ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY ON PERCEPTIONS OF GENDER INEQUALITY IN SOCCER: THE CASE OF SELECTED TSAKANE TOWNSHIP SCHOOLS

BY

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AT THE

NELSON MANDELA UNIVERSITY

2019

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DECLARATION

I, David Legodi Bogopa, 203083121, hereby declare that the treatise/dissertation/thesis for student qualification to be awarded is my own work and that it has not previously been submitted for assessment or completion of any postgraduate qualification to another university or for another qualification.

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DEDICATION

To Bogopa clan (Ba bina Tau) I would like to say

“Ke bana ba MmaTau wa megobe,
Tau ya lla dinare-malakapetla,
A dinare mabuse ntswe la feta dithabana,
Ntswe la bo mokgadi wa bo motswa kgole,

Ke ba bo diale a matobolo
Wa bo Ramokgadi wa Matlakana
Wa bo setimela nkgate o be o nkagotoge
O etse kgoshi ntsha Matloana Motseka
Ya bo rrago Mokgadi le Mmotwana

Ke banbo Kakabitsana w abo “Ka a! Malokwane
Ka “a” (Wa bo) Madie le Sekwatlane
Ba reng Kakabitsana a bakile diphalo
Le Mphadi a Matemotja

Ke ba bo phefo ya setsutla mathibe
Ye e tsutlilego magasana a ka moshate
E tsutlileng Maboke le Ragannye kua Dithakwaneng
Tsa Mmalehlashane go kgoshi ya mosadi………….”
ABSTRACT

This study sought to investigate the perception of gender inequality within sport policies in Gauteng province at the two schools, namely, Khombindlela Primary School and Reshogofaditswe Secondary School. The aim of this research was to determine the meaning of gender inequality from an anthropological perspective within the context of soccer in Gauteng Province at the two schools, namely, Khombindlela Primary School and Reshogofaditswe Secondary School and also to understand the issue of gender inequality in soccer in the post-apartheid period. The research objectives were as follows, firstly, to determine the impact of gender inequality in soccer at the two schools, namely, Khombindlela Primary School and Reshogofaditswe Secondary School. Secondly, the research sought to provide the recommendations for policy improvement within soccer in Gauteng Province and possibly at the nation level. Thirdly, the research also sought to add to the existing anthropological knowledge base on the impact of gender inequality on policy development relating to soccer. This research has followed the qualitative approach which includes, person to person interviews using an interview schedule. The researcher has also used observation as a research tool during the interviews. The data collection techniques employed in this study included interviews and observation (primary sources) and information gathered from relevant scholarly journals, books, newspapers, magazines, internet articles and sport policy documents (secondary sources). Ethics considerations were also covered from the proposal stage up to the final stage. The Marxist Feminist theoretical framework was used to understand issues of gender inequality in soccer particularly within the context of two Tsakane township schools, namely, Khombindlela Primary School and Reshogofaditswe Secondary School. Finally, a summary of each chapter was highlighted followed by the research findings and recommendations.
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<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ABSA</td>
<td>Amalgamated Banks of South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AC</td>
<td>African Charter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AU</td>
<td>African Charter</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAF</td>
<td>Confederation of African Football</td>
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<tr>
<td>COSATU</td>
<td>Congress of South African Trade Unions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIFA</td>
<td>Federation of International Football Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FNB</td>
<td>First National Bank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDBE</td>
<td>Gauteng Department of Basic Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDSCAR</td>
<td>Gauteng Department of Sport, Culture, Arts and Recreation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MYSA</td>
<td>Mathare Youth Sport Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEC</td>
<td>National Executive Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NMU</td>
<td>Nelson Mandela University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NRF</td>
<td>National Research Foundation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSL</td>
<td>National Soccer League</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PSL</td>
<td>Premier Soccer League (South Africa)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAFA</td>
<td>South African Football Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAFPU</td>
<td>South African Football Players Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UNESCO</td>
<td>United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organisation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WDNFA</td>
<td>Witwatersrand and District National Football Association</td>
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides the introduction and background to the study and further focuses on the perception of gender inequality and its impact on sports policies in South Africa, particularly with reference to soccer in selected township schools in Gauteng Province. An outline of the background to the study is followed by a description of the area where the study was conducted. The importance of the study is also briefly outlined, with a focus on how it could contribute towards existing knowledge in terms of the anthropology of sport. This is followed by an outline of the research questions, as well as of the aim and objectives of the study. The objectives section in turn is followed by a synopsis of the research methodology used for gathering the necessary data. This section includes descriptions of the following: the specific literature that was consulted in order to gather data; the data collection tools and techniques employed for data collection such as use of interview schedules. The composition of the population for the study has also been outlined. In addition, the procedures involving data collection and analysis have been explained. For this study, theory plays an important role as the study will investigate the connections between theory and practice. A Marxist Feminist Anthropological approach has been briefly outlined with a view to understanding some of the issues raised by Marxist Feminist theorists. The study seeks to contribute to the field by providing new knowledge and insights within the context of soccer at the two schools in Tsakane Township. The above will be addressed in Chapter Six under the research findings section. The above-mentioned
is followed by a brief literature study, integrated with critical analyses of relevant documentation. Literature from various sources has been consulted. For example, relevant issues involving sport from disciplines such as history, sociology, and anthropology have been briefly outlined.

The study investigates gender inequality in selected schools. The study uses sports, and soccer in particular, as a lens through which it conceptualises and discusses gender disparities in schools. It seeks to understand from a policy perspective whether there is adequate effort in addressing gender imbalances in school sports and whether there are challenges in the implementation of policies. In general, South African government has implemented progressive policies that promote the development of women and girls. The Constitution and Bill of Rights advocate for equal treatment and equal participation in all aspects of social life. In response, the sporting world has also implemented many policies aimed at enabling full involvement of women and girls in every aspect and in every level of sports participation. Such policies include the Brighton Declaration on Women and Sport (1994), the Windhoek Call for Action (1998), the 1999 World Summit on Physical Education’s Berlin Agenda, and the IOC’s World Conference (IOC, 2000). As Burnett (2001:74) reports, such policies have impacted on national policy and strategies to address gender inequalities in sport, recreation and physical culture.

Even with so many national policies, scholars who study sport are still concerned with the gap between macro level changes (through policies) and the micro level of individual experiences of players and officials, like those sampled for this study. As Ogunniyi (2015:26) argues, national policy has not translated into individual equality.
In some cases, national and local policies that direct and guide institutions towards gender equality, do not achieve their goals because they are badly implemented, unknown or altogether ignored. The questions raised in this study are evidence of this. Women who participate in soccer, have not enjoyed the same support as their male counterparts, in spite of macro level moves towards gender equality. Sport, soccer and rugby in particular, remain dominated by masculinity, muscul arity and male superiority.

The South African School’s Act (SASA) of 1996 gives schools, through the School Governing Bodies (SGB) the right to lead and make new policies that can affect change at a local level. As such the study also discusses the implementation of policies that are meant to reduce gender inequality at a school level.

The study also investigates other factors that may perpetuate the status quo of gender inequality. These factors include language that is used in commentary or discussions pertaining to women/girls in sports. Language framing impacts negatively and discourages girls from undertaking sporting activities assumed to be masculine. There is need therefore to cultivate in communities communication that does not marginalise, vilify or victimise girls/females and discourage them from fully exploring their abilities. Some recommendations are outlined at the end of the study so as to suggest plausible ways of making the school environment fertile and conducive for the growth and full development of children, especially the girl-child. It is the contention of this study that if equal opportunities are extended to girls, they have the potential to excel and achieve their goals. It is also noted that various interventions have been made by
various stakeholders although these still fall short in the development of sports and in addressing gender inequalities, not only in the selected schools, but in the country in general.

The study adopts an anthropological approach in interacting with respondents from whose lived experiences the findings were drawn. This dissertation is mainly about the inquiry into gender inequality in soccer at the Khombindlela Primary School, as well as at Reshogofaditswe Secondary School both of which are geographically located in Tsakane Township in the Ekurhuleni Municipality in Gauteng Province. Finally, as the study involves humans, and specifically learners, educators and sports administrators, the ethical considerations are presented. Issues involving sport have received relatively little attention among anthropologists in South Africa: therefore, this study seeks to contribute to knowledge related to the anthropology of sport in South Africa.

1.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The contention of this study is that, even though predominantly on paper only, the government has tried to put in place various sporting programmes such as soccer academies, netball development programmes and others to address challenges facing sport. On the other hand inadequate sporting infrastructure and gender bias is are still rampant with most available sporting facilities provided for boys only. This is a result of the gendered and racialized history of sport in South Africa, which is discussed in Chapter 3. Unfortunately a significant number of schools in Gauteng Province are still without adequate sporting facilities, especially for girls. Hence, the focus of this study
is on gender inequality in soccer at two schools, namely: Khombindlela Primary and Reshogofaditswe Secondary.

The above-mentioned problems were also found to be evident at the two schools in Tsakane Township which were built prior to the new South African democratic dispensation of 1994. The historical reality of apartheid policies is evident in terms of their basic infrastructure planning: for example, there is no available space to cater for sporting activities, hence these schools are struggling to cater for sports development programmes.

This study seeks to investigate some of the problems regarding issues of gender inequality in soccer at the afore-mentioned township schools. The study further aims to make some recommendations for how the provision of soccer in particular can be improved in South African schools.

1.3 AREA OF STUDY

The word Tsakane is a Xitsonga word meaning happiness. This township forms part of the former East Rand townships which are now known as Ekurhuleni Metropolitan. Ekurhuleni is geographically situated in the eastern part of the Gauteng Province. Tsakane Township is about 35 km away from Johannesburg and about 70 km away from the capital city, Pretoria, now known as Tshwane.

The two schools where this study has been conducted are Khombindlela Primary School which is situated in a section called Vergenoeg and Reshogafaditswe Senior
Secondary School which is located in extension 15. The learners from both schools come from diverse socio-economic backgrounds but the majority are from disadvantaged backgrounds and this is evident during the lunch hour where the majority of learners form long queues waiting to access food from their school's feeding programmes.

Due to population increase in Tsakane Township and the fact that children from the Xitsong cultural background were accommodated in other schools where Xitsonga was not offered as a school subject the Department of Basic Education in Gauteng decided to build Khombindlela Primary School in order to be able to offer Xitsonga to children from Tsonga cultural background as well as to address the overcrowding in other Tsakane Township primary schools. Hence the new primary school offers Xitsonga and isiZulu as the two main spoken language to grades 1 to 7. The school was selected for this study mainly because of its availability and its willingness to participate in this research when approached by the researcher.

Similarly, because of population growth in Tsakane Township, the Department of Basic Education in Gauteng decided to increase the number of high schools in Tsakane Township. During the building of the new school learners had to attend school in Brakpan town about 15 kms away from Tsakane for about two years. Upon the completion of the new school, staff and learners were brought back to Tsakane Township. The Reshogofaditswe High School started with offering only grade 8 and gradually introduced other grades up until grade 12. Today, the school offers grades 8 to 12 and some of the subjects offered include Mathematics, Economics, Tourism,
Geography, History and Home Economics. The languages offered are isiZulu, Sepedi and South Sesotho as first languages while English and Afrikaans are offered as second and third languages respectively.

Source: Google Maps

**Figure 1.1: Map of Gauteng Province**
Source: Google Maps

Figure 1.2: Map of Ekurhuleni Metro
1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Anthropological studies that are relevant to this research include Vidacs (1999) on issues related to ethnicity in soccer in Cameroon: also relevant is the study by Anderson et al (2004) conducted research in South Africa looking at how during the apartheid period sport served both to define and defy white supremacy. Here the focus was on three sporting activities, namely soccer, rugby and cricket. Further, Bogopa (2001) and (2008) conducted research looking at ethnicity, racism and gender issues
within the context of South African sport. However, for the current study the key focus is on soccer in Tsakane Township. Therefore the main issue in this study is gender inequality in soccer and other forms of exclusion which are policy issues when one deeply analyses them.

The intention of this study is to contribute towards policy improvement in soccer, particularly in the context of South African schools. The focus is on the two Tsakane Township schools in Gauteng where soccer is dominant. It is hoped that the findings of this study will help in addressing the above-mentioned issues and will also add value in addressing and improving sports policies at local, provincial and national levels. Furthermore, this study aims to make a contribution in the fields of anthropological and Social Science research, particularly with reference to South Africa.

1.5 THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study will be guided by the following research questions:

- Why is women’s soccer not given the same amount of support in terms of resources, in comparison to male counterparts, particularly at the township schools in Gauteng Province?
- Why are female learners and female educators excluded from participating in soccer at local level?
What are the school policies that attempt to drive development initiatives in sport, especially in soccer?

1.6 RESEARCH AIM

The aim of this research project is to investigate gender inequality from an anthropological perspective within the context of soccer in two Tsakane Township schools and also to understand the issues of gender inequality in soccer in the post-apartheid era within the context of the two selected schools.

1.7 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The research objectives of this study are as follows:

- To investigate the impact of gender inequality in soccer in two Tsakane Township schools in Gauteng Province.
- To identify some of the policy gaps pertaining to school soccer and provide recommendations for policy improvements for soccer in Gauteng Province and possibly within the nation as well.
- To determine/establish the impact of gender inequality on policy development relating to soccer in two schools in Tsakane Township.
1.8 BRIEF RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study has followed a qualitative approach which includes among others, individual interviews using an interview guide containing questions that were posed to the participants. In addition, observation was used as a research tool during the interviews. A qualitative approach is appropriate for this study because participants shared perspectives on issues of gender inequality within the context of soccer in South Africa, particularly with reference to the two Tsakane Township schools. The data collection techniques employed in this study included not only interviews and observations (primary sources) but also information from journals, books, newspapers, magazines, internet articles and policy documents (secondary sources). Ethics considerations were also covered from the proposal stage up to the final stage. The primary research techniques provided first-hand information rather than mere hearsay information. Further, this approach is in line with social science practice, particularly within anthropological studies where researchers spend time in the research area in order to gather first-hand information.

1.9 BRIEF THEORETIC FRAMEWORK

In brief, this study adopts a Marxist Feminist theoretical approach which challenges the stereotypical patriarchal notion of seeing males as dominant figures within societies. For example, within the context of soccer, there is a general view that only males are able to play soccer. Marxist Feminist theorists are challenging these
stereotypes: they argue that everyone regardless of gender can play soccer if given a fair opportunity.

This anthropological theoretical approach provides a framework for understanding issues involving inequalities in soccer within the context of the two schools in Tsakane Township in Gauteng Province. Feminist Marxist Feminist theorists emphasize issues of inequalities in a variety of different contexts. This theoretical approach has been used previously by other schools within South Africa and beyond. For example, scholars who have used a Marxist Feminist approach to understand the subordination of women include among others Ortner, (1974), Moore (1994), Leacock (1997), Blanchard and Cheska (1985), Birell (2000), Strathern (2001) Bodey (2007), and Moore (2009). (See chapter 3). Further, alternative theoretical approaches are briefly discussed in Chapter Three.

1.10 BRIEF LITERATURE REVIEW

Ortner (1974), argues that women in many patriarchal societies are being seen as inferior to men because they are linked to the domestic sphere, for example, looking after children, while men are associated with the more public spheres of social life. According to Ortner (1974) and Talbot (1981: 30) women have traditionally been excluded from club houses, golf courses and other sports venues because these sporting codes were previously considered to be exclusive male preserves.
Bodey (2007) too, points out that sport has traditionally been considered a male domain. Men owned, organized, coached, competed and watched sport in exclusion from women. Religious, medical and societal beliefs confined women to their homes as wives and mothers. Cultural expectations in many communities about appropriate feminine behaviour and gender-bound roles curtailed women’s active participation in most sports for a long period. MacClancy (1996: 75), for example, points out that women in Spain have been excluded in Spanish Bull Fighting arenas largely because of a belief that only men have the requisite qualities such as courage and bravery. Moreover there is a general belief among Spanish men that a woman’s physique is inappropriate for bull-fighting (MacClancy, 1996: 76).

Sharing the same sentiments as MacClancy (1996), Hargreaves (1997: 199) identifies gender inequalities in South Africa within the contexts of cricket, rugby and soccer. For example, with regard to cricket, an R8 million sponsorship deal was clinched to exclusively develop men’s cricket in Soweto.

Further, considerable funding has been reserved for men’s soccer and rugby development (Hargreaves, 1997: 200). Moreover, according to Hargreaves (1997: 201), the general absence of women in decision-making positions reflects the deep-seated power imbalances between men and women in South African sport. In this study, the issue of gender inequality is investigated within the context of South African school environments in the townships with the view of contributing towards sport policy reforms.
1.11 CHAPTER OUTLINE

This section presents a brief overview of all the chapters in this research project.

Chapter One

Chapter one provides a road map of this project and starts off by outlining the brief background of the study, followed by a brief description of the study. The three maps provided are of Gauteng, Ekurhuleni Municipality and Tsakane. These are followed by comments on the importance of the study, including a list of the research objectives and an outline of the research methodology. The above sections are followed by a brief outline of the Marxist - Feminist theoretical approach, as well as a brief outline of the literature review provided in a later chapter. Lastly, there are references to the glossary and bibliography.

Chapter Two

Chapter Two provides outlines of the research objectives, as well the research techniques that have been used to collect data. These research techniques will utilize interview schedules, as well as observations by the researcher. The chapter also
includes a discussion of the secondary sources ranging from books, journal articles etc. Finally there is a focus on adherence to the requisite research ethics.

Chapter Three

Chapter three provides the literature survey for this study. It covers the critical analysis of the various sources on gender relations in sport in general and in soccer in particular. Others issues relevant to this study are also outlined in this chapter, including for example, ethnicity, class and racism.

Chapter Four

This chapter provides a critical discussion on selected sport policies in South Africa including the South African Football Association Sport Policy; the Premier Soccer League policy in South Africa; the Gauteng Department of Sport, Culture, Arts and Recreation Policy - as well as the National Schools Sport Policy. Furthermore, these sports policy documents are discussed in relation to the UNESCO Charter, the South African Constitution and the African Charter.
Chapter Five

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework that has been used in order to understand the issue of gender relations in soccer within the context of Tsakane township schools. Further, the chapter explains the relevance of using the Marxist Feminist approach. The chapter also outlines some alternative theoretical approaches. The chapter also provides some critical analyses of the theoretical approaches mentioned.

Chapter Six

Chapter six covers the data presentation and analysis. Data collected from interviews and secondary sources are presented in terms of the themes that emerged from analyses of both these data sources. There is a focus on both emic and etic perspectives in order to reflect on the data obtained. The chapter also provides an outline of the research findings.

Chapter Seven

Chapter seven covers the conclusions arrived at and provides recommendations aimed at addressing and resolving the problems being investigated in this study.
Glossary

This section covered the key words that have been used in different chapters which might have different meanings in other contexts. All the key words have been defined in terms of their relevance and importance in this particular study.

Bibliography

The purpose of referencing is also to ensure that the researcher has not plagiarized but is presenting original work. Reference details are provided throughout the chapters in terms of relevant sources that have been consulted. The bibliography has been structured in such a manner that the sources are listed alphabetically in terms of surnames and sources. The sources also show the year of publication, together with the titles of books and journal articles.

1.12 CONCLUSION

The following areas have been briefly outlined in this chapter: firstly, the background to the study, including the geographical area focused on for data collection as well as three illustrative maps. The importance of the study has been briefly outlined including the research questions as well as the aims and the objectives of the study. The
research techniques used to gather data have been briefly outlined, as well as an introductory discussion of the theoretical approach used and references to the literature review. There is also a discussion of selected sport policies. Lastly, there are two important sections, namely the glossary that gives definitions of the key concepts used within the research project, as well the bibliography which provides a list of references for this study.
CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter covers various research methods that were utilized to gather data. The chapter offers details of research methodology used, data collection methods, sampling, ethical considerations and data analysis methods. In short, this study has followed a qualitative research approach. Data were collected through secondary sources and fieldwork. The secondary sources include relevant published journals and books, relevant newspaper articles and policy documents related to the topic. The secondary sources that were consulted were found to be relevant to the Social Sciences discipline in general and to Anthropology in particular. Detailed discussions of the abovementioned scholarly publications can be found in chapters three and four. The qualitative data collection included individual interviews using interview schedules containing relevant questions. The population size of the study is reflected in the number of people interviewed. This study involves human subjects, ethical standards and conduct were observed and followed at all times.

2.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

According to Berg (2001: 28), the research design refers to the plan of how research was or will be conducted. Furthermore, this design involves a sequencing of vital
research questions or ideas, e.g. what types of data will be collected and through what forms of data collection technologies? At which site or setting will the research be conducted? Which is the research target population (Berg 2001: 28). To be in line with what Berg (2001) has outlined above, this researcher has complied with the rules and regulations for conducting academic research, particularly within the social science disciplines. For example, initially the researcher submitted a proposal that served within the Faculty of Arts Post Graduate Committee. The ethics form was completed and it served in the Faculty of Arts Ethics Committee and the Central Ethics Committee of the university. Both the Faculty of Arts and the Central Ethics Committee have approved the proposal and granted the ethics clearance letter. Permission letters were written and submitted to various authorities and permission was granted. The entire compliance process will be outlined below in different sections.

2.3 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

As already noted in the introduction, in this study the researcher follows a qualitative approach as a research method. Qualitative research is known and appreciated for its non-statistical data-gathering tools and its focus on the views of the participants. Qualitative research always attempts to study human actions or behaviours from the “insider’s” perspective with a focus on the process rather than just the outcome (Babbie and Mouton 2001: 270). The main purpose for choosing this method was to get closer to participants and allow them to recount their experiences and define their world without judging them. This has afforded the researcher an opportunity to understand the importance of playing soccer for learners as well as listen to their ideas.
on how the state of women football can be improved in schools and particularly in Tsakane Township.

Moreover, teachers and sports officials provided in-depth and valuable information on relevant policies in place as well as on gender inequalities that exist in sport. Teachers and sports officials also took the opportunity to speak about their perceptions on degrees of adherence or lack of adherence to policies in place. The qualitative techniques also allowed the researcher to share in the understandings and perceptions of the adults’ views. The research instruments/techniques used for gathering data in qualitative research methodology were helpful in getting closer to participants, as well making them feel they were valuable partners during the research process.

### 2.4 RESEARCH INSTRUMENTS

In qualitative research methodology, data can be collected by using various research instruments such as document analysis, interviews, observations and so forth. The research instruments that were used in this particular study consisted of semi-structured interviews and observation schedules. Both these data collection instruments are frequently used in the discipline of anthropology which prioritizes how participants understand and define their world them.
2.4.1 Semi-Structured Interviews

Blanchard and Cheska (1985) note that one of the principal techniques for gathering information is by conducting interviews which tend to be more flexible than other research methods: for example, interviews can be used to extract simple factual information from people (Haralambos and Holborn, 1991: 736). It is a standard practice within anthropology to conduct person-to-person interviews. For this study, individual interviews were conducted using suitable interview guides for learners and educators, as well as for sports officials (See Addendum 1, 2 and 3).

In anthropological research, interviews can be structured, unstructured or semi-structured (Ntombana, 2011: 49). For this study, semi-structured interviews were chosen. This type of interview has much of the free-wheeling quality of the unstructured interviews and requires all the same skills (Bernard 1998: 205). Semi-structured interviews allow a discussion to flow, unlike the structured interviews which require rigid responses. The main difference is that semi-structured interviews are based on the use of an interview guide which contains a list of written questions and topics to be covered in a particular order during the interview. According to Bernard (1998: 2015), this guide demonstrates that one is fully in control of what he/she wants from the interviews, while at the same time it also leaves room for both the researcher and participants to follow leads. This suggests that semi-structured interviews are meant to give proper direction during the interviews, while at the same time creating a conducive environment for participants to share their views without feeling intimidated.
The semi-structured interview gives the participants freedom of expression in attempting to explain issues relevant to the interview questions, as well as allowing the researcher to clarify responses by asking follow-up questions (Haralambos and Holbron 1991: 736). Hence appropriate interview guide versions were prepared containing the questions that were posed to different participants during the interviews. Learners and educators were interviewed at the school premises while the sports administrators were interviewed at their individual offices. These officials were interviewed because they are knowledgeable about gender-related issues in sport.

2.4.2 Observations

Observation is one of the oldest methods of data collection used by pioneer anthropologists. For example, Malinowski (1961: 7 – 8) argued that he felt that he was in touch with the informants when he was conducting his research in the Omarakana Trobriand Islands using a participant observation research technique.

According to Pelto (1970: 91) observation is central to effective field work. Concurring with the above, Gitywa (1971: 21) points out that the most reliable type of recording an anthropologist can apply is, of course, his/her observation of the event.

Van Heerden (1999: 68) also used observation and interviews successfully during her research when she was investigating the realities of de-segregated schooling in order
to identify the factors that influence interaction and acceptance between socio-culturally and racially different learners in school environments in South Africa.

