



UNIVERSITY OF NATAL DURBAN

# **PLAYING THE GAME? DESEGREGATING SOUTH AFRICAN SPORT**

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**Centre for Applied Social Sciences**

**WORKING PAPER NO. 18**

ISN-42259

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Development Studies Series Working Paper No. 18  
Development Studies Unit  
University of Natal  
Durban

1988

#### DEVELOPMENT STUDIES UNIT

The Development Studies Unit is a multi-disciplinary unit within the Centre for Social and Development Studies at the University of Natal in Durban. The Development Studies Unit was established at the beginning of 1982 with the purpose of providing a focus for research into the problems of developing areas, with a view to assisting the University to play a meaningful role in the upgrading of the quality of life in the poorer areas surrounding it.

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ISBN NO: 0-86980-615-7

### INTRODUCTION

This paper critically examines efforts by multiracial<sup>1</sup> national sports controlling bodies in South Africa to integrate blacks and promote their respective sports among blacks. These efforts should be viewed against a background of enforced racially segregated sport, the subsequent international isolation of South African sport and strategies devised by the government and white sports administrators to break the sports boycott of South Africa. The paper is divided into two substantive sections. The first provides an overview of government policy and traces developments in counter-boycott strategy. In the second the results of a survey of multiracial national sports controlling bodies are analysed.

### APARTHEID SPORT, POLICY AND STRATEGY: AN OVERVIEW

Sport is but one reflection of the dominant ideological and political practices within a society. In this sense sports policy in South Africa since 1948 has reflected the dictates of the ruling National Party. Analysis of the National Party's sports policy reveals two distinct phases. The first, referred to here as the era of segregated sport, lasted until the late 1970's and was characterised by the government's unequivocal opposition to multiracial sport. Even in the face of intense international political pressure and sports isolation the government held firm to the principle of racial segregation in sport. The era of autonomous sport followed and coincided with structural changes in the administration of sport intended to create the illusion that sports administrators had sole jurisdiction over their own affairs within the framework of apartheid.

Detailed descriptions and analyses of the era of segregated sport are available elsewhere.<sup>2</sup> The main concern here is with the government's policy of autonomous sport. However, to complete the picture a chronology is given of sports policy in the era of segregation.

#### *Sports Policy 1948 - 1979*

From 1948 the government gradually took control of sport until, by the early 1960's, any pretence of sports administrators being their own

masters had vanished. Between 1962 and 1963 the Minister of the Interior, Jan De Klerk, outlined the government's policy on sport:

- \* each sport must have a separate controlling association for each population group;
- \* black associations should develop under the auspices of white associations with the latter acting as controlling bodies and providing representatives to the corresponding world bodies;
- \* South Africa would not be represented by multiracial teams; and,
- \* multiracial teams from abroad would not be issued with visas to play in South Africa.<sup>3</sup>

De Klerk repeatedly made reference to segregated sport as an "old national custom"<sup>4</sup> and this was used to justify government policy.

However, segregated sport was never controlled by specific legislation. Rather a range of laws militated against interracial contact through sport. These laws included the Native (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act (1945), Population Registration Act (1950), Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (1953), Native Laws Amendment Act (1957), Bantu Laws Amendment Act (1963), and Group Areas Act (1966). This body of legislation defined social relationships in terms of race and imposed on the black majority gross inequities commensurate with their subservient position in the social formation. Nonetheless, government ministers warned sports administrators that specific legislation would be introduced if its policy was flouted. De Klerk was one who threatened the propagators of "mixed sport" with "legislation which will clearly determine this positive policy".<sup>5</sup>

In 1963 the International Olympic Committee (IOC) told the South African Olympic and National Games Association (SAONGA) (formerly the South African Olympic Committee) that it faced suspension if it did not adhere to the Olympic code of conduct. The government dismissed the IOC's directive and South Africa's invitation to the 1964 Olympics in Tokyo was withdrawn. The same year witnessed suspension from international football and fencing.

Prime Ministers Verwoerd and Vorster stressed that they would not jettison the policy of segregated sport for the sake of international sports contacts. "No matter how important those sports relations are", Vorster said in 1967, "I am not prepared to pay the price."<sup>6</sup> In 1971 he reaffirmed this stance:

"Sport is important for the human individually, nationally and internationally, but there are other interests that have to be considered more important than sports interests."<sup>7</sup>

In 1967, in what was widely interpreted as a new concessionary sports policy, Vorster outlined the government's view with regard to specific fixtures and individual sports.

\* The Olympic Games: South Africa would comply with the principle of national representation by a single multiracial team - "if", Vorster added, "there are any Coloureds or Bantu good enough to compete."<sup>8</sup>

The selection procedure was subsequently outlined. Each population group would nominate a representative for each event. Under the aegis of SAONGA, the racially defined associations would liaise to choose a representative team.<sup>9</sup>

\* Davis Cup and Federation Cup (tennis): South African teams would in future be permitted to play against black teams at home and abroad.<sup>10</sup>

\* Cricket and Rugby: South Africa would not prescribe to foreign countries "whom they may or may not select". Vorster said: "We leave that to the sound judgement of the sports administrators in the country which is invited to South Africa (provided) that relationships between that country and my country shall not be clouded as a result."<sup>11</sup>

Any notion of concession was dashed, however, when Vorster stressed that: "No mixed sport between Whites and non-Whites will be practised locally."<sup>12</sup> He added: "In respect of this principle we are not prepared to compromise, we are not prepared to negotiate and we are not prepared to make concessions."<sup>13</sup>

The isolation of South African sport gathered momentum. The country's invitation to the 1968 Olympics was withdrawn by the IOC Executive in the face of a threatened 40 nation boycott. But the watershed was 1970. In that year South Africa was expelled from the IOC, suspended from Davis Cup tournaments and world wrestling, and barred from participating in international athletics, world cycling, netball and softball championships and from membership of the International Cycling Federation. Australia suspended athletics relations, Australia, England and New Zealand cancelled cricket tours and Italy, Belgium, the United States and West Germany withdrew from the South African Games.<sup>14</sup>

In April 1971 Vorster announced the government's policy of multinationalism in which South Africa was characterised as comprising many nations. Under the banner of multinationalism South Africa's sports policy was presented in new jargon but the principles remained unchanged:

"Separate participation in sport is a natural and obvious outcome of the Government's policy of separate development. It is therefore wrong to speak of a new sport policy or a different formula ... Announcements in respect of certain points of departure relating to sport should therefore be seen as adjustments, development and progress without sacrifice of principles" (emphasis added).<sup>15</sup>

In 1973 the Minister of Sport, Piet Koornhof, presented his interpretation of multinational sport as it effected football:

"The multinational policy of the National Party means the following ... A South African White team, consisting of whites only may play against a South African representative Coloured team consisting solely of Coloureds. A South African Indian team ... (etc.). If our policy is taken to its logical conclusion we will have a South African representative Zulu team and a South African representative Xhosa team ... (etc.) (parenthesis added)."<sup>16</sup>



Koornhof said, however, that since Africans had not yet reached "the desired standard", "the Government has arranged in the interim period to allow a South African representative Bantu team to play at the South African games".<sup>17</sup>

During the 1970's country after country and one international federation after another severed sporting links with South Africa.<sup>18</sup> Under P W Botha the government responded by attempting to depoliticise sport: a rather ironic move for a government which had done more than any other to politicise sport. Structural changes were made to sports administration. For example, in 1980 the Department of Sport and Recreation was disbanded and the administration of sport passed to the Directorate of Sport Promotion in the Department of National Education (DNE). At this level of administration government control over sport became effectively hidden from public scrutiny. Behind these changes was the realisation that sport is an important ingredient in international affairs.

