing university sport, and even determining the rules of the game, so to speak. Yet with the tide of national political change after 1994, marketing becomes sacrosanct to recognize *the* majority national game of soccer. The latter is now developing at a mainly white majority campus, to prove the critics wrong, which does not mean there will not be successes. But such policy shifts in bursaries may also backfire. Bursaried players may make students simply focus on the funds, which explains the policy change to reduce bursaries to study fees only. However, not taking the historical disadvantage of some players into account is wayward. Still, the coach pointed to simple things that assist in encouraging responsibility. Students pay a nominal amount for a golf shirt. This practice is justified by the epithet, 'owning it gives it value.' He also spoke of the possibility of billing students who are responsible for the loss of sports equipment. This suggests that the coach may be constructing policy on such transgressions. Nonetheless, policy failures cannot translate into disadvantaged players not receiving sufficient support.

The university and some small donors provide soccer with funding, which means that soccer is relatively poor. With rugby as *the* major sport, in the town and on the campus, sponsors are unlikely to be willing to also fund soccer. The civic support base of soccer is mainly from the African township of Ikageng, on the one edge of Potchefstroom. The coach said:

> Rugby is big. It's the same with Mahikeng. Mahikeng is popular with soccer. Here it's rugby. That is why there, soccer will be big every time (*SIC1N*).

While the team's performance has improved, Potchefstroom's history may hold sway as rugby is sacrosanct for Afrikaner identity. This is particularly since the erstwhile Afrikaner National Party as the home of the Afrikaans-speaking community no longer exists. This identity also explains the coach's view that it is difficult to obtain funds for soccer. It should be remembered that the context of the Potchefstroom campus includes Broederbond members being present at a KOERS conference there in 2014. KOERS is a Bulletin for Christian scholarship but remains limited to somewhat narrow confines of scholarship endeavour, that may exclude sports as a social entity as the researcher found when submitting a paper on international football. Afrikaans Christian scholarship was state-supported for theology journals and theology faculties for decades. Such a background of narrow interests forms a backdrop to the lack of financial support for soccer players.

The coach informs his players of available sponsorships and encourages them to take responsibility for their finances. This is in addition to the students' own funds. Players find work by coaching hostel teams or the ladies' teams. The coach sees this as a saving grace.

There are also funding issues with USSA, the public sports body which struggles to support students fully, particularly at the institutions that are in rural areas:

> For USSA you pay for every player: accommodation and transport, which is more for those at rural institutions. It's a full subsidy, not a partial subsidy (*SIC1N*).

This brings us to another area of soccer as a social and political game, the theme of cultural values and contestations.

6.3.1.9 *Cultural values and contestations*

In the area of achievement, whether individual or team related, the coach asserts that:

> It can be individual, but you need help from teammates, or as a coach supported by your players. Teamwork is like an engine. Everyone has his own role that makes the team strong and win. At the end, those individuals become one thing. If you have a team that can commit to any situation and those players can say: 'we want to die for whatever we have in hand' (*SIC1N*).

The reduction of the team to a machine is evident in the above quote. This quote is in keeping with the Durkheimian metaphor of a biological body of functions, of a united organ, and being prepared to face

death for the sake of soccer. This is an interesting metaphor in light of the post-1994 emphasis on liberation, and the earlier quoted view of Sartre on the relationship between sport and death.

The existence of the privately run competitive Varsity Sport and its program of university competitions side-by-side with USSA could give rise to further problems. The coach described the views of the chair of USSA on the overall picture of university sport:

> Dennis Tshabalala (USSA chair) said we have existing competitions. The USSA club Championship and Futsal (five-a-side) Beach Soccer both endorsed by FIFA. Why not sponsor those because you have the right to do whatever you want to do as USSA or soccer? (*SIC1N*)

This points to a tension of sorts, on funding a particular kind of sport only: that is, Varsity Sport which is a private entity at universities. Such contestations between the old and new, the commercial and public entities, and generally the area of the hegemony in university sport are further explored in the discussion in chapter 7.

Having related the views of the coach, the following section presents and analyzes the views of NWU students at the Potchefstroom campus who play football for the first team.

### 6.3.2 *Soccer players' experiences of sports organization at Potchefstroom campus*

This section describes and analyzes the views of Potchefstroom campus (NWU) soccer students, by summarizing two group interviews conducted by the researcher with six students for each group interview session. The following aspects are covered: The background on what students are studying; Curriculum related issues (content, curriculum diversity and their interests); The social disorganization of campus soccer; Support structures for the soccer players; Policy and contestations in soccer organization; and the institutional organization of soccer on the campus. This is followed by a brief conclusion to the chapter.

#### 6.3.2.1. *Backgrounds of soccer players*

Most players that were interviewed could not register for a degree and settled for a diploma in Sports Science, even though some are interested in other courses. One was of the view that a sports diploma would lead to a degree, while another wanted to study engineering but was not accepted there. A third sought to study life sciences, despite his dislike for the subject and his poor performance at school. He

wanted to change to engineering. Some players work as manager-coaches in the hostel leagues. Others do similar work at nearby schools.

As for the players' post-degree plans, most wanted to have a career in soccer. One said that studying gave him a fall back option for a career. But not all students felt this way. One wanted to be an actuarial scientist and another simply wanted to work, to the amusement of the other players. This may indicate an awareness of their social mobility as an elite team, to which the latter player may resist. Students had qualms about the fairness of support for soccer.

6.3.2.2 *Curriculum and assessment of soccer players*

The players explained that the first year curriculum mainly includes bio-medical content. These include sports injury, fitness, health, dietary supplementation and the like. They feel that they gained much from being sports students, including in the field of biology, and in their soccer development and in their role of manager-coach at schools. In terms of assessment, they are supposed to do video analysis, but this was done only once in class, for which they were tested in the exams. Players are allowed to operate a computer, but without a lecturer present. Many struggle as they are not fully computer literate. This problem probably fades as students' progress through their degrees. The manager-coach does field assessments without synchronizing them with academic assessment or even considering the use of the field for academic assessments. While players were satisfied with the usual academic assessment of modules, they complained that without video analysis performance improvement is low. They said that the board sessions following weekly games have been discontinued. One said…

> We had board sessions but now we don't have any. If we played a match, and then the following Monday we discuss the game with: 'these are our mistakes' (*SISG2N*).

In terms of the social, cultural and historical aspects of sport, though some players were first years, they knew of Gary Player but not the equivalent black South African golf champion:

> We in golf, there's a part that does history. Gary Player, yes. But I don't know him… (Papwa Sewgolum, a champion black golfer marginalized during apartheid) (*SISG2N*).

Others had little knowledge of social history. Very few pointed to a focus on Africa in their curriculum. Some were misplaced, while others stressed the physical aspects in the curriculum:

> In Sport Science, we have not had anything yet about sport history (*SISG2N*).
>
> Most modules are physical. More could be done in psychology. One first year module deals with sport as psychological or as a social world (*SISG1N*).
>
> We do very little social, cultural and historical aspects, probably one of the most important aspects. We cover social research in sports (*SISG1N*).
>
> We don't have soccer as a module (e.g., no African soccer history) (*SISG2N*).
>
> There's no space. I qualify for teaching. I do not like all the Sports Science subjects. I qualify for teaching and wanted to be a teacher (*SISG1N*).

Such responses are understandable for first year or diploma students, but local golf history is incomplete without any knowledge of Sewgolum's legendary status. There was also little response on research on sports, even if questions of curricula are pertinent in the new era.
However, questions on this study were posed, indicating some level of concern with change:

> The responses you got from us, what are you going to do with them? Are you going to tell those people to change what's happening? (*SISG2N*)

On the question of curriculum diversity, the players commented that teaching in Afrikaans does not promote diversity. One pointed to a lack of diversity, with little focus on Africa:

> Teaching is in Afrikaans. There's no English. The university is based on Afrikaans culture. We have to comply. There's nothing of African psychology. We do social psychology, development psychology. It does not deal with African culture. I did personology three years back (*SISG2N*).
>
> This is an open club. Players don't get anything, so they leave (*SISG2N*).
>
> I try to diversify myself, not that I'm being diversified. I felt very secluded. Only black guys play soccer and Afrikaans guys play rugby. It's not diverse (*SISG1N*).

> Rugby points are gained by staying in hostels to assist in applying next year to stay there. They don't apply them to other sports. They seclude soccer. It doesn't have any value and it keeps rugby alive. It's a cycle. Hostels are very cultural (*SISG1N*).

The above quotes reflect the lack of diversity, as students perceive it, and of a closed campus life, of dualistic rugby and soccer cultures. Hostels are cultural, which in South Africa translates into their racial nature. As for curriculum diversity, it's more of a mixed picture, but it seems insufficient for higher education:

> It depends on the faculty. There is diversity in ours to learn other cultures. We do African perspectives, psychologies and the westernized cultures and several sociology modules and philosophies (*SISG1N*).

It depends on the level. There is more at post-graduate level. The language of instruction has changed (*yet one says it's Afrikaans*). This decision is forced by what's happening in the country and the job market which is diverse (*SISG1N, with my emphasis in brackets*).

> Things diversify for post-graduates. The curriculum opens with fifteen blacks and five coloureds there. Shocking is that there are only five blacks, two or three black females and one or two coloureds. The rest are all white (of 24 students) (*SISG1N*).

The above quotes reflect some continuity with apartheid when blacks were mainly in postgraduate studies at such institutions. The following section unveils further challenges.

6.3.2.3 *An 'island of soccer': social dis-organization of soccer at Potchefstroom*

Soccer at the campus is organized by the coach, who is tasked to produce results. Soccer players share the excitement but have qualms about being in the soccer team. One said that…

> Soccer organization is okay, but compared to other sporting codes it doesn't meet the standards. Rugby is a bit better, as you all know, that this is a rugby institution, and then …soccer is…low on the agenda as compared to rugby (*SISG2N*).

Another student asserted the following of soccer at the Potchefstroom campus:

> It is not well organized. There's only one team and only a certain number of fixtures you can play. There's no fixtures outside the university. If I want to be part of the second team or…a third team, would they have fixtures to play? it's not really that poorly organized but if there were second or third teams, to organize those teams and organize fixtures for those teams. Because now that there's only one team for soccer and only 11 players: what about the other players that want to play soccer? (*SISG1N*)

Such views contrast sharply with the very positive views of the coach recounted in the previous section. It hits at the heart of the problem of a 'historically' Afrikaans institution with rugby as the main sport. Another student corroborated this view:

> The advertisements and support rugby gets, its different compared to ours. They advertise the matches all over town…the things they get. The grass on their field is always in good shape. Rugby players get whatever they need (*SISG2N*).

Another student expressed a similar view but in a different context:

> All rugby players have accommodation. It's budgeted. It has more sponsors as companies are generous to rugby (*SISG2N*).

Soccer cannot be promoted by one team only, and along with the division of sport in to an elite and a mass activities, there are other complexities:

> We are an elite team. All first years look up to us. Once we there, it's not worth it, as it's an ambiguous identity. We also only get physically tested once, yearly (*SISG1N*).

Campus soccer exposure remains limited in the current soccer structure, as the first team cannot find competition to keep them on their feet. To be fair, some attempt to accommodate soccer on a rugby campus is contained in the symbolic hybridization of its logo ('PukTawana' or 'Puk Lions'). The 'PUK' refers to its old Afrikaner PUKKE identity, and 'Tawana' means lion in Setswana, giving it a hybrid reference, but this may be as far as it goes. The soccer games are not well advertised, and stands are more than half empty at soccer games. Players have to advertise the games themselves. As for the necessary structures and policies, players argue that while they get the basics for fitness, rugby remains well entrenched. It has formal attire and sound management. Moreover, regarding the black Vice

Chancellor (Dan Kgwadi) who is based at the Potchefstroom campus, they felt they don't have access to him:

> We haven't met him…we never see him…do you think it would be appropriate for us just to go to him ? (*SISG2N*).

The organizational set up of soccer, flowing from soccer management, is a major issue. This may be due to some of the management members' lack of interest in soccer; or it may be the lack of sponsors, or even because soccer may be seen as an African game that is not for whites or that support for soccer is insufficient. It also seems to be given second priority or a secondary status as compared to the other two dominant national sports of rugby and cricket. Such disorganization is corroborated by students' views hereunder.

Still, the hostel soccer league has almost doubled to 46 teams, and there is also a first team. But players assert that there is not much more. While there are various soccer structures, as related by the coach, most are off campus. A league exists below the first team's league, but no campus team participates in it. Soccer at the Potchefstroom campus is almost like being on an island in the middle of a rugby world, as rugby is historically part of the sports culture of the town. The town of Potchefstroom is known for its historically white sports: rugby, cricket, tennis, hockey and athletics. It is not known to host any notable soccer matches. This lack of an official soccer culture may be telling, and this is evident in the responses of the soccer players hereunder.

Still, players said that soccer is popular in the town, but this comes with a caveat, especially in Ikageng, the African township on the outskirts of the main town of Potchefstroom. One player expressed it as such:

> Soccer is a big thing in the area. It's just poorly managed. Our sports management is very sloppy because there's a lot of unnecessary disruptions and very unprofessional behaviour, if you can put it that way (*SISG1N*).

The allegation of disorganization is surprising. The researcher found both the campus and the town well organized on his visits there. The low interest in organizing soccer at a historically white campus with its established 'white sports,' may be the main reason. This brings us to the kinds of support structures for soccer on the campus.

6.3.2.4 *Support Structures for soccer on the Potchefstroom campus*

In terms of support structures for players, these are mainly academic, but not for soccer per se. Even the lights at the soccer field are inadequate. The only white player in the team stated:

> Look at the lights. We practice at PukTawana soccer fields in almost darkness. We have lights but look over at the rugby and tennis fields. It's like daylight on a field next to you. It's absolute rubbish. We are also not insured for injury and there's a lot more money put into Mahikeng soccer (*SISG2N*).

Finances are crucial, with minimal support of R4,000 to R5,000 being given to each player. Players said that this is just enough to pay their university fees for three modules, while an academic year consists of eight to ten modules. For one player, it was not that they are poor in soccer, but rather how it is managed. Another player saw it as a political issue:

> Maybe its politics. Soccer exists because…if not, it means trouble with government. If they have it their way, there would be no soccer at Potchefstroom (*SISG1N*).

> There would just be rugby and all those sports, but because of government and all the laws that are changing, they have to have it here (*SISG1N*).