In anthropology, observation can be via participant or direct observation. Participant observation is more popular in cultural anthropology and was commonly used by early anthropologists who observed cultures other than their own. According to Grix (2004: 129), the slight difference between participant observation and direct observation is that although anthropologists are involved in studying the norms and values of the people they are studying, they will use some form of direct observation but not as intensely as when using participant observation. Therefore, observation in conjunction with interviews was used in this research. For this study direct observation was found to be more useful: for example, while conducting interviews with learners and teachers in the schools, the researcher could also observe the following: sports grounds, sports activities and the roles played by learners and educators.

During the research process, researchers can choose to either do ‘overt observation’ or ‘covert observation’. Overt observation is a process where a researcher declares his/her true identity and purpose, while covert observation is when the researcher does not reveal his/her identity and purpose (Sands, 2002: 112). Hence to be in compliance with the required code of conduct in terms of research ethics, the researcher opted for ‘overt observation’ and declared his true identity and the aims and objectives of this study. While conducting interviews, the researcher observed many issues related to the aims and objectives of the study. For example, the researcher observed how male
learners dominated the utilization of the space designated for soccer, thereby denying girls the opportunity to learn the game.

2.4.3 Recording Instruments

In the research process, data can be obtained mainly in three ways, by audio recording, note recording and video recording. In this study, both audio and note recordings were utilized. Note-taking gives the researcher an opportunity to make sense of what is being said and can also increase the level of concentration. Audio recording on the other hand, obviates the necessity of writing during the interview. Both forms of recording were used as they complement each other, at times, only note-taking was used, while at other times, only audio recording was used. Most learners enjoyed audio recording and some said that they felt that their views were being taken seriously when recorded.

2.5 SAMPLE DESCRIPTION AND SIZE

In this section, it is important to mention that there are various types of sampling, namely: non-random sampling (i.e. accidental and quota samplings), simple random sampling, systematic random sampling, stratified random sampling, purpose sampling and many others. According to Gardner (1978: 92), the accidental sampling is made up of people who happen to be available or easily reached at a given area. Quota
sampling makes a deliberate attempt to include a cross-section of the community under study, as in the sampling for this study where the population has been tabulated in terms of social class, sex and age group.

According to Mayson (2002), sample units are chosen because they have particular features or characteristics which will enable detailed exploration and understanding of the issues which the researcher wishes to investigate.

2.5.1 Purpose Sampling

In this study, purpose sampling was used on all counts. Ritchie and Lewis (2009) point out that this technique is suitable for this type of study because members of a sample are chosen with a “purpose” to represent a location or type in relation to key criteria. Although purposive selection involves quite deliberate choices, this should not suggest any bias in the nature of the choices made. It is a matter of identifying subjects that are relevant to the research question.

The chosen sample included learners, educators and sports officials from both genders in the two Tsakane Township schools and the Department of Sport in Springs. As already mentioned, the study was conducted in two schools located in Tsakane Township: one is a primary school while the other is a high school. The primary school learners were in grade 6 and 7 while the participants from the high school were grade
11 and 12 learners. Educators who participated in the study were chosen in consultation with the principals or deputy principals. Such educators were those involved in sport organization, coaching etc. Educators who were involved in sport further assisted the researcher by directing him to the appropriate educators who provided the valuable information needed for this study. The criteria for selection of learners were based on their involvement (the learners that participate in sport) and non-involvement (the learners that are not taking part) in sport, in order to get the perspectives of both groups. However, the majority of the participants (both learners and educators) were involved in sport at the school level. Only two schools in the same province were chosen in order to make the study manageable in terms of data collection and analysis from interviews and a literature review.

2.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

A total number of 105 interviews were conducted which included 65 learners, 28 educators and 12 sports officials. The breakdown is as follows: 35 learners from Khombindlela Primary School in Tsakane Township from grades 6 and 7 (both female and male learners); 30 grade 11 and 12 learners (both females and males) from Reshogofaditswe Senior Secondary School in Tsakane Township in 14 educators from the primary school in Tsakane Township and 14 educators from the secondary school in Tsakane Township. Lastly, there were 12 sports administrators from the Department of Sport.
According to Babbie and Mouton (2001: 470) everyone involved in scientific research needs to be aware of the general agreement as to what is proper and improper behaviour on the part of researchers. The importance of ethical conduct can never be underestimated, if one is to ensure that the rights and the welfare of participants are respected and that the vulnerable are not taken advantage of. This study involves human participants: therefore, it was mandatory to follow ethical processes throughout the duration of this study. And the fact that children under 18 were participants makes ethical considerations even more critical. Hence extra care and consideration had to be exercised so as not to infringe on the rights of the respondents. Therefore, consent was sought from both the school authorities and the parents of these learners.

2.6.1 Informed Consent, Confidentiality and Rights of Participants

To be in line with the strictures outlined by Ember et al (2002), a Child Assent Form for learners (See Addendum 4) and a Consent Form for educators and sports officials (See Addendum 5) were drawn up. The principals of the two schools signed and stamped the Assent Form as did the guardians and the learners. The educators and sports officials in turn signed the consent forms. The purpose of the above-mentioned forms was to ensure that the researcher would not use the collected information irresponsibly by divulging informants’ names and to protect himself against any legal action that might be taken by the participants after the study. Another reason was to protect the informants from the researcher divulging any sensitive information or betraying confidentiality.
Concurring with Irvine (1998) and Ember et al (2002), Muzvidziwa (2007: 1) believes that social science research is a moral enterprise that requires commitment, trust and honesty on the part of researchers. He also alludes to the fact that ethics lies at the heart of social science research. In addition, as pointed out by McNamee, Olivier and Wainwright (2007: 43), all researchers, as responsible human agents, need to personally and carefully consider ethical issues involved in their projects and also make considered judgments regarding ethical theories presented.

2.6.2 Permissions

It is important in scholarly research to observe research protocol by complying with research ethics. For example, Irvine (1998: 167) emphasizes that the researcher must ensure that permission is obtained before gathering information. Every researcher must document that the “human subjects” participated voluntarily and with full knowledge of the possible risks and benefits of the research. The “human subjects” regulation protects innocent people from unprincipled researchers.

In view of the above, the researcher also complied fully by obtaining permission prior to conducting interviews. For example, the Nelson Mandela University’s (NMU) research rules and procedures require post-graduate students, particularly those students who are conducting empirical research, to complete the ethics form as an indicator of whether the research will be conducted ethically. This researcher has complied with NMU rules and regulations by requesting permission from the Gauteng
Department of Basic Education as well as the Gauteng Department of Sport, Culture, Arts and Recreation. Permission was granted by both above departments.

Furthermore, permission was also obtained from each school principal and sports director involved. The principals in all the schools that participated in interviews requested the educators and learners to take part in this research, while the sports directors also requested their sports officials to participate. The names of all participants remain anonymous in order to protect their identity as per research ethics requirements. Similarly, the names of the educators and learners, including sport officers, will not be used in this research project for the same reasons as above.

The above-mentioned permission letters from the Department of Basic Education and the Department of Sport, Culture, Arts and Recreation, as well as permission letters from the school headmasters, were submitted as attachments to the ethics form to NMU. Ethics forms (Human) were submitted to the Ethics Committee for ethics clearance. The application was successful and permission granted to conduct research at schools in Tsakane, namely at Khombindlela Primary School as well as Reshogofaditswe Senior Secondary School.

Ember, Ember and Peregrine (2002: 493 – 494) highlight the importance of ethical issues within the field of anthropology. According to Ember et al (2002), for example, an anthropologist is expected to be responsible to those who are being studied to ensure that their welfare and dignity are protected. In May 1946, the Society for
Applied Anthropology formed a committee to design a specific code of ethics for professional applied anthropologists: the code was finally adopted in 1948. In 1983, this code of ethics was further revised.

2.6.3 Respect and Dignity

The participants were treated with respect at all times and under all circumstances. The confidentiality clause was observed to protect the interests of the research participants. Whatever method of data collection was used, it was treated with utmost confidentiality and the information gathered will not be published without the consent of the participants.

2.6.4 Transparency and Honesty

Transparency and honesty are fundamental to this research process. The assent consent forms were given to research participants. These forms act as an important binding document to ensure that they have access to whatever information will be gathered in the research process. Honesty was upheld by ensuring provision of accurate information to the research participants.
2.6.5 Accountability and Responsibility

The importance of accountability cannot be overstated in this research. There was accountability to the research participants to ensure that the research process was authentic. The research was conducted in a manner that ensured that the researcher took full responsibility for the activities in which the research participants were involved.

2.6.6 Limitations of the Study

The researcher experienced various challenges during interviews: for example, there was a problem with lack of readiness even though prior arrangements had been made with learners, educators and sports officials well in advance. In most cases the educators had forgotten to arrange with the learners and make the transport drivers aware of the interview appointments. The researcher had to postpone a large number of interviews to accommodate the double bookings of educators who had agreed on interview times without checking their diaries.

Another challenge was the lack of punctuality of the educators at the schools: in most cases, interviews started 15 to 20 minutes late which forced the researcher to postpone some of the interviews for the next day. It was also difficult to secure appointments with the sports officials due to their busy daily activities. In addition some
of the sports administrators failed to return telephone calls, as well as emails to confirm the interview times. At times, emergency meetings on the part of the educators and sports administrators forced the researcher to postpone the interviews for the next day or two days later to accommodate their unavailability for appointments that had been made. The above delayed the completion of the interviews: however, the researcher was able to re-schedule to cover for the lost time.

2.7 DATA PRESENTATION

In presenting data, both the emic and the etic perspectives were utilized. The emic perspective was used to show the insider perspective of the participants, including learners and educators at both primary and secondary schools, as well as sports officials from the Department of Sport. Their perceptions on gender inequality are presented in the data presentation chapter. The etic perspective refers to the researcher's perspective based on his observations and interpretations.

Pelto and Pelto (1978: 54) argue that the terms 'emic' and 'etic' seem to have been coined by Kenneth Pike, who explains that the emic perspective:

“...[I]s an attempt to discover and to describe the pattern of that particular language or culture in reference to the way in which the various elements of that culture are related to each other in the functioning of the particular pattern, rather than an attempt to describe them in reference to a generalized classification derived in advance of the study of that culture”
On the other hand an etic perspective

“...might be called “external” or “alien”, since for etic purposes the analyst stands far enough away” from or “outside” of a particular culture to see its separate events, primarily in relation to their similarities and their differences, as compared to events in other cultures”

For the emic perspective the primary data collection technique is consisted of an in-depth interview carried out in the native language: here the purpose is to gain an understanding of the respondent’s ‘native’ worldview through identifying categories of meanings (Pelto and Pelto, 1978). The “idea systems” of the people under study are regarded as the most significant explanations of behaviour, and are “identified through logical analysis, especially by a quasi-linguistic analysis of contrast sets” (Pelto and Pelto, 1978: 62).

An attempt at cross-cultural generalization is only made once a higher level of abstraction is formed through the conversion of culturally specific meanings and patterns into categories that may be cross-culturally relevant (Pelto and Pelto, 1978). The research process follows an essentially inductive methodological strategy, aiming to allow the understanding of the culturally specific meanings to guide the research process (Pelto and Pelto, 1978).
The emic perspective in anthropology is said to owe its development to the Boasian historical school where there was an emphasis on collecting information that was obtained directly from the informants in verbatim form in order to capture the native meaning of the information (Pelto and Pelto, 1978).

The emic perspective has been identified as advantageous to advancing an understanding of folk cultural systems through accurate descriptions, although it is unsuited for the analysis of all human behaviour (Pelto and Pelto, 1978).

For an etic perspective the primary data collection technique is the observation of behaviour where the purpose is to discover patterns of behaviour that have been defined by the observer (Pelto and Pelto, 1978). Thus the Etic perspective views “impersonal, non-ideational factors, especially material conditions as significant movers of human action” (Pelto and Pelto, 1978: 62).

The identification of patterns and systems is carried out through a quantitative analysis of the actions and events that have been observed and cross-cultural generalization is then made possible by directly applying the same research design to a number of different cultures (Pelto and Pelto, 1978). The research process follows a methodological strategy that may be purely inductive or incorporate various blends of inductive and deductive strategies (Pelto and Pelto, 1978).
The etic perspective is closely related to the work of Harris (1988), one of the most outspoken critics of the emic perspective (Pelto and Pelto, 1978). Harris’ perspective for studying human behaviour is based upon the “classification of body motions, in terms of the effects these motions have on the environment” (Pelto and Pelto, 1978: 60). His analysis of behaviour focuses on the “actone”, i.e. the minimal unit of analysis which is a unit of behaviour which consists of “body motion and environmental effect” which is not usually observed by one’s auditory and visual senses (Pelto and Pelto, 1978: 60).

According to Mouton (2001: 108) all research processes, whether quantitative or qualitative, culminate in the analysis and the interpretation of some sets of data. Analysis of data involves “breaking up” the data into manageable themes, patterns, trends and relationships. Mouton (2001: 109) further emphasizes that the aim of analyzing data is to understand the various constitutive elements of one’s data through an inspection of the relationships between concepts, constructs or variables. However, Leedy and Ormrod (2001: 160) argue that there is no “correct” or “right” way of analyzing the data in a qualitative study. Data analysis for a qualitative study is a complex and time-consuming process: for example, the researcher will go through a great deal of information and some information will be useful while some will not be useful (Leedy and Ormrod 2001:161).

There are various strategies which are more often than not used for qualitative research, namely a constant comparative analysis, a thematic analysis and others (Abdullah Al Mukahid Khan, 2008). Qualitative researchers often rely on a general
approach known as a “constant comparative analysis”. This strategy involves taking one piece of data (one interview, one statement, one theme) comparing it with all others that may be similar or different in order to develop conceptualizations of the possible relations between various pieces of data. Abdullah Al Mukahid Khan (2008) refers to “thematic analysis”. This strategy is used when data are analyzed by themes which emerged from the data collected, for example, from empirical data from interviews, as well as the analysis of secondary data from texts, journals, policy documents, newspaper articles and reports.

In this study, both the constant comparative analysis and the thematic analysis strategies are used in order to present the data gathered from the interviews, as also for the secondary data. These data analysis strategies are relevant in this study since the researcher has looked at three issues, namely perspectives on gender within the context of soccer in the two Tsakane Township schools. In doing so, the data has been organized in the following manner: firstly, the meaning of gender is explored from an anthropological perspective within the context of soccer in two Tsakane Township schools in Gauteng Province. Secondly, data on the issue of gender in soccer in the post-apartheid period is presented within the context of two Tsakane Township schools in Gauteng Province in South Africa. Thirdly, there is a presentation of data on the impact of gender on perceptions of sport development (soccer) among Black African youth in selected areas in Gauteng Province.
2.8 Conclusion

In this chapter the following have been covered: firstly, an outline of the research techniques used to gather data: these include, among others, individual interviews using an interview schedule. Secondly, there is an outline of the secondary sources utilized to comply with the standard of research within the social sciences in general and within the field of anthropology in particular. Thirdly, an outline on the population size of the study has also been outlined to indicate the number of people interviewed. Fourthly, there a data analysis approach has been outlined. Lastly, there is a discussion of the research ethics approaches adhered to.
CHAPTER THREE

ANTHROPOLOGY OF SPORT AND THE ORIGINS OF

SOCCER IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter includes definitions of the anthropology of sport, followed by a description of soccer. Other key concepts have also been defined, namely sports development, gender, class, ethnicity and race. Furthermore, there is a section on some of the earlier contributions by anthropological scholars viewing sport as within different cultural contexts.

This is followed by an anthropological contribution by Bogopa (2012) who sees indigenous sport in South Africa as facing extinction. The concluding section of the chapter provides a critical analysis of challenges facing sport, with a focus particularly on the role of soccer in various countries.

3.2 ANTHROPOLOGY OF SPORT

Blanchard and Cheska (1985: 26) examine the anthropology of sport using a distinctive social scientific approach and understanding of sport: they focus resulting
insights gained apropos to real problems in physical education and recreation programs. The concept ‘anthropology of sport’ refers to ethnographic accounts focusing on issues of sport using anthropological approaches. The anthropologists who have previously conducted research on sport and whose contributions fall within the anthropology of sport are, for example, Bogopa (2001: 2008); Pelak (2005); Anderson et al (2004). These anthropologists have conducted research on different sporting codes.

3.3 DEFINITIONS OF SPORT

Over the years, scholars who have been involved in conducting research on various sporting codes around the globe have attempted to define the concept sport. Blanchard (1974: 10), for example, defines sport as an institution which includes various types of activities and some form of competition. He points out that sport can also have some forms of social conflict due to its competitive nature. On the other hand, Sansone (1988: 76) defines sport as a ritual sacrifice of human energy. Blanchard (1995: 51), defines sport in terms of rituals. He argues that regardless of whether or not one views sport as ritual, it is obvious that it involves facets of cultural behaviour. The above-mentioned definitions of the concept sport are sufficient for the purpose of this research. In this study, sport is viewed in terms of sports persons associated with competition, as well as the way gender inequality has a negative impact on sport development, particularly in the case of soccer.
3.4 SPORT AS FACET OF CULTURE

White (1965: 633 – 634), made an anthropological contribution on sport issues, focusing on American baseball which he saw as an important expression of the American cultural system. Geertz (1972: 432) also made a contribution in his article “Deep Play” detailing some of his classical work on Balinese cock-fights. He uses the cock-fight among the Balinese as a means of illustrating the problems of interpretation encountered by the anthropologist in attempting to analyse any dimension of the cultural experience.

Leach (1976) also conducted research among the Trobriand Islanders of New Guinea, focusing on cricket, a game or sport that they learned from the British in the early part of the nineteenth century. Leach (1976) argued that cricket had become part of their lives. Geertz (1980) on the other hand conducted research on indigenous games such as polo while Azoy (1982) conducted research among the Afghans and discovered buzkashi, an indigenous game traditionally used to commemorate the past equestrian culture of Afghanistan. The anthropology of sport investigations conducted by Leach (1976), Geertz (1980) and Azoy (1982) all illustrate the importance of sport in promoting culture.

Further, Blanchard (1974) conducted research into the Mississippi Choctaws’ passion for sport. His focus was on the relationship between their traditional stickball and contemporary baseball, softball and basketball. Blanchard (1974) was interested
in the nature of sport competition among the Choctaws. He discovered that the Choctaws were physically less aggressive in their sporting activities compared to the other cultural groups in Mississippi. In the light of the above, Blanchard and Cheska (1985: 57 – 58) argued that in societies with a high frequency of warfare activities, there was a greater likelihood of extensive combative sports behaviour.

Reynolds (1989: 66 – 67) focuses on the importance of the indigenous games played by the children in Crossroads, Cape Town. For example, he reports on upucha, one of the indigenous games played there in various forms. He describes; variations in allocating a rest square and the manner in which stones are thrown into the squares. There is also an indigenous game known as stenana, which is usually played by girls: it involves the use of bricks and a ball. Six of the bricks are piled in the middle of an open space and two children stand close to the pile while two other children stand further out and on either side of them. Moreover Reynolds (1989) has made an important contribution to the anthropology of sport by highlighting gender issues within the context of indigenous games among the children of Crossroads in Cape Town.

Parkes (1996: 44) describes an indigenous game known as polo which originated from the prehistoric equestrian sports of mounted Turkish and Iranian nomads of Central Asia. Polo was popular among the hierarchy: hence it was called the game of Kings and Officers.

According to Bogopa (2012) the majority of indigenous games traditionally played in
most communities in Southern Africa are in danger of disappearing as many are no longer played.

All the above scholars purely looked at sport as an aspect of culture within different contexts. The section below will reflect on how different scholars looked at some of the problems related to sport in general and to soccer in particular. To a large extent the focus ill be on gender-related issues in sport and especially soccer.

3.5 SPORT DEVELOPMENT

There is no fixed definition of the term "sport development" and different perspectives about what it constitutes. Hargreaves (1997: 198) argues that sport development seems straightforward, but that it hides various problems, including, for example, the difficulty the majority of Black people have in gaining access to sports facilities which are in most cases situated in previously exclusive white areas. Another problem highlighted by Hargreaves (1997: 199) is that sports development in South Africa prioritizes sports for boys and men. For example, she refers to the 8 million Rand sponsorship to develop cricket in Soweto and also considerable funds spent on the development of soccer and rugby for males. Hargreaves (1997) further argues that even although girls and women play these sports, sport development in South Africa is nevertheless remains largely gender-biased.
Swinne and Vandemoorte (2008: 1) also claim that sports development should be analyzed from different angles. They define sport development as the creation of both a sports infrastructure and provision of sports competition in developing nations.

On the other hand, central to the concept sport development are the provision and enhancement of opportunities to participate in sport (Guildford Borough Council, 2007). According to this view it is about opening up opportunities for everybody, including the disadvantaged, the able, the young, the beginner, the potential stars, coaches, officials and administrators and aspirant female players. The belief is that all those who take part in sport should be encouraged and have the opportunity to reach their maximum potential with the only constraints being their degree of interest and level of ability.

Sport development is a complex issue because it includes a combination of factors such as injection of financial resources to enable sportspersons to develop their sports abilities. In addition, sport development needs to include infrastructure development where facilities must be made available in residential areas and also in the school environments. Sport development should also include development in all spheres of life, without excluding the youth, women and any other disadvantaged groups in societies.

Sport development should be seen as a complex whole, which includes attention paid
to issues involving socio-economic resources, politics, gender relations, education and many other factors that could contribute towards the development of individuals and groups within the sports context.

3.6 THE ORIGINS OF SOCCER IN SOUTH AFRICA

The origin of soccer in the world can be traced back to 500 BC in countries such as Greece, Egypt and China. Soccer evolved from 1846 and the rules that regulate the game were formalized in England. The expansion of soccer was accelerated by the increasing influence of England’s industrial revolution.

According to Magubane (1963), soccer in South Africa was introduced to Black Africans by the missionaries who recognized the need for recreational activities. In 1917, the first African soccer structure was stabled in the Johannesburg area with the formation of the District Native Football Association (WDNFA) comprising nine soccer teams. The above soccer structure organized soccer competitions which were controlled by the white mine compound managers (Alegi, 2004).

Martinez-Mullen (2010: 16) also claims that soccer in South Africa was introduced by the British colonizers and missionaries in the late nineteenth century. Since then soccer has impacted on the socio-cultural milieu of South Africa, and particularly
among the black population. In 1916, a soccer league known as the Durban and District African Football Association (DDAFA) was formed. The above, preceded WDNFA which was formed in 1917.

### 3.7 DESCRIPTION OF SOCCER

Like any other sporting code, there are rules and regulations that govern soccer throughout the world. Below is a brief description pertaining to how soccer is played and managed.

It is a sporting code played by two teams consisting of 11 players from each side. The total number of the players that are selected for an official soccer match must be 18: however, only 11 players per team are supposed to play for 90 minutes which is divided into two halves of 45 minutes each. At the end of the first 45 minutes, both teams go for a break of 10 – 15 minutes. In terms of the above, Murray (2010: 53) refers to the duration of the soccer being 90 minutes and the half-time interval is of 15 minutes in order to afford the television channels enough time to show advertisements in the case of a televised soccer match. The above is Law 7 of the FIFA soccer rules (Murray, 2010: 53).

Alternatively, when the soccer match is played under hot weather conditions the
soccer officials can, using their own discretions, divide the first half of 45 minutes into two halves, for example, 23 minutes and then a three minute water break. After the this opportunity for players to drink water the match will resume for another 22 minutes to make it a full first half of 45 minutes. The same water break can be allowed by the soccer officials in the second half if needed. Players are not permitted to leave the field during the water breaks: however, they are allowed to go to their changing rooms during the main interval of 15 minutes.

In case of a knock-out competition, the soccer match duration is 90 minutes and if there is no winner an extra time of 30 minutes is provided. If after 120 minutes there is still no winner then both teams are given five penalty kicks each and the one which scores the most goals is the winner. If there is no winner after taking five penalty kicks then more penalty kicks (sudden-death) can be awarded by the match official until there finally is a winner.

The remaining seven players sit on the bench with the technical coaching staff consisting of a head-coach, assistant-coach, goal-keeper coach, team-doctor and a physiotherapist. Out of the seven players sitting on bench (substitutes), only three of these players are legible to play in case one of the players in the field of play gets injured or performs poorly. In friendly games a coach can substitute any number of players.
The 11 soccer players in the field of play are required to play different roles. For example, there is a goal-keeper who stands between the goal-posts to try to prevent the ball from crossing the goal line. The goal-keeper can use his hands to catch, hold, punch or throw the ball and feet to kick the ball within the 18 meters area.

The other 10 players in the field of play consist of four defenders, namely, two defenders who play in on the left and the right of the field while the other two defenders provide the central defence. All the four defenders must ensure that the opposition does not pass them to score a goal or goals. They all use their feet to defend and if they handle the ball with their hands this is regarded as a foul if they are outside the 18 meters area but if they handle inside the 18 meters area then it is a penalty.

There are also three mid-fielders and their duties is are to play a supportive role in terms of supplying the strikers with balls to score, as well as assisting the defenders to defend against the opposition. Up front there are three strikers who play on the left, right and centre and their role is to score goals.

There are five match officials to ensure that both soccer teams adhere to the rules: there is a referee who blows a whistle and he must always be on the field of play and award decisions. The referee is assisted by two assistant referees who run along the two different sides of the field - each time they see a foul or an off-side infringement
they must raise their flags. The fourth official sits on the chair and also has a table to do administrative work during the match: for example, when a team wants to substitute a player, it is firstly reported to him so that he can effect changes on his papers. There is also a match commissioner.