In 1977 Koornhof argued that:

"... play and sport are strong enough to cause political and economic relations to flourish or collapse. We are not holding on to it (sport) just because we fear expulsion, but also because of the value of sport on the international level."<sup>19</sup>

Changes in policy meant new strategies: enter the permit system. Under this system applications for multiracial events could be made to the Department of Sport. However, permits were also required from the relevant municipal councils, administration boards, etc., for the use of facilities under their jurisdiction. Generally, however, permit applications were sparse and white sports administrators apathetic. For example, in January 1978 a survey of senior rugby officials found a reluctance to open clubs to blacks. Reasons cited included: "... there is one stumbling block, social restrictions that would apply to black members"; "We do not want to grant conditional membership to people which is not fair"; "... each time we played with black members we would have to go to the government in relation to the Group Areas Act"; "... there are so many social problems that we feel until the South African

Rugby Board and the Government resolve these, we will not accept black members".<sup>20</sup>

*The Autonomous Sport Strategy*

During the debate on sport and recreation in 1979 the Minister of Sport, F W De Klerk, announced the government's strategy of autonomous sport.<sup>21</sup> Autonomous sport refers to the granting to sports organisations the right to administer their own affairs: "On condition", De Klerk said, "that good order does not suffer and that the general laws of the land are recognised".<sup>22</sup> Autonomous sport was, and remains, integral to the policy of depoliticising sport.

In the early 1980's both the government and sports administrators adopted a more aggressive approach in trying to sell South African sport as fully desegregated. International propaganda campaigns were launched to convince the world that all the demands laid down for readmittance to the international sports community had been satisfied. For example, in 1983 the South African Rugby Board hosted a media congress for foreign journalists to watch multiracial sport.<sup>23</sup> Simultaneously the government amended legislative and administrative restrictions effecting multiracial sport. For example, amendments were made to the permit system in 1980, Section 71 (1) of the Liquor Act in 1981, and Proclamation R228 of the Group Areas Act in 1982. In 1984, the Minister of National Education, Gerrit Viljoen said that "there were sufficient opportunities for people from all population groups to participate in sport on an interracial basis".<sup>24</sup>

The isolation of South African sport intensified. For example in 1984 2 972 foreign sportspersons visited South Africa. By 1987 the number had dropped to 1 103<sup>25</sup> with top ranked sportspersons noticeably absent. Ironically, good sportspersons who are induced to compete in South Africa, such as Wimbledon champion Pat Cash in 1987, highlight the effects of isolation by exposing the mediocrity of the majority of visitors.

The basis of South Africa's aggression in sport in the 1980's is the rebel tour - unofficial tours sanctioned by neither world nor national controlling bodies. The logic of this strategy is to divide the inter-

national sports community on the boycott issue. As former Springbok cricketer Graeme Pollock has noted: "The more disruptions we can make in world cricket the better it will be us in the long term."<sup>26</sup>

In 1982 the South African Cricket Union hosted the first rebel sports tour by 12 English cricketers, nicknamed the "Dirty Dozen" by the world press. They were immediately followed by a team from Sri Lanka at the beginning of the 1982/83 season. Since then rebel tours of South Africa have become annual events in major and minor sports. The most publicised tours in the mid-1980's were those by Australian cricketers (two visits) and New Zealand rugby players. Insight as to why foreign sportspersons are happy to visit South Africa has been provided by British rugby international Gareth Andrews:

"Our welcome in South Africa has always been the best, the most hospitable in the world ... cut off from international competition, and they are always ready to accept teams of international standing, and look after them superbly. We stayed in the best hotel ... all expenses put down to room numbers. No one was out of pocket whatever they did ... you name it we had the very best. ... we agreed that everyone at home in rugby administration would think this extravagant."<sup>27</sup>

Of course, rebel tours often mean large player payments far in excess of expense accounts. It is claimed, for example, that the Australian cricketers each received Aust\$200 000<sup>28</sup> and the New Zealander rugby players NZ\$100 000.<sup>29</sup> The financing of rebel sport challenges a fundamental principle of autonomy, namely financial self-sufficiency. De Klerk noted this very point in 1979: "If we were to vote large sums of money for sport that would place a question mark over the autonomy of sport".<sup>30</sup>

The financing of sport thus placed the government in a delicate position. In 1983 Gerrit Viljoen told parliament that government contributions to specific sporting events were dependent upon "the international importance and the overall publicity given to South Africa".<sup>31</sup> With regard to the 1983 rebel cricket tour by the West Indians, Viljoen said that the government would be "sympathetic to

requests for financial assistance" because:

"... the Government profoundly appreciated the exceptional initiative displayed by the cricket chiefs in achieving this breakthrough. The tour struck an important blow not only in the sporting field but also in general against the concentrated efforts to isolate South Africa internationally."<sup>32</sup>

The problem of financing rebel tours while adhering to the policy of autonomous sport was overcome in January 1986 when the government agreed to provide tax concessions to the sponsors of international sports events. Under this arrangement, which was included in the Income Tax Act of 1986 and made retrospective to July 1985, sponsors can deduct up to 180 percent of their expenses. Based on company tax of 50 percent, this effectively provides sponsors of international events with a 90 percent rebate and those of local events with a 50 percent rebate.

The impact of this move manifested immediately. By June 1986 the government had received applications for rebates totalling R200 million.<sup>33</sup> It was estimated that between R75 - 85 million would be spent on sponsorships during 1987 and that sports marketing was the fastest growing branch of marketing in South Africa.<sup>34</sup> To increase the marketing viability of sports sponsorship the government controlled South African Broadcasting Corporation increased the coverage of sport on television from 16 hours to 30 hours per week. A licence to operate a subscription television service was also granted and the licence holder, M-Net, markets itself heavily on the coverage of international sport.

Rebel sport and the saturation of sport on television have ensured not only that the white sports follower is not being "deprived" but also, that whites are not being confronted by the real issues facing the country. As the Vice President of the South African Cricket Union, Geoff Dakin, said of the Australian cricket tour: "(it) has done a lot to uplift the spirit of the country enabling people to take their minds off caspirs, burning tyres and a rand worth only (US\$) 40 cents."<sup>35</sup>

The pinnacle of the government's policy of autonomous sport is expected to be reached during 1988 with the launch of the Confederation of South

African Sport (CSAS). In 1986 the South African Sports Federation (SASF), an umbrella body which has liaised with the government since the early 1950's, formed, at the instigation of the Minister of National Education, F W De Klerk, a Steering Committee to investigate the inception of a new representative body for sport. Such a body had been strongly recommended by the Human Sciences Research Council's (HSRC) investigation into sport in 1982.<sup>36</sup> The aim of the proposed CSAS is to complete the depoliticisation process by "rationalising both the provision of sporting facilities and the administration of sport".<sup>37</sup>

However, South African sport cannot be depoliticised. The notion is contradictory at both conceptual and practical levels. All social practices are autonomous in the sense that they have a specific structure and object. But this autonomy is relative since the contents of each practice - the time, direction and limits of its transformation - are subject to the structuring effects of the particular social formation. Just as the National Party has shaped the South African social formation, so too has it determined the content of the social practices, including sport, within the social formation. In this sense, the autonomy of sport is as incongruous as the autonomy of the relations of production, or of education.