The above quotes hark back to the 'politically correct' path to emerge in soccer, as indicated in sub-chapters 6.1 and 6.2. It is evident that sports structures exist, but is not sufficiently conducive to the needs of soccer. There appear to be mechanisms that block the development of soccer. One student cited the institutional policy since the merger (of Mahikeng and Potchefstroom campuses) for each campus to have its own sport, with Mahikeng being where soccer is characteristically played. The argument would be a cultural one; that Africans love the game, and that they have a natural proclivity for soccer. Such notions epitomize the apartheid plan, and its separate development policies. It also ignores white soccer history in the country. Moreover, the soccer village was supposed to be housed at the Mahikeng campus, but due to the 2010 World Cup, it was built on the Potchefstroom campus. Furthermore, Potchefstroom soccer players feel they receive less support than those on the Mahikeng campus where there is a Soccer Institute.

> When we compare with the Mahikeng Soccer Institute, everything is organized there as you only worry about being a soccer player. There are certain things they expect from us, getting a result

> and the league. But what are they doing for us in return? Because they talk about the level of football. It boils down to finances and backing that we get from them. If we don't get any backing, anything from them, it could also mean that we could do whatever we wanted to do. If I sign a contract and bind somebody legally, it means there has to be protocol and policies. We won't have such policies, if at the end of the day we have nothing concrete to go by (*SISG1N*).

Players are thus left hanging even after signing their contracts. The view that political pressure enforces the playing of soccer at the Potchefstroom campus is not implausible. The marginal status of soccer as a sport on the campus has a ring of truth to it, even though it is *the* national sport. The team is subsumed under 'Puksport', shorthand for the earlier apartheid identity and name of the university (Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education - PUKKE in sport). This logo is imposed on to the football fraternity, but it is not certain if players identify with it, or even if it inspires them as football players. Effective inspirational input into the community is appropriate at its Vaal campus: for instance, the historical legacy of the team of yesteryear, Vaal Professionals, can be used, as a catalyst for soccer at that campus and to galvanize the community there. Parents in the region most likely would have been Vaal Professional supporters. This would add to both NWU soccer and to community participation there.

With regard to the charge of a culture of entitlement among disadvantaged groups, where players assert their right to access sport (and that discount merit), one player refuted any form of tokenism, and talked of policies, funds and efforts to develop and support football:

> We're not expecting anything as if they owe us. No. At least boost us, structure our team and policies, and give us what we need for the results. In business they say you have to spend money to get money. So, they should make more effort on us, so that we can get whatever we can (*SISG1N*).

This brings us to students' views on unequal support for soccer. Players felt that resources are unfairly distributed. They cited the better lit adjacent rugby fields, residential preference for rugby players, and that the specialist services of the High Performance Institute (HPI) are not provided for them. Yet other sports specializations are developed there, barring some exceptions:

> The only fitness tests that we get is maybe…some student is doing research and we get tested as guinea pigs for that (*SISG1N*).

Players suggested that improvement implies more resources for soccer, and that managers are not concerned where students stay or even whether they are getting regular meals or not. One said that managers only know the sports contact with students, and nothing else. Players were keen to change their situation and that of campus soccer. They said that managers should 'come to the table' to address the situation. One player reported on accommodation as follows:

> The campus is a home for rugby. All rugby players get accommodation. But soccer players don't. It's the budget. It's about sponsors. We're not getting anything. Rugby players run around in company cars. If one is the 'man of the match', he gets to drive a car for a week. Petrol is sponsored and everything, to ride around with (*SISG2N*).

There are also differences in technology and service provision between the two sports:

> The rugby guys have video analysis. They always have somebody sitting with a video, capturing everything for almost each and every match (*SISG2N*).

While the players agreed that they enjoy an elite status, they feel they are not treated as such. They see soccer as lacking a structured program when they have not been physically tested for a year.

Players contended that external factors affect their performance, especially financial problems. Some could not afford regular healthy meals that are required for sportspersons. Others cited the long campus hours (8 am to 6 pm) that are required to study *and* train/play, of which some administrators were aware. Accommodation was noted as a crucial issue as township students go home late, or pay to commute back and forth from home:

> Some come to school (university) without eating or money for lunch. They have to wait until 4 pm. Then they come to practice and have to perform and meet the physical requirements. Then you just have to go back home again (*SISG2N*).

> It comes back to accommodation. People in the location (township) have to stay in town until 6 p.m. because they can't go back and spend another ten rands, and then spend another ten rands to go back again. He has to wait for transport (*SISG2N*).

Finance was seen as the main factor contributing to players' struggles, but there are also personal problems. These may be historical, based on disadvantage or poverty, and players sought confidentiality on such sensitive matters. One player said:

> This was the most difficult year for soccer. We only found out in January that we must find accommodation. It affected the team. In class you think: 'I need a place to stay,' but here you are expected to play (*SIS1P*).

> Most have outstanding fees covered by sports. They didn't cover it. Some couldn't. We managed to register but there are outstanding fees. You're not sure of marks and you can't focus: where to sleep and what to eat? (*SISG2N*)

The above issues then lead to the following section that discusses and analyzes the contestations that exist in soccer, in the views offered by students.

6.3.2.5 *Contestations in soccer*

While contestation as a notion can be broadly interpreted, differing views on diversity can be a departure point in the context of apartheid history. Students are seen as racially diverse, but when probed further, one student offered the following telling view:

> Most of us are in groups of black people and white people. Those with white people, its mostly because they have a relationship because of sports. They play in the same rugby team or live in the same accommodation. That's how they live. I don't think this can be changed anytime soon (*SISG1N*).

While racial groups exist, other pertinent issues also persist. One student wanted to avoid controversy, but reported that one of his colleagues did ask some questions. No appropriate response was forthcoming from soccer management:

> That's why we don't ask many questions. As long as we play, its fine (*SISG2N*).

Students reported that this player constantly asked pertinent questions (e.g., why soccer players don't get accommodation, among other things), but the manager thought he was just fooling around. A student described the situation as follows:

> He likes asking questions to the manager. He goes to that point where the manager gets red-faced. He doesn't want to answer (*SISG2N*).

The players reported that rugby has a hostel and soccer does not. A building was condemned, and thereafter players were promised accommodation, but nothing came of it.
The following section follows up on this trend in the area of policy.

6.3.2.6 *Policy and soccer organization: The horizontal and ad hoc structure of soccer on the Potchefstroom campus*

Students reported bias, poor operations and a lack of infrastructure for soccer students:

> The people running this institution are quite biased in terms of sport (*SISG1N*).

> It's not as if it's poorly run. It can be run much better (*SISG1N*).

About management bias. It's about respect for the field we use. We like to play on quality fields, but it can't be properly managed if teams always play there. In rugby the main field is not used by other teams but only for the hostel finals (*SISG1N*).

> This year there were internal issues. The institution is not providing players places
> To stay. Some good players left because of that (*SISG1N*).

Accommodation for soccer players is not prioritized. The players were unaware of any housing policy, and were not provided with any such a policy, nor were they given any of the other pertinent policies, if they do exist at all. As one player said of his contract:

> I think there are policies, but we don't get to read them or get a session to talk over, as in employment, to get the details of your contract. When I had to sign my contract, I felt cornered because the contract had to be in by 4 p.m. I was told at 9 a.m. that morning. I told him that I have a busy day, but I have time now in the morning. I had to go there and sign the contract without reading it. Maybe they don't want us to know the details of the contract. That's a bit of a problem for us (*SISG1N*).

Rushing players into contracts is a way of getting administrative tasks out of the way. It's seen by the coaches as a matter of giving the player time to consider and think about his contract, before signing up but not knowing the fine print.

In other areas with a similar theme, the context of emergence of players varies. It includes playing for clubs and then coming to study and play at Potchefstroom. While this is regarded as a stepping stone to success, the conditions on the Potchefstroom campus that are described here are not conducive. As noted earlier, soccer is not widely advertised, and one player spoke of there being only one level of soccer at the campus:

> I didn't want to hinder anybody's progress. I don't feel I am progressing currently. But starting out, I felt I was a bit of a hindrance because they were at a higher level than me. So here there's only one level (*SISG1N*).

With a simple horizontal structure, it seems that there is no structural process for players to progress. There are also no external links with other clubs as in the rugby franchises. While soccer training continues, it is a loose and open network of players attending training. Such a structure disrupts training and does not build team cohesiveness. This impacts on the core players of the first team, with players becoming disoriented due to ad hoc player participation in training. The openness of the club may be intended to garner talent, but some see it as being disruptive. In effect, it blocks communicative interactions and structures that can develop out of training. Most modern teams rely on working as a unit in the fast paced modern game, to practice for plans, combinations, and for strategic and tactical playing. The loose structure, where players come and go, can become unproductive. Selectors seem to choose good players but it's the training that is problematic. This ad hoc system needs fine tuning. The players felt that they do not get what they give to the game.

The following section focuses on institutional organization and culture relating to soccer.

#### 6.3.2.7 *Institutional organization and culture: The rock and a hard place of soccer and perceptions of academic quality*

One student cited contradictory institutional practices at the three NWU campuses. This could be the subject of possible envisaged social research, but it is non-existent as a focussed structure in the sports complex of NWU. It is sorely lacking when huge amounts of funds are spent on sport, including the Sports Science Institute and the High Performance Centre. One soccer player asserted:

> NWU has lots of ambiguity. Rugby gets more benefits than any other sport. They expect some departments to perform but they receive less. We don't get anything from them. People running the institution are quite biased (*SISG1N*).

The players argued that infrastructure provision is inadequate and unequal. They play under the equivalent of two tennis court spotlights, whereas the rugby field that is next to the soccer field is as bright as daylight. One player described this as 'absolute rubbish.' They would not be paid out if they were injured in the dark since they are not insured. Sports injuries can be for life, and it's up to the individual player to insure himself. It was not clear if such insurance is compulsory or not. The rugby field is meant only for rugby, except for the hostel league finals as mentioned earlier, but the soccer field is used by PUK1 (the first soccer team) and the hostel teams. This unequal sharing of resources does not sit well with the players. While soccer may still be developing at the campus, the limitations of such infrastructure and conditions do not augur well for the development of soccer there.

Another student had this to say about the institutional set up:

> Potchefstroom has a rugby institute. Mahikeng has the soccer institute. I consider this main campus as the best of the three. I want to be in this school. I want to play for this school. I don't want to go to Mahikeng. But then, when you play soccer, they tell you: 'this is the Soccer Institute' (at the Mahikeng campus). But you also want a quality education. I do Sports Science here. I have friends who told me, this is the best in Sports Science. I'd rather stay here rather than move there (*SISG1N*).

The player explained the logic of being at Potchefstroom: 'If you want to play soccer and you want us to take you seriously, then you rather go there to the Soccer Institute at Mahikeng campus.' At the time of the research, the first team for soccer at Potchefstroom did not participate in the Varsity Sports tournament. It was not very clear from coach's statements how this situation would change. Operationally, it means that there has to be one team when there are three campuses (Potchefstroom, Vaal and Mahikeng) that are between 200 and 400 km apart. If a player performs at the Potchefstroom campus, it makes no difference to the player being chosen for the Varsity Sport team, as that team is automatically chosen at Mahikeng where the Soccer Institute is based. He would have to enrol at Mahikeng to play. This obviously presents a dilemma to the student: choose soccer or an academic career. It exposes the incomplete merger of the two campuses. In particular, it points to soccer players being bound to one campus. Such a dilemma is structural and will continue even in the 'restructuring of

NWU in 2017. Having two teams defeats the idea of a merged institution. Such players are caught between a rock and hard place:

> The quality of education, what we are made to believe, by people who have been to Mahikeng is not the same. Even word from companies…If you come with the same qualification at the same university. I will get preference because I studied at Potchefstroom campus. That's the problem. I don't want to go there because of the qualification, but then the facilities and conditions of soccer here are not good. That's the dilemma (*SISG1N*).

There are some good players at Potchefstroom campus, but these players choose to stay there, since it's seen to be of higher quality, particularly by companies that tend to prefer a Potchefstroom campus qualification, despite the fact that it is one merged institution. Students reported that other students passed on the message that Sports Science is much better at the Potchefstroom campus. Players also choose to stay at Potchefstroom due to the perceived better quality of education offered there, as compared to Mahikeng. This seems to be the general perception for other modules also. One player asked what the data and analysis of this research would lead to:

> Is this information going to good use if the rector might say: 'Oh my goodness, these soccer players are not happy'? We complain with good reason. Our outcry is for something to be done. Nothing is going to happen (*SISG1N*).

The problem also lies with the market, since companies distinguish between a historically black university that is seen to be of a lower grade, and a historically white one that is perceived as one of a higher grade. In the experience of the researcher that is not related to sport, such gradations of quality also pervaded the mentality of one student who transferred his registration from the Mahikeng's Sociology department to Potchefstroom Sociology, in order to align with such perceptions. This was reported to the meeting of the two Departments and one staff from Sociology in Potchefstroom had a look of glee of victory on her face. The only basis for such a view is opportunistic and even racial: with the advantage of being recognized by white industrial capital remains a measure of comparing certificates without justifying differences in cross-departmental quality. In fact some students (not sports students) that the latter department was not considered a department by them.

6.3.2.8 *Summary*

In sum, while the coach was optimistic about soccer at the Potchefstroom campus, the students expressed qualms about the organization of soccer there. While structures exist for soccer, students felt that they fall short of what they needed. The extension of football as an all season game, and the open rector's tournament, the schools' leagues, and the growth of hostel football are all encouraging, but there is little progress in the racial mix of teams, gauging from the men's first team. The coach did not identify any socio-economic challenges, but students had different views. The coach reported that policy is followed as per the sports constitution and is simply game-related, and flows from the middle up. His appeal to quality in soccer may represent a defence against transformation. Students have to adjust to the campus, instead of the campus changing for such students. This reflects a language of accommodationism. Soccer is used to promote the university, despite not being its core business. Both the coach and the students agreed that funding for soccer is insufficient. Student accommodation is not sufficiently catered for, particularly since rugby players get much more. There were no records kept of the statistics of soccer players. Players spend long hours on campus or have to spend money on return trips home and back, which seems unaffordable to most of the players. External support structures are non-existent except the North West Sports Academy that assists school students. Students reported that internal campus support is inadequate. Students do tend to lack focus, and sometimes abuse bursary support, but it may also be that they see it as an access point to get into higher education. Rugby is the dominant sport in the town and on the campus, and this impacts negatively on soccer. Soccer players have additional needs due to their historical, socio-economic and geographical backgrounds. This sometimes means that players take advantage of such circumstances for their own selfish benefits, but this does not mean that directed support cannot be given, particularly as it is a structural problem.

