

# **SPORTING LIVES AND “DEVELOPMENT” AGENDAS:**

A critical analysis of sport and “development” nexus in the context of farm workers of the Western Cape

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*A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor Philosophiae in the School of Government, Faculty of Economics and Management Sciences, University of the Western Cape.*

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Submitted for Examination: December 2015  
Final Submission: March 2016

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Tarminder Kaur



**KEYWORDS**

Sport, Development, Sport for Development and Peace (SDP), Farm workers, Subaltern, Soccer, Rawsonville, Commercial Agriculture, South African Wine Industry, Ethnography

## ABSTRACT

This thesis is about the sporting lives of people who work and/or live at the commercial grape and wine farms of the Western Cape. Collectively referred to as farm workers, they are identified by the Western Cape Provincial Government as a priority group in need of “development”. Over the past 15 or so years, proclamations and practices of “sport for development and peace” (SDP) have emerged as globally recognised phenomena, where sport is promoted as a tool to achieve a broad range of “development” objectives, including the Millennium Development Goals. As a research topic, SDP scholars examine the practical and theoretical usefulness of sport as a tool for addressing a diverse set of social, health, political and economic issues through education, diplomacy, inclusion, and awareness programmes. Instead of attending to the questions of whether or how sport might serve “development” ends, this study offers a critical analysis of the nexus between sport and “development” (SDN) in the context of farm workers of the Western Cape.

Informed by James Ferguson’s analysis of “development” as an ‘anti-politics machine’ (1990), I adopt a deconstructionist approach that examines issues beyond the narrow confines of “development” problems and programmes. As he argues, “development” continues to serve as a ‘central organising concept’ to discuss and assess desired change in social and economic realms, which is evident in the programmes of farm worker “development,” and how these continue to retain a place in the policy and political discourses on agrarian transformation in post-apartheid South Africa. With an appreciation of the Western Cape’s agrarian history and politics and how they shape present-day farm labour conditions, I have critically analysed the discourses and practices of farm worker “development” and SDP in the light of broader structural realities, everyday sporting lives and the “development” experiences of farm workers. The central organising question of this thesis is: how do “development” problems and the solutions sought for in SDP discourses and programmes correspond to the social, economic and political realities of their subjects?

Drawing on my ethnographic fieldwork conducted at farmlands in and around Rawsonville, a small rural town, from April 2012 to May 2013, I illustrate different and seemingly disconnected frames and positions from which theories of SDP and farm workers' experiences of sport and "development" were observed. The analysis is organised around three contrasting frames of observation, namely: 1) historical and contemporary discourses and politics of farm worker "development" and SDP programmes and practices, 2) structural arrangements of competitive and physical infrastructure for official sport, and 3) everyday (official and unofficial) sporting practices and experiences of the rural working class people. With a particular attention to continuities and contradictions in historical and contemporary farm worker "development" discourses and selected SDP case studies, I demonstrate that while SDP agendas directed at farm workers may serve divergent and at times conflicting interests, farm workers' own agency, initiative and aspirations do not feature in SDP programmes and broader "development" discourses. The contrasts and counter-narratives presented in discussing these case studies and stories complicate and contest simplified notions commonly projected in global SDP discourses and locally specific "development" agendas.

Beyond the confines of sporadic and temporary SDP projects, there was a vibrant and active world of formal and informal sport among the farm workers of Rawsonville. By focusing on the everyday sporting lives of athletes, coaches, managers, organisers and soccer clubs, I paint a picture that reveals the diversity and inconsistency of experiences and meanings of *farm worker* as an identity, a class position and an occupation. Interrogating how farm workers were embedded within the broader rural sport structures, I describe the complex set of factors that shaped their experiences of, access to, and participation in, sport. I argue that while sport was passionately pursued irrespective of direct or corollary "development" benefits, it was unofficial and under-the-radar sport networks and practices that served as vital spaces of autonomy, initiative and self-realization, even for those who may not otherwise have had such opportunities.

And while the politically disengaged and enthusiastically embraced qualities of sport may continue to be among the reasons for its traction in "development"

and peace agendas, these very same qualities allow sport to be usefully employed as an ethnographic method. Among the formative turns I took in conducting and presenting my research observations was to implicate myself and invite the reader into the confusing and complex process of learning and knowledge production. By way of conclusion, I argue for refocusing the gaze of research on studying sport as part of the broader scope of subaltern sociality.

T Kaur  
December 2015



## DECLARATION

I declare that '*Sporting Lives and "Development" Agendas: a critical analysis of sport and "development" nexus in the context of farm workers of the Western Cape*' is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

Tarminder Kaur

December 2015



The image shows a handwritten signature in black ink, which appears to be 'Tarminder Kaur'. The signature is written over a faint, light blue watermark of the University of the Western Cape logo. The logo features a classical building with columns and a pediment, with the text 'UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE' printed below it.

Signed:

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writing of this dissertation has been a profound and humbling journey of discovery and education. This exercise of formal acknowledgements feels like a declaration of my privileges and assets. There are several individuals I would like to acknowledge who contributed to the project in many meaningful ways. Firstly, I would like to acknowledge all of my research participants for sharing with me a piece of their lives. I am grateful for the time, engagement, warmth and all the different ways in which so many of you helped me make sense of the world in the following pages.

This research project would have never started without the scholarship I was awarded by the South African Wine Industry Trust (SAWIT), and I am thankful for the financial support I received from SAWIT for the first four years. This gratitude further extends to Prof Marion Keim Lees, my supervisor, who encouraged me to apply to the University of the Western Cape and for the SAWIT scholarship to pursue my Doctoral studies with her.

For all the encouragement, guidance and intellectual support, I would like to express deep appreciation to both of my supervisors, Prof Keim Lees and Prof Andries du Toit. The arguments, and the ways of thinking, that I developed in this thesis owe a great deal to Prof du Toit for his critical feedback on, and candid engagement with, the earlier drafts.

Over the last six years, so many people, departments and institutions, at different times and in different ways, have had direct and indirect influence on the product of this thesis. I would like to acknowledge the intellectual community and friends I have made during this time. Firstly, I would like to acknowledge my colleagues at my institutional home, the Interdisciplinary Centre of Excellence for Sport Science and Development (ICESSD): Clemens Ley, Clever Chikwanda, Lyndon Bouah, Solomon G. Asihel, Maria Rato-Barrio, Christo de Coning, Jose Cabral, Illhaam Groenwald, Marius Runkel, Marie Biermann and Anita Fredericks. Thank you for your friendship and professional support over the years. Secondly, I would like to thank the School of Government for their affiliation and

support, in particular, Lynette Fester for her administrative support and Leon Pretorius for advice as a postgraduate coordinator and availing me a listening ear when most needed. Thirdly, I would like to thank UWC's School of Public Health, for not only providing the physical office space, but also for many opportunities to learn and engage in debates and discussions on aspects of health and its social determinants. In particular, I would like to thank Uta Lehmann, David Sanders, Corinne Carolissen, Christina Zarowsky, Lucy Alexander and Thomas Achia. Fourthly, I would like to acknowledge the staff and students at the Department of Sport, Exercise and Recreation Science for all their enthusiasm and support in the many processes that this research had gone through. I would also like to thank the librarians at the University of the Western Cape, who have been calling me a doctor since the start of this project, as stayed till the close of the library in the early years of this research.

Beyond these institutional boundaries, I had the privilege of engaging with many engaged thinkers and intellectuals, who, in many different ways, impacted and continue to impact the way I process my thinking, research and arguments. Firstly, I would like to thank Roger Levermore, Simon Darnell, Eve Braidwood, Patricia Struthers, Femke Brandt, Åsa Eriksson, Rupinderdeep Kaur Sohi, Rosa Williams, Gavin Williams, Rory Pilosof and Christian Williams for reading and helpful feedback on the early drafts of some of my chapters. Secondly, I would like to acknowledge Ciraj Rassool, Marcus Solomon, Noëleen Murray, Shirley Brooks, Robert Gordon, Albert Grundlingh, Jade Gibson, Joseph Maguire and Brian Roftopoulos, for taking interest in my research and pointing me towards some useful directions. I would also like to extend my gratitude to the staff at the Centre of Rural Legal Studies (CRLS), Sharron Marco-Thyse, Carinus Lemmar and Willie Hess, who does not feature in this thesis, but they played an important role in helping me make sense of the South African agrarian and sporting worlds, but also for their generous friendship and long discussions.

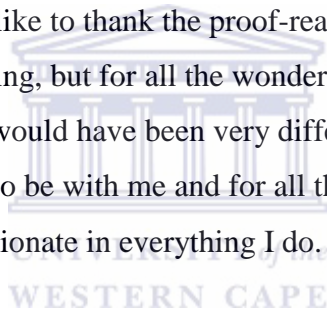
I benefited greatly from regular participation in reading group discussions, which created a space to experiment with and think through many of my ideas and arguments. So, I thank: Creesen Naicker, Marius Runkel, Roger Levermore, Simon Darnell, Lyndsay Hayhurst, Marie Biermann, Simona Safarikova, Gerard



Akindes, Shawn Forde, Rob Millington, David Marchesseault, Mario Barrioratto, Chizuko Sato, Femke Brandt, Åsa Eriksson, Ronald Wesso and Jenny Johnson, for your keen and enthusiastic engagement in many debates and discussions over the years.

This research project has dominated almost every aspect of my life for the past six years. Life as a scholar would have been much harder without the support of a very understanding family and friends in many places. This thesis is, in so many ways, a reflection of your love, values, support and friendship. While there are many ways I get a chance to show appreciation to my family and friends, there are two people who deserve a special mention here: Trish and Piotr, your love and friendship gave me a kind of grounding, a sense of home away from home, in Cape Town. Thank you.

And finally, I would like to thank the proof-reader of the final version of this thesis, for not only proofing, but for all the wonderful things he brings to my life. Without you, this thesis would have been very different, and my life incomplete. Thank you for choosing to be with me and for all the many ways in which you inspire me to be compassionate in everything I do.



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## LIST OF ABBRIVATIONS AND ACRONYMS

__ FC	(Prefix) Football Club
__ NC	(Prefix) Netball Club
__ RFC	(Prefix) Rugby Football Club
ANC	African National Congress
BB-BEE	Broad Based-Black Economic Empowerment
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
BCS	Brandvlei Correctional Services
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
BRU	Boland Rugby Union
BUSCO	Wine Industry Business Support Committee
BVLFA	Breede Valley Local Football Association
BVM	Breede Valley Municipal
BWT	Breedekloof Wine and Tourism
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CHANCE	Community Health Care and Changing Environments
COSATU	The Congress of South Africa Trade Unions
CRLS	Centre for Rural Legal Studies
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
CWDM	Cape Winelands District Municipality
DCAS	Department of Sport and Cultural Affairs
DEVCO	Wine Industry Development Company
DoA	Department of Agriculture
FAS	Foetal Alcohol Syndrome

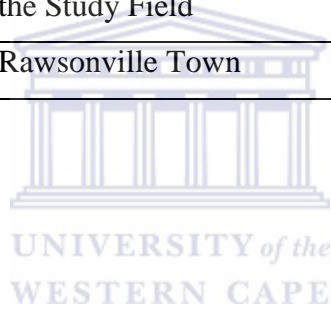
FSC	Fairhills Sport Committee
GHS	Goudini High School
GHSF	Goudini High Sport Field
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency Virus/ Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ICESSD	Interdisciplinary Centre of Excellence for Sport Science and Development
IOC	International Olympic Committee
KWV	Koöperatiewe Wynbouersvereniging van Suid Afrika Beperk
LCDP	Lucerne Cricket Development Programme
MD	Managing Director
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NLDTF	National Lottery Distribution Trust Fund
NPO	Non-for-Profit Organisation
NSRP	National Sport and Recreation Plan
PLAAS	Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies
R	Rand (South African Monetary Currency)
RDSA	Rawsonville District Soccer Association
RF	Rural Foundation
RMSF	Rawsonville Municipal Sport Field
SAAU	South African Agricultural Union
SAFA	South African Football Association
SAPS	South African Police Services
SATI	South African Table Grape Industry
SAWIC	South African Wine Industry Council

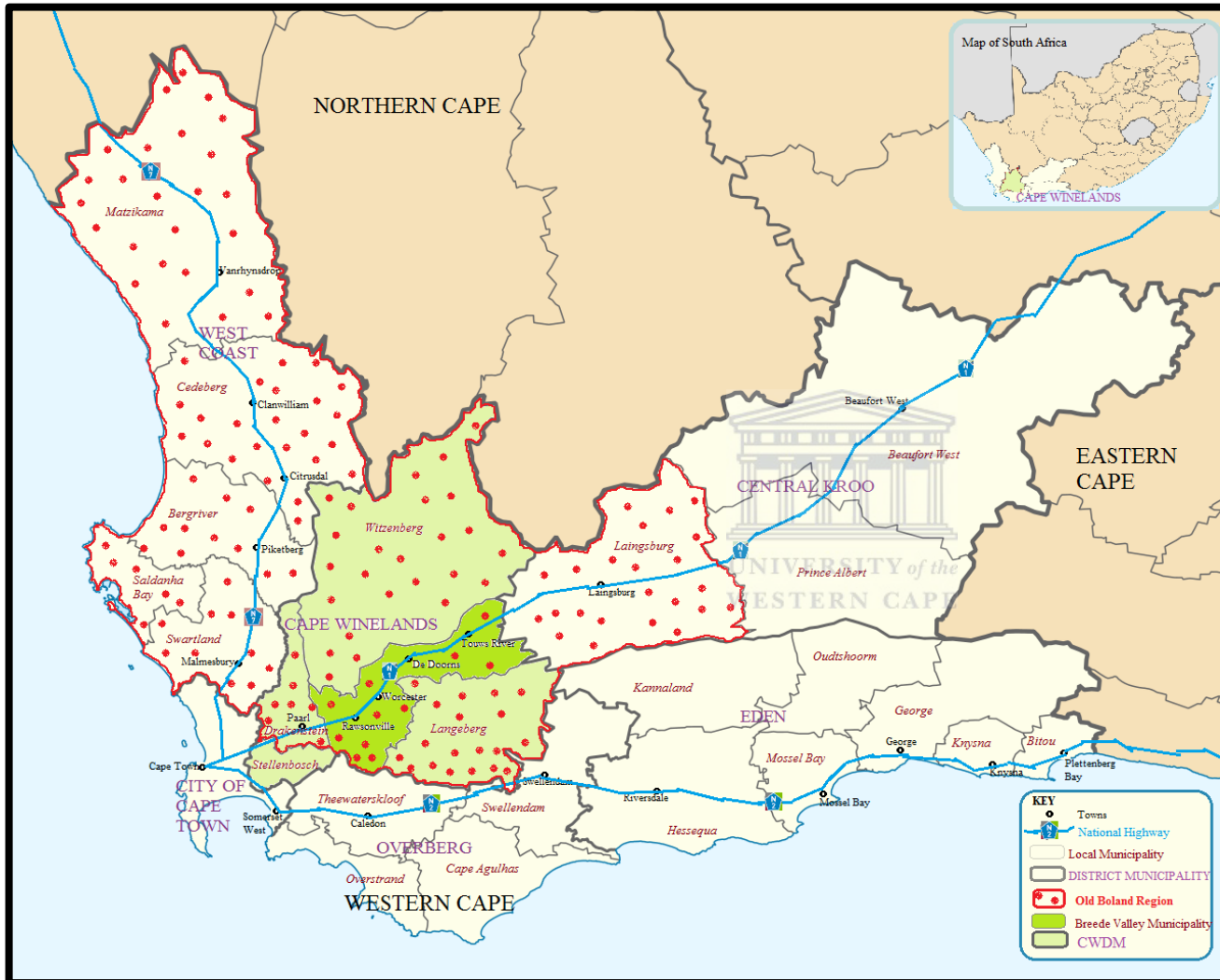
SAWIT	South African Wine Industry Trust
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SDN	Sport Development Nexus
SDP	Sport for Development and Peace
SDP IWG	Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group
SRD	Social and Rural Development
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNOSDP	United Nations Office on Sport for Development and Peace
UWC	University of the Western Cape
WCFSRD	Western Cape Farmworker Sport and Recreation Development
WIDA	Wine Industry Development Association
WIETA	Wine Industry Ethical Trade Association
WOSA	Wines of South Africa
WRZ	Worcester Rugby Zone (or Worcester Vallei Sone)



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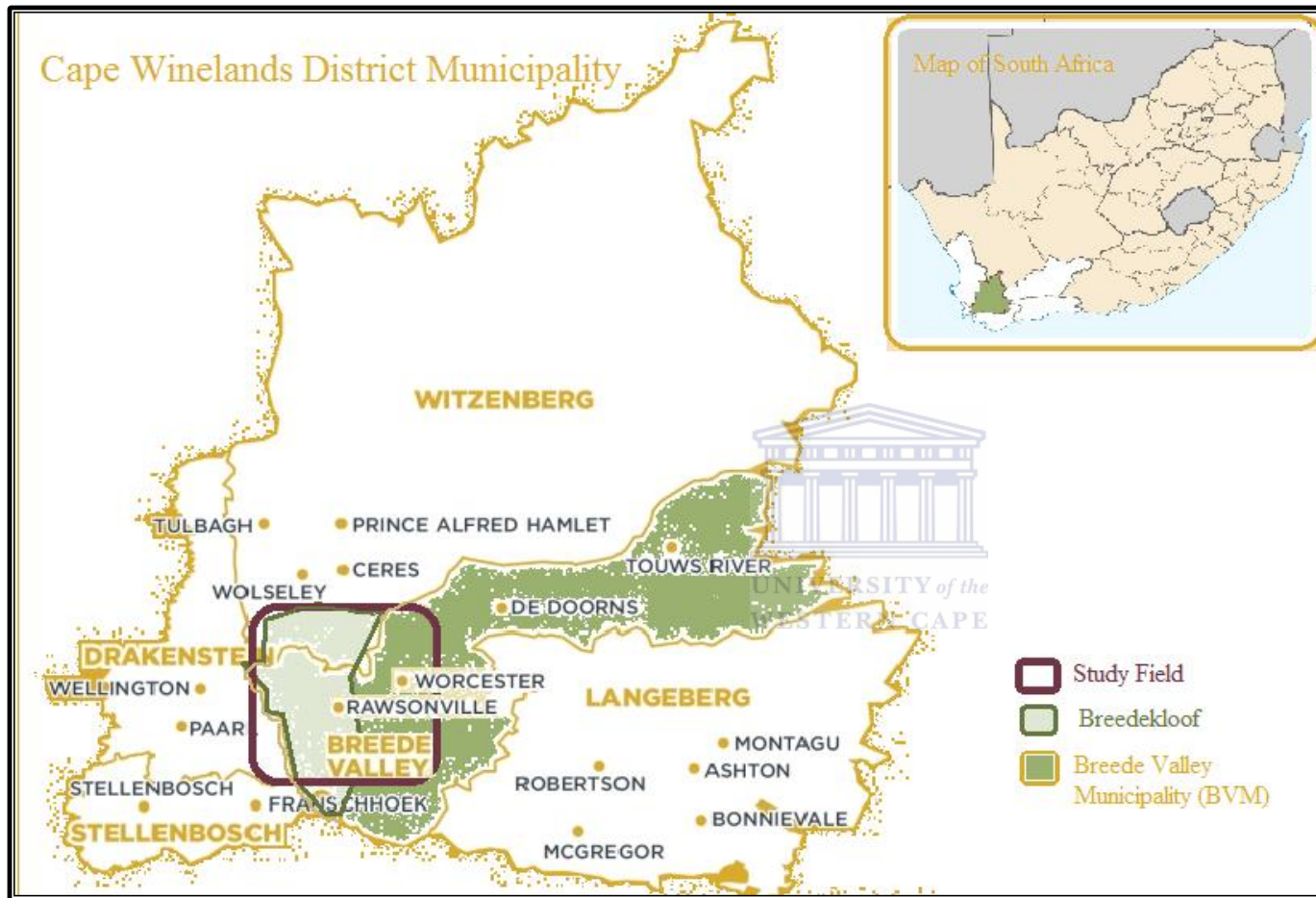


## MAP A

Map of the Western Cape:  
 Highlighting Old Boland area in  
 relation to contemporary District and  
 Local Municipal demarcations.

(Adapted from online source:

<https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=Special%3ASearch&profile=default&search=map+of+western+cape+&fulltext=Search&uselang=en>)



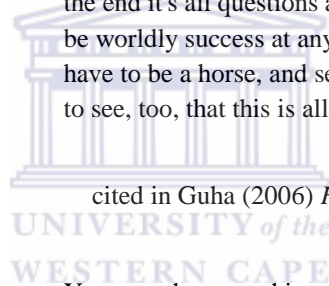
**MAP B**

*Geographical Demarcations of the Study Field (Adapted from online sources:*

*<http://municipalities.co.za/provinces/view/9/western-cape> and <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=Special%3ASearch&profile=default&search=map+of+western+cape+&fulltext=Search&uselang=en>)*

I was forced to admit, at the end of thirty years' devotion to the cause, that I was never made for it. I was born condemned to be one of those who has to see all sides of a question. When you're damned like that, the questions multiply for you until in the end it's all questions and no answer. As history proves, to be worldly success at anything, especially revolution, you have to be a horse, and see only straight in front of you. You to see, too, that this is all black, and that is all white.

– Eugene O'Neill,  
cited in Guha (2006) *How Much should a Person Consume?*



You say: these machines will come into an agreement, for their mutual protection, based upon a conspiracy of fear. But will this federation of steam-boilers supply you with a soul, a soul which has her conscience and her God? What is to happen to that larger part of the world, where fear will have no hand in restraining you? Whatever safety they now enjoy, those countries of no nation, from the unbridled license of forge and hammer and turn-screw, results from the mutual jealousy of the powers. But when, instead of being numerous separate machines, they become riveted into one organized gregariousness of gluttony, commercial and political, what remotest chance of hope will remain for those others, who have lived and suffered, have loved and worshipped, have thought deeply and worked with meekness, but whose only crime has been that they have not organized?

– Rabinranath Tagore (2005 (1917), p. 62)

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## 1. FARM WORKERS, SPORT AND “DEVELOPMENT”: an introduction

This thesis is about the sporting lives of people who work and/or live at (or in close vicinity of) the commercial grape and wine farms of the Western Cape. Collectively referred to as *farm workers*,<sup>1</sup> they are identified by the Western Cape Provincial Government<sup>2</sup> as a priority group in need of “development”.<sup>3</sup> As a subset of physical culture, sport is increasingly considered and debated for its role in “development” and humanitarian work.<sup>4</sup> It is in this context that Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) emerged as an appellation referring to a sector that consists of a diverse set of institutions, organisations, interventions, programmes, research projects, academic courses and publications (Kidd, 2011). Conceptually, my study was conceived within this interdisciplinary domain of research, and the context in which I conducted my research fieldwork, that is, South African wine industry and farm worker development, was given.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, to critically analyse the nexus between sport and “development,” I studied sporting activities and “development” agendas in the context of farm workers of the Western Cape.

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### WESTERN CAPE

<sup>1</sup> *Farm worker*, strictly speaking, is a misnomer, but this was the way such groups or places were referred to (by individuals, government and non-government organisations). Similarly, in this thesis, ‘farm workers’ refer to people from different un/employment backgrounds, including children, youth and elderly, all those whose lives, experiences and circumstances were affected by the local farming cycles and socially intermingled with those who worked in the commercial wine and agriculture industry. For example, people living in rural townships and informal settlements surrounded by farms, from lower socio-economic class, whose lives were directly affected by the presence and changing political economy of the agricultural sector.

<sup>2</sup> In May 2004, the Western Cape Government Department of Agriculture announced a sub-programme: *Farmworker Development*, arguing “development” of farm workers as one of their priority areas (see: <http://www.elsenburg.com/ruraldev/ruraldev.html> [Accessed: 27<sup>th</sup> November 2014]). In 2008, the *Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport* also launched their *Western Cape Farmworker Sport and Recreation Development* initiative. Apart from these relatively recent government initiatives, I recorded a number of non-government and private sector activities, dating back to late 1970s, which would fit the definition of SDP. While not a major component, sport was generally accepted as beneficial, either as an indicator of, or a tool for, farm workers’ “development” (see for example *The Wine Transformation Charter* (SA Wine Council, 2007)).

<sup>3</sup> I place “development” in double quotation marks, following Ferguson (1990), in maintaining that it has remained a problematic concept. I draw on Ferguson’s deconstructionist approach to analyse “development,” which I discuss in some detail later in this and the next chapter.

<sup>4</sup> See for example: <http://www.un.org/wcm/content/site/sport/home/sport> and <http://www.sportanddev.org> [Last Accessed: September 2015]

<sup>5</sup> The bursary towards my doctoral study was awarded by the *South African Wine Industry Trust* (SAWIT), with a view that my research would focus on sport and recreation as an aspect of farm workers’ “development”, within the wine industry.

Defined as ‘a social movement,’ SDP ‘has become a recognised strategy of social intervention in disadvantaged communities throughout the world’ (Kidd, 2011, p. 603, 2008), where sport is seen as a ‘new engine’ or a tool to achieve a range of “development” objectives (Levermore, 2008a). As a sector, SDP finds its significance in the proclamations and endorsements by some influential international organisations, such as the United Nations (UN) and its agencies, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and other major international sport federations, national governments, international and national multi-sport bodies, along with multiple and growing number of non-governmental organisations (NGO) that conduct SDP projects (Darnell, 2014a; Kidd, 2011, 2008; Levermore, 2008a). From appointing a Special Advisor on SDP and convening a Secretariat of the *Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group* (SDP IWG) in 2001 to integrating it into the *United Nations Office on Sport for Development and Peace* (UNOSDP) in 2008, the UN continues to play a key role in providing rhetorical and symbolic legitimacy to SDP through commissioning and approving reports and resolutions (Kidd, 2008; Darnell, 2014). The reach and recognition of SDP resolutions, programmes and organisations across the world also instigated an ‘interest in the academy, with research, undergraduate and graduate courses and degrees, a calendar of conferences’ and an ever increasing number of publications on the theme (Kidd, 2011, p. 604). Thus, as a research topic, SDP<sup>6</sup> examines the practical and theoretical usefulness of sport as an apolitical space for education, diplomacy, inclusion and awareness on a diverse set of social, health, political and economic issues.

Still, SDP has remained an abstract and inexact concept. Moreover, SDP is not always a self-asserted designation, but is often identified and labelled as such by the practitioners and researchers for practical, political, theoretical or analytical reasons. To this end, Coalter’s (2008, p. 71) explanation of a continuum between two broad approaches: ‘sport plus’ (sport programmes with a didactic add-on) and

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<sup>6</sup> The conceptual variation between: ‘SDP’, ‘development through sport’, ‘sport for development’, and ‘sport-in-development’ seems slight enough that I use these terms interchangeably in this thesis. Neither is fully explained nor consistently employed as distinct concepts in the existing literature, although some authors do expand on terminological differences to clarify the usage in their specific discussion (see for example Coalter, 2008; Darnell, 2012a; Donnelly et al., 2011; Kidd, 2008).

‘plus sport’ (social, educational and health programmes that use sport as an add-on to attract young people) serves as a good distinction to identify SDP practices and discourses. While Coalter has been critical of ‘over-inflated and imprecise claims, lack of systematic monitoring and evaluation, lack of robust evidence of poorly defined (but always ambitious) outcomes’ of SDP programmes and organisations (Coalter, 2010, p. 308), a large number of SDP studies tend to focus on collating evidence, designing (ever more relevant and “innovative”) interventions, and conducting impact evaluations.

Such a focus on SDP programming and strategizing, however, offers only a limited view of all the very many diverse ways in, which sport and “development” might intersect. A singular focus on explaining SDP in instrumental, technical or operational terms does not tell us anything about how sport and “development” is experienced by people, both the objects and the agents in SDP programmes. What has remained absent in the research projects that search evidence for instrumental usefulness of sport is the attention to diverse and distinct ways in which the people participate in, and find or give meaning to, sport in their lives. Therefore, in order to capture a broader field for examination, I focus on Sport and “Development” Nexus (SDN) as a more comprehensive concept, which includes SDP practices, but also allows for many different, contextual, and contradictory understandings of sport, “development,” and the link between the two, to be studied and analysed.

To this end, I take sport as the main subject of my study and “development” as the analytical framework around which my arguments are organised. In particular, I draw from James Ferguson’s (1990) approach to “development” as an ‘anti-politics machine,’ where he positions the examination of “development” beyond the narrow confines of its self-defined problems and programmes. Instead of asking if “development” really “works” or how it can be done better, Ferguson examines the whole process of “development,” from its conceptualisation, its theoretical logics, the diverse set of political and economic interests that shape its projects and discourses, to its intended and unintended consequences. In so doing, he demonstrates how the structures within which “development” interventions are conducted are inevitably ‘multi-layered, polyvalent, and often contradictory, and

that economic functions and “objective interests” are always located within other, encompassing structures that may be invisible to those who inhabit them’ (1990, p. 17). With this foundational understanding, Ferguson argues that “development” discourses tend to obscure such complexities and to engage with “development” problems as if these were self-evident and outside the realms of politics. In the process, often distorted, ill-informed and oversimplified “development” solutions are conceptualised that bear little or no resemblance to the social and economic realities they intend to change. Informed by this approach, rather than asking whether or how sport might serve “development” ends, I observe, engage with, and analyse, discourses, practices and experiences of sport and “development” in various forms and combinations.

Specifically, the aim of my study was to critically analyse the SDN in the context of the construction of “farm workers” of the Western Cape as subjects and objects of “development”. In so doing, I observed contrasting discourses and practices of “development” in relation to sport, on the one hand, and the everyday sporting lives of farm workers, on the other. Further, I employed the popularity and apolitical appeal of the practice of sport as an ethnographic method, to navigate through my research field and to garner insights on the everyday experiences of sport and “development”. Along with recording qualitative details and participatory observations on the discourses and practices of farm worker “development” through sport (SDP) in the Western Cape, I conducted focused ethnographic fieldwork in a small rural town surrounded by commercial grape farms, called Rawsonville. I took part in various sporting activities of selected soccer clubs, recording the everyday experiences of sport and “development” of the working-class inhabitants (including farm labour) of Rawsonville. The central research questions this thesis is organised around ask: What kinds of farm labour concerns do notions and practices of “development” through sport seek to address? How do farm workers experience sport and “development” in their everyday lives? And, how do “development” problems and solutions in relation to sport correspond to their social, economic and political realities?



## **1.1. FIELDS OF SPORT, “DEVELOPMENT” AND AGRICULTURE**

Arriving at the central research questions and methodological decisions was, in and of itself, an important reflexive and analytical process, shaped by my early experiences in the field. During the preparatory stages of this research, I was able to engage with a number of different actors and activities related to farm workers’ “development,” sport and SDP. These early encounters and interactions – and my introduction to, and positionality in, the field to be studied – all had important implications for the questions I went on to ask, the methods I employed, and the interpretations, inferences and arguments I draw in this thesis. These interactions made me aware of a number of contradictions in colloquial understandings of “development”, “sport and recreation”, and “farm workers,” while also highlighting the limitations of conventional approaches to study SDP. Therefore, I introduce this thesis with some reflections on my personal research trajectory.

### **1.1.1. Introduction to Fields of the Cape Winelands**

I arrived in South Africa with a postgraduate degree in Sports Management, intending to pursue my doctoral research, which was to focus on devising a strategy to use sport for the “development” of farm workers employed within the wine industry. With the goal of promoting health and wellness among worker communities, the South African Wine Industry Trust (SAWIT) in collaboration with the Centre for Rural Legal Studies (CRLS) and the Interdisciplinary Centre of Excellence for Sport Science and Development (ICESSD) at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) had conceived a project called CHANCE (Community Health Care and Changing Environments).<sup>7</sup> Among the initiatives and approaches adopted to advance the project’s objectives was a bursary allocated to ICESSD, my institutional affiliation. It was on the basis of these institutional terms and influences that my research was conceptualised.

During my early interactions with SAWIT, as the primary funding partner of the project, leaders of the organisation expressed their ideological leanings towards the *Black Consciousness Movement*<sup>8</sup> of Steve Biko and made clear that

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<sup>7</sup> See <http://www.sawit.co.za/projects.html>

<sup>8</sup> I gathered these impressions during in-person conversations with SAWIT executives, who made direct references to Biko in explaining their ideological agendas. Derek Hook (2013), for

their interest lay with “black” (as inclusive of all “non-white”) farm workers, improvements in their life conditions, and to support emerging “black” farmers. While SAWIT executives saw sport as a valued aspect of farm workers’ lives and as part of a healthy lifestyle, they did not consider it as a factor in achieving the political or social transformation goals they envisaged for the South African wine industry. CRLS, an NGO involved in advocacy, training, survey research, and legal support for the rural poor, introduced me to broader political and social concerns, policy issues and “development” agendas affecting farm workers of the Western Cape<sup>9</sup>. In the early days of my research preparation, I was based at CRLS’s office and was invited to take part in day to day activities of the organisation. These included attending staff meetings, case discussions, and workshops they were conducting at farms as part of the CHANCE project. While admitting that CRLS had no experience in or mandate for sport, they saw sport as a potential means to holistic “development”, health and wellbeing among the farm workers<sup>10</sup>. My interactions with SAWIT and CRLS during 2010 and 2011 were formative in shaping the understandings and preconceptions with which I entered my research fieldwork in April 2012. Finally, ICESSD, a research centre at the UWC which aims to advance research and knowledge in the field of SDP across the African continent, was the academic home to my study.

Given that my entry to the world of farm workers of the Western Cape was through the CRLS, who were involved in facilitating “development” workshops and responding to often serious legal issues at the farms, my early impressions painted a rather bleak picture of the conditions in which farm workers lived. The case discussions at CRLS offices and the secondary literature on the conditions in which farm workers lived in the Western Cape reported, *inter alia*, high levels of poverty, isolation, low wages, exploitation, child labour, violation of labour laws and rights, teenage pregnancies, excessive alcohol and substance abuse, and

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example, reflects on the tendencies and ways in which Biko’s “black consciousness” ideas have been employed to different political motives. He engages with the conciliatory stance that Biko develops in his writings on solidarity among all “non-whites”, referred to as “blacks”. Perhaps, it is in a similar context within which BCM takes meaning among the SAWIT executives.

<sup>9</sup> See <http://www.crls.org.za/>

<sup>10</sup> During my time at CRLS offices, I often asked the staff and management about their experiences of sport on the farms and their thoughts on my research’s focus on sport.

infectious and alcohol related diseases, such as tuberculosis, HIV/AIDS, and foetal alcohol syndrome. It was as if the lives of farm workers could only be understood in terms of social problems, economic deprivation and political marginality. Within such a discursive construction, it seemed that sport, its provision, and its study, among farm workers had to be justified in terms of its usefulness in addressing or resolving at least some of these “development” problems. And so, the use of sport as a possible “development” solution was explained to me in terms of arguments about “lack” and “need”. In an interview during the preparatory stages of my research, an executive from the wine industry explained:

... there are so many wine farms there, but there are very little sport and wellness activities generated along those farms. Farming, rural life does not lend itself to that. If you look at the farms, just behind that, where the heck do you build the soccer field?! You can, but farming is not oriented towards that<sup>11</sup>.

Discourses of this sort left me with more questions and less certainty with the direction my research might follow. For instance; what would sport mean to farm workers if they had no prior experience of sport participation at all? Was I meant to organise sport or sport related workshops and assess its usefulness among the farm workers? Would mere organisation of sport be considered “development”? If people did not have any prior relationship to sport, on what terms would it be seen as beneficial? If people did have a relationship with sport, what was it like? And if sport was desirable and perceived as beneficial, then what were the constraints on access and participation? Was the lack of sport a problem of infrastructure or was it due to the conditions of work at the farms?

### **1.1.2. “Lacks” and “Needs” of Sport**

With these questions, I arrived at the very first farm I visited in the Western Cape, which was blessed with a rather impressive sport infrastructure: one full size rugby field, one cricket pitch, one soccer field, two poorly maintained netball or tennis courts, a fully equipped gym, a large club house facility, a swimming pool, as well as a Rugby Club and a Cricket Club affiliated to their respective regional federations, and competed regularly in the respective regional leagues.

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<sup>11</sup> Interview extract (Recording code # VR0001, June 2011)

While such a sport set-up organised around a single farming business and for its associated farm worker/ dweller community may not be the norm across the commercial farms of the Western Cape, sport did feature prominently in farm life (as I shall discuss in some detail in the chapters to follow), albeit in diverse ways and with implications along class, gender and racial lines. I had connected with this farm community over HIV/AIDS related work-place policy workshops conducted by CRLS at the farm. In addition, the tripartite alliance between ICESD, CRLS and SAWIT sponsored a sport event in 2010 at the farm, which I was involved in organising. The focus of the event was to encourage farm workers and their families to take part in sport as a healthy leisure pursuit and find ways to make sport part of workers' everyday activities.

In the process of this event, I established a rapport with some of the event participants, in particular James<sup>12</sup>, the sport coordinator and coach (connected to an NGO providing social services at the farm), with whom I have maintained contact at the time of writing. Even after this sport event, I continued to visit the farm for different sport events and league games upon invite of the sport coordinator. While the sport event I had organised focused exclusively on farm workers, the regular sport participants and spectators at the regular sport activities at the farm sport fields were neither all farm workers, nor did they all live on the farm. They were from diverse employment backgrounds, many lived at the near-by rural towns, and almost all were either “coloured” or “black”.

These interactions and observations were formative in how I approached this study and gave me a sense for farm life, how sport featured therein, and what “development” problems and solutions were like in “real” life. Despite the fact that intentions and funds for the farm sport event were agreed upon before my involvement in the project, I ended up becoming the main point of contact and the event organiser for the participants. This placed me in a power relation as a bearer of resources for sport, a role which I was neither comfortable<sup>13</sup> with nor able to

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<sup>12</sup> ‘James’ is a pseudonym, as he preferred not to be named.

<sup>13</sup> The thought that I might be misleading people, given my positionality as a foreign sport event organiser/researcher who came with all the sport equipment, t-shirts and food for a day event, or even worse, that I might be mistaken for someone with access to resources or connections to the world outside of the farm, made me quite self-conscious in my engagement with people after the

assess how it might impact my study. The level of praise bestowed by the event participants for the sport event seemed like a barrier in and of itself to access understandings of how sport fitted into “development” concerns at the farm. For example, a focus group discussion with farm youth, conducted to learn about their perspectives on sport, social concerns and their life at the farm, evoked responses that could be summarised as: they all loved sport, it was really important for their community, and there was a lack of decent infrastructure and opportunity at the farm to excel at sport. There was a suggestion that they needed an indoor sport facility to get the community more active. This was confusing for me.<sup>14</sup> I was unable to make sense of the lack of sport as a “development” problem in the context where availability of sport infrastructure seemed disproportionately ample in relation to the social and material conditions that defined farm worker “development” agendas. Not only did this exchange highlight the limitations of narrowly defined questions about the importance of sport, I also felt underprepared to navigate through such responses. My training and experiences in sport management had not equipped me to grasp the social norms or politics of the everyday against which to contextualise these responses and unpack the meanings of expressed “lacks” and “needs”.

Aside from these limitations, some earnest friendships did develop and informal conversations and observations proved more useful in making sense of this world as an “outsider”. Particularly, over my interactions with James, which included occasional participation in his sport programmes, I learned how and how much sport was taking place at the farm, how it was linked to various kinds of “development” or social work James was involved in, and the kinds of problems on and off the sport fields he was dealing with. One Monday morning while we were waiting for a group of primary school children to join him for a sport

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sport event. Besides, I was hardly the only or the first person to bring this sort of “development” to the farm, as I observed many projects were being delivered at the farm, over my prolonged visits. These observations were making me quite sceptical of the nature and amount of “development” work and the kinds of relationships it shaped between different people. While I had not figured out how I would prefer to be positioned or even what precisely about “development” that I was critical of, it was, perhaps, this uncertainty about the terms on which I would like to negotiate my positionality in the field that might have made me quite uneasy.

<sup>14</sup> Confusions, ambiguities and contradictions can elicit important questions and aspects of social reality under study, and ethnographic and reflexive approaches offered useful ways to engage and analyse such complexities (Davies, 2008; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007).

(cycling) session, a young adult came and handed him an amount of R950<sup>15</sup>. This prompted James to tell me, with some frustration, that this was the money spent on beers during the rugby game over the weekend. He elaborated: these were the same people who would not pay R40 per month for their children to take part in sport. Children came to the after-school sport programme hungry, and James often brought *chip-rolls*<sup>16</sup> from his own home. While the main cause for concern among younger children was hunger, for the older ones it was growing levels of substance abuse. Some of the rugby players who trained with James were also affected. He once directed me to speak to one of his rugby players whom he suspected of taking drugs. The terms of my engagement with the rugby player were to learn about his relationship to sport and to the farming community, his aspirations in life, and his thoughts on the social concerns on the farm. Weaving through the conversation, he confirmed the growing levels of substance abuse among the farm youth, but also added that young people get into drugs because 'parents are often trying to suppress them and that there are problems at home'.<sup>17</sup>

James often argued that I had no idea 'what people were like *here*' and that things were not how they might seem from outside. I was never entirely sure what he thought my impressions of the farm were, but he was, at least partially, responding to the research I was proposing to conduct at the farm. In his own way, he was suggesting that I had to live at the farm to understand what goes on at this place and among its people. Gradually, it became clear that his connection to the farm community went beyond his role at the NGO. James was born here and had lived most of his life at this farm, and he knew well who planted tomatoes and who grew *dagga*<sup>18</sup> in their vegetable gardens. While sport might be one of the reasons for his popularity among the farm children, I saw him play a more important role as a quasi-parent to many of them.

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<sup>15</sup> Field notes: 12<sup>th</sup> April 2012

<sup>16</sup> Chip-rolls are bread rolls filled with fried potato chips, which is a favourite food item for many children and for James, as he shared. The story shared here comes from multiple conversations and observations I recorded. The tone in which James expressed he shared food with children was not that of a social worker or person who gives out of pity, but that of a parent or a sports coach.

<sup>17</sup> Field notes: 26<sup>th</sup> April 2012

<sup>18</sup> *Dagga* or Cannabis, illegal in South Africa, is often planted among tomato plants as a way to hide it from police inspections.

Aside from the overarching social, economic and political problems, there were problems in accessing sport, in getting people involved in sport, and problems at the sport fields, in the sport administration, within the sport clubs, and with the keenest of sport people, which James would bring up in our conversations, but he would never concede that the farm would be better off without sport. To him sport was absolutely important for his community and if he had more resources he would expand his sport programmes to other farms. In other words, sport was valued irrespective of its instrumental benefits, and with or without social “development” problems. These realizations challenged one of the basic assumptions on which my research was to be premised, that is: assessing the usefulness of sport and stipulating a strategy to put it to “development” ends. It was also clear that interrogating the role of sport in “development” was more likely to confirm the “need” for more sport, recommend more and better designed SDP interventions and argue for more monitoring and evaluation. The questions of how to employ sport for “development” ends advanced neither theoretical debates, nor contextual understandings, on what “needs” and “lack” of sport and “development” meant, and what all processes such ideas stimulated. It was such conundrums that were to serve as important cues to the questions I went on to ask and the methodological choices I made.

## **1.2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY**

Early impressions and interactions with various actors and sectors involved in farm worker “development” swayed me to conduct ethnographic fieldwork, which allowed for a more direct immersion in the field and the subject of study. As such, only a few reliable secondary sources on social (let alone sporting) lives of farm workers of the Western Cape were available (van der Waal, 2014; Viall et al., 2011), and my research preparations had already exposed too many exceptions in the observed social processes. To this end, I adopted an exploratory, open-ended and reflexive stance, which was to allow me to observe, engage in, record and critically examine the discrepancies in attitudes and behaviours towards sport and “development” (Hammersley, 1992; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). My original research question had asked how sport might cause “development”

among the farm workers; but my brief interface with the farm life had already indicated that “development” was defined to fit the available solutions, and it took on multiple, competing, and even conflicting, meanings. The indifference and incoherence of “development” seemed as apparent as it was normalised in the everyday experiences of farm workers.

The role of sport, say, in promoting health and well-being, was hardly disputed. As Shilbury and colleagues argued; ‘participation in sport is understood to be inherently good and contributes to healthy communities both physically and socially’ (2008, p. 218). However, normative understandings of sport’s attributes and passionate discourses on its usefulness in “development” explained very little about the actual everyday experiences of sport and “development”. In reference to my (original) proposed research, a public health scholar questioned: ‘yes, sport is good for health, so what?’<sup>19</sup> She encouraged me to frame my research questions beyond the rhetorical and biologically obvious understandings of participation in sport on human health to look into historical and political dynamics of sport and “development” in South Africa, and among rural and farm worker communities. These were among the empirical observations and critical questions that reshaped my inquiry to seek beyond the good sport can do, to what sport, and discourses and practices of its utility in “development,” actually did (Ferguson, 1990). Interrogating the latter question had its own methodological and ontological challenges, mostly related to my academic training, positionality and lack of understanding of the field. Still, it was possible to contrast and examine the continuities and contradictions between the SDP discourses and practices on the one hand, and the everyday experiences of sport and “development” as they actually existed, on the other.

### **1.2.1. Research Questions and Objectives**

Maintaining my conceptual focus on interrogating sport and “development” nexus (SDN), I adopted a reflexive ethnographic approach. Sport itself proved a useful ethnographic tool, which helped me navigate my research field and record

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<sup>19</sup> An earlier version of my research proposal focused on “public health” as a specific determinant of “development” through sport, and this question was raised during a consultation with a senior academic at School of Public Health, UWC, in March 2011.



details on sporting practices and “development” experiences. The overarching empirical questions that were to guide my fieldwork inquired: What sport activities were farm workers involved in? What forms did these activities take, how were these organised, and what meanings did farm workers give to these? How was sport perceived and explained for its “development” usefulness by different actors or stakeholders? What shapes did discourses on farm worker “development” through sport (or otherwise) take in practice?

With an aim to deconstruct the discourses and practices of SDP, I juxtaposed how SDP was explained and performed with how sport was in fact valued, organised and practiced, independent of “development” efforts, and examined the continuities and contradictions in the historical and contemporary politics and realities of farm workers’ “development” and their everyday sporting lives. To put in a concise bullet-points form, the key research objectives were:

1. To conceptualise SDN as an analytical framework.
2. To contrast and critically analyse historical and contemporary discourses and practices of farm worker “development” through sport.
3. To explore, uncover and describe the formal and informal sport and SDP arrangements, structures and spaces within which farm workers participate in different sporting activities.
4. To depict reflective and nuanced stories of everyday experiences of sport and “development” of the selected farm worker sport participants.
5. To elucidate and discuss the continuities and contradictions in the SDP discourses and practices directed at farm workers and the everyday life and sporting experiences of farm workers.

### **1.2.2. Ethnographic Fieldwork**

The ethnographic fieldwork was conducted at the farmlands in and around Rawsonville,<sup>20</sup> a small rural town in the Breede Valley Municipality (BVM), from April 2012 to May 2013. While it was relatively easy to access the SDP initiatives directed at farm workers, as it was in the interest of organisers to promote and

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<sup>20</sup> A detailed discussion on the selection of Rawsonville as a field to conduct my study is presented in the next Chapter.

publicise their programmes, the clues to the everyday sport practices were fewer and mostly discouraging. I had to move beyond the discourses of “lack” of sport to understand the meanings and reasons for this “lack” among farm workers. The fieldwork, therefore, started with attending sport events organised under the “development” banner, enquiring official regional sport governing bodies for their farm worker membership, and attending the official league games at the central sport facilities in Rawsonville. Exploring the sporting geography and history of this rural town, I discovered, and was able to access, a rather active sporting life of farm workers, which operated outside the formal mainstream sport fields and institutions, and the sundry SDP programmes.

The enthusiasm that sport generates among many people often made the field easy to access, but still the extent to which I could question how sport related to the real life conditions of the working classes had its limitations, at times resulting in defensive responses. It is important to point out that the majority of my research participants were first-language Afrikaans speaking, but my proficiency in the language remained very limited throughout the fieldwork. Despite this being among the main research limitations, being unable to follow the “spoken words” allowed for undistracted observations of how different social roles were performed and how my informant’s knowledge of my limited grasp of the language was used to include or exclude me. Access to people in higher class, social or political positions, for example, the farm-owners or executive officials from the government and private institutions, was more difficult to gain, in comparison to accessing time and space to engage with the farm workers. Introducing myself as a student interested in learning about their sport activities was often enough to start a conversation and be invited to the games and training sessions with them. There were people who did refuse to speak to me even among the farm workers, either because of my limitations with the language or because they mistrusted my intentions. Still, most farm workers I engaged with enthusiastically embraced my questions and extended participation in their sporting lives.

As useful as the reworked research questions proved, fieldwork had its challenges. I was learning that in ethnographic fieldwork, every contact, every

observation, every interaction with, about, and in, the field, was a source of information. The weaker my familiarity with the situation, the more seemed to be happening that was noteworthy. While research encounters, experiences and relationships were among the important sources of information, their interpretation and analysis was not a matter of objective assentation but a subjective interrogation of the “self” and ‘its effect on social interactions and theoretical perceptions’ (Davies, 2008, p. 223). Davies has argued for researchers to make ‘themselves more visible’ in the text, and by ‘presenting their gropings towards understanding, they undermine their own authority so that their interpretations become simply one perspective with no superior claim to validity’ (2008, p. 15). An endeavour of this sort demands critical self-reflexivity that mediates between various constructions of reality, including one’s own. My social status, relative position of power, privilege, class, gender, race and nationality, and that of my research participants, all affected the kind of information I could access and the ways in which these exchanges might be interpreted. It was the nature of these conceptual understandings and ambiguities of field experiences and observations which led me to adopt reflexive ethnography as my approach to analysis and presentation in this thesis.

### **1.2.3. Representational and Ethical Considerations**

Apart from the ethical guidelines set out by the University for conducting social research, which I adhered to as closely as possible, there are a number of representational aspects I should clarify. Firstly, all the places and organisations are referred to by their actual names in this thesis. These organisations and places are unique and easily recognisable, at least by the people familiar with the basic political geography of the Western Cape. For instance, it was neither possible nor useful to hide the names of institutions like provincial government departments. And for the sake of consistency, I refer to all places and organisations discussed in this thesis by their actual designations. As far as I am aware, this approach should not undermine the ethical and representational codes of social research, or place anyone at any obvious risk.

While the University guidelines recommend that the identities of the research participants be protected, I have also used the actual names in narrating the stories of some of the specific research participants. This decision was made as it seemed that making anonymous the people who, because of their structural position in society, were already invisible in many ways would be unethical. This discussion was prompted by one of my research participant's contestation that: 'no, you must use my real name!'<sup>21</sup> – when I shared with him that I will protect his identity in all my published or unpublished work. Therefore, it was agreed in consultation with my thesis advisors, that if my research participants were to provide me with a written consent to use their actual names, I would do so. While exposing their real identities was unlikely to put them in any 'real' or predictable risk, hiding them behind aliases would have undermined the deeper meanings that their actual names had in depicting their life stories. In this sense, it was not only ethical to refer to the actual names, but it also enhanced the credibility of the arguments presented in the thesis.

Consequently, as I wrote the sections with stories of specific people, I shared these with the concerned and asked for their feedback on; 1) whether they (and their stories) were represented accurately, and 2) if they were still happy for me to use their real name. In this way, it was the research participants who had the final say on where I used an alias and where I refer to the actual name. Each research participant gave me both oral and textual permission to do so. I make a footnote when using a pseudonym, while all other names that appear in text are real.

In other cases, where the interactions with the research participants were short-lived or one-off, I refrain from using their actual names. Particularly, when I conducted interviews with specific people, often these interactions were limited to the time of interview. All the interviewees were informed about the purpose of the interview and my research in a written form, along with a verbal explanation, and the consent forms were signed after each interview. In these consent forms I promised them that I would protect their identity and so I only refer to the interviewees by the social or professional capacity in which I interviewed them.

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<sup>21</sup> This was a reaction of a number of research participants.

Moreover, these references are intentionally left obscure enough that, perhaps apart from the interviewees themselves, they are unlikely to be identifiable.

There are a number of ethical issues and dilemmas that had to be negotiated and worked through in conducting the ethnographic fieldwork. I did, to the best of my ability, maintain a stance of ‘do no harm’ in all my research interactions. In particular, I always declared my intention to research in all my interactions and interviews. There were times that I was misunderstood as a sports scout or a news journalist, during which, where possible, I clarified my position as a researcher. Still, I could do little about how my presence, ignorance and limitations might have affected the social interactions I was not always in control of nor aware of. To this end, I have adopted a critical self-reflective approach in the presentation of my research findings, stories and arguments, in an attempt to be as transparent and accountable as possible.

It is in the next chapter that I describe the specifics and details of methods adopted to conduct, organise, analyse and present my ethnographic fieldwork and observations. There was a level of purposeful and circumstantial selectivity employed at every level of this research process, and it is to this end that I adopted a reflexive approach to analysis, to present key thesis arguments, and to highlight and explain the limitations and benefits of selectivity. The critical self-reflections on the journey of fieldwork, how my social positioning, as well as gendered, classed, geopolitical and racialised constructions of social identities and that of sport, affected the kind of information I accessed and how it was interpreted – are among the details discussed in the Chapter 2. I go on to engage in the language of “insider/outsider” to reflect on my positionality in the research field. I do so, not to simply ascribe myself one of the two binary positions, but because such a language allowed me to critically analyse and question how different identity markers, mine and that of my research participants, were adjusted, adopted and appropriated to different ends, means and meanings, and how these affected the research interactions, information gained and interpreted in the process.

#### 1.2.4. Notes on Nomenclature

A few clarification points need to be made about the nomenclature employed in this thesis. The first point relates to the reference: *farm workers*. As noted earlier in the first footnote, the term “farm workers” is a misnomer. Still, it was among the key themes on which my research was organised. Theoretically, my study was conceptualised to interrogate farm worker “development” concerns and assess how sport featured in such discourses and practices. A number of policy reports, charters and programmes referred directly to farmworker “development” (see footnote 2 above), however, how these programmes and policies define “farm worker” was neither always clear, nor consistent.

It was only when I started my fieldwork that I learned that “farm worker” was not merely an occupational category, but had also become an identity marker, denoting the marginal working class of the rural Western Cape, whether or not they are actually doing farm work. For instance, the 2012-13 farm worker uprisings in the Western Cape spurred the questions of who an “authentic” *farm worker* was, and who could speak as or for the “farm worker” (for a more engaged discussion on the topic; see Eriksson (2014)). In the context, defining the boundaries of who is (or is not) a “farm worker” was a political matter, raised in an attempt to exclude/include people according to political interests at stake. Such questions and contestations were organised around whether or not seasonal, contract, temporary, (im)migrant, or ex-, farm labour were to be considered “farm worker”. It is important to acknowledge that:

There is a world of difference between the farm tenants of the past, whose identity as farm workers was central to everything about them, and the marginalized rural working class people of the present, who may from time to time work as farm workers.<sup>22</sup>

However, in the context of “development” programmes organised by the provincial government or the farming enterprises, marginalised rural working class people were often lumped together under the title of “farm workers” (such programmes are discussed and analysed in Chapter 4). Distinguishing farm workers as a group from the broader community of rural working class people in

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<sup>22</sup> Over a discussion on representation of “farm worker” in my thesis, Andries du Toit explained this point in an in-person communication (25<sup>th</sup> August 2015).

shared social and sporting spaces was equally difficult (and problematic). Many of my research participants were actually not farm workers at that (or at any) time; some had loose connections to the local commercial farms and the people who worked there, others did not. Bearing in mind these inconsistencies, my reference to “farm workers” as a group is in line with the way broader discourses on farm worker “development” operated. However, it is in describing specific cases, situations or stories that I elaborate on the precise background and identities of the people whose sporting lives I discuss.

The second point relates to representation of South African racial categories as these appear in discussions of people’s lives and experiences. “Race” in a social analysis is not merely an issue of nomenclature, but also of ethics and of ideology. As an ideological stance, I find resonance with Neville Alexander’s arguments that:

You cannot fight racial inequalities, racial prejudice and race thinking by using racial categories as a ‘site of redress’. It is a fundamental theoretical error to try to do so by perpetuating racial identities in the nonsensical belief that this will not have any negative or destructive social consequences (cites in Desai, 2012, p. 105).

Historians have argued that understandings of ‘race varies from one culture to another and [are] the result of historical developments, not biological imperative’ (Watson, 2012, p. 6). Still, racial categories continue to play a significant role in the social and political lives of South Africans, and these racial identities had specific and different meanings to different people and were performed in many different ways. Race, as a social construct, may have been used in a discriminatory and derogatory manner but it also reflected a sense of identity and belonging (Brandt, 2013). Also, these were not the only identity categories I refer to in the thesis. Any form of stratification of the human kinds can potentially narrow down our ability to identify and empathise with whichever category happens to be the “other”, and therefore, deserves to be problematized and contested. However, racial categories in the context of my study were loaded with meanings and had real consequences, and were used colloquially in normative and concrete ways. It is for this reason that I place “white”, “black”, “coloured” or “indian” racial categories in double quotation marks throughout the dissertation. I

do so as a reminder to myself and the reader that these references are made in no normative sense, and that these remain problematic in the context in which I refer to them.