At the practical level one example will suffice. In 1979/80 the shortfall in capital requirements for sport was calculated by the HSRC to be R1 417.7 million.<sup>38</sup> Since then the amount has undoubtedly increased. According to Mr Alan Bush, an Assistant Director of the Social Services Branch within the Department of Education and Training which is currently responsible for sport in African townships in white areas, "the shortage of sporting facilities will never be overcome at present - even essential maintenance has become a luxury".<sup>39</sup> The magnitude of this shortfall is such that it could only ever be alleviated by the central government. However, government intervention would introduce a contradiction, namely the provision of facilities by the government is a political issue.

Notwithstanding these problems, it could be argued that white sports administrators have at least been afforded relative autonomy. Whether these administrators are willing to utilise this space to integrate sport is the subject of the second part of this paper.

DESEGREGATING SOUTH AFRICAN SPORT: A SURVEY

In this section the results of a postal survey of national sports controlling bodies are presented and analysed. The survey was administered in the last quarter of 1987 with two objectives:

- \* to ascertain which sporting bodies have established the constitutional prerequisites for multiracial sport; and,
- \* to establish to what extent senior sports administrators are integrating their respective sports.

*Method*

The DNE recognises nearly 200 different sport/recreation/hobby controlling bodies.<sup>40</sup> From this list, 127 organisations were selected to survey (see Appendix 1). The remaining bodies were excluded for a variety of reasons.

First, since sport was the object of the survey, recreational and hobby associations were not included. However, the distinction between these disciplines is largely arbitrary. While activities such as camping and scouting do not fit popular notions of sport, the distinction between sport and recreation becomes blurred when categorising activities such as displaying veteran and vintage motor cars and bush walking. Thus, the term sport in this research is used arbitrarily.

Second, explicitly racist organisations were excluded. These included, *inter alia*: the South African Amateur Boxing Association (for whites); the South African Golf Association (Indians); the South African Rugby Association (Africans); and, the South African National Amateur Wrestling Federation (whites).

Third, national and provincial umbrella bodies embracing more than one sport, for example, the SASF, the South African National Olympic Committee and the Northern Orange Free State Amateur Sport Federation were excluded.

Finally, professional associations and research institutes were excluded

including, the South African Gym Owners Federation, the South African Tennis Coaches Association and the National Sea and Sand Institute.

The questionnaire (see Appendix 2) asked two principal questions. The first related to the presence of racially discriminatory clauses in the organisation's constitution. The second question was concerned with programmes to promote sport among blacks.

#### *Results*

Fifty six replies were received from the 127 questionnaires posted. While this represents an exceptionally high return rate of 44 percent, the failure of several high profile organisations to respond, notably the South African Amateur Athletic Union, the South African Rugby Board and the South African Tennis Union, must be noted. Replies were received from organisations associated with the following sports: archery; athletics; aviation sports; badminton; basketball; biathlon; bowling; boxing; bridge; chess; cricket; croquet; cycling; sports for the disabled; equestrian sports; fencing; fishing; football; golf; gymnastics; hockey; pigeon racing; ice sports; jukskei; lifesaving; motor sport; netball; pentathlon; sailing; sheepdogging; shooting; softball; squash; surfboard riding; swimming; volleyball; and, weight lifting (see Appendix 1 for a breakdown of replies and non-returns). The responses are analysed under the headings membership eligibility and the promotion of sport among blacks.

#### *Membership eligibility*

There was a unanimous "no" response to the question, "Does your organisation's current constitution contain explicit clauses which determine membership on the grounds of race" (emphasis added)? In other words, in terms of the first objective of the research all respondents have established constitutional prerequisites for multiracial sport. Notwithstanding these conditions, certain limitations must be noted.

First, clauses in constitutions pertaining to membership are notoriously vague with the express purpose of preventing public allegations of discrimination, whether it be on the grounds of race, religion, class, sex, etc. The Director General of The Aero Club of South Africa

succinctly highlighted this very point when he wrote: "(Our) constitution has no reference to race and, as such, implies that there is no racial bar to our membership" (emphasis added).<sup>41</sup> Moreover, clauses such as, "... the committee will consider any applications for membership" are calculated inclusions to create the impression that membership is unrestricted and based on democratic principles. The reality can be somewhat different. The constitution of the Natal Basketball Association provides a good example of how applications for membership may be viewed:

"... the committee may accept the application, or reject it, or may defer it, or accept it conditionally. In the event of rejection, no reasons need be given by the committee."<sup>42</sup>

Second, even if the national sports body claims that its constitution is "in order" this is not necessarily true for the regional and club affiliates. Consider, for example, the following statements, the first from South African Lifesaving and the second from the South African Bowling Association.

"... I can advise you that this organisation's constitution has never determined membership on the grounds of race. We have separate Black, Indian, Coloured and White Clubs, but membership of our Association has always been open to any member, providing he was affiliated, through his club, to his Provincial Association."<sup>43</sup>

"I would advise that bowls in South Africa is a fully integrated sport ... There are 808 bowling clubs in South Africa ... there are four Black, seven Coloured and two Indian clubs ... and all clubs are treated on an equal basis."<sup>44</sup>

These statements leave no doubt as to the meaning of multiracialism!

Nonracial sport can only begin to be played in South Africa when controlling bodies rigorously evoke anti-discrimination legislation



against affiliates, particularly private sports clubs. Of the 56 replies only four said that they were taking positive action in this regard - The South African Ladies' Golf Union, Motor Sport Control, The Squash Rackets Association of Southern Africa, and the South African Amateur Swimming Union. For example, the National Director of The Squash Rackets Association wrote:

"Our constitution expressly provides that there may be no discrimination on the grounds of race, creed or anything similar. Our constitution prohibits provincial associations and clubs from having any discriminatory clauses in their constitutions."<sup>45</sup>

The South African Ladies' Golf Union is one organisation which evokes penalties against racist affiliates: championships are not held at clubs which do not accept players of all races.<sup>46</sup>

Private golf clubs are, however, notoriously racist and every year allegations of discrimination are made. During 1987, for example, the Ixopo (Natal) Golf Club refused membership to an Indian golfer. In subsequent correspondence to the press a committee member claimed that the "Ixopo Golf Club's constitution does not exclude any person on the basis of race or colour", rather membership is determined by an "internal democratic process".<sup>47</sup> Insight into this process was provided by another correspondent, "a member of private clubs for over 50 years": "I have no objection whatsoever to playing against any non-European but I would vote against any non-European applying for membership (sic) to the clubs to which I belong".<sup>48</sup>

It is not surprising then that the Executive Director of South African Lifesaving should state: "I believe it will take a long time before clubs are desegregated."<sup>49</sup>

The first section of the survey contained a follow on question: "On what date was your organisation's constitution/rules amended to allow for multiracial membership?" Respondents were divided into four groups.

1. Organisations which claimed that their constitutions have never contained explicit discriminatory clauses. Organisations falling within this group were divided into two sub-categories.

1.1. Organisations founded before or during the era of segregation (1948 - 1979):

- \* ATHLETICS - South African Masters Athletics Association (founded 1975);
- \* AVIATION SPORTS - The Aero Club of South Africa (including the eight disciplines - see Appendix 1) (1976);
- \* BASKETBALL - Basketball Federation of South Africa (1953);
- \* BRIDGE - South African Bridge Federation (1957);
- \* CHESS - The South African Chess Federation (1948);
- \* FENCING - South African Amateur Fencing Association (1949);
- \* FISHING - South African Artificial Lure Angling Association (1977);
- \* HOCKEY - South African Women's Hockey Association (1923);
- \* SAILING - Cruising Association of South Africa (1956);
- \* SHOOTING - The Clay Pigeon Shooting Association of South Africa (1954); and,
- \* VOLLEYBALL - South African Volleyball Union (1968).