There is insufficient video analysis of games and students seem to have little exposure to computers, but the latter may be at first year level only. While academic assessments are done, there is a dualism between these assessments and field assessments (if these are considered at all). On the one hand, there's too little exposure to some important aspects of black sports history or its socio-cultural aspect, and social research on sport. On the other hand, there is over-exposure to a medical model of sports, viz. Sports Science.

Players feel that there is no racial diversity on the campus and in the curriculum. They also have a problem with being taught in Afrikaans, though there are some changes with regards to the language issue, albeit at a very slow pace. Rugby has an established hostel culture while soccer remains marginal, although hostel soccer is growing exponentially. Soccer is insufficiently organized for players, despite

its development over the years. The team players feel that there is no equivalent team to compete with. Sponsors are scarce, advertising is insufficient and fan support for soccer is low. Students feel that the elite status of the soccer team remains ambiguous. Players complain that they are not as prioritized as the other historically white sports are, and that they don't have access to the black Vice-Chancellor. They have little or no exposure to the High Performance Institute, and while soccer is growing at the campus, it is not well managed. Support for soccer is low, with bad lighting at the stadium, no insurance for players, and bursaries that only cover half their fees. The tri-campus situation of separate geographical sites does not assist: Mahikeng has the Soccer Institute with funding, and there are less funds for Potchefstroom soccer, in the view of the soccer players at the Potchefstroom campus. Players attend Potchefstroom, being justifiably confident of the Sports Science Studies there. But then they cannot play for the Varsity Sport team as the Mahikeng team represents NWU in that tournament, at the time of the research. Although this may change later, fielding separate teams also goes against the logic of the merger. Private sector recognition of Potchefstroom degrees as compared to Mahikeng, is cited as a reason to study at the former. Some players feel their contracts are not well handled, and soccer identity is a half-attempt at symbolic hybridization ('PukTawana' or Puk lions). Soccer players generally struggle with basics: food, transport and fees. This impacts on their performance. Some good players have left the campus due to such problems. Racial group socialization continues on the campus without structured interventions. Soccer training is open to all that are interested, but this becomes an ad hoc exercise. This destabilizes both training and the first team. Policies are not always transparently handled. Players are not always informed about soccer policies. If they are informed, this is done in haste or in an ad hoc manner as in the case of some of their soccer contracts. Soccer players found such practices to be dissatisfying, if not disconcerting.

## 7. Chapter 7: Discussion and analysis of the findings

### 7.1 *Introduction*

This chapter begins by outlining the key findings of this study, and goes onto review the broader literature on inequality in sport, and also presents a brief historical background on South African soccer. It then examines soccer clubs or institutes with regard to minority communities in particular, focusing on a range of themes that mainly relate to inequality within sport. It is argued that while specific aspects of soccer have been developed at the three campuses studied, there remain large areas that need to be developed in the particular context of each of the campuses and in terms of national policy on sport in higher education.

This argument is supported by specific themes that emerged from the empirical material presented in the previous three sub-chapters (6.1, 6.2, and 6.3), in order to analyse issues arising from these themes, and in relation to the conceptual framework set out in chapter 3.

### 7.2 *The findings of this study*

The findings of this thesis can be summed up as follows at each of the universities. UP's achievements in soccer over the past hundred years are very positive but this has occurred within a contested terrain. Still, opportunities have grown there with its diverse sports offerings, and in its coaching and skills provision for the soccer players. Yet players and coaches do cite a contested top-down structure, complex as the sports structure is at UP. Soccer remains autonomous in the hands of the coach, yet there are external constraints that impinge on the coach, such as the media or the players' diva aspirations. Players and coaches are also said to be owned by UP. Values are imposed from above rather than being negotiated. The budgets for soccer are inadequate for the first team. Yet the team thrives. Players cite the high quality of education, but this may also be a fig leaf to cover transformation imperatives at the institution. Commercialization and commodification is entering the institution through the sale of players, and the dualistic structure with a wealthier private sports structure (Varsity Sports) and a poorer public one (USSA) that can herald future problems. There are indications that the policy of 'Education First' is not implemented evenly, and soccer may be negatively impacted by such unevenness. Multiple support structures exist at UP for football, and they are quite diverse and useful for the players, but soccer budgets as compared to other sports are different, as students report of what they experienced. There is little in the way of research on soccer (or sport) at the site of production of university sport. Aspirations for excellence have a tendency to override other important national imperatives, of transformation, equity and social justice. A fair playing field is assumed when black players are

assimilated into a historically white university and its values. UP is primarily a rugby campus and the latter sport's privileges stem out of this, the players argue. Thus bursaries for soccer are not as comprehensive as those for rugby players. Still, players do cite the excellent opportunities provided to them, including more positive lifestyle changes and the care taken to build a soccer community at UP. Yet some soccer students, especially at first year level, are unhappy at being registered in Sport Science degrees. Ambiguities continue about whether the first team is a feeder too the senior professional team, and of allowing some soccer students who fail, to continue playing soccer when the rules disallow this. Another trend is the movements of soccer students out of the campus, whereas rugby players are seen to move into it. Some players feel that policy is not geared to soccer students' needs. On the positive side they see the support structures as decentralised and efficient for studying and training, with great appreciation of how players are treated. Yet they also cite the gaps in such support for soccer players, that are not adequately dealt with.

UP students also suggest that while sports personnel are flexible about their programme, academics are not so conducive to comply when students ask to shift academic tests due to clashes with the sports programme. This is against the policy at UP. The data also suggests that the academic world and the sports world are bifurcated, as if learning does not occur in soccer or with sports in general. The pressure on management to enact a predominant soccer campus in the midst of a rugby hegemenon, may also be misguided. As for exposure to diversity, soccer students cite some exposure when playing in tournaments but such diversity is not evident in the curriculum. The campus is not diverse in the opinion of most of the soccer students. There may be some sense of victimhood in students' responses, but the predominant hegemonic values are about winning. For the 'born free generation' of Mandela, it is strange that such a value overrides other aspects such as social transformation, decolonization and liberation, although they do suggest that development is necessary in soccer.

The findings for UJ can be summed up as follows. A contest exists between a scientific understanding of soccer and its coaching, as contrasted to the common sense understanding of soccer. Soccer is changing globally and in a technical sense. There is a need to extend services to the needs of players that may not seem soccer-related but are crucial for team unity and performance. At times players are exposed to a functionalist understanding that simply reduces sport to a function of biology or for national aspirations. The data suggests that most soccer players come from disadvantaged backgrounds with 'cultural' differences in relation to the status quo or to the views of the coach. The result is that the coach sees himself being compromised in terms of his professional aims. Notions relating to decolonization remain peripheral to soccer, but the porous nature of colonialism or its effects does have some impact on players. Soccer policy is defined in a variety of ways: it is either operationally defined,

or is non-existent; it may exist within a policy vacuum or it may be defined as per the sports constitution in a limited manner. Soccer policy is seen to be a top-down affair, and soccer development is also outsourced at UJ. There is also the co-existence of a private sports entity (Varsity Sport) and a public one (USSA), with an uneven playing field between them. Soccer is fully funded by UJ and there are also many support structures for UJ soccer.

Still, there is a rising player commodification as the latter are sold for the survival of the football club, and with the entrance of the private sector at universities, a nascent commercialization emerges. This is true of national teams too since they can be bought, which makes finance determine which clubs are in the semi-professional arena. UJ's soccer funding is generous but the first team seems to be short financially. Players face a variety of challenges, which include even basic provisions, such as food, boots, kits and such basics. The DHET does not take these into account when disbursing subsidies. Schools and families seem to be crucial determinants of soccer players' historical development. Black tax is also crucial to some black players' lives. Bursaries are given to soccer players but their academic performance determines if they can qualify for a bursary.

UJs support structures are many-layered and there is outreach to some schools, as well as an exciting mass participation soccer program in the hostels. The predominance of the bio-medical model persists, and there is an absence of an internal research programme at the Sports Bureau that is the umbrella body for sport at UJ. The support for the game in political and civil society outside of the university seems to be low. There also seems to be a lack of curriculum diversity in modules that students are registered for. As for student diversity, in terms of diverse groups, cultures and racial minorities, the campus seems to be pretty vibrant.

At the Potchefstroom campus of NWU, the soccer coach was optimistic about soccer, but students were unhappy with organization of soccer there. Structures exist for soccer, but students felt that they fall short of what is needed. Both feel encouraged by the extension of football as an all season game, and of the existence the Open Rector's tournament and with the operationalization of the schools leagues, as well as with the growth of hostel football. But there seems to be little progress in the racial mix of teams, gauging from the men's first team. The coach did not see any socio-economic challenges for players, but students had differing views. For the coach, policy is followed as per the sports constitution which is simply game-related, and it flows from the middle up. His appeal to quality in soccer may represent a defence against transformation. Students have to accommodate to the campus, rather than the campus rising to the changes affected by a new student intake (of black students increasing in the new dispensation). This is in the era when the messages of the decolonization movement has reached

many universities across the globe (as did the popular marches in the 1950's that influenced the American civil rights movement). Soccer is used to promote the university, despite it not being perceived as its core business. Both coach and students agreed that funding for soccer is insufficient. Student accommodation is not sufficiently catered for, particularly since rugby players get much more. There are also no statistics collated of soccer players. Players spend long hours on campus or have to spend money for return trips to home and back, which seems unaffordable to most players. External support structures are non-existent, except for the North West Sports Academy that assists school students. Students reported that internal campus support is inadequate. Students do tend to lack focus, and sometimes abuse bursary support, but it may also be that they see soccer as an access point to get into higher education. Rugby is the dominant sport at the campus and in the town, and this impacts negatively on soccer. Soccer players have additional needs due to their historical, socio-economic and geographical backgrounds. This sometimes means that players take advantage of such circumstances for their own selfish benefits, but this does not mean that directed support cannot be given, particularly as it is a structural problem.

There is insufficient video analysis of soccer games and students seem to have little exposure to computers, but the latter may be at first-year level only. While academic assessments are done, the relationship between field assessment and academic assessment remains dualistic. There seems to be little exposure to black sports history in the curriculum. The socio-cultural aspects of sport are also somewhat neglected. This is also true of social research on sport internal to clubs, institutes or academies. There is also an over-exposure to the medical model of sports, viz. Sports Science, BioKinetics and the like.

Players feel that there is no racial diversity, both on the campus and in the curriculum. They find it problematic being taught in Afrikaans, though this may be changing, albeit very slowly. Rugby has an established hostel culture while soccer remains marginal, although hostel soccer is growing exponentially. Soccer is insufficiently organized for players, despite its development over the years. Team players feel that they have no team that is a near equivalent to the first team, for them to compete against. Sponsorships are scarce for soccer, and advertising for the game is also insufficient, added to the low fan support base. Students feel that the elite status of the soccer team is ambiguous. Players complain that they are not as prioritized as the other historically white sports are, and that they don't have access to NWU's black Vice-Chancellor. They have little or no exposure to the High Performance Institute, and while soccer is growing it is not well managed. Support for soccer is low, with bad lighting at the stadium where they play, no insurance provision for players, and bursaries that only subsidize half their fees. The tri-campus situation of separate geographical sites does not assist, as

Mahikeng has the Soccer Institute that students see as financially well-endowed, when compared to the Potchefstroom campus. Players attend Potchefstroom for its Sports Science program as they have heard that it is much better than the other campuses. But then they cannot play for the Varsity Sport team, as Mahikeng is the team representing them in that tournament. Although this may change later, fielding separate teams also goes against the logic of the merger. Private sector recognition of Potchefstroom degrees as compared to Mahikeng degrees, is also cited as a reason to study at the Potchefstroom campus. Some players feel that their soccer contracts are not well handled. It also seems that the corporate soccer identity is a half-baked attempt at symbolic hybridization ('PukTawana' or Puk lions). Some soccer players struggle with the basics of food, transport and fees. This impacts on their performance. Some good players have even left due to such problems. Racial group socialization continues on the campus without structured interventions. Soccer training is open to all but such openness leads to convert training to informal and ad hoc measures. This destabilizes both the training and the team. Policies are not always transparently handled, and players are not always informed about soccer policies. If they are informed, as with their contracts, this is done in haste or in an ad hoc manner. Players find this to be dissatisfying, if not disconcerting.

In the light of such findings, a small digression on the global picture on sport and soccer may be worthwhile, before discussing and analyzing such data. The theme of inequality in sport in the literature, discussed in the next section fits in well with this thesis.

### 7.3 *Race, class, gender and inequality in soccer across the globe*

First, although this has not been a focus herein, is the impact of gender inequalities on female soccer success as Bredtmann (et al., 2016) (1) argue. Bogopa (2014) (2) cites gender, class and race inequalities in immigrant wages, and of gender exclusions continuing in the USA and the Netherlands. Murphy (2017) (3) finds such inequality embedded in international sporting codes. Danford and Donnely's (2018) (4) pilot study shows the over-representation of whites in Canadian sports teams, and Swanson (2016) (5) points to a generational divide in the class-based production of US girls' soccer.

Gender inequality goes across continents too, as Rosso (2008) (6) found in women's soccer, geo-spatially and in terms of access. Zifonun's (2016) (7) nuanced view, points to ethnic inequality in sport through a 'web of group affiliations' that is not always a replication of societal hierarchies as a whole. Darby and Branscombe (2014) (8) argue for forward looking action to deal with racial inequality not only in sport, but in society as a whole. Gorman (2010) (9) notes that, given that sport is the main point of contact between non-indigenous people and indigenous Australians, it could also be an arena for

social interaction and for the realization of social justice. The conclusion to this chapter argues differently hereunder.

Racial discrimination does not leave any stone unturned. While Pele, the world's best footballer, asserted that discipline and professionalism are the tools to fight against racism, this viewpoint is opposed by popular black movements in Brazil (Da Silva, 2014) (10).