The third point relates to the use of quotation marks. I place single quotation marks on the direct quotes in a paragraph and double quotation marks on a term to express, or to suggest that the term is problematic. For example, I have placed “development” in double quotes throughout the thesis, following Ferguson (1990), whose work demonstrates that of “development” is a problematic concept. I discuss Ferguson’s approach in some detail in the next chapter, elaborating on its relevance to my study, but here I only situate his core arguments in the broader “development” debates.

### **1.3. THE LITERATURE**

With an aim to interrogate various ways in which sport and “development” intersect, which is what I refer to as SDN, I draw on literature from the sub-disciplines of *development studies* and *sport studies* to conceptualise an analytical framework. The concepts and meanings of sport and “development” in the literature on SDP are so diverse and so inconsistent that, while it allows multiple (and at times conflicting) perspectives to co-exist, it also makes it very difficult to develop a coherent and constructive conversation in reviewing the entitled literature. Rather than confining my review to either supporting or refuting assumptions set out in the phrase: sport for development and peace, my aim is to expand the multi-disciplinary boundaries within which SDP has been studied. I do so by laying out the assumptions and theories of change on which SDP, as a global phenomenon and a local practice in the rural Western Cape, was premised. While it is in Chapter 3 that I undertake this focused, critical and contextual review on SDP, here I introduce and define the interdisciplinary boundaries within which I conceptualise SDN.

Even at a definitional level, there are ‘endless versions of sport processes, mechanisms, participations and experiences’, the reason why Coalter asserts that ‘sport is a collective noun which hides more than it reveals’ (2008, p. 7). A long list of vocabulary – play, games, recreation, leisure, exercise, physical activity,



contest, etcetera, – is often interchangeably employed to refer to sport in SDP reports, projects and practices. The popular connotations consider institutionalised and competitive forms of physical activity as *sport*; still, in the context of sport-based interventions, the definition of sport is often modified to suit “development” needs and aspirations. Similarly, “development” is understood, discussed and employed to different means and ends, from a multiplicity of disciplines, angles, ideologies and practices. With foundations in economics and social sciences, ‘development studies’ has emerged as a sub-discipline in its own right (Clark, 2002, p. 9), with some well-established ideas, explanations and critiques of “development”. It is beyond the scope of my study to capture a comprehensive review of this concept, its history, genealogy, political economy and evolving discourses. My focus here is to draw out the importance of specificity of the context and social complexity in understanding how an activity or a practice becomes *sport* and to what processes and politics it is put to “development” use. Therefore, in the next few pages, I briefly discuss: 1) the prominent philosophies and theories that underpin the concept of “development”; and 2) the different social constructions and explanations on study of sport in “development” realms.

### 1.3.1. “Development”

The sub-discipline of ‘development studies’ consists of philosophical theories, evaluative measures, economic and political sciences, critical assessments and debates, which broadly run in two (not always opposing) directions: 1) that seeks to do “development” better or more correctly; and 2) that questions the concept of “development” altogether. In a similar vein, scholars in the field tend to ‘explore whether all or most societies follow the same trajectory toward greater accumulation and well-being or, alternatively, whether wealth in some places or among certain social groups is causally related to poverty in other places or among other groups’ (Edelman and Haugerud, 2005, p. 2). Conceptually, the term is loaded with contradictory and contested meanings. Sachs speaks to this in the preface of the edited volume *The Development Dictionary*, as a ‘semantic confusion’ where ‘development can mean just about everything, from putting up sky scrapers to putting in latrines, from drilling for oil to drilling for water, from setting up software industries to setting up tree nurseries’ (2010, p. x). In the same

edition, Esteva argued that “development” has also come to imply as an ‘escape from the undignified condition called underdevelopment’ (2010, p. 2). Moreover, “development” is not a mere philosophical contemplation or a theoretical concept, but also an industry in its own right, and has real consequences.

Among the most influential articulations of “development,” in terms of what this idea ought to be, is, of course, put forward by Amartya Sen. His work on ‘development economics’ shifted the debates on “development” beyond economic measures into political philosophy and understandings of *quality of life*. While best known for the ‘capability approach’ in welfare economics (see Sen, 1993, 1990, 1985), I found Sen’s (1999, 1994) foundational arguments more compelling and useful to ascertain the ideological basis on which “development” continues to be seen as a desirable concept. Although I problematize the notions and workings of “development” in this project, I engage with Sen’s work to highlight that, while his arguments are philosophically profound and persuasive, these were neither organised to recommend practical interventions, nor could they be employed to assess “development” programmes.

Drawing together the disciplines of economics and classical philosophy, Sen found a theory of “development” that speaks directly to the Socratic question: ‘*How should one live?*’ This question defines economics, which is ‘the study of ethics and that of politics’ and is basically concerned with “real people” and the lives they live (1994, p. 3; 1990). With this philosophical foundation, Sen goes on to articulate ‘development as freedom’, where freedom is ‘free and sustainable agency’ of people in shaping and living a kind of life they value and have reasons to value (1999, p. 4). Importantly, the ‘freedom-centered understanding of economics and of the process of development’ challenged the ideas that see people ‘as passive recipients of the cunning development programs’ (Sen, 1999, p.11). Accordingly, freedoms are the primary ends as well as principal means of “development”. In other words, freedom is not just a consequence of being fully “developed”, but a necessary part of the process of “development”. In explaining the centrality of freedom to human life, Sen argued:

Human freedoms include the fulfilment of needs, but also the liberty to define and pursue our own goals, objectives and commitments, no matter how they link

with our own particular needs. Human beings are reflective creatures and are able to reason about and decide what they would like to happen, rather than being compellingly led by their own needs—biological or social (2013, p. 6).

Sen goes on to argue that freedom is ‘a principal determinant of individual initiative and social effectiveness’ (1999, p. 18), thus, enhancement in individuals’ freedom affects the processes of more just social change. In illustrating examples of bondage labour in India and slavery in the southern states of pre-Civil War America, Sen argues that liberty to act ‘as citizens who matter and whose voices count’ is highly valued over ‘living as well-fed, well-clothed, and well-entertained vassals’ (1999, p. 288). In this sense, the extent and kinds of freedoms that people enjoy in a given society may serve as measure for “development”.

At a similarly philosophical and abstract level, Nussbaum and Sen considered the concerns and treatment of labour as a reflection of “development”. They argued for a complex base of knowledge to interrogate “development” in a given society, putting forward a set of questions that ask:

We need to know about labour—whether it is rewarding or grindingly monotonous, whether the workers enjoy any measure of dignity and control, whether relations between employers and ‘hands’ are human or debased. We need to know what political and legal privileges the citizens enjoy, what freedoms they have in the conduct of social and personal relations. We need to know how family relations and relations between the sexes are structured, and how these structures foster or impede other aspects of human activity. We need, perhaps above all, to know how people are enabled by the society in question to imagine, to wonder, to feel emotions such as love and gratitude, that presuppose that life is more than a set of commercial relations, and that the human being... is an ‘unfathomable mystery’, not to be completely ‘set forth in tabular form’.  
(Nussbaum and Sen, 1993, p. 1)

In a study like mine, where the sporting lives of farm labour is the central focus, the above questions might be useful to the extent that these allow interrogating the conditions within which farm workers of the Western Cape come to be seen as “development” subjects. The gaze in such an analysis shifts away from the person of farm worker and her/his skills, but how a society or socio-political structures enable labour to live a particular kind of life. Sport is also among the sites from where it is possible to observe how the broader society enables farm workers ‘to imagine, to wonder, to feel emotions’. The above questions are not a guide to an overarching strategy for “development,” or even how it could be understood in its complexity and specificity. The strength of Sen’s work has been in its

philosophical argumentation, but his work has also been reduced to practical evaluative measures. In such reductions, his arguments on ethics and politics of economics, and that of “development,” are either ignored completely or are left for rhetorical purposes.

The people-centred and politically-conscious ways of thinking emerged in the concepts of alternative- or post-development, collating interdisciplinary bodies of knowledge, which either proposed better ways to do “development” or rejected it all together. In other words, Sen’s attention to people, ethics and politics, either took the form of proposing more ethical ways to do “development” or to unpack the cunning politics that underpin international “development”. Both of these offshoots were not only reductive, but also problematic. On one hand, alternative-development scholars proposed participatory ideologies, promoting it as ‘an integrated, value-laden process, which encompasses natural, environmental and social relations’ (Davids et al., 2005, p. 155). On the other, post-development scholars ‘rejected outright the desirability of “development,” which they see as a destructive and self-serving discourse propagated by bureaucrats and aid professionals that permanently entraps the poor in a vicious circle of passivity and misery’ (Edelman and Haugerud, 2005, p. 2).

The vocabulary of alternative-development methodologies included concepts such as participatory development, partnership, cooperation, holistic development, local needs assessment, community and indigenous knowledge, social and environmental responsibility, social learning, empowerment, equity, social justice, development from below, sustainability and so on (Chambers, 1994; Davids et al., 2005; Max-Neef, 1991; Rahman, 1993 among others). Participatory forms of “self-development” propositions, “putting people first” and “fundamental human needs” paradigms are expounded upon at length that encourage creative ways to think about “development” problems and solutions (see in particular, Max-Neef, 1991; Chambers, 1994 and Rahman, 1993). These models and modes of thinking, seemingly formulated in response to criticisms of Western/Northern hegemony

and dependency theories, have gained wide-spread appeal for their embeddedness in the “local” and claim inclusivity of the subaltern voices.<sup>23</sup>

Theoretically, the ideas related to participatory or cooperative “development” sound progressive, radical and genuinely well-intended, however these are problematized for assuming an ahistorical and depoliticizing stance. Kapoor (2004, pp. 636–38, 2002) offers a persuasive critique of these alternative-development ideologies, arguing that they tend to romanticise and essentialize the “local”, ‘eulogise subaltern women, indigenous knowledge and/or local politics’, ‘produce an “authentic” and “heroic” subaltern’, ‘neglect the knowledge/power’ relation, and ‘fail to recognise the heterogeneity of the subaltern’; while giving an impression ‘that subalterns are transparent to themselves, [and] immune to struggle or failure’. Kapoor’s analysis is grounded on Spivak’s (1995) seminal work: *Can the Subaltern speak?*, where she points at the politics of representation and identity, raising questions of: who can speak, who gets heard, who speaks for whom, who can speak for whom and whose voice really counts. Spivak’s critique of subaltern studies<sup>24</sup> highlights the multiplicity of social realities within a socially oppressed or marginalised group. She further argues that subalterns’ plight and struggles are often voiced by various hegemonic groups who, while speaking on their behalf, reduce their realities to a uniform social experience of deprivation and oppression that is shared by each and every member of the group in a similar manner. Not only does a subaltern group get boxed into assumptions and claims made about them, but their own voices and identities also remain largely mute and anonymous. Since “development” is mostly to do with lives of people who would fit the definition of subaltern, Spivak’s analysis offers important analytical and methodological implications to think critically about objects and subjects of “development” (through sport).

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<sup>23</sup> The term ‘subaltern’ refers to the social groups of “inferior ranks” (a Gramscian concept), who are socially, politically, or geographically excluded from a society’s established structures (often suffer kinds of deprivations, including domination and repression by the ruling classes) (Guha and Spivak, 1988). The concept, in this sense, captures all forms of marginalisation and facilitates a language and critical social analysis in a way that “development” terminology fails to address.

<sup>24</sup> ‘Subaltern studies’ is an intellectual project, led by Ranajit Guha and many other South Asian scholars to recover subaltern histories. Spivak’s *Can the Subaltern speak?* – a critique of ‘subaltern studies’ – is seen as an important intervention to the studies in advancing and reshaping this intellectual project (Chatterjee, 2012; Guha and Spivak, 1988; Spivak, 1995).

Post-development studies, on the other hand, have been more attuned to, and critical of, the political aspects of “development”. The scholars writing from this perspective attend to the social construction of meanings and perceptions of “development” while examining the power and political relationships that assign its measures or indicators. Post-development writings also show strong imprints of postcolonial analysis and challenge the conventional aura of “development” as apolitical or desirable for the entire humanity. Rapley, for example, contested this idea of “development’s” desirability ‘as something of a tautology: people seek development because it is desirable, and we know it is desirable because people seek it’ (2004, p. 350). Among the earliest critiques of “development” were derived from historical analyses of colonial economic relations, Gunder Frank’s acclaimed work, *The Development of Underdevelopment*, proposed that:

We cannot hope to formulate adequate development theory and policy for the majority of the world’s population who suffer from underdevelopment without first learning how their past economic and social history gave rise to their present underdevelopment (1979, p. 103).

He argued that the cause of underdevelopments in large parts of the world was due to their past and continued economic relations with the now “developed” parts of the world. Further, Kothari’s (2006a, 2006b) postcolonial analysis shows continuities and divergences between the colonial justifications to colonize and contemporary international “development” discourses. For Arturo Escobar, “development” is a ‘destructive myth’ and thus, he suggests ‘devising means of liberating Third World societies from the imaginary of development and for lessening the Third World’s dependence on the episteme of modernity’ (1992, p. 47). Central to post-development analysis was the examination of the function of discourse in production of social reality and how *realpolitik* played into the popular discourses as logic for “development” (Escobar, 2011, 2000; Ferguson, 1990; Sachs, 2010).

While Ferguson is often considered a post-development scholar, his analysis of and arguments about “development” discourses and corresponding social realities are more nuanced than a post-development rejection of the concept (Rapley, 2004). Ferguson’s arguments are premised on an understanding that whatever intentions and interests might be at stake in claims, strategic plans and

interventions of “development,” ‘they can only operate through a complex set of social and cultural structures so deeply embedded and so ill-perceived that the outcome may be only a baroque and unrecognizable transformation of the original intention’ (1990, p. 17). It is in such arguments that Ferguson departs from the premise on which post-development scholars reject the idea of “development” as a conspiracy of the rich and powerful to maintain their dominance through the project of international “development”. In Ferguson’s analysis, “development” discourse is important but it neither expresses “true intentions” nor ‘provides an ideological screen for other, concealed intentions: “mere rhetoric”’ (1990, p. 17). He is arguing for a less extreme way to pose the “development” question, the one that pushes this debate beyond the narrow confines of the “development” problematic, which neither sees the planners as the only active agents nor its targets as passive recipients. To this end, Ferguson offers an approach that argues for observing the broader process of “development,” construction and circulation of “development” discourses, engaging with diverse meanings that different actors, agents, subjects and objects give to “development,” and attending to various intended and unintended consequences that it produces in a given setting.

### **1.3.2. Sport and SDP**

Sport sociologists Frey and Eitzen explain: ‘sport is an arena of patterned behaviours, social structures, and interinstitutional relationships that hold unique opportunities to study and understand the complexities of social life’ (1991, p. 503). In other words, theoretically informed research on ‘sport in society’ as well as ‘society in sport’ can reveal some complex social processes (ibid). And because sport has come to ‘have major cultural, economic, social and political significance’ in most contemporary societies (Maguire, 2011a, p. 870), desires, identities, initiative and agency of those involved in sport are often intricately wrapped into how their life conditions and sport experiences can be interpreted. This may take particular and peculiar forms in sections of society that suffer kinds of deprivations and have less power over their life conditions. In such settings, while SDP programmes might be one form in which sport is experienced, there is always likely to be a level of autonomy, initiative and ingenuity in how sports are practiced in the everyday. Ingenuity, in particular, plays an important role in the

conditions of marginality and access to limited resources. Therefore, a critical analysis of the practices and experiences of sport in the conditions, discourses and projects of “development” may reveal important understandings about the social and political make-up of the society within which SDP initiatives are introduced.

The current state of academic literature on SDP draws from a diverse set of disciplines, offering diverse combinations of theories. The *Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group* (SDP IWG) put together a ‘Literature Reviews on Sport for Development and Peace,’ collating information on how ‘sport is implicated in the achievement of basic human rights’ (SDP IWG, 2007, p. 9). The review refers to literature from different academic disciplines, research reports and findings, policy declarations and charters, to confer a wide range of benefits of sport in the achievement of UN’s Millennium Development Goals. A long list of “development” uses of sport as: a human right; an educational, life-skills training, and awareness-raising tool; a health imperative; an avenue to lobby against political injustices; a space to empower and include marginalised sections of the society; a crime preventative, diversion and rehabilitation measure; a child and youth development process; an arena to acquire social capital and network; a conflict resolution and peace building approach; and an economic opportunity – all could be found under the banner of SDP. It is to this end that Roger Levermore (2008a, pp. 185–86) organised and examined the broad trends in practice and research in the field to neatly cluster the SDP programmes into: ‘i) conflict resolution and intercultural understanding; ii) building physical, social, sport and community infrastructure; iii) raising awareness, particularly through education; iv) empowerment; v) direct impact on physical and psychological health, as well as general welfare; and vi) economic development/poverty alleviation’.

Clearly, each cluster commands a distinct body of knowledge and expertise, with “sport” being the only common denominator in defining SDP as a field of practice and research. This is among the reasons why many scholars criticise the ‘vague and weakly theorized banner’ under which SDP has been practiced and studied as a concern (Coalter, 2010, p. 295, 2008; Darnell and Hayhurst, 2011; Guest, 2009; Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011; Kidd, 2011; Levermore and Beacom, 2012; Lindsey and Grattan, 2012; Maguire, 2006, among others). The passionate



and uncritical support for sport, what Kruse refers to as the ‘intuitive certainty’ about sport’s readily accepted positive role (2006, p. 8)(2006, p. 8), has further been pointed out as a limitation in and of itself to comprehend a theoretical framework to define, contest, and advance understandings and analysis of SDP.

Pointing at the complexities within the world of sports, Maguire (Maguire, 2011b, 2006) proposes to underpin SDP research on sound theoretical perspectives from the sub-disciplines of the humanities. He warns us against:

the siren voices that promote the ‘applied knowledge’ perspectives of sport management, sport policy and the pedagogy–sport science industrial complex more broadly. These modes of enquiry focus attention on short-term ‘social problems’, and specific ‘interest groups’, in an often unreflective and atheoretical manner.... Questions of power become neglected ... sociology of sport could wither in the academy and follow the academic trend towards becoming the mouthpiece of the sports industry and the status quo (Maguire, 2011a, p. 864).

Maguire’s criticism of an applied sciences approach is particularly important, as the dominant research in the SDP sector has been limited by its very design, asking whether or not sport does the “development”. I deliberately avoid this question, for the question assumes the desirability of “development” often without critical interrogation into its contextual meanings and political implications. It is for this reason that Levermore and Beacom argued for studies on SDP to engage with theoretical debates from more evolved sub-discipline of ‘development studies’ (2012, p. 134). Further, to examine sport critically in the context of “development,” Guest’s (2009, p. 1348) contention that ‘cultural meanings for sport are deeper and more complex than the form of activities,’ warrants attention. Similarly, Hartmann argued that ‘sport is not a monolithic social entity, but a complex collection of very different and often conflicting social practices and consequences’ (2003, p. 130). These trends are particularly apparent in historical and sociological studies of sport, as in the case of South Africa, where sport continues to occupy a space of co-existing passions and politics (Alegi, 2004; Booth, 2005, 1998; Desai, 2010; Grundlingh, 2014; Martin, 1984; Nauright, 1997; Odendaal, 2006).

The history of sport separation, followed by international anti-apartheid sport movements, are argued and regarded ‘as a form of “deep politics” in which

“social traditions and attitudes are expressed through recreational practices” (Grundlingh, 2014, p. 8, double quotes in original). Peter Alegi’s *Laduma! Soccer, Politics and Society in South Africa* is another example that captures the crucial role soccer played in affirming ‘social visibility, status, and prestige’ of “black” South Africans during apartheid (2004, p. 4). In tracing history of soccer, he sheds light on how social value of a sport extends into ‘subaltern agency’ (2004, p. 3). Sport has long been used to demonstrate ideological and nationalist ends in South Africa (and elsewhere) (Grundlingh, 2014); however, the recent discourses on sport seek its significance in affecting more deliberate forms of “development” while purging forms of politics and political realities from its discourses and processes (Desai, 2010). Irrespective of the explicit or implicit political project that sport might be made to serve in a “development” context, these spaces and discourses open up important opportunities to observe and examine the social and the political processes.

An important point to acknowledge here is that my research project is neither an anthropological exploration of cultural practices as examined by Geertz (1972) in ‘Deep Play’; nor is it as rich in detail and complexity as C.L.R. James’s (2005 (1963)) depiction of colonial and post-colonial sport practices and politics. I do employ ‘thick descriptions’ as theorized by Geertz (1973a, 1972) to present the selected case studies of farm workers’ sporting lives. I also draw inspiration from James’s work, particularly the ways in which he illustrates ‘the grandeur of a game which ... could encompass so much of social reality and still remain a game’ (2005, p. 122). Therefore, a descriptive focus on the everyday sporting lives of farm workers is to foreground the mundane realities and lived experiences in contrast with the broader SDP discourses and practices that deem them as subjects and objects of “development”. Such an analytical framework aims to unsettle the current state of knowledge and assumptions of SDP and complicate understandings of SDN, while advancing critical conversations in the field.

#### **1.4. THESIS OUTLINE**

This dissertation is organised into eight chapters. In this introductory Chapter, I have situated the theoretical and empirical field of my study. By depicting my

entry to, engagement with, understandings and misunderstandings of, the fields, my aim was to set a tone to which I adopted a self-reflexive writing style throughout the dissertation. I detailed how I arrived at the research questions, the methodological and theoretical frameworks that I pursue in conducting and writing this research.

Chapter 2 proceeds to elaborate on ethnographic, critical and self-reflexive methods and methodological approaches adopted to garner, analyse and present the research findings and arguments. In the Chapter 3, I present a critical review of literature to situate SDN within broader debates on SDP and “development”, describing a deconstructionist conceptual approach that founds analytical processes and central thesis arguments.

Chapter 4 presents a broad-brush historical review of farm labour and agricultural production in the Western Cape, to situate contemporary farm worker “development” discourses and practices, and interrogate the question: what does sport have to do with farm worker “development”? Chapter 5 further elaborates on this question by describing and analysing selected case studies of farm worker SDP projects and practices.

In the Chapter 6, I lay out the structural landscape of sport, including official and unofficial competitive and physical infrastructure for sport in and around Rawsonville, delineating the layers of politics of access to sport by farm workers and the rural working class people. With this broad description of the local sport infrastructure and activity, in the seventh Chapter, I present ethnographic details of how sporting practices are negotiated and how “development” is experienced in the everyday lives of specific soccer players, coaches, managers and clubs.

In the concluding Chapter, I consolidate and contrast the different registers in which I present the discourses, practices, experiences, descriptions and stories of sport and “development”. In discussing some obvious contradictions, continuities, nexus and disjuncture, I sketch out some empirical and conceptual conclusions. I close this thesis by abstracting an idea or focus for future research, I refer to it as *Subaltern Sport*.

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2. SPORT AND CRITICAL SELF-REFLECTIONS:  
ethnographic methods and subjects

Faust: Poor fool, with all this sweated lore, I stand no wiser than I was before. -  
J.W. von Goethe (1832)<sup>25</sup>

Quest for knowledge, wisdom, power and a deeper understanding of the world one inhabits are among the motivations that may underpin academic research. The process of conducting research, however, is hardly ever a linear expansion in knowledge, but rife with perpetual discontent with one's limitations at controlling, grasping or articulating that ever-expanding base of unknown which remains to be uncovered and made sense of. Goethe's Faust, in the quotation above, expresses a sort of dissatisfaction, which emerges from striving for knowledge and learning the limitations in and of knowing. Still, among the profoundest insights one might arrive at, is the very recognition of limitations and failures in the process of exploring and studying the unknown. In this research so much more remains to be known and explored. Still, the research process, planned as well as spontaneous, with its expected and unexpected turns, offered important insights in and of itself. It is to this end that I adopted a critical self-reflective approach to elucidate the methods and processes in the conducting and presenting of this study. In this chapter, I engage in and expand on the questions of *how* this research was conducted, *what* choices were made in selecting, prioritizing, observing, inquiring and analysing, and *how* I arrived at and present the understandings and arguments in this thesis that emerged from the process.

The chapter proceeds in three sections. The first section discusses the philosophical underpinnings and research questions on which the methodological decisions were made, and on which the interpretations and analysis were based. The second part details the selection and employment of methods to garner and record information, and discusses how the discovery of new information affected choice and application of methods. Here, I present descriptive accounts of selecting and selected fieldwork settings, fieldwork strategies, research

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<sup>25</sup> Quote from *Faust: The Tragedy* (completed in 1832) by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Part I, Act I: Night - Faust's Study

participants, formal interviewing, field observations and participation, as well as the paradigm within which findings were processed for analysis. Finally, in the third section, I describe and reflect on the conduct in the field. The three sub-sections discuss three distinct aspects; which include: 1) ‘participation in sport’ as an ethnographic methodology; 2) conversational style employed to engage in research interactions; and 3) critical self-reflections on my positionality and conduct in the field.

## **2.1. PHILOSOPHY UNDERPINNING METHODOLOGY**

A research project situated in the “real” world, irrespective of how well it is planned, is bound to be influenced by and in turn influence the subject of study. In such a scenario, reflexivity is privileged over objectivity. To this end, in articulating the philosophical underpinnings employed to record and analyse the ethnographic observations, and present my arguments, I draw on Davies’s (2008) *Reflexive Ethnography*. The political nature of qualitative social research has been a topic of academic debates, and different traditions postulate different ways of addressing it (see in particular, Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, pp. 13–18). In ethnographic research traditions in particular, the values and political orientations of the researcher are likely to be made explicit and to be subjected to reflexive analysis. While the primary goal of any research must remain production of knowledge, critical reflection on personal convictions and institutional orientation may add to an understanding of the context as well as expose undiagnosed and implicit limitations within which a research takes place (ibid). For instance, Davies argues that:

... research cannot be value neutral any more than it can be theory neutral and ... the vast majority of research that does not have an explicit value commitment does in fact have an implicit value orientation and political position in support of the status quo of existing power relationships. (2008, p. 61)

Specifically, in a context where concerns of social justice are at stake, positionality and political orientation of the researcher has to be interrogated with a heightened level of self-reflexivity and made explicit as these play a central part in shaping of the arguments (Kapoor, 2004). In my research, my political sympathies did lean heavily towards the farm workers, and the conditions in

which they lived and took part in sport. However, my positionality in relation to the field and the research participants was more complex. A level of self-reflexivity is employed throughout the thesis in presenting my findings and arguments. Later in this chapter, I also dedicate a sub-section on *Reflections on Positionality* (see page 60), where I reflect on the social identity markers and prejudices I entered the field with and examine the influences these might have had on my research interactions, observations and interpretations.

The key tenets of reflexive ethnography are that the knowledge of a social world may be gained ‘through our *constructed* relation to it’ (Burawoy, 2003, p. 655, italics in original). Although reflexivity as a process of self-reference is considered an important validity and reliability measure in many (but not all) forms of qualitative social research, reflexive ethnography internalises self-reflection in a way that it becomes part and parcel of the research process. In addition, research encounters, experiences and relationships were among the important sources of information, but their analysis was not a matter of objective but a subjective interrogation of the “self,” political situatedness and ‘its effect on social interactions and theoretical perceptions’ (Davies, 2008, p. 223). An important point to bear in mind is that knowledge of a social world ‘is always partial and contingent,’ (ibid, p. 222). Therefore, the aim in such a project is to work creatively with complexity, contingency and variance, and to infer abstract explanations and theoretical generalisations from grounded descriptions.

### **2.1.1. Selectivity and Self-Reflectivity**

To these ends, *selectivity* and *self-reflectivity* were the two key theoretical concepts that underpinned the organising, processing, analysing and presenting of the overwhelming amounts of data collected in the form of field observations, field notes, interview recordings and other artefacts. Ethnography, as argued by Hammersley and Atkinson, in many ways is similar to how one goes about making sense of the everyday social world one inhabits, however a key distinction in conducting an ethnographic study is that it follows a ‘deliberate and systematic approach ... in which data are specially sought to illuminate research questions, and are carefully recorded; and where the process of analysis draws on previous

studies and involves *intense reflection*, including the critical assessment of competing interpretations' (2007, p. 4 emphasis added). 'Reasoned selectivity' and critical self-reflexivity, thus, are among the determining factors in the quality and validity of knowledge produced through ethnographic means (Davies, 2008; Fabian, 2001; Kapoor, 2004; Mather, 1996).

Selectivity in this study refers to two interrelated and iterative processes. Firstly, it was the process by which ethnographic data were selected, organised and processed in order to draw meaningful theoretical inferences. And secondly, it was the drawing out of an analytical framework according to which data were selected and analysed. The analytical framework was constructed in the light of data collected, and data sets were selected as a result of deliberate choice of theoretical frameworks adopted. 'Reasoned selectivity,' as Davies argues, was in itself an analytical and reflexive process through which an explicit link was established between theoretical influences and 'multitudinous forms' of ethnographic data, which was subjective, unruly, partial and contingent in nature (2008, pp. 194–199). Similarly, Hammersley and Atkinson argue; 'research is an active process, in which accounts of the world are produced through selective observation and theoretical interpretation' (2007, p. 16). Organisation of key themes in a framework that juxtaposes explicit use of sport towards "development" ends with sport practices in "development" settings – was a result of such 'reasoned selectivity', which underpinned the process, analysis and presentation of research. While selectivity, in general, was unavoidable, in fact, considered desirable in ethnographic research, the credibility of this process relied upon openness and 'attentiveness to detail' in analysis (Davies, 2008, p. 203). And so, a deliberate effort was made to accentuate selectivity with reflective reasoning in presenting the analysis in descriptive storied forms, or what Madden calls 'the storied reality' (2010, pp. 152–54).

The concept of self-reflexivity, as it is taken to mean in this thesis, acknowledges that researchers are necessarily a part of the social world they study, and that they affect and are affected by this world in the process of conducting research (Davies, 2008). The researchers' values and interests are shaped by their socio-historical orientations, and in bringing 'the image of the

researcher ... parallel with that of the people studied, as actively making sense of the world' can be, if critically reflected, very informative (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, pp. 15–17). For Hammersley and Atkinson, ethnographers are 'the research instrument par excellence' and their influence in production of knowledge has to be central to the analysis (2007, p. 17). They reject the idea that social research can be 'carried out in some autonomous realm that is insulated from the wider society and from the biography of the researcher, in such a way that its findings can be unaffected by social processes and personal characteristics' (ibid, p.15). Reflexivity is also 'a portrayal of the ethnographer's path in conducting fieldwork' (Sanjek, 1990, p. 621). Judith Okely further recognises 'field work as personal experience' and discourages 'sacrificing it to a false notion of scientific objectivity' (1975, p. 171). She emphasise the centrality of 'the specificity and individuality of the observer' as mediator of knowledge, which she refers to 'as important subjective factors conditioning knowledge' (Okely, 1975, p. 172). In a similar vein, Linda Alcoff goes on to problematize even a researcher's own privileged position 'as the one who more correctly understands the truth about another's situation or as one who can champion a just cause' (1991, p. 29). To these ends, reflexivity in ethnographic work is not only central to the process, but it contests the language of objectivity and subjectivity. Knowledge, in ethnographic modes of research, is co-produced through interactions between the researcher and the researched, and thus the validation of such knowledge is in vigorous self-reflectivity.

Self-reflectivity in analysis and in the presentation of findings was particularly important to contextualise and draw into consideration the position from which I collected data and the kind of information I could or could not access. How I positioned myself, what identities I assumed or performed, how I was perceived and all the different ways in which different research participants responded to me, my presence and my questions – all were considered important reflexive dimensions to make sense of the collected data. The importance of this approach was further affirmed with the realisation that understandings and analysis of the social process under study did not merely happen in the moment of being in the field, recording field observations and interactions, or during the time put aside



for data analysis. But more so, many insights emerged in the hindsight, upon reflection and at times, during the conversations and experiences unrelated to or away from the field. In any case, the kind of personal investment ethnographic fieldwork requires leaves little separation between the personal and the research life. For instance, some of my field experiences did leave me deeply disturbed (both morally and emotionally) and yet, it was from the most profoundly disturbing experiences and mulling over them for a long period of time that complex insights were (are and continue to be) generated.

Recent scholarship in the sub-discipline of humanities, particularly with ethnographic foci on development studies, considers reflexivity or even *hyper-self-reflexivity* as useful, vital and valid source of social knowledge (Davies, 2008; Kapoor, 2004; Okely, 1975, among others). And while Davies rejects the idea of expunging researcher's own voice and presence from the text in the name of objectivity, she also warns against the dangers of 'self-absorption' in such a style of writing (2008, p. 224). In an insightful reflexive account, Femke Brandt makes a case for, and in so doing, encourages scholars to focus on, the use of reflexivity as a methodological tool 'that ultimately gives us a better understanding of the object of study' (2013, p. 309).

### **2.1.2. Empirical Research Questions**

In the previous chapter, I discussed how critical self-reflections on my pre-fieldwork research interactions had turned me to explore reflexive ethnography as a more appropriate mode of inquiry. With a focus on people and their social lives, an 'iterative-inductive' quality of ethnographic research design proved useful in deliberately examining, selecting and prioritizing research questions (O'Reilly, 2005). The questions I asked, the conversations I engaged in, and the life I observed and participated in, explored the ways in which sports were valued, organised, participated, provided for, facilitated, negotiated and all the different meanings it took on, for the farm workers and their "development". Social and interpersonal interactions, observations and experiences in the research field played a vital role in making sense of the world I had entered as an "outsider".

Thus, articulation and organisation of central and empirical questions was, in and of itself, a reflexive process. This meant that it was not just answers to a pre-determined set of questions that I went on to inquire about in conducting the fieldwork, but the relevance of the research questions was also subjected to an on-going reflexive analysis. The prolonged time in the field allowed me to examine and rework relevant questions and queries, which emerged from observations, participation and gradual enhancement in understandings of the field.

With an overarching aim to deconstruct the discourses and practices of farm worker “development” in relations to sport and their sporting experiences, I employed various ethnographic methods and techniques to explore the following interrelated set of central research questions:

1. What kinds of concerns relating to the life of farm workers do notions and practices of “development” through sport seek to address?
2. How do farm workers experience sport and “development” in their everyday lives?
3. How do the representation of “development” problems and solutions in SDP discourses and practices correspond to the social, economic and political realities of farm workers?

With these questions in mind, I organised the specific set of empirical questions around three frames of observation: 1) theories and programmes that explicitly use sport to achieve “development”; 2) official sport structures and conditions of access to these by the rural working class people; and 3) unofficial forms of sport networks and practices. In other words, research observations and interactions took place at the sport programmes organised with an explicit “development” intention; the official league games organised by the respective regional sport federations; and the sport activities that farm workers organised and practiced at their own discretion and initiative. The empirical questions guiding observations and interactions focused on learning how farm workers related to, explained, and experienced, “development” and sport; what values they placed on the two; and how did they explain the barriers and motivations to sport and “development”.

The semi-structured interviews with different stakeholders concerned with “development” of agrarian labour, as well as analysis of historical textual sources, were conducted to understand historical origins and legacies of contemporary discourses of farm workers’ “development” (through sport or otherwise) in the Western Cape. The open-ended empirical questions asked for interviewees’ perspectives on: 1) the “development” needs and social concerns of farm workers; 2) whether and how sport might have a role in addressing these; 3) if there were any particular sport and/or “development” structures, institutions, organisations or programmes specifically focusing on farm workers; and 4) how SDP, sport or sport structures (imagined or real) were considered useful to farm workers.

The information collected through textual sources, formal interviews and informal conversations was contrasted and analysed against the observations recorded by participating in the everyday lives of farm workers and the broader rural working class. In so doing, I explored, attended, engaged with, and took part in, the various forms of sport activities, including SDP projects and sport events directed at farm workers in the province, as well as official and unofficial sport practices. It was in this context that important research discoveries were made in the form of unofficial soccer networks. These were essentially unrecognised soccer games, colloquially referred to as *gambling games*, played almost every weekend in an informal, unstructured and somewhat spontaneous manner. The set of empirical questions to understand and unpack the social meanings and value of such practices, asked: how were these games organised, what were the origins of these soccer networks, how many soccer clubs/teams were there in the selected region, who administered these networks, clubs and teams, how were the players selected, what was their life stories in relation to sport, to what motivations and aspirations were these organised and practiced, how do these contrast with official sport leagues and day events organised by sport federations, government and non-government bodies, among others.

The above empirical questions were aimed at describing: underlying theories of SDP as applied to farm workers, how the life (work and social) conditions of farm workers affect their participation in sport and how, in turn, sport, its practice and aspiration, and the kinds of “development” and SDP programmes directed at

them, affect the lives they live. It was juxtaposing the descriptive information gathered on each of the three frames that I examine and discuss the continuities and contradictions in the historical and contemporary discourses and politics of farm workers' "development," their experiences of SDP practices, and their everyday sporting lives.

## **2.2. CONDUCTING FIELDWORK: SELECTIVITY**

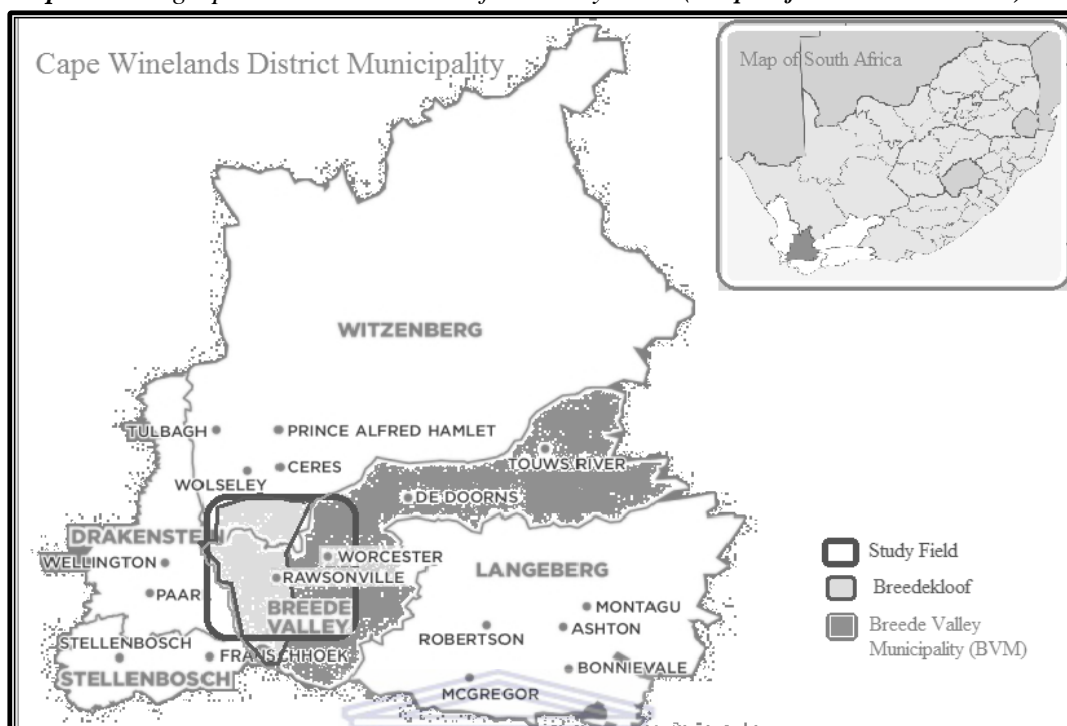
Preliminary preparations for fieldwork started with mapping the physical and political geography of wine farming and production in the Western Cape. Given the SAWIT bursary towards this project, my understanding was that the study had to be conducted in a wine farming or producing region. Therefore, in selecting the research field, I purposely looked for a region with a concentration of wine farms and a history of wine production. The Cape Winelands (see Map 2.1 and Map A), known for the largest share of wine production in South Africa, was the region I surveyed to select a smaller and geographically more contained place to conduct the fieldwork. During preliminary visits across the Cape Winelands District Municipality (CWDM), I attended rural sport programmes in different parts of the district. I also consulted with regional sport coordinators and managers, appointed by the provincial Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport (DCAS), on the status of rural sport, and if, and how, farm workers were included. Up until this exploratory stage, the information I had garnered on farm workers' sport participation suggested that the interested farm workers often joined the sport teams and clubs in the rural towns. Indeed, there was an annual Farm Workers' Sport Day, sponsored and organised by the DCAS, and a farm workers' sport committee that coordinated this event. However, the everyday sports in farm workers' lives were consistently explained in terms of "lack" (as discussed in Chapter 1), due to large distances, lack of access to transportation, basic resources, etcetera.

After about two months of exploring the field and learning the physical and sporting geography of the CWDM, and series of consultations with DCAS and CWDM officials, I decided to base myself near the rural town of Worcester. With knowledge that it was centrally located within easy access to farms and farming

communities across the CWDM, being based in Worcester also allowed me time, flexibility and space to explore and learn about the surrounding farms before I committed myself to a more focused immersion in a specific region. Worcester is an important and busy rural town, serving as an administrative hub to the CWDM and the local municipality of Breede Valley (or BVM). It also serves as a place where farm workers from surrounding farms (often as far as 70 kilometres) visit over the weekends for outings and shopping. I started my fieldwork with mapping out the dominant sport activities, regional sport federations, sport fields and stadiums, sport clubs and other forms of sport organisations; listing all the farm schools and school sport infrastructure (both physical and structural); and looking out for any special projects or programmes which focused on farm workers' sport and/or "development", in the BVM region.

Surveying the region in this manner was useful to some extent; however, the empirical discoveries made during informal and spontaneous conversations with locals, and drives through the farmlands were more helpful in the selection of the farming communities in and around Rawsonville as my research field. I had also considered farm schools as important avenues to explore how these spaces influenced sporting life among farm workers, and if there were any sport and "development" initiatives for children at the farm schools. With this in mind, I contacted the regional education department, and through their support visited all the farm schools in Rawsonville and De Doorns, requesting the teachers for an interview. While visiting farm schools and conducting interviews with the school teachers in the two regions was easy, to fully participate in the schools' everyday life I had to decide and focus on one of the two regions. In the end, the geographical area demarked as Breedekloof wine region, a commercial wine and tourism brand name for the region, which covered the farmlands in and around the rural town of Rawsonville (see Maps 2.1 and C), was where I conducted large part of my fieldwork, from April 2012 to May 2013.

**Map 2.1:** Geographical Demarcations of the Study Field (Adapted from online<sup>26</sup> source)



Rawsonville<sup>27</sup> is located along a wine route with a concentration of wine farms, estates and wine cellars. While Rawsonville or Bredekloof wine region does not feature among the well-known wine routes in the Cape Winelands, it is in relative proximity to more popular and wealthier tourist wine routes of Stellenbosch, Paarl, Robertson, McGregor, among others (see Map 2.1). I limit my discussion on the sport activities within this defined area, I refer to as Rawsonville, in order to offer a detailed and nuanced account of sporting lives and development experiences of the selected sport activities, sport clubs and specific sport participants and patrons. These depictions do not (and were not meant to) provide a generalizable representation of “farm worker sport” across South Africa or even the Western Cape. Through these observations and stories of sporting lives and “development” experiences of farm workers and their sporting practices, I hope to offer important insights into the everyday realities of farm life. In other

<sup>26</sup>Base maps were taken from: <http://municipalities.co.za/provinces/view/9/western-cape> and <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?title=Special%3ASearch&profile=default&search=map+of+western+cape+&fulltext=Search&uselang=en> [October 2015]

<sup>27</sup> While the physical boundaries of the Bredekloof wine region would best define my study field; it would not be inaccurate to refer to my study region as “Rawsonville”. I do so because this is how the region was colloquially referred to, and Bredekloof is more of a brand name for region’s wine and tourism industry. The specific farmlands surrounding the rural town of Rawsonville also had specific names, and so I will refer to those as such, as mapped in the Map C.

words, while the stories are specific to the people and clubs I describe, the structural conditions in which these stories take place were general. Moreover, my early interactions at the farm schools in Rawsonville also provided me with some important clues. I not only conducted interviews with teachers and principals, but also took time to observe the play time activities of learners and attended school sport events. While I never interviewed any of the learners, informal exchanges with some learners and their farm worker parents suggested the presence of sport fields and games by their places of residence. One parent was a member of a local rugby club, and informed me of their next game. The first soccer club in the region that I got connected to, called the Rawsonville Gunners Football Club, was through a school principal, who shared an invitation letter with me that school had received from the club to a soccer grassroots development initiative for learners.

From these initial entry points, the world of sport in the farmlands, in and around Rawsonville started to open up, and it was not too long into the fieldwork that I had 19 soccer clubs, 6 rugby clubs and multiple informal sport spaces in the heart of farmlands on my list of sites of farm worker sport. As my list expanded, I had to make decisions which sport activities and clubs I was going to attend and focus on. Most of the sport activity took place over the weekends, at simultaneous time, and at different and distant venues. The days I travelled to different venues in an attempt to cover as many different sports, matches and events, I not only missed most of the action, I could not engage with the spectators and participants in any substantial way. Interactions with different sport clubs, generally, ranged from being as limited as asking for basic information about the club, to attending their weekend games, to fuller immersion in sporting and non-sporting life of the clubs and some of its members. This prompted further change in my research strategy, from recording all the possible sport activity and mere numbers and names of sport clubs in Rawsonville, I decided to focus on selected sport activities, specific sport clubs, and spent more time developing a rapport with their patrons and following their sporting activities. Soccer and selected soccer clubs became the central focus of my fieldwork, and I write about three soccer clubs as my case studies, in Chapter 6. The three clubs I concentrate on were the ones I had established a meaningful rapport with, namely: Rawsonville Gunners

FC (Gunners, hereon); Mountain Tigers FC and Fairhills FC. Therefore, as my knowledge of the physical and structural geography of sport in Rawsonville expanded, I selectively narrowed down my focus on specific sport clubs, patrons and spaces.

### **2.2.1. Ethnographic Fieldwork Strategies**

Many different methods and strategies were employed to glean information and insights. These included; participant observations, digitally recorded semi-structured and unstructured interviews, formal and informal conversations and active participation in different sport settings, activities, and at differing level of engagement. Along with recording thick descriptions and personal reflections on daily fieldwork events in the form of field notes, I archived newspaper articles, official documentary and textual information available on the World Wide Web and in the local newspapers, and artefacts shared by research participants. The actual fieldwork included interviewing, attending sport events and games, joining in during the team practices, getting pulled into coaching sport to children and youth in different settings, observing “development” and “life-skills” workshops, attending sport administrative meetings, being invited to various functions and ceremonies, attending church services (including getting rides on the back of trucks that brought farm workers to the church), giving rides to hitch-hikers to the weekend games, ‘hanging-out’ with workers during their weekend shopping trips and other leisure time activities, trotting along greeting people during after-work hours at the Rawsonville *dorp* (town), and developing friendships in the process.

Many meaningful conversations took place in the most informal and extemporaneous of situations. Indeed, informality, humour, and idleness, proved among the most useful strategies to elicit comments on the social meanings of sport that went beyond the clichéd truisms about its importance in the community. The prolonged and personal nature of ethnographic fieldwork not only allowed access to rich and detailed insights into the social and sporting patterns of farm worker lives, these opened a space to engage more directly and critically with conditions and politics of marginality and deprivation in its mundaneness. Amartya Sen (1999) argues that in situations of long-standing deprivations,



people often come to terms with their situation. Still, this ‘coming to terms with’ did not mean mere acceptance of the situation, but rather mundane ways of negotiating, adapting and appropriating life conditions, often without overtly resisting, contesting or condemning them. The everyday tactics of making the best of their situations was usually available in the most trivial of pursuits, and garnering support for their sport activities would be among such endeavours. To this end, informal conversations, small talk, gossip, being able and available to access what otherwise might be considered mundane or trivial, staying abreast of local news and incidents, and making myself available to be observed and questioned, were among the ethnographic approaches that offered richer understandings of the world under study.

Even when qualitative, semi-structured interviews were conducted, I recorded descriptions of the context within which it took place and always started with an open-ended question about personal history and/or the history of the organisation s/he represented to allow respondents to share what they were more comfortable with. To examine how perspectives were shaped by the structural position of respondents, I also recorded their biographical information, such as their level of involvement and history in sport, their interface and interaction with farming communities, their social identity markers, such as race, class, gender, social status, education, employment and other peculiarities (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p. 98). In particular, I recorded life histories of key informants, selected institutions and sport clubs (however the depth to which I could collect individual life stories varied a lot). Generally, I tried to learn as much information as possible about my key informants’ lives in general, their history of involvement in sport and their sport club/team, the nature and level of their participation, and their connection to the broader farming community. Central to contextualising and making sense of the interviews, information, observations and insights garnered in the process was the process of recording personal reflections at the end of each fieldwork day.

It was clear that a deeper understanding of the history and politics that defined access to resources and to the sport fields would be central to examining how sport and “development” practices were organised, who could organise, access

and participate, and which, how and on what basis people were excluded from sport and “development” activities. For example, access to sport fields for games and practice times was an on-going topic of discussion and at times of frustration for the local athletes. Frustrations, disagreements and conflict over resources and access were considered particularly important aspects to unpack the social process and power relations, which shaped more subtle everyday experiences of sport and contradictions in “development”/SDP discourses. It is in this context that focus on three soccer clubs and prolonged engagement with them proved particularly beneficial. My interactions with each included: attending their official as well as unofficial competitive games; sometimes transporting part of the team to the match venues and other times getting a ride with them; learning their playing styles, practice and match plans, routines and rituals; joining in during the training session; observing patterns of social interactions among the soccer players, between players and coaches, with other soccer clubs, and with broader members of the community; going to *braais* (barbeque) and picnics with them; and engaging in long conversations with the players, managers, coaches and fans, both on and off the field. This level of engagement and attention not only added complexity and nuance to my understanding and analysis, it also helped me to establish terms of reference to engage and interpret my interactions with other soccer clubs, as well as interactions between the clubs, teams and players.

### **2.2.2. Research Participants**

Placing sport and sport fields at the centre of my study meant that my research participants would include a broader sample of employment and socio-economic backgrounds. A large number of sports were participated in, organised, coached and managed by amateur sport enthusiasts who had jobs outside their role in sport. An understanding of multiple and overlapping roles and identities of my research participants was particularly important to interpret their perspectives of the social worlds they were part of. These overlapping roles and identities include farm workers and/or dwellers, domestic workers, local school/college going youth, athletes, sports coaches and managers, farmers and wine makers, managers and executives from the wine industry, administrators from municipal and provincial government departments, and the civil society at large, which consists of sport

administrators, grounds-person or gatekeepers to sport fields, school teachers, journalists and radio-station broadcasters, social and community development workers, church pastors, local police and correctional services, among others. The level of engagement with each research participant differed in terms of frequency and length of time, and in the level of formality and familiarity.

The connections I made with the local farm community were largely a result of “being there,” observing, participating and being observed at the sport fields during the games and practices (Geertz, 1973b). The leisurely, yet exhilarating, environment that sport games or events create opened many opportunities to initiate conversations with the spectators. Simple questions like who was playing, what the score was, who the striker was, or who the team managers and coaches were, etcetera, would lead to some interesting and insightful research interactions. Many important contacts were made over these informal exchanges. These interactions were particularly helpful in identifying and connecting with key informants. The key informants in my study were those with a history and insight into the social and sporting world of farm workers of Rawsonville and adjoining farming regions. There is a unique story to almost every key contact I made in this way. For now it suffices to say that snowball sampling and interpersonal networking were among the most used and useful strategies in identifying and selecting the research participants. However, the research interviewees in specific administrative positions from the wine industry, the sport governing bodies and relevant government departments were purposely selected to learn specific information relevant to their roles, which I discuss in the next sub-section.

The snowball sampling and interpersonal networking worked in the following manner. I would often ask the contacts I had already made to put me in touch with people involved in farm worker sport and “development” in one way or the other. Sometimes this meant asking farmers if I could speak to some of the workers at their farm, or asking farm workers to put me in touch with the farmer they worked for. Interview time given by the farmers was mostly during the day-time working hours, whereas most of my engagement with farm workers took place during their leisure time (evenings and weekends). Farmers would quite firmly express that I could only speak to the workers after half past five in the evening, and I often

sensed a hint of suspicion about my wanting to engage with the workers. On the other hand, farm workers were often eager to put me in touch with the farmers, while suggesting that I should ask the farmers to sponsor their sport. Moreover, farmers and wine-makers I was able to establish a good rapport with were often glad to introduce me to others in their social circles, and many welcomed my research project as it was seen as apolitical and as having the potential to reflect positively on their efforts to provide sport opportunities for the worker communities. On the other hand, developing a rapport and familiarity with a specific sport club, at times, limited my interactions with their most direct rival sport clubs. In some ways, selectivity was a two way process, where selecting and being selected went hand in hand. Ultimately, the presented findings and arguments certainly reflect the judgments I made about which interactions, observations and conversations were relevant and what was considered beyond the scope of this research project.

### **2.2.3. Formal Interviewing**

The semi-structured interviews were approached in the following way. The potential interviewees were selected according to their association with farm workers, sport in rural farming areas, and/or farm worker development. For example, when approaching a farmer for an interview, I would first try to find out if they had a sport facility, field or a sport team/club, whether there were workers on their farm involved in any sport, or if there was a “development” initiative at their farm or associated with their business. This allowed me to ask more concrete questions, rather than recording their perceptions on general topics. Similarly, I purposely searched for and focused on interviewing people who, in one way or the other, were involved in farm worker sport and/or “development” activities. Where possible, I would personally meet with the potential informant prior to arranging to record an interview with them. At this initial meeting, I introduced my research project, explained (both orally and through a printed hand-out) (see Appendix H) the kind of information I was seeking, assured their anonymity in all published materials from this research, and answered if they had any questions. Not all of such meetings resulted in interviews; some developed into a useful conversation, an unstructured interview, which I was able to record (with permission), and some

others ended with no further communication. However, every interaction added to my understanding of the world I was studying.

I group all the digital recordings I collected according to the respondents' sectorial affiliation, date, recording length and assigning recording codes, to maintain anonymity (see Appendix C). These include 14 recordings with people associated with the wine industry and agriculture sector, including nine farmers, one wine maker and three industry representatives; 14 sport administrators; nine farm school teachers; eight government officials; seven community development and social workers or NGO representatives; and seven group discussions and meetings. Except for the recordings of group discussions and meetings, all the formal interviews followed a generic format: 1) background information about the interviewee, history of their affiliation with the institution and history of the institution they represented; 2) perspectives on sport among farm workers; and 3) perspectives on prevalent social concerns, "development" needs and projects for farm workers.

An overarching aim of conducting these interviews with different social and political actors was to establish how people's social positions, perspectives, roles and activities contributed in construction of farm worker "development" discourses. While all the interviews were tailored to the individual interviewee, the specific questions were also organised according to their social and professional position, according to which I interviewed them. For example, I was particularly interested in learning the current state of sport at farm schools and how school staff engaged with the local farming community. In addition to generic questions on history, background and "development", I asked the school teachers: a) what formal sport structures and infrastructure for the learners were in place; b) how being surrounded by commercial farms affected the everyday operations of the school; and c) what the school's "development" priorities were. The responses usually led to the narrating of many stories, anecdotes and accounts of recent incidents and frustrations.

Similarly, in interviews with the farmers and wine or agrarian representatives, I asked for a brief history of their farming business. I followed this question up

with asking them: a) if they considered farming purely as a business or saw it as a lifestyle choice; b) if they always wanted to be a farmer; and c) what sport/s they took part in and how often they participated. The topic of sport then led into asking about sporting practices among the farm workers and its usefulness in farm worker “development”. If time allowed, I ended my interview with a hypothetical question, asking: what would be a fully “developed” farm worker? The actual interviews did not always manage to cover all these questions, sometimes I was out of time, other times conversations were dominated by the most pressing concerns of the interviewees.

In the case of sport administrators, government officials and community development and social workers, I asked informants to share their relationship to, and interface with, the farm workers and sport activities therein. Questions like, what did they know about sport among farm workers or how did they engage in the rural communities, would advance the conversation. The discussions would then deepen by focusing on the specific role they play in farm worker sport and/or “development”. It is important to note that only a minority of people whom I refer to as *sport administrators*<sup>28</sup> were in actual full-time paid administrative positions in sport. Most people administrating sport, in the form of clubs, leagues or games, had other jobs, which included working at the commercial farms. Additionally, the interviews conducted with officials from the Western Cape government departments and municipalities focused on specific public sector initiatives, services, and policies towards farm worker sport and “development”. In order to learn the operations and activities of the government-led programmes, I asked for their regional implementation, particularly their presence in Rawsonville, and requested to attend these programmes as an observer. At the time these interviews were conducted, I was not always as knowledgeable about the political weight and multiple meanings of the questions I was asking. Listening to, transcribing and reflecting on the field notes documented at the time played an important role in my interpreting and analysing the respondents’ narrations of their perceptions and experiences.