Lastly, there are six ball boys who must at all times during the match be in possession of a ball so that soccer players can easily access the ball in case it has been kicked out of play. The purpose of having ball boys is to allow the soccer match to flow easily without any delay or unnecessary waiting.

3.8 SOCCER LAWS

In terms of Law 5, every soccer match is controlled by the referee (man or woman) who must ensure that the rules of the game are adhered to by all the participating 22 players in the field of play. The referee is armed with a whistle, a stopwatch, and yellow and red as well as a book and pencil. When the referee blows the whistle it means that he or she has taken a decision and the play must stop and players follow his or her instructions (Murray, 2010: 52).

Yellow cards are for over-robust play or handling the ball illegally or for transgressing the rules of the game. The player that gets two yellow cards within a single match will
immediately be sent off by the referee and be shown a red card. Such a player is suspended for two soccer matches. The above-mentioned issues are applicable internationally. Furthermore, relevant key concepts such as class, ethnicity, gender and race are defined.

3.9 THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCCER

According to Becker (1974: 227) soccer has been the number one sport in South African Townships since the 1950s and 1960s. In his study, Becker (1974: 228) also points out that the township schools are the main soccer talent feeders to the National Professional Soccer League.

Becker's study (1974) is relevant to this research project since it is focused on soccer development in South African townships during the 1950s and 1960s. However, the study is confined to soccer from the male point of view and overlooks the contribution by females. This constitutes one of the problems that this study investigates.

Scotch (1983), who conducted research in Durban, South Africa also looks only at men’s soccer during his investigation of the roles of witchcraft, sorcery, rituals and magic in Zulu-speaking soccer teams in Durban. His findings (1983: 487) indicated that soccer was popular and that it encouraged aggression and hostility between
soccer teams. Moreover, soccer teams used the services of sangomas (traditional healers) who were employed to strengthen the team via magic and ritual and also to forestall the sorcery directed at his team by the opposing team’s traditional healer.

Scotch’s study (1983) has contributed to the anthropology of soccer in South Africa. However the study, is confined to men’s soccer teams that utilized magic, sorcery and rituals to obtain good soccer results. What is missing in Scotch’s study (1983) is any mention of the participation of women or girls in soccer.

3.10 GENDER RELATIONS IN SPORT (SOCCER)

The concept of gender is defined differently by scholars West and Zimmerman (1987). Gender refers to a culture’s social construction of differences between the sexes. These include the different traits, roles, behaviours, attitudes, and aptitudes males and females are expected to display West and Zimmerman, (1987). According to Butler (1990), the concept gender reinforces claims of membership to a particular sex identity. Expressions such as “gendered practices”, “gendered language”, and “gendered jobs” are used to emphasize the tenet that gender involves a process of social construction, and to see gender in terms of organizational behaviour phenomena such as leadership.
The above definitions are based on socio-cultural stereotypes as well as on those that are biologically constructed. In most of the societies around the world, many people still hold on to the above notions founded on cultural stereotypes and biological constructions.

3.11 BIOLOGICAL CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER

Freeman (1983) challenged Mead’s (1935) work on the idea of cultural construction of gender and accused her of cultural determinism (i.e. that Mead gave priority to culture over biology) and opened a huge debate within academic and non-academic circles. Freeman (1983) came up with the strength hypothesis (i.e. the assumption that men are physically stronger than women and that this gives them superiority).

According to Lerner (1994: 4) gender metaphors have constructed the male as the norm and as the whole and powerful, while the female is as unfinished, and emotionally dependent. Lerner (1994) summarizes the major assumptions about gender and patriarchal society as follows: “Men and women are essentially different creatures not only in their biological equipment, but in their needs, capacities and functions.”

MacClancy (1996: 75) also contributed to the anthropology of sport by arguing that
women in Spain have been excluded in Spanish Bull Fighting “sport” largely because it is believed that only men have the requisite qualities such as courage and bravery. There is a general belief among Spanish men that the women’s anatomy makes it inappropriate for them to fight bulls (MacClancy, 1996: 76).

In a similar vein, Peach (1997: 20) investigated women’s participation within the context of the United States military force during the Persian Gulf War and identified a number of arguments made over the years to justify the exclusion of women from military combat. It was argued that women’s military effectiveness is often compromised by their supposed lack of physical strength and stamina. The exclusion of women in terms of direct ground combat denied them promotion and advancement opportunities within and outside the army. Driscoll (1998) in turn has focused on the male sports model and examined the role played by the media in shaping beliefs and values regarding women and girls performances in physical activity and sports.

Driscoll (1998) Birrell and Cole (1990) and Kane and Parks (1992), arguing that perhaps more than any other social institution, sport perpetuates supposed male superiority and female inferiority. According to these scholars, Western culture instills these notions from early childhood and by the time a child enters school, a preconceived idea is formed that males can run faster, jump higher and throw farther than females. Males are viewed as powerful, dominant and in control of their bodies, while females are seen as weak, submissive, lacking in control and in need of male protection.
3.12 SOCIO-CULTURAL CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER

Mead (1928: 1935) conducted anthropological research on issues of gender relations in Samoa and New Guinea and utilized her research data to establish the significance of culture in moulding the gender differences within these cultures. She wanted to offer an alternative explanation to the idea of biological construction of gender which dominated the academic literature in the 1920s. She attempted to demonstrate to the North American women that their social roles of housework and childrearing were not because of their biological make up as they were led to believe.

Goodman (1996) also argues that gender refers to ways of seeing and representing people and situations based on sex differences; i.e. gender as a social or cultural category, influenced by stereotypes about female and male behaviour that exist in our attitudes and beliefs. Within the context of sport, Blanchard and Cheska (1985: 234) argue that increasingly women were deprived of sport competition in the male dominated power-orientated public context. It is only in recent decades that this passive image of femininity has been modified as females become more actively involved in different sporting codes. Blanchard and Cheska (1985: 245) further argue that women’s sport in countries such as Mongolia and Tonga has not substantially progressed because of the fact that there have been no opportunities at all available for women.

Hargreaves (1997: 199) referring to gender inequalities in South Africa within the
Further, considerable funding has been spent on men’s soccer and rugby development (Hargreaves, 1997: 200). According to Hargreaves (1997: 201), the general absence of women in decision-making positions in South African rugby reflects the deep-seated power imbalances between men and women in South African sport.

McClancy (1996) and Hargreaves (1997) are relevant to this research study since they both look at issues of gender relations and power in sport within the context of Spain and South Africa. Similarly, Lee's (2005) research on the participation of Korean-American women in sport within the context of North America revealed that Korean-Americans in general were grappling with racism and marginalization issues in America. For example, in 1982 a Korean-American man was beaten to death by two white North American men who thought he was Japanese. In addition, within the context of sports participation, Lee (2005: 484) argues that Korean-American women have been grappling with racial and cultural stereotypes. For example, in terms of Korean culture, lighter skin colour is more desirable and it is viewed as ladylike and feminine, while darker skin colour is perceived as representative of a lower class background. On the other hand in Western culture tanned skin is viewed as desirable and beautiful (Lee, 2005: 490).
The Korean-American young women found themselves at the cross-roads or in conflict with their parents because the Korean culture discouraged them from participating in sport. On the other hand, sport in American culture was encouraged (Lee, 2005: 490). The study is relevant to this research topic since it looks at issues of gender relations within the context of sport in North America.

Bodey (2007) also argues within the context of Morocco that sport has traditionally been considered a man’s domain. Men have owned, organized, coached, competed and watched sport in exclusion from women. Religious, medical and societal beliefs demoted women to their homes as wives and mothers. Cultural expectations in many communities about appropriate feminine behaviour and gender-bound roles have curtailed women’s active participation in sport for a long period.

McKinley (2010: 81) has also investigated socio-cultural notions of gender, as well as the historical development of soccer in South Africa during the apartheid and post-apartheid periods. He examines how huge sponsorships contribute to soccer development programs. Furthermore, McKinley (2010: 87) claims that financial assistance from big companies has been utilized incorrectly by soccer authorities in South Africa. For example, the Women’s Soccer Committee received a mere R300 000 out of a South African Football Association budget.

Naidoo and Muholi (2010: 106) have also investigated gender relations in the South
African National Soccer team known as Banyana Banyana. They interviewed key women soccer players and coaches: their findings revealed that women were still not fairly represented in South African soccer structures. For example, the former South African Women’s National Soccer coach has complained about sexual harassment of female soccer players by some of the male technical team members.

The above-mentioned studies by Bodey (2007); McKinley (2010) and Naidoo and Muholi (2010) tackle issues related to gender relations in sport within Morocco and South Africa respectively. Hence their findings have relevance to this research.

Echoing the same sentiment as Coover (2011) above, Chepkemei (2012) refers to the experiences of female youth from Mathare slums and how they are contesting their marginalization by getting involved in Mathare Youth Sports Association (MYSA). The association has previously used soccer as an entry point to development through its sporting programmes and activities.

Joseph (2012) has investigated South African women’s participation in the game and focused specifically on the marginalization of women. She Joseph (2012) argues that sport in South Africa has been a relevant field of power contestation with soccer having a long-standing history of being tied to a political struggle in relation to race during the Apartheid years. Joseph (2012) alleges that a former Soweto Ladies and Banyana Banyana (South African National Women’s Soccer Team), was banned.
from the team following a public sexual harassment accusation laid against the coach of Soweto Ladies.

According to Haugaa Engh (2012: 139) there is little information on women’s soccer in South Africa. She describes how the first South African women’s national soccer team was formed in May 1993. In addition, to encourage the development of women’s soccer, the South African Football Association launched the under 20 women’s national team which was nicknamed Basetsana. However Haugaa Engh (2012) finds that despite securing a huge sponsorship of about R20 million from ABSA, there were structural inequalities and material constraints. For example, she claims that in Cape Town, the women’s soccer team struggled with funds to register their teams into the local football association. Moreover, women’s teams in Cape Town struggled to cover their transport costs for travel to different venues to. Haugaa Engh’s study (2012) is relevant to this research as it encompasses gender relations in soccer, a key aspect of this current research into the lessons and challenges faced by women within the context of South African feminist sport.

The former South African Football Association (SAFA) deputy-president, Mwelo Nonkonyane, was interviewed about the readiness of women to serve within the executive after the SAFA elections held on the 29th September 2013. He was excited about the inclusion of three top women into the executive committee of SAFA. However, he made a controversial statement when claiming that South African football would be ready to have a woman deputy president elected after the
organization’s 2017 elections (*The New Age*, 30 September 2013: 14).

According to Bogopa (2014: 129), the two schools in Tsakane, Khombindlela Primary School and Reshogofaditswe Senior Secondary School, are still grappling with cultural stereotypes regarding who is entitled to play soccer as a school sport as the majority of male learners and educators (and some female learners and educators) still share a perception that soccer belongs to boys and men also. Moreover Bogopa (2014) cites issues such as the lack of sponsorship and the non-availability of space for learners to participate in soccer, as well as inadequate soccer fields at the two schools in Tsakane, namely, Reshogofaditswe Secondary School and Khombindlela Primary School.

Although Haugaa Engh’s (2012), Bogopa’s (2014) studies and the newspaper report, in *The New Age*, show that women’s soccer has received 20 million rand sponsorship in South Africa, they are still grappling with issues of cultural stereotypes as well as lack of recognition and representation at the highest soccer administration levels.

### 3.13 THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN IN SPORT

According to Manzenreiter (2004) many researchers perceive gendered media
representation as part of a vicious circle relegating women to the fringe of active sport participation. For example, he claims that the Korean media sport system remains discriminatory largely because it neglects the female athlete. Coverage was granted to women without dispute only at the side-lines, on the stands, in front of the television screen including the sports paper columns.

Frankl (2005) argues that the persistent marginalization of women involved in sports is well-documented in a wide variety of studies and related statistics. According to Frankl (2005), media coverage from a number sport magazines showed that women participating in sport were depicted in stereotypical gender roles and were often portrayed as sex objects.

Tanner (2011) also contends that sports commentators’ discussion of male and female athletes tends to often subject females to sexualizing and objectifying discourse while male athletes are lauded for their strength and power. Tanner (2011) further argues that women in sports (e.g. female athletes) are marginalized, and this has become a trend that continues to occur in the sports world.

Joseph (2012), comments on how the last two decades have seen burgeoning athleticism by girls and women. Medical doctors pronouncements in the 1920s and 1930s now seem like hysterical and unfounded fears that vigorous physical activity for women carried enormous physical and psychological dangers. One so-called
psychological danger, and a major social fear, was the conventionally accepted idea that through strenuous physical activity the prospect for women to ‘become’ lesbian increased. In response to these fears, institutionalized women’s sport adapted a ‘tamed down’ version.

3.14 SOCCER WITH REFERENCE TO CLASS, ETHNICITY AND RACE

This section focuses on issues of class, ethnicity and race within the context of soccer in various countries. The above concepts will be defined with a view to showing how anthropologists perceive these concepts. For example, Bennett (1975: 287) argues that ethnicity can be defined in terms of shared cultural norms which are realised in overt forms and which are self-consciously recognized by the ethnic groups and by other groups as well. Burgess (1978) on the other hand, defines ethnicity as a synthesis of ethnic groups, meaning that it can only be understood through each other. However, Scupin and DeCorse (1998: 531) define ethnicity as the cultural differences among populations usually based on attributes such as language, religion, lifestyle, and cultural ideas regarding common descent or rights to specific territory. In addition to the above definitions, Kottack (2006: 310) defines ethnicity as an identification with, and feeling part of, an ethnic group, together with a sense of exclusion from certain other groups because of this affiliation.

As can be noticed from the above definitions of the concept ‘ethnicity’, there has been
There are two anthropological perspectives on the concept ‘ethnicity’, namely, the circumstantial and the primordial. The circumstantial perspective emphasizes the situational nature of ethnicity: for example, in the United States of America, people of German descent may refer to themselves as “German Americans” to distinguish themselves from “Irish Americans”. However, should the “German Americans” or “Irish Americans” happen to be among the Europeans then they might refer to themselves as Americans (Scupin and DeCorse, 1998: 504).

Furthermore, according to Scupin and DeCorse (1998: 504) this circumstantial perspective explains how people call on their ethnic identity for specific economic, social, and political purposes. For example, in adapting to certain economic niches in a plural society, members of a specific group might emphasize their shared ethnic identity as a means of enhancing cooperation with other members of the group.

However, in terms of the primordial perspective, ethnic affiliation persists because of its importance to a person’s sense of identity. The primordial perspective emphasizes that conception of common descent, language and religious attachments become deeply rooted through enculturation. As people are enculturated into a particular
ethnic group, they form a deep emotional attachment to that group.

Both the circumstantial and primordial perspectives were applied in this study in order to understand ethnicity within the context of South African township schools. For example, there are references to how ethnicity has been used over the years to allocate resources and how ethnicity has been used for nation building as well as for promoting ethnic identity.

Harris (1988: 588) postulates that Karl Marx’s writings and thoughts were influenced by the prevailing nineteenth century notions of cultural evolution and progress. Marx viewed different cultures all over the world as passing through the stages of primitive communism, slave society, feudalism, capitalism and communism. He emphasized the importance of the role of struggle in achieving cultural evolution and progress. Marx also argued that all history is the outcome of the struggle between social classes for control over the means of production.

Critical to classical Marxism is the concept of class struggle. According to the Marxist theoretical approach, throughout human history, humanity has been organised into two opposing economic classes, namely, the bourgeoisie and the proletarians. The bourgeoisie is the class that owns the means of production while the proletarians are the working class. The two classes are always in conflict over material resources for making a living (Erickson and Murphy, 2001).
According to Wallerstein (2011) the contemporary Marxist approaches focus on the tangible disparities between the different socio-economic groups. For example, the Marxist approaches focus on the political economy in an attempt to understand the connections between the class disparities, health issues and access to resources.

Stuart (1996: 168) has drawn attention to West’s (1990) study on inter-ethnic soccer rivalry in Bulawayo. Stuart (1996) argues that West’s (1990) study was interested in looking at “class” within the context of soccer in Bulawayo. For example, soccer in Bulawayo was played by the African elite while the unskilled and semi-skilled working class members were more interested in sporting codes such as boxing. Hence West (1990) concluded that soccer in Bulawayo was merely another vehicle for elitism. Stuart (1996) challenged West’s findings and argued that soccer played an important part in imagined ethnicity in Africa. Soccer has played and continues to play a central role in social and political development in Africa.

West (1990) and Stuart (1996) have made a meaningful contribution to the anthropology of soccer by looking at issues of class and ethnicity in Bulawayo. However, their studies ignore the impact of gender relations. Societies are made up of males and females: therefore it is imperative that researchers also consider the role of gender relations.

Nauright (1997) has looked at the popularity of soccer among the white working class.
He points out that soccer was organized at city and regional levels and claims that it achieved a mass following in the former Transvaal (now subdivided into Limpopo, Mpumalanga, North-West and Gauteng provinces) and Natal (now known as KwaZulu-Natal Province). According to Nauright (1997: 19) South African society was not only segregated by race, but there was also gender discrimination within the work environment, as well as in public leisure activities. He argues that women played sport in South Africa but the majority of them could not make it to the professional ranks due to obstacles such as lack of competitive sports leagues, and lack of sponsorship and cultural stereotypes.

According to Guelke and Sugden (1999) part of the problem is that South Africa has been one of the world’s most deeply divided societies. During the apartheid period, it was decreed that sport should be racially segregated. In this way, long-standing forms of discrimination in sport were established, including the enforcement of racial and ethnic segregation on the sports fields: for example black South Africans were not given a fair opportunity to take part in high profile team sports (Guelke and Sugden, 1999: 73).

Guelke and Sugden (1999: 93) argue that for as long as South Africans continue to stay in separate neighbourhoods, speak different languages, go to different schools and have markedly unequal access to economic resources, any mutuality experienced on the field of play can never be achieved. However, Guelke and Sugden (1999) are not suggesting that all South Africans should speak the same
language and stay at the same place. In my view they base their argument within the context of the historical reality that most South Africans reside in different settings where sport facilities have been unevenly distributed in the past.

Anderson et al. (2004:50) also focus on issues of race and ethnicity in South Africa: they that before 1990 South African soccer was racially divided where white players were not afforded opportunities to play soccer because it was dominated by blacks. However, they contend that the release of Nelson Mandela from prison brought about some changes and improvements: for example, white soccer players got a chance to participate in soccer leagues. In terms of ethnicity in soccer, Anderson et al. (2004: 52) point out that the majority of soccer teams in Johannesburg are composed of players from different ethnic groups. One example of ethnic biases in soccer was when some soccer fans made a claim that the Zulu speaking soccer referees were “bad” and biased when officiating soccer matches.

Although Anderson et al.’s (2004) research made valuable contribution to the anthropology of soccer in South Africa, the study did not look at gender relations in soccer: however they did acknowledge that there was a need to look at gender relations in soccer for future research since soccer is played by both females and males.

Majaro-Majesty (2010) conducted his research in Nigeria among the soccer spectators that were passionate about the English Premier League. He used observation as a
research tool in a local bar geographically situated near the University of Ibadan. Nigerian soccer spectators from different ethnic groups, for example, the Hausa, the Igbo, the Yoruba and many others frequent this bar. According to Majaro-Majesty, conflict between soccer spectators from different ethnic groups would erupt at this bar because of misunderstandings over petty politics related to the soccer on that day.

Vidacs (2011:26) with reference to Cameroonian national soccer comments on issues of ethnicity and nation building within the context of Cameroonian soccer. For example, she argues that ethnicity is highly relevant to understanding the Cameroonian ethnic conflict which involves the Bamileke and Bassa. However, Vidacs (2011:34) suggests that many researchers tend to focus more on issues of ethnicity but ignore those related to nation building. She claims that the Cameroonian National Soccer team’s participation in the 1990 World Cup tournament created nation building in Cameroon and on the African continent. However, Vidacs’ (2011: 34) study does not deal with issues of gender relations: it completely overlooks the participation of women in soccer.

3.15 RACE AND RACISM IN SPORT

According to Odendaal (1977: 117) that sports development in South Africa has been hampered by racism and sexism. Previously, the National Party government’s apartheid policy enforced segregation on the sport fields. This was enforced and in
terms of the government’s sports policy, sport within South African borders was racially segregated. According to Odendaal (1977: 118), in 1962, the South African government charged nine White, Indian and Coloured sportsmen for playing mixed soccer in an Indian area. These nine players were arraigned in the Natal Supreme Court for violating the Group Areas Act of 1952.

Merrett (1994: 115), argues that in the mid-1990s, South Africa was still grappling with issues of racism in sport: for example, he claims that in Natal, white elites still controlled the resources. According to Meer (1996) sport in South Africa remains segregated and unequal: for example, players may not share common accommodation. Until 1983, there were two multiracial golf clubs in the country. Previously, ninety-nine percent of South Africa’s swimming pools were reserved for Whites only. While white children have all the sporting amenities they could possibly desire, black children had limited sport facilities.

According to Giulianotti (2005: 65) the South African National Sports teams may supposedly symbolise unity and reconciliation but Whites still enjoy superior coaching and education. Moreover, according to Chappell (2005), the legacy of apartheid played a significant role in depriving both rural and Township communities of sports infrastructure. Furthermore, both disadvantaged rural and urban settings continue to be under-resourced in terms of sports facilities. To make matters worse, the majority of people in South African townships and rural areas continued to find themselves within the second economic sectors (The Sport Journal, 2005).
According to Kunene (2006: 371) the Separate Amenities Act of 1950, which was passed by the apartheid regime, was intended to force different ethnic and racial groups to develop separately. However most sports facilities were provided for white areas only. Furthermore, the Group Areas of 1950 and Population Registration Act of 1950 rendered racial segregation compulsory. In addition, Blacks were not allowed to swim on ‘White beaches’ and sporting competitions between different ‘racial’ groups were banned by the government. Political formations, particularly those which enjoyed a large black following, responded harshly by calling on international communities to exclude South Africa from international sporting competitions.

Alegi (2007: 35) argues that soccer is still marginalized in Cape Town in terms of sport development. For instance, the original venue chosen to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup was Newlands Stadium which is geographically situated in historically a whites only area. In 2005, the original plan was controversially changed to Green Point Stadium in Cape Town. According to Alegi (2007: 36), the construction of Green Point Stadium denied residents from Coloured areas an opportunity in terms of infrastructural development. Alegi (2007) further argues that it does not make sense to build a soccer stadium in an area where soccer is not popular or not played at all.

3.16 IMPROVEMENTS IN SOUTH AFRICAN SOCCER

There have been some improvements in South African sport development regarding women’s participation but even further significant improvements need to be made. It
was reported in a newspaper (The *Sunday Times*, 20 September, 1998) that the Sanlam insurance company in South Africa had donated a considerable amount of money to establish a women's soccer league. Sanlam started by sponsoring women's soccer at the amateur level in all nine provinces: the plan was that teams would first establish themselves and then be promoted to professional ranks at a later stage. Consequently, women's soccer teams competed in various regions. However, despite this positive initiative, the sponsorship was discontinued in 2007 (The *Sunday Times*, 20 September 1998: 25).

It was further reported in the Sunday Times (20 September 1998: 25) that the South African Football Association (SAFA) had planned a first national women's league for 1999. All 25 regions were instructed to establish women's leagues in order to join those already in place in the Western Cape and Gauteng provinces. Nine teams, plus one representing the hosting region, would proceed to the national competition after a series of play-offs.

In 2000, the African continent witnessed a Women's African Cup of Nations, held in South Africa. There were women coaches as well as women soccer officials, with the Nigerian team emerging victors of the tournament (Bogopa, 2001: 89). This was a positive step from the Nigerian Soccer Association and the Confederation of African Football (CAF). The Nigerian Association showed that it believed in its women coaching staff by not appointing men coaching staff. At the same time, CAF also recognized the women officials by giving them an opportunity to officiate for important soccer matches.
Another positive development was witnessed on 23 April 2007, when a woman soccer official refereed a men’s soccer match. The match was shown live on South African television. According to reports, the woman official in question handled the match well and there was praise from all quarters of South Africa about her capabilities (http://www.psl.co.za/latest_news/story_23407131233.php).

In addition, Bogopa (2008) reports that women in South Africa had begun to participate in previously male-dominated sporting activities like cricket, soccer, boxing, and rugby. Women were also making strides on television as sports commentators, as well as acting as ring announcers and referees in boxing. Moreover, women were taking up coaching positions in soccer, a job previously available only to men.

It was reported in the *City Press*, (August 2010), that since the late 1990s, the issue of sponsorship in women’s soccer had shown some improvements. The South African girls’ under 17 soccer team received a R1 million boost from First National Bank to prepare for their FIFA under 17 World Cup that was held in Trinidad and Tobago from 5 – 25 September 2010. This sponsorship was seen by many South Africans as a big boost for young female soccer players to realize their dreams of competing with other countries *City Press*, (August 2010: 18).