1.2. Organisations which gave no details about the date of foundation:

- \* CROQUET - South African Croquet Association;
- \* EQUESTRIAN SPORTS - South African Polo Association;
- \* GOLF - Senior Golfers' Union of South Africa;

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- \* GOLF - South African Golf Union;
- \* GOLF - The South African Ladies' Golf Union;
- \* GYMNASTICS - South African Amateur Gymnastic Union;
- \* HOCKEY - South African Men's Hockey Association;
- \* LIFESAVING - South African Lifesaving
- \* LIFESAVING - South African Surf Lifesaving;
- \* LIFESAVING - South African Water Safety;
- \* MOTOR SPORT - South African Motor Sport Control;
- \* PIGEON RACING - South African Homing Union;
- \* SHEEPDOGGING - South African Sheepdog Association;
- \* SHOOTING - South African Air Rifle Association;
- \* SQUASH - The Squash Rackets Association of Southern Africa; and,
- \* SURFBOARD RIDING - South African Surfriders Association.

2. Organisations which claim to have amended their constitutions during the era of segregation (1948 - 1979).

- \* ARCHERY - South African National Archery Association (1978);
- \* BADMINTON - South African Badminton Union (1976):
- \* BOXING - The South African National Boxing Control Board (1973):
- \* CRICKET - South African Cricket Union (1976);
- \* CYCLING - South African Cycling Federation (1972):

- \* ICE SPORTS - South African Iceskating Association (1967);
- \* NETBALL - All South African Netball Union (1977);
- \* SAILING - South African Yacht Racing Association (1976).
- \* SWIMMING - South African Amateur Swimming Union (1977); and,
- \* WEIGHT LIFTING - South African Amateur Weight Lifting Union (1977).

3. Organisations which claim to have amended their constitutions during the era of autonomous sport (post-1979).

- \* GOLF - The Professional Golfers Association of South Africa (1981);
- \* JUKSKEI - Suid Afrikaanse Jukskeiraad (1985); and,
- \* SHOOTING - South African Pistol Association (1984).

4. Organisations which claim to have amended their constitutions but which furnished no details of dates.

- \* BIATHLON - The South African Biathlon Association;
- \* BOWLING - South African Bowling Association;
- \* SPORTS FOR THE DISABLED - South African Deaf Sport Federation;
- \* EQUESTRIAN SPORTS - The South African National Pony Club;
- \* FOOTBALL - The Football Association of South Africa;
- \* PENTATHLON - South African Modern Pentathlon Association;
- \* SOFTBALL - South African Softball Association; and,
- \* SOFTBALL - South African Softball Union.

Categories 1.1 (organisations claiming that their constitutions have never contained explicit discriminatory clauses and which were founded during the era of segregation) and 2 (organisations claiming to have amended their constitutions during the era of segregation) are of interest here because they appear to have challenged apartheid policy.

However, this is not the case and a number of factors account for the apparent anomaly. First, during the era of segregation black sports associations were expected to affiliate to white associations. The latter automatically assumed controlling body status. Hence blacks wishing to play a specific sport would be directed to the relevant racial association. In other words, there simply was no need for sports bodies to contain explicit racial clauses. Second, in the case of minor sports where there were no separate black associations other institutions came into effect which reduced the likelihood of blacks seeking membership. Participation in sports such as cruising, hot air ballooning and polo, is determined by economic factors rather than race. In South Africa apartheid erected financial barriers which effectively excluded blacks from expensive sports. Finally, the reader will recall that during the era of segregation white administrators were threatened with legislative reprisals if they challenged government policy.

The insertion of clauses into a constitution to make provision for multiracial membership tells us nothing about the degree of participation. As Ali Bacher, the Managing Director of the South African Cricket Union, candidly reminds us:

"We drew up a new constitution in 1976 and told the world our cricket was nonracial but, in reality, that was all nonsense. There was still no effective structure in which a black boy from, say, Rocklands (Bloemfontein), could develop his cricket. Without coaching, facilities or encouragement, how could he? A piece of paper didn't help him very much."<sup>50</sup>

To this end we must examine the actions of sports associations.

*The Promotion of Sport Among Blacks*

In this section we will examine the extent to which, and methods by which, individual organisations are promoting and developing their sports among blacks. Discussion is based upon responses to two questions:

- \* Is your organisation actively promoting sport among blacks by:
  - conducting clinics in black areas,
  - developing facilities in black areas,
  - subsidising affiliation fees for blacks, or,
  - sponsoring the travel costs of black sportspersons: and,
- \* Has your organisation encouraged the racial integration of sport in any other way?

The purpose of the latter question was to offer each association an opportunity to discuss its programmes (or, as we shall see, justify the lack of them).

Based on the response to these questions, respondents were classified into one of three categories: those with comprehensive development programmes specifically aimed at blacks; those which claim to promote their sports on the basis of racial equality in the sense that blacks are not given special attention; and, those which make no effort to promote their sport among blacks. These categories are examined in turn.

1. Organisations with development programmes aimed at blacks.

Six associations were included in this category:

- \* CRICKET - South African Cricket Union;
- \* GYMNASTICS - South African Amateur Gymnastic Union;

- \* HOCKEY - South African Men's Hockey Association;
- \* SQUASH - The Squash Rackets Association of Southern Africa;
- \* SWIMMING - South African Amateur Swimming Union; and,
- \* VOLLEYBALL - South African Volleyball Union.

Here we will focus on the efforts of the South African Cricket Union and The Squash Rackets Association of Southern Africa which have been loudly applauded by the media.

The Cricket Union launched a 10 year three stage development programme in October 1986. The first stage involves introducing township children to a modified game of cricket, known as mini-cricket. This game is played with a scaled down unsprung bat and a soft ball. Between January 1987 and March 1988 22 000 children were introduced to minicricket in the major townships.<sup>51</sup> An integral part of this stage is the distribution of bats to "enable children to play out of school hours in their backyards and in the streets".<sup>52</sup> Multiracial mini-cricket festivals are also being conducted and the first, held in October 1987 in Johannesburg, was attended by some 1 000 children from more than 80 primary schools. The second stage of the programme, run concomitantly with the first, is the coaching of black school teachers to assume the role of cricket coaches. A national coaching academy has been established and by March 1988 several thousand teachers had completed courses. Teachers displaying talent as coaches are offered added incentives in the form of education bursaries to enable them to further their teaching careers and academic qualifications with the aid of cricket. The final stage is intensive coaching in the hard ball game for "those children who show potential".<sup>53</sup>

The Squash Rackets Association launched its Junior (primary school) Squash Programme in 1983 at which time squash was "unheard of in all but a few elite primary schools".<sup>54</sup> By mid-1987 over 18 000 children were involved in the programme at 450 clubs and schools around the country. The Squash Rackets Association has recently divided the country into 42 regions and appointed regional administrators whose task is to promote the game among township children.<sup>55</sup> As with cricket, equipment is given

to children who attend coaching clinics.

At the level of appearances it would seem that these two associations, and to a lesser extent the other four, have devised useful programmes which will not only promote sport among blacks but also strike at the foundations of apartheid. However, appearances are deceptive and before making evaluative judgements it is necessary to analyse the philosophical assumptions and strategic logic of these programmes.