Arguments against the bourgeoisification of soccer come from Furtjes (2016) (11), who sees it as a classless fan activity, and whose origins extend beyond the working class. Others like Rahier (2008) (12) point to the lack of transformation in black and other representations in Equadorial football, even if the rhetoric is transformational. For Gondal (2015) (13), while institutionalized cultural material in America sustains group distinctions over time and space, new ideas do add to the mix, including aspects of diversity, if it leads to more inclusive groups. Nonetheless, group distinctions there do have the effect of increasing the symbolic and material distance between unequal groups.

South African student funding is complex, as Naidoo and Mckay (2018) (14) observe. At one institution in South Africa, there is no relationship between students receiving a bursary and their academic performance, although merit bursaries yield the best results at that institution.

Unpacking the power asymmetries constructed, maintained and/or challenged can facilitate our understanding of sport, as concluded by Ratna (2018) (15). Spaaij, Farquharson and Majoribanks (2015) **(**16) find that sport reproduces inequalities, hierarchy and social stratification, as is argued in this thesis. Sport is embedded within gender, racial and national hierarchies, largely to prevent it from being a site for social mobility. International soccer performance has socio-economic determinants as highlighted by Hofmann, Ging and Ramsamy (2002) (17). They conclude that while demography, geography and per capita wealth are important factors that determine soccer performance, increased wealth can also harm this sport, which may be the case in some South African sport. They argue that governments that spend significant national resources on soccer need to limit such spending. This may not be the case in countries that are strapped for funds, or where the national government or soccer federations do not raise enough funds.

With regard to women's soccer, various factors affect the game: Naseer, Shariff and Javed (2016) (18) speak of their negative impact on women's participation in sport. They suggest structural and social support to remedy the situation. The South African Football Association (SAFA) was summoned to a Commission for Gender Equality hearing, to account for the lack of gender parity in its national,

provincial and local structures. Leadership of the South African Football Association also remains male dominated (19).

To balance the picture, there are counter-arguments as regards race and basketball in the USA. Lafave, Nelson and Doherty (2018) (20) note the higher turnover of black coaches at historically black colleges and universities (HBCUs) than at non-HBCUs, with the probability of termination being much lower in the latter case. This points to some correlation between labour market outcomes and race. While the studies reviewed here mainly focus on gender, race and class issues also raise their heads in many soccer fraternities, as was the case with such issues indicated in sub-chapters 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3.

7.4 *Beyond a medical model for a democratic and development model of sport*

Physical Education (PE) is a misnomer in Vliege's (2018) (21) review of selected studies on inequality in sport. Its practice remains within the medical or bio-mechanical paradigm, as with the various aspects of locomotion. This study concluded that PE reinforces the dualism of mind and body, since PE is taken as a purely physical sport, and that its transformative and democratic dimensions are side-lined. Joseph, Harper and Tuffey (2013) (22) find an over-emphasis on the body, yet there are many malnourished footballers in the USA, although their playing time may also be a factor as they are overplayed and thus depleted of energy.

A number of issues are identified in Lackman and Chapyator-Thompson's (2017) (23) study of Port Elizabeth students' experiences. They include unfavourable teaching conditions such as the lack of enthusiasm in teaching and caring, structural problems, the favouring of certain athletes and sexism in teaching. Students identified the need to improve Physical Education (PE) programs by developing a more diverse curricula that includes non-traditional sports and for the provision of adequate equipment and resources to promote student engagement in PE.

Sanders (2016) (24) discussed the Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) programs of the United Nations, private sector or governments. Such programs have developmental goals in mind and they use sports agendas. However, they often lack a full commitment or may ignore change in terms of deeper structural issues causing underdevelopment in the first place.

7.5 *Soccer financing, university sports networks, sports research and sports science.*

Class themes are explored by Moorehouse (1986) (25) in Scottish and English soccer. He analyzes the neglected areas of sports finances and sports sub-cultures. Class is a relevant category between the richer southern English league and the poorer northern Scottish league, as football finance feeds into popular culture. Burnett (2010a) (26) suggests that South African higher education institutions should form interdependent sub-systems, as she sees a potential there for a significant national resource through strategic alliances, and collective action and by fostering interconnectivity through bonding, linking and bridging. Clustering and academics' personal ties provide additional social capital, while competitive relationships among sports administrations and intra-institutional fragmentation weaken the potential for strategic alignment and collective leveraging for resources and relevance. Still, this seems at odds with Naidoo and Mckay's (2018) (27) findings mentioned earlier: when it comes to state bursaries, student neediness is privileged over academic performance.

The literature on inequality tends to focus on technical, medical or sports related issues per se. Since these were dealt with in the literature review (chapter 2), only a sample of such work is cited here. Kubayi, Coopoo and Toriola (2018) (28) note that while coaches require access to relevant research, sports science needs to be synthesized in their work, and that medical and sports science models remain part of their overall framework. This thesis argues that despite its uses, there is more to sport than such a paradigm. The section below on the macro, structural and societal factors at play in sports organization, addresses such a concern.

7.6 *Globalization, national identities and civics*

While some aspects of these issues were also dealt with in the literature review (chapter 2), it is useful to determine how they affect lives in the global south. There is destabilization of soccer in Brazil, the long-time champions of the game. It witnesses a growing commercialization and mediatization, with far reaching impacts. These include large numbers of players leaving the country and a marketization of the game, with negative effects on local games. Clubs and federations are run on an amateur basis, negatively impacting many neighbourhoods. In sum, mediatization blocks many forms of sports development and enables collusion between sports marketing processes and the large corporates.

National internal processes also come into play. As noted by Ortega (2016) (29), rivalry between Real Madrid and Barcelona have resulted in the Spanish and Catalian media using Spanish teams' success to propagate clashing forms of nationalism. They reiterate and constantly re-articulate how soccer defines

the distinguishing characteristics of the nation, and the role played by soccer related phenomena of rallies, gatherings and celebrations, in contemporary Spanish nationalism. This highlights the link between soccer and conflict. The jump to inequality in sports is not far-fetched, as will become evident hereunder. For Ortega:

Sports events…cement fragile values in…society… (and)…reiterate hegemonic…and express new, rising ones…. Media can be effective in reinforcing national identity in a context in which its naturalness might otherwise be challenged. In…Spain… (with the)…Catalan independence project, the media have turned soccer into a building block of Spanish nationalism (Ortega, 2016: 637).

It is not just the media per se, but also how hegemony works and of its multifarious nature, that is relevant for this thesis. Similarly, Grieco, Braga and Bripi (2016) (30) look at cooperation, community and leadership in a segregated community, although their research is not about sport. Three aspects in their argument are relevant for our argument. First, subjects contribute significantly when a leader is required to take decisions *for* the public good rather than through collective public discussion resulting in democratic consensus. Second, subjects respond positively when offered incentives to participate. And third, while a leader drives more efficient coordination, incentives are very effective in enhancing cooperation and reducing the gap between the contribution made by the leader and those made by other members. All these actions impact on equality or inequality in the system. In the first case, democracy is tested as a leader authorizes the process but overly strong forms of authorship can mean constituencies can get left behind; in the second, incentives to participate deepen democratic functioning if such incentives do not become simply a goal-in-themselves for all; and in the third, the gap is reduced as participation increases, if other factors do not intervene. These all relate also to power and political in/equalities.

Finally, innovation can be an important countervailing force against inequalities. Forslund's (2017) (31) critical discussion of innovation gaps suggests interesting ways to tackle problems, even if the example is metaphorical when looking at inequality. The lesson is that innovation could be part of a systematic drive to rid soccer and society of different forms of inequality.

Following such contexts of inequality in sport, and particularly for soccer, it is necessary to recap the recent history of South African soccer here before going on to the uses and abuse of functionalism as a perspective on soccer.

7.7 *South African soccer*

An account of the history of South African football is necessary to introduce the terrain of this final chapter. The early history of football reveals racial and ethnic divisions in clubs, tournaments and soccer organization in general. The white league was recognized by FIFA and segregated sport was given impetus by the likes of English tours. For instance, the Corinthians Club was, ironically, 'outstanding in their sportsmanship' in the early 1900's, as were the various all-white rugby tours overseas. The Orange Free State Bantu Football club embarked on a phenomenal fifty match tour of the UK and France in 1899. The South African Football Association (SAFA) formed in 1932, and elected an inter-race board in 1935. The result was that some games were played between the divided ethnic unions (1940).

In 1946 the ANC sponsored the first soccer match at the Bantu Sports Club. The Natal Interrace Soccer Board was formed with the assistance of Nobel Laureate Albert Luthuli of the ANC. However, the all-white rugby tours continued as in the case of the Springboks touring Australia. In 1951, while unity talks began among the South African Indian, Coloured and African Associations (SAIFA, SACFA and SAAFA) for a non-racial federation, the all-white SA Football Association got recognized by FIFA (1952). The Interior Minister articulated apartheid sports policy (1956), and the Football Association of South Africa (FASA) removed racial clauses from its constitution in response to pressure from FIFA.

In 1960, the Confederation of African Football (CAF) expelled South Africa due to the formation of the country's all-white National Football League (NFL) the previous year. FASA was suspended from FIFA in 1962. The non-racial South African Soccer Federation (SASF) established the South African Soccer League, but its executive was victimized, banned or arrested by the authorities. FASA began to include some Indian, Coloured and African players in 1961. FIFA lifted its suspension in 1963 but reinstated it a year later. The rebel SASF was formed in 1969 but the authorities ordered African and Coloured players to deregister from it in 1970. The same year South Africa was expelled from the Olympics. In 1971 a National Professional League (NPSL) was formed, but Indians and Coloureds were not allowed to play in it. It was only in 1976 that FIFA formally expelled South Africa. Ironically this is the same year the first white player (Keith Broad) played for an African team (Pirates). The all-white NFL folded in 1977 and more inter-racial soccer emerged, and universities were also involved therein. However, a Uruguayan soccer team undertook a five-match tour, defying the call for international sanctions against apartheid (32)

Growing black power in the game was reflected and sponsorship exceeded R1 million in 1983. In the same year, Jomo Sono bought the formerly white Highlands Park Football Club. In 1985, as unity talks between rival unions broke down, an African National Soccer League (NSL) was formed. In 1988, NSL and Federation representatives met in Lusaka to discuss unity, and the role of soccer in the struggle against apartheid. The national women's football team qualified for the Olympics in 2012. However, a league for women's football was only established seven years later, in August 2019.

To summarize, the shift from a male, racial and class order over the past century, was somewhat slow, with some reformist orientation as internal resistance and external international pressure grew for change in sport. There were also moves for a more commercialized sport in the case of soccer, as sponsors came on board. African empowerment occurred for those at the top, as in the ownership of clubs, rendering clubs richer than the national football league. The spectre of corruption and mismanagement in soccer also raised its head. Thus, while unity emerged from the talks between warring parties, SAFA's image was tarnished by allegations of international match-fixing. FIFA bullied its way to financially enrich itself more than the country from the 2010 soccer World Cup in South Africa, allegedly with the compliance of some local soccer elites. Historically white universities, particularly the three that are the subject of this study, had previously remained cocooned in their own business, with their mainly white teams competing against one another. Right-wing student politics dominated these campuses, making it difficult for broad social transformation to be placed on the agenda, never mind the transformation of sport. Nonetheless, change in sport began much earlier than the CODESA negotiations, however reformist it was. This study seeks to fill the gap in the literature on the development of sports at these three universities. Burnett (33) notes that, when it comes to research on sports:

Most prevalent research is…in…scientific fields…or…Sports Medicine, Biokinetics and Sport Sciences…(and)…Health-related…(and also)…research into performance excellence…(at most universities)…Talent identification, development and assessments are key topics for rural and urban institutions (Burnett, 2010a).

Research in sports management, sociology of sport, sport psychology, recreation and movement education is mainly concentrated where seniors are based, and is a scarce resource. There are very few multi-disciplinary projects. Burnet finds team research and inter-institutional comparative research projects are not an integral part of the research at most of the sports entities, and provides a profile of sport at South African universities, outlined in Table 7 below.

Table 7: *Categorizing universities* (Burnett, 2010a) (33)

| Category | Characteristics | University in South Africa |
|---|---|---|
| **Category 1 : Student experience** | Internal focus, developmental and with local communities, Rural or urban, with limited resources and business as usual. | Universities of Limpopo, Venda, Walter Sisulu and Fort Hare, Cape and Durban Technology Universities, and Mangosuthu Technology University & University of Zululand (UL, UniVen, WSU, FHU, CPUT, DUT, MUT UZ respectively) |
| **Category 2: Student sport** | Internal and sport focus development and competitive, urban based, adequately resourced, and opportunity driven | Universities of Western Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, Rhodes, Wits, Cape Town and Nelson Mandela; Vaal & Tshwane Universities of Technology (UWC, UKZN, RU, WITS, UCT, NMMU, VUT, TUT) |
| **Category 3: Multi-faceted/commercial sport** | Internal, sport and external foci development, competitive and high performance with scientific support; urban (bigger cities); well-resourced and commercially driven; innovative and strategic | Universities of Pretoria, North West, Stellenbosch, Johannesburg and Free State (UP, NWU, SU, UJ and UFS). |

These categorizations above (Table 7) have some continuities and discontinuities. As an example of the former, they all have internal focus, and some have a focus on high performance. Some are under-resourced which is an example of discontinuity, and the category of rural and urban in the first left block is somewhat confusing, as well as the bigger urban cities that NWU (Potchefstroom is placed in) whereas the latter is a more of a small town as compared to Johannesburg (which is in category 2).

Having dealt with an overview of various campus sports focus, the following sections analyze the information gathered on the three campuses. The themes are the notion and place of functionalism;

Habitus, cultural space and university soccer; Dominant, emergent and residual sports practices; Dominant and marginal discourses in national transformation and equality; Hegemony and sport; Hegemony and university sport; A digression to support the argument and then finally some major policy recommendations emerging from the study.

7.8 *The uses and abuses of the functional perspective in sport at universities*

Functionalism is one theoretical perspective within sociology that has managed to remain a dominant perspective within sports studies, and as reflected above (chapter 6 and its sub-sections) by some of the statements by coaches and students. Such a world view is not limited to sports, but also encompasses other areas, including social, institutional and organizational life. The world view of functionalists' thinking was discussed in chapter 3. It gave an account of iconic sociological functionalists, and reflects the all-encompassing nature of this perspective. While it is true that functionalism is unavoidable as an operational and theoretical perspective, despite its teleological explanations, the problem is that it discounts a range of other perspectives, perceptions and contestations within the sociology of sport. This section argues for alternative views of South African university soccer.