According to Haugaa Engh (2012: 140) the introduction of the Sanlam sponsorship for the women’s soccer league created an opportunity and thus many more sponsorships
came on board. For example, Vodacom, Cadbury’s and Nike followed up in sponsoring women’s soccer when the Sanlam sponsorship ended.

Moreover, ABSA and Sasol are currently supporting the women’s national soccer team financially: for example, there are ABSA regional development leagues and ABSA has donated R20 million for the running of these leagues. To supplement ABSA’s efforts, Sasol assisted the women’s national teams in terms of transport and equipment (Haugaa Engh, 2012: 140).

Haugaa Engh (2012: 140) points out that the South African women’s national teams, namely Banyana Banyana (senior team) and Basetsana (junior team) have achieved new heights in performance in the past few years. For example, the senior national team finished second in the African Women’s Championship in 2008 and the junior national team also finished runners-up at the African championship for three years in succession, i.e. 2008, 2009 and 2010.

Another notable achievement was the crowning of one of the national women’s soccer players (Noko Alice Matlou) for winning the 2008 Confederation of African Football Woman Footballer of the Year. Previously, there were about 200 000 women and girls participating in soccer in South Africa (Haugaa Engh, 2012: 141).
The former deputy-president of the South African Football Association (SAFA), Chief Mwelo Nonkonyana, was previously interviewed about the outcome of the 2013 SAFA elections. He was elated about the inclusion of three powerful women administrators, namely Nomsa Mahlangu, Ria Ledwaba and Natasha Tshiklas who were all elected into executive positions within SAFA. The deputy-president argued that the inclusion of these three women shows that we can no longer allow a situation where women in our football are only deemed good enough to be receptionists or PAs whose job is to answer phones and take minutes.

He further argued that:

*We want more women in the regions to work hand in hand with the people who are already there and those who excel in their duties will definitely be rewarded for their hard work*

*(The New Age, 30 September 2013: 1).*

Another notable improvement in terms of gender balance in sport was displayed by SAFA in one of the premier league games where there were six ball girls during one of the opening soccer matches of the South African Premier Soccer League in Bloemfontein between Bloemfontein Celtics and Pietermaritzburg United. The six ball girls had a pre-match interview live on Super Sport 4 and they were excited about the opportunity given to them to serve in a competitive soccer match *(Super Sport 4 Soccer Channel, 22 August 2016).*
The impact from such efforts to address gender disparities in sport have been significant. For instance, according to the recent statistics in terms of female rankings globally, the South African women’s national soccer team is ranked number 49. This demonstrates a significant improvement compared to the 2009 rankings where the S.A. team was ranked a lowly 56. Another improvement is that the South African women national team first qualified for the Olympic Soccer tournament in 2012 and further improvement is that the team qualified for the FIFA World Cup for the first time in 2019. The above-mentioned world ranking and qualifying for inclusion in major soccer tournaments reflects continuing progress (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South_Africa_women%27s_national_football_team).

A further sign of improvement is that on the 12 March 2019, the sport arbitrator ruled in favour of the respondent (SAFA) to manage schools soccer in South Africa. The above happened after the applicant, South African School Football Association had opposed the SAFA take-over. In his ruling, the sports arbitrator based his finding on the fact that SAFA is a custodian of football in South Africa and therefore it must continue to govern soccer in the South Africa. The above decision was also in line with the articles 11 and 20 of FIFA Statutes (SAFA, 2019).

SAFA has also made several strides in making sure that women’s soccer takes root and is professionalized. For example, Sibembe (2019) reports that the much awaited women’s soccer league started on the 24th August 2019 with fixtures scheduled at the Nike Centre in Soweto and with the three remaining fixtures scheduled at the
same venue on the 25th August 2019. Women’s soccer is comprised of 12 teams and the breakdown is as follows: nine teams are the winners of the provincial league and the other three teams includes the University of Johannesburg, Mamelodi Sundowns and Bloemfontein Celtics (Maverick, 2019)

3.17 CONCLUSION

This chapter has reviewed the contributions by anthropological scholars in terms of the role of sport within different cultural contexts and also in terms of some challenges facing indigenous sport and current sports especially soccer, in South Africa and in various other countries. Various key concepts, such as sport, and sport development have been defined in order to provide clarification of relevant issues in this study.
CHAPTER FOUR

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1 INTRODUCTION

One can never over-emphasize the importance of theory or of a conceptual framework in an academic research project. They can provide is a model or framework for observation and understanding, which shapes both what is perceived and how it is to be perceived. The theoretical framework allows the researcher to make links between the abstract and the concrete, and between the theoretical and the empirical. This chapter therefore will attempt to provide a theoretical base for the study.

Various theories have been used to provide insights into various sporting codes and their relations to human behavior. Such theories include, but are not limited to, concepts such as evolutionism, cultural materialism, symbolic interaction, functionalism, structural-functionalism and many other theoretical approaches. Anthropology being a discipline which is more concerned about both biological features and social aspects of humankind views sport not only in physical or biological terms but also as an actualized cultural experience. (Midol and Broyer, 1995: 204).

This study outlines various theoretical frameworks which might throw light on the
problem of gender inequality in soccer. For example, the Marxist Feminist theory has been found to have relevance for the purposes of this research in-so-far as the study investigates notions of power contestation, identity, gender liberation, self-control and commercialization. Moreover, the Marxist Feminist theoretical approach stems focuses on a questioning of the relationship between males and females in many societies in terms of access to resources. However, besides this approach, this study also briefly discusses functionalism and structural functionalist theories that have been used in sports studies. The Functionalist theoretical approach is used in order to look at how soccer functions within the two schools in Tsakane Township while Structural Functionalism provides a framework for examining the structures or designs of the soccer teams in these two schools.

4.2 FUNCTIONALISM

The name that comes into people’s mind when there is any reference to functionalism is Bronislaw Malinowski, the so-called “Father” of Social anthropology. Malinowski (7 April 1884 – 16 May 1942) was born in Krakow and was trained as an anthropologist in Britain. He is renown for his research among the Trobriand Islanders in Melanesia, with whom he used the functionalist theoretical approach to seek understanding of Trobriand culture. According to Malinowski (1939), an institution (such as sport, for example) needs to be understood within the context of its relationship to certain human needs. For example, team sports for some cultural groups are ritualistic in nature and serve an integrative purpose, meaning that sport
can function culturally in order to integrate a number of more basic institutions.

Further, Gmelch (1972) also used the functionalism model to understand the role of magic within American professional baseball structures. He argued that in baseball the lower the chances of success associated with a playing role, the greater the likelihood that magic has been used by the player. Furthermore, Gmelch (1972) analysed the different roles performed by baseball players (for example, the pitcher, and fielders and hitters) in terms of the chance factors involved. He noted that the batter’s chances of success are less than those of the pitcher.

4.3 STRUCTURAL FUNCTIONALISM

The proponents of the structural-functionalism theory include among others, Radcliffe-Brown (17 January 1881 – 24 October 1955) who was born in Britain. The structural-functionalism theoretical approach is founded on a premise that institutions are to be understood within the context of their important functions. The above theoretical approach explains the roles of institutions in terms of their contributions to other parts of a culture or social structure.

According to Blanchard (1985: 69), when the structural-functional model is used within the context of anthropological analyses of sport, for example, the assumption
is that sport as a social institution is to be understood in terms of its relation to other institutions within the total or whole system. Sport may be seen as reinforcing other dimensions in the system, as for example, in politics or law. However, sport may also be seen as an outlet for aggressive tendencies, as well as for reducing conflict in other areas of the system. According to Blanchard (1985: 70) structural-functionalism is a popular theoretical model in the US for scholars conducting research on sports issues. For example, sport in America is tied to such a wide range of institutions and behaviours that many structural functional questions emerge almost automatically from simple observation of sports activities.

4.4 THE RELEVANCE OF MARXIST FEMINIST THEORY

As already mentioned in the introduction, both functionalism and structural functionalism approaches are relevant for understanding sport in various contexts: however, they do not explicitly provide a basis for understandings of gender relations as does the Marxist Feminist approach. Therefore, this approach seemed the most appropriate for the current study because it clearly unpacks the gender relations issues in a variety of contexts. The Marxist-Feminist theoretical approach emphasizes that in patriarchal societies, gender imbalance is so huge that women are not afforded equal opportunities.

Thus, the Marxist Feminist theoretical approach has been selected for the research
investigation of gender relations - with specific reference to soccer - within the two Tsakane Township schools. Marxist feminism is a species of feminist theory that takes its theoretical bearings from Marxism, notably the criticism of capitalism as a set of structures, practices, institutions, incentives, and sensibilities that promote the exploitation of labour, the alienation of human beings, and the debasement of freedom.

This study investigates the perceptions of gender relations in soccer within the context of the two Tsakane Township schools, Reshogofaditswe Secondary School and Khombindlela Primary School. As already noted, the main reason for choosing the Marxist Feminist anthropological theoretical approach is largely because it deals with gender relations within communities and structures. In terms of the Marxist Feminist theoretical approach, there are inequalities between men and women when it comes to access to resources: for example, in most of patriarchal societies men own “the means of production”.

At the aforesaid two schools soccer is still dominated by males, hence this study. Females are still being deprived of a fair opportunity to participate in soccer, as also other sporting codes.
4.5 Marxist Feminist Theory

Marxist Feminist theory has been influenced by the Marxist thinking. In short, Marxism emphasizes that social life is based on conflicts of interest. According to Marxism, the conflict in most cases is between those who own and control the means of production (i.e. employers) and those who sell their labour (i.e. employees). More often, the conflict is about employers maximizing profits for themselves, at the expense of the workers. Hence the workers challenge this kind of exploitation. According to Rigauer (2000) this is a theory of social development which is based on research into political, socio-economic and cultural relations, as well as interdependencies and power imbalances. The Marxist theory focuses on economic activities and their impact on other social institutions such as politics and culture.

Mariotti and Magubane (1979: 273) have used the Marxist theoretical approach to explore urban ethnology in Africa: they give particular attention to rural Africans who settle in urban areas where they are exposed to the capitalist modes of production. According to Mariotti and Magubane (1979: 275), these people were forced by prevailing economic conditions to work as wage labourers in industries in order to survive. Thus in the work environment, two types of classes emerged, namely, the working class (proletariat) and the employers (bourgeoisie). Some of the examples of such settings cited by Mariotti and Magubane (1979: 279 - 280) include South Africa and Kenya where the workers became subservient to the aims and interests of the capitalist system.
According to Leacock (1979: 185) the tendency to avoid to talk about instances of racial and national oppression can distort the reality of exploitative power relations throughout the world. He argues (Ibid.), that it was the expansion of the European market into the world market that transformed mercantile Europe into capitalist Europe.

In his study of the cooperative garment project in rural Queretaro in Mexico, MKeren (1987) focused on the economic conditions that prevailed there in the early 1980s. He (Ibid. 142), shows how the Mexican economic crisis changed the balance of power among the participants. For example, those who owned the means of production had an advantage in terms of labour power. Keren (Ibid.) further asserts that the workers who were driven off from rural Queretaro provided cheap labour. According to Keren (1987) the Mexican government introduced the capitalist system by forcing the people from rural Queretaro to surrender their land and move into the urban areas to provide cheap labour. This is relevant to this study because it explains the power relations between those who own the means of production and the poor workers whom they exploit. This research will endeavour to explore power relations in different but parallel contexts. For example, in the Township schools alluded to the male learners own the power and dominate access to resources at the expense of the female learners.

Leacock (1979) also uses a Marxist theoretical framework to focus on the status of women in different societies. He (1979: 185) argues that the notion of separating the
roles played by women in different societies has distorted the reality of the family as a social unit.

Scholars who have used a Marxist feminist approach to investigate gender relations specifically in sport within the contexts of various cultures include Ortner, (1974); Moore (1988); Strasser and Kronsteiner (1993); Moore (1994); Leacock (1997); Peach (1997); Blanchard and Cheska (1985); Birell (2000); Bogopa (2001); Pelak (2005); Bodey (2007) Bogopa (2008& 2010); Haugaa Engh (2010); and Mennesson (2012). From their studies two main perspectives on gender issues that emerged: the first is the view that gender is biologically constructed, whereas the second perspective sees gender as socially and culturally constructed.

Klein (1991), who has previously used the Marxist theoretical approach to understand the social significance of baseball focuses on the history of baseball in the Dominican Republic. He argues that over the years, the majority of the talented baseball players from the Dominican Republic have been recruited into the American major baseball league by American baseball coaches. Consequently these Dominican Republic baseball players have their entire baseball careers in America but when they retire they are obliged to go back home. According to Klein (1991), these Dominican Republic baseball players then return home with a baggage of American popular culture, thereby causing baseball in the Dominican Republic to lose some of its autonomy and vitality.
According to Rigauer (2000: 34) interest and participation in sport by the members of the working class in Britain grew between 1850 and 1930. On the one hand sport, particularly soccer, was associated with the working class group, while on the other hand, this development was criticized by the middle-class socialists who had their dreams of creating a culture of the masses, including involvement in sport.

4.5.1 The Marxist Feminist Biological Perspective

In terms of the biological perspective Marxism Feminism theory seeks to understand how societies' perceptions of women’s anatomies can determine women's roles and status in society. This theory therefore seeks to understand the subordination of women and to find tools that can be used for their emancipation. However it appears that difference societies and cultural spaces differ in terms of their approaches to women’s public participation in actions like sport and war.

According to Besnier and Brownell (2012: 444), “in sport the body is an object subjected to intense scrutiny; trained, disciplined, modified, displayed, evaluated, and commodified, the sporting body is the focus of not only the person who inhabits it but also spectators, trainers and ‘owners’”. Before the post-modern turn in the 1980s, treatment of sport in British and American anthropology centered on the body as a primarily biological entity. The scholars who have based their theoretical approach on biological factors include among others, Ortner (1974: 77) who shows that in many
societies a woman’s physiology and her specialized reproductive ability makes her seem closer to nature, while man has to seek cultural means of creation.

Another contentious issue has been women’s participation in war. For example, according to Peach (1997: 21) the exclusion of women in the Persian Gulf War was based on the following three reasons: firstly women supposedly lacked the physical ability to perform adequately; secondly pregnancy and child-bearing make them inappropriate combatants – and thirdly their participation in combat units would allegedly reduce cohesion by disturbing male bonding and by promoting sexual activities within the defense force.

The issue of women and their role in the military was also raised by American personnel, government officials, public policy makers and members of the public. Peach (1997: 20-21) uses the Marxist Feminist theoretical framework to investigate gender relations within the context of the American defence force. According to to him the role of women participants within the United States of American Defence Force during the Persian Gulf War was a highly contested issue. The perceptions of the Americans are apparently not different from those of Iranians and other countries. It seems that most societies, including the most developed ones have - held and some still do - a perception that women’s biological conditions are not suitable for participation in activities that need physical strength.
Haugaa Engh (2010) also uses the Marxist Feminist theoretical approach in her study of issues relating to gender inequality within the context of South African football. Her study included interviews of six (6) Cape Town-based women soccer players of soccer teams, as well as twelve (12) women members of the South African women's national soccer team (Banyana Banyana) during their camp in Pretoria. Haugaa Engh (2010: 3) points out that since the first Women's World Soccer Cup tournament organized in China in 1991, women soccer has grown tremendously in many countries. However, South African women soccer's development is still lagging behind. This is created by the cultural stereotypes wherein soccer is still viewed as solely a men's sport. Hence soccer remains a flagship masculine sport that serves to maintain and support masculine domination.

According to Haugaa Engh (2010: 167) women who participate in soccer within the context of South Africa and beyond are expected to 'compensate for masculine aspects of their appearances and behaviours by marking their bodies in feminine ways. Furthermore, Haugaa Engh (2010: 168) claims that although women in general are being marginalized in soccer, there is a also racial stratification where black women encounter more marginalization than do their white women counterparts. Moore (1988) draws from Ortner's (1974) essay entitled “Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture?” to understand the gender symbols, as well as the sexual and cultural stereotypes.

In relation to this study on soccer and gender, the narrative would be that, women in soccer should not be seen as possessing weak bodies such that they cannot compete
in a physical contact sport like soccer. To some extent, one would agree that women’s soccer is a fairly recent phenomenon and still needs to be further developed but the fact that it is recent should not be interpreted as meaning women are inferior and men necessarily better able on the soccer pitch. As Midol and Broyer (1995: 208) have so aptly put it female muscles are just as efficient even if less apparent.

In South African context where the majority of citizens were oppressed and dehumanized, where the masses understand the notion of exclusions, it would be expected that the notion of women’s exclusion in sport would be better dealt with. The emancipation of women would therefore not only be the task of women themselves but a task for all. Men should not use their privileged position to suppress women but rather join women in fighting for equal opportunities in sport, and in soccer in particular. But unfortunately, as already noted, currently on the SAFA executive there fewer women representatives.

The other important aspect of physical body is the fact that sport requires a strong aspect of self-control. In sport, and more especially in soccer, physical training is essential as soccer is one of the sports where a combination of skill and physical fitness really matters. For example, Archetti (1998: 92) notes that:

One of the essential problems of many sports is how to reconcile two contradictory functions: the pleasurable de-controlling of human feelings and the full evocation of enjoyable excitement on the one hand, and on the other, the maintenance of a set of checks to keep the pleasantly de-controlled emotions under control.
Thus, according to Archetti (1998) this situation comprises a problem or a challenge due to the fact it requires one to discipline the body and emotions. If one can grasp the true meaning of body discipline in sport, then there would be a minimization of what Archetti (1998:92) calls ‘negative functions of sport’.

However, the suggestion by Archetti (1998: 92) is that sport as a body practice can assist in the formation of national imageries. Archetti (1998: 92), describes how soccer as a body practice is recognized in countries like Brazil and Argentina in terms of the personalized social world of the home and the impersonal universe of the street and how they are both combined in a public ritual. As a result, in these countries, individual self-fulfillment is related to games, the producing of winners and losers, and to exalted nationalism in the age of national completion. Also, in some countries, sport as a ritual is expressed in activities and passions that cut across class lines, ethnical status or regional origin. In this manner, sport as a body ritual unites societies under the hero symbolism. Archetti (1998) cites Diego Maradona, the most popular Argentinian soccer player who is regarded as a national hero as an example. As a symbol of national unity, Maradona and Argentinian identity are embedded in one person, and it is in him and his use of body ritual in sport that a nation shares a united memory.
4.5.2 The Socio-Cultural Perspective of Marxist Feminism

The modern turn has fore-grounded the body as a cultural construction, overcoming the limitations of the biological paradigm (Besnier and Brownel, 2012: 444). The scholars who have used the Marxist Feminist theoretical framework looking at the socio-cultural factors include among others, Leacock (1979), who has also used this theory to understand the class and the status of women in different societies. For example, Leacock (1979: 185) argues that the notion of separating the roles played by women in different societies has distorted the reality of the family as a social unit. Furthermore, according to Leacock (1979:185) the tendency to avoid talk about racial and national oppression can distort the reality of power relations throughout the world. According to Leacock (1979: 185), it was the expansion of the European market into the world market that transformed mercantile Europe into capitalist Europe.

Blanchard and Cheska (1985: 245) claim that women in Mongolia and Tonga have not substantially progressed in the sporting arena because they have not been afforded opportunities to participate fairly in sport. This study relevant to this research project as it was established that women were not afforded a fair chance to play soccer in both schools.

Strasser and Kronsteiner (1993) have used the Marxist feminist anthropological approach to understand gender relations within two Sunni villages in eastern Turkey. According to Strasser and Kronsteiner (1993: 164) women in Turkey have hardly
owned any “means of production” particularly in these two villages. Furthermore, they point out that although women in these two villages were involved in agricultural production, they were not involved in decision-making regarding the distribution of their agricultural production. Hence Strasser and Kronsteiner (1993: 164) conclude that within these two villages, patriarchy is a dominant force: this has sharply defined forms of power between men and women. This kind of culturally determined gender imbalance has been investigated in this study to establish whether this is one of the factors that undermines the participation of girls in soccer in the selected schools.

Furthermore, according to Moore (1994: 10) women throughout the world are associated with nature while men are associated with culture. The idea of associating women with nature is derived from the women’s reproductive function. Sharing the same sentiments as above, Leacock (1997: 201) on the other hand asserts that female sub-ordination is a consequence of capitalism, not an innate reflection of gender differences. Moore (1994) and Leacock (1997) argue that within the context of patriarchal societies it is generally believed that women’s chief role is to look after children: hence in such societies they are always seen as sub-ordinates to men and thus, kept away from the public sphere.

Birrell (2000: 62) also uses Marxist Feminist theory to explain gender relations within the context of sport in general - but without focusing on a specific country. She points out that there is an assumption that women are oppressed within patriarchal cultures. Sport is seen as a gendered activity: it not only welcomes boys and men more enthusiastically than girls and women, but also serves as a platform for
celebrating skills and values marked as masculine. Sport in many patriarchal societies is referred to as a ‘male preserve’, hence, Marxist Feminist theorists find sport to be a logical site for analysis of gender relationships.

According to Strathern (2001: 544) societies cannot begin to understand why and how women in many societies have been relegated to secondary status unless they recognize the contributions made by women in both politics and economic activities.

Pelak’s research (2005: 53) looks at how South African women soccer players have previously negotiated material and ideological barriers and constructed new sporting identities. Pelak (2005) uses a Marxist Feminist framework to investigate the micro-level experiences of competitive soccer players within the existing macro-level structures in South Africa which are seen to have been shaped by the legacies of apartheid and colonialism. Her study (2005) focused on the South African Football Association headquarters in Johannesburg, as well as the Western Cape Province headquarters in Cape Town, with semi-structured interviews conducted with seven soccer players and eleven soccer administrators in Johannesburg and Cape Town. Pelak (2005: 57) found that South African soccer was still divided along gender lines: for example, men and boys dominated soccer while women and girls continued to be marginalized.

Aitchison (2005) investigated gender equity at the Institute of Leisure and Amenity Management (ILAM) in Britain. According to Aitchison (2005: 425), ILAM was formed
in 1983 and in 1998, ILAM commissioned a study entitled “Gender Equity in Leisure Management” shows that there was an increase from 568 to 1151 women members of ILAM as compared to the 1991 study. The above figures confirmed that there was still discrimination, isolation and harassment within the organizational culture of sport and leisure management.

Bodey’s (2007) study involving Moroccan women concluded that sport in Morocco has traditionally been considered a man’s preserve. Men own, organize, coach, compete and watch sport in exclusion from women. Religious, medical and societal beliefs confined women to their homes as wives and mothers. Here and elsewhere cultural assumptions and expectations about appropriate feminine behaviour and gender-bound roles continue to curtail women’s active participation in sport.

Bogopa (2008) has also used the Marxist Feminist framework to investigate the unequal opportunities afforded to women in playing soccer as well as to participate in soccer administration. For example, Bogopa (2008) highlights the lack of attention and media coverage given to the encounter between the South African Women’s National soccer team and their Nigerian counterparts. Furthermore Bogopa (2010) also comments on issues of gender relations at the FIFA World Cup tournament which was held in South Africa: he points out, for example, that there were no female radio and television commentators, no female match officials and no female announcers.
Mennesson (2012) also uses a Marxist Feminist theoretical approach to investigate gender relations within the context of soccer and boxing in France. However, for the purpose of this research, the focus will only be on soccer Mennesson (2012: 7) conducted person-to-person interviews of women teams together with a simple observation schedule to gather data regarding gender relations in soccer in France. Mennesson (2012: 8) concluded that soccer in France still privileges males and power relations also favour men. Furthermore, women engaged in soccer were concerned about their being marginalized, and about the development of soccer in France still being controlled by men. Moreover female managers were relegated to the women’s committee with few means at their disposal to advance women’s soccer in a meaningful manner was that some of the male managers of women’s soccer were known to have waged a “moral crusade” designed to marginalize or exclude homosexual players from their teams (Mennesson, 2012: 9).

Ogunniyi (2014: 537) points out that study on the perceptions of the African Women’s Championship in 2010, while the 2010 FIFA Men’s World Cup in South Africa received huge media coverage the media coverage for the African Women’s Championship was comparatively very low key.

It seems that the majority of soccer-loving people and the general public were not even aware that there was an important women’s soccer tournament taking place at that time (Ogunniyi, 2014: 538). Ogunniyi (Ibid.) points out that even though sports policy documents addressing issues of gender inequality in soccer are extant, women’s soccer continues to be marginalized. Women are still grappling with issues such as
poor media coverage and not enough competitive soccer competitions both at local and national levels.

Ogunniyi (2015) also makes use of a Marxist Feminist theoretical approach to investigate the issue of gender relations in South African soccer. Her population sample included female soccer teams in Johannesburg and Cape Town with a total number of 10 interviews (of female footballers) being conducted, as well as interviews with their family members. Some of the issues that the female teams were struggling with included sexual stereotyping where members of the teams were being labelled as lesbians by outsiders.