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<sup>28</sup> My definition of sport administrators is inclusive of managers of grassroots sport clubs, and by this definition I engaged with over forty sport administrators, but only recorded one-on-one interviews with twelve.

#### **2.2.4. Records and Recording Techniques**

Two hundred and seventeen days of fieldwork were recorded in the form of daily field notes and personal reflections on observations, conversations, participation and interviews. Over this period, I recorded interactions with well over two-hundred people in some detail. It was not feasible or even useful to record digital voice-recordings of every in-person interaction I had. In some cases, while respondents were happy to share their thoughts and information with me, they refused for it to be recorded on a voice-recorder. In some other scenarios, the presence of a recorder altered the dynamics: sometimes it made people cautious of what they could share, other times I feared altering or disrupting the natural flow of conversation by introducing the voice-recorder. Daily jotting, memory and comprehensive field notes were among the recording techniques that I relied most on. In sum, empirical data culminated into well over 500 A4 pages of typed field notes; multiple and sundry artefacts, including promotional DVDs, photographs, pamphlets, local newspaper articles, etcetera; 59 digital recordings, of which 52 were one-on-one interviews and conversations, and seven group discussions or meetings, each lasting anything from about twenty five minutes to two hours (see Appendix C); and a number of emails, SMSs and information shared via other media sources were archived.

#### **2.2.5. Analytical Framework**

Analysis in ethnographic research is not considered as (and indeed was not) a ‘distinct stage’ in the study, but an iterative process that ‘feeds into research design and data collection’ (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007, p. 158). In a similar vein, Amis and Silk argue that the quality of the research product is not ‘something to be tested at the completion of the research or an outcome of the application of robust methods’ (2008, p. 458). It is integral to the whole of the process of study and should be determined by giving close attention to, and critical engagement with, the positioning, purpose and the underlying intent of the research, as well as, the power and politics that accompanied the process.

Still, the formal process of analysis started with organising the entire data into data sets by the means of coding and indexing (see Table 2.1). While I did not

make use of any software to organise and process the data, all my field notes, analytical reflections, interview transcriptions, and all other forms of data were digitally stored on my personal computer, which made the process of indexing and coding fairly neat. As Hammersley and Atkinson maintain, the organisation and analysis of ethnographic data was not a mechanical task, but required close, detailed and repeated reading of the entire collection (2007, p. 162). Given the ‘multitudinous forms’ and amounts of data, selectivity was inevitable. Even so, it was guided by the iterative process of working through the data to develop indexing themes and an analytical framework (see Table 2.2). Though I indexed most of the data (see Appendix I), I prioritized my focus on the themes on which I had the most comprehensive information and flagged those that required further research.

**Table 2.1: Coding and Indexing**

	<b>Lives People Live</b>	<b>Structures</b>
<b>Sport</b>	Participation	Infrastructure
	Practices	Institutions
	Vernacular	Access
<b>Development</b>	Discourses & Vernacular	Policies & Plans
	Life Struggles	Institutions
	Individual Experiences	Programmes & Projects
<b>History &amp; Politics</b>	Oral accounts	Secondary literature

Firstly, two broad themes were identified. One, the ‘*lives people live*’ in the specific contexts of ‘sport’ and ‘development’ (which included discourses, practices and its everyday understandings); and two, the ‘*structures*’ of ‘sport’ and ‘development’. Secondly, first and second-order codes were assigned in relation to each of the broad themes (see Appendix I for the detailed version of assigned themes and codes). The first-order codes were still fairly generic, and were linked to more specific analytical categories identified as the second-order codes. For example, the first-order codes say ‘*sport practices*,’ identifying every form of recorded sport activity among the farm workers; the related second-order codes identify the specific sport and the specific way in which an activity was practiced. The data in this way was organised to critically analyse the different ways in which sports were practiced and the different meanings given to these practices.



The key arguments, therefore, emerge from an analysis of, and contrast between, for instance, the centrally organised sport practices (in the form of mainstream sport organised by federations as much as the sport organised for “development” purposes) and the autonomous sport practices (in the form of gambling games) among the farm workers.

Similarly, the first order codes at the intersection of ‘sport’ and ‘structure’ describe and discuss all the different ways in which the local sport infrastructure, national and regional sport institutions, and access to sport was structurally organised, attending particularly to how these structures enabled or restricted the rural working classes to participate in, organise, and manage their sporting lives. The first order codes at the intersection of “development” and *lives people live* draw on the everyday experiences of “development”, both as in problems and projects directed at them, while the intersection of “development” and structures attended to all the theoretical policy and programmers’ understandings of the “development” problems and solutions. Likewise, the underlying historical and political understandings of the *lives people live* was garnered from oral accounts collected in the form of recorded interviews, informal conversations and anecdotes, whereas the same information on the structures was drawn from secondary sources.

**Table 2.2: Analytical Framework**

Explicit use of <b>Sport for “Development”</b> (SDP) Purposes		Implicit Function of <b>Sport in</b> a specific “Development” (SDN) setting	
Intended effects to sport & “development”	Unintended consequences to sport participation & life conditions	How life conditions affect participation in sport	How participation in sport affects life conditions

The analytical framework captures four themes, namely; 1) what policies, programmes, projects, practices of use of sport towards “development” intends to achieve; 2) the unintended consequences of these efforts to the actual participation in sport and on experiences of “development”; 3) an examination of how everyday work and life conditions affected participation in sport; and 4) how participation in sport affected the life conditions of people living in conditions deemed in need of “development”. These themes draw the core thesis arguments together to critically analyse the link between sport and “development”. Efforts are made to

depict with verisimilitude and detail the experiences of SDP practices in the light of everyday sporting lives of farm workers and discuss the multiple meanings, continuities and contradictions in “development” discourses and practices. The creditability and validity of ethnographic analysis is found in the way a written account continues to critically examine the competing interpretations, maintains a reflexive approach and engages up-to-date research and literature in the field in a conversation (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Madden, 2010). To this end, the analytical and interpretive process continues throughout the dissertation.

### **2.3. CONDUCT IN THE FIELD: REFLEXIVITY**

The actual process of fieldwork was complicated and chaotic; and the way I chose to deal with “chaos” was to record it as such. Therefore, the conduct in the field required on-going ‘reflexivity’, that is, reflecting on the information I had, assessing the information I need to make sense of what I had learned, as well as recording and exploring what might remain unknown within the confines of time, space and scope of this research project. While gradually I had consolidated my focus on juxtaposing SDP and everyday sporting lives, the specific empirical questions did not (and could not) follow a pre-set research schedule. There were simply too many exceptions and too much complexity in the “real” world that taking it at the face value or reducing it to simple assertions would have distorted the “whole” into something that was not even vaguely representative. Reflexivity, as well as contextualising the consistencies and inconsistencies, became an on-going part of the process. At times, pointing out inconsistencies and contradictions did close some doors, but also confirmed the problematic, unreflective and political nature of claims, tropes and practices of “development” and SDP.

Opportunities and spaces for observation and participation, and with that the number of research participants, multiplied with each sport activity I attended. Sport, as a topic of conversation, was not only easy to start, but was entertained with a lot of enthusiasm. Many stories, expert opinions and analysis, and general commentaries on sport (clubs, games, players from international sports scene to casual practices in their locales) were readily available. While I was interested in

the social meanings that such stories and exchanges conveyed, given the speed and intensity at which these were coming my way and things unfolded in the field, I prioritized recording descriptive accounts of as many interactions in as much detail as I could. The explorations, observations, conversations and participation in the everyday life were part and parcel of fieldwork, and so was feeling overwhelmed by all the new impressions, information, contradictions and insights. Thus, the process of articulating the conduct in the field has been that of critical reflexivity.

### **2.3.1. Participation in Sport: an ethnographic method**

Popularity, visuality, easy to understand and standardised rules have made certain sports particularly ‘portable’ as activities, which can be practiced in very different contexts, and facility in a sport offers a possibility to easily insert oneself in a social space different from one’s own. These traits have earned sport a label of ‘universal language’ which allows people to share social interactions and experiences in cross-cultural and multi-lingual settings. I also employed these traits and my own sport ability as an ethnographic tool. In other words, participation in sport with different farm sport clubs and teams was among the ways in which I gleaned insights on the sporting lives of farm workers. In fact, my lifelong involvement in sport, as a competitor, and later as a coach, as well as some formative experiences in spaces where sport was explicitly used towards “development” ends, had incited my scholarly interest in the field. In the next few paragraphs, I discuss how I was able to insert myself in various sporting practices, and what social processes were available to observe and learn from.

While I was able to employ my ability and interest in sport to methodological ends, I do not necessarily subscribe to notions of the “power” of sport to break down social barriers. I want to accentuate a number of ways in which my ability to actively participate in sport did allow me to access kinds of relations, insights and information that otherwise might not have been as available. At the same time, who I engaged with, and who I did not, was also influenced by my associations with specific sports, and the relations I developed with specific sport patrons early in my fieldwork. It came relatively easy for me to ask a soccer or

netball club to join them during their training sessions, but I did not and would not have asked, given my own fear of contact sports, to join in the rugby practices. With a level of personal bias for soccer, and relatively easier access to soccer practices and players, I studied and explored the ways in which participation in sport/soccer had become an ethnographic field in and of itself, one from where nuanced understandings could be gleaned that may not be available while watching from the side-lines and in conversations.

Spaces of sport are highly gendered. Age, ability and experience in particular sports also have specific social meanings, but these meanings are often socially appropriated and contingent on a complex set of factors. There are sport activities that may have stronger feminine or masculine associations, however, the sport world at large is male dominated. Nowhere are physical differences based on sex in as stark contrast as in the field of competitive sport. Also, it is still not unusual for female athletes to have been socialised in a majority male environment. Likewise, my participation in sport was predominantly among groups of boys and men. I grew up competing in various sports against my brother; our father taught us how to hold a cricket bat; and throughout my competitive tennis years I trained in all-male training squads. Because of this upbringing, my social circle included mostly male friends. Therefore, in many ways, joining in at a pick-up soccer game or training session, I felt more home than in most other social spaces I entered during my fieldwork. My experiences as a sports coach also positioned me somewhat differently. In engaging with female and younger children, I was often pulled into coaching sport to them, but these sorts of interactions remained limited. I was open to volunteer to coach when asked by the social worker or by the young female soccer players, but remained apprehensive about making any of such activities a “project” or an initiative of mine. Still, these interactions highlighted the complex and interlinked gender-class-race dynamics that shaped everyday experiences, understandings, and aspirations, of, and ability in, sport.

All the male soccer players I engaged with were far better at the sport than I, which often meant that they were either protective or encouraging of me on the field. An anecdote from my first practice session with a group of soccer players of the Gunners, namely, Fex, Maradona, Yolo and four others, exemplifies such a

dynamic. Rather than focusing on my own play, I was a little distracted, watching Fex's exceptional ball-control skills, when Maradona (whose side I was playing on) shouted at me: 'Miss T, you need to move your feet!' While often confirming that I was good enough to practice with them, Yolo once argued that I could not play in a match with them because 'those guys are rough!', implying that their opposition did not always play by the rules and I could get hurt. This was one of the gentler ways in which he marked the gender and class boundaries. These encounters also showed that sensibilities about gender or class were not all that uniform among all the soccer players of all the soccer clubs I engaged with, and every relationship and every interaction had its unique dynamics. I often felt a strange sense of familiarity in engaging with some of the soccer players, and the team Gunners, in particular, with whom I could identify most. They were often struggling to access a sport field for practice, and this sometimes meant sneaking in or jumping over the walls around the fields. My personal experiences from younger years were similar, except that I had to jump the fence to access tennis courts at obviously non-playing hours. Perhaps, this is a common condition among the administrators of sport in the Third World, who tend to go out of their way to restrict access to sport (the topic of access to sport and sport fields is an important one in this thesis and so, is discussed in some detail in Chapter 6).

Specifically, the conditions, constraints and all the ways in which most sports were organised and practiced among and by the rural working class people were particular to their specific social circumstances. And so, they employed specific tactics fit for their situations to negotiate their access to various sports. To explore, learn and contextualise these tactics required a fuller immersion in the everyday, and to allow oneself to become complicit in these processes. In this sense, it was not mere participation in sport, but being complicit in sneaking in or jumping over the walls to access restricted sport field for practice that facilitated the building of some bonds. These shared experiences gave me a nuanced understanding of micro-politics and how these affected and were affected by not only sporting, but other social and political, relationships. Still, the dynamics of research relationships were different across the different sport people I engaged with. My relative privilege, my access to the world outside of theirs, and my not

being in competition with any of the sport clubs and players in any way (sport, power or resources), helped as much in connecting with various sport participants as ‘sport’ (in the sense it is proclaimed in SDP discourses) did. The stories with ethnographic details of the three soccer clubs I had established a more meaningful relationship with are presented in Chapter 7.

Besides, in a political landscape where issues of land reform, exploitation, and transformation were more pressing, research on sport was, at best, seen as trivial. On one of my field expeditions with Yolo, to help me map out the soccer fields in the region, he took me to an enclosed private farm property. While I was nervous about entering this space to start with, the last thing I hoped for was to bump into the owner of the farm. As we were checking out the field and enquiring about the next game with the present farm workers, the farmer arrived at the scene to ask what we were doing on his property. I calmly introduced myself and explained that I study sport among the farm workers and was there because of the sport field he provides for the workers. After the farmer left, Yolo mocked me by saying that I should have told him I was from *Women on Farms* (an NGO with a focus on agrarian labour rights and feminist agenda) and then see how he responds. Although sport can be no less problematic, it somehow maintains an apolitical impression, a welcomed enthusiasm, which created many unique possibilities to engage with the field.

### **2.3.2. Conversations and Interactions**

I approached my research interactions and interviews with an intention to engage my research participants in a conversation. Anthropologist Robert Gordon argues for ‘having a good conversation’ as an ethnographic fieldwork strategy that expands understanding and imagination of both parties involved (2010, pp. 142–51). According to his research philosophy, conducting research is not simply about extracting information, but creating a space to explore, listen, provide and share information on questions and curiosities. My experiments with interactional or conversational style to research also showed that an understanding of social meanings and processes could be learned as much from being asked questions as from asking questions, and from contextualizing the manner in which these were

asked. For example, I was often asked if there was only one “race” in India. There was a level of curiosity and naivety with which questions of this kind were asked, which opened up a possibility to discuss the social meanings of “race” beyond its political construction (and negative connotations) to explore how it influences people’s everyday (sporting) lives. An individual’s social status, relative position of power, privilege, class, gender, race and nationality, all influenced the conversations I engaged in with my predominantly male research participants.

Besides, the conversational mode of exchange not only felt more earnest, but it also demanded the kind of time not all respondents were able or willing to give. This dynamic specially influenced with whom I recorded formal *interviews*, and with whom the *interactions* were recorded as anecdotes and narratives in the form of field notes. Spontaneity and informality were perhaps the most useful strategies to start and engage in a ‘good conversation,’ and sometimes these conversations also led to formal interviews. However, not all recorded interviews were conversations, and not all conversations were recorded digitally. The interviews where time was a particular constraint, for example, when interviewing people in executive or senior administrative positions, I zeroed in to ask only the specific information, and adhered to the semi-structured format with some rigidity, as discussed above in the sub-section: *Formal Interviewing*. On the other hand, sporting space provided more opportunities for ‘good conversations,’ but the spontaneity with which these happened meant that records had to be made in the form of quick jottings (when possible) and detailed field notes (at the end of the day). While engaging conversations also facilitated establishing of a rapport, a good rapport made it possible to explore, revisit, rethink, clarify or just keep a conversation going over a longer period of time. A particular benefit of this approach was that it allowed me to observe how people reworked, confirmed and contradicted themselves, which was unavailable over a rigid or semi-structured interview with time constraints.

Conversations further helped contextualise what I had been learning and created possibilities for some back and forth between my key informants and me. While I could always rely on them to clarify and explain a situation or story and help me interpret it, they also shared information with me that they considered

would be useful to my study. As such, a research interview or a conversation takes place in a specific context, which ‘shapes the form of dialogue’ (Gordon, 2010, p.143). Current affairs or broader political context of the time when an interaction took place impacted the kind of information I was able to garner. For example, in November 2012 farm worker strikes started in De Doorns, approximately 50 kilometres north of Rawsonville. While the newspapers reported incidents of national highway being blocked, burning of the farms, and police violence, response of a farm worker, also a key informant, regarding the seriousness of the strikes was: ‘no, it’s quiet here. We are playing [soccer] on Saturday. Are you coming<sup>29</sup>?’ It would be inaccurate to analyse this response as farm workers involved in sport were not interested in the up-risings or were not affected by them. My continued attendance at the games confirmed that they were well informed and supportive of the demands raised during the strikes. However, their permanent worker status and the proximity of their residence to the farmers they worked for meant that they had to maintain a lower profile on the matter. On the other hand, the interviews conducted with farmers during this time were dominated by the concerns of strikes and its effects on their business and on the farm workers. Some farmers ignored my requests for an interview all together (despite agreeing to it prior to the start of strikes), others who did speak to me explained in depth how the strikes were politically motivated and “their” farm workers were not interested or involved in the strikes. The point of note here is that the data in the form of interviews, formal and informal conversations, as well as observations and participation, had to be read and analysed within the specific historical context in which it was collected.

### **2.3.3. Reflections on Positionality**

In a critical essay: *Ethnographic Objectivity: From Rigor to Vigor*, Johannes Fabian (2001, p. 12) postulates that ‘autobiography is a condition of ethnographic objectivity ... in the sense that it allows the writing subject’s actual history and involvement to be considered critically’. Engaging in a critical self-reflexivity on the path of my fieldwork, I hope to illuminate the peculiarities and precariousness

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<sup>29</sup> Field notes: 5<sup>th</sup> November 2012



that underpinned the process, interpretation and analysis. As I reflect, I find it difficult to work with the binary opposition of insider/outsider or ascribe myself the label “outsider” in the ways this term has been traditionally used to situate a researchers’ positionality in the field. To this end, Kapoor (2004, p. 631) argued that the ‘inside/outside separations’ in “development” work/research ‘either helps contain and depoliticise ethnicity, or puts the onus for change and engagement exclusively on the Third World subaltern’. In other words, claims to being an objective “outsider” could only be made by ignoring or denying one’s complicity in the politics of the social world one enters to study. Specifically, when studying a topic like “development” and engaging with the social spaces identified to study for one or the other form of deprivation, these engagements are as much ideological as are political, and so, had to be interrogated through critical self-reflections. Although the protagonists in my story are also subaltern “others,” with whom I maintain an ambiguous “outsider” relationship, still, I choose to engage with the language of “insider/outsider”. I do so, not because I intend to clarify my positionality in these binary terms, but to deconstruct the identity markers associated with the “insider” or the “outsider” and the social meanings these carry in the context of my study.

At the shallowest level, being a foreign national and unable to speak any of the languages (except for English) spoken in South Africa places me neatly on the “outside”. The farm workers of the Western Cape, whose life conditions were central to my research and with whom I sought to establish a rapport, were the “others” who I had no in-person connection with prior to this project. They were a group of people I sympathised with, given the historical and public discourse that I was reading, hearing and learning in preparation to conduct this study. Yet, my sympathies were shallow and I lacked understanding of the complexities of being a target of “development”. From being an unfettered and unaffected learner of the “terrible” conditions of farm workers and a naïve seeker of “development” for them, the ethnographic fieldwork brought me into a more personal contact with the people who played soccer, and worked on commercial farms to make a living. Given the kind of personal investment, empathy, time and care that goes into *establishing a rapport* with research participants; these bonds were not objective

or distant, but personal. And the friendships that developed in the process of research drew me to the inside of the selected/specific social worlds, which was a little more than a peek and a lot less than comprehensive understanding, in spite of lack of shared language, life experiences and worldviews.

Language is more than a mode of communication; it marks identity. And my lack of proficiency in the Afrikaans language might mark me as an “outsider” to the Western Cape’s rural landscape, yet it did not obviously give away my foreign national status. Unlike most First World nations, language did not define national identity, but ethnic or regional identity in South Africa (and for that matter, in India and in most post-colonies). I was as foreign to the world I studied as I would have been in parts of India where language and customs were disparate to the ones I grew up with. With a similar logic, given South Africa’s language and cultural diversity, along with systematic racial segregation policies, I can self-consciously imply that I was only as much a stranger to the farmlands I based my study at as another non-Afrikaans speaking South African might have been. While I do lack any sense of shared history associated with being a *South African*, in some ways, this proved to be an advantage as it allowed respondents, particularly the ones from upper socio-economic class groups, to share their perspectives with an openness that might be undermined by the bigotry that exists among South Africans for different racial identities. Of course, my reception in the field was neither consistent nor did it correlate across different identity groupings. So, interrogating my positionality and perceived identity allow me to analyse how my research interactions were shaped by the identity politics I had become part of.

In a conversation with a farmer, who I was introduced to by a female worker from his farm, he explained upon realising that I did not speak Afrikaans that I would only be able to converse with people like *him* (that is, people with similar class status as him)<sup>30</sup>. At this stage, I was already in the ninth month of my fieldwork and all my interactions with farm workers from his as well as other farms had been in English. Exchanges of this kind suggested that farm workers were often able to manage the kind of knowledge farmer had about the workers

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<sup>30</sup> Field notes: 23<sup>rd</sup> December 2012

who lived on their farms, while farmer believed that they knew everything there was to know about everyone who dwelled on their farms. These also gave me a sense for the power-knowledge relations and ‘understanding’ between farmers and farm workers (du Toit, 1993). Conversely, I was often told by the “black” soccer players and Zimbabwean or Basotho workers that the *boers* (Afrikaner farmers) always spoke to them in Afrikaans, despite knowing that they did not speak or understand this language. In this way, language also served to mark the class and racial hierarchies, as well as assert social power relations.

While not having the language skills did limit my ability to meaningfully engage with some people, yet most of my research participants (including farm workers) could express themselves quite well in English. This also meant that the selection of research informants was skewed towards the people who could converse in English. Still, I had to learn the peculiarities in the expressions and use of English among my research participants. For example, in the early days of fieldwork, it was often difficult to understand the tense in which some people communicated and shared information. I was often unsure whether what they were sharing with me had happened, was happening, was going to happen or they just wished it would happen. I had to learn to interpret the vernacular, be that English or Afrikaans, and the process of learning added both, confusion and nuance to my understanding of my field site.

I also found that some people were simply shy of speaking in English in front of their peers or elders, and some others who did struggle with English, could still speak better English than I could speak Afrikaans. In such situations, engaging in a decent exchange required patience, time and learning how to create conditions where people felt comfortable speaking to me in their non-preferred language. I did explore options of involving a translator, but the presence of a translator reduced the interaction into a question-answer session, and certainly did not help in building relationships or in engaging with mundane and trivial aspects of the everyday. In hindsight, a research assistant with the knowledge of vernacular and other local understandings would have been helpful, but this required more experience and better preparation in conducting research in such settings than I had at the time.

I had also not fully comprehended the power-relations I was to find myself in in conducting such a research. I entered the field with a level of idealism about my egalitarian ethos, where I neither considered farm workers somehow “lesser” than me nor farmers “higher” than me. I guess, claims to such ethos in and of itself reflected my privilege, where I had the power to organise my social world in a manner that it could remain egalitarian. However, as a research student of a ‘real’ social world, I depended on people, who may or may not share my political and ideological views, for information and access to their world. Not only did these interactions test my own idealism, but also I had to learn to negotiate my access to, and place in, the social world I wished to learn from and about. I learned that language and my foreign nationality were relatively minor concerns, in comparison to negotiating class, gender and racial hierarchies, whether or not I subscribed to or understood these in the given context. Therefore, it is worth critically reflecting on aspects pertaining to ‘studying-down’ and ‘studying-up’ (Nader, 1969).

Even so, there remained power dynamic in ‘studying-down’, that is, the social lives of people who were in conditions of less privilege and power than I; this was not necessarily a barrier in approaching, connecting and engaging with many of the farm workers and their sport clubs. To some extent, the onus was on me to understand the subtleties of, engage with, and manage, this power-relation. It was use of self-deprecating humour that helped buffer some of the distance such power-dynamics create. This was not always intentional, however. My attempts at (or limitations with) speaking Afrikaans or isiXhosa was often enough to get some people laughing at my pronunciations or even question my intelligence for not having learned the language, despite being in country for two years at the time.<sup>31</sup> Either gently mocking me, correcting or even helping me with translations created a space where both parties could feel trusted and accepted. In general, most sport enthusiasts took great pains to explain the details about their teams and

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<sup>31</sup> I was asked; ‘Zimbabweans come here and they learn Afrikaans in 6 months, what’s wrong with you!’ This was when I confirmed that I have been living in South Africa for 2 years at the time.

players,<sup>32</sup> while some others asked me to improve my Afrikaans if I wanted to learn more about them and their club/team. Besides, the space and time spent to engage with my limited language skills added layers of meanings to the exchange. In the process of crossing multilingual worlds, I observed that much of everyday communication was non-verbal, and the language only became a real barrier when people were unwilling to communicate. Paying attention to how language differences played out in conversations, it was not difficult to discern when people did not understand and when they did not want to understand in a given exchange. Similarly, in an uncertain or uncomfortable situation, I did refuse to “understand” and excused myself for lacking the hold over the language. Observing these subtleties with sensitivity and self-critical lens offered important interpretive cues.

Being a foreigner and purposely accentuating this status was certainly most helpful in engaging with and crossing the rather concrete and deeply divided class and racial boundaries of South Africa. However, before my foreign status was established, I had to go past the racial identity with which the pigment of my skin marks me. It is also important to point out that I entered the field with a rather shallow understanding of racial categories that stratify South African population. It was not always easy for me to discern these categories in people I met, let alone be able to fully comprehend how I might be implicated into racialising and being racialised. Despite my light-brown skin tone, I did not obviously fit neatly into any of the South African racial categories, yet there was no escaping it either. At times, I have been identified as “coloured” by some but my accent reveals I do not fit this label. And to claim my Indian national status, I had to first negotiate this with the racial category: “indian,” by confirming that I am not from Durban. My foreign status and relative privilege and difference at so many levels – a university education, religious beliefs, place of residence, the way I carried myself, dress, language skills (or lack thereof), the naivety with which I could bring up tabooed topics in conversation, the way I engaged with sport, and my relationship to South African racial boundaries – marked me as the one from “outside”. Yet, my physical features do not obviously mark me as an “outsider”. Many friendships

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<sup>32</sup> My guess is that some of them thought I was scouting for sports talent, however, I did not want anyone to have any false impressions of me, and so conveyed, as soon as I could, that I was a research student at the University.

with farm workers developed in the context of sport and during their leisure time. And so, while attending the games or sport practices, joining them to the church services or just hanging out with them at the *dorp* (town), I would often be looked upon or spoken to as one of “them” by the “white” ones who did not know me as a researcher. Again, being able to blend in and become “invisible” in situations gave me access to experiences I would not have had as a foreigner.

Over one of my introductory meetings with a “white” Afrikaner farmer, he took to his task of explaining me that: ‘those days are gone when I look at you and tell you that we need to speak by the *stoep* (porch)’.<sup>33</sup> I was invited by his wife to wait for him in the living room of their house, and interestingly, when he made this comment, he did look at me from head to toe and we were standing at the *stoep* of his house. While the encounter left me awkwardly uncomfortable, which I reflected on in detail in my field notes, it also became a topic of conversation with some friends from outside my research field in search of some perspective. One of my “white” South African friends responded to my distress by arguing: ‘what are you talking about? You’re “white”!’ – ‘But I’m not “white”!’ – was my instant response. At this point, I was unsure if it was being looked down upon for my “brownness” that was more disturbing or being identified as “white”. There is no doubt in my mind that my friend and I identified with each other, and we got along quite well, but I had never imagined our friendship in terms of a shared racial identity. My visceral response to her was, ‘I would never wish such a thing upon anyone, and if I were you I would deny or disown everything that defined me as “white”’. It was such encounters and exchanges that I began to develop and recognise (with on-going critical self-reflection) in me a prejudice against that which in South Africa is referred to as “white,” and is loaded with the baggage of being privileged, domineering, oppressive, self-absorbed, ignorant and arrogant. Still, this prejudice was for that imaginary “white” who was the “other” I did not personally know, but it did exist and showed up in fragments in people who, I otherwise, could relate to and thought of as absolutely reasonable.

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<sup>33</sup> Field notes: 8<sup>th</sup> August 2012

My foreign status would have been enough to dismiss “race” as a political construct that had no meaning to me, but in calling for “whiteness” to be denied and disowned, I found myself complicit in “racialising” my own world and that too out of resentment towards an “other”. In self-determining my “racial” identity as “non-white,” perhaps, I was also hoping to claim a deeper identification with “coloured” farm workers. I justified my prejudices as not against “white” *per se*, but its associations with that that was domineering, oppressing, ignorant and arrogant. I amused myself with ideas and assumptions that my “brownness” was an advantage as it gave me a privileged access to farm workers’ world, which was not domineering, not arrogant but oppressed for its class and racial status. So, my skin tone, almost by accident, had landed me on the “right” side of the history and politics of oppression and issues of justice. Only if the meanings of race were as simple as they seemed at the most apparent levels. Towards the end of my fieldwork, it was spelled out to me that I was seen as “white,” but a good “white,” by the farm worker friends I had made during fieldwork. Over a picnic one weekend afternoon, Annalene admiringly said that I was a good person. In light-hearted humour, I responded: ‘yes sure, because I share my watermelon with you’. She argued; ‘no, you know how it is here, “white” people don’t sit with us like this!’ But I’m not “white”!

There were benefits to remaining a naïve foreigner in a social world that was organised around concrete understanding of race. However, the insidiousness with which “racialising” instincts take over the thinking and judging spaces in ones psyche makes it very difficult to maintain an objective distance and a balanced perspective. I was learning that the racial identities were much deeper and more complex than the tone of skin. Given the history of organisation of social, political and economic architecture of South Africa in accordance with race, which included division of labour, access to land-ownership, economic opportunities, education, political rights and all forms of social services; class and race are intricately linked. Today, racial identities are loaded with multiple and at times contradictory social meanings and are not always self-determined. When the options for choosing social identity are so limiting, narrow and rigid as South African racial categories, then all that one is left with is an attempt to vindicate

oneself as not as “bad” as the “other”. The racial labels seemed to configure social power relations that were more intricate and less consistent than the traits that defined them at the first place. It could be argued that it is impossible to engage in a social analysis in the South African context without implicating oneself into this uncomfortable aspect of “race”. The identity politics in South Africa are certainly more complex than the above discussion. I have only been able to draw on my reflections from some profound experiences from the field, with an intention and an attempt to expose how my understandings and identities (assumed and imposed) affected what I could glean and learn from fieldwork, and how my interpretations and analysis might be tainted by limitations of my position, prejudices and misunderstandings.

Gender, which I briefly discussed in the sub-section on *Participation in Sport: an ethnographic method* (see, p. 55), is another aspect worth reflecting upon as it affected research interactions beyond the sport fields. Being a foreign researcher, the assumed temporality of my stay in a given social setting, often, but not always, excused me from demands of conforming to the given gender norms and expectations. Still, it was striking to find the emphasis, and attend the workshops, on ‘what it means to be a man or a woman’ in “development” related work. These reflected the ethos of deeply patriarchal societies, where women had defined roles and responsibilities and these often placed them in positions of lesser power to their male counterparts. At the same time, there were kinds of reactionary feminist discourses which, while operating with an intention to empower women to challenge their traditionally marginal and oppressed position, also defined their own confines and encouraged women to conform and adhere to these.

My observations of these dynamics often made me question how these might be affecting my research interactions given that I was obviously not performing the expected female roles. Among farm workers and other lower socio-economic groups, my gender was probably buffered by my class and education status. However, among the men in positions of power, for example, “white” farmers or men in higher political or institutional positions, research interactions felt a little strained at times. Some male respondents, at times, behaved as if they were deaf to my questions, and some others showed more interest in my marital status than



my research. In some situations, I could hardly ask any questions and in others the answers were so brief that I ran out of probes to explore a topic in any depth. While the gender dynamics might have limited my access to more engaged conversations in some spaces, being a female also made me less threatening to some in power positions. Still, even in the most gender segregated societies, individual experiences are often varied, are constantly in negotiation, and contingent on specific situations.

It is with such understandings that I continue with the process of critical self-reflections in the following chapters, as I present my empirical observations, case studies and ethnographic stories.



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3. SPORT AND “DEVELOPMENT” NEXUS:  
a deconstructionist conceptual framework

It is a peculiarity of our historical era that the idea of “development” is central to so much of our thinking about so much of the world. It seems to us today almost nonsensical to deny that there is such a thing as “development,” or to dismiss it as a meaningless concept, just as it must have been virtually impossible to reject the concept “civilization” in the nineteenth century, or the concept “God” in the twelfth. Such central organizing concepts are not readily discarded or rejected, for they form the very framework within which argumentation takes place.

– James Ferguson (1990, preface)

Twenty-five years since the publication of James Ferguson’s *The Anti-Politics Machine*, “development” continues to serve as the ‘central organising concept’ employed to discuss, debate, and assess desired change in social and economic realms. Implicit in the connotations of “development,” as J.B. Bury puts it, is ‘a condition of society in which all the inhabitants of the planet would enjoy a perfectly happy existence’ (1920, p. 6). He goes on to argue, however, that it is impossible to anticipate that the direction followed in such pursuits will necessarily lead to desirable ends. In other words, it is only in retrospect that the feat of “development” might be tested. The implicit desirability, not just of the idea, but a desire to plan, predict and control the direction of “development” has maintained a relevance, or what Ferguson calls ‘retrospective coherence,’ in its continued acceptance in the socio-economic realms and geo-political relations (1990, p. 275). This coherence is a result of, as Ferguson argues, interactions between “development” plans and ‘unacknowledged structures and chance events to produce unintended outcomes which turn out to be intelligible not only as the unforeseen effects of an intended intervention, but also as the unlikely instruments of an unplotted strategy’ (1990, p. 20). The emergence and proliferation of a whole new sector: Sport for Development and Peace (SDP), known as such for about 15 years, is an example of the continued desirability and faith in the ambitions of “development,” and so is an opportunity to understand, deconstruct and disintegrate the parts, instruments, strategies and mechanisms of “development” through sport.

### 3.1. SDP: GLOBAL PHENOMENON, LOCAL PRACTICES

Sport for Development and Peace refers to the intentional use of sport, physical activity and play to attain specific development and peace objectives, including, most notably, the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (Right to Play, 2008, p.3)

Since 2001, when the United Nations (UN) Secretary-General appointed a Special Adviser on SDP, numerous resolutions, reports and recommendations have been published in support of using sport as a tool to promote “development” and peace agendas. This recognition of ‘sport as a fundamental right’ in the UN Declaration on the Right of the Child of 1959, followed by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization’s (UNESCO) International Charter of Physical Education and Sport in 1978, are often referred to as the early steps that linked sport to “development” (UN, 2006). Since 1993, a total of 24 resolutions have been adopted by the UN’s General Assembly, the first one of which was to proclaim 1994 as the *International Year of Sport and the Olympic Ideal*. Acknowledging ‘the role of the Olympic Movement as building a peaceful and better world by educating the youth of the world through sport’, the UN adopted a resolution ‘prior to each edition of the Summer and Winter Olympic Games ... urging Member States to observe the Olympic Truce throughout the duration of the Games’.<sup>34</sup> It was with the recognition of the potential of sport to achieve the MDGs that the brand “SDP” emerged in the UN’s vocabulary in 2003. Since then the UN Member States have unanimously adopted a series of resolutions entitled: *Sport as a means to promote education, health, development and peace*.<sup>35</sup>

In 2002, a *UN Inter-Agency Task Force on SDP* was commissioned to ‘identify instructive examples and encourage the United Nations system to incorporate sport into its activities and work towards the achievement of the MDGs’ (UN, 2006, p. 24-25). The findings of this Task Force culminated in a major report entitled: *Sport for Development and Peace: Towards Achieving the Millennium Development Goals*, published in 2003. According to the report:

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<sup>34</sup> Source: <http://www.un.org/wcm/content/site/sport/home/resourcecenter/resolutions/pid/19431> [Accessed: September 2015]

<sup>35</sup> Ibid

... well-designed sport-based initiatives are practical and cost-effective tools to achieve objectives in development and peace. Sport is a powerful vehicle that should be increasingly considered by the United Nations as complementary to existing activities (UN, 2003, p. v)

In lobbying for inclusion of sport on the foreign and national policies of the UN Member States, and in promoting and legitimizing sport on “development” and peace agendas, the UN has taken a series of symbolic steps, which include:

- The First International Conference on Sport and Development in 2003, which led to *Maglingen Declaration and Recommendations* on ‘Creating a better World through Sport’
- Launch of 2005 as the *International Year of Sport and Physical Education*
- Integration of the Secretariat of the *Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group* (SDP IWG) into the *United Nations Office on Sport for Development and Peace* (UNOSDP), in 2008
- Granting of the Observer Status to the *International Olympic Committee* (IOC) in 2009, which allowed it to attend and participate in all the UN General Assembly meetings
- Proclamation of April 6<sup>th</sup> as the *International Day of Sport for Development and Peace*, in August 2013

The recognition and celebration of the International Day of SDP over the last two years (2014 and 2015) gave further impetus and visibility to an ever growing number of SDP programmes and organisations across the world. While sport’s association with education, character building and youth socialisation can be traced back to 18<sup>th</sup> century notions of ‘Muscular Christianity’ (Kidd, 2006; MacAloon, 2006), the UN’s endorsement of secularised sport has thoroughly institutionalised SDP as a global phenomenon. Sport is likely to remain relevant as ‘a necessary component in transferring essential life skills, promoting quality education and ensuring inclusive, sustainable learning for young individuals and females’, in the post-MDG era of Sustainable Development Goals (UNOSDP, 2015, p. 9). The UNOSDP reports express much greater confidence than before in sport as ‘an important enabler of sustainable development’,<sup>36</sup> declaring that:

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<sup>36</sup> Source: <http://www.un.org/wcm/content/site/sport/home/sport/sportandsdgs>

Sport has proven to be a cost-effective and flexible tool in promoting peace and development objectives. Following the inception of the UN Millennium Development Goals in 2000, sport played a vital role in tackling each of the eight goals, a fact which has been acknowledged in numerous Resolutions of the General Assembly.<sup>37</sup>

In setting out this brief background of institutionalisation of SDP as the UN endorsed social movement, I proceed to describe how sport, “development” and peace are theorised in SDP reports and activities, its global scale and influence, and its local understandings and practices in the Western Cape. I do so by drawing on the various policies, plans, programmes, reports and recommendations put forward by various international, domestic, public, private and civic actors as a proof of usefulness of sport in achieving precise set of “development” outcomes.

### **3.1.1. Institutionalisation of SDP Industry**

With the UN’s primary function to promote international cooperation, peace-keeping, cultural understanding and social and economic “development”, sport was seen as a natural ally. The UN 2003 Report emphasised that sport offered an important opportunity for various actors to cultivate ‘a global partnership for development’, pointing specifically to the eighth MDG. With an understanding that a fuller engagement and coordinated efforts of the global civil society, governments and international agencies was essential to achieve objectives of the UN, the report argued:

The world of sport presents a natural partnership for the United Nations system. By its very nature sport is about participation. It is about inclusion and citizenship. Sport brings individuals and communities together, highlighting commonalities and bridging cultural or ethnic divides (UN, 2003, p. v).

Reviewing the on-line<sup>38</sup> communication, as well as the official documents, reports and recommendations published<sup>39</sup> on SDP, sport is described as a factor in

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<sup>37</sup> Ibid

<sup>38</sup> See for example: <http://www.sportanddev.org>, <http://www.beyondsport.org>, <http://www.un.org/wcm/content/site/sport>, among the more prominent ones.

<sup>39</sup> The documents reviewed for this section include: UNESCO (1978) *International Charter of Physical Education and Sport*; Magglingen Declaration and Recommendations (2003) *Creating a better World through Sport*; UN (2003) *SDP: Towards Achieving the MDGs*; UNICEF (2004) *Sport, Recreation and Play*; UN (2006) *Report on the International Year of Sport and Physical Education 2005*; SDP IWG (2007) *Literature Reviews on SDP*; Right to Play (2007) *From the Field: SDP in Action*; Right to Play (2008) *Harnessing the Power of Sport for Development and Peace: Recommendations to Governments*; and successive UNOSDP (2011, 2012, 2013 & 2014) Annual Reports.

“development” and peace from three perspectives: 1) the situatedness of sport within the Human Rights Framework; 2) the potential of sport in achieving all eight MDGs; and 3) an understanding that sport has some unique and inherent attributes, for example, its capacity to serve as a platform for communication, its potential to empower, motivate and inspire, among others. The fact that various human rights statements explicitly refer to sport or related terms, such as play, recreation, leisure, physical education and activity, including the ‘Right to the highest attainable standard of physical and mental health’ is seen as a ‘compelling foundation for’ SDP (Right to Play, 2008, p. 8).

To this end, by 2008 the SDP promoters within the SDP IWG of the UN had published a precise list of bullet points detailing the possible contributions of sport to each of the MDGs, and the most comprehensive of the explanations were found in the *Harnessing the Power of SDP* document (ibid). The areas and contributions (unique, general or MDGs related) of sport over the years do not read much differently from the *Maggingen Declaration* and the first report: *Sport for Development and Peace: Towards Achieving the Millennium Development Goals*, both published in 2003. Still, it is incredible to note the many different ways in which the same attributes and activities of sport can be repeated and described, which is what the *Harnessing the Power of Sport for Development and Peace* document refers to as: ‘Sport’s cross-cutting nature’ (ibid, p. 6):

Sport is one of the most cross-cutting of all development and peace tools. It is increasingly being used to promote health and prevent disease, strengthen child and youth development and education, foster social inclusion, prevent conflict and build peace, foster gender equity, enhance inclusion of persons with disabilities, and promote employment and economic development. **There are few areas of development where sport cannot be used as a platform for public education and social mobilization, or as a program vehicle to strengthen individual capacity and improve lives.** In this respect, Sport for Development and Peace initiatives can play a powerful role in both preventing and helping to address a broad range of social and economic challenges. They can be a highly effective and low-cost means of reducing the individual and public costs associated with development challenges — costs which can be extremely high in some contexts and can significantly impede development (ibid, my emphasis).

The above quote clearly sums up that there is no area of “development” that sport cannot contribute towards. “Social goods,” from personal or individual

level benefits, skills and values, such as discipline, confidence, leadership, tolerance, cooperation, respect, how to manage victory and defeat, to global level advocacy campaigns to promote gender equality, post-disaster or trauma relief, conflict prevention/resolution, HIV/AIDS awareness, education and immunization, environmental education, all feature in these SDP reports. Sport is also seen as a way ‘to reach out to those most in need, including refugees, child soldiers, victims of conflict and natural catastrophes, the impoverished, persons with disabilities, victims of racism, stigmatization and discrimination, persons living with HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases’.<sup>40</sup> Still, the literature review conducted by the SDP IWG concluded that apart from the well-documented evidence on health benefits of sport (or rather physical activity), sport was unlikely to produce long-term beneficial effects if not ‘integrated in the existing development and peace efforts’ (2007, p. 5). While the SDP IWG (2007) findings were cautious of claiming any form of ‘causality’, their recommendations did pave the way for SDP research to search for, design, and interrogate, ‘the right conditions [under which] sport has the potential to contribute to’:

- 1) the prevention of non-communicable chronic diseases such as cardiovascular diseases and diabetes
- 2) the physical health, including that of children, youth, girls and women, and may decrease the likelihood of unhealthy practices, such as illegal drug use and unsafe sex
- 3) positively affect self-esteem and self-worth, especially that of girls and women
- 4) positively influence social integration and inclusion of people with disabilities, girls and women
- 5) an opportunity for successful challenges to traditional and oppressive gender relations
- 6) important opportunities for leadership development, and personal, and professional growth
- 7) promote physical well-being, combat discrimination, build confidence and a sense of security, as well as play an important role in the healing and rehabilitation process for all children affected by crisis, discrimination and marginalization (ibid)

Besides, documents such as: the UN (2006) *Report on the International Year of Sport and Physical Education 2005*, the Right to Play (2007) *From the Field: SDP in Action*, and the successive UNOSDP (2011, 2012, 2013 & 2014) Annual Reports, all draw on case study examples of ‘well-designed’ and well-resourced

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<sup>40</sup> Source: <http://www.un.org/wcm/content/site/sport/home/sport>

SDP programmes to provide evidence of SDP's impact on people from all over the world. While to extract precisely how and what sorts of impacts were caused by these SDP programmes would require a much closer analysis of each of the case studies, these do indicate the scale and extent of SDP practices, suggesting its growing global reach and visibility. The institutionalisation of SDP, as a global industry, is particularly apparent in the scale and kinds of actors, programmes and organisations that have emerged under this banner. For example since 2009, annual awards for the best SDP projects from across the globe are judged and given by an organisation called *Beyond Sport*. These awards include categories such as Sport for Social Inclusion, Conflict Resolution, Education, Health, Employability, Environment, etcetera, to celebrate 'the world's most innovative and inspirational projects and organisations that use sport to address social issues'.<sup>41</sup> The *Beyond Sport* boasts 1894 projects from 2311 organisation in 145 countries, across 37 sports, on their network.<sup>42</sup>

Despite laying out such an impressive set of "development" and peace activities through sport across the world in advocacy and publicity efforts of SDP proponents, the SDP proponents also draw attention to (in their public communication documents and websites) the potential risks and limitations of sport, stating that it is not a panacea for "development". There are 'negative side effects' of sport as well, which take the form of:

... unfair exploitation of talent from developing countries for commercial gain, aggression and violent rivalry among opposing teams and their supporters, and an emphasis on winning at any cost that encourages unethical and unhealthy behaviours (like aggression, doping and other forms of cheating) (Right to Play, 2008, p. 13).

Moreover, corruption, hooliganism, nationalism, discrimination, fraud, etcetera, were all acknowledged as part of the sport-mix. It is for these reasons that amateur, community level, mass participation, low-budget sport, but not elite sport, are the main feature of, and encouraged in, the SDP programmes. While the UN and many SDP programmes do recommend and use major global elite sport events as a platform to communicate and promote their "development" and peace

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<sup>41</sup> See: <http://www.beyondsport.org/Awards>

<sup>42</sup> Source: <http://www.beyondsport.org/Network>



messages, as well as recognise famous elite athletes as SDP ambassadors to inspire and motivate youth to take up sport, the SDP participants are generally not supported or expected to achieve elite level sporting success. It is to this end that recommendations produced on the use of sport for its positive impact emphasise that the SDP initiatives should be:

driven first and foremost by development objectives and ... delivered according to the principles of transparency, accountability, and sustainability, thereby protecting the integrity, inherent joyfulness and positive social value of the sport experience (Right to Play, 2008, p. 14).

While a number of internal contradictions could be observed and analysed in the SDP discourse sketched out above, within the scope of my project, it would be more useful to focus on and establish the theoretical and practical understandings of the SDP discourses and practices in the localised context, where my research takes place, and examine how the institutionalised global discourses influence (or not) the SDP practices at the local levels.

### **3.1.2. SDP in the Western Cape**

Not only is South Africa a signatory of the MDGs since 2001, but also the national and provincial strategic plans, policy drafts and reports on sport suggest the South African government's whole-hearted acceptance and endorsement of the UN declarations and propositions on sport's potential to contribute towards "development" and peace. An official document that explicitly situates sport within a "development" framework in South Africa is *The Case for Sport and Recreation: The Social and Economic Value of Sport*, published by the national government department of Sport and Recreation South Africa (SRSA, 2009).<sup>43</sup> This document was produced to serve as a conceptual framework for the *Sport and Recreation White Paper* as well as policy guidelines, strategic and implementation plans for sport in the country, and elaborates on sport's global recognition in achieving of MDGs. Admitting that most countries in the world were unlikely to attain the eight MDGs by 2015, it goes on to state that:

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<sup>43</sup> It would require a more thorough analysis of national and provincial policy drafts, reports and propositions to unpack the history of how sport is situated within the "development" and MDG framework in South Africa, which for now is beyond the scope of my project.

South Africa's specific contribution to the realisation of the MDGs can be significantly strengthened by investing in sport and deriving the related benefits (SRSA, 2009, p. 6).

In this way, the national understandings of SDP, at a policy discourse level at least, aligns neatly with the UN advised objectives and goals. Given the history of racially segregated sport policies during apartheid and sport movements against apartheid, including the international sport boycott, the South African sport sector is also implicated in post-apartheid efforts for transformation and reconciliation. While in the arena of elite sport, the notions of transformation are debated around affirmative action and how the national sport teams could be more representative of the South Africa's racially stratified population, at the grassroots sport, the "transformation" and "development" are often used interchangeably. There also exists a *Transformation Charter for South African Sport*, which lays out the indicators to measure transformation, encouraging sport federations to engage in and support the national government's priorities of awareness programmes on HIV and AIDS, environment, social cohesion, peace and development, job creation, and employment of sport against crime (SASCOC, 2012).

Aligning their Strategic Plan for the fiscal year 2010-2015 with the strategic framework of the SRSA and the Provincial Government Western Cape, the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport (DCAS) aims to 'impact on building social and human capital,' poverty alleviation, job creation, 'promotion of reconciliation and transformation within the sector,' and youth development (which includes addressing 'alcohol abuse, sexual abuse, HIV & AIDS and unemployment') through sport and recreation (DCAS, n.d., p. 42). Throughout this document, the strategic objectives are stated in reference to – "development", "transformation" and "reconciliation", however, these terms seemed to be used either interchangeably or conflated in ways that it is difficult to discern their precise aims and operational meanings. An example of this ambiguity could be observed in the following extract from this official document:

Transformation in sport has become the buzz word amongst sport federations. The research conducted in 2005/6 revealed that there is a resistance for sport to be transformed. This is further complicated when it is viewed to promote face changing.

Transformation through a scientific research document revealed that sport needs to be practiced more widely, thereby allowing more citizens to participate in sport, and in so doing, the face of sport will change, whereby people from rural, farm and other areas will find access to sport (ibid, p. 42)

In sum, “development” (and transformation) could mean anything from addressing social welfare concerns, improving access to sport for the previously disadvantaged or presently marginalised people, to more complex political issues of sport governance, unification, reconciliation and conflict arbitration within the sport sector (ibid). In a more recent study, commissioned by the DCAS on *The Case of Sport in the Western Cape* focused on “development” from the perspective of *socioeconomic benefits and impacts of sport and recreation* (de Coning, 2015), transformation is projected as an aspect of “development” through sport. With an aim to improve an understanding of socioeconomic benefits of sport to “development” in the province, this report draws on case study examples from the broader civil society, including regional sport federations and SDP NGOs. While it emphasizes the ‘enormous potential’ of sport and recreation in achieving the MDGs, report’s key findings also draw attention to the economic potential and contribution of the upper/middle class minority sports and sport tourism in the Western Cape, and the socio-cultural impact of grassroots sport at the community level among the lower economic classes.

Apart from some debatable and politically contentious ideas of transformation of sport conflated with aspects of depoliticised versions of “development”, sport’s use in “development” in the Western Cape context aligns with the institutionalised understandings of SDP on the global stage. Indeed, as Scarlett Cornelissen argues:

the emergent post-apartheid society and the various socioeconomic challenges characterising that society—pronounced class polarities, the rise of the HIV/AIDS pandemic—provided a rich context for the growth of social development programmes aimed at addressing some of South Africa’s social ills. Within this setting sport-based programmes have tended to flourish. Their operations have been grounded in the idea that sport offers a neutral terrain and widely disseminable instruments for the promotion of social integration and development (2011, p. 510).

This is evident in the sheer scale<sup>44</sup> of SDP initiatives that have been operating in the Western Cape since as early as 1990s.<sup>45</sup> While there is no systematically categorised and precise record of SDP programmes in the Western Cape, a study conducted on SDP in conjunction with the FIFA World Cup 2010 by Cornelissen offered a critical appraisal of selected SDP initiatives implemented across South Africa:

by a broad range of international, transnational, state, non-state and local actors. Spanning the worlds of development practitioners, public agencies, non-governmental organisations, faith- and community-based organisations and the corporate sector, various programmes were launched or expanded that in different ways attempted to heighten the developmental mileage of the tournament (Cornelissen, 2011, p. 504).

Though many observers have argued that SDP is a rapidly growing industry with particular implications for Africa and the rest of the “developing” world, most critical scholars are dubious about the potential of SDP to have any real “developmental” worth (Cornelissen, 2011; Levermore, 2011). The SDP discourses and theories find coherence across the inter- and trans-national, intergovernmental, national and local levels from being situated within the MDG framework. For instance, Donnelly (2008, p. 390) argued that connections between sport, human rights and foreign policy have become more evident with increased SDP activity and its tie ‘to the achievement of the MDGs’.

While connections of this sort might allow SDP and MDG proponents to draw on the moral and legal authority that human rights framework can facilitate, I do not know any SDP programmes in the Western Cape that directly engage with (or explicitly advertise) issues of human rights in their programmes. Instead eminent

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<sup>44</sup> The *International Platform for Sport and Development* lists 46 SDP projects in the Western Cape, while there are well over 200 projects listed on the *Beyond Sport* network for South Africa. The organisations or projects listed on the websites of these two platforms are not comprehensive and only limited to those projects and organisations who are informed about and choose to advertise themselves on these sites, or had applied to be considered for a Beyond Sport award (online source; <http://www.sportanddev.org/en/connect/map/> and <http://www.beyondsport.org> [Last Accessed: October 2015]). The exact count of SDP initiatives across the Western Cape is likely to be much higher than these two sources. For one, none of case studies I discuss in this thesis were listed on either of the platforms; and two, while the list of SDP projects in the Western Cape I recorded over the years is, by no means, comprehensive, it suggests existence of many small scale projects organised by non-sport/SDP organisations.

<sup>45</sup> A notable example would be: *sporting chance*, as organization that started its operations in 1990, with a focus on sport coaching for development, youth empowerment, health and education purposes; see <http://www.sportingchance.co.za/>

SDP approaches largely employ technical and didactic methods. The SDP practices in the Western Cape rely heavily on statistical indicators of social welfare deficits, national and provincial “developmental” strategic plans and the nation-wide appeal for sport to justify their programmes, but also remain devoid of the historical manifestations and political implications of such problems and their solutions. Although these practices constitute largely disconnected and diverse set of ideas, purposes and processes, these take shape within, and are necessarily shaped by, the particular historical, regional and political context of South Africa (whether or not SDP implementers explicitly acknowledge this).

The successful anti-apartheid campaign leading to boycott of South African sport from international participation is regarded as among the most celebrated achievement of human rights through sport. And while this movement took place prior to the institutionalisation of SDP as a sector, theoretical explanations and debates on SDP often refer to it in making sense of SDP as a concept (see for example, Donnelly, 2008; Kidd, 2008; Sugden, 2010). Historians of the South African sport, however, are more ambiguous about the achievements of this non-racial sport movement. Historical analysis shows that while the anti-apartheid sport movement played a vital role in the ultimate withdrawal of apartheid and its legal infrastructure, the racial barriers to accessing sport were maintained by class and socio-economic inequalities (Booth, 1998; Merrett, 2010; Nauright, 1997). Over the years, sport and “development” has been purged of any political, human rights or foreign policy agendas. With the focus on social welfare issues, sport not only became a part of the national “development” policies, SDP programmes can now be (and were) delivered by a range of civil society, government, non-government, international, corporate, and industry, actors and sectors. Moreover, apartheid’s spatial architecture of the towns and cities organised with extreme disparities in wealth, services, facilities and infrastructure in racially segregated areas, in particular, has presented post-apartheid South Africa as an attractive sport and “development” tourism destination,<sup>46</sup> evident in the scores of national

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<sup>46</sup> See for example, <http://www.southafrica.info/about/sport/sportsa.htm#.Vh1LwpXovIX>, an information website branding South Africa as an attractive sport tourism destination.

and international SDP funds, projects, volunteers and researchers that Cape Town attracts.<sup>47</sup>

Above and beyond this broad-brushed overview of global discourses on the value of sport and the influences within which SDP practices take shape in the Western Cape, there are an increasing number of research papers available on South African based SDP case studies. At the risk of being reductionist, my reading of literature on South African sport and SDP could be placed into two camps: 1) that narrowly focuses on specific SDP projects, its design, operations and management, impact assessments and policy prescriptions on achievements of needed “development,” and recommendations from good practice examples; and 2) which offer broader analysis of the complex, contradictory, reconciliatory, economic and political “development” role that sport has played in South Africa’s recent history.

Given the aim of my study to critically analyse the sport and “development” nexus (SDN) in the specific context of farm workers of the Western Cape, propositions offered in either of the camps offer little content to draw from or add to contextual understandings. While I purposely exclude all the prescriptive, ‘how-to’ guides and project management styled studies from this review, I do refer to selected studies where the analysis was grounded in historical and political perspectives. These were useful to the extent that they offered corroborating evidence to my analysis, and so I engage with these in presenting my empirical work. Also, because my research is not confined to a SDP project or an institution, nor do I aim to prove, refute or provide evidence for the utility of sport in “development”, I focus on and discuss the literature that critically reflects on the operations, practices and discourses of SDP. With an aim to define the conceptual boundaries of my study, I proceed to discuss theoretically grounded scholarly work on sport, “development” and SDP.