Functional sport is ambiguous, although this may not be a conscious ambiguity on the part of its practitioners. It is both a legitimate activity and a misnomer. In the first case, sport is legitimately practiced at the campuses under study, as a physical, technical, practical and operational activity. It is also operationalized as a form of competitive endeavour to achieve the best in the particular sport pursued, as in the case of soccer. This is not in question. Indeed, achievements in this regard are highly commendable, as shown by particular individuals and teams' performances. It is also evident in particular universities giving players exposure, training and opportunities to both play soccer and study. One could even assert that the functional efforts are a huge success in that the traditional functions of soccer are increasingly being fulfilled. The development of soccer teams at the universities under study, though at different levels of development, has seen the provision of infrastructure, financial assistance and support to play soccer, accompanied by academic support for studies. This is no easy task. It is no doubt that progress has been made to establish soccer as a university sport. Universities are even feeding players into the national effort, in the national league or for national representation. The university samples chosen reflect these.

It is not just in the arena of competitive playing that this success is evident, but also in a sociological sense. Despite the lack of support for soccer in the periods during and after apartheid, even if teams like Wits University Football Club were progressing very well, the national league soccer was regarded as

successful in its ambiguous relationship with the apartheid order. African soccer succumbed to apartheid's priority of racializing sport and did not join forces with the non-racial Federation league. But it also gained ground from such a stance by maintaining a soccer league and its talent in soccer, rather than being at the mercy of the apartheid apparatchiks. Had they joined the non-racial Soccer Federation to resist apartheid, they would have lost such support from the state. This would have meant less infrastructure provision, and all that it takes to sustain football in the country, even if it had mass support that could have sustained it. Universities continued with soccer through 'University Sports South Africa' (USSA) but this was not fully visible at a national level at the time, except for teams that reached the national league (such as Wits University during apartheid, and Amatuks at UP after 2016). Other universities, particularly historically white institutions, also hosted some of the rebel sports tours during the apartheid era.

Applying functionalist concepts to university soccer may prove useful, but it also remains ambiguous. Soccer may have a moral regulatory effect in containing bodies and desire, so to speak, but it had also been used as a relief from compulsive and apartheid labour. As our empirical chapters (6.1, 6.2, 6.3) show: university sport discourse remained somewhat quiet about such effects, and continues to pursue the traditional primary aim of sport, that is, to win at all costs. The competitive drive dominates, above all else, perhaps even above the liberatory impulse. Ironically, perhaps winning is identified as the liberatory impulse. Furthermore, university websites or documents do not reflect such impulses, as Mandela (34) did. In terms of applying Durkheim's mechanical and organic solidarity (1984) to soccer, the question remains moot; while soccer has shifted with the movement of society from a mechanical to an organic one (with multiple specializations developing), as this chapter argues, its place remains defined within particular limited parameters in university sport.

As for Parsonian functionalism, society and soccer may exist in a moving equilibrium. Yet, the statements made by the soccer students demonstrate that a constant struggle exists from within a complex of sports traditions, practices and networks. The interdependence of systems components that Parsons alludes to is surely at play, but only from the perspective of the coaches or managements. However, this is not entirely reflective of soccer students' feelings on the matter. The students' responses relate the negative effects and unfairness that they experience. While there are ascriptive (qualitative) and performance (achievement) criteria in soccer practice (in Parsons' language), soccer remains relatively marginal in university sport (Parsons, 1982: chapter 6; Applerouth et al., 2008: 26).

Parsons' social systems approach has its use in the complex integration of actions, ideas, roles and processes; and as reflected in the three university samples, soccer has developed to new levels of

performance and achievement. Yet the diametrically contrasting statements of students and coaches presented in the empirical chapters are glaring, and cannot be ignored.

What is at issue is the limitations of sports discourse, particularly that of soccer, as an institutional discourse and the parameters around which such a discourse circumnavigates itself. It may be that soccer is played for its own sake, as could be the case with other sport. Such a position may argue, as does the 'art for art's sake' argument, that sport is an autonomous cultural activity and that one cannot simply reduce soccer to university politics, or that sport is only sport, or even that sport and politics belong to two different realms. Despite the merits of the autonomy argument, there are grounds to assert that every sport is not merely physical activity. Sport emerges and continues to exist in socio-political contexts, with their own histories and peculiar contexts and which can also witness many conflicts.

One crucial struggle, evident in the empirical chapters, is that most students regard the universities selected for this study as rugby campuses. It is not just a question of soccer being developed at these institutions, but that rugby has historically been promulgated mainly at the Afrikaans speaking universities almost as a handmaiden of the apartheid regime. The game of rugby is almost synonymous with Afrikaner culture; it may in fact be its last home after the collapse of its erstwhile home, the white Nationalist Party. The structural explanations of functionalism, whether Durkheimian or Parsonian, do not have sufficient explanatory value for soccer (and sport) in South Africa, due to the pervasiveness of the political content of apartheid sport. Notions of mechanical and organic solidarity are not useful since artificial political differentiations were imposed on South African sport, to be replicated at institutional and university levels. Such divisions promulgated further differentiations rather than forging a national consensus. In fact, what was seen as having national consensus sport was the game of rugby. However, it is mainly a minority sport, imbued with an antithetical relation to British colonialism. It was a game transformed from a colonial English 'gentleman's game' into a 'rough and dirty one' for and by Afrikaans speakers in particular, and for South African whites in general. Currently, most rugby stadiums are still filled with a majority of white fans, and this may continue despite the national rugby team's recent (2019) World Cup victory. This is due to two main reasons. The first is the ticket prices which the majority of the African population cannot afford. A ticket to a rugby game may cost a few times more, as compared to the cost of attending a local soccer match. Another reason is that rugby matches are aired on a private channel (M-Net) that is not available to the mass of South Africans. Only a last minute deal to air the 2019 rugby World Cup final on the public broadcasting system made it possible for the majority of South Africans to watch the game. But such arrangements are now also becoming a reality for soccer: the national soccer teams participation in the

African continents AFCON Cup (2019) was televised on Pay TV (M-Net) rather than the more accessible public TV network.

In effect, the system in general, and that of sport, has not even been in 'a moving equilibrium' as Durkheim would have us believe (Parsons, 1982: 257). It has been grossly unequal and hegemonic, favouring what were constructed as white sports (e.g., rugby and cricket). It is therefore not farfetched to suggest that, despite media representations of black people celebrating after South Africa won the 2019 World Cup, many blacks do not even know the basic rules of rugby and cricket. The researcher knows of a black student who has a keen interest in cricket and is amazed at the kinds of questions put to him by his classmates about its terminology: his friends would ask: 'what is a ball' or 'what is a run' in cricket? Something similar can be assumed of rugby. This is not to say that there are no black fans of these sports, but that the common public imagination remains somewhat removed from them. Such a situation has a number of underlying conditions apart from pay TV and the different financial models for rugby and soccer. Two important aspects are sports infrastructure in schools and communities, and support by the private sector. The only sport that may come close to a Durkheimian logic could be rugby, with its level of specializations in the coaching system, players and their technical specificities. But even here, Durkheim's functionalism collapses, as rugby remained an ethnic enclave for a century. It could not represent a collective morality nationally, if indeed sport relates to morality and a collective conscience.

Parsons' functionalist theory (1982) has some applicability but remains unsatisfactory. Parsons sees social structures defining institutional patterns. This may explain soccer as a system with institutional patterns, but these are not as integrated as Parsons or Durkheim may seek to describe it. Soccer students' views by and large remain the 'disruptive elements' of an unfair offering that they receive, despite what they gain by way of selective bursaries or accommodation. Parsons' theory may be applicable, but it remains so mainly at the micro-level. Some actions and the system may be integrated to some extent, but there are also dysfunctional elements in the system that are structural in nature and do not allow for forms of integration in order for a growth in the system. In other words, a shift to a more collective interest, in Parsonian terms, is not yet fully effected, with 'transcendence' in soccer still not attained, as attested by the students quotes in chapters 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3.

If functionalism shows little applicability, Bourdieu's views may be more applicable to sport.

7.9 *Habitus, cultural space and university soccer*.

Bourdieu's concepts that were earlier outlined in chapter 3, suggest a typology of multi-dimensional social spaces constructed with differentiation or distribution, which are able to confer strength and power to that universe. However, the statements by some coaches and soccer players presented in chapter 6 and its sub-chapters suggest that this has been unequally distributed, particularly for soccer. The relative positions of soccer teams and their players (compared to rugby) form a space of power relations, 'imposed on all who enter that field' as Bourdieu explains. Such a space is irreducible to the agents or their direct interactions. Bourdieu's views (2018) offer further insight into soccer if it is compared to rugby. Capital is the form of property that rugby franchises have gained, and rugby culture is its symbolic form, over the accumulated products of past labour and thus over the mechanisms to produce particular goods over a set of income and profits. Such an explanation is in tandem with those students who compare the lower organizational development of soccer to that of more highly developed rugby at their campuses. It includes historical and structural dimensions that do not entertain simply blaming agents for this state of affairs. There has been some progress in soccer at the campuses under study, but, as soccer students testify, the historically defined, structurally supported and symbolically powerful language of rugby persists.

Social fields have multi-dimensional spaces of positions in many aspects of co-ordinates as Bourdieu contends (Bourdieu, 2018: 290); and their relative social positions define agents or groups in a form of objective power relations. To appropriate Bourdieu in order to explain students' views, the sampled 'ex-Afrikaans' speaking campuses have historically built their campuses as rugby institutions, and created forms of objective power relations through rugby.

Social positions are enacted by the mediation of space dispositions of habitus (2018), and also in position-taking as Bourdieu contends. Habitus is disposition that structures all our experiences, perceptions and practices. It is an 'internalization of externality' rather than an internal compass, and gives us a sense of place. As their negative perceptions of soccer organization reflect, the first team soccer players mainly feel displaced, with some variations across the three sampled campuses. An acquired set of generative schemes makes possible all thoughts, perceptions and actions inherent in the conditions of its production. Soccer as a game is mediated within the space of what students perceive as rugby campuses, to fulfil the functions described by Bourdieu (2018: 291). Soccer players feel that their sport is somehow not on par with others, particularly rugby, but do not fully articulate this in a theoretical way. Habitus is also a function of networks internal to the university, as with the rugby franchise system or the lower order soccer club system. It functions to unify the set of practices and

goods of agents, and classes of agents. Such a successful network of systems is fulfilled by what is seen as *the* campus sport, that is, rugby, rather than by soccer.

It is with this in mind that Bourdieu explains the process as follows. A social space does not involve arbitrary grouping that ignores fundamental economic and cultural differences. It never entirely excludes organizing agents in accordance with other divisions, ethnic or national, with some sort of hierarchized social space for different sports. Such is the case with rugby as an ethnic game in an ex-Afrikaans-oriented institution, and soccer as more of an African game. This may not be the policy per se, but the set of conditions expresses a silent but active policy. The power of rugby continues, prevalent on the campuses, with support mainly from a set of ethnic fans, with historically developed support, external and internal capital, and its extended networks in civics. All these factors play a part in the construction of a hierarchy of rugby as a primary sport, and soccer as secondary at the universities sampled.

Other relevant aspects of Bourdieu's (2018: 93) view include a description of mobilized classes versus split ones which can be applied to rugby and soccer respectively. It can also be seen in the economic dispositions of material wealth, resources and land wealth that rugby implies through its networks. This does not mean that all rugby players are rich, but relates to the perceptions that soccer students have of such a fraternity that creates this set of symbolic and real differences between soccer teams and rugby teams at the campuses. Another notion that is applicable is what Bourdieu calls 'objective structure', which relates to unintended legitimation of a stratification system as in the unintended differentiation of rugby as the preferred sport reported by student soccer players and in the real or perceived material wealth of the franchises. This explains many of the grievances of soccer students who see an unfair system but who simply recite those differences with little indication of its theoretical or practical presuppositions. This is not withstanding the gains made by soccer, and its development, as one cannot discount such gains that are corroborated by the coaches' statements (chapters 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3). This research does not discount the truth of the coaches or that of students, in line with a methodological position of contextual relativism (see chapter 4).

Nonetheless, Bourdieu's concept of 'distinctions' (2018) implies class mobility, which soccer players do experience in that they are now part of an elite team, where they obtain bursaries and are supported. Yet their elite status in some cases remains ambiguous. They feel that they are not treated as an elite team at one of the institutions sampled, as is the case with rugby, or that they are reduced to being a non-feeder at another institution. In general, they do not feel like a select first team for soccer at the university with the necessary competitive conditions in place. The role that capital plays in defining

soccer is limited as it is at UP, at UJ and at NWU. It is a particular space at the universities studied herein (in contrast to other historically white sports), and of the organization of social space around that sport, if students' views are to be taken seriously, meaning that students may have some justification for their negative perceptions of their involvement in soccer at the campuses under study. Relations to capital are also ill-defined in soccer, whether of the contractual sort or the more developed corporate type. Moreover, the civilizing function of soccer may reflect the colonial motif of gentrification and even racism in some cases. The historical, circumstantial and socially qualified conditions under which soccer is played, notwithstanding the positive effects of its development, are all important in impacting on the views of soccer players outlined in the three empirical chapters (6.1, 6.2, and 6.3).

Furthermore, soccer players alleged position in the structure as a 'lower order' sport, as voiced by the players, introduces the limits of both their disposition and the positions that they have internalized: to some extent it reflects the limits of their freedom, and this is reinforced by the objective state of affairs where the dominant hegemenon is the sport of rugby, even if soccer has developed to some extent as compared to the past. The inherited cultural struggles reproduced in sport are a result of inherited traditions of universities with their cultural accoutrements in sport. The possibility of freedom can be opened up, if such positions and dispositions are revisited, reinterpreted or used to serve ends that are subversive to such dis/positions. This is precisely what soccer students do not envisage, or they set their own limits in the midst of a dominating hegemenon that is never fully closed, overwhelmingly dominating or with no externality from which to subvert it. For Bourdieu:

> …the discourses of actions of subversion….have the functions…and effect of showing in practice that it is possible to transgress the limits imposed, in particular the most inflexible ones, which are set in people's minds…The symbolic transgressions of a social frontier has a liberatory effect in its own right because it enacts the unthinkable (Bourdieu in Burawoy: 200).