According to Ogunniyi (2015: 32), the patriarchal structures and cultural understandings regarding women remain a stumbling block for women to make inroads in terms of occupying positions of power within the higher structures of football in South Africa. For example, the outcome of the 2013 elections of South African Football Association shows that only three women out of eighteen were elected in key positions. This shows that gender representation within SAFA is still a problem where only a few women serve within the higher structures.
CRITICAL ANALYSIS ON MARXIST AND MARXIST FEMINIST THEORIES

Haralambos and Holborn (1991: 788), argue that Marx's ideas and views were still alive and even relevant in the 1990s. The Marxist theoretical approach is considered to be relevant into this study because issues of class, race and gender conflict still exist in capitalist societies. This approach is especially relevant in understanding the issue of gender inequality within the context of South African sport, particularly at the two schools in Tsakane Township.

Many of Marx's critics have argued that history has failed to substantiate Marx's views on the direction of social change. They claim that class conflict has become institutionalized in advanced capitalist societies.

Within the context of sport, Coakley (2007: 39) argues that Marxist theorists support policies and programmes that regulate profit motives in sports and increase the control that athletes exercise in terms of their own sports participation. Marxist theorists also support policies that increase the element of play in sports and decrease the element of spectacle because it is designed to generate commercial profits.

However, Coakley (2007: 39) acknowledges that there are three major weaknesses in the Marxist theory. Firstly, the Marxist theory ignores the possibility that sports in capitalist societies may involve experiences that empower individuals and groups.
Secondly, Marxist theory assumes that all aspects of social life are economically determined, for example, that social life is shaped by the profit motive and the needs of capital in society. Thirdly, Coakley (2007: 40) argues that Marxist theory underestimates the importance of gender, race, ethnicity, age, sexuality, disability and other factors. Furthermore, Marxist theory often leads people to ignore the possibility that power and inequalities in society are based on factors other than social class and economic differences.

On the other hand Coakley (2007: 47) claims that the Marxist Feminist theory has had a major impact on the sociology of sport ad that it has over the years, increased people’s understanding of sport as a part of culture and made people more aware of gender-related issues in sport. For example, Marxist Feminist theory poses many questions such as: Why do many men around the world continue to resist womens’ efforts to become strong and powerful athletes? And why do many people assume that men who play sports must necessarily be heterosexual?

However, although Marxist Feminist theory has become increasingly aware of gender relations it has been slow to theorize connections between males and females (Coakley, 2007: 47). For example, Coakley (Ibid) is of the opinion that Marxist Feminist theory does not adequately explain gender inequalities. He concludes that there is an urgent need for more research on the sport-related experiences of women of different ages, abilities, religions and nationalities.
Although Coakley’s (2007) great concern is with women, there is also a need for further research into issues of ethnicity and race. This study will attempt to use the Marxist theoretical approach to understand the above-mentioned issues within the context of sport in South Africa and particularly in the two Tsakane Township schools in Gauteng Province.

While the Marxist Feminist theoretical framework has its valid points it also has certain weak points. However its framework is relevant for the current research investigation at the two schools in Tsakane Township. However, this is not to claim that this is the only theory that can be utilized to understand issues of inequality in soccer.

4.7 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, in this chapter the Marxist Feminist theoretical approach and its uses have been outlined. The two broad theoretical perspectives, namely, the biological perspective and the socio-cultural perspective have also been outlined in terms of their relevance to this thesis. A critical analysis of the Marxist Feminist theoretical framework has been outlined in some detail. In addition, alternative theoretical approaches have been briefly discussed in this chapter in order to show that the Marxist feminist theoretical approach is not the only theory that can be used to understand issues of gender inequality in sport in general, and in soccer in particular.
CHAPTER FIVE

SPORT POLICY DISCUSSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the analysis of selected soccer policies at national, provincial and school levels. The selected policy documents under discussion in this chapter include the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996), the South African Football Association Sport Policy (2011), the National Premier Soccer League Policy (2015) in South Africa, the Gauteng Department of Sport, Culture, Arts and Recreation Policy (2007) as well as the National Schools Sport Policy (2011) including the South African Football Players Union (2015). The purpose of the discussion regarding these policy documents is to establish whether these documents cover forms of exclusion within soccer, such as gender exclusion, race and racism, within soccer and issues of exclusion based on and ethnicity within soccer. Moreover, it is a discussion on whether the implementation of these policies is trickling down to the grass roots level or not.

5.2 SCHOOLS BACKGROUND AND SPORT POLICY

The two schools, namely, Reshogofaditswe Secondary School and Khombindlela Primary School were built during the apartheid era and neither school has soccer
fields for learners to participate in soccer. Soccer within these two selected schools is played by both boys and girls although the girls’ soccer teams are not well established. Although some of the educators mentioned the outdated school sport policy, in actual fact neither of these two schools possesses a soccer policy to guide it in promoting sport development among the learners. In August 2014, the researcher requested a copy of a sport policy document at both schools and the response on both counts was that the document is somewhere in their archives and they needed enough time to search for such a policy. The above-mentioned “storage” of the sport policies in the archives is a clear indication that the sport policies are not utilized at all.

Further, another request was made by the researcher to access their sport policy in April 2015 eight months after the interviews and still the sport policies at both schools were not available. The third attempt to request the sport policies was made in April 2016 and yet again with no success. All the learners interviewed had no knowledge of the existence of a sport policy document and the primary school learners did not even understand the meaning of sport policy, all of which clearly confirmed that there was no discussion between educators and learners about the sport policy.

5.3 ANTHROPOLOGICAL ANALYTICAL STUDIES ON OF POLICIES

According to Shore and Wright (1996) the anthropology of policy is the new emerging
sub-field within anthropology and assert that increasingly anthropologists have been 
involved in studying and analyzing policies as narratives to be condemned or justified 
cultural texts, as well as classificatory devices.

Shore (2012) argues that policies are increasingly thought to be government and 
political properties: however, these days policies are central to many organizations 
and institutions whatever their size. For example, hospitals, schools, churches, and 
businesses all rely heavily on policies to run their daily activities.

Pellissery (2014) argues that the challenges facing anthropologists in engaging on 
policy matters was how representation could be done without unduly privileging the 
analytic framework. In response to this many anthropologists argued that the 
representations had credentials based on the close relationship between the 
researcher and the participants.

The researcher fully concurs with the sentiments shared by Shore and Wright (1996), 
Shore (2012) and Pellissery (2014). It is for the above reasons that the sport policies 
in South Africa are being critically analyzed in this chapter. These policies are not 
analyzed or read in isolation, but rather in conjunction with the South African 
constitution.
5.4 THE CONSTITUTION OF SOUTH AFRICA

It is imperative to first briefly outline what the South African Constitution (1996: 1) outlines regarding basic rights of citizens. The preamble to the constitution clearly states the objectives as follows:

“to heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights, also to improve the quality of life for all citizens and free the potential of each person”.

In addition, it is stated in the preamble:

“that the country needs to lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and also that every citizen is equally protected by law”.

Moreover, the South African Constitution (1996: 14) clearly states

“that every South African has the right to a basic education, including adult basic education and to further education, which the state through measures that must be made progressively available and accessible”.

In addition, it states

“that every person has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public educational institutions where that education is reasonably practicable”. And finally according to the South African Constitution (1996)
“everyone has the right to establish and maintain, at their own expense, independent educational institutions that do not discriminate on the basis of race and maintain standards that are not inferior to standards at comparable public educational institutions”.

5.4.1 Critical Analysis of the South African Constitution

The above extracts from the South African Constitution of 1996 shows a commitment to address the problems of the past. During the apartheid period there had been a Separation Amenities Act of 1952 which restricted the so-called South African “races” to from playing sport together and it this constraint was further strengthened by the Group Areas Act of 1952. The issue of gender within the above-mentioned extracts from the South African Constitution (1996) is not clearly spelt out: on the other hand, however, the constitution emphasizes that everyone has equal rights.

In the light of the above extracts from the South African Constitution (1996), the implementation phase increasingly seems to be a great challenge with government departments struggling to roll out the financial resources allocated to them. For example, it was reported that the Eastern Cape Province has failed to spend R1.2 billion. Statistics provided show that the Department of Education in the Eastern Cape Province failed to spend R177.3 million. The Department of Agriculture failed to spend R15.2 million while the Department of Local Housing failed to spend R441.7 million. Statistics shows that the Health Department in the Eastern Cape province
failed to spend R85.1 million while Sport, Arts and Culture also failed to spend R294 000 (http://www.theherald.co.za/herald/news/n12_30102007.htm).

The unspent allocation of money to different government departments clearly shows that the Department of Sport, Arts, Culture and Recreation and other departments could not properly utilize the budget allocated, yet many schools are without sports facilities and without implementation of the physical education programs as required by the National School Curriculum. It was also reported that R11 million was allocated to the Eastern Cape in April 2007 to upgrade the libraries and purchasing of books. But only R29 000 was used in the entire Eastern Cape Province. According to the government officials, one of the reasons for failing to utilize the allocated budget was the shortage of staff responsible for coordinating the payouts of the grant (http://www.theherald.co.za/herald/news/n01_06112007.htm).

The above-mentioned statistics clearly show that the government leaders violated the rights of innocent citizens. The central government annually allocates budget allocations for funding in the areas of education, sport, health and agriculture, yet money is not spent accordingly. Surprisingly, the money was returned to the South African National Treasury Department. Some of the reasons for the failure to spend the money by the government departments are seemingly due to lack of capacity to roll out the funds.
It is also important to look at the state soccer specifically within the South African Football Association constitution (SAFA). SAFA is the mother body of soccer in South Africa and it is responsible for the day-to-day running of soccer affairs (i.e. for both men’s and women’s soccer). The SAFA constitution is a 57 page-document which entails a total of 93 articles. Out of the 93 articles within the SAFA constitution, the focus here is on the selected two articles, numbers 3 and 48 that address the issue of exclusion. For example, article 3 covers issues of neutrality and non-discrimination: it states

“That discrimination of any kind against a country, private person or group of people on account of ethnic origin, gender, language, religion, politics or any reason is strictly prohibited and punishable by suspension or expulsion”.

Further, in terms of article 48,

“The Committee of Women’s Football shall consist of a chairperson, a deputy-chairperson and not more than 10 persons shall be responsible for the following: (48.1) “drafting and submitting proposals on policies on women football development”, (48.2) “dealing with all matters relating to women football”; (48.3) “monitoring women’s football competitions” and (48.4) submitting regular reports to the National Executive Committee (NEC).

The above-mentioned articles 3 and 48 are relevant to this research because they address issues of exclusion and inclusion in soccer, particularly with reference to gender. Article 3 clearly shows a commitment from SAFA that any person playing
soccer in the country must not be discriminated against in terms of gender, religion, race, or language. Article 48 is more specific on gender and it emphasizes how the women’s committees within SAFA should be structured and what roles are to be played by individuals.

5.5.1 Critical Analysis of the South African Football Association Constitution

The gender representation within the SAFA National Executive Committee continues to be a thorny issue: for example, out of the 18 NEC members, it is layed down that there are to be four female members and 14 male members. The president of SAFA remains a male and out of his four deputies, one is a female deputy president. The issue of equitable gender representation also remains a huge problem at provincial level: e.g. only one female from KwaZulu Natal Province forms part of SAFA which is comprised of 18 members (https://www.safa.net/safa-national-executive-committee/).

There are nine soccer national teams with six national teams for men, including the senior national team (Bafana Bafana) with a male head coach assisted by an all-men technical staff. There is also the under 23 national team (Amagluglug) with a male head coach who is assisted by an all-male technical staff. Then there is the under 20 national team (Amajita) with a male head coach assisted by an all-men technical staff. There is an under 17 national team (Amajimbos) also coached by a male head coach
with all male assistant staff. There are also men Futsal national team and a men’s beach national team, both with male head coaches.

However for women, there are only three national teams, that is, the senior team (Banyana Banyana), the women’s under 23 national team (Basettsana) and the under 17 national team. At some point, all women teams were coached by male coaches: however, currently strides have been made to have more women coaches. Hence the women’s senior team as well as the women’s under 20 team are coached by female coaches.

Evidently, women are not given adequate platforms to showcase their talent in soccer and not given an opportunity to coach at a national level. The executive of the South African Football Association (SAFA) is still dominated by males at both national and provincial levels and that is of great concern since gender representation needs to be addressed at many levels, including those that can afford women with real opportunities to play, coach and administer soccer, at appropriate levels.

Admittedly SAFA has made progress in some areas: for example, the Women’s National Soccer team, Banyana-Banyana, qualified to play at the Rio Olympic Games in August 2016. The above is a step in the right direction and the same support and encouragement should be available to the women’s junior national teams. Further improvement was the first qualification criterion for the South African National team
to compete at the Women's FIFA World Cup: therefore the Banyana-Banyana, qualification is a positive step that the team must build on in order to improve the standard of women's soccer in South Africa.

The introduction of a Women's National Soccer League in August 2019 was a step in the right direction as it will give young women and girls in South Africa opportunities to show case their soccer talent. Furthermore, SAFA was granted the right to be the custodian of school soccer in South Africa by the sport arbitrator in March 2019.

5.6 THE NATIONAL SOCCER LEAGUE CONSTITUTION

South African National Soccer League Rules are spelt out as follows:

“that the following are some of the acts of misconduct, if a soccer club fails to protect the match officials against acts or attempts acts of violence of any other form of abuse before, during or after a match; if supporters misbehave in any manner whatsoever, inside or outside the ground before, during or after a match, irrespective of where the match is played; it is also an offense to throw or an attempt to throw missiles, bottles and other objects, whether potentially dangerous or not, on the pitch or at any person; it is an offence to give, or to promise, whether directly or indirectly, any inducement, reward or bribe of whatsoever nature, to anybody whatsoever”

Furthermore,

“It is an offence to commit any act or make a statement, either orally or in writing, or to be responsible for conduct which is considered ungentlemanly, insulting or improper behaviour, or likely to bring the game, sponsors, any club, the League, South African Football Association, Confederation of African Football or FIFA into disrepute”


5.6.1 Critical Analysis of the National Soccer League Constitution

However, what seems to be problematic is that the issue of gender is not clearly emphasized within the National Soccer League Constitution. Evidently, there is still gender insensitivity in the National Soccer League administrative structures. For example, the executive committee of the National Soccer League consists of eight members, namely, a chairman and another seven members. The current executive committee (appointed in 2016) was made up of seven men and one woman which confirms that the league is still dominated by male members. None of the 16 South African Premier Soccer teams have a female head coach or even a female assistant coach.

Township soccer is still grappling with many issues. For example, the inequality in soccer at the two selected Tsakane Township schools, namely, Reshogofaditswe Secondary and Khombindlela Primary is still evident where girls are not treated equally with boys in terms of game time and sports facilities. For example, I witnessed
boys bullying girls for space to play despite an agreement with the educators giving
the girls the opportunity to play.

5.7 THE GAUTENG DEPARTMENT OF SPORT, CULTURE, ARTS AND
RECREATION POLICY

The key responsibility of the Gauteng Department of Sport, Culture, Arts and
Recreation Policy is to ensure that sport development contributes to social
development, thereby building social cohesion and sustainable communities. This is
to be done through the following: broadening the participation base of sport;
improving the quality of sport at all levels and promoting healthy lifestyles through
mass participation in sport, school sport programmes etc. This is to be done through
the main-streaming of meaningful access to services and opportunities for
marginalized groups, such as women, the youth and people with disabilities (The
Gauteng Department of Sport, Culture, Arts and Recreation, 2007).

South African sports policies are formulated and reviewed from time to time: for
example, in March 2010, the Department of Basic Education, Sport and Recreation
revised their sport policy document for schools in South Africa. The vision of the new
draft is to create a school sport environment that promotes healthy living and lifelong
participation within the sporting culture. The mission of this draft is to organize
inclusive and integrated school sports programmes as part of physical education. The
sport policy aims to offer school sport programmes to all learners, irrespective of their ability and to promote healthy life practices, mutual respect and career opportunities. Furthermore, it is meant “to promote sport through education and mobilization of communities to strengthen the culture of learning and teaching in schools through their direct involvement in school sports activities” (Department of Education, Sport and Recreation South Africa, 2010).

The purpose of this draft policy is also “to promote school enrichment programs, through educational, recreational, and extramural school sports activities. In addition, it aims to promote participation and development of basic skills in different sports in primary schools by all learners, as well as to create access to mass participation in competitive and high performance sport through the provision of talent identification opportunities” (Department of Education, Sport and Recreation South Africa, 2010).

The mission of this draft is to ensure the application of a good code of conduct and also to ensure the functionality of school sport codes. The mission is also to establish and foster links between schools and community sports clubs, as well as to infuse social awareness messages and or strategies pertaining to all relevant school sport activities (Department of Education, Sport and Recreation South Africa, 2010).
5.7.1 Critical analysis of Gauteng Department of Sport, Culture, Arts and Recreation Policy

This analysis is based on the following factors: key pillars of sport development as outlined in the policy document, as well as the policy’s key principles and objectives. This analysis is based on the fact that although the policy was developed in 2007 no significant signs of progress had been noted by the end of 2009. The following analysis is based on observations made in Tsakane Township from October 2011 until April 2016.

One of the “key pillars” of sport development in the Gauteng Sport Policy is the making of provision for sports facilities and infrastructure development. In Tsakane Township, there were some soccer stadium renovations although the stadium was not in FIFA plans to be used in 2010 as a training ground. There were also rumours circulating in Tsakane that finance for the renovation of the stadium might have run out.

Despite the wonderful sport policy documents in place, the majority of schools have soccer fields which are not really usable for soccer as they are not being properly maintained. The learners have to play on hard and bumpy soccer fields. In terms of school sport in this township, there is no evidence that school learners are currently involved in any sports activities.
However, on a more positive note, there were several initiatives where the local municipalities had established parks in preparation for the 2010 event. Open spaces had been identified where big television screens were installed to cater for soccer fans to watch matches during the soccer tournament.

5.8 THE NATIONAL SCHOOLS SPORTS POLICY

The National School Sports Policy (2011) applies to all schools in the Republic of South Africa which are governed by the South African Schools Act 84 of 1996. The purpose of this policy is to regulate delivery of school sport to all learners, irrespective of ability: it applies to all schools in terms of age and/or grade, and is based on the principles of equity and access. Some of the objectives of this school policy include the acceleration of the transformation of society by addressing the past imbalances through quality school programs, and through using school sport to develop functional and vibrant institutions of learning and centers of community life. Furthermore, the aim is to ensure that all learners are given an opportunity to participate in schools sports programs.

5.8.1 Critical Analysis of the National Schools Sport Policy

The National Schools Sport Policy document clearly outlines the purpose of sport.
However, at the two schools in Tsakane Township, namely: Khombindlela Primary and Reshogofaditswe Secondary, the policy has not yet been implemented: for example, neither of these schools formally participates in any soccer competitions. Moreover neither school possesses a sports policy document aimed at sports transformation in place.

5.9 SOUTH AFRICAN FOOTBALL PLAYERS UNION (SAFPU)

The South African Football Players Union (SAFPU) was established in 1997 to defend the rights and interests of South African professional soccer players, as well as those of amateur soccer players, regardless of gender. SAFPU is an affiliate of the Congress of South African Trade Unions. Further, SAFPU is recognized by the South African Football Association and the Confederation of African Football, as well as FIFA. The main objectives of SAFPU are to protect, advise, support and to represent football players in contractual as well as labour-related matters. Since the inception of SAFPU in 1997 the leadership has always been confined to black males and yet soccer in South Africa is played by both males and by players from different cultural and gender backgrounds.
Increasingly, the majority of workers’ trade unions are vocal and claim to have zero tolerance on instances of gender inequality. However, gender inequality within SAFPU is currently of great concern. The executive committee of SAFPU is composed only of male members and this is of great concern since soccer is played by both males and females. The website of SAFPU shows the current male executive members being former PSL players. Over the years, there has been a lack of transformation and diversity within the executive structure of SAFPU. Further, the constitution of SAFPU is missing from the website: this makes it difficult to understand how various structures are supposed to operate within SAFPU. Diversity is lacking within the SAFPU executive structure: for example, there are no white or coloured members. The lack of young members occupying leadership roles within SAFPU is also of great concern.

SAFPU is supposed to be fighting for gender equity and questioning issues of gender inequality, and ethnic and racial exclusion, as well as other forms of exclusion. However, there exist forms of exclusion within its own structures. For example, its executive committee consists of black male members only. As a result, SAFPU seems grappling with gender inequality, racial imbalance and lack of diversity even at its own executive level.
5.10 GAUTENG PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT SPORT DEVELOPMENT POLICY FRAMEWORK

The GPGSD policy framework was drafted in 2007 by the Gauteng Provincial Government which highlighted the following strategies: the implementation of bursary support programs for high achievers in sport; setting of quotas in line with the draft transformation charter to identify and build the capacity of previously marginalized groups so as to ensure demographic representation in terms of gender, youth and people with disabilities who could represent the Gauteng Province and subsequently the country. The implementation of a competitive school sports program was initiated as an induction phase in order to expose youth to a competitive sporting environment before progressing to a High Performance Sports Program. It was further meant to support the coordination and facilitation of various Provincial, National, Confederation and International Inter-Schools Sport programs such as the Winter, Summer, Spring, and Autumn Games and championships; the Farm & Rural Schools Project; Cross Country and other school sport programs and Championships.

In addition the policy was aimed at, implementing a School Mass Participation Program in partnership with SRSA which targets previously disadvantaged primary and secondary schools across the Province for capacity-building initiatives in sport administration, coaching, mentoring and officiating for both learners and educators. Initially, the program will target six age groups for both males and females in the following sporting codes: Football, Rugby, Athletics, Netball, Volleyball, and Cricket.
5.10.1 Critical Analysis of the Gauteng Provincial Government Sports Development Policy Framework

All the above-mentioned policies are progressive sport policies that address almost all important issues that deal with various forms of discrimination. However, most of the sports structures are grappling with implementation processes. For example, the two selected schools township schools in Tsakane, Reshogofaditswe Secondary and Khombindlela Primary are still grappling with implementation issues of ensuring gender inequality in sport. The problem is that gender relations issues are not sufficiently emphasized nor given sufficient details for implementation via all the above-mentioned sports policies.

5.11 LITERATURE ANALYSIS

It is evident from various studies that many countries are still grappling with gender inequality in soccer. For example, in North American Japanese and Korean soccer gender discrimination is still rampant. Yet as feminist interventions have shown, patriarchal traditions are still endemic in many cultures (Lee, 2005).

Gender inequality in football is particularly noticeable in those societies where football emerged as the preferred leisure activity of the male working and middle classes. In women’s football, there are conflicting perceptions of gender roles and appropriate
behaviour Gender discrimination in sport is socially constructed in various ways. Moreover women's comparatively minor status in sport is also clearly expressed by wage differences, as professional women soccer players usually receive smaller salaries. Women are also rarely in leading positions in the sports bureaucracy (Lee, 2005).

In Japan and Korea, for example, women’s football is administered by a committee or working group set up under the umbrella of the national or regional football association. Yet the majority of board seats are held by male sports bureaucrats, who are also likely to dominate the women’s board. As women also suffer from under-representation among coaches and staff personnel, it is usually male-determined standards that dominate the women’s game (Lee, 2005).

Female subordination endemic in everyday life, codified at political and administrative levels, exploited in economic contexts and symbolically reproduced in popular cultural forms. (Lee, 2005).

Pelak (2005: 53) raises sport policy matters relating to how the South African women soccer players have previously negotiated material and ideological barriers and constructed new sporting identities. According to Pelak (2005: 57) South African soccer has been divided along gender lines: for example, men and boys have dominated soccer, while women and girl players continue to be marginalized.
According to Bodey (2007) sport in Morocco has also traditionally been considered a man’s domain. Men have owned, organized, coached, competed and watched sport in exclusion from women. Religious, medical and societal beliefs there have demoted women to their homes as wives and mothers. Hence traditional cultural expectations in many communities about appropriate feminine behaviour and about gender-bound roles have curtailed women’s active participation in sport.

McKinly (2010: 87) also raises soccer policy related matters within the context of South African soccer by exploring how huge sponsorships contribute to soccer development programs at both amateur and professional levels. For example, the Women’s Soccer Committee received R300 000 out of a huge South African Football Association (SAFA) budget. The above discrepancies clearly show that there is gender inequality in soccer in South Africa.

According to Naidoo and Muholi (2010:106) women are still not fairly represented in South African soccer structures. For example, the former South African Women’s National Soccer coach complained about sexual harassment incidents where some of the male technical team members were sexually involved with female soccer players. However details about these were not divulged by Naidoo and Muholi (2010).
5.11.1 Critical Analysis of Literature on Gender Inequality

Lee (2005), Pelak (2005), Bodey (2007), McKinley (2010) and Naidoo and Muholi (2010) have all raised policy-related matters regarding gender inequality in sport in general and in soccer in particular in terms of two main categories: the biological construction of gender and the socio-cultural construction of gender. Both it seems have had a negative impact on soccer development.

5.12 PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS

Katzenellenbogen, (1995), Walter, (1994) and Jenne (1997) have all argued that there is a shortage of educators who have been trained to teach physical education. The majority of educators teaching physical education have limited resources and knowledge. Moreover there are no supportive structures to assist them: for example, there is a dearth of sports committees, sponsorships and sports-related reading material. Furthermore there are no scholarships available for furthering one’s physical education qualifications.