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<sup>47</sup> As a foreign national student, I am complicit as a participant of this “development” industry in South Africa. Since 2010, I have been living in South Africa in places where I mostly enjoy a degree of privilege and security unavailable to majority of South Africans. While this gives me access to the well-intended, but always apolitical, discourses that circulate in the wide spectrum of “development” work and related ideas and intentions, on-going critically reflecting on ones’ own positionality in such an environment can also destabilize preconceived notions and understandings of privilege-underprivilege dichotomy.

### 3.2. SDP: A FIELD OF RESEARCH

Despite the strong surge in the sport for development movement over the past 20 years, its evolution into various branches and its institutionalisation through a variety of high-profile international initiatives mainly centred in the UN, it is still not a cohesive establishment. It remains a fairly loose amalgam of different approaches that incorporates a diverse range of philosophies, practices, operational formats and programmes. (Cornelissen, 2011, p. 506)

As Cornelissen argues, SDP as a sector, with all the proclamations, projects, organisations and institutions, has remained largely fragmented. Similarly, SDP as a field of research is also a ‘loose amalgam’ of “interdisciplinary” academic subjects, fields and theories, which are held together by faith in sport’s potential. Indeed, it was a mix of rationalism and idealisation that underpinned the initial SDP research agendas, not a grounded analysis of the political economy of global sport and international “development” and how these started to intersect (Darnell, 2012a; Levermore and Beacom, 2009; Maguire, 2008). Various strands of social sciences stipulate the overriding logic of inquiry in SDP, including sport studies, sociology, education and pedagogy, management and economic sciences, public administration and policy studies, political sciences, humanities, among others. While SDP emerged as a field of academic study in search of ‘applied knowledge’ and objective or ‘hard-evidence’ for instrumental benefits of sport (Coalter, 2008; Girginov, 2008), there is also an increase in theoretically grounded and critically informed studies that challenge some of the unsubstantiated and uncritical claims and perspectives.

The empirical gaze of SDP studies designed in applied sciences frameworks has been narrowly fixated within the boundaries of an intervention, organisation or policy proposal, with an aim to address the ‘lack of hard evidence’ on if and how “sport really works” in, both the theoretically and practically complex arena of “development” (Coalter, 2010, 2008). Criticising such an orientation, Fred Coalter points out a number of problems in the policies and politics of the SDP sector. These include:

... confusing potential micro-level individual outcomes with community and broader macro-level impacts; ignoring wider socio-political contexts within which sport-for-development organizations have to operate; seeking to solve broad gauge problems via limited focus interventions; and encouraging mission drift by sport-for-development organizations wholly dependent on aid from a

variety of aid agencies, with often overly ambitious non-sporting agendas  
(Coalter, 2010, p. 295)

Academic research in the field, therefore, is often confused with programme monitoring and evaluation or limited by its aim to produce ‘applied knowledge’, where ‘the outcomes of research [are] ... pre-given – performing the function of proving success’ (Coalter, 2010, p. 308; also see: Girginov, 2008). Not only has such a focus led to superficial or biased analysis and outcomes that often only serve the interests of SDP organisers and promoters, the research process itself could read as a tautology: where calls for “hard evidence” to prove sport’s “development” utility were made to support and guide SDP policies and practice, and sport’s recognition on international development policies, the UN endorsements and declarations were referred to, and accentuated, as evidence.

Drawing on critical theory, Levermore argues that while young people are seen as the principal beneficiaries of sport, the perceived benefits of sport are ‘grossly exaggerate[d]’ and do more to serve political and vested interests of the powerful national and international elites (2011, p. 888). Coakley conveyed similar sentiments in the context of youth development through sport, ‘that outcomes associated with sport participation are contingent and vary with contextual factors’ (2011, p. 318). Likewise, a number of critical scholars have repeatedly argued that dominant SDP discourses tend to express aspirations of the “developers” or planners, while problematizing the representations of subjects and objects of SDP interventions at political and moral levels (Darnell, 2012a, 2007; Forde, 2014; Hayhurst, 2014, 2013, 2011a; Tiessen, 2011).

Despite such criticisms, ‘participation in sport is understood to be inherently good and contributes to healthy communities both physically and socially’ (Shilbury et al., 2008, p. 218). Even critical SDP scholars do not necessarily challenge the potential of sport or “development,” but rather reserve their case by concluding that: ‘under the **right conditions**, sport has the potential to contribute to development and social issues,’ (SDP IWG, 2007, p. 5, emphasis added) (also see Donnelly, 2008; Giulianotti, 2005; Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011; Keim, 2006; Kidd, 2011). Similarly, Coalter posed his critique in the questions of ‘sufficient conditions – which sports, in which conditions, have what effects for which



participants?’ to interrogate instrumental uses of sport (2008, p. 7). He goes on to argue that within the context of SDP programmes, ‘sport is mostly a vitally important *necessary*, but not *sufficient* condition for the achievement of certain outcomes’ (Coalter, 2010, p. 298, italics in original). His questions are useful to interrogate the relationship between sport, the conditions in which people participate in sport and even experiences of the sport participants, but this focus on sufficiency of conditions is still confined to the boundaries of a SDP intervention. While Coalter’s arguments encourage engagement with the politics of SDP, research designed to find evidence for sport’s role in “development” rarely interrogates the actual history and politics of conditions for which SDP interventions are formulated (Darnell, 2012a, 2007).

Still, the question of right or sufficient conditions is particularly interesting, and suggests an unfailing belief or hope in sport to somehow achieve something that might liberate the world of its “development” problems through better resourced and better planned SDP interventions. This has also led many SDP proponents to either call for more honest and modest claims of sport’s utility to “development” or carefully craft SDP programmes with an emphasis on better cultural understandings, contextual relevance and participatory methodologies. However, such propositions continue to operate in denial of the layers and levels of politics within which any intervention can take shape. On the contrary, analysts and interventionists tend to maintain apolitical or “objective” stances and rarely interrogate their own positions of privilege and complicity in unequal power relations they enter to intervene or analyse SDP.

It is critical sport scholars, historians and political scientists that are more likely to be conscious of the interconnections that exist between ‘development of modern sport’ and ideologies of ‘capitalist growth and accumulation’ (Girginov, 2008, p. 13) than those who research and operate within applied SDP frameworks. Jarvie, for instance, notes that modern ‘sport in many ways is part of the hallmark of the triumph of capitalism’ (2011, p. 247). According to Girginov, ‘the current visions of sports development have actually been designed to compensate the negative propensities of capitalism through the reconstruction of social order by tackling class, poverty, gender and age inequalities’ (2008, p. 14). In a critical,

sociological analysis of SDP interventions, Darnell examines the ‘implications of hitching sport to the development paradigm’ (Darnell, 2012a, chap. Introduction) to set out research agendas that critically interrogate:

... social questions (e.g. who are the targets of SDP?), political questions (what kind of world view is championed through SDP?) and material questions (what inequalities exist and how does SDP respond?) of the SDP sector (ibid).

Particularly relevant to my approach, Simon Darnell’s arguments and questions pave a way to interrogate: how contemporary SDP ideologies are (re)shaping and shaped by the socio-political dynamics, both globally and locally. Or put differently, to what ends does *sport* get mobilised in the political economy of “development,” and “development” in the political economy of *sport*?

Informed by such questions, arguments and deconstructionist approaches, I have come to organise my study to seek for denser understandings and critical reflections on: 1) the historical developments of conditions identified as “development” problems or needs; 2) political stakes and interests of various actors and agents of SDP; and 3) the ideological situatedness of researcher or author’s self as the projecting or representing subjects. In the field of SDP, this kind of analysis has come forth, not from a search for “sufficient” or “right” conditions, but from critical, reflexive and post-colonial theoretical frameworks and ethnographic studies.

### **3.2.1. Postcolonial Critique**

Although my own analytical framework would be better described as critical deconstruction of SDN following Ferguson, a brief review of postcolonial critique of SDP allows me to situate my arguments within the broader debates in the field. At its simplest, postcolonial analysis also deconstruct the relations of power embedded in history, geography and political economy of the social process under study (Hayhurst, 2014). Postcolonial analysis allowed scholars to problematize the benign assertions of sport and SDP interventions, arguing that ‘global sport is implicated in the politics of global underdevelopment’ by engaging with studies that ‘elucidate some of the more deleterious effects of globalization of sport’ (Darnell, 2012b, p. 7; also see Anderson, 2010). Broadly, such analyses interrogate at least three sets of issues: 1) the representations and projections of

agents and targets of SDP; 2) the historical and political relations, legacies and residues of colonialism; and 3) the reproduction of social hierarchies and maintenance of *status quo*; in SDP discourses and interventions.

Bale and Cronin, writing on *Sport and Postcolonialism*, argue that sport and postcolonial analysis ‘share one vital theme in common – the body’ (2003, p. 2), which is central to colonial discourse and knowledge production in constructing the primitive “Other” and ‘body-class’ based stereotypes. Martschukat, Stieglitz and Heinsohn also suggest that ‘sports history is ideally suited to grasp how body performances contribute to the re-production of identities of gender, ethnicity, race, and class (and many more)’ (cited in Baller et al., 2012, p. 141). This kind of analytical possibilities indicates useful ways to unpack the links between sport and postcoloniality, particularly when one acknowledges that many SDP interventions take place in historically colonised states and are often funded by former colonising powers (Darnell, 2012a). To this end, drawing on Edward Said’s *Orientalism* to illustrate parallels between popular SDP discourses and colonizing knowledge production, Darnell demonstrates, how sport in “development” context is presented ‘as a tool of detached and seemingly apolitical benevolence’, just as ‘the construction of Others through Orientalist discourse offered a relatively intelligible and benign political and geographic platform for colonial activities’ (2014b, p. 1010).

Assessing and describing the ‘dominant frameworks of sport (as integrative, apolitical and transcendent) and development (as benevolent, apolitical and rational)’ Darnell has argued that the theories of SDP have prevailed due to ‘their discursive resiliency, and the ease with which they are culturally, socially and politically intelligible’ (2007, p. 565). Likewise, Coalter warns against the crude ‘functionalist assertions about sport’s socializing and transformative properties,’ which may subject sporting practices to be ‘used as part of the processes of colonization’ (2010, p. 296). Through an International Relations’ lens, Levermore raises similar concerns over the ‘continued abuse of unequal power relations and flow of knowledge between the global North and South’ (2008b, p. 55). To this end, postcolonial analysis draws attention to the ‘complex and inter-related processes of commercialization, the migration of people and movement of capital,

media activity, as well as historical and neo-colonizing forces and local, cultural agency' in unpacking and examining the SDP discourses and practices (Darnell, 2012b, p. 7; Darnell and Hayhurst, 2011; Hayhurst, 2011a, 2011b).

Arguing within this interrogative frame, Darnell notes that the 'universality and popularity of (dominant) sporting forms that are regularly positioned as the basis for the appropriateness, importance and novelty of SDP is not politically benign or neutral but instead directly connected to a very particular world view' (2012b, p. 3). In such a 'world-view,' political problems of powerlessness and poverty are sought for in technical solutions. And by making the promises and potential of sport as a "development" solution in SDP proclamations 'so highly visible, a "development" project can end up performing extremely sensitive political operations involving the entrenchment and expansion of institutional state power almost invisibly, under cover of a neutral, technical mission to which no one can object' (Ferguson, 1990, p. 256). So, the tendencies to seek and retain sport as virtuous, divorced from the histories and politics of social realities, may only offer a skewed view of what sport or SDP interventions do.

Shawn Forde's (2014) critical analysis of HIV/AIDS education through sport curriculum shows how the discourses of 'risk, deficiency and individualism' are constructed to justify the need for such programmes, which in turn both educate and subjugate its targets. Darnell also argues that the notion of 'saving the distant Other,' which is often constructed in terms of lack (material as well as agency), does 'little to challenge – and may in fact reinforce – the racial hierarchies that have sustained global inequality since the original colonial projects' (2012, p. 9, 2014). Hartmann and Kwauk refer to this as 'a fundamentally reproductive vision of development,' where sport is used to 're-socialize and recalibrate individual[s] ... that in turn, serves to maintain power and hierarchy, cultural hegemony, and the institutionalization of poverty and privilege' (2011, p. 291).

While drawing our attention to problematic representations in SDP discourse, critical, postcolonial scholars also maintain an understanding that intentionality in SDP efforts is neither as coercive/repressive as associations with colonialism, nor do they assume SDP as a homogeneous sector confined to a singular ideological

mission or even a kind of conspiracy (Giulianotti, 2011, 2004). The point of such analysis is to argue for a case to ground SDP research ‘in an understanding of power, privilege, and dominance within a society’ (Hartmann and Kwauk, 2011, p. 296). What makes SDP such an attractive concept in the policy realms is the way questions of power, politics and complexity may be absorbed into an allusive facile, but desirable, solution – *sport*. To this end, it is precisely this elusive apolitical assumption and projection of sport and SDP that calls for deliberate, continual, reflexive and evocative intellectual interrogation.

### **3.2.2. Ethnographic Analysis**

So far, postcolonial and critical sociological frameworks have served well in the analysis of textual, historical and interviewed forms of data and to draw SDP into broader geo-political relations of power and the dichotomy between the global North and global South (Darnell, 2012a). Further complexity, contradictions and layers and levels of politics, power relations and realities within which SDP unfolds at its respective locales could be found in ethnographic modes of inquiry. To this end, Lyndsay Hayhurst’s (2013, 2011b) global ethnography analysed through a postcolonial feminist lens interrogates the links between sport, gender and “development”. Observing the political, cultural and material interplay of transnational corporations, international non-governmental organizations, southern non-governmental organizations and experiences of young women participants of the SDP intervention, she shows how individual agency, perceptions and options of each actor in the project were influenced by global neo-liberal ideologies and yet, these forces affected and were affected by different realities and experiences.

Andrew Guest’s (2009) ethnographic fieldwork at an Angolan refugee camp illustrates the misunderstanding or misinterpreting of the conditions and values within which a SDP intervention takes place. In particular, he explains how and why the ‘ambitious ideas about using sport as a tool for direct development in Africa have mostly met with failure and resistance’ (2009, p. 1343). Guest observes and contrasts the distinct understandings of the needs and purposes of “sport” and “development” as:

Olympic Aid [the SDP intervention] implicitly understood sport as a tool for intentional development and socialization; in this understanding Pena residents [the targeted beneficiaries of the project] should be grateful for the opportunity to play and develop 'life-skills'. Pena residents, in contrast, generally considered sport and play as a worthwhile amusement for children with little relevance to adult life unless it provided professional opportunities; in this understanding Olympic Aid should compensate participants for their services (2009, pp. 1345-46).

In this way, he draws attention to the contradiction between the ideals and objectives of the “developers” and “to be developed” in a SDP project, raising important questions about the knowledge of conditions and intentionality in SDP practices constructed on international politics and organisational goals.

Forde's (2013) auto-ethnography of his experiences in Lesotho as a SDP volunteer critically and beautifully reflects on his own position of “whiteness” and “masculinity”. The counter-narrative that he paints not only implicates him into the often naïve, apolitical and self-serving projections of SDP work, but in many ways complicates the “white savior” representations often only implicit in SDP discourses (2013, p.1). His self-reflections on his positionality, his relations and negotiations with the space, soccer, his own identity, other volunteers and supposed beneficiaries of “development” projects, exposes multiple blind-spots in the current state of SDP understandings and literature.

In a contrasting example, Hartmann's (2003) fieldwork at a grassroots initiative, in turn, shifts the focus on an individual agent, a Chicago based teacher, coach, and grassroots activist, and his efforts and convictions in operating a community-based sports-oriented organisation. This focus on an individual allows him to show how sport plays an instrumental role in not simply attracting youth from Chicago's socio-economically marginal parts, but also how the presence of real structural possibilities and opportunities within the American college sport system were tapped into in concrete and directive ways. Rather than an abstract focus on elements, design or management of sport interventions, this study illustrates one of the most neglected aspects in the study of SDP: the idiosyncrasies of an individual, his personality, commitment, frustrations and the conditions and the structures within which sport was and could be employed to more precise ends.

Alan Klein's (Klein, 2009, 1991, 1989) longitudinal ethnography of Major League Baseball (MLB) in the Dominican Republic attends to the question of sport and "development" nexus as unplanned and unintentional potentialities of neo-liberal formations of professional sport. Klein observed a professional sport sector, its transnational and structural relations, and how these were appropriated into a series of unintended, yet real socio-economic, opportunities and mobility. In rearticulating his analysis as a sport development inquiry, he argues: 'It would be hard to find a better illustration of the social benefits of sport than the case of baseball in the Dominican Republic' (2009, p. 1118). Despite the relationship between Northern America and Dominican Republic forged along neo-colonial and hegemonic lines in favour of the former, Klein shows how Dominicans have been able to take advantage of the opportunities in the world's most advanced sport sector, through a complex, unforeseen, and often contradictory chain of structural changes. He explains this as neoliberal exception, where factors such as: expanding MLB franchises, and declining domestic playing base, in America, combined with Dominican Republic's growing pool of talented baseball players, 'absence of other sports competing with baseball,' and somewhat ironically, extreme economic poverty, 'have worked to build Dominican baseball into a sport juggernaut' (2012, p. 32, 2009, p. 1118). Klein's (2012, p. 40) analysis that – not only Dominicans adapted to the structures of MLB, they also adapted these structures 'to their requirements' – is a particularly significant point as it defies "exceptionalism" and essentialism in both individual sport achievements as well as sport-based interventions.

Along similar lines, Jarvie's (2011) essay analysed how changing global politics and international sport is appropriated by a growing number of African athletes and how their sporting achievements at the international stage have had kinds of social, economic and political consequences (complex but beneficial) in their respective countries. Although, Jarvie's research is not based on long-term ethnographic study as that of Klein's, the concerns the two authors raise afford useful ways to think about SDP practices and SDN research within increasing commercialisation and professionalization of international sport. In this respect, Jarvie's contention that: 'if the leading capitalist nations ceased to impose their

own ideas on the rest of the sporting world and started to take cognizance of ‘other’ sporting cultures, then the aspiration of sport may become more just and less charitable’ (2011, p. 246) – opens a way to approach research in the field that interrogates the broader structural context as well as the terms of engagement within which SDP interventions, research and analysis takes place.

### **3.3. SPORT AND “DEVELOPMENT” NEXUS**

In reviewing the literature thus far, I focused on capturing the overarching and broad arguments and insights on SDP as a sector and a field of study. The popular SDP discourses and proclamations has leaned towards projecting de-historicised and essentialist understandings of sport, while glossing over the actual, peculiar and specific ways in which different people in very many different settings engage in, experience, and make meaning out of, sport. Sport is projected as a universal language and its direct “development” utility is suggested as either intrinsic or complementary. In contrast, postcolonial and ethnographic studies offer a more critical, complex and multifaceted view of SDP, situating sport in historical and political notions of “development”.

Along with the colonial expansions, cultural exchange and political resistance, the historical accounts on internationalisation of sport and its local appropriations, adoption and practices are loaded with social texts and ideological contestations (see for example Guha, 2002 and James, 2005 (1963)). And despite the unique, peculiar and specific ways in which sport has come to be integrated into diverse social space, it was easy to understand and standardised rules and sport’s physicality and visuality that made certain sports particularly ‘portable’ as activities (Baller et al., 2012). In this way, sport could be practiced in different contexts, and competence in a sport constitutes ability to take part despite other differences, and so knowing a sport is like knowing a language. However, what does ability and interests of some people to engage in an activity in spite of other differences has to do with “development” and peace? It would be inaccurate to reduce any form of social deprivations to mere difficulties of communication, as if political and economic realities of exploitation and material inequalities are due to



“cultural” or linguistic differences. However, there is another dimension to sport, as Headlam writes:

First the hunter, the missionary and the mercenary, next the soldier and the politician, and then the cricketer – that is the history of British colonialism. And of these civilising influences the last may, perhaps, be said to do the least harm (Headlam cited in Odendaal, 2003, p. 32).

In this sense, the significance of sport may well be in its insignificance. Triviality, as an attribute of sport, particularly in the context where “development” might mean addressing complex and difficult social, economic and political problems – is perhaps the most underplayed and unacknowledged dimension of SDP. A search for “right conditions” in which sport might affect “development” and repeated denunciation of highly competitive and elite level sport in broader SDP discourses suggests that sport’s “development” function is sought for in sporting spaces that might ‘do the least harm’. While projecting sport as insignificant or trivial may not serve the purpose of SDP lobby and decrees, but the idea of triviality might be useful for research and analytical purposes. To this end, Rita Barnard has argued; it is often in seemingly insignificant or most trivial that ‘operations of ideology are most clearly and characteristically displayed’ (2000, p. 347; cited in Grundlingh, 2014, p. 8). From this standpoint, it might be useful to treat sport as a unit of analysis, interrogated through more established theoretical perspectives from *development studies*.

Notwithstanding, SDP discourses are not mere exhortations, divorced from the realities of *realpolitik* or international and geo-political relations, but emerge from and operate within global trends and politics of international “development,” that takes many different forms in practice and have real consequences (intended and unintended). As such, Darnell and many other postcolonial analysts of SDP have argued: there is value in problematizing ‘any ahistorical and apolitical self-presentations of the development through sport’ (2007, p. 564). Such arguments call for a shift in the prominent models and methods of research in the SDP field from evaluative to interrogative, which are found of sound understanding of history of sport, politics of “development” and how sport comes to be understood as an instrument of “development” in a given setting. It is in advancing such a research framework that I conceptualise the sport and “development” nexus

(SDN), as a way to deconstruct the various understandings of sport, “development” and connections between the two. To this end, I draw heavily on Ferguson’s analysis of “development” as *the anti-politics machine* (1990).

### **3.3.1. SDP: *The Anti-politics Machine***

At the time it was written, James Ferguson’s analysis of “development” took an original stance, opening the field up to be interrogated in different ways and asking a different set of questions. Instead of asking if “development” really works or how it can be done better, or even, if “development” was a naïve or intentional project of powerful nations to maintain dependency of less powerful parts of the world where “development” programmes and aid is directed, he curiously explored: what is that “development” actually do? In his words: ‘What happens differently due to the “development” problematic that would not or could not happen without it?’ (1990, p. xiv). He demonstrates that “development” works like an ‘elaborated contraption’ that de-politicizes historical and continued political implications of conditions of deprivation, while effecting kinds of structural changes, which are neither intended, nor acknowledged.

In his study of the international “development” industry in Lesotho, Ferguson notes that in the ‘process of theoretical construction, Lesotho can be represented in “development” discourse as a nation of farmers, not wage labourers; a country with geography, but no history; with people, but no class; values, but no structures; administrators, but no rulers; bureaucracy, but no politics’ (ibid, p. 66). Such a discourse ‘tends towards a picture in which the colonial past is a blank, economic stagnation is due to government inaction, and “development” results from “development” projects’ (ibid, p. 37). These theoretical understandings cause a ripple-effect in which numerous institutions, organisations and programs are erected that lead “development” planning, its conception and interventions. Given the stark discrepancies that Ferguson illuminates between the historical scholarship on Lesotho and the knowledge base for her “development,” deployment of any form of intended interventions can only take ‘effect through a convoluted route involving unacknowledged structures and unpredictable outcomes’ (1990, p. 276).

Also true in the ways in which SDP discourses are promulgated, “the people” that “development” through sport is meant to serve are often represented as an ‘undifferentiated mass’ of suffering, poverty or conflict, and their problems can simply be solved through a kind of education ‘or even just convincing them to change their minds’ (Ferguson and Lohmann, 1994, p. 178). While his analysis presents an important critique of the “development” industry, Ferguson clarifies that ‘such apparent political naiveté [on the part of “development” planners] is not a ruse, but simply a low-level manifestation of the refusal to face local politics which, for institutional reasons, characterizes the entire “development” apparatus’ (1994, p. 178). Setting out the theoretical contours to study “development” beyond the narrow confines of its problematic and programmes, Ferguson’s approach advocates attention to ‘historically specific political and economic interests’ in a given situation (1990, p.14).

Although these theoretical and methodological pointers directed me to engage in and contrast the historical and contemporary farm worker “development” discourses and examine how these practices correspond to their everyday sporting lives, the conceptual illustrations and questions that Ferguson presents also helped deconstruct the theoretical logics according to which sport was explained for its “development” utility within SDP discourses. An interesting illustration he offers is the theoretical construction of a “less developed country”, which in turn serves as the basis for where “development” needs to happen.

The implicit argument is of the sort known to logicians as a fallacy of equivocation, of the form: (1) all banks have money; (2) every river has two banks; therefore, (3) all rivers have money. The fallacy, of course, consists in changing the meaning of one of the terms of the syllogism in the middle of the implication. The “development” version goes as follows: (1) poor countries are (by definition) “less developed”; (2) less developed countries are (by another definition) those which have not yet been fully brought into the modern economy; therefore, (3) poor countries are those which have not yet been fully brought into the modern economy (Ferguson, 1990, pp. 55–56).

The theoretical and implicit understandings of SDP also work with a similar ‘fallacy of equivocation,’ which may, for example, take this form: 1) Sport is good for health; 2) HIV/AIDS is a health concern; and therefore 3) sport can serve as a tool for HIV/AIDS prevention. When projected in this manner, by any logic, such a link between sport and HIV/AIDS prevention sounds absurd. Still, there is

a plethora of SDP organisations which promote such agendas, relying mostly on didactic means, where sport merely serves as a hook to attract participants who are then facilitated with awareness/educational programmes or “life-skills”. Forde’s (2014) critical analysis of a life-skills curriculum for HIV/AIDS education and prevention programme of one of the largest and most influential global SDP organisations (*Right to Play*) not only exposes the limitations of such ideas and the paternalist mode in which such a discourse is constructed, but also that the curriculum under study makes not even a single reference to what precisely is “sport” doing in the process.

To this end, Coalter has argued that ‘it is not sport that is likely to achieve many of these [“development”] outcomes, but sporting organisations; it is not sport that produces and sustains social capital, enters into partnerships and mobilizes resources, but certain types of social organisations’ (2010, p. 310). These kinds of arguments not only legitimise the operations of SDP organisations but also neglect interrogating their politics, affirming their power in bringing about change and excluding ‘from the field of view all forces for change that are not based on the paternal guiding hand’ of intentional “development” agents (Ferguson, 1990, p. 281).

This kind of conflation can be found (and critically analysed) in various forms of “development” outcome sport is employed to accomplish through respective SDP organisations and programmes. Andrew Guest, drawing on critical self-reflections from his ethnographic fieldwork, also argued; ‘The idea that sport directly socializes particular characteristics, historically discussed as “building character” and currently discussed as “developing life-skills,” is both very popular and very difficult to support empirically’ (2005). However, rather than examining a specific “development” outcome, as useful as that may be, I focus on the construction of SDP discourses (following Ferguson) and the kind of institutions and practices these affect in the specific context of farm workers of the Western Cape. For such an inquiry, a whole different approach is required to frame the “development” questions, as Ferguson illustrates in the following example:

As long as the question is “Why is Qwa-Qwa (as a national economy) poor?” then one must point to lack of resources, overpopulation, and “dependence.” If

one asks instead why the people who live in Qwa-qwa are poor (and why they live in Qwa-qwa!), one generates a rather different sort of answer, of course: a long sad tale of conquest, land loss, forced removals, influx control, repression, denial of political rights, depressed wages, and enforced “redundancy” (1990, p. 64).

Furthermore, Ferguson goes on to show why ‘there is little room for these kinds of questions and answers in “development” discourse’ (ibid), still, in critical academic research, such questions and answers would be of great value in advancing deeper understandings, knowledge and stimulating debates. Likewise, academic research on SDP/SDN would be better served by staying away from applied models for “development,” and instead adopting more critical approaches and grounded intellectual engagement with the processes that emerge from SDP discourses and practices. It is not the tactics of employing sport to “development” ends that should lead the inquiry, but the ways in which the two concepts – “development” and sport – are understood, connected, drawn into, and affected by, the social realities and the history and politics that creates these. Therefore, instead of asking how sport might cause “development” among the farm workers, the conceptual framework that I draw from Ferguson and other critical thinkers asks: why is that the farm workers of the Western Cape need “development” and what does sport have to do with it? What historical and political processes and conditions shaped farm worker “development” discourses; to what understandings and interests was sport advocated and considered relevant for their “development”; and how was “development” and sport (in all its various forms) experienced by farm workers?

### **3.3.2. SDN: A Conceptual Framework**

Besides encouraging researchers to ask ‘specific, localized, and tactical questions’, Ferguson concludes his book by arguing:

that the most important transformations, the changes that really matter, are not simply “introduced” by benevolent technocrats, but fought for and made through a complex process that involves not only states and their agents, but all those with something at stake, all the diverse categories of people who craft their everyday tactics of coping with, adapting to, and, in their various ways, resisting the established social order (1990, p. 281).

Such dimensions of social change and processes, therefore, have to be sought for in the everyday lives of people identified as a group in need of “development”.

Given the situatedness of my study in the field of SDP, my focus on the everyday sporting lives of farm workers was to learn from and draw on ‘their everyday tactics’ of engaging in sport outside SDP discourses. As Baller and Cornelissen argue, ‘Sport has never been a fully controlled space ... [and] offer niches for people to create their own social worlds, away from official control’ (2011, p. 2086). Similarly, Peter Alegi’s historical work on soccer in South Africa also shows how ‘agrarian tradition of independent leisure continued after the formation of football clubs and leagues in the industrial era, a process that reveals how ‘autonomy is crucial to the definition of leisure’ (2004, p. 9, single quotes in original). With such theoretical and historical understandings, confining a study of sport to SDP or official sport practices would neglect the autonomous spaces of sport and all the meanings, experiences and expressions these spaces contain.

In such a framework, the views, interests and practices of SDP interventionists and sport officials remain important to the extent that these allow for interrogation of the ‘theories of change’ according to which sport was put to “development” ends. A sound understanding of official sport structures in a given setting as well as ‘the historical and social experiences of sport and development as they are formed and performed within SDP’ (Darnell, 2012a, chap. 7) – add important contextual information for analysis. Still, to critically analyse sport interventions and structures requires juxtaposing these with how sport and “development” was experienced outside the confines of SDP programmes and official sport. It is to these ends that Darnell recommends that greater attention should be given to:

the complexities and diversities of the sporting experience’ and ‘to re-examine presuppositions and assumptions through the juxtaposition of examples, as opposed to generalizations that are ostensibly supported through empiricism (ibid)

In so doing, I engage with, and draw on, informal, unofficial and autonomous spaces of farm worker sport, and contrast these practices and experiences with the official sport and SDP discourses and practices to advance a critical analysis and debate on the connections between sport and “development”. Consequently, the conceptual framework that I follow to critically analyse SDN contains juxtaposing of three registers of observation: 1) explicit use of sport for “development” (SDP); 2) official sport structures and how these were accessed by the people deemed in

need of “development” (farm workers in this case); and 3) unofficial and autonomous forms of sport networks and practices

In particular, I inquired: what kinds of institutions and organisations were instigated under the banner of SDP for farm workers, and to what understandings of farm workers’ “development” problems were such solutions conceptualised and prioritised? Further, following Guest (2009, p.1348), I asked: what aspects of farm worker “development” rhetoric were ‘internalized, resisted and negotiated at the local level? What local forces and meanings reshape’ sport and “development” efforts? It is in reference to “development” as *the anti-politics machine* that my analysis and arguments are organised around observing and examining what SDP ideas and practices actually do or affect and how they relate to the everyday realities. My move away from the ‘applied sciences’ models so dominant in SDP field is not in denial of the very real social, material and political problems that exist among the farm workers, but an attempt to engage with these in a nuanced and critical manner. Therefore, I foreground analysing the historical and political understanding of conditions identified as “development” problems, the people, their everyday sporting lives, and their experiences of sport and “development,” to conceptualise SDN.

In broadening the field of study to encompass unexplored areas is as much a theoretical concern as it is methodological. Forde (2013), Guest (2009), Hayhurst (2011b), Hartmann (2003) and Klein’s (2008) ethnographic studies illustrate the depth and complexity of the information that can be garnered to draw out paradoxes and contradictions. Therefore, the spaces and embodied practices of sport were employed to methodological ends in searching answers to ‘specific, localized, and tactical questions’ (Ferguson, 1990, p. 282; also see Aquino, 2015), as discussed in the previous chapter, elaborating on the use of sport as an ethnographic method. In the next chapter, I continue with analytical and interpretive processes by engaging in a dialogical conversation between my primary data and secondary sources on the history and politics of farm worker “development” in the Western Cape.

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4. FARM WORKER “DEVELOPMENT”:  
what sport has to do with it?

What historical and political consequences have led to the identification of farm workers of the Western Cape as a group in need of “development”? And what does sport have to do with it? With the aim to deconstruct the logic by which farm workers were defined as subjects of “development,” I draw on the history of agrarian labour relations in the Western Cape, locating the notions, meanings and politics of farm worker “development”. By engaging and analysing the contemporary discourses and programmes of “development” and use of sport in “development” projects, I question how these relate specifically to the occupation of farm workers. What kinds of farm labour concerns do sport and “development” address, and what concerns remain unaddressed, unacknowledged and unaffected?

The chapter is organised into three sections. To situate farm workers within the history and politics of agrarian labour practices in the Western Cape, I present a broad-sweep synthesis of historical literature on changing farm labour relations and conditions until late 1970s, in the first section. I narrow down my focus on emergence of the concept of farm worker “development” during early 1980s by discussing the case of Rural Foundation. In the second section, I examine the continuities and disjuncture in the contemporary discourses of farm worker “development” by describing and unpacking the province wide government and wine industry structures, programme plans, and the localised practices. In the third section, I engage with the question of sport, elaborating on the provincial initiative of farm worker sport “development” and analysing the different objectives to which sport was put to use for the “development” of farm workers.

#### **4.1. HISTORY OF FARM LABOUR IN THE CAPE**

Historians André du Toit and Hermann Giliomee argue that over 170 years of Cape slavery set the tone for the racial, labour and social order of South Africa for the years to come (1983; also see, Watson, 2012; Worden and Crais, 1994). The calls for social change and improvements in the life conditions of the people



who worked on the farms of the Cape can be traced in the contestations over the abolition of slavery since the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. Still, the concept of “development” in the context of farm workers did not emerge on the farm labour scene until late 1970s, when a shift towards modernisation of agricultural production and procedures started (Ewert and du Toit, 2005; Lester et al., 2000; Mayson, 1990; Watson, 1990; Worden and Crais, 1994). It is for this reason that I focus on the relatively recent history of modernisation of farm labour relations within which farm worker “development” discourses emerged, while recounting the relevance of the pre-1980s historical period only in broad strokes.

The need for farm labour in the Cape arrived with the introduction of agricultural production, not too long after the arrival of Dutch colonial settlement in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century. In the context where the indigenous nomadic populations of pastoralists Khoi and hunter-gatherers San (collectively referred to as Khoisan) were ‘unaccustomed to sedentary labor, and Dutch company servants found the work too hard or thought it too demeaning’ (Watson, 1990, p. 9), the introduction of the slavery became a ‘direct response to an insatiable need for labour’ (Loos, 2004, p. 7). In the early years of agricultural production in the Cape, the majority of the slaves worked on small-scale, mixed-farming units, cultivating primarily wine grapes and grain, and were considered the most valuable resource to the commercial agricultural economy (van der Merwe, 2010; Watson, 1990).

Initially from parts of western Africa, but later ‘from the east coast of Africa, Madagascar, Mauritius, Ceylon, India, the Malay Peninsula and the islands that make up modern Indonesia’, the imported slave population constituted ‘a multitude of starkly different geographic and cultural origins’ (Loos, 2004, p. 7; Shell, 1994, pp. 11–17). While the importation of slaves did not stop until 1807, the Cape had already reached its ‘Moment of Creolization’ (when more than 50% of slave population was locally born) by the 1770s (Loos, 2004; Shell, 1994). By this time the slave population as a whole also outnumbered the settler colonists in the Cape colony, making it thoroughly a slave society. Robert Shell explains, in this majority creole society, the slave classifications based on geographic origins were gradually replaced by a more simplified system based on descent and race, making way for a socially and legally imposed category called “coloured” into the

South African racial vocabulary. At the same time, Khoisan people were being gradually dispossessed of their land and modes of living, and were ‘reduced to the status of poverty-stricken agricultural labourers’ (Loos, 2004, p. 7; also see, Iliffe, 1987, pp. 98–100). By the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, as Scully argues, ‘the Khoisan lived side by side with slaves in a state of *de facto* slavery’ (1997, p. 2), and were also incorporated into the classification as “coloureds” (Lester et al., 2000).

Though both economic as well as moral implications of slavery were debated in the run-up to its abolition, it was the economic rationale that finally determined the terms subject to which slaves were to be freed. On one hand, ‘slavery at the Cape was [argued to be] mild and that it had become a “necessary evil”’ to maintain the efficient production of goods for colonial markets (Watson, 2012, p. 14, 1990). On the other, direct physical coercion and brutal treatment of slaves had become a limitation to ‘worker incentive and productivity’, which, of course, was needed to expand agricultural production (Worden, 1994, p. 118). With the British taking over the administration of the Cape colony in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, and the opening of profitable markets in the British Empire to Cape exports by 1813, came a shift towards intensified and large-scale agricultural enterprise (van der Waal, 2014; Williams, 2010). The abolition of slavery in 1834 followed a four year interim, the ‘Apprenticeship’ period, during which slaves were to be “trained” ‘for the rights and responsibilities that came with freedom’ (Dooling, 2007, p. 112). Historical accounts on ‘apprenticeship’ show that the status of apprentices was ‘equivalent to indenture, merely ensuring a continued labour supply’ (Dooling, 2007; Scully, 1997; Worden, 1994, p. 121). As Worden writes: ‘Slaves were to be free from bondage but not from labour’ (1994, p. 118).

Unless farm slaves were able to find their way to the urban areas, the options they had even after complete emancipation in 1838 remained limited. The diversity of occupations and ‘a degree of social mobility’ that was available to the urban slaves was ‘unheard of in the countryside’ (Ross, 1980, p. 12). Most freed-slaves from the farming regions ‘had virtually no chance for “an independent” existence outside agriculture’ (Watson, 2012, p. 12). ‘They were denied land and legally prohibited from squatting’ (Williams, 2010, p. 179). While continuing to work as unskilled labourers, some joined the seasonal labour market, and still

some others were persuaded by the farmers to stay through cash inducements, or offerings of board and lodging, or by simply invoking ‘the bonds of loyalty and paternalism’ (Worden, 1994, p. 143). In addition, ‘during the cattle-killing crisis of 1856-7, when thousands of starving Xhosa entered the colony,’ a large number of the able-bodied Xhosa people would have also been made to serve on the farms of the Western Cape (Iliffe, 1987, p. 101). With an increasing jobless proletariat, expanding agricultural production, and ill-paid wage labour, came a kind of poverty in the Cape, which, as John Iliffe suggests, had ‘not previously [been] recorded in sub-Saharan Africa’ (1987, p. 99, see also chapters 7 & 8). Ironically, it is in the mid- to late-19<sup>th</sup> century that Scully (1997, p. 2) reports ‘the expansion of arable agriculture,’ and with that a dramatic increase in the numbers of farm workers in the Cape.

Slavery and wine production were central to the Cape’s agricultural economy (van der Merwe, 2010). Slavery had already given ‘dangerously unlimited powers to masters,’ the land-owning farmers (Worden, 1994, p. 118). The four year apprenticeship period did ‘not intend to train apprentices for a future of economic or social independence’, but was ‘re-orientated towards the production of a compliant and traceable labour force’ (Worden and Crais, 1994, p. 12). Soon after the complete emancipation of the slaves in 1838, ‘the colonial government passed a new Masters and Servants Ordinance in 1841’ (Lester et al., 2000, p. 69), which not only compromised the free status of farm labour, but continued to perpetuate their conditions of poverty and dependence with the successively tighter and nastier Masters and Servants Acts of 1855, 1856 and 1873 (Williams, 2010).<sup>48</sup> In a historical examination of ‘racial attitudes’ in 19<sup>th</sup> century South Africa, Watson argues that the ‘overtly racist ideas’ based on the supposed innate inferiority of “non-whites” to Europeans became widespread only after the abolition of slavery (2012, p. 2). The ‘authoritarian paternalism inherited and adapted from early Cape slave society’ persisted, and while the racial hierarchies replaced the master-slave relations, these maintained the logic for, and basic character of, the labour arrangements on the wine farms of South Africa into the late 20<sup>th</sup> century (Ewert and du Toit, 2005, pp. 318–19).

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<sup>48</sup> This point was emphasized by Dr Gavin Williams in a personal communication (May 2015).

The defining features of the 20<sup>th</sup> century South Africa were, indeed, blatantly discriminatory state legislation and intensification of the capitalist agrarian economy (Morris, 1977). The Natives Land Act of 1913, one among ‘some 189 Acts and more than 15 000 regulations and proclamations’ (du Toit, 1995, p. 2), followed by the National Party’s ideological project of *apartheid* from 1948, was to consolidate “white” political supremacy, and their control over the labour of the “black” and “coloured” population<sup>49</sup>. The political influence that “white” farmers were able to wield over the government, not only helped maintain a steady supply of cheap farm labour, but also a greater financial and technical assistance from the state became available to the farmers (Cohen, 1986; Morris, 1977). With expansion of production in the 1950s and ‘60s, and farmers’ “perceived” labour shortage, ‘repressive influx control and labour legislation was used to “channel” cheap labour to white farms’ (du Toit, 1995, p. 3). By the 1970s, with the modernisation and mechanisation of farming practices, farming now required less manual labour, and so, the expulsion of the excess “black” African labour from the Western Cape required new legislative measures (Marcus, 1989). Legislative support and state subsidies played a crucial role in the growth, profitability and maintenance of exploitative labour relations in the farming sector (du Toit, 1994, 1993; Marcus, 1989). Referring to the evidence from ‘official commissions and committees between 1925 and 1975’, Gavin Williams contends, ‘that labour relations and social conditions remained, in many respects, much as they had been in the nineteenth century’ (2010, p. 181).

Moreover, a capital-intensive and increasingly mechanised agricultural production demanded part of the workforce to be more skilled, which, as Marcus (1989) suggests, was to come into contradiction with continued exploitative conditions, coercion, and poor wages of the unskilled and unmotivated labour. While the wages remained poor, control over free-labour by the *dop-system* since the end of slavery and access to un-free labour from prison since 1954 helped maintain the power of farm-owners in negotiating their labour requirements

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<sup>49</sup> In the early 1950s, a more coherent and exploitative set of policies for labour control were introduced, which include; creation of *labour bureaux system* and *influx control laws*, *prison labour schemes*, *Coloured Labour Preference Policy*, among many others (Cohen, 1986; Dooling, 2007; James and Simons, 1989; Marcus, 1989; Williams, 2010; Wilson et al., 1977).

(Williams, 2010). By the late 1970s, the mounting international pressures against apartheid and trade boycotts manifested in the form of economic and political crises and ‘prompted moves for restructuring’ (du Toit, 1994, p. 376). In this capricious political and economic environment, and legislative changes in the wine industry, the farm worker “development” approaches started to appear on the farming scene. In 1982, the Rural Foundation (*Landelike Stigting*) ‘embarked on an extensive program of “community development” to improve farm workers’ conditions’ (du Toit, 1993, p. 317). Reform efforts of the Rural Foundation (RF) did bring some important changes to the living conditions of the permanent on-farm workforce and their dependants, albeit without challenging the core assumptions of the paternalistic order.

#### **4.1.1. History of Farm Worker “Development”**

Paternalist discourses and institutions did not simply wither away; they were ceaselessly re-invented and reconstituted, and tended to shape farmers’ responses to their changing environment (du Toit, 1994, p. 380).

An understanding of the unique character of paternalism that underpins farm labour relations in the Western Cape is particularly useful backdrop to analyse the discourses of farm worker “development”. Despite the archetypal image of “white” farmer as ‘the sovereign patriarchal master of all who dwell and work on his farm’ (du Toit, 1995, p. 4), the conditions and treatment of workers across the farming institutions and over historical times was not uniformly exploitative (du Toit, 1993; Scully, 1990). While some farmers chose coercive ways, others opted to provide higher wages, better housing, subsidised food, sport, recreation, crèches, clinics and other facilities to ‘keep workers on the farms’ (Wilson et al., 1977, p. 11), and to improve worker productivity (Mayson, 1990). Still, the “development” activities of the RF were innovative for its time and to the extent that these were framed in managerial terms, while retaining the benevolent projections of paternalist order. The concept of farm workers’ “development” or their need for “empowerment” was completely absent during the time of slavery and in the exercise of racialised authoritarian paternalism. By the time the RF appeared on the Western Cape’s rural farming scene, the political and economic calculations were very different and in flux. As Mayson argues, the large scale

endorsement of RF's efforts and ideals by the apartheid government and the "white" farmers were as much an attempt to pre-empt the radicalisation of "coloured" farm workers by growing trade unions and anti-apartheid struggles, as it was to build a committed and productive labour force, and improve 'the poor image of the industry in the face of looming sanctions' (Ewert and du Toit, 2005, p. 319; du Toit, 1993; Ewert and Hamman, 1996).

Notwithstanding, the question remains: to what extent have the present-day farm worker "development" discourses and practices broken away from their paternalistic beginnings? Engaging in this question requires further elaboration of the history and politics of farm labour relations in the Western Cape. The centrality of the 'historical legacy of paternalism' to contextualise the labour relations at the commercial fruit and wine farms of the Western Cape and the lives workers lived is convincingly portrayed by Andries du Toit (1995, 1994, 1993). He contends that the struggles of farm workers have been, 'to a greater or lesser extent, also struggles within and against the terms of paternalist discourse, practices and institutions' (1994, p. 383). According to this discourse, a farm was seen 'as a family-like community,' in which "coloured" farm workers, irrespective of their age, were like children to the father-figure of the "white" farm-owner (du Toit, 1994, p. 379). While paternalism has remained deeply rooted in the social fabric of farm life, it has also been a 'contested reality' (ibid). Farm relations defining a paternalist ethos were not simply exploitative; they shaped and were shaped by workers' and farmers' expectations from each other (du Toit, 1995). The self-conception of farmers 'as benevolent but firm protectors and disciplinarians of a grateful and appreciative population of on-farm servants is particularly relevant in the examination of contemporary discourses of farm worker "development" (Ewert and du Toit, 2005, p. 319).

To this end, farm paternalism provides a useful context to understand how expectations and assumptions of farm worker "development" were shaped by this history, and a mutating web of on- and off-farm social and power relations. Du Toit (1995, 1993) explains this dynamic by giving an example of the expectations of farm workers from the trade unions in supporting their struggles as workers. He argued that 'union politics is deeply continuous with paternalist discourse,' where

workers' expectations from the unions went beyond having their interests represented as workers (1993, p. 336). The unions, he suggested, 'will also take up a wide range of issues affecting ... [workers] as a broader community - from addressing alcoholism to arranging bicycle-races, domino contests and trips to the sea!' (ibid).

Drawing on my fieldwork observations, the imprints of paternalist past and present were only too apparent in the ways in which different actors, sectors and organisations directed "development" at farm workers (for example, see van der Waal, 2014). Besides, as my research (later in this and the next chapter) shows, "development" discourses and practices were often narrowly focused on "social-ills" and didactic solutions, with limited, if not obscured, grasp of farm workers' social and political situation, their struggles and the ways in which they negotiate their everyday life. Indeed, a deeper understanding of the situation requires as much an appreciation for 'the economic facts of ownership and production' as for the 'local culture and tradition, ideology and identity' (du Toit, 1995, p. 72). My empirical focus, to this end, was limited to the spaces of sport and "development" in a selected region. The practices of sport were imbued with social meanings of local culture and how identities were formed around participation in a particular sport activity and association with a specific team or a club (which I discuss in some detail in Chapters 6 and 7). In the context of "development," however, the passionate identification with sport seemed to supersede the terms of participation defined by the objectives of "developers" and the "development" outcomes they aimed to achieve.

To situate my field explorations, empirical data and analysis within a broader historical, economic, social and political context of farm labour relations, I have relied on scholarly literature on the Western Cape's commercial agriculture and the wine industry. In the next sub-section, I elaborate on conceptual foundations and explanations of farm worker "development" in the RF.

#### **4.1.2. The Rural Foundation**

The history and activities of the RF offer a useful example of farm worker "development" since the 1980s. While David Mayson (1990) points out that the

RF was one among many other organised efforts facilitating “up-gradation” of the agrarian workforce since mid-1970s, I focus on the RF for the following reasons. Firstly, I was unable to find any credible published/researched material on other attempts at “development” of farm labour in the Western Cape during this period. Secondly, references to the RF often came up during my fieldwork conversations with different research participants as an important project with respect to the changes it brought to the living conditions of the “coloured” farm workers of the Western Cape. Thirdly, the RF’s activities were organised with explicit use of “development” as its language, coherently institutionalising rural “development” as a provincial and national phenomenon. The key assumptions and approaches adopted by the RF were also to set the tone for farm worker “development” in the years to follow. Apart from the descriptions and analysis of four RF member farms offered in Mayson’s thesis, the RF has been a subject of critical discussions among the scholars attending to changes in farm labour relations (see for example, du Toit, 2004, 1993; Ewert and du Toit, 2005; Ewert and Hamman, 1996).

The RF found its origins in the missionary work by a student welfare group of the University of Stellenbosch during early 1970s, who ‘targeted farmworkers as an important group of people that needed community development’ (Mayson, 1990, p. 104). In their outreach efforts to engage with farm workers, who they often found intoxicated on Sundays, these students started to organise ‘film evenings and sports days on the Saturdays ... to get communication going’ (ibid). Okkie Bosman, in his interview with Mayson, suggests that it was these initiatives run by missionary students that were taken over by the South African Agricultural Union (SAAU) and the apartheid government to form the *Rural Foundation for Community Development*. Rather than missionary ambitions, the proposition that encouraged so many farmers to join the Foundation was ‘the link between “people development” and productivity’. As Mayson puts it, RF was ‘a farmers’ service organisation, supported by the government, and whose activities are directed towards initiating development projects on its member farms’ (1990, p. 117).

Conceptually, the RF pinpointed ‘ten “dimensions of development” towards successful community development’ that included: health, physical, educational, social/psychological, socio-cultural, economic, legal, leadership, ethical and



religious development. In practice, improvements in the physical infrastructure for farm workers and on-farm social relations were central to the RF's services. Aside from improving or building houses and other amenities (community halls, sport fields, crèches, clinics etcetera) for the workers with the help of state subsidies, the "development" projects included organisation of recreational activities and series of training programmes for workers, not only in technical work-related skills, but also in soft-skills, such as 'how to handle problems, how to handle people, how to act amongst people' (1990, p. 145).<sup>50</sup> The RF's primary approach to "community development" was to encourage creation of on-farm 'liaison committees' comprising worker representatives, which were aimed at improving communication channels between farm workers and farmers, giving workers a platform to express their demands, address alcoholism and other "social-ills", and organise leisure-time activities and social (sport, women, youth) clubs to build 'community spirit' (ibid).

Among these efforts, organised sport, as Mayson (1990, chap. 5) observed, 'seemed to be the first way in which the community developers tried to develop the community'. On the whole, his analysis showed how socio-political dynamics at the farms affected, and were affected by, every aspect of the RF. To this end, Mayson's concluding reflections, on the complex and uneven impact of the RF, are particularly noteworthy:

Improvements to housing had occurred, crèches had been established on some of the farms, and **sports clubs had been functioning in some cases for many years before 1983**. It was not, therefore, the Rural Foundation's impact and influence that gave the initial impulse. Its impact was rather that it developed a broader ideological foundation to the initiatives, **linking it all to improved productivity** (1990, p. 276, my emphasis).

The Southern African Labour and Development Research Unit's (Saldru) *Farm Labour in South Africa* conference proceedings (Wilson et al., 1977) also show that provision of sport and other facilities for the farm workers at some commercial farms in the Western Cape must have been a practice at least some years prior to 1977. Besides, these managerial 'reform from above' efforts of the

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<sup>50</sup> I work this quotation by a "developer" Mayson interviewed (cited in his thesis) because similar kinds of training, often under the label of "life-skills", continues to be part of contemporary "development" practices, which I shall discuss in next chapter.

RF never questioned farmers' absolute authority over the operations (including the workers) at his farm. Nor did they challenge 'the racialised power relations of white mastery'. Instead, these efforts 'tried to regularise and modernise' the farm labour relations as a pragmatic business approach (du Toit, 1994; Ewert and du Toit, 2005, p. 319). Farmers were able to control every aspect of "development" to be delivered on their farm (Mayson, 1990). 'Improvements to workers' living conditions depended on the farmer's will and means to provide such improvements' (ibid, p. 276). Ultimately, as du Toit and colleagues contend, the government support and the large farmer subscription to the RF across the country were not merely to provide "development" services to farm workers, but to serve a political purpose of legitimising apartheid and paternalism (du Toit, 2004, 1994, 1993; du Toit et al., 2008; Ewert and du Toit, 2005).

These paternalistic "social reform" efforts of the 1980s, largely funded by the apartheid government and farmers, did not last (Ewert and du Toit, 2005; Williams, 2010). By early 1990s, a large number of farmers had already unsubscribed from the Foundation. With the changing political environment, transition from apartheid to democracy, and gradual cuts in the government funding, the RF, as such, finally came to termination in 1998 (Ewert and du Toit, 2005). These changes had also 'broaden[ed] the scope of rural reform' and were to 'set the scene for burgeoning and complex policy debate', which, however, as du Toit points out;

... proceeded on very different terms from preceding discussions about change in South Africa. Most importantly, it has tended to conceptualise basic social ills, not in political terms, but as **development problems**. This meant that a new conceptual space opened up: a technocratic discourse that transcended old political divisions and made possible agreement on new policy initiatives across old ideological divides (1994, p. 376 my emphasis).

While the new government saw the RF 'as a product of apartheid reformism,' farm workers' need for "development" was not to be questioned, nor was the post-apartheid "development" discourse to sound much different from its antecedents (Ewert and du Toit, 2005, p. 319). Indeed, the 'identification of "development" with black people outlasted the late apartheid regime' (Williams, 2003, p. 39). "Development" discourses provided 'a linguistic bridge', as Gavin Williams calls it, which not only absorbed conflicting political interests, but also 'discursively

reconcil[ed] the claims of growth and redistribution and displac[ed] issues of class inequalities and class politics' (2003, p. 40). It is this phenomenon that Ferguson explains as an 'anti-politics machine' (1990). The discourses, plans and projects of "development" tend to take on benign and apolitical connotations, which almost invisibly, end up serving many divergent and conflicting political and economic interests. This move towards creating "development" trusts and funding of "development" projects by the agriculture and wine industry of South Africa exemplifies this phenomenon.

The uncertainty about the political changes that might follow the ascension of "non-white" government particularly threatened the structures that had benefited from, and maintained their monopolistic advantage through, 'close links to the major white political parties' (Williams, 2005, p. 478). The agriculture and wine industry in the Western Cape were among such institutions. For instance, the KWV,<sup>51</sup> a wine producers' cooperative that had been at the centre of the South African wine industry since 1917 performing a statutory role, responded to the political changes by bidding to privatise. The custodians of the wine industry argued that the conversion into a company would 'make it easier for KWV to raise capital and ... to create a **development trust**' (Williams, 2005, p. 482, my emphasis). While this move further exposed 'the provenance and allocation of its assets; labour relations in the industry; [and] its monopolistic structure', the KWV was forced to abandon its privatization plans (ibid). In the end, 'after two years of legal wrangling', and in an out-of-court settlement, it agreed to fund a trust over the period of ten years, with an obligation to, among other things, the 'development and empowerment of farm workers' (Ewert and du Toit, 2005, p. 330). It is through such arrangements that a trend towards supporting "development" trusts, projects or foundations has become commonplace across the agriculture sector and the wine industry in the contemporary Western Cape.

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<sup>51</sup> 'KWV originally stood for the Ko-operatiewe Wijnbouwers Vereniging van Zuid Afrika Beperkt (Co-operative Wine Growers Association of South Africa Ltd). It changed its Dutch name to the Afrikaans: Koöperatiewe Wynbouersvereniging van Suid Afrika Beperk in September 1993 (van Zyl 1993, 292)' (cited in Williams, 2005, n. 1).