On the other hand, soccer students are, in their words, inheritors of a loss in the game of hegemony, which dictates their position in the field. Their soccer habitus is relatively surrounded by the hegemonic field of rugby. Their disposition and position coincide: their sense of place is decentralized from another point of reference: the cultural hegemonic field of a white dominated sport over a black dominated one. This is exacerbated by the use of Afrikaans on the actual playing field, as is usually the case with rugby. In other instances this is supported by the use of such a language in class too, as some English speaking black rugby players related this to the researcher. The possibility of freedom thus becomes restricted within the conservative cultural practices of language, rugby and all its habitual associations, including dating and marriage, social interaction, common cultural food and the like.

These are supported by symbolic differences that play a strong role in such a hegemony. Both soccer and rugby offer fame to many players but the 'elan vital' (vital energy) of each is generated through a historical scheme of habits that have been acquired from different communities, of rugby in previously white schools and communities, and soccer in previously black schools and communities, albeit by and large as there are always exceptions. Their collective class and race mobilizations are different due to this history, and with the lack of inventive approaches at universities, their habitus comes into play within the dominant sport hegemenon of such universities. Bourdieu's class and ethnic (or racial) mobilizations take effect in this manner. What divides soccer and rugby can be relatively independent of economic or cultural properties, as Bourdieu argues, as ethnic groups may identify its members' social position and its dispersion rate there, and by the degree of social integration despite this dispersion, and ethnic integration may ensure a form of collective mobility. This occurs since habitus is a system of durable dispositions that forms individuals relative to each other in relation to the overall volume of capital owned and relative to the amount of economic and cultural capital possessed; or the proximity of players to such capital in the case of the rugby franchises that are all based at universities. The networks of capital work in the case of rugby, due to the position of rugby in the field of sport for corporates, as a system of working networks, which is well and good for rugby. This is not the case with soccer; capital is more dispersed as clubs are independent and corporate capital seems to be at a distance. Universities specialize, for Bourdieu, in separating the cultured from the uncultured, through application processes, exam entrances and the like, but also through sport, which also demarcates the boundaries between the sacred and the profane. Sport embodies different symbolic social spaces in South Africa, real and imagined, historical and contemporary, in proximity to networks or not, and thus social space functions symbolically as group lifestyle spaces. Of pertinence is the question of why no-one in the sports fraternity has yet considered why Bafana Bafana (the national soccer team) do not play a friendly against the Springboks (the national rugby team): the answer may lie in the symbolic differentiation of sporting spaces.

### 7.10 *Dominant, emergent and residual sports practices at universities*

The hierarchy of sports at the campuses studied justifies this view, in the various ways described above, and not only between soccer and rugby (albeit it being implied in particular practices and not necessarily the official policy of particular universities). Other forms of policy practice analysed in chapters 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3, include notions of 'priority'/'non-priority' sport, or the chasm between 'elite' and 'recreational sport', male and female sport, or mass hostel sport and elite high performance sport that together reflect the deep divisions in university and national sport.

Furthermore, Williams' (2011 in Szeman) dominant, emergent and residual sports practices are also evident at universities. These all relate to the notion of hegemony explained in the conceptual framework (chapter 3). In the case of the three campuses used in this study, the dominant sport as a central system of meanings and values, incorporates others by incorporating socializing institutions, selective traditions and formations. The three campuses are seen by soccer students to be rugby campuses in varying degrees. The sporting identity of such campuses is seen to be written into their university identity. An emerging sports identity of a soccer campus is, at times, imposed from above for reasons of political correctness. At other times, there is some genuine shift towards the national game of soccer. However, in essence, soccer remains emergent in terms of campus identity. UP soccer may be an exception due to its depth of sports practices, but this is not the view of UP's first team. Indeed, they still feel that to some extent, they are marginal. They perceive a downward feeder of players to their level, instead of upwards from their team to UP's PSL team. The extent of such dominance and emergence may vary across the campuses studied, but their existence is not in doubt for students. One cannot say that what is true of UP may be true of NWU or UJ, but there is a sense that soccer students do not feel that they are apportioned their fair share in comparison to other more dominant forms of sport at such campuses. This could be in the advertising of games, in civic investment in the game of soccer (much lower as in Potchefstroom) or in the affiliations of soccer teams to external leagues or constituencies (again less, as in Potchefstroom). However, this does not mean that UP, with its multiple sports codes, differs to the extent that one can say that students feel that they are not on a rugby campus. This identity remains intact or seems to be the strongest one over other campus sports identities.

It is not without reason that recent social protests at University of Free State (UOFS) (35) spilled over onto the rugby field, when such protestors invaded a rugby match, only to get beaten up. The incident went viral on social media and has even been deleted from You-Tube. It represents a powerful symbolic clash of a dominant sport against a dominant form of resistance to white Afrikaner hegemony at what was previously the heartland of apartheid (the Orange Free State). The numerous accounts of soccer players' experiences presented in this thesis reflect one important aspect of their marginal status, even if there are institutional attempts to develop soccer as a university sport. The cultural, infrastructural, financial and ideological investment in such sports remains far lower than previously white sports at these universities. A minority sport such as rugby that is predominantly white due to historical reasons, overflows into the realm of soccer players' experiences of being under-valued or simply being regarded as an emergent sport. It is not taken as a national game in terms of the national identity of the majority of South Africans that invest their time, money and support in soccer. It is not as if soccer is totally neglected at such universities. Yet, with regard to aspects that are crucial for students' game

development, they remain somewhat critical. They point to the selective bursaries that they receive (or do not receive), and express dissatisfaction with the fields on which they play and their playing conditions. Students point to the infrastructure support necessary for their participation. They also cite the lack of effort on the part of sports management or that of academics who students feel are inflexible on sports matters. All these issues point to the fact that, to a certain extent, soccer is not recognized as equally important as other sports, but is rather regarded as an emergent sport that needs to be supported. This is despite the fact that research (Kruger et al., 2013) found that netball and soccer nurture the highest level of mental skills among a number of selected sports. Such research negates the popular negative image of soccer among non-supporters and even academics that may not be so enthusiastic about it.

Before moving onto hegemony in sport, it is worth citing some pertinent issues relating to the three case studies sampled in this research.

7.11 *Dominant and marginal discourses in national transformation and equality*.

In their own way, all three case studies show that South Africa's imperatives are not being met in university sports. These include transformation, equity and justice, de-racialization and the catch up necessary for a shift towards a substantive democratic dispensation. Without these basic ideals being embraced at higher education institutions, particularly in the popular area of sports, the silent vestiges of the apartheid era remain apparent there.

In the first place, the discourse of excellence predominates over that of transformation, and prevents players and staff alike from examining issues relating to social justice. In general, the discourse of excellence dominates as in developing elite sports, while mass sport is relegated to the margins or to informal hostel leagues for recreational purposes. It's not that the latter sport is of no value. While the Department of Sports and Recreation South Africa (SRSA) goes some way to promote traditional sports, recreational and hostel sport are not accorded the same value as the more popular sport, internationally and in South Africa. The dominant discourse sees an emphasis on elite sports, and prevents students from engaging with the national imperatives of social justice and equality, and with the notion of transformation in sport. Even some disadvantaged students at UP will buy into this obfuscating discourse relating to status (e.g., in the notion of elite sport), player commodification (players being bought and sold as commodities), and to status entitlement and wealth in players' aspirations to play professionally. Students appropriate such values, yet a different set of values contradicts these very same values that they hold so dear. It is a question of whether they are made

aware that they are agents of transformation or they buy into the idea that only a few players are talented. Campus sports organizations imbibe other values that they are not aware of, as in the case of institutional values.

Furthermore, there are 'hidden curriculum' issues in sport, of which students and staff are relatively unaware. This is evident when players do not know of past iconic black South African sportspersons, or when students are insufficiently exposed to the full social and cultural history of sports in their curriculum, even if this applies mainly to undergraduates in the sample of students interviewed.

The above argument points to another related direction, to a form of 'hidden curriculum' in the sports fraternity. One such hidden curriculum of dominant discourses, was discussed above, but there are other forms that are at play in the sports nexus. A case in point is the diets fed to players, with its unwitting disregard for traditional foods. It is only on request that special diets are catered for. While players are given healthy options, they remain within the ambit of western style diets. Some students are even being introduced to table manners at one university: of a fork and knife culture instead of eating with one's hands as is the custom in Asian and African traditions. This is not unique. The researcher and his students experienced something similar in Makhanda (previously Grahamstown) where a black student hostel caretaker was found to be so well trained in the art of hosting guests in an English manner. Harmless as this may be in-itself, it does reflect some set of processes underlying it. At one institution, students stated that it was difficult to propose that alternative traditional healthy diets be introduced. The difficulty most likely lies in ingrained habitus, even when there is a global interest in indigenous knowledge systems, of which indigenous food is highly relevant for issues relating to sustainability in developing contexts. Disciplinary boundaries in curricula may be part of the reason for such neglect. It may also reflect a lack of active agency among black sports staff and students to take up this matter, or that they may not be given space to raise such issues, or have no interest in doing so. It may also be a matter of not being qualified enough to suggest alternatives. Here the spectre of excellence of a particular western form may be at play to neutralize non-western diets. This discourse has no one author.

Another aspect relates to staff and coaches that hold onto the institution's set of values, but students would not necessarily do so, in the vein of what Mannheim (36) called the 'free floating intelligentsia'. The latter allows the possibility of an outsider critique of students' own organization. The notion of generativity is again applicable here (see chapter 4), in that student-players take up their own issues, when they do attempt to articulate the aspects that affect them. This was clear in many students' statements in sub-chapters 6.1, 6.2 and 6.3.

While students can be more cavalier at times, as this research found, coaching staff and others cannot be so. The latter are employed by the institution and usually stick to university values, in contrast to students that do not necessarily owe any direct obligation to the institution. The advantage of this situation is that it offers a deeper understanding of what it means to be at the receiving end. The position of the student in the sports hierarchy, and university management, is such that staff are employees and students are clients. Their experiences of reality are different. It is not a matter of this or that truth. Both positions provide a deeper understanding, and sometimes they meet and sometimes they do not. It is up to the reader to decide what applies in what context, and if it applies to the institution concerned. This is a matter of generativity, not just on the part of the researcher but also on the part of the reader. It can generate thinking on the part of the reader, and reflection on whether it also applies to his/her context. The validity conditions of the research are contained in such a generativity.

Discourses of excellence nonetheless do have a significant import for university sport, and it is a question of whether students are made aware that they are agents of transformation, or whether they buy into the idea that only a few are talented in sports. The latter seems to be the case in most instances. Furthermore, it's a question of whether students accept the idea that they are an emerging elite, and being given ambiguous treatment as some students report. It is also a question of how such an idea flows into other arenas, such as when they are treated as soccer divas when they do make it to the top of their careers. Sports organizations also imbibe other values, apart from ostensive university ones, but they are not necessarily made fully aware of these. These include the conditions of football fame, or budget management processes, and global, material, ideological and economic forces at play in sport, throughout their university careers. Where very strong institutional values exist, the result can easily turn into some form of closure. An empty signifier emerges with little import for students. Such values can lose their significance due to overload or due to its overbearing meaning: as with the lack of sufficient play with bottom-up values. It can even be argued that UP values can become empty signifiers. They may not be fully open to input from below, and can lose their meaning, particularly for those that are marginal to such discourses or that support other alternatives.

### 7.12 *Hegemony and sport*

Just as there are different ideas on how society is constructed, so too with the construction of sport. In the context of this study, sport is viewed in terms of the imbalances in hegemonic practices. This imbalance takes different forms. Not all such practices have been explored in this study. Only some have been outlined. In the case of the body, which is a necessity of our existence and is central to sporting practices, the will to play is a voluntary act. Yet in apartheid sport, the body was also a site of

suppression in relation to the separation of black from white bodies, and this voluntary aspect became ideological with the structural development of soccer for blacks, and rugby and cricket for whites. This was the uneasy imbalance of apartheid sport, fulfilled in higher education at universities that were separated into ethnic enclaves of English-speaking, Afrikaans speaking and ethnic black marginal universities.

Hegemony in culture is also prevalent in rugby being seen as the national sport during apartheid, with the material and ideological support of the regime as a 'volk' sport (sport for the Afrikaner folk). It had a wide network and set of operations that continue to date: community rugby, children's rugby and a multiplicity of rugby leagues and franchises. Such an extended network has not developed in soccer due to past disadvantages but also due to the comparatively poor state of the organization of soccer in the country. Closely related to this is the idea that football 'comes naturally to Africans,' which is one of the reasons why the Soccer Institute was established at the Mahikeng campus (NWU). Such a speedy naturalization of sport can be harmful, as it impacts negatively on players, teams and communities that may be interested in the sport but do not have the ideological, moral or structural support to play the game, as it is not seen as 'part of their culture.' This means that the assumption that 'soccer is for blacks and rugby is for whites' is seen as an apartheid problematic. Yet it persists in other forms to date: we see material differences of racial fan bases, varied gate costs and vastly different forms of organization.

Another form of hegemony relates to knowledge and technique. To deal with the latter first, natural talent is respected over development talent in general, so much so that elite sport development depends on natural talent. It is assumed, particularly in elite sports, that one does not develop sportspersons, but only furthers their natural talent. This is a form of hegemony over the naturally endowed body that does not speak sufficiently to the eager but much less talented youth, who may not get the opportunity to reach the top. In rugby some progression occurs due to the network of leagues, franchises, community, provincial, university and school sport, and the myriad of tournaments that continue to develop the game. In soccer there is none of this, or very little of it as compared to a sport such as rugby. In rugby there is also a monopoly of player positions by some rugby teams that also blocks competition and development: some teams buy more of the same position of players in order to monopolize the market on that position.

Hegemony also pertains to all forms of knowledge. The development of sports science and its related disciplines, such as Movement or Leisure Studies, generally positions South Africans on a positive footing for physiological, motor and the general physical aspects of sport. This is well and good. However, the stress on the physical aspects of the game may be one sided, despite their importance.

There remains a gap in that conception, even at UP that is supposed to be the gold star of universities that offer sport. This is perhaps a hegemonic weakness of knowledge *about* the body, rather than knowledge *of* the body. As noted in the empirical chapters, it also relates to historical knowledge. There are other forms of hegemony. Some of these include diets in sports as touched on tendentially herein, or that of organization in sport as dealt with in more detail hereunder. In sum, there are multiple hegemonies, but this analysis only focuses on a selected few of them.