According to Rashid (1994: 10) in Botswana the majority of educators have no formal physical education qualifications: their physical education lessons are thus little more than supervised play.
The issue of learners being computer literate is also very crucial largely because many jobs require computer skills. Hence many learners spend time using computers as well as playing computer games. This can impact negatively on their health, for example, lack of exercise has led to increased levels of obesity, diabetes, hypertension and others (Amusa and Toriola, 2000).

5.12.1 Critical Analysis of Physical Education

Perhaps the best solution to the above issue is to strike a healthy balance between time spent on sports fields as opposed to time spent in front of TV and computer screens.

5.13 CONCLUSION

This chapter has attempted to critically examine the following documents, namely, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) and the South African Football Association (SAFA) Sports Policy, and the Premier Soccer League policy in South Africa. Furthermore, the Gauteng Department of Sport, Culture, Arts and Recreation Policy as well as the National Schools Sport Policy were also critically discussed. The South African Football Players Union’s role was also alluded to. Finally there was a literature survey regarding sports policy matters with specific reference to soccer in
and beyond the borders of South Africa. The purpose of the attention given to these policy documents is to establish whether they give due attention to forms of exclusion in soccer such as gender exclusion, racial bias and forms of exclusion based on ethnicity. Moreover, attention is given to a key question: to what extent are these policies being implemented at the grass roots level - and if not, why not?
6.1 INTRODUCTION

Firstly, this chapter presents details of research findings for this study. Findings of the study are mainly based on both the emic perspectives of participants, as well as the observations of the researcher. The emic perspectives include the views of the respondents in the study, i.e. the learners, educators and sports officials. The four main themes that emerged from the findings are presented via the voices of the participants.

Secondly, this chapter contains data analysis of the findings which are triangulated by literature. The general findings of the study are more related to the fact that even though in principle or theory the various soccer bodies on paper are pro women’s interests, in terms of practical implementation the reality is far different. In many instances female players and officials are still excluded from participating in soccer.

The main aim of this study was to explore the state of soccer in Gauteng schools, using two schools located in Tsakane Township. An accompanying focus on women’s soccer was partly to investigate whether women have the same access to soccer opportunities and resources as do men. This study also focused on the perceptions
and views of the participants on the issue of gender inequality in sport. The aim was also to find out how the girl child can be helped to fully participate in soccer in the same manner as boys.

6.2 RESEARCH FINDINGS

Below is the discussion on the research findings which include observation as well from the researcher point of view.

6.2.1 Observations

It is important in an anthropological study to provide both the “etic” and “emic” perspectives. Therefore, the observations presented below are based on the researcher’s etic observations during the fieldwork. The purpose of presenting these observations is at the beginning of this chapter is to provide the broader context of the study, i.e. its infrastructure and the availability of sports facilities at the selected schools.
6.2.2 Lack of Proper Facilities

Both schools that were chosen for the study have inadequate recreational facilities: for example, neither has proper or standard soccer fields and therefore both boys and girls who are interested in playing soccer at school are not afforded a conducive space to practice and play soccer. The space used for soccer at the primary school is a netball size field and the surface is paved with brick: this is dangerous for players since soccer is a contact sport and it can involve falling of players during play.

6.2.3 Goal Posts

Furthermore, the absence of proper goal-posts at the Primary school defeats the whole purpose of playing soccer. The space provided for soccer at the secondary school is better because the surface is grass but it is not maintained and it is not level enough to allow soccer to be played properly. In addition, there is only one goal-post and no one knows what happened to the other goal-post.

6.2.4 Soccer Equipment

It was observed that neither of the two Tsakane Township schools had adequate
soccer equipment: for example, there were not enough soccer balls, or soccer kits to accommodate both boys’ and girls’ soccer teams for training or for looking presentable during soccer matches. Participants from both schools said that they did not have sponsorships to provide them with their soccer needs.

6.2.5 Lack of Proper Training

Out of the five school days per week, no soccer training day has been allocated for soccer teams to practice. Furthermore, there are no soccer competitions to keep the soccer teams busy throughout the academic calendar year: instead these soccer teams’ play only occasionally.

Neither of the schools had any sport or soccer policies in place to guide both the learners and their educators: this could be one of the obstacles hindering soccer from growing and could also have a negative impact on both girls and boys. Moreover there is a lack of proper soccer structures within the township as a whole: therefore this impacts negatively on the development of soccer within the township, including the vast Ekurhuleni Metropolitan Municipality area.

When one looks at the formal soccer structures in South Africa such as the Premier Soccer League, issues of gender still remain as a problem: for example, the current executive committee of the Premier Soccer League is comprised of eight members
who are owners of six soccer teams from the premier division and two are owners of first division teams. Out of the above eight executive members, only one member is a female. There are only three female members within the South African Football Association executive committee.

The areas that need special attention within the big-time soccer in South Africa include issues is with regard to use of ball-girls: currently in all South African National team and PSL soccer matches - except the match which was played in the Nelson Mandela Bay stadium on 9 August 2015 only ball-boys are being used. The majority of the above-mentioned PSL soccer teams have Public Relations Officers who are males. Few teams in the PSL have female physiotherapists and the majority of teams have employed male physiotherapists.

All PSL teams have employed only male technical staff. This is the case particularly with reference to the coaching department, namely the head-coach, assistant coach and goalkeeper coach positions. However there are capable female coaches who also need exposure at that level. Similarly there are only male soccer team managers within the PSL teams. Moreover none of the PSL and South African National teams has appointed female medical doctors.

There is one step in the right direction, however: the current head coach of the South African National Women’s Soccer team (Banyana Banyana) is a female from the Netherlands. The match officials in most cases are still men and occasionally women
feature s as match officials in the matches involving the South African National team and the PSL soccer matches.

Equally, most of the soccer television commentators, soccer presenters, and soccer analysts are males in both the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and the Multi-choice Company pay television which caters for TV viewers across the African continent. However the introduction of the “diski league” by the PSL and sponsored by the Multi-choice television company is a great initiative, largely because this is creating opportunities for many young soccer players to showcase their talents. However, so far only male soccer players benefit from this huge sponsorship.

Furthermore, the introduction of the varsity league which is sponsored by one of the leading banks in South Africa, First National Bank, is also a step in the right direction as it is advancing soccer at tertiary institutions. However, the first problem is that there is no soccer sponsorship that looks after soccer at schools. Secondly, the problem is that the diski league only benefits the male soccer players at tertiary institutions while female students remain marginalized.

The South African Football Players Union was formed in 1997 to ensure that soccer players’ rights are protected in the country against unfair labour practice by owners of the soccer teams. The existence of SAFPU was and still remains a great initiative: however, it is of great concern that after twenty-five years of democracy in South Africa, the executive committee of SAFPU is still comprised only of male members.
6.3 DATA PRESENTATION

Below is the presentation from the interviews on gender inequality in soccer, the existence of sport policy in schools in question, ethnicity and race/racism in sport.

6.3.1 Gender Inequality in Soccer

A total number of 105 interviews were conducted. With regards to the issue of girls being given the same opportunities as boys within soccer participants had different views. The following specific question on gender inequality in soccer was posed to all the participants. *Do you perhaps have gender inequality in your school in sport in general and in soccer specifically?*

Some of the female learners at Khombindlela Primary responded as follows:

“We do have girls’ soccer team in my school and I am one of the players but I still believe that girls cannot play sport such as soccer and rugby to their full potential since their bodies are not strong as boys”.

One female learner said:

“Boys at my school are selfish when it comes to sport, they always want to utilize the small sport field that we have and we are tired of fighting against them and our teachers are not helping us to get an opportunity to play as well”.
Furthermore, another female learner said,

“I play netball and the problem in this school is that boys’ sport is taken more seriously than girls’ sport”.

Some of the female educators at the Khombindlela responded as follows:

“There is gender equality in my school. This is informed by the decision to allocate sport administrative duties equally between males and female teachers”.

Another of the female educators at the Khombindlela Primary school responded as follows:

“There is gender equality in my school and this is informed by the decision to decentralize the administrative duties of sport to a sport committee. For example, I am a female soccer coach in my school and I am dedicated”.

A majority of female educators at Reshogofaditswe Secondary said that at their school both male and female learners are allowed and encouraged to play sport. One of the educators said:

“The majority of educators at my school are females and they do participate in coaching sport and girls also take part in sport in my school equally as boys”.

Some of the educators said even though sport used to be a man’s thing there is now balanced representation in their sports committees at their school and as result the netball and cricket teams are doing very well. One of the female educators said:
“I am coaching girls’ cricket team in my school and there is also girls’ soccer team. Boys and girls participate freely in sport in my school and our Sport School Committee is gender balanced”.

The third female educator at Reshogofaditswe Secondary school said:

“We do not have gender discrimination in sport in my school, we encourage both boys and girls to participate in sport although girls still have the idea that cricket and soccer is for boys and they prefer to play netball most of them”.

The only two female sport officials at the Department of Sport and Recreation that participated in the interviews provided the following perception of gender inequality pertaining to the township school sport: the first female official opined that sport should be open to everyone regardless of gender and she said:

“These days sport is open to both males and females and learners can participate freely without any hassles”.

Contrary to the above-mentioned female sport official, the second female sport official said that there is gender inequality in most of the sporting spheres and she responded as follows:

“Women and girls are still treated unequally in most sporting codes and women sport is tolerated instead of being given an equal opportunity”.

One of the male educators at Khombindlela Primary was of the opinion that gender in sport in his school is not a problem since boys and girls are being afforded an equal opportunity to participate in sport and he responded as follows:
“Learners from both sexes are allowed to participate in sport, for example, we have a girls’ soccer team and girls cricket team. We also have a mixed cricket team”.

Another male educator also echoed the same sentiment and responded as follows:

“Every learner has an equal opportunity to play in any sporting code of his or her choice. Currently, we do not experience any gender discrimination in sport in my school, for example, we have a girls’ soccer team and a female educator who is coaching this team”.

Furthermore, another male educator shared the same view and responded as follows:

“I am a co-ordinator of sport in this school and we do not experience any gender discrimination in sport. Boys and girls are given a fair opportunity to play any sport they prefer”.

One of the male learners at Khombindlela Primary concurred with his educators: responded as follows:

“Participation in sport in my school is open to both boys and girls. There is a female teacher who is coaching girls’ soccer team and we also have a cricket team and the players are both girls and boys”.

Another male learner responded by saying:

“Soccer and cricket at my school are played by both girls and boys. There is a cricket team which has mixed players and there is also a boys’ soccer team as well as a girls’ soccer team coached by a female teacher”.

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Another male learner also responded as follows:

“Soccer and cricket in my school is played by both girls and boys. We have a mixed cricket team as well as a girls’ soccer team. Boys also have their own soccer team in my school”.

One of the male educator at Reshogofaditswe Secondary was diplomatic in his response: he firstly said that girls are still marginalized since they do not have sporting facilities and he responded as follows:

“Girls are the most disadvantaged at my school. Girls do not have a sports field and they do not get enough exposure. However, there is a gender balance in terms of the School Sports Committee”.

Another female educator also stated that girls in his school are still not given equal opportunities to participate in sport and said that:

“There is still a stereotype mentality that sport is for men and there is a similar tendency in my school, girls sport is not taken seriously which is strange because the school sport committee comprises of both females and males educators”.

Contrary to the above-mentioned two educators, another male educator said that there are equal opportunities for everyone to participate in sport and he responded as follows:

“There is no gender discrimination in my schools sport, although at times girls believe that sporting events such as cricket and rugby are for men. Girls are still shy to participate in rugby and cricket although we do not have rugby in my school.”
Female educators in my school are actively involved in taking crucial sport decisions”.

One of the male learners at Reshogofaditswe Secondary said that there is equal opportunity for everyone to participate in sport in his school but there are still a few problems and he responded as follows:

“Participation in sport in my school is open to both boys and girls, there is a girls’ soccer and a cricket team but these teams are not actively involved because they lack enough players to participate”.

Another male learner said that there are still gender stereotypes about who should play sport in his school and he responded as follows:

“Many girls in my school still think that soccer and cricket are for boys hence these two sporting codes are still struggling to attract girls to participate. There are female and male teachers who are involved in coaching sport in my school”.

Further, another male learner said that there are equal opportunities in sport at his school and he responded as follows:

“Girls and boys participate freely in sport in my school although there is still a stereotype mentality that soccer and rugby are for boys and men. There are both males and female teachers who coach learners in various sporting codes in my school.”

One of the male sport official at the Department of Sport, Culture, Arts and Recreation said that there is still gender discrimination in sport at schools in the townships and he responded as follows:
“There are those learners and teachers who believe boys are the only ones talented in sport. Girls are not given a fair chance in my school to participate in sport, they do not have a netball field to practice but boys have a soccer field in my school”.

Another male official also shared the same sentiment and he responded as follows:

“Gender is another mind boggling issue in sport. Girls are still encouraged to play netball and are discouraged to play soccer, rugby and cricket because these sporting codes are considered to be unsuitable for girls”.

Further, another male sport official was also concerned with the gender discrimination in sport at the township schools and he said that:

“Sport at school is slowly interfacing into being a cross gender issue”.

Some of the female learners at Khombindlela Primary school responded as follows:

“I believe that girls cannot play sport such as soccer because they are not strong as boys”.

Another female learner at Khombindlela Primary school responded as follows:

“Boys at my school always want to play soccer and they give us a chance to play”.

Further another female learner from Khombindlela Primary school responded as follows:

“Girls cannot compete in soccer like boys”.

Some of the female educators at Khombindlela Primary School responded as follows:
“We have both girls and boys soccer teams in my school but girls still lack the skills to play soccer”.

Another female educator at the Khombindlela Primary school responded as follows:

“I am a female soccer coach in my school and I am dedicated to my coaching for the benefit of learners”.

A female educator at the Reshogofaditswe Secondary School responded as follows:

“There is equal opportunity for boys and girls in my school to take part in soccer”.

Another female educator said:

“Boys and girls participate freely in sport in my school and our Sport School Committee is gender-balanced”.

Another female educator at Reshogofaditswe Secondary school said:

“We do not have gender discrimination in sport in my school, we encourage both boys and girls to participate in soccer”.

The female sports officials at the Department of Sport, Arts, Culture and Recreation responded as follows:

“Soccer these days is open to both males and females and learners can participate freely without any hassles”.

However the only other female sports official said:

“Women and girls are still grappling with unequal treatment in soccer”.
The male educators at Khombindlela school responded as follows:

“Learners regardless of being boys or girls are given an equal opportunity to participate in soccer in my school”.

Another male educator also echoed the same sentiment as above that every learner in his school has an equal opportunity to participate in soccer and he responded as follows:

“Every learner has an equal opportunity to play in soccer”.

Further, another male educator also shared the same view as his above colleagues and he responded as follows:

“Boys and girls are given a fair opportunity to play any sport including soccer”.

The male learners at the Khombindlela Primary School responded as follow:

“One of the female teachers is coaching girls’ soccer team in my school”.

Another male learner also emphasized that soccer at his school is played by everyone regardless of gender and he responded by saying that:

“Soccer at my school is played by both girls and boys”.

Further, another male learner also confirmed that at his school there is no discrimination in soccer and he responded as follows:

“Girls and Boys also have their own soccer teams in my school”.

The male educators at the Reshogofaditswe Secondary School responded as
follows:

“Girls in my school do not have soccer field and they do not get enough time to play soccer”.

Another male educator also highlighted that girls in his school are still not given equal opportunities to participate in soccer and she said that:

“Girls’ soccer is not given the fair opportunity in my school”.

Contrary to the responses of the above-mentioned two educators, another male educator said that there are equal opportunities for everyone to participate in soccer and he responded as follows:

“Female educators in my school are actively involved in taking crucial soccer decisions”.

The male learners at the Reshogofaditswe Secondary school responded as follows:

“Participation in soccer in my school is open to both boys and girls”.

Another male learner said that there are still gender stereotypes about who should play soccer in his school and he responded as follows:

“Many girls in my school still think that soccer and cricket are for boys, hence these two sporting codes are still struggling to attract girls to participate. There are female and male teachers who are involved in coaching sport in my school”.

Further another male learner said that there are equal opportunities in soccer at his school and he responded as follows:
“Girls and boys participate freely in sport in my school although there is still a stereotype mentality that soccer is for boys and men”.

The male sport official at the Department of Sport, Culture, Arts and Recreation said that there is still gender discrimination in soccer at schools in the townships and he responded as follows:

“In most cases girls are not given a fair chance in my school to participate in sport, but boys have a soccer field in my school”.

Another male official also shared the same sentiment as his above colleague and he responded as follows:

“Girls are still discouraged from playing soccer because soccer is considered to be unsuitable for girls”.

Another male sport official was also concerned with the gender discrimination in soccer at the township schools and he said that:

“Soccer at my school is gradually growing and it is played by both girls and boys”.

6.3.2 The Existence of Sports Policy

Do you have a sports policy in your school and how does it work?

The responses to the above question were gathered from female educators at the Khombindlela Primary School. One of the female educators said that there is a school
sport policy; however, she did not see the impact it has on sport at the school and she responded as follows:

“The school sport policy in my school is just a document which has been around for a long time but it is not used effectively. The document does not talk about so many issues that affect sport development in township schools, for example, my school sport policy is silent on issues of gender, ethnicity and race”.

Another female educator was concerned about the school sports policy being silent about certain issues that impact negatively on sport within her school and she responded as follows:

“We do not have problems of race and ethnicity in sport in my school and the policy is also silent on these issues”.

With regards to the responses from the sport officers at the Department of Sport, Culture, Arts and Recreation regarding the school, one of the female sport officers said:

“The school sport policies must address the unequal distribution of sporting facilities as well as providing space and time for learners to participate in sport”.

Another female officer said:

“The current sport policy within schools is limited and not every learner can participate in sport”.

One of the female educators at Reshogofaditswe Secondary School responded as follows:
“Boys are being given a fair opportunity to take part in sport, for example, playing soccer and cricket while girls do not get enough game time to play the above-mentioned sports”.

One of the male educators at Khombindlela Primary School responded as follows:

“My school sports policy is outdated and it does not suit the current period”.

Another male educator said:

“We have a school sport policy that is outdated and it must be reviewed to address issues of race, gender and ethnicity so that we are in a position to address these issues should they surface in future”.

Furthermore, another male educator said:

“The school sport policy is readily available: however it has been drafted more than six years ago and has never been reviewed. There is a need to review the school sport policy with the view of including how issues of gender, ethnicity and race should be resolved so that the school should not find itself wondering should these issues become a problem in future. Currently, we have a problem of space within the schoolyard since the school was built during the apartheid period and the sports fields were not catered for hence there’s a problem”.

Regarding school sport policy in the two township schools in Tsakane, one of the male educators at Reshogofaditswe Secondary School responded as follows:

“The educators are expected to teach the learners and they are also expected to coach the learners in sport.”
Another male educator said:

“There is a great need for sponsors to come on board and assist schools with sporting equipment and space for sporting activities must be made available”.

Another male educator responded as follows:

“There is a need that sport policy must be drafted and written within our school so that we can develop our sporting codes, especially for soccer”.

Another male educator responded as follows “Currently we do not have a sports policy in our school. There is a need for such a policy so that we can operate in a proper way”.

The responses from male sport officers at the Department of Sport, Culture, Arts and Recreation regarding school sport in the two township schools in Tsakane are as follows: One of the male sport officers said:

“It is important to introduce indigenous games at both school and residential levels. Municipalities with the help of mayors and the general public should build cultural centres where adults may devote their time in teaching children of the indigenous games they used to play while they were still young”.

Another male sport officer said:

“The school sport policies would have to be restructured to fit the description of the schools in the townships. For example, the school sports policies should address mainly the gender issue and access to sporting facilities as well as making time available for sport”.

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Another male sport officer said:

“The Gauteng Province has a sports policy in place: however, most of the schools in the townships do not have school policies because sport policy document formulation needs more time and there is no expertise in schools to draft the sport policies that will be relevant to an individual school”.

Another male sport officer said:

“There is a School Sports Policy in Gauteng Province: however this policy is broad and the onus on the individual school to use it to draft its own school policy that will be in line with their needs. Further, one of the challenges these days is that the schools in the townships are no longer actively involved in sport. There is a great need for all stake holders to bring back the culture of playing sport in these schools. The school governing bodies, including the educators, need to come up with strategies on how to fit in sport within the school programs because currently there is none”.

Which strategy does your school use to access financial or sport equipments assistance (sponsorship) from companies on women/girls and men/boys sport?

One of the female educators at Khombindlela Primary School responded as follows:

“We have been writing letters to companies requesting them to assist with sports equipment and we are still waiting for their responses”.

Another female educator responded:

“We apply every year to companies for sport sponsorship but there are no positive responses from these companies”.
Another female educator said:

“*We have previously applied for sponsorship but our applications were unsuccessful*”.

One of the female educators at Reshogofaditswe Secondary School responded as follows:

“For many years they have approached the business sector for financial assistance but they were unable to secure any sponsorships”.

Another female educator said:

“We have used every strategy to secure sport sponsorship and we seem not to succeed”.

Furthermore, another female educator said:

“We have been long applying for sponsorship but we were not successful”.

One of the female sport officials at the Department of Sport, Art, Culture and Recreation responded as follows to the sports sponsorship question:

“*Generally sponsorship in terms of money is hard to get due to the economic climate of the country*”.

Another female sport official said:

“Many companies are struggling to make enough profit and therefore it is hard for them to make sport sponsorships to schools or any other needy institutions”.
One of the male educators at Khombindlela Primary School responded as follows:

“We have been trying to get sport sponsorship but there is no response”.

Another male educator said:

“I have lost hope because each time they apply for sport sponsorship they do not get any reply”.

Another male educator said:

“Every year we sit down as a sport committee to come up with sponsorship ideas but we don’t succeed”.

One of the male educators at Reshogofaditswe Secondary School responded as follows:

“We have tried as a school for many years to secure sport sponsorship for our learners but we are never successful”.

Another male educator said:

“Due to the economic difficulties of the country it is not easy to find a sport sponsorship”.

Moreover, another male educator said:

“There is no longer hope that our school will ever get a sponsorship for sport”.

One of the male sport officials at the Department of Sport, Art, Culture and Recreation responded as follows to the sports sponsorship question:
“Due to the economic climate, companies are restructuring and many workers have lost employment and therefore it is difficult for these companies to give out sport sponsorships”.

Another male sports official said:

“Due to economic hardship it is hard for them to provide sports sponsorships to schools”.

Furthermore, another male sport official said:

“Many companies can no longer afford to accommodate the social responsibility initiatives due to the financial difficulty they find themselves in”.

Another male sport official said:

“Previously sponsorships were very easy to get but currently it is no longer easy to find sports sponsorships”.

In your own view, which strategies can be utilized to improve the schools’ sports policies and the sport development programmes in your area?

One of the female educators responded as follows:

“There is a need to include the above-mentioned issues as well as issues of space for sporting fields within the school yard. The department of education must also channel sport resources and time must be allocated for sport, for example, playing fields to play soccer and cricket as well as reserving Wednesday afternoons for sport”.

Another female educator responded as follows:
“To be on a safer side there is a need to include these issues in the school sports policy so that there are mechanism in place to deal with them should they crop up in future”.

Further, another female educator responded as follows:

“Gender inequality remains a problem in my school and there is a need to include this issue in the school sports policy so that boys and girls could be afforded an equal opportunity to participate in sport freely: for example, boys in my school dominate in terms of using the limited space for sport and girls are not given sufficient time to play during intervals”.

One of the female educators at Reshogofaditswe Secondary School responded as follows:

“It is important that the schools at the township should introduce indigenous games so that learners who are not afforded an opportunity to play popular sport such as rugby, cricket and soccer could be able to at least take part in indigenous games such as mathini, diketo, black-mampatile and so on”.

Another female educator at Reshogofaditswe Secondary School responded as follows:

“The school sport policy must include sporting codes such as rugby because there might be learners who are interested in playing rugby and yet it is not available”.

Another female educator at Reshogofaditswe Secondary School responded as follows:
“The indigenous games must be introduced within the policy and be implemented to create more opportunities for more learners to participate in sport”.

One of the female sports officer believes that the introduction of indigenous games at the township schools would create more opportunities for more learners to be involved in sport. She responded as follows:

“The school sports policies must also address the introduction of indigenous sport such as morabaraba, kgati and others so that more learners can be involved in physical sport as part of physical education”.

One of the female sports officer was concerned about forms of exclusion in sport at the townships schools and she responded as follows:

“The school sport policy should address forms of exclusion namely: gender inequality, ethnicity and race problems”.

One of the male educator at Khombindlela Primary School responded as follows:

“There is a great need for stakeholders to sit down and review the policy. A school governing body needs to task some members who are involved in sport to look at issues that affect the development of sport, for example, issues of race, gender and ethnicity as well as allocation of sporting facilities. The popular sporting codes such as soccer and cricket only cater for a few learners to take part in sport and therefore in order to accommodate more learners in sport it is important to introduce indigenous games in schools”.

Another male educator said:
“The current school sport policy must address the issue of sporting facilities, as well as ensuring that girls and boys are treated equally in terms of giving time to participate in sport”.