## 4.2. CONTEMPORARY FARM WORKER “DEVELOPMENT”

In September 1997, the KWV agreed to establish the South African Wine Industry Trust (SAWIT) to promote “development” interests of the wine industry (Ewert and du Toit, 2005; Williams, 2005, 2003). SAWIT,<sup>52</sup> finally established in the March 1999, was then divided into two not-for-profit companies: 1) the commercially-oriented Wine Industry Business Support Committee (BUSCO), and 2) the development-oriented Wine Industry Development Company (DEVCO) (Williams, 2005, 2003). It was the DEVCO that was to carry through the “development” mandate of “uplifting” members of the ‘left behind’ community, and educating farm workers about ‘responsible alcohol usage’ (du Toit et al., 2008, p. 14, single quotes in original). In practice, it allocated funds to various NGOs to conduct training, literacy and health programmes, and provided financial assistance to the unions to ‘organise workshops and awareness projects about labour legislation reform’ (du Toit et al., 2008; Sato, 2013, p. 10). The uncritical “development” approach of DEVCO received some scholarly attention, particularly criticised by du Toit, Kruger and Ponte, who argued:

Farm worker upliftment had been collapsed into the benevolent conservatism pioneered by the Rural Foundation, and without even its commitment to an organized on-farm presence (2008, p. 14).

Although the DEVCO brought the farm worker “development” into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, by 2008 SAWIT became ‘a completely independent, autonomous, self-sustaining legal entity’.<sup>53</sup> And, the *Wine Transformation Charter*, published in 2007, was to become SAWIT’s mouthpiece, repositioning it within the industry, while DEVCO and BUSCO had disappeared from their organisational and communication strategy. The farm worker “development” remained an element in the various projects now defined and supported by SAWIT.

Under the rubric of “transformation” of the agriculture and wine industry, many organisations with very different functions and operations advertise their

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<sup>52</sup> More details on the operations and politics of SAWIT, its two arms and how the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) fits into the broader transformation and “development” plans within the wine industry (du Toit et al., 2008; Ponte and Ewert, 2007; Sato, 2013; Williams, 2005).

<sup>53</sup> A statement by the Chairperson of SAWIT, Sharron Marco-Thyse, on their official website, (see <http://www.sawit.co.za/chairperson.html>) [Accessed on 5<sup>th</sup> December 2014]

efforts towards the “development” of ‘previously disadvantaged communities,’ which includes “coloured” farm workers.<sup>54</sup> For instance, the representative of South African wine on the international market, the Wine of South Africa (WOSA), refers to “sustainability” or “social sustainability”<sup>55</sup> to explain how the industry is involved in addressing ‘historical wrongs in South Africa’:

Part of the process of redressing imbalances is an ongoing education drive, spearheaded by various trusts and initiatives. A number of Cape wine farmers have also established joint ventures with their workers to give them part ownership and to transfer skills in wine farm management as well as winemaking. There have also been a number of private initiatives to extend vineyard ownership to communities living in winemaking regions, where proceeds from wine sales are used to improve the quality of life of residents.<sup>56</sup>

The WOSA goes on to showcase a list of “development” initiatives of the wine industry on its website under the labels of ‘upliftment and empowerment’, BEE, educational and empowerment initiatives, describing HIV/AIDS, FAS and alcohol abuse as the key ‘social issues’ effecting farm workers, as well as giving links to the NGOs and other bodies that deliver social services and projects in the rural, farm worker and ‘previously disadvantaged communities.’<sup>57</sup>

Similarly, the VinPro, a service and information provider for wine producers and cellars, and their domestic representative organisation, another off-shoot of KWV, also hosts a dedicated division called: ‘Transformation and Development’. It is under this division that they provide ‘tailor-made BEE guidance and focus on the promotion of social development through dedicated ethical trade, training and research initiatives and funding’<sup>58</sup>. Furthermore, the South African Wine Industry Council (SAWIC) has a business unit called the Wine Industry Development Association (WIDA), established in 2006, which focuses on a familiar list of “development” activities; such as: economic empowerment, human resource development and training, social development, professional capacity building and skills development, education and training, multilevel mentoring and enterprise

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<sup>54</sup> As projected on WOSA’s website, see: <http://www.wosa.co.za/Sustainability/Socially-Sustainable/BEE/Introduction/> [Accessed: 30<sup>th</sup> August 2015]

<sup>55</sup> Since “environmental sustainability” has its own dedicated webpage on WOSA’s website, it was the “social sustainability” that captured aspects of “development” (see last footnote for web-link)

<sup>56</sup> The direct quote is from the same web-link as in the footnote one before the last.

<sup>57</sup> See website: <http://www.wosa.co.za> for details.

<sup>58</sup> See: <http://vinpro.co.za/services/transformation-development#sthash.4DF9sMUU.dpuf> [Accessed: 30<sup>th</sup> August 2015]

development, transformation and BEE through initiatives such as land reform, enterprise development and management, technology transfer and employment equity<sup>59</sup>. With a quick review of the World Wide Web, a number of similar yet fragmented “development” programmes, announcements, blogs, news reports and explanations, were found. While the terminology employed to refer to and describe such initiatives varied a little, it would not be too inaccurate to infer that farm worker “development” continues to focus more heavily on educational, training and awareness programmes.

My knowledge of the actual content, functions and implementation of the aforementioned programmes and initiatives is confined to the information available on the websites of organisations like WOSA, VinPro, WIDA, SAWIT and others. From the above overview, it is difficult to tell how coordinated these efforts were across the wine industry; still these give a sense for popular trends and discourses of farm worker “development”. The reason I pay only little attention to these particular organisations in my study is partly due to my ground-up research strategy, whereby I studied projects and organisations that were active during the time of my fieldwork, within a selected region. My focus on sport had further narrowed down the scope of analysis, to the exclusion of these entities. Farm workers’ “development” programme that I elaborate on and discuss in some detail here is the one promoted as a province-wide initiative by the Western Cape Government Department of Agriculture.

#### **4.2.1. Provincial *Farmworker Development Sub-Programme***

In the context of sport and “development” among farm workers of the Western Cape, the Rural Foundation (RF) had clearly left a mark. Many of the sport clubs, sport fields, and other physical infrastructure for the use of farm workers in my study region were attributed to the RF.<sup>60</sup> Also, RF’s “development” philosophy, the conceptions of “attitude” training to improve farm workers’ “self-image” and the role of sport (Mayson, 1990, chap. 5), all seemed to have found continuities in

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<sup>59</sup> See: <http://www.wida.co.za/Content/strategic-focus.html> [Accessed: 30<sup>th</sup> August 2015]

<sup>60</sup> References to the RF often came up during the interviews and conversations with farmers and farm workers, particularly in the context of sport. Reminiscences of the activities of the RF seemed to shape an understanding of “development” even today.

the contemporary discourses of farm worker “development”. This was particularly instructive in the way the Western Cape’s Government Department of Agriculture (DoA) advertises its sub-programme: the *Farmworker Development* (Text Box: 4.1). In May 2004, the Department announced “development” of farm workers as one of their priority areas. Until 2011, the sub-programme *Farmworker Development* was under the *Farmer Support and Development* programme, but recent restructuring placed it under the programme for *Rural Development Coordination*.

This shift of the sub-programme from the *Farmer Support and Development* to the *Rural Development Coordination* took place within the context of changing political environment and labour management practices in the Western Cape. Until 1993, farm workers were ‘almost entirely without legal protection’ (du Toit, 1995, p. 4). Despite the reform in agriculture labour laws, which include the extension of basic rights and conditions of employment, minimum wage, collective bargaining, etcetera, the government has not been too successful at enforcing these. This is partly due to weaknesses within the state institutions and inadequate measures for access to justice for people in resource constrained and structurally insecure circumstances. This is among the points that Susan Levine makes in her recent book through the stories of the brutal treatment of child labour, highlighting the limitations within the justice system to address injustices inflicting upon the poor, while protecting the wealthier sections of the society (Levine, 2013). The unrelenting and distinctive character of ‘Western Cape paternalism’ has also created a situation where the ‘labour relationships are simultaneously governed both by the formal codes of legislation and by the personal relationships and implicit contracts of paternalist practices’ (Ewert and du Toit, 2005, p. 325). It is in this context that du Toit and Ally argue:

Even progressive farmers who accepted the modernisation of labour law were at pains to point out that workers were better off in the ‘wise’ care of the farmer, and would not be much helped by the meddling of lawyers, trade unionists or other outsiders (Du Toit 1993). Labour relations continued to involve much more than the exchange of cash for labour. Above all, the institution of tied housing persisted on Western Cape wine and fruit farms, and farmers continued to rely on on-farm permanent labour. To work on a farm as a permanent employee remained linked to *dwelling* on the farm as part of a broader

community whose well-being was the responsibility of farm management (2004, p.4, italics in original).

The fact that the provincial DoA channelled ‘Farmworker Development’ through ‘Farmer Support and Development’ until 2011 suggests how normalised, entrenched and accepted farm paternalism had been. However, the introduction of labour laws did ‘disrupt the institutional order of paternalist labour management’ and the material conditions for a shrinking core of permanent on-farm labour did improve (Ewert and du Toit, 2005, p. 325). At the same time, increase in externalisation and casualization of farm labour had made the agrarian labour situation only more complex, creating new conditions for exploitation, poverty and vulnerability, more so, for the off-farm seasonal, casual and contract labour (du Toit, 1995, 1994; du Toit and Ally, 2004; Ewert and du Toit, 2005).

Explaining the reasons for the Farmworker Development now being administered under the Rural Development Coordination, an official from the DoA shared in an interview that:

... what we do is, we fund non-profit organisations that wants to do social development amongst [farm workers]. In the past, I now must state this, we only used to focus on farm workers, but since we are *rural development* now and also part of the integration of communities, a lot of the farm workers don’t necessarily stay on the farms. Because farmers also have enormous problems from extended family members, they don’t necessarily work on the farm and they come and squat on the farm, and you know that type of thing, do illegal stuff like drug smuggling, alcohol abuse and such. And as you know, lately farmers tend to not house their workers on the farm but in local communities. And then it is municipality’s responsibility to supply those people with RDP houses as well. So, now what I am saying is that we now fund communities as well, not only farm workers. So, we’ve a criterion for funding.<sup>61</sup>

Clearly, the communities targeted for “development” were not strictly farm workers, but included the unemployed, landless, working class people, who live at rural townships and informal settlements in close vicinity to commercial farming. While referring to the programme as Farmworker Development is misleading, this conflation of farm workers with rural working class was quite normalised, sport being among such spaces. The above explanation also reflects the changing conditions of farm labour management practices and on-farm politics. Therefore, unpacking this programme allows for an analysis of mixed and multiple meanings

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<sup>61</sup> Interview Recording code# VR0037, July 2012



and operations of farm worker “development” discourses and practices across the province, and the shape these took at local levels. A point to note here (as it is in case of the SAWIT) is that the programme actually sets out criterion and funding for the NGOs to do “development” on their behalf (a point I return to later).



*Text Box 4.1: Sub-programme: Farmworker Development, the Western Cape Government, Department of Agriculture (Online Source<sup>62</sup>, 2014, emphasis added)*

The Sub-programme: Farmworker Development is to **enhance the image and socio-economic conditions** of farm workers and their family members through facilitation of **training and development initiatives** to improve their quality of life.

The Western Cape has approximately 175 000 farm workers and is home to almost 24% of the farm workers in the country. This is an indication that farming in the Province is relatively more labour intensive than is the case in the rest of the country. Geographically the Western Cape Province **farm activities are very large and diverse** and **therefore it is important to uplift and assist our farm workers on all levels.**

In general farm workers and their family members are **isolated from the main stream social interaction and do not have regular access to life skills training.** Furthermore, in most cases they **lack the awareness of the dangers of substance abuse** and the effects it may have on the breakdown of the social fabric in their communities. It is **therefore essential to build pride** amongst farm workers and their family members **as they contribute towards the success of the sector.**

The sub-programme started with a farm worker household survey to establish a database for farm workers during the 2011/2012 financial year. The sub-programme originally did this project in partnership with the Department of Social Development. The Department of Social Development pulled out of this project by the end of 2011 and thereafter the sub-programme decided to make use of a service provider to do the survey. The survey was started in the Overberg in August 2011 and was the pilot project for the 2011/2012 financial year. The Overstrand local municipal area was completed and a report was made available. **Following the farm worker strikes in 2012/2013** this project was **prioritised as a provincial wide survey** with the Overberg and Cape Winelands as focus areas to start with. The aim of this initiative is **to collate reliable information** on farm workers and their needs to inform appropriate government response interventions.

The strategic goals of the Programme: Farm worker Development is:

- To improve the **quality of life** of farm workers by facilitating the provision of **social awareness campaigns**
- To create **skills training opportunities** for farm workers and farm worker communities
- To coordinating the **involvement of different government Departments** in farmworker development
- Expanding the provincial-wide farm worker **survey** to the Eden and West Coast districts and sharing findings through forum engagements with municipalities.
- Publishing the farmer/farm worker case studies and embarking on dialogues amongst farmers and farm workers across 4 districts.
- Strengthening the referral system through formalising links and processes with other government Departments.
- Support **soft skills development** and **substance abuse prevention** and **awareness projects** for farm workers and their family members.
- Present the Western Cape Annual **Farm Worker-of-the-Year Competition** in 16 regions within the province.

Align farm worker service delivery to the footprint of the **Development Planning** and **Farmer Support and Development** initiatives.

It is to this end that it would be useful to examine the key assumptions and objectives, before discussing the operations of the sub-programme in the rural

<sup>62</sup> The content in the Text Box 4.1 is taken from the Government Department's website, last updated on the 11<sup>th</sup> November 2014, See: <http://www.elsenburg.com/ruraldev/ruraldev.html>. I have accessed this website a number of times since 2012 [Last Accessed on 27<sup>th</sup> Nov. 2014].

and/or farm worker communities of Rawsonville. Clearly, the way in which the sub-programme was put to practice, it accommodated the changing patterns of farm employment and living arrangements for the farm workers, but this did not necessarily change the generic kinds and methods of needed “development”. The content of the sub-programme Farmworker Development focuses directly on the ‘farm workers and their family members’, pointing out the problems, objectives, processes and reasons for “developing” the farm workers (which, according to the explanation of the official interviewed from the Department, now also includes broader rural working class people).

For instance, the aim of the sub-programme was to ‘enhance the image and socio-economic conditions of farm workers,’ not necessarily by negotiating a better salary package or developing policies that enhance job security or balance the inherited unequal relations of power in farm labour practices, but through the ‘training and development initiatives’ that target poor working classes (Text Box 4.1). Such an articulation sets up NGOs and “development” experts to apply for funds for their own agendas and their individual understandings of needed “development,” without necessarily being relevant to the occupation of farm labour. Furthermore, the geographical largeness and diversity of farm activities is deduced to indicate the need to ‘uplift and assist our farm workers’, and their isolation ‘from the mainstream social interaction’ as lack of ‘access to life skills training’. Is it even possible that the problematic framed in geographical terms would almost exclusively affect the farm workers, but not the farm-owners or other inhabitants of the same physical spaces? What has remained implicit in such aims and objectives was the class and material marginality of the landless farm workers in the way the social, political and economic geography of commercial farming in the Western Cape was organised.

Since 2004, when the department first announced this sub-programme, only very slight modifications to its objectives have been made, despite some significant changes in the labour laws and labour management practices over this period of time. It was in reference to the farm worker uprising of 2012-13 that the sub-programme was (re)prioritised, with an additional strategic goal ‘to collate reliable information on farm workers and their needs to inform appropriate

government response interventions'. Apart from this objective, the Farmworker Development seems to be consistent with the objectives and activities of the RF (and that of WOSA or SAWIT, and perhaps many other "development" initiatives before, during and after the RF). For example, at least for the past four decades, the need for image enhancement, skills training, 'social awareness campaigns' on 'dangers of substance abuse' to 'improve the quality of life' and 'build pride', have remained essential to the "development" of farm workers, that too because 'they contribute towards the success of the sector' (Text Box 4.1). This sort of explicit focus on "development" solutions aimed at changing (via education or training) the person of the farm worker (who may or may not be working on a farm) tends to purge this discourse of broader politics of labour regimes. The exclusive focus on the most immediate and apparent problems not only obscure structural, material and political conditions that underpin these "development" problems (for example, the issues of poor cash wages), but such depoliticised and dehistoricised renderings also reproduce, affect, influence, and are influenced by, "development" discourses and its isolated practices.

It is useful to return to the points that the DoA's official clarified about the programme in the interview.<sup>63</sup> As he explained, the Department relies on the proposals submitted to them by NGOs or "development" specialists, which were considered according to a formal application process and pre-set criteria. The changes in the focus of the programme from on-farm resident farm workers to the broader rural communities, new responsibilities of the municipalities to supply housing for off-farm labour, and the 'enormous problems of farmers,' sheds some light on the complexity of the social and political spaces within which "development" solutions were sought. These changes are among the ramifications of introduction of stricter farm labour laws. Although these laws did disrupt the 'institutional order of paternalist labour management' (Ewert and du Toit, 2005, p. 325), they also led to externalisation and casualization of farm labour (as discussed earlier, see du Toit and Ally, 2004). The farming institutions have been moving towards employing a small core of skilled workers and off-farm contract labour for cash wages, which also meant that a large number of workers are living

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<sup>63</sup> Interview Recording code# VR0037, July 2012

off the farm premises. The “development” services once facilitated by the Rural Foundation were now provided by isolated and piecemeal efforts of not-for-profit or other forms of social welfare organisations, as and when they were able to secure funds from funding organisations like the DoA, SAWIT and probably others, including the wine industry in their attempts to repair the ‘historical wrongs in South Africa’. I elaborate on this point through an example of how farm worker “development” services were organised in Rawsonville.

#### 4.2.2. BWT’s “development” Department in Rawsonville

While there were a number of NGOs based in the rural town of Rawsonville, organising “development” projects and providing different kinds of social services to the town residents and the people living at the surrounding farms, I attend to the one that was more directly connected to the local wine industry. Breedekloof Wine and Tourism (BWT) is a non-profit company whose primary business is to market the Breedekloof wine route and promote region’s wine and tourism industry. In 2009-2010, BWT successfully secured funds from the Farmworker Development sub-programme of DoA to train the staff at a local crèche. They had reapplied for funds from DoA in the subsequent years, but were unsuccessful.

I was directed to the BWT by a farmer I had interviewed, who suggested that it was a local successor to the Rural Foundation, with a dedicated social worker attending to the social welfare needs among the farm workers. When I asked about their relationship to the RF, the BWT manager explained:

What they mean is that the development work being done with us is similar to Rural Foundation. [The BWT] originally started as marketing but then they realised that they needed to focus on **development stuff**, so that was brought in quite strongly, ja! Because we realised that we needed to do serious skills development and **here’s all this money lying out there and all these free courses**, we need to get the stuff channelled here into our area (my emphasis).<sup>64</sup>

The BWT’s realisation that they needed to do “development stuff” and its relation to the availability of ‘money ... and ... free courses’ was particularly curious. The BWT manager also insisted that “development” was not their main operation and that it was considered ancillary and sporadic charity work. Still, they used to have a dedicated ‘Human Resource Development Department’ with:

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<sup>64</sup> Interview Recording code # VR0079, January 2013

a dedicated person in the office who focused on skills development, community development, ... getting funding into the area to do all the training, like skills training, etcetera<sup>65</sup>

While the BWT did not have a budget for their “development” department, they undertook “development stuff” because they were well-positioned to apply and secure funds from various funding agencies as a not-for-profit company. At the time of interview, the BWT was in the process of restructuring this department, and so, all their “development” activities were on hold. They were uncertain if they would continue to maintain a separate “development” department<sup>66</sup> or they might outsource their “development” work. Prior to the restructuring plans, BWT had administered a farm schools’ sport infrastructure development project with the funding they had secured from the National Lottery Distribution Trust Fund (NLDTF). Given the sport “development” dimension of this project, I describe and discuss it as one of my case studies in the next chapter.

The question that I analyse here is: to what socio-political and economic pressures, influences and opportunities do the organisations, such as the BWT, respond when engaging in “development” initiatives. More specifically, what sparked the realisation that they needed to focus on ‘skills development’? Was it the lack of skills among the farm workers, or availability of funds and free courses, or a combination of political and economic interests? The wine industry was certainly faced with increased pressures from the government, the labour unions, international retailers, ethical trade agreements and other legislative measures – all compelling the industry players to do more for the “development” of the labour (Ewert and du Toit, 2005). A Human Rights Watch report published in 2011 also reported on human rights violations against farm workers by their employers, giving the industry negative publicity internationally. It is likely that the interest in farm worker “development” might have been spurred by the combination of domestic political pressures and negative publicity the wine industry of the Western Cape has received in recent years. For example, a wine maker, and also a BWT member I had interviewed, explained:

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<sup>65</sup> Interview Recording code # VR0079, January 2013

<sup>66</sup> Since the last two successive appointments of dedicated “development” workers had resigned.

You see, in the wine industry there is quite a trend of doing ethical, upliftment, especially in the Western Cape. It is a political thing, the fact that Western Cape, its government not being National government, there's quite some politics. All eyes are here, always looking for negative things to nail the wine industry with. Because wine industry is big agricultural business of the Western Cape, not so in any other province, that is why the whole ethical thing is such a strong point.<sup>67</sup>

It was in similar exchanges that I sensed a level of apathy among the local “white” and upper class people towards the social and political conditions in which farm workers lived and its relationship to discourses on their “development”. I was often told that: ‘farm workers are not “that” poor and farmers are not “that” rich’.<sup>68</sup> Given the stark inequalities in the living standards of farm workers and farmers, such discourses often made me to question: how “poor” should the farm workers be; or how “rich” were the farmers expected to be; and in comparison to what or whom were the farm workers not “that” poor and farmers not “that” rich? In other words, what was the ideological worldview that underpinned such perspectives?

Besides, my enquiries about specific and urgent social concerns affecting the farm worker population of Rawsonville were often responded to by statement to the effect that: all “their” farm workers were well trained, and all the farmers, producers and wineries represented by the BWT complied with the basic labour laws and standards set out by the government. For the BWT’s marketing manager, it was an unfortunate result of the history of the wine industry that they were ‘forced into having a social responsibility ... to right the wrongs of the past’.<sup>69</sup> Still, what exactly the “wrong” of the past were, and how they were trying to “right” them, were not questions that the representative of the wine industry

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<sup>67</sup> Interview Recording code # VR0086, February 2013.

In the recent years, private sector’s involvement in and sponsors to various kinds of social initiatives has been advertised under the banner of Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) or similar marketing buzzwords. I had also framed some of my questions to the industry or farming business representatives around watchwords, such as CSR, sustainability, ethical investment, etcetera, to garner operational understandings of these terms. These were generally explained in reference to one or the other kind of social upliftment, charity or “development” initiative. Some more candid interviewees also saw these activities as an imposed, add-on, trends. It is for this reason that I have treated the information I collected on these terminological variations interchangeably with “development”.

<sup>68</sup> Field notes: September 2012

<sup>69</sup> Interview Recording # VR0079, January 2013

entertained.<sup>70</sup> The emphasis in the farm worker “development” was mostly on fixing the more individual level “problems”, as defined by the DoA (Text Box: 4.1). A little removed from the RF’s approach to farm worker “development,” where it was sold as a progressive and productive management of farm business, today, management of farm worker “development” seems to have become a part of the farming and wine businesses’ marketing operations. This was not only evident in the general apathy towards the concerns of farm workers that continue to maintain their “development” subject-status, but also in the ways a marketing company weighs its options to maintain and manage a “development” arm. In relation to restructuring of their “development” department, the BWT manager explained:

Whether it means that we might be outsourcing it and creating a trust, a development trust, so that we can, may be, access more, other funding, government funding and then private funding, for the development in the area. ... .. We are looking at how we can get outside money invested into social responsibility projects [in this region]<sup>71</sup>

Although establishing and sourcing funding for a “development” trust for the welfare of working class people, in principle, could be useful in the contemporary context, it is also always going to be contingent on the political relations and calculations and the dominant ideological views of a given organisation. Besides, the language of “development” tends to absorb many different visions, intentions and may result in unintended and unexpected consequences (Ferguson, 1990). In the case of the BWT, at least one of the reasons they maintained a “development” dimension could be inferred as an attempt to manage reputation of the local wine and tourism industry. For this, the BWT was well-positioned to secure the available funds to do *ad hoc* “development stuff,” but the views that underpinned these efforts were in response to political and economic pressures, and were not organised in a manner that could compensate for welfare deficits.

Still, these discourses tell us very little about what shape this “development stuff” takes in practice, its exact content and how farm workers access, benefit (or

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<sup>70</sup> I may add though, from my interactions with various “white” farmers and other representatives, that it was only the “petty” apartheid that they considered “wrong”. Many a times, they pointed out that they never had a problem with, for example, sitting next to a person of different race to theirs.

<sup>71</sup> Interview Recording # VR0079, January 2013



not) and experience the “development” initiatives organised in their name. I reflect on these aspects by describing the specific examples of “development” practices and projects organised for farm workers, in the next chapter. Next, I elaborate on the visions for sport in the “development” of farm workers.

### **4.3. WHAT DOES SPORT HAS TO DO WITH “DEVELOPMENT”?**

Sport is to keep the people busy! We’re the nation that’s sport crazy! ... Over weekends we have problem with alcohol abuse, drug abuse around here [in Rawsonville]. That’s why sport is important to us! ... With the youth ... and also drug abuse, alcohol abuse, teenage pregnancies, so, we trying to do different things with life-skills, and also with the sport.<sup>72</sup>

These were the words of a Community Development-Coordinator of a Fair Trade wine project, called Fairhills Association, in response to my queries on how sport was understood and employed as an element in their “development” programmes. This perspective not only expresses the theories that underpinned the sport element of the broader community “development” operations of the Fairhills Association, but also sums up the general discourses on sport’s usefulness in the “development” of rural farm worker communities. The rhetoric that South Africa is a ‘nation that’s sport-crazy’ further plays an important part in amplifying sport’s “developmental” value. As an example, sports such as rugby, tug-of-war, cycling and the like attracted a particular enthusiasm among the local “white” farmers. I did not meet a single farmer over the course of my fieldwork who was not a sport enthusiast, and most were active sport participants. Besides, I was often told by representatives of the wine industry that ‘chances are better you’re going to get money if you knock on their door to say I need a sponsorship for sport’.<sup>73</sup> I was not looking for sponsorship of any kind, however. Rather, such commentaries suggest that the funders and promoters of SDP are not necessarily persuaded by some substantiated theoretical logic inferring sport’s capacity to bring about social change, but by their own personal associations and attachment with sport.

The actual “sport-for-development and peace” (SDP) practices were largely scattered, isolated and driven by individual convictions. Despite all the elevated

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<sup>72</sup> Interview Recording code # VR0084, February 2013

<sup>73</sup> Interview Recording code # VR0015, May 2012

notions and claims of importance of sport, there was no coherent or coordinated programme or strategy to make sport more accessible for the rural, farm worker or marginalised sections of the society, as I shall discuss in Chapter 6. Even the provincial government and the district and local municipalities treated provision of sport in rural, farm worker and marginal contexts as a SDP project, organised in a sporadic and disconnected manner. At an everyday level, it was individual altruistic contributions that made up for the large number of SDP practices among the farm workers, which I discuss in the next chapter as I elaborate on the specific SDP projects and practices. In the next two sub-sections, I describe and analyse the provincial and district level of SDP programmes and how these engage with farm workers as a group in need for “development” and sport.

#### **4.3.1. Provincial Farm Workers’ Sport “Development”**

Among the strategic goals of the Department of Agriculture’s Farmworker Development sub-programme was to ‘coordinate the involvement of different government departments’ (Text Box 4.1). In response, the provincial government Department of Sport and Cultural Affairs (DCAS), honoured their objective by launching the *Western Cape Farmworker Sport and Recreation Development* (WCFSRD) initiative in 2008,<sup>74</sup> with the following set of objectives:

- To bring farm workers into the mainstream<sup>75</sup> of sport and recreation
- To stage farm-based events.
- To capacitate farm workers, enabling them to take control of their own sport and recreation programmes.
- To form club structures at farms.
- To create opportunities for girls and women in sport and recreation.
- To develop positive role models at farms.

In an unpublished policy draft on farm worker sport (2007), DCAS acknowledges that only sporadic sport and recreation programmes had been organised in the

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<sup>74</sup> The information examined on this initiative was taken from the documents shared by a DACS official for the purpose of this research. These include, a draft ‘Farm worker Sport and Recreation Development Policy’ (2007), the constitution of the *Western Cape Provincial Farmworkers Sport Committee*, a number of power-point presentations, planning and communication strategy documents, prepared in the lead up to their first “Farm Workers Sport Day” held on the 2<sup>nd</sup> May 2008 at *Van Zyl Straat Sports Gronde*, in Robertson, and photographs from the event.

<sup>75</sup> If *mainstream sport* is to be understood as participation in the official competitive sport structures, as some of the Committee members explained, the reference to *mainstream recreation* somewhat distorts the objective. Despite multiple inconsistencies in the way the DCAS defines the terms for farm worker sport “development”, at a conversational level, “sport” was the term mostly used by both, the DCAS and the Committee officials, and thus, in the discussions presented in my thesis, I also work with the term “sport” as oppose to “sport and recreation”.

rural areas, which include farms as part of the broader rural community, but do not focus specifically on farm workers as ‘a separate group’, consequently, causing ‘systematic marginalisation of them’. In order to focus on farm workers as ‘a separate group’, the Western Cape Provincial Farmworkers Sport Committee (the Committee, hereon) was established in 2008.

The primary mandate of the Committee, according to their constitution, was to promote, administer and organise sport opportunities for farm workers of the Western Cape, in the form of sporting competitions, training and coaching. While DCAS aimed to help set up the sport ‘club structures at the farms’ and ‘capacitate farm workers’ to manage their own sport, the objectives of the Committee were to ‘encourage and develop high standards of administration, discipline, playing, coaching and umpiring’ and to select ‘players and official to ... various levels of participation’ (as stated in the Committee’s constitution). This discrepancy in the DCAS’s and the Committee’s objectives for the same initiative, the WCFSRD, not only exposed differences in knowledge and understanding of sport among farm workers of the two entities, but also the organisational and political structure that underpinned the initiative.

Part of the difficulty in designing and implementing such an initiative was an understanding of “farm worker” as distinct category to be serviced. As a DCAS official shared in an interview, they had not considered farm workers as a separate category, but always assumed them to be part of their broader rural sport strategy. By definition, “rural”<sup>76</sup> would encompass farmlands and farm residents. Therefore, DCAS’s inclusion of farm worker in the category “rural” was not inaccurate. However, the living arrangements of on-farm resident workers on privately owned farms they worked at were very different from the rural working class communities. Therefore, all the government or municipal services and communication delivered to them were mediated through the land owners. The farm workers’ houses did not even have individual postal addresses, and living by large commercial agricultural lands meant that there were no municipal or community sport fields for the landless farm residents. Despite the proximity of

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<sup>76</sup> According to Statistics South Africa (2004, p. 14), ‘rural areas’ are defined as: ‘Any area that is not classified urban. Rural areas are subdivided into tribal areas and commercial farms’.

the farms to the rural towns/townships and generally increased mobility between the two, the life and life concerns of people living on farms seemed quite different from that of the people (including the farm workers) living in rural towns. While it was certainly useful to acknowledge these differences, organising a province-wide sport “development” programme exclusively for the farm workers was not necessarily the same as a farm-based SDP programme.

While there were sport fields on the private land where farm workers regularly practiced sport, these spaces were not always in a good condition, nor were they accessible to the government or municipalities to organise ‘farm-based’ sport. At the least they would require some kind of arrangement with the farm-owners. The contemporary political environment breeds a sense of mistrust among the landowners towards the government, and government organisations was unlikely to spend money on upgrading sport fields or on developing a sport programme on private property. And as it was, the questions of land usage and ownership were more complex and contentious than availability of land for structured sport. As important as the land question remains in South Africa, it is beyond the scope of my study to engage with it in its complexity and in a meaningful manner.

A more important question to explore here is: who were the actual agents or promoters of farm worker sport “development” and how were they lobbying for farm-based programmes or programmes for the farm workers? As I was told by the interviewed DCAS official, it was a farm-based NGO project and a few farm workers’ sport clubs that had approach them for funding and lobbied for attention to farm sport as distinct from rural sport that the DCAS first made some funds available for these selected projects and sport clubs. However, it was not until the provincial Cabinet, led by the Department of Agriculture, resolved on ‘the strategic plan for the Farm Worker Community’ in 2005<sup>77</sup> that the DCAS considered launching a province-wide sport initiative for farm workers, which, as the DCAS official explained, was:

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<sup>77</sup> Unpublished ‘Farm Worker Sport and Recreation Development Policy’ Draft (2007).

focused on getting farm workers to do something, at least, on the 1<sup>st</sup> of May, Workers' Day, that will be our Workers' Day programme, but only for farm workers.<sup>78</sup>

Indeed, it was the DCAS-sponsored annual Farm Worker Sport Day that was to serve as the flagship event for both, the DCAS and the Committee. In the next chapter I elaborate on the role and situatedness of the Committee in the operations of the WCFSRD initiative and the annual sport day as one of my case studies. My goal is to offer a more nuanced and critical appraisal of opportunities and limitations that such a province-wide programme has for sport and “development” among the farm workers. I return to the Farm Workers Sport Day again in Chapter 7, describing and discussing the event from perspectives of participating farm workers. In keeping with the focus of this chapter in laying out the broader discourses and structural arrangements within which different actors and sectors engage in sport programmes for the “development” of farm workers, I now discuss how the district municipality engaged with the planning and organisation of the SDP within their constituency.

#### **4.3.2. District Farm Workers' Sport “Development”**

The Cape Winelands District Municipality (CWDM) was among the visible sponsors to many community or rural development projects in my study region, and thus, the CWDM's Directorate for Social and Rural Development (SRD) was to become my first regional contact as I prepared for my fieldwork. On 8<sup>th</sup> March 2012, I received a phone call from a senior official at the CWDM, inviting me to attend a cricket event in Worcester, to be held on the 9<sup>th</sup> March 2012. I had expressed intentions to conduct my research in the Cape Winelands district, and had tried to contact this official a few months prior to his call. Until then, I had not been too successful in arranging a meeting with him, still for this event, he was adamant that I attend, and even promised to give me 45 minutes of his time. Although I had multiple opportunities to converse with him over the course of my fieldwork, I was unable to secure an interview with him. Instead, his first concern was how he (which I took to mean the CWDM) might benefit from my study, and eventually he ended up advising me on what I should be studying. It is possible

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<sup>78</sup> Interview Recording code # VR0076, January 2013

that my critical interrogative approach might not have met his expectations of the kind of research that results in a concrete set of outcomes and recommendations. Still, the official was kind enough to share contacts of the people involved in sport “development” in the region, and I was able to record important observations on how the district municipality engaged with SDP initiatives.

To demonstrate how sport “development” was perceived and how the related projects were planned by the directorate for SRD, I draw on the CWDM’s District Sports Development Strategic Planning Workshop, held on 7<sup>th</sup> June 2012, where I was among the participants. The workshop was aimed at sharing information on their sport development plans with the local municipalities and other stakeholders, and to get a buy-in and support from various stakeholders to implement the planned programmes across the district. The discussions were guided by three key focus areas: 1) District Tournaments; 2) Schools Sports Development and Support and 3) Rural Sports. Given that the district of Cape Winelands largely consists of farmlands, sport development among the farm worker communities was seen as implicit in all three focus areas. At the time of the workshop, my own understanding of the relevance of distinguishing farm worker sport from rural sport was limited. So, conflating sport among farm workers with the focus area Rural Sport, I was told that farm workers were one of SRD’s priority areas of “development”, and so, I was asked to present my work and facilitate the Rural Sport focus group at the workshop. Despite my active involvement at the workshop, facilitating this focus group, I remain unclear as to what was planned under this banner, or how any of the focus areas were to include farm workers. What was most pronounced at the workshop was the fact that SRD had secured funding for sport development in the district. It was only under the banner of a District Tournaments that budget had been allocated towards five Rural Sport Days to be hosted by each of the five local municipalities.<sup>79</sup>

The CWDM’s interest in my research faded soon after this workshop, and they did not entertain any further communication from me. With more experience

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<sup>79</sup> CWDM is a district municipality, which consists of five local municipalities, including; Breede Valley (9), Drakenstein (7), Stellenbosch (8), Witzenberg (6) and Langeberg (10) (the numbers in the bracket correspond to the numbered demarcations in the Map 5.1 in the next chapter).

of the political landscape within which CWDM operated, I realised that in my presentation at the workshop, I was expected to make a case for the value of sport in the “development” of marginalised rural communities, and give the planned Rural Sport Days a “scientifically-proven” authority. On the contrary, I presented the questions my research was grappling with and invited people to share their thoughts. I saw this workshop as a platform to connect and engage with the people who were involved in sport development, and to tap into the knowledge base that might exist among those who provided municipal and/or developmental services to the local farm worker communities. I framed my questions in the language of “development” and “underdevelopment”, asking how these terms were understood, what specific concerns these represented in the specific context of local farm worker communities, and how the sports or sport initiatives were envisaged to address these concerns. Reflecting back on my interactions during the workshop with the participants and the CWDM officials, it is possible that my questions and views might have been perceived as sceptical of the ability of planned initiatives to achieve what they say they do, or that that my intervention was seen to be of no practical use.

In any case, the workshop provided ethnographically rich experience to extract, unpack, and analyse, some of the dynamics at play in “development” planning. These observations suggested that the planning of “development” interventions was considered a managerial task, where questions of design, delegation, procurement and implementation took precedence over the questions of relevance and worthiness of the intervention to the target audiences. The underlying assumptions with which planning proceeded seemed to take for granted that ideological debates over why, how, by and for whom, and what sort of, “development” – might have been dealt somewhere in the process of securing funds. However, it was the depoliticised process of planning and operationalizing that was made most visible, while the contestations over resources, power and assessments of competing priorities remained invisible. Consequently, once the funds were secured, as in this case to use sport for the “development” of a selected “underdeveloped” group or community, the “development” intervention turned

into a task to be project managed, and different service providers or stakeholders were invited to take on managerial responsibilities for the project.

To this end, sport offers a particularly attractive proposition to deliver on the “development” management goals. Because the “sport-for-development” projects were meant to be inclusive of all abilities, no expert knowledge of a sport was required to manage it. Sport’s “inherently” pro-social value was uncritically accepted and reinforced by rhetorical public decrees. Moreover, the opportunities for media coverage and photographic evidence generated through sport related projects, with all the happy and content “underdeveloped” people, along with the visibility that sponsors’ names and banners enjoyed, makes sport a particularly attractive option for the donors and planners of “development” interventions. This was evident in one of the presentations at the workshop, in which photographs from the CWDM’s previous sport projects were displayed.<sup>80</sup> The photographs portrayed the poverty as well as enjoyment of participants, implicitly suggesting the importance and successful use of sport for “development”. With the increased emphasis on project management-styled monitoring and evaluation, the impact of such “development” projects could be easily produced for the time and space within which a project takes place, in the form of photographs of and testimonies from the appreciative participants.

The CWDM went on to organise the Rural Sport Day events tabled during the workshop. I learned about these only after the fact, and only over an accidental meeting with a CWDM’s staff member. I would not know if these sport days were inclusive of farm workers, but none of these were held within the proximity of my research field. While I did not attend any of the CWDM’s Rural Sport Days, I attended a number of sport day events with “development” as their focus over the course of my fieldwork. I also learned through experiences at other similar sport days or initiatives that unless an initiative had a specific mandate to target farm workers, farm workers who lived at commercial farms were unlikely to be informed of, and participate, in, rural or town based sport events. The regional

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<sup>80</sup> These photos showcased elderly (and mostly overweight) women from “troubled” parts (that is, townships notorious for high levels of gang violence) of Worcester, running at an event, which did set off everyone in attendance at the workshop laughing at the photos.



programme with a focus on sport and farm communities supported by the CWDM that I did learn about in some detail was: the Lucerne Cricket Development Programme (LCDP). I treat this programme as one of my case studies, which also includes a day event, to be discussed in the next chapter.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

With an appreciation of the historical development of agricultural production and the wine industry in the Western Cape, my goal in this chapter has been to situate the contemporary farm worker “development” and SDP discourses in the history and politics of farm labour relations and concepts of their “development”. The fact that a group is identified as in need of “development” according to their occupation suggests that the problems farm worker “development” programmes seek to solve might lie in the broader farm labour practices and conditions of employment. History of the Rural Foundation and the mutating political environment within which farm worker “development” agendas were promoted and organised reveal a number of historical continuities and conceptual contradictions. For example, while the paternalist discourses that had shaped the unequal relations of power on the farms of the Western Cape found continuities in the contemporary farm worker “development” discourses, the label *farm worker* could no longer accurately represent the people targeted by the farm worker “development” programmes.

Not only that “development” discourses tended to depoliticise the historical, political and economic implications of the conditions to which “development” programmes were conceptualised, the managerial and impersonal ways in which these were conducted also released farm-owners of the responsibilities that came with paternalist order. This dynamic was particularly evident in the manner in which post-apartheid political contestations were resolved in the creation and funding of “development” trusts by the wine industry. To this end, “development” did work like an ‘anti-politics machine,’ where deeply divided political interests could find accord (Ferguson, 1990). The attraction of “development” trusts, foundations and programmes was not merely in defusing politics, but these activities were also celebrated and marketed for their benevolent contributions,

without having to deal with more complex structural issues. While the wine industry positions its “development” activities as a way to advertise its social and ethical responsibility, the provincial and local Governments were able to shift new responsibilities to provide basic welfare services for the rural poor by allocating funds towards sporadic short-term “development” projects. In the process, issues such as poor cash wages, social and political marginality, limited access to the justice system and failures on the part of the state to enforce labour laws – were absorbed in the claims of special programmes of “development” for farm workers and the rural poor working classes.

The explicit “development” agendas seek solutions in changing the person of farm worker, either by developing their work-related skills, or by training them in “life-skills”, or providing them with opportunities to enjoy sport. The SDP discourses in the context of farm workers rely on their geographical and social marginality, which was compensated by organising sporadic and marginal sport day events. While the global popularity of, and benign and individual associations with, sport underpin and justify use of sport in “development” interventions, the SDP discourses were dominated by concerns over implementation plans and impact evaluations. In conceptualising, prioritising and planning these SDP and “development” programmes, farm workers (however defined) were almost always absent. Still, the actual goals, implementation and practices of these interventions took many diverse forms, served many different interests and resulted in both intended and unintended consequences. With an aim to elaborate on the various, yet specific, ways in which these scattered and fragmented SDP initiatives unfold in practice, I narrow my focus on selected case studies from Rawsonville in the next chapter.

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## 5. FARM WORKER SPORT “DEVELOPMENT”: selected SDP projects and practices

What social processes and assumptions do the organisation, implementation or facilitation of “sport for development and peace” (SDP) programmes emphasise, and what do they hide or distract attention from? In describing and analysing the selected case studies of SDP programmes, my goal in this chapter is to draw out the continuities and contradictions in these projects and practices, while situating them within the everyday realities of farm workers of Rawsonville. Although I introduced and devoted quite a few pages in the last chapter to discussing the Provincial Government Department of Agriculture’s Farmworker Development programme, the case studies I present here are not connected to this programme in any direct manner. However, the cases discussed do draw on and reinforce similar kinds of assumptions as projected in the Department of Agriculture’s objectives and strategic goals for farm worker “development” (Text Box 4.1, Chapter 4). The common denominator in the case studies presented here is sport. Still, the ideas, understandings, types and uses of sport for “development” did not belong to a coherent ideology, nor were they part of an overarching and systematic strategy. Instead these programmes had differing access to economic resources, often relied on social networks, and were justified by a diverse range of personal, religious and moral convictions.

Despite the largely fragmented and disconnected sets of programmes, with largely different goals, understandings and aspects of “development,” I organised these into two broad categories: 1) the institutionalized SDP projects; and 2) the individual SDP practitioners. To this end, the chapter proceeds in three parts. The first part discusses the institutionalization of “development” by describing and analysing four projects that I identify as SDP. The second part elaborates on the different ways in which individual practitioners from relatively privileged socio-economic classes engaged in SDP practices. I pay a particular attention to those who referred to themselves as life-skills facilitators, where “development” was delivered in a personal capacity. The third part situates these projects and

practices within the everyday of life-struggles of farm workers by drawing on the perspective of a social worker.

### 5.1. INSTITUTIONALIZED SDP PROJECTS

Among the ends for which “development” has come to be institutionalized within the contemporary economic and political milieu of South Africa were the Transformation Charters and BEE<sup>81</sup> scorecards. Today, almost every sector of the South African economy defines their own industry-wide or sector-based charter as their strategy to bring about the promised transformations of post-apartheid South Africa, each of which is evaluated against a scorecard. While the policies that define BEE are beyond the scope of my examination, there is an element in the BEE scorecard that rewards organisations investing in the “development” of previously disadvantaged or marginalised populations. For example, this element in the Wine Transformation Charter, put forward by the South African Wine Industry Council (SAWIC), states:

The Charter proposes a rural development and poverty alleviation element, which makes provision for scoring as a farming enterprise or outside the farming context. For the former the focus is on the quality of life of the farming community, while the latter have a greater responsibility to society through corporate social investment (Wine Charter 2007, p. 21).

Both aspects – ‘the quality of life of the farming community’ and ‘corporate social investment’ – were put into practice as “development” initiatives. The projects of farm worker “development” were conceptualised within this policy backdrop, where the understandings of “development” were conflated with interchangeable use of the term “transformation”. This was particularly evident at a wine industry symposium, or the ‘Technical Information Day’,<sup>82</sup> that I attended. To clarify the term “transformation” in the context of the wine industry, a panel was organised, where one presenter explained that transformation was about making the wine industry more representative of the South African demographics and the other emphasized that it was about the “upliftment” of previously

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<sup>81</sup> BEE stands for Black Economic Empowerment, a programme of affirmative action introduced by the ANC government in 2001 to address or redress the economic inequalities that exist along racial lines as a legacy of apartheid policies.

<sup>82</sup> The ‘Technical Information Day’ was hosted by VinPro and Winetech at the Bien Donn  Agri Cape Week on the 20<sup>th</sup> April 2012 [field notes: 21<sup>st</sup> April 2012].

disadvantaged people. The former position argued for increased ownership of land and wine businesses by “black” (as inclusive of “non-white”) people, as a way to transform the racial make-up of ownership put in place by apartheid policies. The latter position focused on improving access to services, facilities and training for those in poor material conditions (particularly farm workers), without necessarily changing structural or power relations in labour regimes. Still, the examples of successful transformation projects largely advertised improvements in physical infrastructure, access to social services, crèches, opportunities to better education, skills training projects and other forms of sociocultural activities including sport for “black” and “coloured” farm dwellers. Similarly, there is the *Transformation Charter for South African Sport* (2012),<sup>83</sup> encouraging sport bodies to facilitate a more inclusive access to sport and engage in “development” initiatives for previously disadvantaged people. In the light of these charters and incentives, a large number of largely fragmented SDP programmes have come into practice, legitimised by and from multiple policies and proclamations. Here, I present and discuss four case studies that focus on sport, farm workers and the wine industry.

#### **5.1.1. Western Cape Farmworkers Sport Committee**

The Department of Sport and Cultural Affairs (DCAS) had established the ‘Western Cape Provincial Farmworkers Sport Committee’ (the Committee) in 2008, as part of their initiative called: the Western Cape Farmworker Sport and Recreation Development (WCFSRD), as I introduced in the previous chapter. Here, I describe and analyse the contents, operations and limitations of the initiative by focusing on the Committee and its relation to the DCAS.

The Committee consisted of representatives from eight regions, into which the DCAS, with the help of the Department of Agriculture, had divided the Western Cape (see Map 5.1). These representatives, including the executive members of the Committee, were all rooted in their respective rural farming regions in different ways and roles and were responsible for bringing together the sport teams to the flagship annual event, the Western Cape Farm Workers’ Sport Day. They were a very small number of people, one or two from each region, who

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<sup>83</sup> Online Access: <http://www.srsa.gov.za/pebble.asp?relid=1438>

represented very large and sparsely populated farmlands stretched across the province. As noble as the idea of bringing farm workers from across the province to mainstream sport seemed, the participation at the annual Sport Day was localised and limited to individual representatives' personal networks of farm workers. While none of the executive members were themselves workers at a farm at the time of my fieldwork, there were a few farm workers in attendance at the Committee meetings in the lead up to the Sport Day on the 18th May 2013.<sup>84</sup>

Broadly, the primary mandate of the Committee was to promote, administer and organise sport opportunities for farm workers of the Western Cape, in the form of sport competitions, training and coaching. While the objectives of DCAS were to help set up the sport 'club structures at the farms' and 'capacitate farm workers' to manage their own sport (see Chapter 4), the Committee aimed to 'encourage and develop high standards of administration, discipline, playing, coaching and umpiring' and to select 'players and officials to ... various levels of participation' (as stated in the Committee's constitution). Clearly, the objectives of the Committee suggest a presence of sport teams/clubs consisting of farm workers who must have already been competing in the official sport leagues. However, the farm workers' competitive and consistent participation in mainstream official sport had remained constrained by transportation and financial limitations, as most of the Committee members unequivocally shared.

While the Committee was to manage, promote, lobby for and advise on the development of sport among the farm worker communities, the decision-making powers remained with their primary sponsor, the DCAS. Although engagements between the DCAS and the Committee's executives always seemed cordial and agreeable, a subtle sense of dissatisfaction among some representatives was also apparent. The DCAS, being the government department, had a tendency to impose its own departmental/provincial/national "development" objectives, which not only seemed impractical to the context, but also undermined the agency of the Committee members and the farm workers they represented. Besides, a complex set of power struggles seemed to be at play among the Committee members and in

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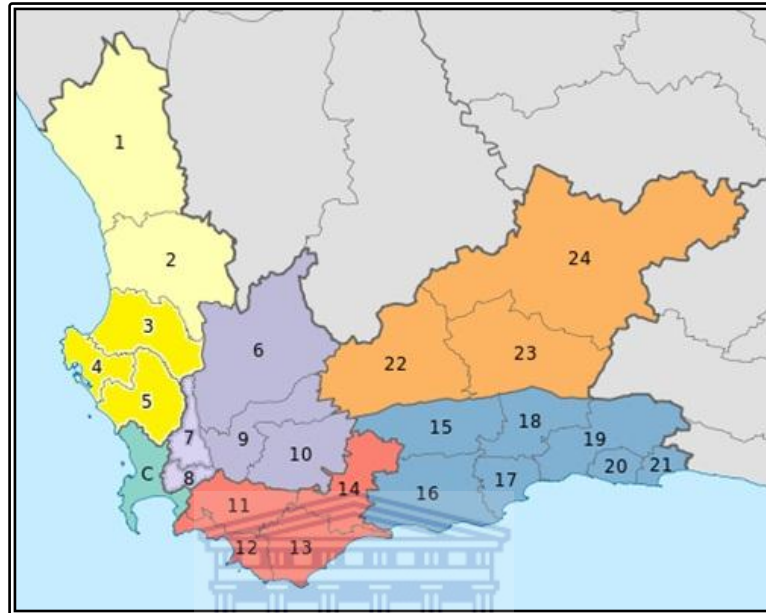
<sup>84</sup> I attended three committee meetings in Robertson, and this Sport Day held in Paarl.

their relations to different DCAS officials. Some actors were able to exercise greater authority, while others took a subservient position, and some others maintained a diplomatic stance. Still, the observable hierarchy placed the Department's Minister, followed by the DCAS officials from the headquarters and the Committee's president, at the top, and the female members and farm workers at the bottom. This was evident in a number of observations I had recorded.

One such example relates to the change of date and venue for the 2013 Sport Day. It was initially planned to take place on the 4<sup>th</sup> May in Robertson (see Map 2.1). However, because of the recent farm worker up-risings, the Minister was particularly keen to attend the Farm Worker Sport Day, but was unavailable on the 4<sup>th</sup> May and preferred that the venue for the event be closer to Cape Town. So, the date was changed to 18<sup>th</sup> May 2013 and the venue to a stadium in Paarl, which was announced via an email after the third planning meeting (the last one I attended). While this change accommodated the Minister's request, it also caused unhappiness among some of the Committee members, who were responsible for rugby leagues in their region and had already organised the regional rugby fixtures for the season around the 4<sup>th</sup> May 2013. Another example was DCAS's outright dismissal of the Committee members' sentiments about the slogan to be printed on the event t-shirts. The Committee had suggested their slogan: *nothing about us, without us*; but the slogan that ended up on the event t-shirts was: *better together through sport*. While the unhappiness with the change of date was expressed by some Committee members, those who were not so comfortable with the slogan change did not overtly express their views. Symbolically, the Committee's slogan reflects a call for full inclusion in the development of sport for farm worker communities on their own terms. Placing of DCAS's own slogan not only reflects insensitivity towards the symbolic meaning of the Committee's slogan, the DCAS's slogan also suggests a kind of incorporation of the Committee members into a hierarchical power structure. Even at face-value, it was not too difficult to discern who among the Committee members were able to wield power and who could not. For example, the farm worker and the female members only

ever contributed in the planning meeting when asked directly, and that too, only to ratify the decisions made by the authoritative male figures.<sup>85</sup>

**Map 5.1:** Map of the Western Cape with colour-coded demarcations of the DCAS's WCFSRD regions, and numbered local municipalities (Adapted from online<sup>86</sup> source)



Map key	WCFSRD Regions	Representation on the Committee from:
6, 9, 10	Cape Winelands 2	Robertson/Ashton (10)
7-8	Cape Winelands 1	Stellenbosch (8)
22-24	Central Karoo	Beaufort West (24)
C	Metropolis	Durbanville (C)
15-21	Eden	Oudtshoorn (18)
11-14	Overberg	Swellendam (14)
1-2	Upper West Coast	Citrusdal (2)
3-4	Lower West Coast	Piketberg (3)

Notwithstanding, my early interactions with the Committee and the DCAS officials had told me very little about how sport was practiced among the farm workers outside the annual Sport Day. Neither could I glean any information on what an official mainstream sport structure specifically for farm workers might mean, nor how it might be organised. Over time, it became clear that there was no consistency across the province in the ways in which sport was organised and

<sup>85</sup> Field notes recorded between January and May 2013, from multiple different interactions with different actors in the organisation of the Farm Worker Sport Day.

<sup>86</sup> Adapted from: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_municipalities\\_in\\_the\\_Western\\_Cape](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_municipalities_in_the_Western_Cape) [Accessed: 14<sup>th</sup> August 2014].



practiced among the farm workers. There were no regional or district level trials or competitions (contrary to DCAS's claims), nor were all the municipal regions, let alone smaller farming towns or villages, represented on the Committee or at the annual Sport Day. While the Sport Day was among my early leads going into the fieldwork, it was not too long before I discovered that Rawsonville (or for that matter, the whole of the Breede Valley Municipal region)<sup>87</sup> had no representation on the Committee. None of the farm workers involved in soccer, rugby or netball from Rawsonville, I engaged with during fieldwork, had ever heard of this farm worker sport initiative or the Committee or the provincial annual farm worker sport day, despite the fact that the annual Sport Day of 2010 was held in Worcester, roughly 15 kilometres from Rawsonville.

This was no surprise, given that the geographical representations at the Committee were not organised according to municipalities, but rather the province was divided into eight, very large regions, guided by the Department of Agriculture (see Map 5.1). The DCAS claimed in a public document entitled *Reach Your Full Potential with DCAS* that for the farm workers' Sport Day:

Regional teams are chosen after trials in the districts and the strong competition at the tournament demonstrates that sport plays a key role in bringing people together. DCAS is determined to ensure that farm workers have the same access to organised sport and recreation as everyone else (DCAS, n.d., p. 40, online).<sup>88</sup>

This claim was not representative of any province-wide district-level trials, but perhaps, the localised efforts of those Committee members, who might have been able to garner resources from elsewhere and were able to manage a relatively well established sports network. These networks did not cover the whole of the region they represented, but rather the farm community and the sport activities that they were more directly part of. While this reflects the agency of these representatives to advance sport in their respective farm community in spite of the limited resources and their geo-political marginality, this also exposed the localised and disconnected ways in which sport and SDP activity took place among farm workers.

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<sup>87</sup> The area numbered 9 in the Map 5.1 demarks the Breede Valley Municipality.

<sup>88</sup> Source: [http://www.westerncape.gov.za/assets/departments/cultural-affairs-sport/dcas\\_generic\\_brochure.pdf](http://www.westerncape.gov.za/assets/departments/cultural-affairs-sport/dcas_generic_brochure.pdf) [Accessed on: 3<sup>rd</sup> August 2014]

Particularly those representatives who had close ties with a specific farm worker community and the connected sport clubs spoke proudly about their teams and personal investment in the success of the athletes. To them, the purpose of being part of the Committee was to seek recognition and resources for their respective sport teams. For instance, over a suggestion that the Sport Day should be oriented towards friendly participation in sport rather than competitiveness, a member argued that he would have to bring the strongest team from his region for the event, or how else would he justify the selection of the athletes from his region. These kinds of contentions were bound to arise, given the obscurity and discrepancies in the objectives of sport “development” of the DCAS and the Committee. The Sport Day itself was organised and promoted with vague and inconsistent messages. At times, it was claimed to provide the farm workers with an opportunity to participate in the mainstream sport, and at other times it was a mere opportunity to enjoy participation and meet people from other regions. At a discursive level, the emphasis seemed to be on projecting sport’s positive impact on farm workers. Therefore, a level of vagueness probably helped absorb very different and conflicting understandings of what might be considered a positive “development” impact of sport.