7.13 *Hegemony in university sport*

The notion of hegemony as explained in its radical sense in chapter 3 can now be explicated in relation to university sport. To recap, hegemony occurs discursively, with discourse being linguistic and material. It is a system of differences that exists as partial limitation of meaning that subverts it. A field of discursivity is a necessary terrain of meaning which subverts it, and thus has no fixed meaning.

Sport at universities occurs in such a context of discursivity. It is a system of differences to other sport and to recreational sport. Such sport is limited by its partial meaning of functional sport, but it is always subverted by other differences. These include interpretations by those involved in other sport or by soccer students themselves. The fixed meaning of sport as a functional meaning is not necessarily universal, since meaning shifts in terms of other meanings that impinge on this functional meaning of sport.

Bourdieu's symbolic meaning is a case in point, as the symbols of a particular sport are overwhelming in a particular context. Rugby or cricket is an iconic white sports not only in terms of their racial categorizations but as related to their hegemonic effects. The traces of such sport continue to the detriment of soccer that has mainly been a black sport in South Africa. This largely remains the case, as cricket and rugby remain white sports despite the challenges after 1994 in relation to their hegemonic value. Both the researcher's experiences and the data collated at universities reflect this. This was so in provincial schools' cricket and in rugby where Afrikaans is the lingua franca on the field, ten years after political liberation. Language is thus the limit of freedom. But this is not just in the limitations of language itself, in that a particular language subverts meaning directly and not just conceptually. The language of sport is subverted by a variety of networks, whether of capital or ethnicity, class or geography (rural/urban), race or gender, among a host of complex intersectional conditions. Some of these conditions were suggested in the empirical chapters (6.1, 6.2, 6, 3), and a few examples may suffice here. There seems to be some form of a subliminal contests between coaches and academics at universities, as witnessed in some academics' resistance to allow soccer players leeway for their sport

when there are clashes between sports programs and academic programs. This may also be true from the perspective of universities being seen as academic institutions in the narrow sense of having a core academic function. Coaches training, practical courses and the like are not in the hands of academics, as the monopoly of such training lies in the hands of the sports federations and/or particular universities. Such a bifurcated system may reflect upon itself as having a split, except at an institution like UP where this dualism may be broken in its relationships with the sports federations. Perhaps UP is successful due to breaking such dualities in its relations to the federations. Yet in its elite and mass sport divisions, the bifurcation remains in place. Still, it is a far more complicated system than other systems, as the diagrams in chapter 6.1 show.

Nonetheless, hegemony is at play in other forms at the universities under study, and this can be explained as follows. In the new political dispensation, soccer as an emergent sport is to some extent reconceived as the 'new elixir' for the institutions in question, yet within limited opportunities and with macro-constraints. Universities use sport, in this case soccer, as a marketing strategy to recruit black students to what were predominantly white campuses. There is a threefold problematic in this reconceptualization of soccer.

First, sport is defined as a non-core activity by universities and by the Department of Higher Training and Education (DHET), yet it is used to attract students to the core business of academic offerings. However, the work on the sports field is not recognized by both the university and the DHET. It is not subsidized except when traditional teaching occurs in the classroom (including education related to sport). This points to a full recognition of sports as a tool for learning. The soccer or rugby field could be reconceived as learning and skilling environments that reflect areas of competences and transfers of knowledge that can contribute to both on and off the field learning practices. These may require the necessary testing and assessments needed, even if these need to be invented from scratch. The hegemony of the bio-medical model of learning is what limits the DHET and the university authorities from revisiting the sports field as a site of various forms of knowledge and contestations. This devalues the sports fraternity and thus also research on soccer and netball in particular. It impacts negatively on those in the disadvantaged links of this sports chain, as soccer players are placed in the emergent category. This may apply to some other marginal sports too, but this aspect needs more research.

The second is an ideological issue, and relates to soccer seen as the new elixir. This occurs in a situation where rugby is captured by the franchise system while soccer is not. Soccer is captured by national teams that are richer than the national soccer league, and is open to the market forces of contracts, managers, entrepreneurs, soccer salespeople, individual competition and pay TV. These are strong

determinants of a player's career while rugby is centralized to the franchises that determines careers, but that also has problems of 'early capture' of school students or the monopoly of some teams over player positions due to the financial strength of the franchise. The national soccer league was the richest in Africa, after the 2010 World Cup. But these funds seem to have been depleted as SAFA (2019) was not able to publicly broadcast the national team's qualifying matches for the soccer tournament of the African continent (AFCON 2022) in 2019. Classical Fanonesque conditions bely black and white sport with their negative and positive relations to their particular sports capitals.

Thirdly, as one of the last outposts of apartheid in terms of a predominantly white and Afrikaans oriented staff, even if there seems to be some small movements away from this, the Potchefstroom campus may be able to use the 'new elixir of soccer' to attract the requisite black students. The campus has recently seen a drop in numbers. In a country with a majority (76%) African population, only 25% of the students on the Potchefstroom campus are African, with a target of 30% by 2020 (37). Not much has changed despite the current rhetoric, particularly in the macro-structural frames of the discourse of the new 'unified' institution, with mainly white students in Potchefstroom and predominantly African and Setswana-speaking students at the Mahikeng campus.

The other force at play is commercialization of the game. A possible new threat is posed by a private company, Varsity Cup, and its league that is now established at universities. The problem is that the old structure, USSA, remains in place as a poorer public sport step-brother. Varsity Sport does provide local, national and perhaps even international opportunities to sportspersons, but it can also easily become a second division for particular sports. This is especially so if the government does not develop facilities in disadvantaged areas of the country. Given that Varsity Sports enters universities as a private company, it brings with it a profit motif and a dual structure of sorts is created: with a consortium based Varsity Sport and a public based USSA that has limited funding from the federations and the university. The result is a layer of the old structure (USSA) and an emerging sport sit astride, with the former constrained by structural constraints and capacities for soccer. Hegemony is structural

Two other forms of hegemonic contestation are sports knowledge and practice, and conflict and contestation. The first is indicated by a white soccer students' view:

> Even the rugby was a bit closed off, because I tried to get in that. It was so much easier in high school for me to get into the system (*SIS1P).*

There are other forms of closure in rugby too. At times players are recruited through networks, although they also have trials. Managers and players determine how they attract soccer players. Players apply to study and are then recruited to join the soccer team. Scouts do not exist in soccer as they do in rugby. The soccer team at Potchefstroom is made up of what is available, and is much more informal. In rugby it's a matter of policies and principles with an added dose of networks, as a rugby player cannot just go into training and say he wants to train or play, but it can happen in soccer at NWU. Hegemony also occurs in the area of formality and informality, in how soccer is organized and constructed as a practice.

Furthermore, hegemony is contested. One of the ways this occurs is with the promise of class mobility through being a soccer player and a soccer diva, and playing or studying at an elite institution which is racially conceived or not. Yet the parameters to fully achieve such aims are not fully in place. At Potchefstroom the contradictions of the system, revealing various contestations, are reflected when students assert that Potchefstroom has the best education of the three campuses, viz., a code for 'recognition by white corporates'. In one instance when the player's aim was to continue working, his 'class immobility' was perceived as odd by the other students. This may have been due to such a view being counter to their collective dream as an elite team, and as university students who come to university to gain a better life. There are a number of possible explanations for the said player's anomalous statement. He may want to remain true to his past and his parents' class in identifying with that generation. He may also want to seek comfort in such an identity in the face of a predominantly white university, not yet fully decolonized due to the remainders of the past continue to recur there.

Another contested terrain is the dubious contracts of players at the Potchefstroom campus. The dream of such a contract saw them promise many things, including accommodation, funds and the like, but with a lack of delivery on all or some such promises. Of the R23, 000 in fees that players have to pay, they are given R8, 000. The balance is the student's responsibility along with all other student expenses. Transportation is another issue. While there is some provision for this, some students find it problematic. Soccer training is in the evening and this means that students have to remain on campus for the whole day until the training. Commuting more than once a day is expensive, particularly for those students from disadvantaged backgrounds.

In terms of the terrain of hegemony, soccer at the sampled universities finds itself in the following scenario. Its field of discursivity is located outside of liberation discourse, and remains in the areas of medical, functional and competitive areas of sport. Its historical location is disjointed from its political precursor that brought about its freedom, universal access to higher education and its sport. A historical amnesia that is constructed negatively impels it back to a status quo definition through the antagonisms

of the past, of soccer as a secondary game on rugby campuses where it is taken as a minority sport for an African majority. This is so despite the rhetoric that soccer is the main university sport. The limits of soccer become frontiers of contestation against other more 'preferred' sports, and form a chain of equivalences for soccer players in their disadvantage not just materially but also symbolically as described by Bourdieu (1984). Such frontiers are not stable, as they depend on the institutional context and on particular circumstances. Varsity Sport has disallowed the sale of beer at UP, which becomes another frontier. This is different from the context of frontiers for soccer players at the Potchefstroom campus where, as the students' accounts show, the frontier effects are more direct between soccer and rugby as a site of contestation.

To paraphrase Laclau (1989), only when democratic discourse becomes available to articulate the different forms of resistance to subordination, will conditions exist to make possible the struggle against inequality. If democratic discourses have been removed from sports, the status quo remains hegemonic with other models of sports remining. These include the medical, the functional and the competitive models of sport, useful as these may be for planning purposes. Democratic discourse is potentially subversive to allow equality to spread to multiple sites, from which emerge antagonisms, such as habitat or consumption patterns. All these form part of the struggle against inequality.

If antagonisms are left to themselves they become floating signifiers, as asserted by Laclau. The form in which the latter can be articulated cannot be predetermined, and their agents also cannot be predetermined. There are also no privileged points of rupture in the form of our soccer players. For democratic equivalence to become a real possibility, there needs to be a new common sense, as Laclau calls it, for a changed identity of groups, to articulate the demands of each group equivalentially. Without this, the inequality of sports codes will remain within the existing frameworks of differing symbolic, material, ideological and historical content that pervades contemporary sport at universities. Some such equivalence comes not from only sharing grounds but even by playing a new sport to combine rugby and soccer, as suggested by a UP Master's student's research. It also comes from such players sharing accommodation, by making the material and other offerings equivalent and by reinvigorating soccer as the national sport at universities. It may also mean unpacking the rugby franchise system and the Varsity Sports system at universities, without destroying their valuable potential. The aim would be to establish a level playing field for soccer players and to revisit aspects of the emergence of private sport within the university system and the bifurcations of the existing sports system. The latter is a structural condition of the national sports system that separates mass and elite sport as two distinct entities. This needs to change.

All three case studies shy away from the county's imperatives of democratization, de-racialization and equity, as noted in the statements of students in the empirical chapters (6.1, 6.2 and 6.3). However, it would be a simple matter to build on the existing research culture to address this issue. It would also mean that the existing players from different sports need to mix on and off the field. Perhaps this is a limitation of UP values. It may be creating robot-like responses that give in to institutional values that seem to be at odds with national values. If policy research is possible at the point of production of sport at universities, it may introduce a more diverse set of views to the discourse of sport. Such diversity may be disruptive at first, which may be necessary to offset a campus such as UP that is not seen as diverse by its soccer students. It may also be necessary to effect change to a campus that remains white in its values, as the NWU soccer students recognize it, and to which some black students even fall prey to. This does not seem to be the case at UJ which does reflect some transcendence due to its diverse student population. However, where the notion of disruption remains a function of politics as in the student decolonization movement, its external referent to university sport can be problematic.

7.14 *A digression in support of the arguments presented.*

To digress somewhat, with the earlier example of the violence on the rugby field and the attacks on protestors who disrupted the game that was ostensibly unrelated to their protest, allows one to expound the following. First, that the discourse of sport and that of protest, however apart they may seem to be, are nevertheless linked by the occupation of symbolic spaces. Rugby embodies the violence of colonialism in the black imagination, of exclusion and manliness, of Afrikaner power and sustenance in the light of black people not having a home within the apartheid government's upholding of the rough game as its own (against the English conception of it as a gentleman's sport). The discourse of soccer is outside of this imagination, just as much as the Vuvuzela was banned at rugby stadiums due to its noisiness: however noisy, it also implies a noise outside rugby. However, this marginality and the noise of soccer, the divisions of discourse between different sports, and the rigid distinctions between the discourse of sport and that of protest cannot be sustained. Notwithstanding the politically engineered invasion by local political forces and the publicity of the invasions at the Free State University, white rugby fans invaded the pitch to beat up protestors. The latter is the raw civic base of rugby, together with other forms of more 'civilized' networks alluded to earlier, in the spaces of capital and its networks, franchises and in the extensive sports fraternity of rugby as a predominantly white sport in South Africa, despite its changing nature of the boardrooms and of its executive lounges. Furthermore, its fan support base remains mainly white, while that of soccer remains predominantly black.

The pitch invasions allude to the signifying chain of events that are duplicative of dissatisfaction in one area (civic protest) but are expressed in another area (the rugby field). They form a chain of signifiers that lose their value in one arena (and are emptied of their sports value) and are re-enacted with social significance in that both civic invasions (white fans and black protestors) are transformed in a social space that seemingly does not bear any political significance, and becomes a political battleground on a historically conservative campus in what was the heartland of apartheid's empire in the Free State. The game of rugby became a race war in such code switches or significations that shifted their parameters. It is not the violence of rugby that is now a spectacle that is 'enjoyed', but the enactment and witnessing of raw race violence on a rugby pitch, despite the defence of fans' right to watch the game without others (protestors) imposing on them.

Finally, there is the area of social research on sports, mentioned earlier, that is not located at the site of (re) production of sports practices. Social research on sport is one removed in that it is not located inside university sports organizations. There is a predominance of the medical model, and a multiplicity of brandings (Bureau, Institutes and Academies and such like) that remain similar in intent to produce functional sportspersons for national competence. This is despite the widespread club and hostel system of soccer that some universities have established and which puts them in good stead with regard to sport, even with soccer. Without the requisite social research on sport, progress will be slow both for sport and the socio-economic conditions surrounding it. While soccer may be a national game, there are certain basics that are lacking. There is no national data base on the physical standing and statistical data on soccer players. Hegemony without such knowledge may be detrimental to football in general but also to the players and fans. Knowledge construction is crucial to any sport. If sport is unequal at universities, as the students relate it, it needs to change within the conditions of management that have accepted three forms of sports operations whose interrelations have not been fully explored. The question is how to make equivalent the three forms in the university system of sport. These are a developed franchise system of rugby (that is administered badly with at least one franchise in bankruptcy at the time of the research); a new wealthy private player on the block (Varsity Sport) and the less well-off USSA; and other emerging conditions that relate to scientific, social and economic contestations around sport. Furthermore, there are policy issues that both universities and the DHET need to re-engage with. This could lead to a more fair sports agenda on campuses. It means that the notional hours that measure a students' time to complete a degree would need to be nationally and notionally recalibrated, since sportspersons on the field time is not counted and it affects their academic work. All sports students may be disadvantaged by this, but we have found that soccer students are in this predicament in this research. Sportspersons do contribute to (inter-) national sports performances

but field learning events also need to be explored. The cultural capital of sport is under-rated in academia. This needs to change.