Furthermore, another male educator said:

“I would like to see the school sports policy being reviewed and the policy must address the issues mentioned above and implement effectively. For example, girls and boys should be encouraged and be supported to play soccer and cricket by organizing matches and competitions for them to participate. The school sport policy must also introduce indigenous games to allow learners that are not participating in popular sporting codes such as soccer and cricket to take part”.

Another male educator at Reshogofaditswe Secondary School said:

“It is the duty of the school sports committees, with the help of the department of education, as well as the sports department to employ the retired sport professionals to assist both the learners and educators with coaching clinics in different sporting codes such as soccer and cricket”.

Another male educator said:

“Sports policies must also encourage indigenous games such kgati, diketo and others to allow many learners to take part in sport”.

Another male educator responded in Sesotho as follows:

“There is a need to promote indigenous games”.

Further, another male educator responded in isiZulu as follows:
“The learners must be encouraged to play soccer because it creates opportunities these days.”

Below are the responses from male sport officers at the Department of Sport, Culture, Arts and Recreation regarding the school sport in the two township schools in Tsakane.

One of the male sports officers said:

“It is important to introduce indigenous games at both school and residential levels. Municipalities with the help of mayors and the general public should build cultural centres where adults may devote their time to teaching children of how to play the indigenous games they used to play while they were still young”.

Another male sport officer said:

“The school sport policies should address mainly the gender issue and access to sporting facilities as well as making time available for sport”.

Furthermore, another male sports officer said:

“There is a need for the schools to draft their own sporting policies that will suit their own needs and time”.

Another, male sport officer said:

“There is a great need for all stakeholders to bring back the culture of playing sport in these schools. The school governing bodies, including the educators need to come up with strategies on how to fit in sport within the school programs because currently there are none”.

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6.3.3 Ethnicity

Besides gender inequality, what other issues seem to be problematical in sport generally and in soccer in particular? The issue of ethnicity also emerged during interviews in response to this question. The researcher was able to probe further as follows:

It seems that educators, learners and sports officers from both sexes do not view ethnicity as especially harmful to sport. It is viewed by the majority of informants as part of diversity and not necessarily as excluding other sports. However, one educator said that occasionally during soccer matches with other schools, issues of ethnicity surface. For example, some of the soccer match officials occasionally treat other school players or officials with contempt based on their ethnic identity. Such behaviour can lower the standard of soccer if it is not addressed adequately.

Issues of ethnicity still exist: this sometimes emanates from differences in language background: for example, the soccer players from the dominant language sometimes dominate, while soccer players from minority groups are made to feel excluded. Within both schools, soccer players are predominantly from the isiZulu background and communication is exclusively in isiZulu.

Below are responses from some of the female educators at the Khombindlela Primary School. One of the female educators said:
“In my school we have learners from the isiZulu and XiTsonga background and in my view the situation of participation in terms of ethnicity is balanced because learners from all these cultural groups participate in sport”.

Another female educator said:

“We are involved with young learners who are not fully aware of ethnicity and they innocently play sport. We only experience issues of ethnicity when we play against other schools”.

Another female educator said:

“We have learners from isiZulu and XiTsonga background and in my observation, participation in terms of ethnicity is balanced”.

The following are the responses of the female learners at the Khombindlela Primary school regarding ethnicity in sport.

One of the female learners said:

“Ethnicity has to do with people from different cultures. When we play sport in my school we do not even look at whether you speak isiZulu or Sesotho, we just play”.

Another female learner said:

“I am from a Zulu background and I play sport with other learners who speak isiZulu and those who speak XiTsonga but when we play sport we all speak isiZulu”.

Another female learner said:
“I am from Sesotho background and here at school there are also learners who speak Sesotho, isiZulu and Xitsonga, we all play sport together”.

The responses regarding the issue of ethnicity in sport from the female educators from Reshogofaditswe Secondary School are as follows:

One of the female educators said:

“We have learners from diverse background in my school, for example, there are learners who speak Sepedi, Sesotho and isiZulu and they are all treated equally and they play sport together”.

Another female educator said:

“I am teaching and coaching learners from different cultural backgrounds in this school. Learners participate in sport without even looking at their cultural background”.

Another female educator said:

“I am an assistant soccer coach at my school and the soccer players in the boys’ team that I coach are coming from diverse cultures and they speak different languages”.

The responses from female learners at the Reshogofaditswe Secondary School regarding ethnicity with specific reference to soccer at the township schools in Tsakane are as follows:

One of the female learners said:
“We have learners that speak isiZulu, Sesotho and Sepedi in my school and we play sport together although sport is not taken seriously in my school”.

Another female learner said:

“I know that in Model C schools there is an issue of ethnicity and in my view these issues must not be allowed to happen”.

Another female learner said:

“In my class as well as other classes here at school there are learners that speak different languages. I speak Sesotho and we play sport together as learners from various cultures. I am not participating in any sport but I know that learners that participate in sport come from different cultural backgrounds in my school”.

The responses from the female sports officers from the Department of Sport, Culture, Arts and Recreation regarding ethnicity with specific reference to soccer at the township schools in Tsakane are as follows:

One of the female sports officers said:

“Currently, sport is in crisis in many township schools. These schools do not have sport programs for learners to play sport. There are learners from various cultural backgrounds in both township and Model C schools and the issue of ethnicity and race is more visible at Model C schools where there are learners from various races, namely: Indians, blacks, whites and coloureds. In township schools the issue of ethnicity is minimal”.

Another sports officer said:
“I know that in many township schools there are learners from various ethnic groups, namely learners who speak isiXhosa, isiZulu, Sesotho, etc and they play sport together. There are also educators from various backgrounds who speak the same languages as learners. In Model C schools you also find learners and educators who speak African languages including English and Afrikaans. In all the above schools, issues of ethnic and racial conflicts are mostly found in Model C schools where parents become involved. Learners of different ethnic and race backgrounds in Model C schools always compete fiercely for places in rugby and cricket teams and it is an open secret that the selectors of these two sporting codes prefer white players to black players and this problem will continue to haunt South Africans for a long time if it is not adequately addressed”.

Below are the responses from the male learners at the Khombindlela Primary School regarding ethnicity with specific reference to soccer at the township schools in Tsakane.

One of the male learners said:

“At home we speak isiZulu and I am also learning isiZulu here at school. There are learners who speak Sesotho and Xitsonga, we all play sport together without looking at who speaks what. We do not have white and coloured learners at my school, we are all black learners and we play sport together”.

Another male learner said:

“I am a Xitsonga speaking and in my school we have learners from Zulu and Sesotho background. We all play sport together although the dominant culture is Xitsonga. The majority of learners and educators are speaking Xitsonga. All the teachers and learners are black in my school and we play together”.
Another male learner said:

“*My home language is Xitsonga and I am also learning Xitsonga at my school. We also have learners who speak Sesotho and isiZulu but they are in a minority and we play sport together. We are all black learners in my school as well as black teachers*”.

The following are the responses from male learners at the Reshogofaditswe Secondary School regarding ethnicity with specific reference to soccer at the two township schools in Tsakane.

One of the male learners said:

“*There are learners from various backgrounds in my school and we play sport together without any problem. I play cricket although we do not have enough time allocated for us to play it. I speak Sesotho and most of the players in my cricket team speak isiZulu and there are few that speak Sesotho and Sepedi and we get along very well as a team*”.

Another male learner said:

“*My home language is Sepedi and I am studying with learners in the same class that speak Sesotho and isiZulu, we only separate when there is time for vernacular. I also participate in soccer in my school and players in my soccer team speak these three languages, namely: Sepedi, Sesotho and isiZulu. We play together without looking at cultural background*”.

Another male learner said:
“At home we speak Sepedi and I am also studying Sepedi at my school as one of the languages. There are also learners that speak isiZulu and Sesotho. We all play sport together without discriminating each other”.

The responses from male educators at the Khombindlela Primary School regarding ethnicity with specific reference to soccer at the two township schools in Tsakane are as follows:

One of the male educators said:

“In my school we have learners from XiTsonga, Sesotho and isiZulu backgrounds and they are all given a fair opportunity to participate in sport”.

Another male educator said:

“Learners in my school are treated equally without looking at their ethnic backgrounds”.

Further, another male educator said:

“I am aware that in other schools participation in sport depends on one’s ethnic background. In this school we have learners from two ethnic backgrounds (isiZulu and XiTsonga) and they play freely without any problem”.

The responses from the male educators at Reshogofaditswe Secondary School regarding ethnicity with specific reference to soccer at the two township schools in Tsakane are as follows: One of the male educators said:

“Occasionally and out of stereotypes there are issues of ethnicity in my school sport, for example, there are incidents during the matches where learners will
blame each other for applying wrong tactics especially when they have lost a match. They would mention that we have lost because some players are stubborn Zulus and they can't play soccer”.

Another male educator said:

“Learners in my school participate freely in sport without being considered if the learner is coming from whatever cultural background”.
Further, another male educator said:

“Learners and educators in my school come from diverse cultural backgrounds, for example, we also have two educators from Zimbabwe. Learners from these cultural backgrounds play sport together without looking down upon each other”.

Below are the responses from the male sports officers from the Department of Sport, Culture, Arts and Recreation regarding the issue of ethnicity with specific reference to soccer at the two township schools in Tsakane.

One of the male sports officers said:

“There are various types of schools in South Africa, for example, there are township schools which after so many years of democracy are still struggling in terms of getting their act together. There are also Model C schools and learners are from different races. In most of the Model C schools the stereotypes are still in existence, for example, it is still believed that rugby and cricket is a white-man’s sport and black learners are not good at all in playing these two sporting codes. My son grew up playing rugby and constantly complained about not being given enough game time to play cricket at his previous school and I ended up looking for another school so that he can play cricket. I gave up because in his current school there is a similar problem and it hurt so much because the boy is so dedicated to playing cricket but he is occasionally selected to play.”

Another male sport officer responded as follows:

“Ethnicity at school has dwindled if not ended since learners across various ethnic groups interact without noticing that they come from different cultural backgrounds.”
Further, another male sport officer said:

“In township schools it is difficult to observe differences because they are almost exclusively black learners and educators. Race in sport can become an issue in model C schools where you find learners and educators from different races. You will see learners and educators being in conflict over issues such as who are the best players in rugby and cricket and fierce fights on who to select to play these sporting codes. Most of the rugby and cricket teams in Model C schools are still dominated by white players while at the same schools soccer is dominated by black learners”.

Further one of the male sport officers responded as follows:

“In my view, ethnicity is almost non-existence in the current school set-up. Children from all races interact with each other freely. Every sport is played by both males and females. However, the issue of race in sport is still a problem in some schools, for example, I have observed that black players are still not given a fair chance to participate in rugby and cricket in most of the white schools”.

Another male sport officer said:

“In my view ethnicity has to do with people from different ethnic backgrounds interacting with each other. Learners at schools in both townships and Model C schools play sport together and I know of ethnic conflicts which occur in township schools although it is not a serious problem. However, in Model C schools it sometimes turns ugly to an extent that it involves parents and also appears in television news and newspapers. I remember reading a newspaper article some few years ago where there was a conflict in one of the schools rugby tournaments. Five of the black learners were disqualified because of their statures. The white
educators’ argument was that these five black rugby players are too big and could hurt the white players. Gender discrimination is still rife in sport: on paper there is hope but in practice women and girls are still not being afforded an opportunity to participate equally with men and boys”.

6.3.4 Race and Racism in Sport

The issue of race emerged from the above interviews. However, it does not have any direct impact on their sports participation since they are all blacks in the two Tsakane Township schools in this study. The respondents argued that they only hear about issues of racism in sport on both the electronic (radio and television) and print media (newspapers and magazines) but it is not an issue at all at their schools.

There were mixed feelings from the only two available female sport officers who were interviewed. The first female sport officer acknowledged that there are issues of race and ethnicity at township schools, although it is minimal. She further argued that the above problems are prevalent at the Model C schools which are geographically situated in towns and suburbs.

Besides gender inequality in sport and soccer in particular, what are the other challenges?
Below are some of the responses gathered from the female learners at Khombindlela primary School in Tsakane Township regarding the above question.

For example, one of the female learner at Khombindlela Primary School responded as follows:

“There are no race problems at my school since we are all black learners.”

Another female learner at Khombindlela Primary School responded as follows:

“We are all black learners and we do not have problems like where there are white and black learners in one school”.

Further, another female learner at Khombindlela Primary School responded:

“We only have black learners at my school and we get along well with each other”.

The female learners at the Reshogofaditswe Secondary responded as follows:

“My younger brother is studying at Model C school in town and he always complains about warming the bench in most of the cricket matches and my father does not want to go to the school to find out why his son is not playing regularly. There are no issues of race in my school, we all play sport without any discrimination.”

Another female learner at Reshogofaditswe Secondary said:

“There are no issues of race in sport in my school”.

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Another female learner at Reshogofaditswe Secondary School said:

“We do not have issues of race in my school but I know that these issues happen in Model C schools in town.”

The female educators at the Khombindlela Primary School responded as follows regarding race in sport: One of the female educators said:

“Currently, we do not have race problems in my school.”

Another female educator said:

“I am aware of race problems in sport that happen in Model C schools where black learners are not given a fair chance to participate in sport”.

Another female educator said:

“Currently, we do not have race issues in my school, I guess this is because we only have black learners.”

The responses from the female educators at the Reshogofaditswe Secondary School are as follows: One of the female educators said:

“We only have black educators and learners in my school and therefore issues of race non-existence, however, I know from my friend who is teaching at Models C schools in town that they experience issues of race in her school.”

Another female educator said:

“I know that it is a race issue and it is difficult to explain to him although it hurt me so badly. I have decided not to take the matter up with the school because I know
my son will be victimized. He is left with only two years to go to the secondary school and I have convinced him that he will get a better opportunity to play cricket at high school.”

Another female educator said:

“We do not have issues of race in sport in my school, however, I occasionally hear about these issues on radio talk shows and reading from newspapers.”

The responses from male learners at the Reshogofaditswe Secondary School regarding race with specific reference to soccer at the township schools in Tsakane are as follows:

One of the male learner said:

“I only read and listen to radio about issues of race in sport but in my school we do not experience these problems.”

Another male learner said:

“There are no issues of race in my school: however, my sister is studying in a Model C school in town and she sometimes complains about not being given a fair chance to participate in hockey and netball at her school.”

Another male learner said:

“There are no issues of race in my school since we are all black learners, however, my friend who is studying in town stopped playing rugby because he was told by the white rugby coach that he is not good in rugby.”
The responses from male educators at Khombindlela Primary School regarding race with specific reference to soccer at the two township schools in Tsakane are as follows:

One of the male educators said:

“We do not have race problems in sport in my school but I know that schools in towns they have this problem.”

Another male educator said:

“I am aware of race issues in sport that mostly happen in white schools in town but in my school we do not have such a problem.”

Another male educator said:

“We do not have race issues in sport in my school.”

The responses from male educators at Reshogofaditswe Secondary School regarding race with specific reference to soccer at the two township schools in Tsakane are as follows:

One of the male educators said:

“There are no issues of race in my school, however, I am aware that sport at township schools is not catered for by the government, it started previously with the apartheid government and it continues even in the new dispensation.”

The second male educator said:
“Race is not an issue at my school since learners and educators are all black, however, I am aware of race issues at Model C schools, my sister’s son is always complaining about black learners being given game time at his school.”

Another male educator said:

“There are issues of race at the schools in town, my son is studying in Model C school in town and he has stopped participating in sport because he spent two years playing cricket and he was selected only three times in two years and we advised him to forget playing in his school and encouraged him to play sport in their neighbourhood cricket team and he is enjoying himself. There are no cases of race in my school sport since they are black learners and educators.”

6.4 DATA ANALYSIS

The data analysis in this chapter follows the five broad steps recommended by Strauss and Corbin (1990) firstly, outline the responses that were recorded during the interviews. Secondly, refer to relevant secondary reading material, including, among others, journal articles, books, policy documents and newspaper articles. The third step is to identify the themes that emerged from interviews and literature consulted. Fourthly show a deeper understanding obtained through consideration of responses to follow-up questions. Finally comes the interpretation of the data collected from both interviews and literature.
According to Marshall and Rossman (1999) qualitative researchers can account for possible weaknesses in terms of lack of external validity, by stating the theoretical parameters of research, and thus tying the methods used into theory. Neuman (2011) argues that qualitative research in most cases involves the use of general ideas and themes. In qualitative research, the raw data is organized into conceptual categories and various themes are created.

According to Sands (2002: 80), the majority of ethnographic data takes the form of qualitative data comprised of informant and fieldwork narratives and myths. Qualitative data will in most cases, fall into three categories: i.e. quotations from informants following interviews; narratives from both the researcher and informants - and observations, including descriptions of culture.

In this research project, the researcher has followed the above-mentioned stages by presenting qualitative data gathered from interviewing the learners, educators and sport officers. Some of the relevant narratives will be outlined below in the data analysis sections.

Sands (2002: 80) also distinguishes the two types of presenting data, namely, the manual form where the researcher will analyze raw data from the field notes and a second method where the researcher analyses the field notes by using computer software packages.
According to Berg (2001: 239), the researchers who utilized the thematic approach are usually interested in the behavioural regularities of everyday life; for example, the researchers are interested in language and language use, and rituals and ceremonies including the relations involved.

In presenting the data, individual researchers need to use their discretion in terms of which empirical data to include or exclude. More often, this approach is dependent on the analytical choices the researcher has to make (Berg, 2001: 239). According to Berg (2001: 246) the simplest way of categorizing qualitative data would be to organize the data into key themes which one can count.

Anderson (2007: 1) argues that analysis should focus more on the participants’ interpretations of the world and place less emphasis on the feelings and thoughts of the researcher. Moreover, Anderson (2007: 2) recommends that before proceeding with a thematic content analysis, the researcher must highlight all the descriptions relevant to the study.

6.4.1 Gender Inequality Discussion

The gender inequality problem is not only confined to the two schools in question: there is also gender inequality in the professional soccer structures, namely, the Professional Soccer League (PSL), South African Football Association (SAFA) and
the South African Football Players Union (SAFPU). For example, according to Bogopa (2015) SAFPU is not addressing gender inequality within its structures. The SAFPU executive committee has remained male-dominated for many years - up until recently.

Gender inequality also remains a huge problem within the PSL where there is only one female within the PSL’s Board of Directors. Furthermore, in terms of the coaching personnel within the 16 PSL teams there is no female coach or even a female assistant coach, let alone a female goal-keeper coach. Within SAFA, there have been some reforms in terms of the coaching staff: for example, the coaches in the South African Women National team are now women. However, while there are only three female executive members within SAFA their presence shows that SAFA is trying to address the problem of unequal gender representation. On the other hand, the gender representation within SAFPU continues to be a problem because currently the executive is still exclusively male. Sport within and beyond borders of South Africa has traditionally been - and still is – seen as a vehicle that confirms male virility, masculinity and power. Sport, to a large extent, has remained a conservative domain for the representation of male domination in sport since the 19th century. Despite girls’ and women’s undeniable advances in football since the 1980s, football continues to be primarily a man’s world.

According to Tanner (2011) the language used by commentators contributes to this marginalization of female athletes. Specific types of language that aid in marginalizing women include the use of sexualizing and objectifying language, gender marking of
women’s events which demote women to the position of “other,” and the infantilization of women. According to Tanner (2011), familial references are often used by commentators as well. Through agenda building, networks are able to effectively minimize the amount of coverage given to women’s sports. Cultivation theory provides evidence as to how messages about female athletes received through heavy television viewing can distort reality. Female athletes still battle stereotypes associated with them. Participation in certain sports by women is still not deemed acceptable by all. Specifically, participation in team sports and physical sports is not always approved of. Language used by commentators reinforces these ideas. Because so little attention is given to women’s sports what coverage they do receive stands out, but not for the right reasons. This coverage entails using language that lessens the importance of female athletes. Women in general are often sexualized and objectified and female athletes are no exception. Instead of focusing on their abilities and triumphs, commentators focus more on about their physical appearance.

Tanner (2011) also claims that maternal and familial references are also used in describing female athletes. By speaking of them in this light, female athletes are viewed as less of a threat to masculine hegemony. Commentators make them appear more feminine and less masculine in this way, thus, downplaying the image of an independent and confident woman.

The landscape for women’s sports has not made any substantial progress. Sports commentators are not necessarily using overtly negative language when speaking about female athletes, but they rarely speak about them at all. It is disappointing to
see such marginalization of women’s sports. The public’s silence “helps to ensure smaller audiences for women’s sports, while keeping fans of women’s sports on emotional life-support” (Tanner, 2011).

According to Chepkemei (2012) female youth athletes continually gain access to more and more sports which were formerly the domain of the men. However, ‘the question remains whether this situation has altered female youth images and practices of sports’. In Mathare slums, female youth do most of the domestic chores while the male youth have little or nothing to do. As a result, male youth have a lot more time for outdoor activities as compared to females. The concept ‘public space’ continues to be a preserve of men. Sports fall within this category. Thus sports arenas, for female youth who are deemed to belong to the private spaces is a taboo. Female youth have much more difficulties and in some cases, are completely excluded from visiting these spaces. Though public spaces may have been intended for general public use, all too often female youth are too intimidated to use them for fear of physical or psychological retaliation by men or authorities.

Participation of female youth in the community has positively impacted on the notions of the self and identity of the female youth and to some extent impacted on gender norms that perceive soccer as a male space.

According to Joseph (2012) women’s soccer is seen as “other” through the use of the qualifier ‘women’s’ which distinguishes it from so-called ‘normal’ soccer. The setting
up of the men’s soccer/women’s soccer divide, recalls several sexist ideological binaries: culture/nature; public/private; and strong/weak. This sort of chauvinistic sentiment has historically been translated into concrete practices of discrimination. The fact that for South Africans, if one is not playing at a national level, the trend among the broader public still is not to consider women generally as competent athletes. Although advocacy is important and a legitimate intention of the team, it is also valuable to acknowledge that their performance through sport itself could be recognized as a counter culture or subversive mode potentially able to rival a hegemonic gender-distinction-biased status quo. However, this reality is overlooked by the presentation offered.

Besides the above-mentioned problems, it must be acknowledged that there are some signs of improvements in soccer at Reshogofaditswe Secondary School and Khombindlela Primary School: for example, there is a female soccer coach at the primary school where the research was conducted. Beyond the schools context, it was reported in 2000 that the African continent witnessed the Women’s African Cup of Nations, which was held in South Africa. There were women coaches as well as women soccer officials, with the Nigerian team emerging victors of the tournament (Bogopa, 2001: 89). This was a positive step by the Nigerian Soccer Association and the Confederation of African Football. The Nigerian Association showed that it believed in its female coaching staff instead of appointing male coaching staff. At the same time, CAF also recognized the women officials by giving them an opportunity to officiate important soccer matches.
It was reported that on 23 April 2007, a woman soccer official refereed a men’s soccer match. The match was shown live on South African television. According to reports, the woman official in question handled the match very well and there was praise from all quarters of South Africa about her capabilities (http://www.psl.co.za/latest_news/story_23407131233.php).

There have also been some improvements with regard to female soccer presenters, analysts and female soccer commentators within the South African Broadcasting Corporation, Laduma sports programs and the Multi-Choice Africa sport channel, Super Sport 4. These two soccer sport channels often invite the female soccer analysts to share their views and analyze the live matches. These two sports channels have also employed female presenters and female commentators.

6.4.2 Sport Policy Discussion

The Primary School learners could not respond to the question of relating to the existence of the school sport policy. One would have expected to get some responses from the secondary learners on sport policy matters but it turned out that they too were ignorant about sports policy matters because they had not ever been exposed to policy issues by their educators.
The responses that were gathered from the educators and sport officers are as follows: firstly, the suggestion of re-introducing indigenous games received strong affirmation: several educators argued that the introduction of indigenous games would create more opportunities for learners to participate in healthy exercise and sport. Secondly, in addition to the gender issues, ethnicity and race were also given some attention. Most of the educators felt that the school sport policy must be upfront in addressing all these problems in the interests of sport development. However, part of the problem was identifying someone with sufficient time and inclination to initiate a review of the sports policy documents. Time is only allocated for teaching and learning and there is no time in the school curriculum allocated for policy review matters.

Reshogofaditswe Secondary School and Khombindlela Primary School, still lack recreational facilities and the necessary personnel to take physical education to the next level. Similarly, the majority of South African schools experience the same problem. This problem impacts negatively on the health of learners and therefore all stakeholders need to come up with strategies to resolve the problem.

According to Kirk and Colquhoun (1989: 100) physical education was introduced as a subject in the elementary school curriculum with a view improving the overall health of children in schools. Waddington (2000: 408) and Bogopa (2013), also associate sport and exercise with good health. This perception about the importance of physical education is universally accepted across many countries and communities. There exists an urgent need for Physical Education programs to be implemented effectively at every school in South Africa.
6.5.3 Ethnicity Discussion

Anderson et al. (2004) have investigated ethnicity issues within the context of multi-ethnic soccer in the Johannesburg area. Anderson et al. (2004) cite soccer spectators claiming that Zulu soccer referees were biased when officiating soccer matches.