The philosophy of these programmes is that sport is both a racial and social equaliser. This is articulated through statements such as:

"By taking cricket to the children in the townships we can do a great deal towards making South Africa a better place in which to live";<sup>56</sup>

"We believe that in working close with the community we will be able to bring benefits to the children and and to the community as well as improve race relations on a broad level. The children who will be involved in these clinics will be playing against white schools as soon as they have learned the basics";<sup>57</sup>

"Sport is a great leveller and can transport the under privileged into new areas of opportunity";<sup>58</sup> and,

"Cricket is being used as a forceful medium for change. Cricket is no longer being viewed by blacks as a 'novelty' but as a way of attaining a better way of life."<sup>59</sup>

In racially divided societies the efficacy of sport as an agent breaking down racial barriers has a long tradition. It is often regarded as axiomatic that sport encourages positive attitudes among individuals towards other cultural and racial groups, thereby aiding the process of racial assimilation. For example, cricket was believed to help reduce cultural differences between Hindus, Muslims and Parsees in India during the nineteenth century and likewise in the United States boxing between



Jews and Anglo-Americans in the inter-World War years and more recently baseball, football and basketball between blacks and Anglo-Americans.

Sadly, there is no valid evidence that sport causes any verifiable socialisation effects. On the contrary, research in Australia, the United Kingdom and the United States has consistently demonstrated that the patterns of racial discrimination found throughout the larger society are reflected in, and perpetuated by, sport.<sup>60</sup> Sport in these societies is white controlled and blacks take the stage as players and performers, rarely as equal partners.<sup>61</sup>

Similarly, the assumption that sport is a vehicle of upward social mobility is fraught with unrealistic expectations. The statistical probability of becoming a professional sportsperson, let alone a successful professional, is at best, remote while the highly publicised earnings of professional sportspersons are illusionary.

As an example, let us look at professional golf. Prior to the 1987/88 season The Professional Golfers Association of South Africa accepted 143 entries to the tour school which provides aspirant professionals with the opportunity of earning a card, that is, the right to play in the qualifying rounds of the domestic Sunshine Circuit. The best 30 players from the school receive a card. Of the tour school graduates for the 1986/87 season one player finished thirtieth on the money list and nine finished in the top 65 - thus earning exemption from pre-qualifying for each tournament the following season. Only four others earned any money at all which enabled them to retain their cards. As professional golfer John Bland noted: "Generally the other players are very unsympathetic about your misfortunes - they're all concerned about their own games. It can be extremely demoralising."<sup>62</sup>

Less than 10 percent of Sunshine Circuit qualifiers are black. During the 1988 season black professionals boycotted the last five tournaments. Longstanding black professional Theo Manyama said the boycott was initiated because of the lack of facilities for black professionals. "We do tee off", he said, "but where do we practise before we tee off?"<sup>63</sup> Manyama related the story of a colleague who telephoned a golf club to request permission to practise. "He talks like a white guy and the receptionist said, 'no problem, you are welcome' . When we arrived there

she said, 'Oh I didn't know you were black.'"<sup>64</sup>

A second issue concerns the heavy sponsorship of these development programmes by business. For example, the Cricket Union is being aided by Bakers Biscuits (R250 000 for the 1987/88 season), Form-Scaff (R1 million over three years) and P G Wood (R150 000 over three years). The Cricket Union formed the South African Executive Cricket Club in December 1986. This club comprises 20 prominent businessmen each of whom has been given the task of raising R50 000 annually for the next ten years. Founding members include Peter Wrighton (Premier Group), Jimmy McKenzie (First National Bank), Zac De Beer (De Beers), Eric Ellerine (Ellerines), David English (Rank Xerox), Bertie Lubner (Plate Glass), Issy Kirsh (Radio 702), Meyer Khan (South African Breweries), and Warren Clewlow (Barlows). The Squash Rackets Association is being financed by Royal Beechnut and Slazenger.

Capital's attraction to sport in South Africa is motivated, not only by tax relief packages but also by political considerations. Sports sponsorships form a large part of corporate social responsibility programmes which are little more than strategies intended to counter international pressure exerted through economic sanctions and disinvestment. Transnational companies, such as Royal Beechnut, argue that they are at the fore in breaking down apartheid and as evidence cite their contributions to social responsibility programmes. It is a shallow argument in the face of business support for the proposed Labour Relations Amendment Bill and resistance to the Congress of South African Trade Union's living wage campaign. For example, in January and February 1988 both Ellerines and Royal Beechnut were involved in wage disputes.<sup>65</sup>

Sports sponsorships also inculcate bourgeois ideology by creating the impression that they transcend politics. Not surprisingly then, sponsorships have been directed at the least politicised sectors of the community. In the case of the Cricket Union and The Squash Rackets Association the 8 - 12 year age group was chosen under the guise of "developing sport at the grassroots level". The political stance of The Squash Rackets Association is exposed, however, by its "formula for international participation":

"One - under 12 is half price travel and accommo-

ation; two - best age for friendships; three - nobody takes advantage of privileges; four - international pressure not so great; five - Defence Force support protects us from the likes of the South African Council on Sport etc."<sup>66</sup>

The real sentiments of The Squash Rackets Association and its sponsors are clear - the oppressed can play the game but they mustn't use it for political leverage.

A final problem concerns measuring the success of development programmes. To date both the Cricket Union and The Squash Rackets Association have transported children to facilities in white areas. With the exception of two squash courts built in Soweto by The Squash Rackets Association, little effort has been made to develop facilities in black townships. Of course, given the expense this is not surprising. For example, it would cost over R52 million to build a cricket field and lay a wicket in each of the 700 black townships in South Africa. However, without these facilities, thousands of black children who have been introduced to sport, but who do not possess the necessary talent for competitive sport, will be denied these new found recreational pursuits. As pointed out earlier, it is incongruous to measure success in terms of Springbok colours. A more relevant measure of success would be registered participants per facility as a percentage of the total population.

Within the framework of autonomous sport, controlling bodies are becoming increasingly dependent upon capital to the detriment of the average sportsperson. Capital has its own logic; it is utilitarian, meritocratic, mobility orientated and stresses continual linear progress. While these values reflect those of professional sport they are not necessarily compatible with the interests of amateur or recreational sport. Against this background it is no coincidence that cricket and squash are played professionally in South Africa. It is also because of these values that the provision of sporting facilities in South Africa should be a central government responsibility.

2. Organisations which promote their sports on a multiracial basis.

Twenty associations were included in this category:

- \* ARCHERY - South African National Archery Association;
- \* ATHLETICS - South African Masters Athletics Association;
- \* BADMINTON - South African Badminton Union;
- \* BASKETBALL - Basketball Federation of South Africa;
- \* BOWLING - South African Bowling Association;
- \* BRIDGE - South African Bridge Federation;
- \* CHESS - The South African Chess Federation;
- \* CYCLING - South African Cycling Federation;
- \* EQUESTRIAN SPORTS - South African Polo Association;
- \* GOLF - South African Golf Union;
- \* GOLF - The South African Ladies' Golf Union;
- \* HOCKEY - South African Women's Hockey Association;
- \* LIFESAVING - South African Lifesaving;
- \* LIFESAVING - South African Surf Lifesaving;
- \* LIFESAVING - South African Water Safety;
- \* MOTOR SPORT - South African Motor Sport Control;
- \* NETBALL - All South African Netball Union;
- \* PIGEON RACING - South African Homing Union;

- \* SHEEPDOGGING - South African Sheepdog Association;
- \* SHOOTING - South African Pistol Association;
- \* SOFTBALL - South African Softball Association; and,
- \* SOFTBALL - South African Softball Union.