Finally, the lack of knowledge of soccer in particular, at the point of its reproduction, is not conducive to the development of the sport and for knowledge production. Soccer is treated as an emergent sport both in its discourses and in resource allocations, and is kept in the backyard. If the Blue Bulls are as hegemonic as they are in buying strategic players, this is a stranglehold hegemony. They were also in a state of economic bankruptcy, as the researcher was informed at the time of the research. Nonetheless, rugby remains hegemonic despite the economic state of such an iconic team.

Turning to the question of whether it matters if rugby is more hegemonic than soccer at universities, the answer can be found in its wider implications. What Nelson Mandela asserted may not be altogether true:

> Sports have the power to change the world…the power to inspire…to unite people in a way that little else does…It speaks to youth…Sports can create hope, where there was once only despair. It is more powerful than governments in breaking down racial barriers. It laughs in the face of all types of discrimination. Sport is the game of lovers (Nelson Mandela) (38).

Sport on its own is unlikely to change race politics, as has been shown in this thesis. But one may go further and argue that it has the potential to divide people. We may be naïve about being able to change race ideology into multi-cultural sports visions. Conservative sports' hegemonies remain in place and are supported by a lack of research and innovation as well as lack of recognition of field learning activities by the DHET. Such recognition may open up new spaces for alternative, democratic and diverse possibilities. Currently, sport remains about individual achievement, and allows the space to perform, but with social transformation marginalized or taking a back seat at the most. In such circumstances, it cannot be that sport will change society. Instead as the Free State incident showed, sport protects the status quo in its violent display of a near all out race war in the conceptual bifurcation of protest and sport. In this context, Mandela's vision of sport unifying people may have been more about national pride than transformation. Sport may be able to cure us of our history, but it may also be a poison or pharmakon (Derrida). It is both a cure and a poison since it can unite and divide, re-racialize and deracialize. The findings herein are threefold: first, the thesis reflects some of the parochial ways that soccer is treated at some of the sampled universities, despite their progress in such sport; second, that based on soccer players views, rugby is hegemonic in its various effects and structures and attracts the most funds and status even if the state of its organization is also not as well as administered as it

seems; and third, that sport is not as unifying as it seems. Nevertheless, ironically, soccer thrives in many ways. At the NWU Mahikeng campus, good coaches were replaced or left when a winning formulae was found. Yet the NWU soccer team managed to gain second place, and even the won the Varsity Cup (2019). The NWU Potchefstroom soccer team gained entry to the Varsity Cup tournament once, despite the conditions described here above. It's a case of 'Bola lethu' ('It's our ball' or 'It's our game'), the popular saying in soccer stadiums about the game of soccer. Such a notion claims the game for the people. What emerges from this, is the question of how long this can remain so, in the face of the nature, organization and state of the game of soccer that is changing so fast, locally and globally, and with the world taking a conservative turn all over the world.

7.15 *Policy Recommendations*

- There has to be more funding for soccer at universities for its numerous functions, and commercialization and commodification of sports needs to be monitored.
- The DHET and university managements need to re-negotiate subsidies for sports persons, and their notional hours, and how sport and education are inter-related.
- Sports policies need to be spelt out clearly, both at universities and nationally, and be youth-oriented, with considerations of multi-campus sports sites.
- Sports curricula at universities need to be directed to those who have an interest in it, and it needs to diversify, and shift the dominance of Sports Science and the its natural science partners, and consciously work against forms of hidden curriculum and make soccer statistics relevant.
- Social research needs to be developed at university sites of sports production, with an agenda of Africanization and they to be inclusive.
- Sports activities at universities need to be linked to subsidies and transformation, as well as national imperatives of equity, decoloniality and democratization.
- There needs to be a national and university-wide reconsideration of hegemonic sports and the dualistic nature of mass and elite sport
- Universities also need to work on their diversity agendas on campuses and in the curricula, as well as to reconsider notions of learning, training and health upkeep on the sport field and off the field.
- The DHET and university managements need to deal with growing private interests, outsourcing, and commercialization of sports organizations at universities.
- Language should not be used to exclude or marginalize sports students.

- The way decisions are made needs to be collaborative - either inclusive of the teams through a bottom up approach or if it is top down, it has to consider the views of people on the ground (coaches, staff, communities, players and opposing sports)
- The DHET, the National Labour Department, the National Sports Department and the various sports federations need to renegotiate the status of amateur and semi-professional sport, and what it needs for fairness and for progress to a higher level.

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*SM2*: Soccer manager2 Pretoria University, 17-9-2014, TuksSport, 2 p.m.

*SCFP*: Soccer coach females, Pretoria University, 17-9-2015, HPC, 11 a.m.

*SGS1P*: Soccer group students 1 Pretoria University, 18-6-2014, UP Soccer club, 3 p.m.

*SGS2P*: Soccer Group Students 2, Pretoria University, 18-6-2014, UP Soccer club, 2 p.m.

*SM3:* Soccer Manager 3, Pretoria University, 17-6-2014, TuksSport offices, 11 a.m.

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SGS1J: Student Group 1 Soccer: 25-6-2014,. Soccer club, 3 p.m.
SM4J: Soccer Manager 4 UJ: 25-06-2015, 12 p.m., Managers office at UJ.
SGS2J: Student Group Soccer 2 UJ: 25-6-2014, Soccer club, 4 p.m.

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**Interviews with staff, students and coaches.**

| | |
|---|---|
| *SIC1P* | Soccer interview: Coach, UP, 6 May 2015. |
| *SM1* | Soccer interview: Manager 1, UP, 7 May, 2015. |
| *SM2* | Soccer interview: Manager 2, UP, 7 May 2015. |
| *SCFP* | Soccer interview: female soccer coach, UP, 7 May 2015. |
| *SGS1P* | Soccer group interview 1: students, UP, 6 May 2015. |
| *SGS2P* | Soccer group interview 2: students, UP, 6 May 2015. |
| SIC1J | Soccer Interview: Coach, UJ, 26 May 2015. |
| SGS1J | Soccer group interview: students. UJ, 26 May 2015. |
| SM4J | Soccer interview: Manager, UJ, 26 May 2015. |
| SGS2J | Soccer group interview 2: students, UJ, 26 May 2015. |
| SISG1N | Soccer interview 1: students, NWU, Potchefstroom, 19 June 2014. |
| SISG2N | Soccer interview 2: students, NWU, Potchefstroom, 19 June 2014. |
| SIC1N | Soccer interview: Coach, NWU, Potchefstroom, 19 June 2014. |

7. Appendices

*Appendix 1: interview for soccer coaches*

*Questions for interviews for soccer coaches.*

Social research on sports cultures and institutes at universities in South Africa.

The interviews are intended to probe issues that relate do the experiences of coaching staff, including their views and interpretation of such experiences. The questions are meant to be a guide allowing for open-ended discussions. The aim is to gain as much information on sports institutes and sports culture at particular institutions.

The questions are grouped into categories and in each category, a main question or area of concern that is identified together with a number of possible prompts that the interviewer can use in probing for a response. It is not intended that each and every question be asked in exactly the same form as stated herein. We start by a guarantee anonymity and seek permission to audio record the interview. Thereafter we will introduce a theme of questions with some sub-themes that can be discussed.

*Questions for coaching staff at universities' sports institutes, clubs or bureaus:*

*Introductory:* Can you tell me about the nature of your work, and how sport is organized at this university, Institute or Bureau, and how you interact with the sports students?

1. What does your job involve and what are its key requirements?
2. Have coaching and technical aspects of the sport changed? If so, what impacts do such changes have on the game?
3. What improvement, if any, would you like to see for sports and students?
4. How would you describe the demographics and socio-economic backgrounds of your sports students?
5. What are the needs and challenges of such students?
6. What is being done to address these challenges and also to meet their needs?
7. Are you in any way involved in any way in the lives of your sports students, outside of the university? Please elaborate.

*Sports policy at your university:* University sports policy is made from numerous position and offices, do you agree? How is ports policy made at your university? Are there any documents stating such policies? What processes do these follow?

8. Does the university have a sports development policy? If yes, how would you describe it?
9. Is the Sports Institute or Bureau autonomous from the university management?
10. How would you describe students' performance and how do you measure it?

*Support Structures:* Does the university have support structures for sports students? Which are these and how adequate are they for individual needs?

11. Does the university have support structure for sports students? If yes, what are they and are they adequate?
12. If yes, have these support structures improved students' achievements?
13. If not, what are the alternatives?

*Other forms of interaction with students:* I am interested in other forms of interaction you (or your colleagues) have with the students outside the classroom, and if these may be beneficial to their social, academic and sporting life.

14. Where and how often do you informally interact with the students outside of formal training?
15. How do students from different groups (racial, gender, nationality) relate to you, to each other and interact in class? Do you see any differences? If there are, how do you deal with such differences?
16. What forums or other bodies are available for students in which they can interact around their learning and playing?
17. Do you have any suggestions on other people I could interview?

*Appendix 2: interview with soccer students*.
*Questions for interviews for soccer students.*

*Social research on sports cultures and institutes at universities in South Africa*
The interviews are intended to probe issues relate to the experiences of sports students, including their views and interpretation of such experiences. The questions herein are meant to be a guide

allowing for open-ended discussions. The aim is to gain as much information on sports institutes and sports culture are particular institutions. The questions are meant to guide the interview process.

The questions are grouped into categories and in each category, a main question or area of concern is identified together with a number of possible prompts that the interviewer can use in probing for a response. It is not intended that each and every question be asked in exactly the same form stated herein. We will start by a guarantee anonymity and seek permission to audio record the interview. Thereafter we will introduce a theme of questions with some subthemes that can be discussed.

*Questions for sports students at universities' sports institutes, clubs or bureaus.*
*Introductory:* I would like to know about your experiences of the sports organization of this university, institute or bureau, and why you came to study and play sports at this university.

1. What sport are you playing and what motivated you to play it?
2. How did you come to study sports, and in particulars soccer?
3. What is your view on the academic and soccer offerings at your university?
4. What are your achievements to date, both in academic learning and in soccer?
5. What do you plan to do with your degree after you are completed here?

*Sports structure and policies:* I would like to know about the organization of sport at your university, and of the Sports Bureau or institute you are at, what support structures are in place, and what are the challenges the unit faces in terms of your needs?

6. Are the university sports structures and policies satisfying all your needs? Please explain
7. Are there any support structures for sports students, and if so, are they adequate?
8. What are the challenges faced by sports students and the sports bureau or institute?
9. How can sports staff, including academics, improve what they offer to you?
10. Are elite sports students automatically accommodated on campus? Please explain.
11. What factors affects sports students' performance (academically or sports-wise).
12. What improvements would you suggest to address those factors?

*Sports Curriculum:* I would like to find out about the curriculum you follow, what areas do you cover and how diverse the curriculum is.

13. How would you describe your sports curriculum?

14. What have you gained so far from being a sports students? Do you find any conceptual difficulties in the course work?
15. Is assessment of your sports and academic work to your satisfaction?
16. Have you learnt anything about the social, historical and cultural aspects of sport? Please explain.
17. Do your sports studies cover any aspect of social research in sport? If so, please elaborate.

*Other aspects:* There are some other aspects that I would love to know about, such as your sports program, the impact of student diversity on your interactions with other students, and how external factors affect your studies?

18. Are you part of the elite sports? If so, are you given a program to follow?
19. Do you think external factors affect student academic or sports performance?
20. What are your experiences with the diverse student population at your university, if at all it is diverse?
21. Is the diversity of the student population reflected in the curriculum content?
22. Who funds your studies? Is the funding you receive sufficient?
23. Do you have any suggestions on other people we can interview?

*Appendix 3: Interview for managers at sports.*

*Questions for interviews for managers at sports institutes or bureau's.*

The interviews are intended to probe issues relate to managements experiences of sports organization on campus, including their views and interpretation of such experiences. The questions herein are meant to be a guide for the interview process and allow for open-ended discussions. The aim is to gain as much information on sports institutes and sports culture at particular institutions. The questions are meant to guide the interview process.

The questions are grouped into categories and in each category, a main question or area of concern is identified together with a number of possible prompts that the interviewer can use in probing for a response. It is not intended that each and every question be asked in exactly the same form stated herein. We will start by a guarantee anonymity and seek permission to audio record the interview. Thereafter we will introduce a theme of questions with some subthemes that can be discussed.

*Questions for management staff at universities' sports institutes, bureaus or academies.*

*Introductory*: Please tell me about your work experience, and how sport is organized at this university, institute or bureau, the support you provide for students and where and how do you interact with students?

1. Can you tell me about your work experience and its responsibilities?
2. How is sport administered or organized at your university? How does it integrate sports and learning?
3. Are there any current challenges to the organization of student sports? If so, can they be resolved?
4. How is student success measured in your unit? Are there any statistics available in this regard?
5. Do students work with you to fulfil your functions? If so, how do they do so?

*Support structures:* The university usually has support and policy structures to assist students with studies and sports. Are there any such at the university? If such support structures exist, please give the details.

6. How is students sports performance measured? Are there any statistics in this regard?
7. How would you describe the background, needs and challenges that sports students face?

*Funding, throughput and residence issues:* funding and residence remain constant problems at South African universities. What strategies are there in place for funding sports student and their residence life?

8. Is the financial aid for students sufficient, and does it ensure access and retention?
9. Are there problems with students getting through their courses.
10. What is the sports budget like, and where do you source your funding from?
11. Who is responsible for funding for sports?
12. In your view, does government policy on higher education address university sporting needs?
13. Do the elite sports students receive campus accommodation?
14. Do you have any suggestions on other relevant people that I should interview?