In the words of the DCAS official I interviewed, the positive “development” impact of the initiative was as follows:

Since 2008 till today, we really have touched the lives of about 25,000. If you ask me for stats, if you ask me for attendance registers, I don’t have that. Because what we did was that: we knew the teams to participate in the farm worker games was about 500. Then we take the regions, so to get to the 500 that are coming, they should also have 500 in their games. That gives us 8 times 500 ... 4000 for the year. And for over the period of four years, plus the last one, that gives us our figure of close to 25000, including the holiday programmes. So, that’s our guess-estimate ... We’re fully aware that there are about 200,000 farm workers in the Western Cape, but we still got a long way to go.<sup>89</sup>

The way these numbers were calculated suggests that a farm worker could have only participated at a Sport Day once or, if selected for the provincial event, maybe twice over the last five years (since the inception of the initiative till the time of interview). However, given the official’s indication that there were district

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<sup>89</sup> Interview Recording code # VR0076, January 2013

level games from where participants were selected, these games were likely to be competitive with an incentive to be chosen for the provincial games. And, if indeed, the games were competitive, with at least two tiers of progression, at least some of the participants would have made it to that year's provincial Sport Day, reducing the number of lives "touched" by 500 each year or 2500 over the five years. But if these games were not competitive, which means the farm workers were hand-picked for each regional and provincial Sport Day, making sure that no participant ever took part in the initiative for the second time, it would take the department another 45 years to 'touch the lives' of every single farm worker in the Western Cape, assuming that the farm labour-force remains stable over these years. While it sounds ridiculous to try to extract the meaning out of impact in terms of number of participants, inconsistencies of this sort were not merely an issue of language or poor calculation. The problem directly relates to broader and more difficult issues and questions of social justice, that is, how to acknowledge, address and service a (previously) exploited and (now) marginalised group or population. Should this group now be treated exclusively (with some kind of affirmative action) to compensate their marginality or should they be included into the structures they had been marginalised from?

If social exclusion and marginalisation was to be considered the main problem in this case, the solution might seem straight forward: to organise official sport structures that are inclusive of farm workers. Or as DCAS claims: 'to ensure that farm workers have the same access to organised sport and recreation as everyone else'. However, these structures, even if they were not systematically inclusive, did not strictly exclude farm workers because of their occupation. To operationalize a well thought through inclusive structure is more complex and conflated by very different understandings of lack of opportunities and access to sport. What farm worker sport representatives were lobbying for was access to the physical and competitive infrastructure of mainstream official sport; removal of barriers to access caused by their material conditions such as, lack of resources, sponsors, equipment, transportation, etcetera; and fairer opportunities and exposure to be selected as athletes and administrators at the higher levels of sport competition. While the Committee members did get the DCAS's attention, the

interpretation of their demands was adjusted to what the DCAS was able to achieve without having to significantly modify existing sport structures or deal with more difficult political struggles of involving different sport governing bodies and negotiating access to competitive structures organised on market-led capitalist principles. For example, the DCAS official went on to explain that:

What we also did was, not to enforce sport or types of sport on to the farm workers, but we asked them, what you guys are playing. So, they say: it was rugby. Football was not very popular, but it's there. It's more with the black African population, which is rare. Rugby! That's their game; Netball! That's their game; Dominoes! That is very popular; and then cross country. We tried cricket and we tried some other things, but that was it. So, when we get to farm worker games, and that's the sport we play. We try not to be innovative, but just to, at least, get them to play. We can experiment afterwards, but we must just get them to play.<sup>90</sup>

Again, the question remains: if the farm workers were already playing the above mentioned sports, which is clear from the consultations to avoid enforcing the type of sport, then how was the DCAS advancing farm worker sport or achieving any of the objectives this sport day was organised to achieve? Indeed, it was much easier 'just to, at least, get them to play' once a year on DCAS's expense, than to advance inclusion of another group defined by their marginalisation. As it was, the current debates and politics over affirmative action at the elite levels of sport in South Africa exposes an extremely messy and complex situation, and to add farm workers as a group into the mix may not be in everyone's interest, irrespective of their personal allegiances or moral convictions.

As it was, most of the sport practiced among the farm workers was informally organised.<sup>91</sup> My fieldwork among the farm workers of Rawsonville shows that formal and informal sport had been practiced in organised competitive forms by the workers for at least last four decades. Such practices were usually a result of efforts of individuals, which included farm workers and other members of the broader rural community from disparate backgrounds, who were at least partially successful in garnering resources to run the sport teams they were involved with. Among the elected executive members of the Committee were such individuals

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<sup>90</sup> Ibid

<sup>91</sup> A more engaged and detailed discussion on informal sport among the farm worker communities is presented in Chapters 6 and 7.

who had long established associations with sport in their respective farm worker community, for long before the Committee was formally established. To draw these informal sport practices into the mainstream (as one of DCAS's objectives) would require kind of commitment, coordination and infrastructure, which, for now, was absent in the provincial sport development efforts. Neither the DCAS, nor the Committee, had the capacity to conduct province-wide, district level trials specifically for farm workers, or simply expand this programme systematically to include all the farming areas.

Besides, I am unsure what a sport structure specifically for farm workers would really mean. To what understanding of "farm worker" would it include or exclude participants, especially given the changing farm labour management practices? Or might such efforts further exclude farm workers from existing mainstream sport structures? Notwithstanding, as things were, the farm worker sport "development" culminated into an annual Western Cape Farm Workers Sport and Recreation Day,<sup>92</sup> and its "development" significance rested on its specific focus on a group identified as in need of "development".

### **5.1.2. Lucerne Cricket Development Programme**

Although sport day events for a group identified as in need of "development" seemed to be an observable pattern in the operationalization of a SDP project, the "development" theories and agendas attached to these involved more than simply creating opportunities for sport participation. To this end, the mandate of the Cape Wineland District Municipality's (CWDM) sponsored programme for children and young from farm worker communities across the district to prevent crime.

'Bringing sport to the farm schools' was the message that the 'Lucerne Cricket Sets Hanover Ceremony', held on the 9<sup>th</sup> March 2012, promoted in its public communication.<sup>93</sup> It was this event that I attended about a month before I moved to Worcester to start my fieldwork. This ceremony was part of a programme launched in 2010, called the Lucerne Cricket Development Programme (LCDP),

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<sup>92</sup> It is Chapter 7 that I describe and discuss this provincial Farm Worker Sport Day, held on 18<sup>th</sup> May 2013, in Paarl, drawing on the experiences of participating farm workers.

<sup>93</sup> Online sources: <http://www.capewinelands.gov.za/Lists/News/Ordered%20Date.aspx>  
[Last Accessed on: 27<sup>th</sup> December 2014]

by the CWDM in partnership with the South African Police Services (SAPS) and Boland Cricket. The primary objective of the initiative was crime prevention and SAPS was involved in the delivery of the programme at the farm schools, training the learners and making them aware of the dangers of criminal activities and substance abuse. When I arrived at the venue of the handover ceremony, the presence of SAPS dominated the scene with many police cars, a police officer singing, and the police music band providing entertainment. There were some young cricketers practicing at a far end of the field, what seemed to me was a warm up for the exhibition match advertised on the day's programme (see Appendix F). I was warmly received by the CWDM official who had invited me, and he went on to introduce me to some of the people involved in the project. And despite my late arrival, the event was still in waiting to start. They were waiting for the media crew from a national television and the Minister for Cultural Affairs and Sport to arrive. This brief time allowed me to ask the CWDM official about his interest in sport, the response to which was that he was not a sportsman, and his interest in sport was limited to politics and supporting the *All Blacks* (the national rugby team of New Zealand). He was a large "coloured" man, who spoke proudly of his commitment to community work and his history of activism during the anti-apartheid struggle years.

The day's programme started as soon as the media crew and the minister had arrived, which included a series of speeches mostly in Afrikaans, with infusions of English, Xhosa and Sesotho. This followed the handover of portable cricket sets to 118 farm schools from different parts of the Cape Winelands district. A teacher and a learner from each school were invited to formally receive these on a Friday morning, during the school hours. A primary school next to the ceremony venue was invited with all its learners and teachers as spectators. The slogan that was to become a take-home message from the day was: '*A child in sport is a child out of court*' – proclaimed the minister in his speech. On their social media pages,<sup>94</sup> the CWDM elaborated on its objectives after the event as:

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<sup>94</sup> While the event received some televised coverage, it was a blurb on facebook, rather than CWDM's own website, where a more detailed account on the event was available. See; <https://www.facebook.com/media/set/?set=a.392132100798549.98450.362619493749810&type=3>

... this historic initiative is to **unite children from all walks of life** particular [sic] those who live in the rural areas and teach them about the importance of sports and how sport can keep them healthy also to keep them away from drugs, alcohol abuse and crime (Online<sup>95</sup> 2012, my emphasis)

The minister, Dr Ivan Meyer, went on to congratulate the CWDM and SAPS ‘for their solid sport administration and their selfless contribution [to] the fight against crime and improving the social conditions of communities’ (ibid). Towards the end of the ceremony, but before the finger lunch<sup>96</sup>, the senior CWDM official asked the television crew to take shots of him interacting and playing cricket with the young cricketers (who had been playing cricket before and after the speeches and equipment handover). This stunt did make me question the integrity of the programme and the intentions in organising such an event. This was particularly ironic, as the actual game of cricket remained a side-show, in that, what I thought was a warm up turned out to be the exhibition match advertised on the programme. There were no scores announced, no-one really knew when the match started and ended, which team won, who the players were, where were they from, what teams did they played for, and how were they associated with the programme, etcetera – all of which further suggested the pompousness of the messages and claims made for sport during the event.

It was clearly a publicity event to advertise the LCDP as well as the CWDM’s involvement in the community and efforts at “development” through sport. Although there might be explanations that I could have extracted regarding the exhibition cricket match, the discourses generated at the event on usefulness of sport to prevent primary school children from substance abuse and crime raised more pressing questions. For example, how was it a responsibility of the police to administer sport at schools? Other than funding support and endorsement to this programme, what were the ways in which the district municipality administered sport? If the police and the municipality were to administer sport, what then is the role of government departments of sport and sport governing bodies?

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[Last Accessed on: 27<sup>th</sup> December 2014]

<sup>95</sup> Online source, same as last footnote

<sup>96</sup> The “finger lunch” was only served to the special guests, to which I was also invited, at the club house of the sport field. The school teachers, learners as well as the cricket players were given pre-packed food parcels. This kind of discrimination between the officials, organisers, special guests and the “beneficiaries” of a project, be that in terms of food or seating arrangement, seemed part of the protocol, particularly so at the government sponsored events.

Besides, the cricket sets were selectively handed out to under-resourced farm schools, attended by mostly “coloured” and “black” children whose parents were likely to be working as labour at the commercial farms surrounding such schools. What were the conditions at these farms that the children of farm workers were at a particular risk of getting into crime or drugs? How was a programme to ‘unite children from all walks of life’ when the “walk of life” the children and schools were selected from were singularly defined by their lack of resources? While the ostentatious conduct of the event and the discourses it produced only left me with unanswerable questions, I focused my attention on learning and understanding how the broader LCDP was operationalized. In other words, what happened once a school had its personal cricket equipment? What kind of sport infrastructure (both physical and organisational) was in place at the farm schools, and how did learners go about practicing and competing in cricket?

Aside from the theoretical explanations that the Police Captain (introduced to me as the spearhead of the programme) shared, and my attendance at the finals of the Cape Winelands Lucerne Cricket League (held later in that year at the Boland Stadium in Worcester), I could not find out precisely how the police engaged with farm children in teaching them to play cricket, preventing them from crime, drugs and/or becoming criminals. I did come across many people who pointed out and praised the programme, most of whom had only heard of it, confirming the impact of good publicity. However, I did not manage to find a live cricket training session conducted by the police at a farm school to attend, over the year that I was in Worcester. The Police Captain spoke with much conviction about the ability of sport to bring the desired change. He reasoned:

Over a long run, structured and regular sport competition with incentive can help reduce crime, drug and alcohol abuse. Sport is taken seriously here, especially competitive sport and the winning. So, instilling discipline through sport in young children can prevent them from getting into bad habits and troublesome behaviour.<sup>97</sup>

While theoretically, these ideas were widespread and accepted as truisms, the irony in this commentary emerged when the conversation turned to the topic of

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<sup>97</sup> These notes were taken as quick jottings during a conversation with the Captain (Field Notes: 18<sup>th</sup> June 2012).



rugby, and the increased violence at the games in the region.<sup>98</sup> In a separate conversation, he explained that since the unification of sport in South Africa, many of the “white” rugby players, including himself, have stopped competing in the regional league games as they find the “coloured” teams or spectators violent and abusive<sup>99</sup>. He elaborated that this was because the “coloured” people were often emotionally too invested in the result of the game, and their competitiveness took rather violent forms, whereas for the “white” community, these weekend rugby games had been part of their family outing.<sup>100</sup> On the one hand, competitive sport was seen as an important aspect of “development,” in this case explained as crime prevention and a deterrent from substance abuse for farm children. On the other hand, competitiveness in rugby among the “coloured” population was presented as a problem in and of itself. Such contradictory discourses on sport were widespread, and a closer analysis of them revealed how social understandings of race, class and gender were maintained, reproduced, mobilised, and performed, within and through sport.

Given the LCDP’s focus on poorer farm schools in the district, the majority of the participants of the programme were likely to be “coloured” or “black” children of farm workers. The schools that the “white” and privileged children attended did not welcome such “development” related initiatives, as a number of my research respondents pointed out. For example, a local NGO, called *loveLife*,<sup>101</sup> shared that even when they used the sport facilities of a previously “white” school for events they organised to promote HIV/AIDS awareness, the “white” learners almost never took part. A similar situation was shared by the Sports Development Officer from Drakenstien municipality; despite his formal invites to the previously “white” and privileged schools to a municipality-wide school sport event to

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<sup>98</sup> One of the questions I consistently asked my informants was their relationship to sport in their personal lives. Which sport they were passionate about and how they engaged with it in their daily lives. Such conversations were often taken as part of small talk (not research questions), but often resulted in more useful information and added context to the stories people shared with me.

<sup>99</sup> This view was wide-spread among the “white” rugby players/ farmers from Rawsonville, and the death of a “white” rugby player from *Rawsonville Rugby Club*, Riaan Loots, was often referred to substantiate these claims about “coloured” players. (for more information on the incident, see <http://mg.co.za/article/2006-06-27-rugby-brawl-death-allegations-of-racism>)

<sup>100</sup> I deal with this discourse on racialised associations with rugby violence in the next Chapter.

<sup>101</sup> *loveLife* is a not-for-profit organisation, which specifically focuses on youth between the ages of 12 to 19years, conducting various projects and initiatives focused on HIV/AIDS prevention and awareness. For more details, see: <http://www.lovelife.org.za>

promote unity and integration, his invites had never been honoured.<sup>102</sup> While the populist discourses on the unifying power of sport continue to be publically proclaimed (and even accepted by the people with much contradictory personal experiences), it was the informal conversations and everyday observations of how SDP was operationalized that exposed the counter narratives. Such contradictions were also only too apparent in the LCDP, which claimed ‘to unite children from all walks of life’ and selectively organised the children from a single socio-economic and class background to play cricket against each other.

Many of the primary farm schools that I visited suggested that a select group of learners from their school did take part in this cricket project, but the teachers I spoke to were unsure when the programme might start again. Some of them also proudly showed me the brand-new sport equipment they had received from the government, and at one school it was yet to be taken out of the original packaging. Many of the teachers expressed that, despite all this equipment, they simply did not have enough space or time and capacity among the staff to get the learners to do regular sport. One school principle did invite me to join the learners over their cricket practice, where a grade five learner was introduced to me as the coach of the team. They practiced on a dangerously rough patch of land next to the school, which belonged to a local farmer. I joined the learners one afternoon during their practice session, and while they had no adult supervision (other than me on the day) or a coach (other than the learner I was introduced to as the coach, whose role was to organise everyone into teams to play the game), it was clear that they were creative, enthusiastic and very capable of entertaining themselves.

These visits to schools, conversations with teachers, and my observations, only left me with more questions, but fewer answers. I wondered to what criterion were a small group of learners selected (no more than 10, as it was a mini-cricket format, which has 8 players per team) to the cricket programme from a school with anything from 100 to 300 learners? Would these children be somehow at higher risk than the others of getting involved in drugs or crime? Or were they identified for their talent at cricket? Were the programme, the police, the district

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<sup>102</sup> Field notes: 3<sup>rd</sup> July 2012

municipality and the cricket federation all simply trying to do for these poor children what they could within their means? Just like many of the teachers at resource-scarce farm schools shared, they do what they can within their means to get the learners to participate in sport but they lack the funding support of the municipality, access to transportation as available to SAPS, the expert support and endorsement of sport governing bodies, and any budget to publicise their “development” efforts. As important and as challenging as the role played by the teachers in resource-scarce schools may be, their efforts were part of their day job, not a “development” project. Still, poorer farm schools served (and are likely to continue to serve) as sites for “development” projects to be theorised and conducted. The next case study I discuss also focuses on the farm schools: a school sport infrastructure “development” project undertaken by a wine industry representative company.

### **5.1.3. Farm School Sport Infrastructure Development**

In 2010, the Breedekloof Wine and Tourism (BWT), a non-profit company, had secured R600,000/- from the National Lottery Distribution Trust Fund (Lotto, hereon) to build and upgrade sports infrastructure at the selected farm schools in and around Rawsonville. During my introductory visit with BWT’s marketing manager to learn if they had any sport “development” projects for farm workers in the region, she directed me to another BWT board member, who, at the time, was busy with organisation of a ‘go-cart race and tug-of-war competition’ event for the farm workers, as part of the bigger spring festival: the Breedekloof Outdoor and Wine Festival (which I discuss next). Completely oblivious to what I was asking him about (as I had not learned the name of this festival at the time), he decided to give me a tour of the sport facilities BWT had recently upgraded at a farm school. This was how I learned about BWT’s Sport Infrastructure Development project. From my conversations with five different members on the BWT’s board, over different occasions and at different phases of my fieldwork, I was unable to glean with any clarity why a company, with a primary agenda to market the wine and tourism industry of the region, would go about a charity project of this kind.

It is not unusual for an organisation to undertake a charitable project unrelated to their core business, but there often is a vision or a purpose attached to such an effort. The BWT had maintained in all my communication with them that they did not have a budget for “development”. As the BWT marketing manager explained, ‘development budget is not our budget, we apply for funding. This is just more of a charity, because it is really ad hoc, it is really minimal’.<sup>103</sup> Given that they were a marketing company, this project could have been easily marketed as part of the BWT’s social responsibility towards the local community; however, no such pitch was made. The more I learned about the project, the more questions it raised, for example, why a company with primary agenda to market the wine and tourism industry would go about applying for funds from a third party to upgrade sport infrastructure at farm schools, and not even advertise their charity efforts? If indeed the project was to bring no profit, directly or indirectly, to the BWT, how did they justify time, as a company, the energy and resources spent on it?

When I started to ask the BWT members about the project, none of them were able to recollect with a degree of certainty how the decision to undertake this project came about, when did they apply for the Lotto funds, how the farm schools for infrastructure development were selected, and what was done at each school. One BWT member suggested:

I think the main focus on [sic] that proposal was that [on] sport facilities in the whole region, [particularly] focusing on the schools. And there was, for example, there was sporting gear in that ... probably a bag with cricket and soccer ... she [the school principal of a beneficiary school] will give you more detail on that ... a lot of work was done on their sport facilities.<sup>104</sup>

Another explanation on the project suggested:

... when the Lotto funding came to do sport infrastructure development, there were some sports fields in the area that were identified that we spent the money on to upgrade and fix up a little up, but there was not a whole lot of money, it was a fair amount of money, but not enough to really up-grade the way a person would want to upgrade. We had four places to upgrade, so then the money becomes very little!<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>103</sup> Interview Recording code # VR0079, January 2013

<sup>104</sup> Interview Recording code # VR0086, February 2013

<sup>105</sup> Interview Recording code # VR0079, January 2013

The manner in which the interviewee constructed this agentless explanation, for example, ‘when the Lotto funding came’, expresses the general reservation in discussing the project in any detail among the BWT members I engaged with. How was it that ‘the Lotto funding came’ to the BWT for sport infrastructure “development” and not to the farm schools directly? The Lotto funding is not awarded at random, but rather demanding bureaucratic procedures are in place to apply for the funds. The Lotto’s annual reports, available online,<sup>106</sup> confirm that the funding of R600,000/- was allocated to BWT in 2010. Yet, the BWT had no written records or reports, and I sensed a general reluctance among the board members to share information with any clarity. The reason for this was explained as the person who wrote the proposal had left his position at the BWT, and reports to the Lotto were over-due.

Still, I was able to gather enough corroborating information to piece together and describe basic components of the project. For instance, according to my data, there were five sites (not four, as the BWT manager informed me) that benefited from this project. All of these sites were connected to a primary school. Three of the five schools were at the farms, and would be considered resource-scarce, with most of the learners from the local farm worker communities. The fourth school was also a farm school, but not where any of the farm workers’ children would find admission. The fifth school was in the town, but the majority of its learners were from local farm worker communities.

The first school to get a mini-soccer field and a netball court built at their premise in 2010 was the Slanghoek Primary. I also learned from a neighbouring school that there was an inaugural function, where the local primary schools were invited, sport equipment was handed out, and the newly-built facilities hosted their first set of games. The principal of the school was on the BWT board, and the school seemed to be a flag-bearer of the BWT’s “development” contributions to the worker community. The first time I saw these sport facilities was on the Madiba Day function at the school, on the 18<sup>th</sup> July 2012, where the soccer field and the netball courts were among the school’s facilities that were to benefit from

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<sup>106</sup> NATIONAL LOTTERIES BOARD - ANNUAL REPORT (2010, p. 75) (see: [http://www.nlb.org.za/images/annual\\_reports/annual\\_report\\_2010.pdf](http://www.nlb.org.za/images/annual_reports/annual_report_2010.pdf)) [Accessed on: 15.01.2015]

the 67 minutes of community service that the Madiba Day is marked by. The sport facilities had already deteriorated enough that it was hard to imagine these were only built or up-graded some two years ago.

The second farm school that marked the BWT's "development" work for the poorer community was the Botha's Halt Primary, which had received a full-size brand new rugby field. A piece of land adjoining the school, which belonged to a trust, was levelled, planted with grass, and the rugby goal-posts were erected. I was told that the field was almost ready late in 2012; however, it was yet to be used at the time. Also, there was no fencing round this field situated on a raised ground. A BWT member confirmed that, since they had ran out of the Lotto funds, they were looking for funds from the government to put a fence around it.

The third farm school was the Petra Gedenk Primary, which already had access to better sport facilities than any other poorer farm school in the region. These included half a rugby field (the other half of the rugby field belonged to a near-by wine cellar, but the whole field was available for use to the school as well as a local rugby club) and another smaller field that was upgraded into a soccer field by the BWT. In terms of learner strength, it was also among the bigger farm schools with just under 300 learners. The BWT had also added some cricket practice nets; however, the acting principal of the school was not impressed with any of this. In an interview, he criticised these upgrades, arguing that these had arrived unannounced and without any prior consultation. He explained no-one plays or teaches soccer at the school, and they do not know why their field was up-graded into a soccer field. Besides, the relations of the school with the local farmers and the neighbouring wealthier primary school, which was about a kilometre away, seemed a little strained, given the disparities in their access to resources, learner strength and terms of cooperation between the two schools.<sup>107</sup>

The wealthier primary school next to the Petra Gedenk was the fourth farm school, the Breërivier Primary, which benefited from this project. Breërivier

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<sup>107</sup> These tensions could be read in both racial as well as class terms. The wealthier school had an elaborate sporting calendar and competed against the primary schools, which, according to the teachers of Petra Gedenk, were also wealthier and "white". The two schools did compete in a game of rugby against each other once a year, for which the wealthier school had to collaborate with other schools from their class-league to field a team, as their learner strength was too small.

Primary was the only school on the farmlands in the entire Bredekloof region with a brick building. They also had a mini-rugby field, a netball court, and a tennis club<sup>108</sup> on their premises, for the exclusive use of 48 learners (at the time of fieldwork), most of whom were from wealthier backgrounds. The sport facilities at the school were maintained to high standards, and the BWT had used the Lotto funds to add floodlights to the tennis courts.

The fifth school, the Rawsonville Primary, was in the town of Rawsonville, across the river in a township called De Nova (see Map D). A BWT member informed me that the up-gradation of the sport field at the Rawsonville Primary was decided later in the project, when the other town school, the Goudini High, withdrew from the project, as they had managed to secure R400,000/- from the Lotto for their sports facilities in 2011.<sup>109</sup> The Goudini High School, a previously “whites-only” school,<sup>110</sup> was in-charge of the access to the central and probably the best kept sports field in the whole of the Bredekloof farming region. There is a lot more that can be said about this sport field, but I return to this topic in Chapter 6. I learned about the Rawsonville Primary’s field upgrade in February 2013 during my visit with the school principal. It was only in January 2013 that their sports field had been levelled and planted with grass by a local farmer (also a board member of the BWT), as the school principal explained while giving me a tour of the field. The school principal shared, he was pleased about the field, and was told that the school was allocated R70,000/- as part of the BWT project. However, he was uncertain about this detail, and what else might be up-graded or how else the remaining money would be used for the benefit of the school.

Reading from the profiles of the schools, BWT’s interaction with them and the kinds of “developments” made to the sports infrastructure at each school, it is not too difficult to infer that the whole project was operationalized along class and racial lines. The beneficiary schools were only selectively consulted regarding

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<sup>108</sup> I am unsure whether and how the tennis club was attached to the school, or if it was a private club, but it was no longer competing in the regional adult tennis league, as one tennis player from Rawsonville Tennis Club, a league club, had confirmed.

<sup>109</sup> NATIONAL LOTTERIES BOARD - ANNUAL REPORT (2011, p. 107) (see: [http://www.nlb.org.za/images/annual\\_reports/2011\\_anual\\_report1.pdf](http://www.nlb.org.za/images/annual_reports/2011_anual_report1.pdf)) [Accessed on: 15.01.2015]

<sup>110</sup> I discuss more about this school, particularly in the context of access to its sports facilities for the broader community, in the next Chapter.

their requirements of sport infrastructure. Clearly, a degree of consultation with the principal of Slanghoek Primary must have taken place, given that she was on the BWT board. However, the sport activity at this school seemed limited, as I gathered from speaking to different teachers at the school. On the other hand, the Goudini High seemed to have enough interaction with the BWT that it was not only able to opt out but secure funds for up-gradation of their sport infrastructure from the same funding organisation as the BWT.

This option to opt out clearly was not available to the Petra Gedenk, who was now sitting with a soccer field they did not need and were unlikely to use. I did not engage with anyone from the Breërivier Primary, but it was highly unlikely that floodlights to the tennis courts were installed (instead of a sport field as in the case of other schools) without any prior consultation. In fact, there are reasons to speculate that the application to the Lotto might have been prompted to fund the floodlights at tennis courts at the first place. For one, the BWT board consisted of mostly wealthy, “white” farmers or wine industry representatives, whose children were unlikely to attend any other beneficiary schools than the Breërivier Primary. Secondly, the BWT manager avoided mentioning or even counting in Breërivier Primary as one the beneficiaries in our conversation.<sup>111</sup> Thirdly, with the Lotto’s motto to be ‘the catalyst for social upliftment’ and the public discourses on a large number of under-resourced schools in the country, the BWT was unlikely to win a bid to put floodlights at tennis courts connected to an already well-resourced and previously “whites-only” primary school.

Moreover, the cost of installing floodlights on tennis courts has to be much higher than levelling and planting grass on all four sport fields, that too, in a farming region where the costs of building or up-grading sport field were likely to be further reduced due to existing farming infrastructure. Many farmers had provided and maintained sport fields for the use of farm workers across the valley for many years. For instance, a farmer I interviewed, who had a soccer field used

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<sup>111</sup> She gave me a count of 4 schools that benefited, but was unable to recollect which those schools were, when her secretary pointed out the tennis courts at Breërivier, which ended up becoming a cue for me to leave their offices.



by the local farm worker soccer teams on his land, responded to my question about costs to him of maintaining this field as:

... it's the diesel for the tractor and the mower and the water, I mean the water is there, they just need to move the sprayers. Ahg! It's no cost to me. I mean it's not like a R1000 a month or something!<sup>112</sup>

Evidently, the costs of upgrading sport fields in a farming region were likely to be (or could be) kept fairly low. These costs would depend on the service providers contracted to do the upgrades. So, who were the service providers for this project? While I could not garner who serviced the fields at Slanghoek, Botha's Halt and Petra Gedenk, but the principal of Rawsonville Primary did confirm that it was a local farmer, a BWT board member, who had upgraded their field. It is likely that other sport fields were also upgraded by the same or another local farmer. But, the installation of tennis court's floodlights had to be sourced from outside of the farming enterprises, through a professional installer.

Another inconsistency that could be observed in the project was the time-line of the infrastructure development. The BWT had run out of funds to put a fence around the rugby field of Botha's Halt already in the mid-2012, but had funds to up-grade Rawsonville Primary's field in early 2013. Given these observations, it is not too difficult to discern a pattern in the infrastructure developments received by different farm schools. Except for Breërivier, the only well-resourced school in the region, the upgrades at all other schools were of the kind historically provided by the farmers as their in-kind contribution to local farm worker community. Still, there are likely to be levels of institutional and personal politics and justifications for how the Lotto funds were used which, without access to hard evidence, reports or planning documents, I am unable to examine. Therefore, I only draw attention to the most apparent level of inconsistency, while suggesting how "development" discourses and allocation of funds to address material inequalities could, in fact, help maintain and reproduce these inequalities.

The frustration expressed by Petra Gedenk's teachers over the discriminatory and privileged access to resources of the Breërivier; and the speculations and uncertainty of Rawsonville Primary's principal about what else

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<sup>112</sup> Interview Recording code # VR0072, January 2013

might be coming their way from the R70,000/- allocation (as this amount would be too unreasonable to have the grass planted on a rather small sport field) – shows how the inequalities based on South Africa’s history and politics of racial and class discrimination find new ways to reproduce themselves within the “development” paradigm and practices. The companies like the BWT have an advantage of experience, social networks and organisational tact to apply for and win funds, which may not be there among those in greater need and better understanding of the “lacks” and “needs”. As I learned from engaging with farm schools, social workers and sports clubs who had tried to apply for the Lotto funds, the process of this application was complex and often required the kind of time and administrative capacity which most of them simply did not have. The case demonstrates how the people in whose name “development” was carried out could remain excluded from the process and any form of consultation, while opening up possibilities for those already in advantageous positions to take advantage by crafting “development” discourses to serve very different ends.

#### **5.1.4. Farm Workers at the “Outdoors and Wine Festival”**

The attraction of holding sport days for farm workers seems to be unyielding since the early days of the Rural Foundation, or perhaps even before. The sport or SDP day events I described so far were those funded and endorsed by government institutions. To add to the many different forms these events take, I now describe an event organised by a wine enterprise for the farm workers, specifically from their associated grape-producing farms, as part of a bigger spring festival.

On the programme of the three-day Breedekloof Outdoors and Wine Festival, one item that seemed a little out of place, among all other food and wine-tasting, entertainment and outdoor adventure activities to attract a specific class as their target market, was the: go-cart race and tug-of-war competition for farm workers (see Appendix G). Organised to start from the Friday afternoon, this evening-long event, as the one of the organisers explained, was;

... just an initiative from our side to also show that we try and built a good relationship between farm worker and farm owner, and that it also gives them

[farm workers] some time off to have a nice time. It is once a year thing that they enjoy!<sup>113</sup>

A large number of farm workers and a few farmers were in attendance at a green patch next to the Botha wine cellar, on Friday the 12<sup>th</sup> October 2012, which was marked out for the two events to be competed (see Map C). Farm owners mostly watched from the side-line, while teams of five farm workers raced a manual cart against each other. There were only three carts,<sup>114</sup> only three teams could race at a time, and so, referees were appointed to record the time. There were about thirteen teams and it seemed that most of the farm worker athletes took this competition serious enough to put a whole-hearted effort towards winning. However, for the organisers and the referees, it was ‘just for fun,’ as one of them commented. At least one of the organisers and many of the farm workers present seemed intoxicated, which might be a sign of “having fun”. However, none of the participants of the go-cart race seemed under the influence of alcohol, but most of the workers were in rather tattered condition and clothes. In a conversation, another organiser pointing at a race participant, who was dressed in neat casual clothes (probably among the very few to stand out for his clothing), made a scornful remark: ‘look at him! He’s dressed rather smart!’<sup>115</sup>

As it turned out, the person the organiser had pointed at was one of my research informants, a serious rugby player, who played in the second team for the Rawsonville United Football Rugby Club, at the time, the strongest rugby club in Rawsonville competing in the Boland Rugby Union’s league. He was actually not a farm worker, and passionately rejected and disliked the idea of working for a farming institution. He worked for a construction company, and lived with his family in a house on a farm plot, which was not part of any of the surrounding commercial farms. We did not get to speak on the day, though my guess would be that he was persuaded by the farm workers living local to him to come and help them win the go-cart race, given that he was a well-known athlete among the local farm workers. Each member of the winning team was to receive R100 in prize

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<sup>113</sup> Interview Recording code # VR0086, February 2013

<sup>114</sup> One of the go-carts broke down in the very first round of the race, which meant, for the most part of the competition, there were only two carts that competed against each other.

<sup>115</sup> I found this remark particularly unpleasant at the time, particularly for the way she picked on the one person, and mocked him for his material condition, which to her seemed too good for a worker class. Field notes: 12<sup>th</sup> October 2012

money, which at the time was more than their day's wage (R69), making the stakes of the race reasonably high, at least for the more serious athletes contending in the event.

This was evident in the conversations I had with one of the soccer players at the event. Peter is a Mosotho young man, passionate about his soccer, who played for a club called, Morgan Stars Football Club. He worked on the farm during the day, attended school in the evening to complete his matric, spoke four languages fluently<sup>116</sup>, and told me that his team practiced in soccer every evening of the week. He and his team were at the event to win money for their soccer club, he explained. They were the defending champions of the go-cart race, but they did not win anything this year. We spoke just after his team had lost the tug-of-war event as well, which was so chaotic that I could not tell how results were being judged. Frustrated with the poor organisation, apathy of the organisers, and drunkenness among the workers, Peter complained bitterly about how he *hated* this event, and about the rudeness with which the “white men” spoke to them. They also had to work the morning of the event, with only half-a-day's wage, contrary to what the organisers had told me: it was a full-pay day off for the workers to enjoy. If the possibility to win some money was not at stake, Peter and his team would not have bothered to join the event.

I did speak to some of the farmers present at the event; among them were those who did pay the workers the day's wage, but also confirmed that the workers on their farms only worked half the day. While the promotional material as well as the organisers of the event did not make any inflated claims about farm workers' “development” through it, unlike many other sport and recreation day events, still nothing about this event demonstrated how it was to ‘build a good relationship between farm worker and farm owner’. Instead, it reflected the relationships of aloofness, of ignorance and of obligation as they were between

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<sup>116</sup> His father was from Lesotho, mother Xhosa, he grew up in the Western Cape, and could speak English, Afrikaans, Sesotho, and Xhosa fluently. He also seemed to be the spokesperson of his predominantly Basotho soccer team, organizing matches with other “coloured” Afrikaans and “black” Xhosa speaking soccer teams in the valley. He had found my contact from other soccer teams, with an intention to get contacts for other, different soccer clubs, who they can arrange to play against. I elaborate on how these soccer networks operate in the region in some detail in the following Chapters.

the organisers, wine representatives, farm owners and farm workers. Provisions for sport participation and sport day events for farm workers by the farmers have been in the mix of farm worker “development” at least since the days of RF, as Mayson’s (1990) research showed, but these activities were, and continue to be, situated in the paternalist framework. The assumption that the event: ‘gives them [farm workers] some time off to have a nice time’ – also accompanied an understanding that this kind of workers’ enjoyment came at a cost to farmers, who paid them for a day-off. So, from the farming institution’s perspective, they had achieved their objectives by accommodating this event in their festival’s calendar and persuaded local farmers to give workers’ a day-off on their expense. The actual conduct of the event, its value to, and experience by, the farm workers seemed irrelevant to the organisers, as their objectives, at least by one interpretation, were achieved the moment the decision makers agreed to have the event on their programme.

## **5.2. INDIVIDUAL SDP PRACTITIONERS**

There were many ways in which sport was theorised and put to “development” use: to attract, to deter, to teach and to create opportunities for the farm workers and their dependents. The scale of the SDP projects and practices also varied a lot and so did the experiences of participants. Thus far the cases I have discussed were that of institutionalised and impersonal projects, administered through multi-organisation partnerships and donor funding. The SDP practices also took more personalised forms, motivated by individuals’ altruistic volitions, where the farm workers, as “to be developed”, had uneven but somewhat better opportunities to negotiate the terms of “development” with (or via) these individual “developers”. Nevertheless, it was always the person of “farm worker”, who was to be changed through these didactic lessons or skills “development” workshops facilitated by individual SDP practitioners.

At a direct farmer-farm worker level, farm workers were often able to negotiate access to transport to travel to the games from their employers; some farmers were persuaded to sponsor sport gear to farm workers’ sport teams; and some others even made a patch of land as a sport field available to the on-farm

workers. Still, there were those individuals who were wooed by talented young sport people from their local farm worker community into helping them to reach their sporting potential. This kind of support often came from people in the upper to middle managerial positions at farms or wineries, who had come to know a talented young athlete from the farm worker community they engaged with at work, and then went on to help them with equipment, training, sponsors and sometimes even trials with University or professional sports clubs. Such efforts also included those who were themselves passionately involved in a particular sport, and were open to sharing their sporting experiences, knowledge, gear and access to competitions, with those in less fortunate situations.

For example, a farm manager not only passed over his old professional bicycles and training gear to a small group of farm workers who showed interest, but also invited them to train and compete at races with him. Another competitive walker, whose husband was a farm manager, had built up a team of runners from young farm workers' children. She trained them once a week, and took them to races at least once a month, all of which was sponsored by the farmer. Similarly, one wine-maker had taken on a soccer club as a managing director, who sought for opportunities and sponsors for the club's players, and had made liaisons with the University of Stellenbosch's soccer club to organise a grassroots development project. His reflections on sport's development function were:

If there's a soccer field and there's a game being played, and people are coming and there's a lot of excitement ... that is a good thing. But what is the next step, there's a lot of things [but] where is the next step? Somebody must see a good guy and they pinpoint him and take him to the next level. That's the only way it's going to happen! ... There is success stories! [sic] Look at Breyton Paulse, who is the springbok wing, and he was a farm worker in Ceres, somebody spot him, somebody reach out to him, and then he became a springbok.<sup>117</sup>

His response was partly a reaction towards many sport day events that were being organised for farm workers' "development" by different actors, including the wine industry, NGOs, provincial government, municipalities, etcetera, but none of these seemed to have a strategic vision, be that to promote sport participation, or to help talented young players. One of the "development" attractions of sport is

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<sup>117</sup> Interview conducted with a wine-maker, also involved in a grassroots soccer "development" programme (Recording code # VR0042, August 2012)

often evoked in its potential to create a “level playing field”, where ‘societal elites are stripped of their traditional head starts and privileges, and in which they have to face the challenge of others with only the resources of their own bodies to secure ascendancy’ (Mills, 2005, p. 1). While opportunities to excel at elite sport, which are increasingly becoming highly commercialised, are very limited even among the most talented of athletes, these chances are further reduced for a person from the lower socio-economic group in an extremely unequal society like South Africa. However, it only takes one out of a million to make it at the pinnacle of a sport, as the reference to Breyton Paulse in the above quote highlights, for sport to be seen as a possible way out of poverty.

Additionally, SDP includes activities where sport was employed to attract children and youth to programmes or projects considered beneficial for them. For example, at a small after-school programme primarily organised around bible studies for farm workers’ children, soccer training had become one of their daily activities. As one of the founders of this youth ministry explained, ‘75% of the children who regularly attend the programme, were here because of soccer’.<sup>118</sup> To this end, sport within SDP could mean different things to different people. This was particularly observable in the case of the Fairhills Association, where the project managers claimed and advertised sport as an important aspect of community “development”. However, for the project’s farm worker-members, it was educational and career opportunities created for farm children and youth that had generated a sense of hope and security among them.<sup>119</sup> Similarly, sport was also employed to teach specific kinds of lessons, often referred to as “life-skills,” a term that seems to feature in both SDP as well as farm worker “development” discourses (as discussed in the case of Department of Agriculture in the last chapter). I illustrate by describing the theories and experiences of “life-skills”

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<sup>118</sup> Field notes: 13<sup>th</sup> August 2012

<sup>119</sup> Fairhills Association was a very large and visible programme for farm worker community welfare, which included a wine cellar, 21 farms and 14 producers, all based in Rawsonville. I attended their sport days, festival, as well as training sessions and games with the Fairhills Football Club. Over my interactions with senior management and farm worker-members of the Association, I learned that the farm workers who were most content with this programme were those with children, while others who had no children or no interest in extra-curricular activities felt that the benefits of the Fairhills to them were negligible. I discuss Fairhills’ sport activities in Chapter 7, from the perspectives of its farm worker-members.

training, its relation to sport, and how the two featured in the “development” of farm workers, next.

### 5.2.1. Life-Skills for Farm Worker “Development”

There was also a dire need for **life-skills training**, including family financial management, time management, social skills, HIV and TB management. Many farmers were keen to build employees’ skills but training colleges and training courses are few. Government-sponsored training services are bureaucratic and cumbersome.<sup>120</sup>

This extract from an opinion piece authored by Doreen Atkinson was published in the Business Day on the 8<sup>th</sup> August 2014 in response to a policy proposal put forward by the Minister of the Rural Development and Land Reform, which suggested 50% ownership of privately owned farmland to be made available to the farm workers who have been working that land. Arguing against this proposal, Atkinson suggests prioritising the ‘dire need for life skills’ instead of opportunity to land ownership for the farm workers. Despite the patronising undertones, the notion of “life-skills” seems rather normalised in broader “development” discourses in South Africa. Sport also features as a method to impart life-skills to all sorts of groups in need for “development”, from young school children to youth at risk, from women to criminals, and from the unemployed to the farm workers in full-time employment.

While it is possible that the way the Department of Agriculture defines farm workers’ need for ‘life-skills training’ might be among the reasons for a large number of seemingly fragmented and isolated practices of life-skills training, the ideas and programmes labelled life-skills also did not seem to share a coherent theory of its practice. Over the course of my fieldwork, I met and engaged with a few life-skills facilitators some of whom were self-employed, while most were associated with an organisation, an NGO or even a University’s community relations project. Still, given its currency in “development” work, I was interested in learning how concerns of “development” among farm workers were understood by these facilitators and how they made connections between life-skills and “development”. In an exchange with a life-skills facilitator, who was looking for

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<sup>120</sup> See: <http://www.bdlive.co.za/opinion/2014/08/08/ownership-no-longer-the-key-to-empowering-farm-workers> [Accessed on: 3<sup>rd</sup> September 2014]



funding so that her organisation might deliver a ‘sport and life skills programme’ to rural/farm worker communities, I learned about the programme and the overall ambitions of the NGO. She explained that the programme uses sport as a medium to teach life skills. It has been very effective with another underprivileged community, and given their experiences and successes with the programme, they wanted to expand their operations to other underprivileged communities in South Africa, and perhaps to the rest of Africa. Still, I could not get her to comment on any specific social concern that might be affecting farm workers beyond the rhetoric that they were identified as a group in desperate need for “upliftment”.

At a conversational level, I was only learning vague, ironic and at times, contradictory explanations of life-skills. Conceptually, the term life-skills could be found in fields of applied and sport psychology and pedagogy focusing mostly on children and youth (see for example, Danish and Nellen, 1997; Gould and Carson, 2008, among others). Among the most influential advocates of Life Skills Education (LSE) for young people globally is UNICEF (2012)<sup>121</sup>. In South Africa, it is also part of school curriculum to educate learners on aspects ranging from healthy living to career guidance. Beyond the school premises, multiple NGO-led and research projects have been conducted in the Western Cape (see for example, Caldwell et al., 2004; Whitley et al., 2013).

As for farm workers’ “development,” life skills training could include assorted didactic lessons, ranging from time management, debt and financial management, work ethic, conflict resolution, disease prevention, personal hygiene, awareness campaigns, motivational speeches asking them to ‘uplift themselves,’ or how they should be nice to each other. Specific to sport, one facilitator shared a video with me, in which a soccer coach was trained to teach life-skills using soccer tactics as his analogy. In this specific video clip, a coach was shown to employ coaching on defence tactics in the game of soccer, and then he draws a parallel to teach the importance of safe sex, explaining how soccer players need to defend or protect themselves from potential diseases. At the end of the session, players reiterated what they had learned, and one player summed up the lesson as: he should ‘never

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<sup>121</sup> [http://www.unicef.org/evaldatabase/files/UNICEF\\_GLS\\_Web.pdf](http://www.unicef.org/evaldatabase/files/UNICEF_GLS_Web.pdf) [Accessed: January 2015]

have sex'. Accordingly, the facilitator claimed that this was 'the only programme that has been sustainable and successful in this area,'<sup>122</sup> before asking me if I knew any farmers from my research field who would like to sponsor this programme on their farm. I had met this facilitator via a local farmer who was a major supporter of this programme (which included a life-skills training project for farm workers on his farm being delivered by the facilitator). Still, the video he shared with me was fairly generic and did not specify farm workers as its target audience. The life-skills training delivered directly to a group of farm workers that I attended was with a facilitator I shall call John.<sup>123</sup>

John introduced himself as a life coach, who worked independently with the farmers and the farm workers. His approach to "development" was influenced by his moral or religious convictions. As he explained, his calling was in helping others, and he used sport and games to give a 'creative twist' to life-skills training he conducted. He had been a keen rugby player in his youth, and was coaching both farmers and farm workers, albeit on different aspects of sport and life. His training with the local farmers included psychological preparation to help with their sport performance goals. For example, some of the farmers in the area had entered to race in a major cycling competition and he would work with them to help set realistic goals, keep up the motivation to train, and overcome mental barriers in achieving their goals. His work with farm workers, however, involved life-skills training, that is, how they can be better workers, and learn to improve their everyday lives. He conducted this training with the workers once a week for thirty minutes, at the end of their day's work on the farm. While he was convinced about the importance of the training he was doing with farm workers and the impact it made, still, he often expressed unhappiness with the amount he was paid by the farmers for training their farm workers.

One evening, he invited me to join one of his training sessions with about ten workers from the same farm. He introduced me to the workers and agreed to play

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<sup>122</sup> "Sustainable and success" meant that the facilitator had managed to persuade enough farmers to buy into the project and fund different aspects of it, including an annual soccer day for young people from across the Cape Winelands. Still, important to point out that the racial and religious identity of the facilitator, i.e. "white" Afrikaner and Christian, might have a part to play in the success and sustainability of the programme (field notes 20<sup>th</sup> June 2012).

<sup>123</sup> I use pseudonym here as I do not have permission from the facilitator to use his actual name.

the translator as all of the workers were Afrikaans speaking. Besides the language barrier, the workers were not too communicative with me. Even simple questions like, if they were interested in sport or if they were connected to any local soccer or rugby clubs, did not get me very far. Given the situation, it was best for me to play the role of a passive observer and record workshop contents and interactions between the workers and John.

The first session was themed “team work” and workers were to work in teams to solve a puzzle, which followed a moral lesson on usefulness of working together to solve problems. The second session, a week later, was themed “hard work”. The key point John wanted to make was that through hard work and perseverance any level of success can be achieved. He did so by sharing a video clip on his phone from a British TV show called Pop Idols. In the clip, he shared a story of a person from a modest background who wins this talent contest because of, as John emphasised, the hard work he had put into his singing. John went on to persuade the workers how this could be their reality only if they were to commit to hard work. To add another testimony to his point, John drew me in, asking me to attest that it was really possible to achieve anything with hard work. I was hardly prepared to contribute and felt that I needed more information, so I softly asked John: ‘what kind of negotiation power do they have in relation to time and work at the farm? Can they negotiate to finish a certain amount of work within a certain time so they can work hard towards something they have talent for, or were passionate about, or had higher chances of achieving success?’ Even before John could respond or translate my question, one of the participating farm workers responded: ‘at the farm, work never ends, you finish one thing and there is another that needs to be done’.<sup>124</sup>

### **5.3. LIFE STRUGGLES**

Such understandings of farm workers’ need for “development” or “life-skills” were presented as if their material conditions, and the history and politics of farm labour relations, commercial agriculture and land-ownership in South Africa have no bearing on the actual life farm workers live. In framing the life struggles in the

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<sup>124</sup> Field Notes: 6<sup>th</sup> September 2012

language of “development,” the understanding and image of farm workers that was foregrounded was that of an undifferentiated group without any agency or aspirations, who would be grateful for the meagre attention given to them by those in the mainstream institutions. The counter-narratives from, and the critiques of, projects and practices are not presented merely to suggest the irrelevance or insincerity of these activities, but to exemplify and argue that these, however well-intended, serve many different, divergent and at times conflicting interests. Apart from sporadic, temporary and disconnected SDP projects and practices, there were also institutions that provided welfare services and dealt with farm workers’ everyday social problems. While these problems may not sound too dissimilar to those on which “development” discourses and practices were found, the view from the position of a full-time social worker, serving the farmlands in and around Rawsonville, seemed a lot more complex and pessimistic, than the “development” discourses.

I illustrate this through a conversation I (T) recorded with the social worker (SW) about her role in, and relationship to, the farming community.

T: How’s your relationship with farms, or farm workers or farmers? I mean, how do you deliver the social work to the farms?

SW: [laughs] ... This is really difficult, you know! Some farmers, they are open, we’ve got a good relationship. But this is between you and me. It is very difficult for me. Because some farmers don’t see people as people with emotions, they see them as they are like a tractor. They don’t see them as people with needs. Sometimes it is difficult for me to work on the farms because sometimes you need the help of the farmer. Because there is a problem with alcohol and drug abuse! But some farmers are very good. But on the other hand, the workers, they abuse alcohol and drugs. So, the farmers are sick and tired of those people. It is a vicious cycle!

T: Are the drugs and alcohol abuse the main problem?

SW: The main, main problem! Yes! Yes!

T: It is a hypothetical question: what if the alcohol and drugs problem was to disappear completely from the community, would farmers treat them differently?

SW: hmmm! I don’t think so! You see, in the apartheid era! Agh no! There are workers who don’t drink but farmers still don’t speak with them with respect, they see them as implements!

T: Is there something that can be done?

SW: [Pauses] No! Oh! It's really difficult! I want, if they can just take hands and work together! But also the workers, they are very difficult! I don't know how to, I want to explain it to you, but I want you to understand that on the farm, the workers they live together. I thought maybe they care for each other and they will support each other. But everyone is on their own! There is no cooperation between them. No! This one is talking about that one, and that! They are always fighting. And you know what, alcohol and drugs, they use it, and then the fighting is more, and then they don't look after their children, and that is where I come in. And I must take the children and place them in foster care.<sup>125</sup>

The social worker's repeated use of, and emphasis on, the word *difficult* in the extract is useful to further deconstruct the context within which SDP programmes were conducted. *Difficult* is a term largely absent in farm worker "development" and SDP discourses. Over the yearlong fieldwork, I had developed a rapport with this gentle, quiet, "white" Afrikaner, woman, social worker, who considered herself a conservative person. Her self-assertion as conservative was particularly ironic, given her complex and *difficult* daily engagements with both farmers and farm workers, in making some difficult moral judgements, acting on them, and living with the consequences. These could range from being yelled at by a farmer for trespassing his private property as she tried to rescue a child in urgent need of medical attention, to being accused by farm workers of separating them from their children. I was learning from these engagements that being conservative, in the sense of not liking change, was not a mere ideological stance, but more a practical way to cope with daily interventions in a milieu of unequal material, social and political conditions, and a complex set of personal, social and power relations that SDP programmes and proclamations generally fail to acknowledge.

In elaborating the complexities and difficulties of social circumstances and socio-political relations within which farm workers negotiate their daily lives, the social worker further exposes limitations of taking farm workers as a homogenous or a unified group. Her reflections on the *difficulties* of what 'can be done,' the 'vicious cycle' created by unevenly exploitative and unequal labour relations, and the community of farm worker in which 'everyone is on their own!' – offer an important contrast to the SDP discourses and practices I discussed in this and the last chapter. The sporadic and disengaged SDP programmes not only lacked appreciation for difficulties or problems these aimed and claimed to affect, but

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<sup>125</sup> Interview Recording code # VR0036, July 2012

also discharged the SDP practitioners from a deeper engagement with the realities of the context in which they conducted their programmes.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

In presenting the descriptions and analysis of the selected case studies, I have leaned towards drawing out inconsistencies, contradictions and ironies in the ways in which SDP projects and practices unfolded. While farm worker “development” agendas and SDP programmes in the Western Cape were institutionalised around policies and politics of transformation towards an imagined post-apartheid South Africa, these notions often took different and contradictory forms in practice. To exemplify this point, I discussed four largely disconnected and incoherent projects, which were conceptualised and influenced by very different institutions and equally different institutional terms and goals. These projects operated within a broad definition of ‘farm worker’, often very loosely, if at all, connected to the concerns of farm labour regimes in the Western Cape. By focusing on, and investing in, sport, underprivileged children, resource-scarce schools and sporadic sport day events, “development” could be justified, without necessarily disturbing the *status quo*. The argument I am developing from these case studies is how the unquestioned appeal of sport for those identified as in need of “development” may also lead to equally unsubstantiated projects that may end up serving rather divergent interests.

Furthermore, drawing on the social workers’ perspective and experiences, my aim was to add another layer to realities and conditions that justify “development” projects and practices. The objectives and theories to which the institutionalized SDP programmes were designed and implemented, these were neither likely to affect change at structural levels, nor to address the more immediate or urgent lacks or problems. Despite a very general understanding of marginality of farm workers from the mainstream, there were no “development” agencies or agents who show a degree of meaningful consultation or engagement with everyday experiences of these marginalised subjects. This lack of engagement was not only a result of the social distance between the agents and subjects of “development,” but also seemed to support maintaining a social distance along class or racial

lines, even in situations of geographic proximity. This dynamic was particularly exemplary in discussing individualised SDP practices, where SDP interactions were contingent on the social, class, ideological and geographical distance of facilitators of “life-skills” and their understandings of opportunities and limitations of sport within the broader context of socio-economic conditions branded as in need for “development”.

Evidently, it was not out of a deep concern or engagement with farm workers’ problems or needs, but access to funds and extraneous economic, political, social, or reputational pressures or even moral duty to do something about farm worker “development,” that underpinned conceptualisation and implementation of the SDP interventions by all the very different sectors and actors. Therefore, it was no surprise that SDP organisers’ commitment tended to lie less in challenging the structural “wrongs” or the *status quo* which (re)produce the need for “development”, and more on sustaining and expanding their own institutions, operations and agendas. The social change or amelioration that SDP initiatives claimed to effect, can be, and were, enacted by the people among those grouped as in need for “development”. While their efforts were also limited by their socio-economic situation, their role and commitment did not feature in broader SDP discourses. In the chapters that follow, I describe and elaborate on the nature, meanings and experiences of geographical and structural marginality that serve to justify the lack of access to sport and “development” among farm workers.

6. LIFE AT THE FIELDS:  
sociopolitics of accessing sport

Despite the discursive construction of sport as something lacking among farm workers, particularly outside the publicised charitable, outreach efforts of sport and/or “development” concerned institutions, I found that an investigation into farm workers’ everyday life showed the contrary to be the case. It was not unusual to find seemingly abandoned sport field-like spaces, with two makeshift soccer goal-posts, in the interiors of the farming areas, with a gathering of about 50 to 200 people, on a given weekend afternoon. Anything from two to six soccer teams (often in uniform team jerseys), a few cars or pick-up trucks parked just outside the field, young children in a kick-about at a corner just off the field, and about 20 to 150 spectators of all ages (men and women) gathered in small groups, would set the scene for soccer games to start from two o’clock on Saturday and/or Sunday afternoons. These sport fields, used mostly for soccer gambling games, were on private land, usually situated next to farm workers’ on-farm housing, and often shared with grazing animals. Unless these spaces were totally barren and unfit for farming, there was always a chance that a farmer might choose to plough it one day.<sup>126</sup> Very few soccer fields of these sorts were accessible or visible from tarred roads, while most were located in places that only local residents knew, and often in conditions that only the local soccer players would consider these so. It is such sporting activities – unofficial, organised independent of any affiliation to formal competitive structures and “off-stage” – that I call subaltern sport.