Majori-Majesty’s (2010) study focuses on ethnicity issues in Nigeria. He cites ethnic conflicts between Igbo, Yoruba and Hausa soccer spectators. Similarly Vidacs (2011) focuses on soccer-based conflict in Cameroon between the Bamileke and Bassa ethnic groups. Vidacs (2011) examines the anthropology of soccer from the Cameroonian perspective with regard to issues of ethnicity and nation-building. However, the study ignores gender-related issues and looks at soccer in Cameroon as if it is played by males only.

6.5.4 Race Discussion

According to Odendaal (1977: 117) sport development in South Africa was previously hampered by factors such as racism. The Apartheid government’s apartheid policy denied different racial groups the opportunity to play sport together. For example, in 1962 the South African government charged nine White, Indian and Coloured citizens for playing soccer in an Indian area: they were tried in the Natal Supreme Court for violating the Group Areas Act of 1952.
In the post-apartheid period, Merrett (1994: 115) also argued that South Africa in the mid-1990s was still grappling with issues of racism in sport; for example, in KwaZulu-Natal, white elites allegedly still controlled the resources. Merrett (1994), Meer (1996) pointed out that sport in South Africa had remained segregated and unequal - for example, players could not share common accommodation. There were two multiracial golf clubs in the country up to 1983. It was alleged that while white children could have all the sporting amenities they could want, black children had only limited sports facilities.

Giulianotti (2005: 65) argues that the South African National Sports teams may symbolize unity and reconciliation but whites still enjoy superior coaching and education. Alegi (2007: 35) too refers to the racial divide that still exists in places such as Cape Town. He argues that soccer is still marginalized in Cape Town in terms of sports development needs for all. For example, the Green Point Stadium was constructed in Cape Town city where soccer is not popular despite the original plan of constructing the world cup stadium in Athlone, a Coloured area where soccer is popular and played by the majority of young boys.

6.6 CONCLUSION

An attempt has been made in this chapter to outline the research findings which include among others, the lack of proper facilities at the schools such as the standard
soccer field which is supposed to be 100 square meters. Further, the absence of soccer goal posts in these two schools which made it impossible for learners to have proper training. The lack of soccer equipment’s such as soccer balls, soccer boots and soccer kit remain a huge problem. Data analysis and presentation on four broad themes has been outlined. The above themes include the questions of gender inequality, ethnicity, race, and policy matters.
CHAPTER SEVEN

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the study conclusion, recommendations on issues of gender in soccer, in two Tsakane Township schools where the research was conducted, namely, Reshogofaditswe Secondary School and Khombindlela Primary School. Further, this chapter outlines recommendations with regard to the existence of school sport policy as well as issues of ethnicity and race in sport in general within the context of the two schools in Tsakane Township. In terms of the findings of the study the recommendations in this chapter are also extended, where applicable, to the higher structures of soccer in the country, namely, the Professional Soccer League (PSL), South African Football Association (SAFA) as well as the South African Football Players Union (SAFPU).

7.2 STUDY CONCLUSION

Below are the three main research questions of the study. The first question is why is women’s soccer not given the same amount of support in terms of resources, in comparison to male counterparts particularly at the township schools in Gauteng Province? The responses to the above question are presented in chapter 6 under the
The second question is why are female learners and female educators excluded from participating in soccer at local level? Similarly, the responses to the above question has been presented in chapter six under the theme gender inequality in soccer. The third question is what are the school policies that drive development initiatives in sport, especially in soccer? The responses are also in chapter six under theme the existence of school sport policy.

It is important to add that as the researcher was probing during the interviews then the issues of ethnicity and race in sport emerged and the researcher decided to investigate on the two issues. The responses on issues of ethnicity and race/racism are also presented in chapter six under different themes respectively.

The aim of this research project is to investigate gender inequality from an anthropological perspective within the context of soccer in two Tsakane Township schools and also to understand the issues of gender inequality in soccer in the post-apartheid period within the context of the two selected schools. Further, the research objectives are as follow: to investigate the impact of gender inequality in soccer in two Tsakane Township schools in Gauteng Province, to identify some of the policy gaps pertaining to school soccer and provide recommendations for policy improvement within soccer in Gauteng Province and possibly within the nation as well.
and to determine/establish the impact of gender inequality on policy development relating to soccer in the two schools in Tsakane Township.

The interviews were conducted in two schools in Tsakane Township investigating gender inequality in soccer as well as investigating the existence of sport policy in these two schools. Furthermore, the investigation was on forms of exclusion which included issues of the knowledge of ethnicity and race/racism in soccer. The aim and the objectives of the study were achieved by interviewing the participants which included learners, educators and sport officials provided their responses which are presented in chapter six above. Lastly, in terms of the third objective, the recommendations are being outlined below in the recommendation section.

7.3 RECOMMENDATIONS ON HOW GENDER INEQUALITY SHOULD BE ADDRESSED WITHIN THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT IN TWO TSAKANE TOWNSHIP SCHOOLS AND WITHIN THE PROFESSIONAL SOCCER STRUCTURES IN SOUTH AFRICA

Since gender inequality at school level in soccer remains a huge problem in two Tsakane Township schools, namely, Reshogofaditswe Secondary School and Khombindlela Primary School, there is a great need to address this issue by empowering female educators with soccer coaching skills. SAFA needs to accommodate schools within its coaching programs, largely because soccer
development in schools will determine the future of female soccer. The Gauteng Department of Basic Education needs to revise its school curriculum and ensure that sports programs are implemented effectively at all schools. After-School sport programs must be also be encouraged at all schools which need to be provided with necessary resources.

With reference to the above recommendation, there is a great need to allocate sporting fields at these two schools in Tsakane Township, as also many other schools who lack this basic requirement. The soccer grounds/fields can be built at both schools to afford both boys and girls an opportunity to participate in soccer.

An alternative proposal if fields cannot be immediately delivered is, with the help of the Gauteng Basic Education Department and the private sector, to at least build mini indoor soccer fields at each school if funds are available. The indoor soccer field can accommodate both girls and boys for playing soccer. The creation of an internal league is recommended: more than 20 teams could be established for the league since indoor soccer requires six players per team in a field of play. The league could help to facilitate creation of a large pool of soccer players within these two schools which could make them readily available to compete with other schools locally, provincially and nationally. Furthermore, the construction of an indoor soccer facility can accommodate other sports such as indoor hockey and indoor volleyball, as well as indoor basketball, netball and cricket. The envisaged facility could therefore, be used as a multi-purpose sports center that would keep the learners playing sport.
Currently at Khombindlela Primary School in Tsakane, boys dominate in terms of utilizing the available small space and the girls are sometimes forcefully removed by the boys: this kind of behaviour must be rectified by the school authority so as to ensure equal utilization of the space.

At the two schools chosen for this research, there is only one female soccer coach who is based at the Reshogofaditswe Secondary School. Hence there is a dire need to encourage more female soccer coaches to participate in soccer at the two schools – and elsewhere.

Currently, there is gender inequality in the professional soccer structures. It is therefore strongly recommended that the Professional Soccer League (PSL), must transform its structures by introducing women to participate in its decision-making bodies. For example, the PSL teams must start to appoint female personnel within their technical teams with a view to empowering more women.

SAFA is responsible for ensuring that there are match officials for each and every PSL soccer match. Currently match officials are predominantly males: therefore, SAFA must increase the pool by introducing more female soccer referees, female assistant referees, female officials, including female match commissioners.

Modern soccer requires soccer teams to employ the services of medical personnel. The majority of the PSL teams have male doctors and male physio-therapists and it is
recommended that the PSL teams must start to introduce female team doctors and female physio-therapists because currently the above positions are dominated by males.

The South African Football Association (SAFA) needs to increase the number of female members within its executive in the next elections. It is strongly recommended that the next SAFA president be a female. Similarly, the gender representation within SAFPU is of great concern. It is therefore, strongly recommended that the structure of SAFPU must change at its next elections by introducing female members in its executive committee. The above can be achievable by recruiting members from the current crop of female professional players, as well as from retired female players; these women could make a meaningful contribution to the development of soccer, including the protection of soccer players’ rights.

There is only one female within the PSL’s Board of Directors. In terms of the coaching personnel within the 16 PSL teams there is no female coach or even a female assistant coach, let alone a female goal-keeper coach. However within SAFA, there have been some improvement: for example, there is now female representation in the coaching staff for the South African Women’s National team. However, although there are only three female executive members within SAFA their appointments does show that SAFA is trying to address the problem of skewed gender representation.
Currently, there are only ball-boys at the PSL soccer matches and there is a need to recruit ball-girls so as to encourage the girls to gain knowledge and interest on soccer. The introduction of two ball-girls per PSL soccer game can improve the situation.

The introduction of female commentators within the SABC sport channel is a step in the right direction and it is therefore, recommended that the Super Sport 4 soccer channel should also employ a female soccer commentator.

Currently, there are only two known female soccer commentators employed by the SABC: therefore, both TV soccer channels mentioned above need to break these stereotypes and introduce more female soccer commentators. This could be achieved in three ways. Firstly, there are currently female soccer commentators and female radio presenters who could be recruited to address gender inequality in television sports programs. This could help to address gender inequalities in South Africa since soccer on television is watched by millions of soccer spectators. Secondly, both soccer channels can gradually train the female soccer commentators via co-broadcasting soccer matches with more experienced male commentators. Through these reforms they can create a pool of female soccer commentators within a year or two. Thirdly, both soccer channels could send talent-hunters out into communities to search for talented female soccer commentators.
The issue of ethnicity emerged out of the interviews conducted at the two schools in Tsakane Township, however, it emerged ethnicity does not negatively affect sport as such but there does need to be greater awareness that soccer players within the schools come from different cultural backgrounds. It is recommended that the educators must make the learners more aware of the value of cultural diversity and also teach the learners that cultural differences should not be used as boundaries to exclude others in sport.

One of the educators involved in coaching soccer cited that issues of ethnicity sometimes crops in during school soccer tournaments where match officials might utter sarcastic ethnic-based comments. It is therefore, recommended that sport officials handling soccer matches should focus on applying the rules of soccer to sensitively and fairly.
The majority of participants in the two Tsakane schools, cited some awareness of alleged racial issues in sport at other schools but made it clear that such issues do not affect them directly at their schools. According to the learners and educators racial discrimination in sport is a stumbling block to sport development.

Firstly, there is a need within the two schools in Tsakane Township, to work on drafting a sports policy document within their schools with a view to regularizing various the sporting codes, including soccer. Relying on the outmoded sports policies that might lie in the archives of the school will not assist in any way.
The above can be achieved by aligning their school sports policies with the Gauteng Province’s School Sport policy. Educators must then sit down and draft their own school sport policy. Alternatively these schools can outsource the task to appropriate experts to draft on their behalf.

The school sport policy at both schools chosen for this research must ensure that they cover issues of gender inequality, class, race and racism, ethnicity, physical education, recreational facilities, sport time and management, as well as the introduction of indigenous sports or games.

It is also recommended that the two schools chosen for this study ensure that they teach the learners about the existence and the importance of their school’s formal sports policy. Learner awareness of policy matters will in future have a trickle- down effect in terms of empowering the learners as future leaders to implement these ideas wherever they will be working.

The school sport policies must be reviewed from time to time (every three years) to ensure that they are still relevant to the needs of sport at the school.
7.7 RECOMMENDATIONS ON HOW THE ISSUE OF INDIGENOUS SPORT OR GAMES SHOULD BE ADDRESSED WITHIN THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT IN THE TWO SCHOOLS IN TSAKANE TOWNSHIP, NAMELY, RESHOGOFADITSWE SECONDARY SCHOOL AND KHOMBINDLELA PRIMARY SCHOOL

Soccer is played by only 11 players on the field of play, with the addition of only three substitutions in cases of injury or poor performance from the players. Using only 14 players out of 300 soccer players within each school will never give all learners sufficient opportunities to participate in soccer. It is therefore, recommended that traditional indigenous games such as upuca, diketo, morabaraba (see glossary section for the definitions of the above games) and many others be introduced to accommodate more learners to active involvement in sport. In this way learners will be learning some of the cultural aspects embedded within these indigenous games.

Furthermore, wider afield the introduction of indigenous games will also benefit the elderly people within communities and old age homes because they will have a role to play in terms of teaching the learners some of the indigenous games. This will create healthy partnerships between the old age homes and schools.
7.8 RECOMMENDATIONS ON HOW THE ISSUE OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION SHOULD BE ADDRESSED WITHIN THE SCHOOL ENVIRONMENT IN TSAKANE TOWNSHIP, NAMELY, RESHOGOFADITSWE SECONDARY SCHOOL AND KHOMBINDLELA PRIMARY SCHOOL

It is further recommended that since the timetables and curricula at the two schools chosen for this research do not include physical education that the introduction of physical education be implemented with a view to keeping the learners and educators healthy.

The above can be achieved by lessons and activities focusing on physical education onto the timetable. Both theory and practice on physical education will benefit the learners and educators.

It is also recommended that some of the educators be encouraged enroll for formal studies in Physical Education. The Department of Basic Education must provide bursaries to cater for those educators who are interested in specializing in Physical Education. Lastly, it is recommended that in future the Basic Education Department re-introduce physical education as a school subject as this will benefit the country as whole.
7.9 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the study conclusion has been briefly outlined as well as the recommendations on how gender inequality should be addressed within the school environment in the two schools chosen for this study, and in the professional soccer structures in South Africa have been outlined. Further, the recommendations on how ethnicity issues should be addressed within the school environment in Tsakane Township and the professional soccer structures in South Africa are also outlined.

Furthermore, recommendations on how creating a soccer policy should be addressed within the school environment in Tsakane Township and in the professional soccer structures in South Africa were also provided.

Finally recommendations have been suggested on how the issue of indigenous sport or games should be addressed within the school environment in Tsakane Township, namely, Reshogofaditswe Secondary School and Khombindlela Primary School, together with an outline on how the issue of physical education should be addressed within the school environments in Tsakane Township and in all other schools in South Africa.
Abstract is a short paragraph that explains concisely what an investigation sets out to do, the methods employed, the main conclusions reached and the recommendations for action as a result of the findings.

*Amaglugglug* is the South African Men Soccer National team (Under 23)

*Amajimbos* is the South African Men Soccer National team (Under 17)

*Amajita* is the South African Men Soccer National team (Under 20)

Anthropology is a science of man which includes four branches, namely: medical, physical, social and cultural anthropology.

Anthropology of Sport it is a branch of anthropology that focuses on sport from cross-cultural perspectives.

Apartheid is a political, legal and social system developed in South Africa in which the rights of different population groups were based on racial criteria.

Applied Anthropology is the use of ethnographic data to solve practical problems.

Assent Form it is form signed by the children or minors agreeing to participate in providing information during the interviews.

*Bafana-Bafana* is the South African Men Soccer National team.

*Banyana- Banyana* is the South African Women Soccer National team.

*Basetsana* is the South African Women Soccer National team (Under 23).
Coding is the methods used by researchers to assign units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during the data gathering.

Confidentiality refers to a promise that respondents’ identity in participating in a research will not be disclosed.

Consent Form is form signed by the adult individuals agreeing to participate in providing information during the interviews.

Covert Research is the research where the researcher does not declare his/her presence with the researched community.

Data refers to the research information gathered from interviews and also gathered from secondary reading material.

Development is an international parlance encompassing the needs and the means by which to provide better lives for the people in poor countries.

Diketo is a game of coordination in which each player gets 10 small stones or marbles and one big stone. A small hole of about five (5) centimeter deep is dug in the ground, where the small stones will be placed.

Diski refers to a soccer ball (township lingo).

Emic Perspective is the study of culture by the ethnographer from the insider’s point of view.

Empirical is the knowledge derived from investigation, observation rather than theoretical.
Ethnic group is a group that shares the same culture.

Ethnicity is the cultural differences among populations usually based on attributes such as language, religion, lifestyle and cultural ideas regarding common descent or specific territory.

Ethnographer is a person who spends some time living with, interviewing, and observing a group of people so that he or she might understand their customs.

Ethnography is a description of a society written by an anthropologist who conducted field research in that society.

Etic perspective is the study of culture by the ethnographer from the outsider point of view.

Femininity is a set of attributes, behaviours, roles associated with girls and women and it is often perceived as a social construct which is made up of both socially and biologically created factors.

Feminism is the belief that women are equal to men and should have equal rights and opportunities.

Fieldwork is a broad term for research in which social/cultural anthropologists engage, involving close study of partial participation in the life of a community.

Framework is the conceptual underpinnings of the study.

Functionalism is an anthropological perspective based on the assumption that society consists of institutions that serve vital purposes for people.
Gender is the specific behavior traits attached to each sex by a society and defined by culture.

Goal is when a soccer ball has been kicked or headed and it has crossed the goal line.

Goalkeeper is the only player on the soccer pitch who is allowed to use both his/her hands within the penalty area or eighteen yards area and his/her duty is to ensure that the soccer ball does not cross the goal line.

Goal-line is the lines that run between each touchline at either end of the soccer pitch.

Informant is a person/individual participating in a research project by providing the information regarding the study.

Informed consent is an agreement by an individual to participate in a research after receiving full and clear information about the research project and the risk involved.

Intonga is a stick fighting game where a long stick is used for attacking while the short stick is used for defending.

Key informant is a person/individual within the community who has in depth information regarding the study.

Kgati is a rope jumping game, popular amongst girls and they play it by jumping individually or simultaneously.

Marxism is the theory of Karl Marx pertaining socio-economic systems, social change, and class struggle and the body of scholarship derived from these theories.

Masculinity is a set of attributes, behaviours, roles associated with boys and men and
it is often perceived as a social construct which is made up of both socially and biologically created factors.

Means of production is in Marxist terms, the resources used in the process of production.

Mode of production is in Marxist terms the complex relationship between the wage labourers and the employers.

*Morabaraba* is an indigenous board game, using a board made up wood or paper with 214 junctions, circles or hole on it. This game is played by two players at the time and each player gets 12 different tokens or stones which are referred to as “cows”.

Observation is a research methodology where a researcher gathers information by means of observing the activities taking place.

Overt research is the research where the researcher declares his/her presence with the researched community.

Participant observation is a research method a field research is living among the people being studied.

Patriarchal society is a society where men are dominant in terms of decision-making processes.

Primary sources are documents or evidence that came into existence during fieldwork.

Qualitative data is non-statistical information that tends to be the most important aspect of ethnological research.
Race is the divisions within a species based on identifiable hereditary traits.

Racism is the beliefs and practices that advocate the superiority of certain races and inferiority of others.

Research ethics is the involvement of the application of fundamental ethical principles to a variety of topics involving scientific research.

Secondary sources is the interpretations of events of a period based on primary sources.

Semi-structured interviews is a formally agreed interview where the interviewer has a clear plan for the exchange with a goal in mind with set of questions but allowing informal discussion on issues which are outside the set questions.

Sexism is the prejudice and discrimination against people based on their sex. Soccer is the word coined by the British university students in the late 1800s referring to football.

Soccer referee is the official who is in charge of the soccer game and ensuring that the decisions in terms of the laws of the game are adhered to.

Social class is a division of society defined in terms of its relationship to the means of production within a system of such classes, hierarchically ordered, and marked by a consciousness of their collective identity and interests.

Social group is a plurality of individuals who recurrently interact in a system of interlocking social identities.

Social stratification is the division of society in terms of inequality, differential ranking.
or status of social group.

Social structure is the organization of a group seen in terms of structures of positions and roles.

Sport development is the development concerned with the provision and enhancement of opportunities to participate in sport. It is also about opportunity for everybody, including the disadvantaged, the able, the young, the beginner, the potential stars, coaches, officials and administrators.

Sport is an organized, competitive, and skillful physical activity requiring commitment and fair play. It is governed by a set of rules or customs.

Striker is a soccer player who plays up front and his/her duties is to score goals.

Structural – functionalism is the theoretical orientation that various aspects of social behavior exist to maintain a society's social structure.

Structured interview is a formally agreed interview where the interviewer has a clear plan for the exchange with a goal in mind with structured set of questions.

Superstructure is the institutional and ideological apparatus that according to Marxist theory, functions to sustain and justify a set of economic arrangements.

Thematic analysis is the most common form of analysis in qualitative research and the emphasis is pinpointing, examining and recording patterns within data.

Themes are patterns across data sets which are important to the description of a phenomenon and are associated to a specific research question.
Unstructured interview is a formally agreed interview where the interviewer has a clear plan for the exchange with a goal in mind but no set of questions.

*Upuca* is a game of coordination in which each player gets 10 small stones or marbles and one big stone. A small hole of about five (5) centimeter deep is dug in the ground, where the small stones will be placed.

*Uqgaps* is a rope jumping game, popular amongst girls and they play it by jumping individually or simultaneously.
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ADDENDUM ONE: INTERVIEW SCHEDULES (EDUCATORS)

Section A (Biographical Information)

Gender  Female/Male

What is the name of your school?
In which area do you live (home)?
What is your home language?
Which grades are you teaching this year?

Section B (General Information on Sport)

What is your general view gender inequality in your school?
What is your view on sporting facilities at your school?

Section C (Information Inequality in Sport)

What is your view on gender inequality in soccer in your school?
How do you feel about the participation of women in crucial decision making in sport at your school?
What is your opinion on financial or sport equipments assistance (sponsorship) from companies on women/girls and men/boys sport?

Section D (Information on Sport Development and Sport Policy)

What is your view on your school sport policy?
What is your view on sport development programs at your school?
In your own view, what can be done to improve the sport policy and the sport development programs?
How does your school sport policy cover issues of ethnicity, gender and race?
ADDENDUM TWO: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (Learners)

Section A (Biographical Information)

Gender Female/Male

What is the name of your school?
In which area do you live (home)?
What is your home language?
Which grade are you doing this year?

Section B (General Information on Sport)

What is your view on gender inequality in sport at your school?
What is your view on sporting facilities at your school?

Section C (Information on Gender Inequality in Sport)

Do you experience gender inequality in sport at your school?
What is your feel opinion on the participation of women in crucial decision making about sport in your school?
Which strategy does your school use to access financial or sport equipments assistance (sponsorship) from companies on women/girls and men/boys sport?

Section D (Information on Sport Development and Sport Policy)

How is your school sport policy being utilized?

What is your view on sport development programs at your school?

In your own view, which strategies can be utilized to improve the sport policy and the sport development programs?
How does your school sport policy cover issues of ethnicity, gender and race?
ADDENDUM THREE: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (Sport Administrators)

Section A (Biographical Information)

Gender    Female/Male

Where do you work?
In which area do you live (home)?
What is your home language?

Section B (General Information on Sport)

What is your general perspective on gender inequality in sport at your school in your area?
What is your view on sporting facilities at your school in your area?

Section C (Information on Gender Inequality in Sport)

What is your opinion on the participation of women in crucial decision making about sport in your school?
How does schools in your area access financial or sport equipments assistance (sponsorship) from companies on women/girls and men/boys sport?

Section D (Information on Sport Development and Sport Policy)

What is your opinion on schools sport policies in your area?
What is your view on sport development programs at schools in your area?
In your own view, which strategies can be utilized to improve the schools sport policies and the sport development programs in your area?
What is your view on schools sport policies in your area on issues of ethnicity, gender and race?
ADDENDUM FOUR: CONSENT FORM

I am conducting research with regard to “Anthropological Study on Perceptions of Gender Inequality in Soccer: The Case of selected Tsakane Township Schools” as part of my Doctoral in Anthropology at the Nelson Mandela University.

I believe that you will be able to act as one of my interviewee/s/informant/s and I would like to appreciate it very much if you could find the time to be interviewed. According to the prescribed scientific research procedures and ethics, I will guarantee that you will remain fully anonymous and that all information which you provide be treated as strictly confidential.

Modern research program demand that all interviewee/s/informants should give their informed consent before participating in any interview. No individual may be coerced into interview and you need not feel pressurized in any way to assist me. If you decide not to participate and not sign the consent below, I will fully respect your decision.

I, ………………………………………., have been fully briefed about the intended research of David Bogopa and consider myself an informed informant. I forthwith agree to participate in the proposed interview.

………………………………. ………………………………. 
(Informant Signature) Date
ADDENDUM FIVE: CHILD ASSENT FORM

I am conducting research with regard to “Anthropological Study on Perceptions of Gender Inequality in Soccer: The Case of selected Tsakane Township Schools” as part of my Doctoral in Anthropology at the Nelson Mandela University.

I believe that you will be able to act as one of my interviewee/s/informant/s and I would like to appreciate it very much if you could find the time to be interviewed. According to the prescribed scientific research procedures and ethics, I will guarantee that you will remain fully anonymous and that all information which you provide be treated as strictly confidential.

Modern research program demand that all interviewees/informants should give their informed consent before participating in any interview. No individual may be coerced into interview and you need not feel pressurized in any way to assist me. If you decide not to participate and not sign the consent below, I will fully respect your decision.

I, ........................................, have been fully briefed about the intended research of David Bogopa and consider myself an informed informant. I forthwith agree to participate in the proposed interview.

………………………….  ……………………………
(Guardian Signature) Date

………………………….  ……………………………
(Informant Signature) Date