Among these organisations the promotion of sport among blacks is typically restricted to *ad hoc* coaching clinics and the occasional travel and affiliation subsidy. No special development programmes have been initiated and one is struck by their lack of interest in promoting sport. The utterances of these bodies suggest they are content to simply define themselves as multiracial.

As discussed, constitutional clauses are of little value in developing structures to encourage participation. They do, however, provide a useful instrument with which to apportion blame for non-participation to the non-participants, e.g., blacks. This attitude came through strongly in statements such as:

- \* "Where (blacks) are selected for teams they receive the same assistance as their European team mates - no difference is made":<sup>67</sup>
- \* "(There is) no direct (subsidisation or sponsorship). Reverse discrimination is not practised formally":<sup>68</sup> and,
- \* "We are totally multiracial, there is no subsidising. All teams are treated equally."<sup>69</sup>

In one case black non-participation was even attributed to foreign meddling: " ... we need the support of the outside world more than anything else to implement full integration in sport in our country. Instead all that is done is pointing fingers at us."<sup>70</sup>

For those sports with neither mass appeal nor the energy or vision to seek alliances with capital, few options are available to effectively promote sport. The most feasible is to use DNE grants-in-aid to employ full time staff but most sports do not qualify for adequate funds. The

majority of sports receive between R4 000 and R8 000 per annum.<sup>71</sup> DNE expenditure on grants-in-aid for the 1987/88 financial year was less than R5 million.<sup>72</sup> A complex formula, based on the average amounts granted over the previous three years, registered participants and publicity attracted by international tours, is used to determine these allocations. Thus, these sports associations are in a classic 'Catch-22' situation - they lack the following to attract financial backing and without finance have even less chance of building popular support. The essence of the problem, however, remains the peculiar strategy of autonomous sport which is a dictate of apartheid.

3. Organisations making no efforts to promote their sport among black sportspersons.

Twenty eight associations, 54 percent of replies, were classified in this category:

- \* AVIATION SPORTS - The Aero Club of South Africa (including the eight disciplines);
- \* BIATHLON - The South African Biathlon Association;
- \* BOXING - South African National Boxing Control Board;
- \* CROQUET - South African Croquet Association;
- \* SPORTS FOR THE DISABLED - South African Deaf Sport Federation;
- \* EQUESTRIAN SPORTS - The South African National Pony Club;
- \* FENCING - South African Amateur Fencing Association;
- \* FISHING - South African Artificial Lure Angling Association;
- \* FOOTBALL - The Football Association of South Africa;
- \* GOLF - Senior Golfers' Union of South Africa;
- \* GOLF - The Professional Golfers Association of South Africa;

- \* ICE SPORTS - South African Ice Skating Association;
- \* JUKSKEI - Suid Afrikaanse Jukskeirand;
- \* PENTATHLON - South African Modern Pentathlon Association;
- \* SAILING - Cruising Association of South Africa;
- \* SAILING - South African Yacht Racing Association;
- \* SHOOTING - South African Air Rifle Association;
- \* SHOOTING - The Clay Pigeon Shooting Association of South Africa;
- \* SURFBOARD RIDING - South African Surfriders Association; and,
- \* WEIGHT LIFTING - South African Amateur Weightlifting Union.

A common theme expressed by these organisations was that black participation in sport is constrained by external variables. These associations cited financial, social and biological factors to justify their failure to initiate development programmes.

Ironically, financial constraints were not mentioned by those sports which one would regard as expensive, such as hot air ballooning and cruising, but by the less expensive sports. For example, the Jukskeiraad pointed out "that skeys are very expensive at R86 per pair, which even frightens off the whites".<sup>73</sup> Compared with the cost of an average pair of running shoes a pair of skeys can hardly be construed as expensive. Other organisations which made reference to financial constraints were The South African Biathlon Association, the South African Modern Pentathlon Association and the South African Air Rifle Association. For the latter it was not only a case of acquiring "expensive rifles" but that "not all blacks can get licences".<sup>74</sup> This is probably more to the point.

Participation in sport correlates closely with exposure. Exposure to specific sports in turn is largely a function of class position and several associations made this very point with reference to partici-

pation in their sports on a world wide basis. For example: "the level of black participation in sport aviation anywhere in the world is in fact very low."<sup>75</sup> In South Africa, however, class is defined in terms of race. Thus claims such as "ice skating does not appear to have any appeal to blacks"<sup>76</sup> and "it would appear that black people are not readily attracted to the sport of sailing",<sup>77</sup> are superficial and grossly distort the realities of life under apartheid: realities such as inadequate health care services, bantu education, high unemployment and subsistence wages. These conditions are hardly conducive to participation in any form of sport.

More insidious were the insinuations that blacks don't participate either because they are incapable of mastering certain techniques or because of certain inhibitions. According to the South African Amateur Fencing Association, "fencing is not really a sport to which black athletes take easily".<sup>78</sup> This is a strange assertion because the technique of lunge and thrust is similar whether completed with a foil or an assegai. Similarly, "it is very difficult to master the pitching technique (of jukskei), thus a (black) person might try his hand at the game, cannot master the technique and loose heart".<sup>79</sup> Such statements suggest that the once popular myth of the black sportsman as all brawn still persists in South Africa. On the other hand, an Administrative Officer at the Natal Rugby Union said the Rugby Union had attributed the low level of Zulu participation in rugby to "the fact that Zulu's don't like contact sports".<sup>80</sup> The fact that Zulu's are proportionately overrepresented in the multiracial Natal Amateur Boxing Federation belies the Rugby Union's contention.<sup>81</sup> In the same vein, the Secretary of Kings Park Archery Club (Durban), said in an interview: "You won't find a black in archery anywhere in the world. They have deep rooted psychological fears of bows and arrows."<sup>82</sup> The Secretary is apparently unaware that bows and arrows are widely used by Africans to hunt cane rats in the sugarcane fields of Natal-KwaZulu.

These myths and misperceptions have been popularised to cover blatant racism. The South African Cricket Union is one body from which others could learn. In the words of President Joe Pamensky: "We found that people whom we thought had no aptitude for cricket in fact have the ability providing they are given the right kind of support and encouragement."<sup>83</sup>



To conclude this section it is worthwhile examining boxing, billiards and snooker and rugby; sports which did not respond to the survey.

\* AMATEUR BOXING

Amateur boxing remains the most overtly racist sport in South Africa. In a recent analysis of the sport Gavin Evans concluded: "Like rugby, amateur boxing is a perfect mirror for the Nationalist government's notion of sporting multiracialism."<sup>84</sup>

Four associations currently administer amateur boxing:

- \* South African Amateur Boxing Union (for Africans);
- \* South African Amateur Boxing Board (coloureds);
- \* South African Amateur Boxing Association (whites); and,
- \* South African Amateur Boxing Federation.

While the latter makes provision for multiracial inter-provincial and national championships, at club level racial segregation is strictly enforced. The effects of segregation at club level were recently highlighted by Solly Selebi, a leading trainer of amateurs: "The white gyms are far better equipped than those in the townships. In Soweto most of the clubs have only gloves and ropes no speed balls, no ring, no heavy bag, no headguards, so it makes it difficult to train properly."<sup>85</sup>

According to Mr Joshua, the Chairman of the Natal Amateur Boxing Federation (a provincial affiliate of the South African Amateur Boxing Federation), boxers compete in separate divisions because "sponsors don't want to promote mixed sport".<sup>86</sup> Three weeks after Joshua made this claim long time boxing sponsors the National Sorghum and Ijuba beer industries announced a R260 000 sponsorship for amateur boxing in South Africa - R202 000 of which was earmarked for the Federation.<sup>87</sup> The beer industries obviously had a sudden change of heart!