Farm workers were not totally removed from what was considered mainstream sport by the DCAS in their objectives for farm worker sport development. The mainstream sports were the official or structured sports organised by the regional sport federations affiliated to their respective national and international sport governing bodies. The rugby or soccer mainstream league games certainly

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<sup>126</sup> I was informed of soccer fields which were used by farm workers to play soccer but were later ploughed for farming purposes. Sometimes farmers made another piece of land available, other times they did not care, a dynamic that depended on the relationship between the farmer and farm workers in a given situation.



captured the attention of a large number of farm workers, who would take part in these as athletes, spectators, volunteers and in some cases, as coaches or team managers. Yet, the scene at the mainstream sport was a little different from that of the subaltern sport practices. The mainstream contests took place according to a sporting calendar and league fixtures determined by the respective sports federation, at dedicated sport facilities maintained to official standards, prepared each time for every official game, and had official referees appointed as impartial enforcers of the official rules and regulations of the sport. Each specific sport code had its own rules, regulations, rituals, and social meanings. And of all the sports, it was rugby and soccer that were most visible and most popular among the rural community of Rawsonville.

In this chapter, I sketch out the physical scene within which farm workers of Rawsonville participate in sport, describing how the mainstream and subaltern sport practices coexist in some peculiar and unique, but not exceptional, ways. The chapter is organised into three sections: 1) Mainstream Sport; 2) Accessing the Mainstream; and 3) Subaltern Sport. Each section defines and discusses the context in which I employ the terms – mainstream, access and subaltern – to sport practices among the farm workers. Through descriptive, self-reflective and storied renderings of the sport infrastructure, access, organisation, practices, policies and politics, I aim to demonstrate how the conditions of being a farm worker in the Western Cape affect, and were affected by, their everyday sporting lives.

In the first section, I map out the mainstream sport infrastructure, detailing its physical, organisational and competitive dimensions, as a lead into discussing the issues and terms of access for farm workers. The second section elaborates on the structural, social and political organisation of access to specific sports. In the third section, I narrow down my focus on the sport of soccer to explore the ways in which it had become a part of the social and sporting lives at the farms. A large number of farm workers' soccer teams and clubs that I engaged with would compete regularly against each other in, what were colloquially referred to as, the gambling games. It is in discussing these games that I start to abstract a concept I refer to as subaltern sport. Here, my focus is on describing gambling games in a general manner to set out the terms of reference for the ethnographic account I

present in the next chapter, elucidating stories and experiences of soccer clubs and soccer players from Rawsonville's rural working class.

### 6.1. MAINSTREAM SPORT

By definition, the term 'mainstream' refers to something that is prevailing, conventional or popular. In scholarly literature, 'mainstream sport' is a label used for the sports with a broad appeal, a large fan base, both as participants and as spectators, and widespread media coverage (Greenhalgh et al., 2011; Lebeau and Sides, 2014). The reference 'mainstream sport' is often defined specifically in contrast to another form of sport. For example, Greenhalgh et al (2011) juxtaposes mainstream sport to 'niche' sport, whereas Lebeau and Sides's (2014) juxtaposes it to 'extreme' sport. Similarly, I refer to the 'mainstream sport' in contrast to 'subaltern sport', where the former implies popular sports practiced within the officially organised and recognised sport structures, and the latter includes popular sports organised and played informally, independent of official sport governing bodies.

In the specific context of farm workers' sport in the Western Cape, one of the objectives of the Western Cape Farmworker Sport and Recreation Development (WCFSRD) programme of Department of Sport and Cultural Affairs (DCAS) was advertised as 'to bring farm workers into the mainstream of sport and recreation,' (also discussed in last two chapters). According to this objective, it is reasonable to assume that the DCAS aims to create opportunities and pathways to enable farm workers of the Western Cape to take part in popular forms of sport – rugby, netball and soccer – within the respective official competitive structures. Though their reference to the 'mainstream of ... recreation' is somewhat unclear as an aim, the National Sport and Recreation Plan (NSRP) (2012) makes it explicit that the term *recreation* refers to its specific form, defined as 'active recreation,' which includes activities like walking, jogging, hop scotch, skipping, etcetera.<sup>127</sup> On the other hand, informal practices of sport were also referred to as 'recreation' in South Africa (Odendaal, 2006), mainstream of which would simply mean sport

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<sup>127</sup> See National Sport and Recreation Plan (2012) at <http://www.srsa.gov.za/pebble.asp?relid=1439> [Accessed: September 2015]

organised by the formal or official sport governing bodies or federations. Still, the colloquial use of the term *sport* did not necessarily distinguish between its formal and informal forms, and no form of sport was ever colloquially referred to as recreation. My interactions with the members of the Western Cape Farmworkers' Sport Committee (Committee, hereon) suggested that, to most of them, the mainstream sport meant participation in recognised competitive sport structures. Historically, farm workers had only limited access to the mainstream sport, given their racial and class status, whereas opportunities for 'active recreation' have been there on the farms at least since the early days of the Rural Foundation (since late 1970s) if not before.

With this background, I argue that the reference to 'the mainstream of sport and recreation' expresses alignment of the WCFSRD programme with the objectives set out in the NSRP, rather than these having any specific significance to farm workers' sporting needs or aspirations. Likewise, the Committee members explicitly expressed their commitment towards creating opportunities for the existing farm workers' sport clubs to compete at the regional, provincial or the highest possible levels, and it was rugby, netball and soccer on which they placed greatest weight. I also learned from the committee that in some of the farming regions of the Western Cape, the sport of netball was as "mainstream" as rugby and soccer. A large number of netball clubs based among farm workers did participate in official league competitions affiliated with the regional netball federations. However, netball practices among farm workers of Rawsonville were limited to a few dormant netball clubs and *ad hoc* netball games played over sporadic sport day events. I do elaborate on the limited ways in which netball featured in my study, but my discussion of farm workers' sporting lives revolves mostly around the practices of soccer and rugby.

To illustrate the mainstream rural sport infrastructure, I organise this section into three parts: 6.1.1) physical infrastructure, which includes mainstream sport fields, courts and stadiums; 6.1.2) competitive infrastructure, which includes regional sport federations and their respective competitive league structures; and 6.1.3) official sport clubs registered with the respective sport federations, recorded during the period of research fieldwork in and around Rawsonville.

### 6.1.1. Physical Sport Infrastructure

My study region, as illustrated on the Map B, spills a little beyond the boundaries of an area delimited as the Breedekloof wine region. I limit my discussion to the sport clubs and activities within this defined area so as to enable a focused and nuanced engagement with the sporting networks and lives of farm workers. There is a level of purposeful and circumstantial selectivity<sup>128</sup> employed here, which I reflect on as I depict the stories that unfolded at these spaces for sport. The netball courts, the rugby and the soccer fields, and the multi-sport and play areas indicated on the map include sport grounds maintained by the local municipality, farm schools' sport facilities, as well as the subaltern sport spaces. The Appendix A lists all the recorded sports spaces, in a table format, according to the sport code, their ownership, usage and condition. I record approximately 24 such spaces for sport,<sup>129</sup> which were used, managed and maintained in diverse set of ways. In this section, I describe the sports (one soccer and six rugby) fields used for the official or mainstream league contests.

The only community sport field maintained by the Breede Valley Municipal's (BVM) Operational Services<sup>130</sup> in the region was what I call: the Rawsonville Municipal Sports Field (RMSF). This was the only sports field maintained to official parameters for a soccer field, and was also fitted with floodlights for late-evening games and practices. While, it was located on the pre-1994 "white" (and therefore privileged) part of the rural town, at the rear of an older sport facility, which I call the Goudini High Sport Field (GHSF), the access to RMSF was, as if through the back-door of GHSF, via an almost non-road (neither tarred nor evenly

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<sup>128</sup> Selectivity and self-reflexivity, as organizing methodological approaches were discussed in some details in the chapter 2, where I reflect on how I selected my ethnographic field.

<sup>129</sup> This figure include multi-purpose sport fields, play areas, and fields put to other uses (for example; car parking or animal grazing), but exclude sport fields at the Brandvlei Correctional Services (with an impressive, well-resourced and well-maintained sport infrastructure for their staff as well as the prisoners) and Eureka Youth Centre (a school for juvenile offenders with small but good sport facilities). Both these institutions were within the demarcated fieldwork region. I did visit these facilities to attend sport events, one of which was a farm workers' sport day, organised by the Fairhills Associations (a Fair Trade initiative in the wine industry). They had hired the facilities at the Correctional Services specifically for the event. Apart from this one-off sport event, I consider these sites somewhat periphery to the scope of my research.

<sup>130</sup> The maintenance and control of the field was later moved from Operational Services to Public Safety and Community Development Services due to departmental restructuring and some internal politics, which had ramifications, particularly, for the smaller/poorer soccer clubs (details of which are discussed later in the chapter).

gravelled). The entrance to the ground was through an iron gate, big enough for a large pick-up truck to drive through, and despite no designated parking area, there was enough space for cars and trucks to park anywhere outside the playing field. The soccer field itself was neatly maintained and regularly marked for the league games, and there were changing and ablution facilities to accommodate at least two teams at a given time. However, the space outside the actual playing area was left to its own natural evolution. This space – uneven, rocky, at times, overgrown and full of all sorts of plastic, paper and broken glass waste – was where the spectators hung out. Spectators (including coaches, managers and players waiting to play) would either stand around the field while the game was in play, or find a corner, a rock or the wall to sit against, or for those with access to a car might watch the game from their car, while enjoying listening to music on their car stereos. Playing clubs' coaches, managers and some very enthusiastic supporters (often intoxicated) could be seen running up and down along the length of the field, cheering on their soccer teams. Unlike the neighbouring sport facility, the GHSF, the RMSF had no spectator stands or a club house, or provisions for other sports, despite the rather large available space within its bounds. In terms of utility, RMSF served the purpose for the local soccer teams, at least most of the time, but symbolically – its physical condition, the nameless banners, the provisions for different sports and all the many ways in which it was accessed, maintained and controlled – affirmed the class status of its patrons.

Used mostly for rugby, and occasionally for athletics, tug-of-war, horses and some forms of farm games, access to GHSF was regulated by an ex-Model C School,<sup>131</sup> called Goudini High School (GHS). Despite this affiliation, GHSF also served as home ground to two local rugby clubs: the Rawsonville United Rugby Football Club (RURC) with a predominantly “coloured” membership; and a predominantly “white” social rugby club called the Rawsonville Rugby Club (RRC). This field was at easy access via a tarred road from the town's main street, located next to a tennis club, in a middle class suburban area. Floodlights, large

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<sup>131</sup> “Model-C” refers to a grading given to schools in accordance with their dependence on the state. This “Model” system, which included Models A, B, C and D, was applicable to “whites-only” schools under apartheid regime, where “Model-C” would have meant a school with a more autonomous status and minimum state interference and funding. Since 1994, this system has been replaced, and some of such schools are conventionally referred to as “ex-Model-C”.

changing and ablution facilities, a club house, dedicated space for warm up, designated parking area within premises for a small number of vehicles, and infrastructure for different kinds of farm sport (some of which I am unfamiliar with) – were all contained in the premises of the GHSF. High walls and two large iron gates at the opposite ends of the ground marked its boundary. RMSF and GHSF shared a wall between them, which had an opening allowing access from one field to the other, until at least late 2012. However, this opening was later closed, coinciding with the time when construction or up-gradation work was taking place at the GHSF.

In addition to abovementioned centrally located soccer and rugby fields there were some more sport facilities within the premises of the two schools in the town of Rawsonville. The local primary school, the Rawsonville Primary, situated in the township called De Nova, just across the river on the pre-1994 “non-white” part of the rural town (which, at the time of fieldwork, was still all “non-white”), had one small field used for both, rugby and soccer, and one netball court (see Map D). These sport facilities at the school were too small for any mainstream sport contests, except for the netball court. Indeed, this netball court served as home ground to a local (and competitive) netball club, the Roslyn Netball Club. In contrast, the sport infrastructure at the local ex-Model C school, the GHS, was far superior and much greater in space, numbers and sponsors, for a much smaller number of learners. While the broader community, including farm workers, had conditional access to these better kept and better resourced sport facilities of GHS, including GHSF, the access was also complicated along class, racial, politics of obligation, charity and “development” lines.<sup>132</sup>

The rest of the five rugby fields I record were outside the Rawsonville town area, on the privately owned farmlands. While none of these rugby fields would match the standards, conditions or draw the spectators, like the two fields in the

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<sup>132</sup> Many learners at GHS were also children of local farm workers. So, these learners had obvious access to school’s facilities. At times, these facilities were hired out for sport events or days, some of which included, or were specially organised for, the farm workers. For example, the sport days and festivals with a farm worker “development” focus organised by the municipality or a farming enterprise, such as CWDM or Fairhills Association, took place at the GHRF. However, farm workers or local “coloured” or “black” people were unlikely to negotiate access to these on their own standing, without intervention of a sympathetic “white” person or influential local elite. Issues of access are discussed in greater detail in the sub-section 6.1.2.

Rawsonville town, still, I describe them as mainstream sport spaces because of their use for the lower level regional rugby league games. Given the location of the fields, it was likely that majority of the players, management and supporters of the rugby clubs for whom these fields served as the home ground were associated with the local commercial farms and wineries in some way. Apart from brief exchange with the managers/coaches of each of these rugby clubs, my interaction with four of the five rugby clubs was very limited. The field where I did attend a few rugby games and practices was the home ground to the Villagers Breërivier Rugby Football Club (or Villagers, hereon). Half of this field was owned by the Waboomsrivier Wine Cellar and the other half by the Petra Gedenk Primary School. There was some bobbed-wire fencing around the field, marking off its boundary, and it was located right next to the R43, a major road (see Map C) that links a few main rural towns. The field was not only shared between the school and the club for their sport days, rugby practices and games, informal soccer gambling games were also played at this field during the rugby off-season. The acting school principal of Petra Gedenk at the time informed me about another school, roughly a kilometre away from the field, called Breërivier Primary, which also used this field for their annual field hockey matches against other similar “whites-only” primary schools. The field itself was maintained to a fair condition, with a minimal infrastructure including the floodlights, club-house and ablution facilities. One evening, just before the start of the rugby training, I also observed an athletics coach training a few children at the field. I learned from the coach that he worked at the local wine cellar, aspired for his daughter to be a serious athlete, as he himself had been a distance runner.<sup>133</sup> The unrestricted access to the field allowed locals to use the space in different ways; still, the unprotected infrastructure was also vulnerable to break-ins.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> An athletics club based in the town of Worcester, called the Worcester Athletics Club, has a history of being a strong and influential running club, and over the course of my fieldwork, I met many serious provincial and national level athletes. Yet, I do not have enough information to elaborate on: if, to what extent, and how, the farm workers might have been involved in road-running and other forms of athletics.

<sup>134</sup> Club’s newly renovated building (changing rooms-cum-club house) was, indeed, broken in during the time of my fieldwork. I was told that the new doors and windows were stolen, but the thieves were also caught (Field notes: 28<sup>th</sup> January 2013).

The other four rugby fields did not enjoy similar facilities. The rugby field in Brandwacht, also next to a school, called Brandwacht Primary, was smaller in size than the official standards. The club, Protea Worcester Rugby Club, who used this field as their home ground also played in the same league as the Villagers. The Brandwacht field was also shared between the school and the club, but there were no club house or ablution facilities on the site. Rest of the rugby fields at the farmlands were used by the clubs who play at a feeder level rugby league called Worcester Rugby Zone<sup>135</sup> (WRZ). These fields were identified by the name of the farms they were located at, namely; Klipdrift, Wysersdrift and Rainbow Farm Plot B8. All three fields were built to the standard size but none of these had any additional infrastructure, like club house, floodlights or ablution facilities, and among these, Klipdrift was located at the most obscured location. I attended a few friendly rugby games (which were usually played before the start of the rugby season, to get the players match-fit, as well as raise funds for the club from gate-fees) at the Klipdrift field, with the club called: Klipdrift Rugby Club.

While I had spotted the rugby field at Wysersdrift early in my fieldwork, for the most part of 2012, it was over-grown, and there was little sign of it being in use. Early in 2013, just before the start of the rugby season, I met the manager and coach of the Goudini United Rugby Club, who invited me to their training session at the Wysersdrift field. He worked as a foreman at a nearby farm, owned a *bakkie* (a pick-up truck), and conveyed that he was managing this club, and training young rugby players, as part of ‘giving back to the community’,<sup>136</sup> drawing from his own experiences as a competitive rugby player in his youth. The rugby field at the Rainbow Farm Plot B8 was the field where I never attended any games or practices, but drove past many times as it was also along the R43 (one of the major roads, see Map C). The field was home ground to the Rainbow Rugby Club, all the members of which were employees at the chicken farm called,

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<sup>135</sup> The league was referred to by two different but interchangeable Afrikaans names, even in their official communication: as ‘Worcester Vallei Rugby & Netbal Unie’ and ‘Worcester Vallei Sone’ (see Appendix D). However, the conventional English translation for the league was: ‘Worcester Rugby Zone’, which is how it was introduced to me.

<sup>136</sup> He shared so when I met him, the coach/manager of Goudini United RFC, at the Bet El Primary School while he was picking up some of the farm school children to bring them back to their respective homes. It was then he shared information about his rugby club and how his *bakkie* takes care of the club’s travels to and back from the games. (Field notes: 7<sup>th</sup> February 2013)



Rainbow Chickens. I did record a joint interview with the secretary of this club and the chairperson of the WRZ, both of whom shared important insights about rugby practices among the farm workers, beyond the narrow focus on operations of individual clubs. In particular, they explained how these rugby fields on the private land were usually donated by a group of farmers to a worker community or their rugby club, with an agreement that the community will take care of its maintenance. Yet, these agreements and donations vary from farm to farm, business to business, and between the sports. For example, it is a requirement by the rugby federation that each rugby club has a designated field kept to specific standards, whereas, in case of soccer, often multiple clubs would use a centrally located soccer facility.

### **6.1.2. Competitive Sport Structures**

The two sport federations I elaborate on here are: Boland Rugby Union (BRU) and Breede Valley Local Football Association (BVLFA). The standard format of the league structures both federations followed was promotion and relegation of sport clubs within a hierarchy of competitive tiers. This is a fairly generic format followed by a range of sports, especially at regional level, whereby the sport club with the maximum number of wins against the other clubs in its league during a seasons is promoted to the higher tier of competition, while the club at the bottom of the league (with least number of wins) is relegated to the lower tiers. This kind of technical information on each sport and its competitive structure is easily accessible on their respective websites.<sup>137</sup> My focus here is more specific and narrower. I only describe the level at which the sport clubs from rural and farm worker communities of Rawsonville were accessing and engaging with the sport federations, its governance, organisation and league structures.

The manner in which the two federations divided, organised and administered geo-political boundaries of South Africa offers an important contrast in the historical, social and political trajectories of the two sports: soccer and rugby, despite their competing popularity in the mainstream, today. While the South

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<sup>137</sup> For rugby, see the websites of SARU (South African Rugby Union) <http://www.sarugby.net>, and Boland Rugby Union (BRU) <http://www.bolandrugby.com>; and for soccer, see the website of SAFA (South African Football Association) <http://www.safa.net/>

African Football Association (SAFA) organises its national competition structure in accordance with the nine provincial regions and 52 municipal districts that define political-geography of the new South Africa, the South African Rugby Union's (SARU) league structures were organised around 14 provincial unions, without any clear regional boundaries or overlaps with the actual provinces of South Africa<sup>138</sup>. For instance, the region referred to as Boland or the old Boland District was never defined to any precise boundaries (Raper, 1987). Boland roughly overlapped the municipal region now known as Cape Winelands District Municipality (CWDM), but the clubs affiliated to BRU were from regions well beyond the CWDM (see Map A, where I demark rough boundaries of Boland region in relation to CWDM and the Western Cape).

In contrast, the soccer leagues were confined precisely to the municipal and district boundaries. For example, BVLFA managed the entry level league, called the Promotional League, for the affiliated soccer clubs domiciliary to the BVM. The BVLFA managed two sets of league seasons every year, the summer league and the winter league. In this way, soccer games were played throughout the year, but there were less soccer clubs who took part in the winter league. This could be attributed to the fact that it was only the winners of summer Promotional League who were promoted to the next tier up, called the SAB Regional League, which was managed by the SAFA Cape Winelands, where the top 16 soccer clubs from across the CWDM competed in an intra-province league contest. The inter-province league, called the Vodacom League, was a qualification away from the SAFA National Championships, the highest level of soccer competition within South Africa, outside the Professional Soccer League (PSL). While this sums up the SAFA's organisational structure, the SARU managed the national level leagues and tournaments only, leaving the provincial unions to organise the intra-regional tiers of league competitions. The BRU's official structure had four tiers within which different leagues were organised: with the *Premier Liga* at the top of the pyramid, followed by the *Super Liga* at the second tier, the *Presidents Liga* at the third tier and the *Eeste Liga* at the entry level (see Appendix D).

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<sup>138</sup> This information is correct to the time of fieldwork, these structures have changed since.

If BVLFA's Promotional League was the entry level for the grassroots soccer clubs, it was the Worcester Rugby Zone (WRZ) that served as BRU's feeder level league, but only for the Worcester and its surroundings. Despite being an affiliate of BRU, the WRZ organised and managed its fixtures independent of BRU, and had a slightly different competitive format from that of the BRU's main leagues. Within the WRZ structure, each club pitched one netball team and two rugby teams (team A and B) per match, and each of these teams contested against their corresponding team from the other club. However, the contest that really mattered was among the rugby teams, who were playing to get promoted to *Eerste Liga* in the BRU (see Appendix D). So, except for WRZ paying its annual subscriptions to the BRU to remain an affiliate, it was a possibility to be promoted to the BRU leagues, and perhaps eventually play at the national levels, that tied the WRZ to the BRU. Then again, winning the WRZ league was not enough for a club to be promoted. The winning club had to show that they had access to an appropriately equipped (club house, changing and ablution facilities) rugby field maintained to minimum standards and official parameters as their home ground. The field was inspected by the BRU officials, before a club was included into BRU leagues.<sup>139</sup>

When a club from the WRZ was promoted to the BRU leagues, the netball team of this club was dropped.<sup>140</sup> I do not discuss the Boland Netball, the netball federation, as its presence among the farm workers of Rawsonville was limited. There was only one affiliate netball club, Roslyn Netball Club, based in De Nova, with a few players who worked and lived at the local commercial farms. But lack of reliable transport and household duties made it difficult for them to commit to evening practices and weekend games with the club. As for the soccer and rugby, none of the farm workers' clubs were playing at levels higher than BVLFA and BRU leagues; still, these structures had corollaries for how sport was participated and accessed by the rural and farm worker athletes and their sport clubs. It was to

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<sup>139</sup> This was among the reasons explained to me why a club like Rainbow Rugby Club would not be promoted even if they won their league.

<sup>140</sup> Among the nine netball teams listed (see Table 6.1), four were part of WRZ. The regional netball federation, Netball Boland, did not seem to have any connection with the WRZ. Clearly, it would be beyond BRU's mandate to accommodate netball teams. In this way, the WRZ's netball teams were excluded from both structures, to the extent that I never managed to catch a single game, and some of the teams seemed to exist only on paper.

this end that I explored the specific and localised functions and effects of BVLFA and BRU on sport among farm workers of Rawsonville.

**Table 6.1: List of Sport (mainstream versus subaltern) Clubs in the Study Region**

Mainstream Sport Clubs		Subaltern Sport Clubs	
Club's Name	Home Ground	Club's Name	Home Ground
<b>Soccer Clubs or Football Clubs (FC)</b>			
Raw. Gunners	RMSF	Young Stars	Merwida
De Novians	RMSF	Shooting Stars	Goudini Cellar
Fairhills	RMSF	Pumas	Pokraal
Young Chiefs	RMSF (Tierstel <sup>141</sup> )	Young Pirates	Witelsrivier
Mountain Tigers	RMSF (Louwshoek)	Mighty Strikers	HugosKraal
		Golden Experience	Slanghoek Cellar
		Super Strikers	Tuienhuise
		Mighty Blues	Witelsrivier
		Morgan Stars	Waaihoek
		Eendracht United	Waaihoek
		Valley Stars	Breërevier
		Black Leopards	Breërevier
		Greens	Normandie
		Tigers	Dammas
		Rainbow	Brandwacht
<b>Rugby Football Clubs (RFC)</b>			
Rawsonville United	GHSF		
Villagers Breërivier	Breërivier		
Protea Worcester	Brandwacht		
Rainbow	Rainbow farm PlotB8		
Goudini United	Wyserdrift		
Klipdrift	Klipdrift		
<b>Netball Clubs (NC)</b>			
Roslyn Netball Club	Rawsonville Primary	Protea	Brandwacht Primary
		Normandie	Branwacht
		Mountain Tigers	Louwshoek
		Rainbow	Brandwacht
		Klipdrift	Klipdrift
		Tigers	Dammas
		Fairhills NC	Goudini HS

### 6.1.3. Sport Clubs

As a way of summary and contrasting illustration of different mainstream and subaltern sport clubs and teams, I organise these into a table format (see Table 6.1). At the start of the fieldwork in April 2012, there were 23 soccer clubs from across BVM registered to compete at BVLFA's Promotional League, of which four were based in Rawsonville. These included: the Rawsonville Gunners FC, the De Novians FC, the Fairhills FC, and the Young Chiefs FC. Later that year,

<sup>141</sup> While RMSF was used for all official BVLFA matches in Rawsonville, Mountain Tigers and Young Chiefs had access to a field on their respective farms for practice and gambling games.

another club, called the Mountain Tigers FC, joined BVLFA league for the first time to play the summer league of 2012-13. In this way, the number of soccer clubs competing in the summer and winter leagues of BVLFA fluctuated a lot, and this also demonstrates the relatively low barriers to entry to the league. The RMSF served as the home ground for all of the BVLFA soccer clubs from Rawsonville, whereas each of the BRU rugby club had to declare their own individual home ground. Thus, the barriers to enter the BRU or the WRZ leagues for a new rugby club were relatively high. The number of rugby clubs competing each year also remained fairly consistent, that is, 130 in BRU and 12 in WRZ, of which 6 rugby clubs (3 playing in BRU and 3 in WRZ) were from the farming regions in and around Rawsonville.

At this stage, it is important to point out that the definition according to which I label (in Table 6.1) a sport club as mainstream is not rigid, but rather simplistic. It simply includes all the sport clubs that were competing in the official structures of their respective sport, during the time of fieldwork. In reality, the movement of athletes and the clubs between the mainstream and subaltern structures was a lot more fluid. For instance, all the mainstream soccer clubs listed were regularly participating in gambling games, an informal format I discuss as a subaltern sport practice. Besides, by Gramscian definition, subaltern is a social class or a group of people of 'inferior rank' (Guha and Spivak, 1988). I do not employ the term subaltern exactly to this definition, but to refer to sport practices organised and practiced by the working class people from lower socio-economic groups, who tend to get incorporated into programmes of "development" through sport. Accordingly, at least most (if not all) of the patrons of all the sport clubs listed in Table 6.1 could be considered subaltern, albeit with varying degree of subalternity. Additionally, subaltern sport does not simply imply or include every sport activity performed outside the official sport structures. One particular exception to this would be the league structure called *Rugga* (and its affiliate Rawsonville Rugby Club),<sup>142</sup> which operated on private and exclusive terms. This

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<sup>142</sup> *Rugga*, as I was explained by Prof Albert Grundlingh in a personal conversation, is a nickname for rugby, however I do not know how this league had come to be named as such. Also, I did not collect much information on *Rugga* and *Rawsonville Rugby Club*, as I assumed that a farm worker would be an unlikely client to these organisations, given their class and racial exclusivity.

league maintained a social status without affiliation to any regional, national or international rugby governing bodies, but by no definition could *Rugga* be considered subaltern sport because its patrons were likely to be from higher socio-economic class. Therefore, informally organised competitive sport was certainly not a reserve for a specific class or race, but informal (and formal) sport practices were shaped by and shaped the ways in which sport was being practiced.

I discuss, in some detail, the meaning and context within which I label a specific set of sport practices as subaltern sport in the third section of this chapter. Before I do so, I attend to the dynamics within which rural working class people access the mainstream sport. In particular, I focus on historical and socio-political aspects which did or did not enable the farm workers of Rawsonville to access the mainstream sport. In other words, the question next section elaborates on asks: how do the official structures and institutions facilitate and/or restrict access to sport for the rural and farm worker communities? To illustrate the peculiarities of farm workers' structural position, I contrast the conditions and politics of access for farm workers to that for rest of the local rural community.

## **6.2. ACCESSING THE “MAINSTREAM”**

During apartheid, mainstream sport in South Africa would have meant sport administered and participated in by the people racially classified as “white” (Archer and Bouillon, 1982). Stratification and organisation of the whole population into racial hierarchies, and the racial segregation policies of the time assigned and confined each group to different physical (residential and commercial) areas, economic options, political rights and social life. Sport, accordingly, was institutionalised along the racial lines across South Africa. Not only that the “non-white” athletes had severely restricted access to the mainstream sport, sports like soccer were also relegated to an inferior status or a less prestigious pursuit (ibid, p. 98). Therefore, different sporting activities (soccer, rugby and netball, in particular) are imbued with racial, gender, social and class symbolism. On the one hand, sport of rugby and ‘the notions of Afrikaners as solid, pioneering men of the soil’ have been two emblematic markers of “white” Afrikaner nationalism and their cultural identity (Grundlingh, 2014, p. 72). On the

other, soccer had been seen as a working class sport, and since early 1950s it became a “black” sport, practiced often in informal sport spaces and facilitated with inadequate infrastructure (Alegi, 2004; Archer and Bouillon, 1982). The historical geography of sports and sport spaces continue to reflect racial, class, gender, political and rural-urban divides, configuring access to, and participation in, sport in diverse, yet particular, ways.

While such racial association and identification with different sports conveys this historical narrative, still, in reality, these markers have hardly been simplistic. These racialised associations to sport were further complicated in a region where the majority of the population was classified as “coloured”. Indeed, the six rugby clubs that I recount above had predominantly “coloured” membership, which in itself is a complex racial/cultural identity and also known for strong affinity to the sport of rugby. Similarly, most of the soccer clubs and teams (mainstream as well as subaltern) that I discuss here consisted of, and were run by, the “coloured” farm workers. There were, of course, many “black” soccer patrons (players, coaches, managers, spectators), but none of the soccer clubs identified themselves as exclusive to a racial or ethnic identity. A soccer club could be dominated by, say Xhosa or Sotho or “coloured” players, but most of the soccer players and managers belonging to a particular club expressed that their club was open to anyone who would like to join them. During informal conversations, discussions revolved around recruiting stronger players to play for one’s club, rather than concerns over a player’s racial or ethnic affiliation. Besides, when the racial and ethnic identities were provoked, it was often after the fact, to justify or explain a situation of conflict, or a struggle over resources, or positions of power. Despite the observable contradictions and density in the way sport unfolds in rural towns and farmlands, historically constructed racial stereotypes and their associations with a specific sport continue to facilitate the logic for contemporary organisation and politics of control and access to sport and sports facilities.

### **6.2.1. Accessing Mainstream Sport Fields**

The history of, and access to, the two central mainstream sport facilities in the rural town of Rawsonville is a case in point. Until 2007, there was only one

mainstream sport facility in Rawsonville, the Goudini High Sport Field (GHSF), access to which was controlled by the Goudini High School (GHS). At least until early 1990s, there was another poorly maintained sport area in De Nova for the resident “non-white” population, which also served as a practice and home ground to two rugby clubs, called the Roslyn Rugby Club (established since 1954) and Green-leaves Rugby Club (established since 1972). By some accounts, at least as early as the early 1980s, there were a minority of “coloured” rugby players who were already playing in the mainstream rugby structures, through a local “white” rugby club called Rawsonville Rugby Club (RRC). With the political changes of the early 1990s, the “coloured” rugby clubs and players were now able to access and assert their participation in the mainstream structures independent of the “white” sport administrators. These changes also opened up the possibilities for the “non-whites” to access better sports facilities, the facilities that were previously reserved for exclusive use of the “white” population. Already in 1988, the two “coloured” rugby clubs – Roslyn and Green-leaves – merged to form a stronger club called, Rawsonville United Rugby Football Club (RURC), to launch a strong contest in the to-be-unified mainstream rugby structures. The story of RURC and how they negotiated and continue to use the GHSF as their practice and home ground offers some important insights.<sup>143</sup>

The unification of sport post-1994 did not lead to the unification of the two rugby clubs in Rawsonville; the RURC and the RRC. Until the year 2000, the two rugby clubs continued to compete within BRU structures that were developing new strategies to bring together the racially divided rugby clubs to compete in a single racially unified structure. While the RURC has remained predominantly a “coloured” rugby club, stronger “black” and “coloured” rugby players were often incorporated into the stronger, financially sounder, and more experienced, RRC. Around 2001-02, the RURC went through a financial down-turn for two years,

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<sup>143</sup> Because my empirical questions were never directed at exploring the specific history of rugby in Rawsonville, I construct this historical narrative by cross-referencing different sources, which includes the *Rawonville United RFC Development Plan 2012-2015* (shared by an executive member), many formal and informal conversations and events recorded in field notes, and extracts from formal interviews. Rugby is an important part of the social life of the farming community, for both “white” and “coloured” population, and references to Rawsonville’s rugby scene were often taken up without any prompting from me. The social and political orientation of my informants on the topic was diverse enough to allow me to portray the story with reasonable accuracy.



and so did not compete in the BRU structures during this time. In 2003, in an attempt to build the club up again, the RURC went into another merger with a team from Rekenaarskool Boland RFC, the rugby team of the near-by Further Education and Training (FET) college; the Boland College, a merger which lasted until 2006. By the time I was conducting my fieldwork, the RURC was standing on its own feet as the strongest rugby club in Rawsonville and surrounding farming areas, while the RRC had broken away from the mainstream rugby league, the BRU. Despite the fact that RRC no longer plays in the mainstream, the RURC and the RRC remain the two major rugby clubs in the rural town, respectively maintaining predominantly “coloured” and “white” clientele. In an interview with a local farmer, who had also been a keen rugby player, a patron of the RRC, explained the situation with the rugby clubs in Rawsonville as:

They never were together; the Rawsonville club [RRC] and the other is the Boland League club, on the other side [of the river]. There were a lot of black players in the white club and we moved to the first division and a lot of outside players come and play for the first division, Rawsonville first division club. Because of that a lot of the coloured players, that was too small or not fast enough, didn't make it into the first team. And they said we helped you into the first team ... and then a lot of them go and play for the club in De Nova. And they [RRC management] said only the best players will play, doesn't matter where they come from. And a lot of them [“coloured” players] were unhappy about that<sup>144</sup>

A sense of being discriminated against was quite pronounced among the “coloured” population of De Nova in my engagement with them over the year. Whatever the criteria of selection to the team might have been, inclusion of “white” rugby players from outside over the local “coloured” rugby players was unlikely to be taken by the latter as anything other than continued racial discrimination, given the racial history and politics of South Africa. The “coloured” rugby players who left the RRC prompted the revival of RURC. By 2006, the stronger “coloured” rugby players, along with some influential social and political elites from the community, brought together enough patrons from well beyond De Nova, from the farms and farm workers, as well as persuaded the Cape Winelands District Municipality to sponsor them, to re-establish the Rawsonville United Rugby Football Club. The RURC never used the old field in

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<sup>144</sup> Extract from an interview with a farmer (Recording code # VR0041, August 2012)

De Nova, for one among other reasons; it was not up to the BRU's official standards. Besides, by the time I was conducting fieldwork, that township sport field had turned into an informal settlement, where the farm workers evicted from local commercial farms were now living (see Map D). The leaders of the RURC had negotiated access to GHSF, possibly through their political influence in the community, but also by paying high usage fees and electricity bills. My conversation with the chairman of RURC suggested that access to GHSF, despite the unreasonably high bills they were made to pay, has been a constant battle.

Although I was unable to garner more intricate details about how the RURC maintained their access to GHSF, it was clear from the way different people related to, and spoke about, the field that access to GHSF also had a symbolic importance. It not only denoted continued and privileged control of “whites” over the sport and social spaces in the village, promoting a sense of discrimination along racial and class lines, but when accessed by the “non-whites” on their own terms, it was an affirmation of their influence in the broader community. There was a widespread understanding that in anticipation of political transition, from apartheid to democracy, the municipal sport facilities, which were in the areas designated for “whites-only” under apartheid, were transferred over to either a (then) “whites-only” school or taken over by a private sport club managed by the “white” administrators<sup>145</sup>. The multiple accounts that I recorded in relation to GHSF also indicate that it was a municipal sport field prior to 1994, and at some point to how its ownership was transferred over to the high school, the GHS. Still, the social meanings and emotional intensity attached to these accounts differed significantly along racial and class lines. It was in this context the senior manager at BVM's department of Operational Services, responsible for overseeing the maintenance of all the open spaces in the municipality, explained:

I am not sure about the details, but Rawsonville field [GHSF] did belong to the municipality, and then it was transferred to Goudini High School. We went into great investigations there, and we found that the property deed, it is on their name, but before that it was the municipality was the owner. I don't know what

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<sup>145</sup> In an exchange with a rugby coach/ school teacher from De Doorns, he explained that ‘around 1994, just before the transition, the public sports facilities in the area were transferred over to the previously “white” school at very low or no cost at all. Now, the access to such sport fields was restricted by high rentals’ (Field Notes: 3<sup>rd</sup> July 2012).

was the details of the contract, but I think, but I know it's theirs, according to documentation, the field now belongs to them. It's no longer our field. I don't know how that happened. The one next to it [RMSF] we developed now, we developed it in 2007. So, that one is ours.<sup>146</sup>

The 'great investigations' were prompted by a conflict over access to the sport facilities by the broader community, in which the local politicians from De Nova had become involved, questioning the terms of ownership, maintenance and control of the GHSF. I was told that a protest march took place in the streets of Rawsonville over this issue. A "white" government official also shared that he was called in to mediate a conflict over access to this sport facility. The official explained the nature and details of the conflict as a misunderstanding among the people who were denied access as being discriminated, instead, according to him, it was a matter of managing the field to its optimal usage without overburdening the facility. While he emphasised that the GHSF did not belong to the school but only managed by them, still, in a separate conversation he went on to expound upon the generosity of the "white" government in serving "their" people, explaining that it was not unusual for a municipality to donate its sport field to a school for as little as R2. Despite the ownership (or management) of the GHSF with GHS, it was maintained by the local municipality (BVM's Operational Services) until 2007, while the bookings and access were controlled by the GHS. I do not know if the school charged for the sport field-bookings prior to 2007, yet it was clear that the investigations resulted in development of the Rawsonville Municipal Sports Field (RMSF) and termination of maintenance of GHSF by the BVM.

The GHS's control over the GHSF was also explained in terms of their ability and experience in managing the facility in a professional manner, as well as their generous acceptance of "others" to access "their" field. The local primary school, Rawsonville Primary was allowed to use the field a few times every year for their sport days and rugby matches, on charitable terms, because GHS recognised that Rawsonville Primary did not have a proper field on their premises. Theoretically, access to the sport field was no longer determined by the racial or class status of the potential users. However, to what purposes, when, for how long, and by

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<sup>146</sup> Extract from an interview (Recording code # VR0089, February 2013)

whom, the GHSF could be used had to be approved by the GHS. For example, in an exchange with a farm worker, who had been a soccer player and administrator in the past, about if the GHSF was used for soccer games prior to 2007 (as there were no other sport fields in the area to official soccer standards), he responded:

No, no, this [GHSF] was only whites. We never play there before. And now also, you can't play soccer there.

... That's what they say last time: worry about the grass! They don't know what is the difference between the rugby boots and soccer boots ...

... Because why they don't want other rugby or soccer to book the field for friendly games or for a tournament. But white guys can book it for the horses! Horses can run from the Gymkhana!<sup>147</sup>

So, while the RURC was able to pay to access the GHSF, soccer clubs were not allowed access to it at all. A general perception among the “white” non-soccer playing community was that using the field for soccer would damage the grass – a perception elaborated on by a “white” sport administrator in an interview. He went on to argue that there were more soccer games played over the year than rugby, and the sport fields were not built or maintained to bear that kind of load. The horses running on the field once or twice a year was not going to cause the same damage as four to six soccer games every weekend, he elaborated. Besides, given the socio-economic demographic of most soccer players and clubs in Rawsonville, it was unlikely that any of them would consider paying any kind of fees to use the field.

The municipal facilities also had tariffs in place to use the field, but there were no mechanisms in place to charge these fees. As for the official league games, BVLFA booked the venue, but it was clear that no-one really paid for the use of the field. For training purposes, clubs were meant to book the sport field directly with the municipality, which, at best, was inconsistent, and often required direct negotiations with, and at times bribing of, the care-taker of the field.<sup>148</sup> In this

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<sup>147</sup> Interview conducted with a farm worker (Recording code # VR0080, January 2013)

<sup>148</sup> The municipal (BVM) officer at the Rawsonville office shared that there were procedures in place to access RMSF. The facilities were meant to be booked, maintenance to be paid for by the users. But no-one really ever pays, because he also knows that the primary user-group of the field cannot afford to pay. He went on to elaborate on my question; why was it, then, that the access to the field was easier for some and not for the others, that: he was aware that the care taker was partial in that for whom he opens the field, and who he stops. But since no-one has ever filed a formal complaint with him, he was not going to do anything about it (Field Notes: 2<sup>nd</sup> July 2012).

respect, farm workers' access to sport fields for training purposes, be that for rugby or for soccer, was relatively a minor concern. There were plenty of large enough, informal spaces, often next to farm workers residential areas, which were used for training and playing soccer, rugby or any other sports (see Map C for the fields marked as soccer fields). These were the kinds of sport spaces that I refer to as subaltern sport spaces, but before I elaborate on these, I discuss the dynamics within which farm workers accessed the mainstream sport leagues of the BVLFA and the BRU.

### **6.2.2. Accessing Mainstream Sport Competition**

At its simplest, access to mainstream soccer leagues required affiliation with SAFA, which involved filling in some forms, paying the joining fees and league subscriptions to the Local Football Association (in my study, it was the BVLFA). However, in practice, the barriers to access mainstream soccer were more directly related to the specific history, institutionalisation and politics of soccer in the given region. As one of the executive members of BVLFA explained:

You must understand that the soccer, especially in our region, has always been divided between the two groups: coloureds and blacks. Currently, it is still the same. Even when we are united, if we are going to a meeting, you will see opposing arguments against each other. It is that apartheid cultural backgrounds still engraved in each of these guys. Zweletemba used to operate on their own with a black structure and Worcester on their own with a coloured structure!<sup>149</sup>

The conflict within the newly unified soccer union (the BVLFA) along the racial lines, as the executive suggested, was a legacy of racially segregated group areas policy under apartheid. From the stories about the origins of some of the soccer clubs that I learned, it was clear that the managers and players of these clubs were deeply invested,<sup>150</sup> both financially and emotionally, in the success of their soccer club and what they considered their community. There were a very large number of very small soccer clubs; for instance, some soccer clubs consisted of just enough members to make one soccer team. The reasons for so many small soccer

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<sup>149</sup> Interview conducted with a BVLFA's member (Recording code # VR0062, December 2012)

<sup>150</sup> These stories ranged from the clubs being tied together for their victorious history, or influential leadership (either as a well-respected and liked person or for being able to draw consistent resources to run the club), to a more personal level sacrifices in bringing together a soccer club. For example, a group of soccer players collectively saved away the money for lunch to pay for the stamp to register their soccer club.

clubs within one region ranged from extremely low barriers to entry to formal and informal competition, presence of a large network of informal soccer competition, perceptions of soccer as a participant sport rather than a spectator sport at the grassroots level in the region, to people finding a sense of pride in managing a soccer club of their own. And each of these clubs not only competed against the other on the soccer field, but also over resources, sponsors and recognition. At the executive level of BVLFA, the struggles over power and control might seem to be divided along racial lines. However, *realpolitik* in managing a soccer club and the geographic location of a soccer club seemed to me a more critical configuring factor. Within such political dynamics, inclusion of the soccer clubs from the local farming regions into the mainstream soccer leagues was hardly a consideration of BVLFA's equation.

As I was often reminded, and as it was clear from attending the soccer games and BVLFA meetings, there were no “white” soccer players<sup>151</sup> in Rawsonville. As a BVLFA executive argued; ‘most of the white players that play sport are playing rugby or cricket and that is where the money is’.<sup>152</sup> Similarly, the discourse among the larger “white” farming community considered soccer as a distinctively “black” sport. Some of them claimed, despite their zeal for sport, they did not watch or play soccer, ‘not even during the 2010 FIFA world cup in South Africa’ as one respondent shared. Still, farm workers, both “coloured” and “black” had been playing and following soccer in Rawsonville at least since the early 1980s,<sup>153</sup> if not earlier. Still, unlike the town or township based soccer administered by the people from the community, who were passionately involved in the sport as players, coaches and managers, farm workers’ soccer, since the early days, was organised as a charitable effort of some of the farmers. During the time of the Rural Foundation (RF), it was organised more systematically among farm workers by the “white” administrators or “community developers”. For instance, a farm

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<sup>151</sup> Over the whole year of attending soccer games, I saw two young “white” boys who played for a team from Worcester. There were no “white” officials either, except one, who was the managing director of a soccer club, but confessed that he did not know much about the sport.

<sup>152</sup> Interview conducted with a BVLFA's member (Recording code # VR0062, December 2012)

<sup>153</sup> In an interview with a farm worker soccer player/administrator, he confirmed that there were about 27 soccer clubs in the league competing on every Saturday from May to November, during and after the days of Rural Foundation (Recording code # VR0080, January 2013)

worker involved in soccer leagues in the valley, during, as well as after the closure of, the RF, explained:

On every farm there was a team, or one team come out of 2 farms, or so. But that time it was, the *Landelike Stigting* [Afrikaans name for the RF] was, part of the apartheid government. And if the boss of the farm says “you must play soccer, you work on my farm, you must play soccer!” And then there was a team on that farm! May be the team rise there for only 2 or 3 weeks, there was *baie* [many] soccer games and talks and so on. There was a lot of teams, there was a two leagues a “A” stream and a “B” stream that time. It was *alright!*

... It was successful and the only knock that came in when the new government come. The new government come in 1994, the *Landelike Stigting* is run on till 1997. Because why the apartheid government sponsored the money for us, for the people who work on the farm for sport and for everything, sports and arts and craft and everything. But the new government come and make the money smaller and smaller and then take it out. The last two years there was no money, from 1996 and 1997, there was no money. And the white guys who were there who was doing the job, they all gone. Because there was no money to pay them<sup>154</sup>

The farm worker quoted here further explained that after the ‘white guys’ had left, some of the farm workers continued to run the soccer leagues at their own expenses, including himself, for the next two years. In the years that followed, while there were only limited centrally administered leagues within vaguely defined geo-political region of Boland, most of the farm workers’ soccer teams continued to ‘play for money and brandy and so on’, he informed. It was these games which the soccer players referred to as gambling games. Notwithstanding, different, historical and contemporary, sources suggest that the possibility to play in the mainstream soccer, as I take it to mean, would have only emerged as a real possibility for the farm workers’ soccer clubs in 2002-03 when soccer played in the BVM was incorporated into national SAFA structures.<sup>155</sup> The SAFA emphasised unification and inclusion of racially divided urban soccer institutions. And even though farm workers’ soccer teams and clubs had been playing in their own separate leagues, there was no recognition of these clubs to be included into the mainstream structures, in a systematic way. Still, it would be inaccurate to suggest that farm workers’ soccer clubs were systematically excluded. Rather,

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<sup>154</sup> Ibid

<sup>155</sup> As the SAFA restructured soccer according to new geo-political boundaries of South Africa, the regions which were organisationally or politically stronger, like Worcester and Zweektemba, were pitched against each other over power struggles, while the smaller regions like Rawsonville (and the Rawsonville District Soccer Association) remained a marginal contender.

their sport had never been institutionalised in a way to be excluded or included as a group to the mainstream, unlike “black” and “coloured” soccer institutions.

By the time I started to ask questions about how farm workers were included into the competitive structures, it was clear that their participation in the BVLFA leagues was entirely dependent upon their own initiative. My assumption was that it might be the lack of financial and travel means that the farm workers’ soccer clubs did not join the BVLFA.<sup>156</sup> According to the perspectives of the mainstream sport administrators, who were mostly based in the urban or rural towns, the keen sportspersons and athletes from the farm worker communities usually joined the mainstream sport clubs based in the rural towns. There was some truth in my assumptions and the views expressed by the urban sport administrators, but I also learned that a lot of the farm workers’ soccer clubs in the remoter farmlands simply did not know if the centrally organised soccer leagues were options available to them. My question: *why* a soccer club did not play in the BVLFA leagues, was often responded to with a question of: *how* might they be able to join the league, and if and how I might be able to help.

In contrast, the knowledge of rugby structures seemed more up to date among the farm workers. Historically, rugby had been the mainstream sport of South Africa and in some ways more so among rural farming communities. As for the farming community of Rawsonville, I did not meet a single “white” farmer who had never played rugby or did not have some kind of on-going association with the sport. Many farmers shared that some of “their” farm workers did play rugby with them. Still, it is unlikely that a “coloured” farm worker would have had a real chance to compete at higher (provincial, national or international) levels in the past, irrespective of their sporting ability given the racial segregation policies in sport. The dynamics of access to mainstream rugby in South Africa, in general, and for the farm workers, in particular, have changed since the end of apartheid. However, the contemporary dynamics seemed only more complicated than can be

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<sup>156</sup> This was also inductive of the fact that only two out of 18 soccer clubs, which were run and participated by the farm workers only, were playing BVLFA leagues at the start of my fieldwork. The other two out of five clubs I list as mainstream soccer clubs were based in De Nova, and had only part of their players from the farms. And the one remaining club, which was a farm worker run soccer club, only joined the BVLFA in October 2012 for the summer league. I describe and discuss three of these soccer clubs in some detail, in the next Chapter.



explained in simple racial or class hierarchal terms. Farm workers may no longer be totally dependent on, or limited by, the farmer (or their *baas*) to access rugby, but their socio-economic status and layers of micro-politics still influenced the manner in which farm workers accessed and engaged with the sport. The following interview extract from a conversation between a “white” farmer (F) and I (T) sheds some light on the contemporary dynamics, which started with my question: if farmers and farm workers have ever played or play rugby together:

F: one of my farm workers played for the C-team in Rawsonville Rugby Club, only for a year but then he stopped.

T: why?

F: I don't know why he stopped. He is still on the farm!

T: So, he was playing with you?

F: He was playing third team and I was playing first team.

[Pauses] Ja! That's probably why, they've been having problems in the past. Because of different clubs playing each other. And it's the farm workers and the farmers in different opposing districts playing against each other. There were very bad fights in the past because of that. Because of the racial differences and they, it's like, we're gonna get you and stuff like that! It's like pay back on the rugby field and it wasn't good. That's why I stopped playing rugby. Because of that! But I think now it is better now. It is not all that racial cooking-boiling point, it was in the past like that.<sup>157</sup>

The farmer also clarified that this kind of tension had not been directly between a farmer and a farm worker from the same farm or business. Whether or not farm workers and farmers play or played rugby together, the conflation of “coloured” identity, which incorporated a large number of farm workers of the Western Cape, with aggression and violence seemed to serve as justification of the undesirability of social (or racial) “mixing” on the rugby field. This was a dominant discourse among the conservative “white” people I engaged with. The reasons why the farmer cited above emphasised that ‘it is better now’ – was because many of the previously “whites-only” rugby clubs were no longer playing within the BRU structures, but in a social league called Rugga. While all the representations of this league maintained its status as “social”, with no affiliation to any overarching governing bodies for rugby, some people from the inside circles of Rugga fervently argued that this league was as competitive as

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<sup>157</sup> Interview Recording code # VR0041, August 2012

any, but they did not play for regional or national recognition. The Rugga league was not only competitive on the rugby field, it also attracted large sponsors and the games were played for large sums of prize money.<sup>158</sup>

All the many conversations I recorded on Rugga suggest that racial and class divisions continue to shape the way sport was practiced by different segments of the society. Most of the “white” informants either avoided bringing up its racial or class exclusivity, or pointed out that there were a few “coloured” players in the Rugga leagues, who also wanted to avoid the violence that has become prevalent in BRU structures. However, the “coloured” informants viewed Rugga as a refusal of the “white” community to engage with them on equal terms, and some accounts suggested that the violence at the rugby games was often provoked by racially infused taunts directed at the “coloured” players. For instance, the chairman of the Villagers explained:

You know, mos, apartheid? Yes, Rugga is like apartheid sport, for *blanke mense* [white men] only! They don’t want to play with us.<sup>159</sup>

In another exchange with a “coloured” rugby coach, he argued that: ‘violence at the rugby games are just excuses that “whites” make to not engage with us. They have ruled us for so long and now accepting us as equals is a problem’.<sup>160</sup> Besides, discourses of violence at rugby games seemed to serve to vindicate the presence of a racially exclusive rugby league: the Rugga.

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<sup>158</sup> In a conversation recorded with the (then) secretary of the WRZ, where he elaborated on the Rugga league structure, its origins and the fact that large amount of money was involved with big sponsors. As an example of Rugga’s financial and networking capacity, he explained that a few years ago, Rugga had invited a few rugby teams from Argentina, and sponsored their visit and hospitality. Rawsonville is a small rural town, where everyone knows everyone, and so an event like Argentinian rugby tour was among the stories that were repeatedly told by many people. As for violence in BRU games, WRZ’s secretary argued that the BRU has a strict code of conduct and it is adhered to scrupulously and in a professional manner. Besides, there had been concerns over racism and power struggles within the BRU’s executive management. These tensions started during the elections for the president of BRU. The current (at the time of fieldwork) president, Francois Davis, is a “coloured” man who was elected over Schalk Burger Sr., who is a “white” man. If Schalk was elected as the president, there would have been no Rugga, nor would have rugby been as divided as it is now – he elaborated (Field Notes: 6<sup>th</sup> August 2012).

<sup>159</sup> Field notes: 28<sup>th</sup> January 2013

<sup>160</sup> Field notes: 3<sup>rd</sup> July 2012. Multiple other conversations with many “coloured” rugby managers or coaches suggested a similar dynamic. A newspaper article also reports prevalence of racism in the rugby encounters between “white” and “coloured”, with a particular example of the incident at the GHRF, where a “white” rugby player, Riaan Loots, from the RRC, died in an on-field fight (see: <http://mg.co.za/article/2006-06-27-rugby-brawl-death-allegations-of-racism> [Accessed: 19th January 2015])

A “white” government official, with a farming background from Rawsonville, went on to argue that ‘familiarity breeds contempt’.<sup>161</sup> For him, it was not a good business practice for farmers to engage with their farm workers in a social situation, like playing rugby with them in a same league or a club. Also, because of the cultural differences, the conduct of the “coloureds” on the rugby field was different from that of the “whites”, he explained:

Where you would have a more **subdued kind of comments**, the new spectators, the coloured teams are very much more involved emotionally in the games! I mean we play hard but we accept that that guy gives me a late tackle or gives me a knock somewhere, and I will get him later. People knew that it was kind of about the game and that happens! ... But now what happens ... because of the rowdiness, breaking of the bottles, the fights, the knives, the spectators around it, brings an uncontrollable emotional dimension to the whole game. And this spills over into the field, if you lose a game, it is like you lose a war, there’s an added bit of violence, often over step the boundary of what is **allowable violence!** In Rawsonville, a guy was kicked to death (emphasis added).<sup>162</sup>

Clearly, there was an unspoken understanding of how “white” rugby players were socialised, which defined the terms of ‘allowable violence’ and ‘subdued kind of comments’. While these terms defined by the dominating “white” group seemed totally inaccessible for anyone outside this status group, the understanding and judgment of ‘allowable violence’ or ‘subdued kind of comments’ was unlikely to apply uniformly across the class or racial order.

As it was, there were always many contradictions in the way “white” farmers and officials presented the relationship between a farmer and a farm worker in the context of sport. On one hand, “coloured” farm workers, as opposed to the “black” ones, were often referred to as part of the family, where “whites” and “coloureds” had a shared history, socialisation, language and culture. On the other hand, it was argued in different ways that: ‘social interaction between the higher ranks and lower ranks are just plastic ... social interactions between farmers and farm workers are impossible’.<sup>163</sup> The Afrikaners’ claims of “shared culture” with “coloured” farm workers existed alongside expressions of a deep difference to “coloureds” as lower ranks, exposing contradictions as well as ambiguities in the social processes and realities.

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<sup>161</sup> Interview Recording code # VR0065, December 2012

<sup>162</sup> Extract from the same interview recording as the last footnote.

<sup>163</sup> Same interview recording as the last two footnotes.

Besides, the socio-economic privilege of the “white” farming community not only helps maintain their dominance in the broader society, but also the options to choose on what terms, when and whether or not they would participate in sport alongside those they considered socially lower to them also remained with this status group. The presence of Rugga leagues exemplifies this kind of power to opt out, if they cannot have structures to operate according to their wishes. In a social order where class and access to resources are interchangeable with race, separate rugby league that can include and exclude its clientele along class (and racial) lines have to have implications for all those who fall outside it. This dynamic had an effect on how and to what extent “coloured” farm workers were able to maintain their rugby clubs and practices autonomously.