\* BILLIARDS AND SNOOKER

In a recent survey of black participation in sports organisations in Natal-Kwazulu (see below), Zulu and Booth found nil black participation in regional affiliates of the multiracial South African Billiard and Snooker Association. According to Bing Van Heerden, the President of the Northern Natal Billiard and Snooker Association: "Blacks play in a separate league because the liquor laws do not allow blacks and whites to drink together in private sporting clubs where billiards is mostly played".<sup>88</sup>

In terms of Section 72 (1) of the Liquor Act (No. 87 of 1977) it was "a special condition of a liquor licence that the licence holder may not provide liquor, refreshment or accommodation for Non-Whites in premises intended for use by Whites - and neither may a Non-White be allowed entry as a guest".<sup>89</sup> However, Section 72 (1) was amended in the Liquor Amendment Act (No. 117 of 1981). Thus, it is mendacious to use the liquor laws to justify racial segregation.

Commenting on Van Heerden's claims, a black billiard and snooker player accused the Northern Natal Billiard and Snooker Association of "hiding behind defunct legislation". He added:

"The last codes of sport to lose the colour bar will be billiards and darts. These sports are played within the boundaries of private clubs which hide behind right of admission reserved signs. Only when clubs are prohibited from using this will the colour bar go."<sup>90</sup>

\* RUGBY

Rugby administration, like that of boxing, provides for racial segregation, particularly at club level. Unlike boxing, however, segregation at club level is not rigidly enforced although it is certainly the norm. Affiliates of the South African Rugby Board include:

- \* South African Rugby Association (Africans): and,
- \* South African Rugby Federation (coloureds).

The continued existence of these bodies is invariably justified on the grounds of "developing the game among blacks to bring them up to white standard". In 1987 the Rugby Board introduced a new multiracial competition to bridge the standard between the sub-unions (i.e., the Rugby Federation and the Rugby Association) and Curry Cup provincial teams. Teams comprising eight black and seven white players are registered as feeder teams to play in select tournaments. For example, the rebel South Pacific rugby team which toured South Africa in 1987 played 11 matches against feeder teams. (The rebel team won all 11 matches scoring a total of 392 points to the feeder teams' 112.)

Research into black participation in sport in the United States suggests that the feeder team concept is no panacea. For example, while the proportion of blacks playing professional American football has increased dramatically since 1960, the proportion of blacks playing in crucial positions (e.g., kickers, centres and quarterbacks) has actually decreased.<sup>91</sup> Analysis of such statistics has led to the conclusion that "black players are systematically moved into non-leadership roles".<sup>92</sup> This reinforces an earlier point that blacks rarely take the field as equals, much less leaders, and casts serious doubts about the viability of forced integration in South Africa.

These few examples add further weight to the conclusion that sport in South Africa remains a minefield of overt and covert racism.

#### CONCLUSION

One view of sport in South Africa sees desegregation as being limited by ambiguous clauses in constitutions and token amendments to a smattering of discriminatory laws. An alternative view is to see these conditions as providing white sports administrators with space in which to create conditions for a genuine nonracial society. The results of this survey testify to the correctness of the former view. White sports administrators have not used the space available to lay the foundations of nonracialism and any notion of integrated sport is illusory. In a recent study of black participation in 144 sports in Natal-KwaZulu, for example, Zulu and Booth found that among government recognised sports associations black participation levels were proportional to the racial composition of the region in only four cases.<sup>93</sup> Moreover, they report

that there was no black representation in 40 sports and between less than one and eight percent participation in 78 sports.<sup>94</sup>

These findings should not, of course, come as a surprise. The HSRC, for example, concluded that "South African sports administrators are inflexible and tradition bound" and that "the general management of sports bodies leaves much to be desired".<sup>95</sup> Similarly, the Steering Committee investigating the rationalisation of South African sport said in its report that sports administrators "do not have the necessary management mobility to offer equal opportunities to members of the various population groups".<sup>96</sup>

Segregated sport remains the norm in South Africa, a condition perpetuated by myth and law. It is incongruous to expect that this carefully inculcated social practice will be reversed by the very people who accepted and enforced it in the first place.

APPENDIX 1: NATIONAL SPORTS CONTROLLING BODIES

The questionnaire (see Appendix 2) was sent to all bodies listed below.

Replies were received from those bodies indicated by an asterisk (\*).

ARCHERY	*South African National Archery Association
ATHLETICS	South African Amateur Athletic Union *South African Masters Athletics Association
AVIATION	*The Aero Club of South Africa
SPORTS	*Aerobatics Section *Gliding Section *Hang Gliding Section *Helicopter Club Section *Hot Air Ballooning Section *Microlight Section *Parachuting Section *Power Flying Section
BADMINTON	*South African Badminton Union
BASEBALL	South African Baseball Federation
BASKETBALL	*Basketball Federation of South Africa
BIATHLON	*The South African Biathlon Association
BILLIARDS	The South African Billiards and Snooker Association
BOARD- SAILING	Boardsailing Association of South Africa
BODY BUILDING	International Federation of Body Builders in South Africa

BOWLING	*South African Bowling Association South African Federation de Boules South African Women's Bowling Association Tenpin Bowling Association of South Africa
BOXING	South African National Amateur Boxing Federation *The South African National Boxing Control Board
BRIDGE	*South African Bridge Federation
CANOEING	South African Canoe Federation
CHESS	*The South African Chess Federation
CRICKET	*South African Cricket Union South African Women's Cricket Association
CROQUET	*South African Croquet Association
CYCLING	National BMX Association of South Africa *South African Cycling Federation
DARTS	South African Darts Association South African Ladies Darts Association
SPORTS FOR THE DISABLED	National Association for Blind Bowlers *South African Deaf Sport Federation South African Disabled Waterski Association South African Sports Association for Physically Disabled
EQUESTRIAN SPORTS	Endurance Ride Association of South Africa South African Amateur Saddle Horse Association South African Gymkhana Union South African National Equestrian Federation *South African Polo Association South African Polocrosse Association *The South African National Pony Club
FENCING	*South African Amateur Fencing Association

FISHING	South African Anglers Union *South African Artificial Lure Angling Association South African Casting Association South African Freshwater Angling Association South African Inland Casting Association South African Light Tackle Boat Angling Association South African Rock and Surf Angling Association The Game Fishing Association The South African Ski-Boat Light Tackle Game Fishing Association
FOOTBALL	National Professional Soccer League South African National Football Association South African Women's Football Association *The Football Association of South Africa
FRISBEE	The South African Frisbee Association
GOLF	*Senior Golfers' Union of South Africa *South African Golf Union *The Professional Golfers Association of South Africa *The South African Ladies' Golf Union
GYMNASTICS	*South African Amateur Gymnastic Union
HANDBALL	South African Team Handball Federation
HOCKEY	*South African Men's Hockey Association South African Roller Hockey Association *The South African Women's Hockey Association
ICE SPORTS	South African Curling Association South African Ice Hockey Association *South African Ice Skating Association
JUKSKEI	*Suid Afrikaanse Jukskeiraad

LIFESAVING	*South African Lifesaving *South African Surf Lifesaving *South African Water Safety
MACCABI	South African Maccabi Council
MARTIAL ARTS	Martial Arts Confederation of South Africa South African Judo Union South African Ju-Jitsu Federation
MOTOR SPORT	South African Formula 'K' Association *South African Motor Sport Control South African Power Boat Association
NETBALL	*All South African Netball Union South African Korfbal Board
PENTATHLON	*South African Modern Pentathlon Association
PIGEON RACING	*South African Homing Union
ROLLER SKATING	South African Roller Skating Association
ROWING	South African Amateur Rowing Union
RUGBY	South African Rugby Board
SAILING	*Cruising Association of South Africa *South African Yacht Racing Association
SHEEP- DOGGING	*South African Sheepdog Association



SHOOTING \*South African Air Rifle Association  
 South African Full Bore Rifle Association  
 South African National Rifle Association  
 \*South African Pistol Association  
 South African Practical Shooting Association  
 South African Shooting Union  
 South African Small Bore Rifle Association  
 \*The Clay Pigeon Shooting Association of South Africa

SOFTBALL \*South African Softball Association  
 \*South African Softball Union

SNOW South African Amateur Snow Skiing Association  
 SKIING

SQUASH South African Women's Squash Rackets Association  
 \*The Squash Rackets Association of Southern Africa

SURFBOARD \*South African Surfriders Association  
 RIDING

SWIMMING \*South African Amateur Swimming Union

TABLE South African Table Tennis Union  
 TENNIS

TENNIS The South African Tennis Union

TENNIS- The South African Tennisquoit Board  
 QUOITS

TRAMPOLINING South African Trampoline and Tumbling Association  
 AND TUMBLING

TRIATHLON South African Triathlon Federation

TUG-OF-WAR South African Tug-of-War Federation

UNDERWATER South African Underwater Union  
SPORTS

VOLLEYBALL \*South African Volleyball Union

WAVESKI South African Waveski Association  
RIDING

WATERSKIING South African Barefoot Waterski Association  
South African Tournament Waterski Association  
South African Waterski Association  
South African Waterski Racing Association

WEIGHT South African Amateur Power Lifting Union  
LIFTING \*South African Amateur Weight Lifting Union

WRESTLING South African National Amateur Wrestling Association  
South African National Wrestling Control Board  
South African Schwinger Federation

APPENDIX 2: QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Does your organisation's current constitution contain explicit clauses which determine membership on the grounds of race?

If the answer to this question is NO, please advise: on what date your organisation's constitution/rules were amended to allow for multiracial membership (i.e., in keeping with government initiatives to desegregate sport).

2. Is your organisation actively promoting sport among blacks by:

- a. conducting any form of coaching/proficiency clinics in black areas;
- b. developing facilities in black areas;
- c. subsidising affiliation fees for black teams/associations: or,
- d. sponsoring the travel costs of black sportspersons to facilities in white areas.

If the answer to any part of question 2 is YES then examples and details of activities undertaken during 1986/87 would be appreciated. Similarly, if your organisation has encouraged the racial integration of sport in any other way details would be helpful.

FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

1. Terminology: In keeping with current academic practice the terms African, coloured, Indian and white are used to denote the principal race groups of South Africa. Historically Africans were referred to as bantu. Bantu appears in this text in quotation marks. The term black is used here to collectively refer to Africans, coloureds and Indians. Non-white, meaning black, was commonly used in the past and is also found in quotation marks. Bantustan refers to African reserves and is used here in preference to the homeland. The term multiracial derives from the National Party's definition of South Africa as a land of many races/nations. Multiracial has negative connotations, that is it implies a rejection of South Africa as a unitary state. In contrast, the term non-racial has colour blind connotations.
2. Notably, Archer, R., and Bouillon, A., 1982, The South African Game: Sport and Racism, Zed Press, London.
3. For example, Republic of South Africa, 1962, House of Assembly Debates, cols. 838 - 839.
4. For example, RSA, 1963, House of Assembly Debates, col. 753. It must be noted, however, that the 'liberal' opposition held the same beliefs. In 1967 the leader of the United Party, Sir de Villiers Graaf, said: "The Prime Minister asked me if I believed that sport should be managed each group for itself internally. Yes, Sir, I do. I believe the social conventions of South Africa should be observed." RSA, 1967, House of Assembly Debates, cols. 3999 - 4000. For a critique of this myth see Archer and Bouillon, op. cit.
5. RSA, 1963, op. cit.
6. RSA, 1967, op. cit., col. 3960.
7. RSA, 1971, House of Assembly Debates, cols. 5050 - 5051.
8. RSA, 1967, op. cit., col. 3962.
9. Ibid., col. 3963. See also col. 3951.

10. Ibid., col. 3963.
11. Ibid., cols. 3964 - 3967.
12. Ibid., col. 3960.
13. Ibid., cols. 3960 - 3961.
14. For details of international action taken against South Africa up to 1980 see, Ramsamy, S., 1980, "Racial Discrimination in South African Sport", United Nations, Centre Against Apartheid, Notes and Documents, 8/80.
15. Quote by the Minister of Sport, Piet Koornhof May 1973. See, RSA, 1973, House of Assembly Debates, cols. 7559 - 7560.
16. Ibid., col., 7563.
17. Loc. cit.
18. See Ramsamy, op. cit.
19. RSA, 1977, House of Assembly Debates, col. 7974.
20. "Rugby shock: clubs say 'no'", Sunday Express, 22/1/78.
21. RSA, 1979, House of Assembly Debates, cols. 6899 - 6910.
22. Ibid., cols. 6900 - 6901.
23. Addressing the delegates, the Minister of National Education, Gerrit Viljoen, said that "it is misleading to suggest that the government is moving towards integrated school sport". Quoted in, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1984, Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1983, Johannesburg, p. 638.
24. "Check facts on SA sport says Viljoen", The Star, 12/3/84.
25. 1984 figures - Department of National Education, 1985, Annual

Report, RP 37-85, p. 51; 1987 figures - personal correspondence Mr Theron, Department of National Education, 21/1/88.

26. "South Africa needs rebel tours, says Pollock", The Age (Melbourne), 20/12/85.

27. Quoted in Ramsamy, op. cit., p. 37.

28. "Kim Hughes at the end of the tour", The Herald (Melbourne) 7/2/86.

29. "Tour to SA has set NZ rocking" The Star, 14/4/86.

30. RSA, 1979, op. cit., col. 6978. Of course, once the lack of facilities in black areas was acknowledged the autonomous sport policy served the government by relieving it of its responsibility of providing such facilities.

31. RSA, 1983, House of Assembly Debates, col. 6149.

32. Loc. cit.

33. "Govt introduces guide for sponsorship relief", Business Day, 3/11/86.

34. "Sport on way to R85 million cash bonanza", Business Day, 5/10/87.

35. "Tour rebate confirmed by Du Plessis", Eastern Province Herald, 21/1/86.

36. Human Sciences Research Council, 1982, Sport in the RSA: Main Committee Report, Pretoria.

37. South African Sports Federation, 1987, The Establishment of an Autonomous Representative Body and Provision Structure for Sport and Recreation: The Confederation of South African Sport, Main Report of the Steering Committee, Pretoria, pp. 23 - 27.

38. HSRC, op. cit., p. 87.

43.

39. Personal correspondence Mr Bush, 29/4/88.
40. Confidential source. Attempts to obtain this list through the official channels were frustrated.
41. The Aero Cub of South Africa, personal correspondence 23/9/87.
42. Constitution of the Natal Basketball Association, clauses 73 - 78.
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