Such choices, to opt in or opt out of the mainstream sport structures for the “coloured” farm workers were limited, particularly in the case of rugby. The barriers to establish and enter a new rugby club to the mainstream rugby, let alone to set up their own autonomous league, were quite high, more so for the people in lower socio-economic class, for among the reasons I have discussed earlier in the chapter. The best way for a farm worker to access to play rugby competitively, that is, in the BRU or the WRZ leagues, was to join an already existing rugby club. As it was, many of the farm workers’ rugby clubs were led by a foreman, a person in middle managerial position or a professional person (like a teacher or a police officer) who had a long-standing relationship to their respective farm dweller community. Such a social position seemed vital in order to negotiate and maintain access to rugby fields, transport, sponsors for equipment and clothing, as well as to manage the day-to-day running of the club. While a steady access to transport and other resources were also important to manage a soccer club, the number of players in each club and the distances they travelled to play league games were often much shorter than that for the rugby clubs.

According to my research, the farm workers of the Rawsonville participated more widely in soccer and a much greater number of soccer games were played there throughout the year. Conspicuously, rugby might be the sport with much greater following among the farming community, but its mainstream league season, its traditions, its history, and the consistent flow of resources required for

participation, simply did not make it as accessible as soccer. There was also an alternative way in which competitive soccer operated outside the mainstream, but I did not come across anything that paralleled this in rugby. It is this alternative and unofficial network of soccer clubs and games that I refer to as subaltern sport, which I elaborate on in the rest of the chapter.

### 6.3. SUBALTERN SPORT

So, the [soccer] union had two different kinds of structures now: there's the organised structure and there's the **unorganised structure**. The organised structures are this, where the competitions being endorsed by SAFA, and the unorganised structure is this: where anyone can come and organise a competition for money and any team can come and play (emphasis added).<sup>164</sup>

It is the 'unorganised structure' that BVLFA's executive member explains in the above interview extract that I describe and discuss here as subaltern sport. The way I have defined the subaltern in contrast to the mainstream leaves much to be elaborated. Given the subaltern status of the rural working class people within the given social arrangements, all forms of sport activities performed by farm workers could well be referred to as subaltern sport. It is, perhaps, this kind of simplification that Partha Chatterjee argued as the 'overdetermined' status of Subaltern Studies (2012, p. 44). The questions that Subaltern Studies asked and the theoretical contours that it paved did 'scatter, reinvent and insert itself in several subsequent projects' (2012, p. 49). Indeed, my reference to subaltern sport is an attempt at reinventing a conceptual approach to study those sport practices that have remained at the periphery of "sport for development and peace" (SDP) and absolutely absent in theoretical explanations and analysis of SDP. I begin theorizing subaltern sport by describing soccer gambling games.

#### 6.3.1. The Gambling Games

SE: But SAFA say that they are not allowing clubs affiliated to the union [the Local Football Associations] to play unorganised soccer, and vice versa. You have to belong to SAFA in order to benefit from SAFA. If you don't belong, you don't benefit.

T: That's a good point you raise. What's the benefit of being with SAFA?

SE: That is something we all still want to see [laughs!] We don't know! We are being told that the benefits are being promoted to Castle [now SAB] league,

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<sup>164</sup> Interview Recording code # VR0062, December 2012

Vodacom League, and the possibility of one day playing PSL, getting sponsorships from SAFA. ... .. But there is more money being invested in unorganised soccer than there is money being invested in organised soccer.

T: But that is private money, no?

SE: Yes, that is not SAFA's money, that's private money!

... According to the constitution, they [SAFA] are in charge of all soccer in South Africa, but they are not managing it. Why not? Because they don't make soccer inclusive for everybody. They only make it inclusive for a small part. And to be included you have to be affiliated. And you cannot always afford affiliation being paid, transport for games and stuff like that. I would rather play for R500 this afternoon, than for R200 at the end of the season. You understand that? That is the mind-set that we have in our region for soccer.<sup>165</sup>

I share above my exchange with a BVLFA soccer executive (SE), where he lays out the dynamics within which soccer gambling games are wide-spread and more viable option for soccer clubs and games to exist and compete regularly. Though SAFA may not, in principle, want soccer to be played in an unorganised/unaffiliated manner, they seemed to have no means to police such practices. Moreover, these informal practices are of historical relevance in the way the majority of "non-white" population of South Africa organised and participated in sport. Alegie's (2004) historical account of South African soccer suggests the presence of gambling at and around the fiercely competed informal soccer games in "black" townships, but he does not elaborate on gambling games *per se*. The reminiscences of such practices, therefore, are limited to news articles, popular soccer magazines, such as *Kick-off* and *Soccer Laduma*, or personal accounts of soccer players who played the prime of their soccer during the apartheid years. For instance, *Soccer Laduma* covered a story on Motsau Joseph 'Banks' Setlhodi, a goal keeper of Kaiser Chiefs Football Club during early 1970s, depicting how he was drawn into the sport through 'pick up' soccer games.<sup>166</sup> In the story, Banks (as he is popularly known) recounts:

I saw the guys coming to fetch me to play in one of the 'pick up' games. Eventually they convinced me to come and play and I even had to put 5 bob (that's the money we used in those days before Rands and cents) into the soccer money for the game. As you know, the pick-up games between street teams were played for 'winner takes all'.

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<sup>165</sup> Interview Recording code # VR0062, December 2012

<sup>166</sup> See: [http://www.soccerladuma.co.za/supporters\\_club/imbizo/article/428](http://www.soccerladuma.co.za/supporters_club/imbizo/article/428) (originally published on 23 April 2003, and re-published on 10 October 2014). [Accessed: November 2014]

Banks's description of the 'pick up' games is a good summary of how soccer gambling games were played among the different soccer clubs in Rawsonville. In another account, on 8<sup>th</sup> February 2001, *iol News* covered a story on 'Gangster Soccer Leagues', which reported that these leagues operate 'across the Cape Flats in Cape Town and [are] funded and run by druglords and gang leaders... drawing in hordes of youngsters with the lure of big money'.<sup>167</sup> The incident that prompted the report was the murder of two people 'when a gang war erupted during the games'.<sup>168</sup> Aside from these, I was unable to locate any published material on such practices, but my conversations with "non-white" soccer players of a particular generation often led to rather elaborate personal stories of how soccer operated in the form of informal leagues and gambling games.<sup>169</sup> This news report goes on to explain the professional manner in which these leagues were run with prize money, as high as R30,000 to R50,000, at stake. It recounts the participation of some of the famous South African soccer players:

Household names like Bafana striker Benni McCarthy, his brother and Santos winger Jerome, Bafana striker Bradley August, Sundowns striker Alton Meiring and Ajax defender Jeremy Jansen are still well remembered for their exploits in these "Sunday league" games which easily attract 5000 supporters.

The presence of high profile soccer players on the unofficial soccer scene is no surprise, given the history of racial segregation and utter neglect of sports like soccer in South Africa until the early 1990s. In fact their participation in the informal soccer games within the informal economy suggests a more intricate link between unofficial and official soccer in the country (Farred, 2003).

Despite the fact that informal soccer has remained acutely under-reported and under-researched and that only limited references were available in print on the kind of informal soccer gambling games I record, there are reasons to believe that these practices were neither unique nor novel to the farm workers of Rawsonville. There might be some dynamics peculiar to farm life or Rawsonville, but without any detailed accounts on informal soccer practices from elsewhere, it is not

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<sup>167</sup> See: <http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/gangster-soccer-league-luring-youngsters-1.60509#.VRAE8ZWJiU> [Accessed on: November 2014]

<sup>168</sup> Ibid

<sup>169</sup> Apart from conducting my own keyword search on the internet, I did consult the soccer reporter of Argus, Kick-off and Soccer Laduma. A more systematic archival research and oral histories are likely to surface more stories on informal soccer, but for now, it is beyond the scope this project.

possible to offer any comparisons. In Rawsonville, these games, more often than not, were organised between the two soccer clubs/teams. If there were more than two teams competing against each other, it would be referred to as a tournament. A tournament was usually played in a knockout format, with no more than eight soccer clubs taking part at a time. Time, place, referees, rules and stakes were all agreed upon prior to start of the game. Almost all the games that I attended were played for money, but brandy or sheep as stakes also featured in the stories soccer players and coaches shared about the gambling games. In a one-on-one contest between two soccer clubs, the winner takes the lot. In a tournament, however, there was no fixed rule as to how the prize money was to be divided among the winners or runners up, but agreed upon before the competition draw was finalised. If a tournament was organised by a soccer club or an individual, the host would invite other (sometimes only selected) soccer clubs, informing them about the money each club required to pay, and the distribution of the prize money among the winning clubs.

Unlike the ‘gangster soccer leagues’ mentioned above, the stakes at gambling games among farm workers were fairly low. While hosting a big tournament (that is, by inviting a large number of soccer clubs) could certainly up the stakes, the social dynamics of farm life were such that the stakes and number of soccer clubs per tournament were usually quite small. Besides, the reference to ‘private money’ in my exchange with SE above does not necessarily mean the involvement of a formal or informal private or corporate sector, but rather may refer to the money individual soccer clubs or players put forward to play these gambling games. His suggestion that ‘there is more money being invested in unorganised soccer’ was a likely reference to the informal economy that runs and supports the gambling games and tournaments in the rural towns and townships. The same soccer executive member had also confirmed that within the broader soccer scene in the Worcester region, the soccer clubs from the farms have never been taken seriously or considered as part of the formal or informal soccer. I did learn about the involvement of taxi drivers, *shabeen* (informal tavern) owners and other actors from informal economic sector in sponsoring and organising soccer



clubs, teams and gambling games,<sup>170</sup> but my information on the extent to which these organisers penetrate the farmlands remained limited. This was because my focus was on the farm workers' soccer, not broader circuits of gambling games, and so the version of informal soccer networks discussed here pertains to soccer clubs and games from farmlands in and around Rawsonville.

### **6.3.2. Farm Sport Infrastructure**

Before I further the discussion on the different layers of meanings and modes of practices that composed the scenes at the gambling games, I briefly describe the layout of the infrastructure within which these subaltern sport practices take place. This infrastructure includes physical spaces for sport and subaltern soccer clubs. I recorded about 17 to 22 fields on the private farmlands available to farm workers that were specifically used for soccer practices and gambling games (see Table 6.2, where I list the location and condition of these soccer fields; also see Map C). This list is not comprehensive, but consists of all those fields where I attended either soccer practices or gambling games. Each time I met a new soccer club at these games, I tried to learn as much information I could about it. The name of the club was a start, followed by where and how often did they practice, and if I could join them for practice one day. The soccer fields, teams and clubs based relatively closer to the town of Rawsonville were also relatively easier to locate and to me it seemed that they were also relatively more regular at organising and playing competitive soccer every weekend. There were enough soccer fields in my list that I would not have found without one of the resident soccer patrons driving me (or with me) to the field. It is for this reason that I am convinced there might be more such soccer or sport fields in the region than the ones listed in the table below. The conditions of these fields varied a lot from some that had benefited from Fair trade, ethical accreditations or other social responsibility contributions to others that were mere barren, uneven and disowned pieces of land.

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<sup>170</sup> All the references made to the soccer clubs that run within the informal economy were based at "coloured" and "black" townships in Worcester. I did not follow these up as the network within which soccer clubs from Rawsonville played in were different from these.

**Table 6.2: Unofficial Soccer fields on Private Farmland in the Study Region**

S.Nr.	Field Location	Condition
1.	Tierstel	The field is situated next to the worker housing, with a tree in the middle of the field. A soccer club and the local youth used it for team practice and a kick about. But no <i>gambling games</i> were played at this field to my knowledge.
2.	Louwshoek	The width of the field is proportionately shorter, making it a long stipe with soccer goals at each end. Shared with grazing sheep, it was used mostly for team practice, and only very occasionally for <i>gambling games</i> .
3.	Merwida	It is a small soccer field, with no fence, over-grown, next to the worker housing, deep inside the farm boundaries. Used mostly for practice and only occasional <i>gambling games</i> .
4.	Goudini Cellar	The field is semi-maintained, built for the workers out of Fairtrade contributions, fenced with bob-wire (often causing damage to the soccer ball). It is also smaller in size, but was regularly used for the <i>gambling games</i> , but hardly ever for practice.
5.	Pokraal	The two goal posts in a rough, dry and sometimes over-grown patch of land are visible from the road going from Worcester to Rawsonville. Used only sporadically for <i>gambling games</i> .
6.	Witelsrivier	It is a dry, rocky, poorly maintained, but a good size soccer field, which was extensively used for practices and <i>gambling games</i> .
7.	Hugoskraal	To get to the field, one has to drive through the white gates that demark the farm/private property, and its access is controlled by a security code. Was initially a space for grazing animals, later rugby poles were added, but I only attended multiple soccer <i>gambling games</i> here. It was a big field, close to standard size.
8.	Slanghoek Cellar	Despite being over-grown, on a slope, visible from the road, it was among the regular sites for <i>gambling games</i> and evening soccer practices. Also used as a car park by the cellar, when need be.
9.	Breëland	It was an over-grown field, just behind the worker housing, but I never saw it in use. I was told that junior soccer games were played there, for a small sum like R2 per team.
10.	Botha Cellar	Over-grown, uneven, never seen in use but different sources suggested that it was used by the workers who come from Eastern Cape during the harvest season.
11.	Tuienhuise	I never saw this field, but was informed about it by some soccer players who used this field for practice.
12.	Waaihoek	A large but over-grown and poorly kept soccer field, which was not easily accessible. It was next to the worker housing, used for practice and <i>gambling games</i> by soccer players from Lesotho, who referred to it as a stadium.
13.	Breërevier	There were about 3 sport fields used for soccer <i>gambling games</i> . The best maintained was the rugby field, only used for soccer during the rugby off-season. Set of goal-posts marked another small soccer field within the premises of a primary school. And the third field, seemingly with more open access, was hidden behind a set of trees, and was in a very bad shape. Shared with grazing animals, it was dangerously uneven.
14.	Normandie	A relatively new, nicely maintained and marked out before each game, this small soccer field next to the worker housing was used every weekend for <i>gambling games</i> .
15.	Dammas	There were 2 irregular, over-grown soccer fields, but only one of these was used for practices and <i>gambling games</i> .
16.	Brandwacht	There were about 3 or 4 soccer fields by the Rainbow Chickens Plant and the worker housing. The fields were on a slope, green, well-maintained and close to standard size, but were located next to a sewage, which often smelled bad with bird poo.

Irrespective of the conditions, these spaces and tradition of gambling games were opportunities for the resident farm workers to bring together a soccer team for an occasional game or develop a soccer club that would bring local soccer players to train together and aspire to play at higher levels of competition. In the

Table 6.1, I list 15 soccer clubs as subaltern sport clubs, while qualifying in the same section that all 20 soccer clubs listed did organise and participate in the gambling games. It is also important to qualify that there was no criteria to which an accurate number of subaltern soccer clubs could be listed, even in a given time. The soccer clubs or teams frequently collapsed, emerged and merged. When a soccer club collapses, its players either join or get poached by other clubs or start a new soccer club themselves with different set of players, and a different name. Some weekends, a group of soccer players, without necessarily an affiliation to any soccer club in the region, might bring together a team to play a gambling game. As one informant suggested referring to a new team playing a gambling game against his club:

That team did not have a name, it is just a few guys coming together to form the team when they want to play, and then when they lose a few games or run out of money, the team will dissolve.<sup>171</sup>

Particularly at the end of the rugby season, a lot more soccer teams emerged on the scene, but such teams also avoided playing against more established soccer clubs in the region. While it was also not unusual to find a soccer player playing for different teams, most of the stronger players did have their loyalties tied to a particular soccer club. The fact that anyone could bring together a number of players to organise a gambling game particularly exposed better soccer players to be asked to play for random soccer teams and games.

Instant gratification could be inferred as among the reasons for widespread practices of the gambling games (as SE suggested earlier: ‘I would rather play for R500 this afternoon, than for R200 at the end of the season’), still, there was more to these games than the mere possibility of winning money. Almost every soccer club that I engaged with had organised and played gambling games, but the term ‘gambling games’ was not how these games were introduced to me. In the early days of fieldwork, some of the soccer players and coaches avoided using the term ‘gambling games’ in front of me, by either calling these “friendly” games or sharing that these were not so serious. The playing intensity at the games would suggest otherwise. For some time, I also referred to these as friendly games, but

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<sup>171</sup> Field Notes: 6<sup>th</sup> October 2012

gradually my research respondents (often the spectators) started to correct me by clarifying: ‘this is not a friendly game. They are playing for money!’<sup>172</sup> Not only that these games were played for a sum of money, brandy or a sheep, the reference – gambling games – was part of the vernacular. The reservation in calling these as such seemed to be more an attempt to purge them from potential negative judgements. Of course, this was not a concern for every soccer enthusiast I spoke to, and once I was familiar with this colloquial reference, it allowed me to ask more specific and tactful questions.

There seemed to be a level of stigma attached to gambling and therefore, to the gambling games, which existed alongside the perceptions that playing soccer was a desirable and healthy pursuit. Often, the ambitious and stronger soccer players, whose social circles disapproved of gambling, would find different ways to explain or justify their participation in these. Some denied knowing that money was at stake, others suggested that it was up to the manager, and still some others maintained that they were only “helping out” the other team because it was short of players. The explanations that soccer coaches or managers gave revolved around more logistical or instrumental usefulness of these games. For the soccer coaches or managers who considered competing at higher, professional level of soccer unrealistic for their players argued that they played gambling games just to ‘*keep the guys busy*’ over the weekends as there was little else to do at farms and it was easy to get into recreational alcohol consumption. Playing soccer kept them healthy and fit, and they were ready for work on Monday morning, some of them argued. For others who worked with younger soccer players, these games offered the players a space to get practice matches and to build a good foundation for the club to be competitive in the mainstream. The money earned from these games also helped with managing the expenses of the soccer club (for example, to buy soccer balls, jerseys, boots, etcetera). Other benefits of these informal games might be described in terms of the flexibility these allowed the soccer clubs with limited resources. One could always organise a game when transport and money was available to do so, without having to worry about the penalties that federations may impose for absentees. Above all, gambling at the games seemed

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<sup>172</sup> Field notes: 14<sup>th</sup> July 2012

to provide an important incentive which engaged and invited so many players and spectators almost every weekend and throughout the year.

## **CONCLUDING REMARKS**

With an aim to elaborate on the meanings of lack and need of sport among farm workers, I interrogated the physical, socio-economic, political and historical arrangements of sport in and around the farmlands of Rawsonville. The questions of access and marginality were at the heart of the descriptions of official and unofficial sport structures and networks I presented in this chapter. The point that deserves foregrounding, as a conclusion, is that there is a degree of autonomy and initiative in the exercise of sport that deserves greater analytical attention than most SDP discourses, research and practices have afforded. To this end, marginality, be that economic, political or ideological, was not a mere exclusion or limitation, but was also full of potential. The unofficial and exclusive rugby league called Rugga, as well as the unofficial soccer gambling games, exemplify how spaces and practices of sport reflect, affect and were affected by the constructions of class, race, gender and political economy of the broader society. Underpinning the Rugga leagues, as I infer from the limited information I gathered on the topic, was an ideological position through which “white” Afrikaners resisted the post-apartheid political changes in sport, attempting to preserve the power, privilege and pride associated with this racial identity and the sport of rugby. On the other hand, the soccer gambling games seemed to be operating on a more individualised, emotional and economic rationales. These games created an alternative and autonomous space for those with limited means. Whether it was participation for mere entertainment, or a training ground to prepare for mainstream sport leagues, whether these were to ‘just keep people busy’ or a place to wonder, imagine and aspire, whether these were an opportunity to gamble or just to hang-out with friends, these practices exposed at least two contradictions in the way SDP discourses and programmes for farm workers are conceptualised. Firstly, farm workers and broader rural working class inhabitants do not “lack” opportunity to participate in sport, but in accessing the mainstream competitive structures. Secondly, these practices suggest that farm workers do not

“lack” initiative or administrative skills to manage and run sport clubs and arrange competitive opportunities, but mostly material resources to sustain these practices.

If unofficial sport practices were a result of political or material marginality from the official sport structures, it is also important to point out that the official sport federations were not (or at least no longer) intentionally or systematically excluding any select group. On the contrary, sport federations were faced with increased pressures to make their sport more accessible. Given the history of racially segregated sport, the conversations about transformation of sport have revolved around race, but not so much around class inequalities. So, it was in the context of limited accessibility to mainstream sport for the lower socio-economic groups that the idea of lack of sport was justified in the SDP objectives, which often operate with limited (if any) awareness of unofficial sport practices. The unofficial sport spaces are of particular importance to my thesis, both empirically and conceptually. And before I expound on these in some detail, it is important to reemphasise the distinction between unofficial and subaltern sport. I have been referring to both the Rugga and the gambling games as unofficial sport for the reason that they operate outside official sport structures. Although I believe that Rugga absolutely had implications for how rugby was accessed and practiced among the rural working class, particularly farm worker rugby players and clubs, my reference to subaltern sport is specific to the under-the-radar sport practices of lower socio-economic groups, at the exclusion of the unofficial sport of higher socio-economic groups.

To this end, the empirical focus of my investigation has been on the sport of soccer, and it is through drawing on ethnographic accounts of the soccer gambling games and networks that I start conceptualising subaltern sport. The description of the gambling games, provided above, should set the context and the vernacular in which the stories of three selected soccer clubs I discuss in the next chapter. These ethnographies are presented with a goal to generate nuanced, specific and expansive, rather than reductive or generalised, understandings of sporting and social processes that affect and are affected by the everyday lives of subalterns.

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## 7. SPORTING LIVES AND “DEVELOPMENT” EXPERIENCES: subalterns’ world of sport

In the epilogue of *The Anti-Politics Machine*, Ferguson argues; “‘The people’ are not an undifferentiated mass’, but includes diverse individuals who ‘confront different problems and devise different strategies for dealing with them’ (1990, p. 281). In order to discern and engage with the diversity of experiences in ‘everyday tactics of coping ... adapting ... resisting’ (ibid), I illustrate stories of three soccer clubs from the rural working class and farm worker communities of Rawsonville. The patrons of each club could be, and often were, among those for whom “sport for development and peace” (SDP) programmes were designed. And yet, the life conditions, engagement with soccer and experiences of “development” of each individual I discuss exposes limitations in treating them as a unit and makes glaring the inconsistencies and contradictions in SDP projects directed at them. As Gayatri Spivak has argued, ‘individual examples of this sort are tragic failures as *models* of interventionist practice, [but] ... they can illuminate a section of the social text, in however haphazard a way’ (1995, p. 103 italics in original).

My aim in depicting the stories of selected soccer clubs, players, coaches and managers is just that – to ‘illuminate a section of the social text’. But it is also more than that. I engage with seemingly mundane experiences of subaltern soccer patrons to accentuate the familiar and the contradictory in their sporting lives and their “development” experiences. This chapter is organised into three sections; each section attends to an individual soccer club. These were the soccer clubs with whom I had established a relatively meaningful rapport, namely: Rawsonville Gunners Football Club (henceforth Gunners); Mountain Tigers Football Club (henceforth Mountain Tigers) and Fairhills Football Club (henceforth Fairhills FC). These were also among the steadier soccer clubs, which were competing throughout the time of my fieldwork. Each had a character of its own, with a unique history and structure. For instance, almost all the patrons of Mountain Tigers and Fairhills FC lived and/or worked at the commercial farms, whereas Gunners’ members came from a diverse set of working class backgrounds. The

farming institutions to which Mountain Tigers and Fairhills FC belonged were differently arranged and affected the soccer activities of the two clubs differently.

### **7.1. RAWSONVILLE GUNNERS FOOTBALL CLUB**

The Rawsonville Gunners FC was founded on the 8<sup>th</sup> July 2001 by Tanduxolo ‘Kolly’ Mkoboza. Kolly, as the administrative manager, an ex-player and coach of the club, shared that he and some other founding members (who were no longer involved directly at the time of my fieldwork) brought together players from two of the strongest soccer clubs in Rawsonville to form the Gunners. The primary player base of the Gunners in 2012-13 consisted of predominantly young, 16 to 25 years in age, men. While there were “coloured” and Basotho players in the team, the core group of players were amaXhosa, who considered Sterkspruit, Eastern Cape, as their home, even though many of them were born and grew up in Rawsonville. Some players lived at the Goudini Spa, a commercial resort, with their guardians, while some others’ parents were working at the local commercial farms, wine cellars or other local businesses, and lived at the formal and informal settlement in De Nova, or in other parts of the rural town of Rawsonville. During the harvest season, some players took up temporary employment on farms, but most of the players were in full-time education during my fieldwork.

#### **7.1.1. Sporting Lives**

The Gunners was the first soccer club in Rawsonville that I connected with, and they were to become my entry to the world of soccer in the region. In only the first few months of knowing the Gunners, joining in their soccer training, and attending their games over the weekend, I was given a nickname and considered a fellow Gunner, not only by them but also by other clubs they were competing against. There were both advantages and disadvantages to such an affiliation, particularly in positioning myself within the local soccer network. For example, while this made establishing a contact with Gunners’ most direct rival soccer club difficult, still, being seen as a Gunner made my presence at the games less of an alien. Importantly, this association exposed me to the everyday life of a soccer club and its players in Rawsonville as a personal experience (however limited).



Besides, the Gunners had a vision. They had plans to set up a formal grassroots soccer development programme as part of the club's activities, through which a large base of young soccer players be nurtured to play for the next generation of Gunners, at higher levels of competition, or find better opportunities through soccer. I first connected with the Gunners through one such initiative, when the club had circulated a letter to local primary schools, inviting their learners to a soccer clinic<sup>173</sup>. The contact person on the letter was Willie Stofberg, the Managing Director of the club, who was a wine-maker by trade at a local wine cellar. He was also the only "white" man I met during my study who had an association with a soccer club in Rawsonville. He introduced me to the team and elaborated on the story of his involvement with the club. At the centre of his story was a soccer player called Maradona.

### *Abongile Elton 'Maradona' Qobisa*

Abongile Elton 'Maradona' Qobisa, at the time 16 years old in age, operated at the number 8 or 9 position, playing mostly as attacking midfielder or striker, was the Gunners' star player. His father, Themba Lapsie Lenyatsa, was a general worker at the same wine cellar as Willie. Themba was himself a passionate soccer player, and even before his fiancé was pregnant with his first born, he had named his son "Maradona". So, baby Qobisa was born to be "Maradona", who grew up wearing the famous Argentine soccer jersey number 10 and with soccer balls as the only toys he ever had. As for South African soccer, Orlando Pirates FC was his club, and the only thing that could distract Maradona from watching Pirates play was his own soccer training and matches. He followed Cristiano Ronaldo closely, watching him very carefully on the TV and putting into practice the latest skills he had learned from Ronaldo. During his matches, he was known for taking early chances at scoring the goal, within the first 15 to 20 minutes, and a hard lost match could leave him in tears. I also learned from his friends that he not only lived up to his name in soccer talent, but had a tendency to use the famous 'Hand of God' associated with the Argentine Diego Maradona. Irrespective, Gunners'

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<sup>173</sup> I visited all the primary schools in the region and conducted formal interviews with the school teachers. It was at one of these visits during the early part of my fieldwork that a school principal shared this invitation letter from Gunners with me (Field notes: 23<sup>rd</sup> April 2012).

Maradona's skill with the ball, agility and prowess was only too evident, which had earned him stardom among the local soccer supporters and Gunners' fans.

In fact, Maradona was the primary link between Willie and the Gunners. Themba worked directly under the supervision of Willie at the wine cellar, and during Willie's visits to the informal settlement behind De Nova, to drive cellar workers to and from work, he learned about this young soccer talent. With some self-reflection, Willie confessed that he knew very little about the sport of soccer as rugby was the sport he grew up with. But his decision to get involved with the Gunners was influenced by his conviction to help this talented young athlete. He explained that in his life, someone helped him to get where he was; similarly he wanted to help Maradona to reach his soccer potential. He started with attending Gunners' weekend games to watch Maradona play, and in this way he connected with Kolly. As he established a formal link with the Gunners as club's Managing Director, he brought with him a new strategic vision, and plans to achieve it. He proposed the idea of developing Gunners into a grassroots soccer development club, a base for children and youth from the community to be introduced to soccer in a more structured and sustainable that might open its players to better opportunities in life.

To this end, helping Maradona to achieve success was not merely for his own sake. He was also to become the flag-bearer, a symbol of hope, for many others from less privileged conditions, as Willie theorised the importance of a structured approach and support for "development" through soccer in the community. In other words, the success of Maradona was to inspire the youth from his community, as well as attract sponsors, to the Gunners grassroots development programme. To realise this vision, Willie had approached the Maties FC (University of Stellenbosch's soccer club), and was in conversations with the Maties' coaches to get expert advice and a possible partnership. Maradona had already had trials with the Maties and was signed to play for one of their teams. He was also the only Gunners player with a small sponsor. While Maradona was good enough at soccer to play for a prestigious club like the Maties, logistically, this arrangement was not so straightforward. At the time, Maradona was still at school in Zweletemba, a "black" township about 25 kilometres north of

Rawsonville (see Map B). As a full playing member of the Maties, he was meant to be in Stellenbosch (about 65 kilometres south of Rawsonville) at least three times a week; twice in the week-evenings (after school) for training and if picked, at least once for a match over the weekend. Between Willie and his wife, they did their best to drive him to Stellenbosch for practices and games, but the time and financial cost of doing so had to compete with their other household responsibilities. I am unsure as to how many games Maradona played with the Maties, as all of my interactions with him were in Rawsonville while he was training and playing for the Gunners.

### ***Emmanuel Yolo Thoba***

Emmanuel Yolo Thoba, at the time 19 years in age, operated as a left winger at the number 11 position and was my key research informant. With his pleasant, friendly and courteous personality, he was the first, among the Gunners, to befriend me and welcome me to their training sessions. His earnest and humorous manner, along with the ability to talk for ever, not only with me but with any and every one, proved most helpful in learning about the social and soccer life of the 2012-13 team Gunners. It was Yolo who made time to drive with me to some of the remotest soccer fields in interiors of farmlands, where they played the gambling games. He also seemed to have a fair knowledge of the recent history and geography of soccer in the region, as he had lived most of his life in Rawsonville. He had recently passed his Matric and was in a gap year, exploring his options and preparing to go to University or a College to study electrical engineering.

On the field, as a strong midfielder, he seemed to work extremely hard. He read the game and the capability of players (of his team and the opposition) quite well and played at a supporting position to the playmaker, the jersey number 10, Mfundo 'Fex' Mcoyiya. Yolo was a keen analyst of the sport and followed soccer clubs like Kaiser Chiefs FC. Like many of his team-mates, he aspired to become a professional soccer player, and in pursuit of this goal, he was neither short of talent nor hard work or motivation. At the time, Yolo lived with his parents in a devoted Christian family home. His father worked as a bricklayer, his mother

worked for the Boland Mushrooms, his younger sister was still at school, and many of his cousins lived locally. This supportive and caring network of family and friends was an essential part of his life and in shaping the person he was. Since he was awaiting acceptance into tertiary education, his day could include many different activities. But at 5 o'clock during the weekday evenings, 'there was no plan B' – as Yolo liked to say – to replace soccer.

Over many long conversations, I learned not only about the Gunners, but also about how the club interacted with the broader soccer network in Rawsonville. Unlike the farm soccer clubs, who tended to use long passes, Gunners employed short and quick passing and maintained a strong attack throughout the game. I learned that Maradona was not necessarily the strongest player of the club at the time, and that the Gunners, as a soccer club, aspired to play in the Professional Soccer League (PSL). There was no single player who carried the team through the various victories they enjoyed, but the whole team worked really well together. While Maradona was the young rising star talent, more experienced Fex was the one who other clubs hoped to poach or recruit. The Gunners' captain was considered among the finest goal-keepers in Rawsonville, and with this stable core group of players, Gunners had established itself as one of the stronger clubs, with De Novians FC as their closest rival. In fact, the coach of De Novians, a relatively new club, established since 2011, used to play for the Gunners. The games between the two clubs attracted large crowds and were considered a *derby*.

While their on-field coordination and communication was excellent, they hardly ever arrived to a match together as a team. I never saw them perform their warm ups or a symbolic pre-match ritual, like saying a prayer or something to spark motivation as most other sport teams did. The Gunners just ran on to the field kicking the ball as each one of them arrived, gradually taking their positions, and got on with the game. Explaining the basic match-strategy with which Gunners entered the contest, Yolo claimed that all of them had just one thing in mind: 'not to lose the match!' At a BVLFA (Breede Valley Local Football Association) league game, on 8<sup>th</sup> December 2012, only seven players plus the goal-keeper turned up; but they still won the match by four goals to one. Their opposition was from Worcester, a town-based soccer club called Mighty

Swallows FC, usually considered to be stronger than the clubs from rural towns or farms. During this match, Kolly, the coach-manager, shared with me that many players had already gone back home to the Eastern Cape. He had informed the BVLFA's competition coordinator to request deferral of the games until end of the holiday period, but it was not accommodated. It was, perhaps, the victories of this kind that gave Gunners the confidence they boasted.

### ***Tanduxolo 'Kolly' Mkoboza***

Tanduxolo 'Kolly' Mkoboza, the head coach and the founder of the Gunners, was the key driving force behind the club. His own love for the sport, many years of experience as a strong soccer player himself, a keen eye for talent, popularity among local children and youth as a point of contact to obtain the soccer gear or to get involved in soccer, and his belief in firm discipline and commitment to manage the finest soccer club in the region – were among the key elements that had made the Gunners. Kolly explained that he and his friend, Wiseman, also one of the coaches of the Gunners, would take turns to watch the weekend gambling games played across the valley and recruit the most talented soccer players to the Gunners, a club that they were building up to play in the SAFA's (South African Football Association) promotional league, regionally administered by BVLFA.

By the time I met Gunners, Wiseman, who used to work at a wine cellar, had left for a better job elsewhere, and Kolly was managing the everyday affairs of the club. Kolly, an engineer by trade, worked for BVM at the municipal swimming pool in Touws River, about 90 kilometres north from Rawsonville (see Map A). His working week, which sometimes included the weekends and holidays, meant that he spent stretches of time every week away from his home and the club in Rawsonville. While his absence had little effect on the team's training routines, as the players were old enough to train on their own, his absence/presence impacted in different ways, which requires some elaboration on his life and regional soccer history.

Until 2003, when the BVLFA was formally established, Kolly was among the administrators in the Rawsonville District Soccer Association (RDSA), a regional governing body that operated under the Boland Soccer Union, a predecessor of

SAFA Cape Winelands. With the restructuring of soccer governance according to geo-political boundaries of the new South Africa, all district associations within the BVM jurisdiction were absorbed and soccer administrators from Worcester and Zweekemba districts were elected to key executive positions in the BVLFA. It is curious why no one from RDSA or any other district association was elected to represent his or her locales. This, however, seemed irrelevant to Kolly, as his commitment was in building a soccer club which was to progress through the formal structures to compete at the highest levels of South African soccer and serve as a foundation for players of national and international calibre. This was evident in the way he expressed his disapproval of gambling games and optimism in the new South Africa, often reminiscing over opportunities today's youth have which were not available to him.

Kolly, also amaXhosa, was born in Venterstad, Eastern Cape but moved to the Western Cape in 1989, to attend high school in Khyelitsha. Until his early teens he lived in the Eastern Cape, in the midst of increasing youth protests against apartheid. During his primary school years, he had spent many days hiding behind a door at his grandmother's house. As he shares, it was the time when police came to search your house to make sure that all the children were in school, and at the same time, the youth activists made rounds to your place to make sure no one was at school. During those precarious times, the safest place his grandmother could find him was behind the door. Similarly, his soccer aspirations were appropriated by the policies and politics of the time, hampering any real options to compete in the officially recognised soccer structures. He only had his moment of glory in 2003, when he was selected to play in a team against that year's PSL National Champions, the Santos FC. Still, the moment had arrived a little too late. While he continued to compete as a soccer player until 2011, his ambitions had shifted towards raising a family and building a soccer club with the younger generation.

This was among the reasons for Kolly's popularity among the young children in Rawsonville, who often knocked on his door looking for soccer balls or to ask when he was going to take the juniors for training. As such, there was no formal junior team, but there always were enough young soccer supporters that followed the Gunners. 12 year-old Ben had already started to organise soccer games as the

Gunners against teams from his school, and he rightfully collected the Gunners' gear from Kolly's place. Kolly's 2 year-old son woke up to a soccer ball, kicking about in the front yard for the most part of the day. Children as young as 7 years in age from the community knew which soccer club (Gunners or De Novians) (or if rugby supporters, which rugby team) they would play for as grown-ups. As a 10 year old, Maradona had already picked his club to be and attended every match Gunners played, home or away, as a keen supporter, but also with a hope that if the team happened to be short of a player, he might get a chance to play in the game. As Kolly shared, Maradona would be ready to go with them to their matches even before any other playing member had arrived. In the early evenings, whatever space was available in the streets of De Nova, or between the informal housing arrangements, it was taken by cricket, soccer, cycling, netball, or hand tennis. There was a social life around sport with a momentum of its own, these small soccer clubs, and people like Kolly, in their own subtle ways, stirred this momentum on a daily basis.

Notwithstanding, the township De Nova and adjoining informal settlements were not a kind of an exceptional sporting heaven of people with enthusiasm and initiative. Rather, these existed alongside the social conditions associated with townships in South Africa more generally. Yolo often criticised those who aimlessly roamed the streets, or sat in the dark street corners, those *skollies* (thugs), who he could hear from his home late into the night. Crime, alcohol and substance abuse was very high, and it was a more immediate threat to people who inhabited these spaces. As Kolly shared:

In Rawsonville, wine is cheap, beer is cheap, drugs are cheap, and these are available everywhere. I tell my guys to stay away from these things, but when it is time to say no, they have to make the decision on their own. I can't be there with them all the time. My neighbours on both sides drink, but when they ask me to join, it is then I have to make a decision and I say no!<sup>174</sup>

Kolly lived at the informal extension of De Nova, in a welcoming home with his wife, a "coloured" woman who worked at the old-age home, and three children. Between them, they earned enough to buy their own brick house, but there were no houses (or land) available for sale in De Nova, and the houses on the other

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<sup>174</sup> Field notes: 14<sup>th</sup> July 2012

(previously “whites-only”) side of the river were too expensive. The government had not been too successful at allocating land to furnish the housing needs of the increasing population of Rawsonville. This was because most of the land in the region was taken up by the vineyards, inflating the land prices enough to make it unaffordable for a working class person. Kolly had once pointed out: ‘People who live in these shacks are not necessarily poor but stuck in the middle of lack of affordable housing and very expensive land’.<sup>175</sup> The inhabitants of formal and informal De Nova were from diverse backgrounds, including teachers, nurses, pastors, shopkeepers, domestic workers, evicted farm workers, contract labourers and the unemployed. The winter months, when the labour requirements at local farms and wine cellars were low and harsh winter rain leaked into fragile houses, made life rather challenging for some.

For example, Maradona’s situation was more precarious than some other Gunners players. His father was a contract worker and also had a problem with alcohol. While Willie was in a position to make sure Themba had work year-round, about the drinking, he could do little more than offer words of advice. Then again, Themba earned a basic wage at the cellar, and if opportunity presented itself for a higher wage elsewhere, he moved on. The contractual labour relations and practices were structurally so insecure and instable that the real power that labour had was in quitting, and so the labour turn-over was quite high in the valley. Kolly also shared the concerns about Themba’s drinking habit, and along with Willie they hoped, advised, and arranged for, Maradona to move away from Rawsonville, may be to Stellenbosch, with a soccer scholarship either to the University or a further education college. The contact with the Maties had already opened this possibility for Maradona. But this was not enough. Willie’s plan was to organise a soccer “development” programme, which could be sustained and create opportunities for a much larger base of children in the community.

### **7.1.2. “Development” Experiences**

In order to set up a sustainable soccer grassroots development project, Willie was in an on-going conversation with the Maties to explore possibilities that an

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<sup>175</sup> Field notes: 10<sup>th</sup> May 2012



established partnership between the Gunners and the Maties might create. Willie's strategic vision was a project, in which Maties would commit to visit Rawsonville a number of times each year. They would coach the young children, train the local coaches and identify talent, so that the local youth had real opportunities to reach their soccer potential, get access to good education, and escape their precarious situation. In addition to securing Maradona's place in the team Maties, thus far (in 2012) Willie had persuaded the coaches from the Maties to conduct four coaching clinics in Rawsonville over a year, and guidance with how to expand the club's "development" plans. I attended the second of the four planned coaching clinics.

On 2<sup>nd</sup> July 2012, a group of about 50 children, between 7 and 13 years in age, from De Nova, gathered at the green space inside the premises of the Goudini High School (GHS), where the coaching clinic was to take place. Willie was on the Schools' Governing Body, and was able to organise this venue for the event. Yolo, Maradona and a few other Gunners' players were at the field, organising the young children into different games and drills, while we all waited for the Maties to arrive. As the team of coaches, with their fancy soccer coaching-aid equipment, arrived, the younger coaches started to set up the field and the head coach, Reggie Jenties, invited all the children to share the plan of the day. He started with introductions, followed by a short life-skills talk, and then moved into the soccer activities. The life-skills talk was in Afrikaans, and even with my limited hold over the language, I understood enough to know that it was about telling the children to stay away from drugs and crime and to focus on their soccer and studies. Most of the children listened to it patiently, but also distractedly, observing all the equipment set up on the field and eager to get playing. Later in the session, I had an opportunity to speak to Reggie. He grew up in the Cape Flats, and had played for *Bafana Bafana* (the national soccer team of South Africa) in his prime. He had a sense for the conditions most of these children might be coming from, which was evident when I asked him about his life-skills talk, and what kind of impact does he think it has on the children. Instead of defending the talk and its importance, he shared his frustration with how this has become a song that they were asked to sing in all their coach-education programmes. He had raised this with a soccer instructor from an international

NGO, asking: ‘what was the point of delivering these talks to children, who, after the coaching, had to go back to the same conditions that put them at risk of drugs and other social-ills at the first place?’<sup>176</sup>

Nevertheless, Reggie was keen to help where he could, but he was acutely aware of the politics and corruption within South African soccer, and argued how it was corruption, rather than soccer, that has had a recent boost from the FIFA 2010 World Cup. In these conversations over all that was going wrong in the country with soccer and the utter neglect of grassroots soccer programmes, Kolly had joined us, and weaving through these conversations, Kolly asked Reggie for a match between the Gunners and one of the Maties’ promotional league teams. Reggie checked the soccer fixtures for the season and agreed on a pre-season friendly match on the 14<sup>th</sup> July 2012.

Two weeks later, the team Maties arrived at the Rawsonville Municipal Sport Field (RMSF). I arrived at the field on the day to find the team Maties warming up and a large number of curious spectators, which Maties had attracted even for their warm up. The Gunners, as usual, ran onto the field with a ball, kicking back and forth till the Maties completed their warm up and were ready to play. There were two senior coaches with the team Maties, managing and conducting their team in a highly professional manner. The game started. And during these two hours, I watched the game and engaged with various spectators about the game. The local farm-based soccer coach/managers were among the spectators and were curious about how they can get the Maties to play against their team, but none of them went up to the Maties’ coaches to ask the question directly or even introduce themselves. As for the Gunners, they did put up a strong fight and lost the match by one goal to two, which was a cause for celebration, and led to a team *braai* at Kolly’s place.

This match gave the team Gunners an added motivation to align with Willie in promoting the Gunners grassroots soccer development project. Over the next few weeks, multiple planning meetings took place, and one of the things they decided was to make themselves more visible as a soccer development club in the

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<sup>176</sup> Field notes: 2<sup>nd</sup> July 2012

community. The next event was planned for the Women's day, to take place on Thursday the 9<sup>th</sup> August 2012. Kolly was to write to the BVM to book the RMSF and ask them to sponsor refreshments for participants, Willie was to arrange netball equipment and invite netball team from the GHS. I was to invite female soccer players from farm-based soccer clubs I had come to know, and the rest of the Gunners were to advertise and promote the event. Kolly secured the field, but not sponsors, Willie arranged the netball equipment but not the netball team, and I learned that none of the farm workers had a day off on the day,<sup>177</sup> and so they were unable to drive the girls to the event.

Kolly, nevertheless, decided to go ahead with the event, and he started it off with two junior boys' soccer teams, one girls' soccer team and one netball team, all of whom were from De Nova. On my way to the field, I bumped into a few teenage girls associated with the Fairhills Association, who knew about the event as well as that there was no transport for their team to get to the field. I drove them to the field, and when I arrived, Kolly suggested that we drive the rest of the players from the farms between us. By the time we drove rest of the female soccer players of the Fairhills, junior boys were already into a match refereed by Maradona and other senior players. Kolly gave soccer jerseys to Fairhills players for the game, and the team Gunners-girls played against the team Fairhills-girls. While the Gunners-girls won eight goals to one, the Fairhills-girls continued to rave over the one goal they had scored, with the knowledge that the Gunners-girls were much stronger than them. In this way the Gunners organised their own SDP day for about 60 participants, with no budget, no food, no sponsors, no speeches, no medals, no media coverage, but a lot of sport activity.

The next day, Friday the 10<sup>th</sup> August 2012, there was a large-scale soccer (for "development") day organised at an ex-Model C school, Worcester Gymnasium, in Worcester, by an NGO called Solid Rock Like Skills Educational Trust,<sup>178</sup> with multiple regional, national and international sponsors, private donors and

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<sup>177</sup> Although the Women's day on the 9<sup>th</sup> August is a National public holiday, farm workers often get a long weekend off if any of the National public holidays fall on Tuesdays to Thursdays.

<sup>178</sup> See, <http://www.solidrock.za.org> and <https://www.facebook.com/pages/Solid-Rock-Life-Skills-Educational-Trust/129689393750072>

volunteers, including the South African Table Grape Industry (SATI), among the visible sponsors. The teams of 5 to 10 junior soccer players of different age (7 to 17 years) and gender categories from all over the Cape Winelands were in attendance to make up the participation count in the range of 600. School's extensive sport fields were divided into multiple small, five-a-side, soccer pitches. The event seemed to be professionally managed and included many free-bees (including soccer boots, soccer balls and other soccer coaching equipment), medals and trophies, music, a religious ritual where all the volunteers washed the feet of participating children, other moral lessons and food. Three junior teams from Rawsonville – Gunners, Fairhills and Mountain Tigers – were among the participants at the event<sup>179</sup>, and all of them expressed how they enjoyed the day.

However, in the midst of watching over and managing the Gunners'-junior team at the event, Kolly was in another struggle with the gate-keeper of RMSF over the phone. The Gunners-senior team was through to the semi-finals of the BVLFA winter league, which was a big deal, and they were playing this game on Sunday the 12<sup>th</sup> August. The team needed to use the RMSF facility to practice for their match, but the gate-keeper refused to open it, arguing that it was a public holiday and they had not made a booking. As such, there was no set procedure which was consistently followed to access or book the field. From the different stories I had heard over the course of my fieldwork, the gate-keeper often took bribes from the soccer clubs to open the field without any booking. He was also a De Novian supporter, and often accused the Gunners for ruining the vegetables he was growing at the sports field. So, not only that Gunners' closest rival had a favoured access, the Gunners were an unlikely candidate to bribe their way to access the field. On this day, the gate-keeper had an upper-hand over the Gunners, and they had to practice elsewhere.

This scenario was ironic at multiple levels, but negotiating their access to soccer fields and soccer opportunities were among the daily struggles. This also

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<sup>179</sup> I had identified the event organisers as potential research participants, but my engagement with them was limited to the attendance at the event and a few informal meetings prior to it, when they extended invites to soccer teams from Rawsonville via me. Thus, the participation of these three clubs was no coincidence; I had passed on the invites to five soccer clubs in Rawsonville, three of which accepted the invites and made arrangements to take part in the event.

explains why so many children played on relatively dangerous streets and sidewalks in the township and informal settlements while the sports fields remained inaccessible to them. Both Kolly and the gate-keeper lived in De Nova. While the former spent his limited days-off from work and modest salary in creating soccer opportunities for children and youth with whom he shared no kin relationship, the latter sought for (or created) opportunities to earn bribes and favours from local soccer enthusiasts in his day-job. Still, human beings are more complex than this, and to portray each of them in the many complex roles they played to obstruct, contribute to, and resist the “developments” of and through sport in this setting would require adding more layers to these realities, (which has to be left to a project for another time).

Although it is easy to recognise Willie as someone going out of his way to reach out and engage in “development” and extending help to disadvantaged people, for Kolly his involvement in soccer was simply a way of life – a particular kind of, and ever dynamic, way of life, with its own set of social understandings, rules and etiquettes. And the young people like Maradona and Yolo were experts at negotiating, appropriating and reshaping these rules. The opportunities that Maradona was getting through Willie’s recognition of his soccer talent would not have arrived, were he to have accepted the rules and constraints imposed on those in his situation. Above and beyond his soccer talent, he and the rest of the Gunners had to constantly fight their way to pursue soccer training, negotiate space and other resources, and maintain a core group of soccer players willing to train on their own initiative. Despite limitations with accessing a soccer field for practice, the Gunners practiced four days a week, by carefully planning their practice times, when no other soccer and rugby clubs were using the fields. They usually sneaked into the Goudini High Sport Field (GHSF), and avoiding the main rugby field, they used the warm-up area within its premises. My guess is that they did so, to show that they respected the sport facility, just in case they were found practicing and someone was to go about persecuting them for playing soccer at this restricted field. The tactics seemed to work; at times people who could have challenged them just turned a blind eye.

Still, once Willie found them sneaking into the GHSF and warned them that they might get into trouble with the school if they continued to use it without permission. Willie knew that they were unlikely to get permission to use this field for soccer, even with his position in the school's Governing Body. All the players listened to him respectfully and went on to practice once he had left. I was part of some of these training sessions (it was only the first time when I joined them that they made a fuss about the "accidental" closure of RMSF as if they were forced to use the GHSF just on that day). Although there was genuine respect and sense of gratitude towards Willie among the players, they also knew that it was beyond most good, rule-abiding, people to understand all that went into the making of players like Maradona and the Gunners. Kolly's view on Willie trying to help the club was that: 'he puts so much energy into getting the Maties involved, which is good, but he doesn't do anything else'. Giving the example of Maradona, he explained: if Maradona was meant to play for Maties, then they (Maties) needed to make arrangements for his travels, like he (Kolly) did. Even when he had to work during Gunners' games, he organised with his friends or family to drive the players to and from the games. The tension between Kolly and the players only emerged when he refused to provide transport for gambling games. Sport clubs like the Gunners and the individuals inaugurated into a sport find meaning in and ways to pursue these activities, but are also limited by circumstances, which are beyond the capacity of SDP practices to fix.

## **7.2. MOUNTAIN TIGERS FOOTBALL CLUB**

The Mountain Tigers FC was founded in 1999 by Dawid Prins, the coach and manager of the club. Over multiple conversations with Dawid, I learned that there was another club called Peace Makers FC, organised by a "black" man, John, who used to work at a local farm. While Dawid's first sport of love was rugby, he was introduced to soccer while 'helping out' Peace Makers FC now and then. By the 1999, John had left the area and the Peace Makers. The club had 'gone down' and there was no one to run a soccer club, despite enthusiasm for the sport, and some keen soccer players. So, Dawid took the initiative to revive another soccer club to take its place. Not only some players in the new team were different from the ones

who played for Peace Makers, there was another team in Slanghoek Valley, a farming region not far from Rawsonville town (see Map C) with the same name: Peace Makers. Therefore, the team decided that they needed a new name, and the Tigers was among the favourites. But Dawid felt that Tigers was also a common name for soccer clubs, and as they all lived in a valley surrounded by Mountains, the club was named Mountain Tigers.

What drew the club into the local soccer network was a tournament, which took place in 2000, organised by a team from Rawsonville town, in which Kolly was also among the players. This was a gambling tournament, like most of the soccer played in the valley, and it got the Mountain Tigers going for years to come. Dawid explained that they played every single weekend, at times, both on Saturday and Sunday, in the gambling games against other soccer clubs.

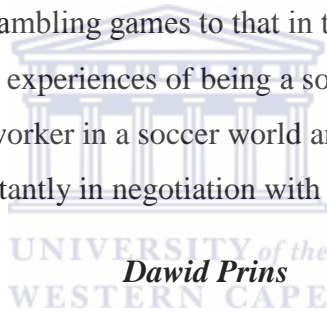
The player base of Mountain Tigers included mostly “coloured” and a few Basotho farm workers, who worked at different commercial fruit and wine farms within the Louwshoek area (see Map C). On field, the Mountain Tigers were known for their quick feet, pace, strength and stamina, and so their training included rigorous physical fitness and match-play. Kolly had pointed out that the Gunners struggled against them because Mountain Tigers’ players were much faster on the field than Gunners’. But the two clubs had not played against each other in recent years as Mountain Tigers were yet to venture into the BVLFA games and Kolly had been reluctant to have the Gunners play in gambling games.

Except for sharing their soccer field with grazing sheep, Mountain Tigers had almost exclusive access to a field, which was a little shorter in width, making it look like a long rectangle or a strip with two bamboo goal-posts at each end. Their practice days were Tuesdays and Thursdays, but some weeks they would practice every day and others not at all. The winter months were harder to make time for practice as there was not enough daylight hours left after work, but even in summer some of the players would skip practice, but most of the players still turned up to play in the match. Except for minor ups and downs, Dawid had managed to maintain the soccer club for about 13 years by the time we met in June 2012. There are many determinants that influence survival of a soccer club,

access to transport, sponsors for soccer gear, soccer balls, and winning being among the more important ones.

### **7.2.1. Sporting Lives**

Weaving through the experiences and perspectives of Dawid Prins, I sketch the sporting lives of Mountain Tigers, engaging with the history, geography and changing politics of farm work and labour relations in this specific farming valley, and the effects that the socio-economic and political conditions had on the farm workers' soccer and social lives. The dynamic competitive (formal and informal) soccer networks which operated at the farmlands in and around Rawsonville created a space where farm workers took on a social identity, as a soccer coach, manager or player, setting out a different set of terms of engagement within and towards the broader farming community. To this end, by contrasting Mountain Tigers' participation in gambling games to that in the BVLFA league games, I illuminate their everyday experiences of being a soccer enthusiast in the farming world and being a farm worker in a soccer world and how these two worlds and their identities were constantly in negotiation with each other.



Dawid Prins was born and has lived all his life in Louwshoek, where his parents worked as farm workers. As young as 16 or 17 years old, he was also working full time as a farm worker for the same farm as his parents. Over these years, he had seen many changes in the farming institution and in the conditions of workers. For example, he shared that farmers were no longer allowed to, and did not, beat the farm workers, but farmers still raised their voices at them. While the older generation of workers have not come to terms with these changes as they continue to live with a sense of intimidation, the younger generation was more aware and settled with the knowledge that corporal punishments were now illegal. Moreover, while the workers' houses were a lot more comfortable, with hot running water, beds and personal toilets, the actual working conditions in the vineyards were still not that great. The work has remained physically demanding with long hours of standing in the fields. High levels of alcohol consumption among the farm workers in the valley had been a problem for as long as Dawid



could remember, but recently there had been an increase in drug abuse, particularly among the youth. In such an environment, Dawid felt soccer was really important to keep the youth away from alcohol and drugs, and this was among the reasons which had kept him involved in coaching and managing the Mountain Tigers and which motivated him to encourage younger children to keep up their practice.

Dawid, also known as ‘uncle’ by the soccer players and managers from across the valley, had started managing and coaching the Mountain Tigers when he was only 21 years in age. In some ways, he was a soccer coach before he was a soccer player. As a player, he operated at the number 7 position, as a right wing midfielder, but had to stop playing soccer by the age of 25 due to a back injury he had picked up during a rugby game. Despite the injury, he remained involved because, as he says, he ‘wanted to help the guys carry on with their soccer’. He observed the games closely, and while Mountain Tigers usually started the game with 2-4-4 formation, he often changed the tactics to 2-3-5 in the middle of the game, depending on their opposition and how he could increase the chances of winning. Of course, winning is the point of most competitive sport, and he would like to see the youngsters play at higher levels, but winning was a more important determinant for the survival of the club than the mere developing of young soccer players. While the motto of the club was – ‘you play and win’, Dawid also struggled with the discipline required from his players to play at higher levels. He had worked out how to win at the gambling games, and if his players were happy to play soccer only in these, he was content to help them with just that. As he elaborated;

Soccer is good for the guys, they enjoy it. They know if they drink on Friday evening or Saturday morning, they are going to lose the match, so they don’t drink during the day, only after the game. And sometimes by the time they come back from the game, they are so tired or it’s too late, they just go home and sleep. And then the next day is Sunday, its church. So, you see, there is no time for drinking or drugs.<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>180</sup> I had this exchange with Dawid while the Mountain Tigers had not been playing for a while. This coincided with the 2012/13 farm workers’ strikes, when farmers stopped providing them with transport for their soccer games, and their own transportation arrangements were turning out to be too expensive to continue participating in the games (Field Notes: February 2013)

Mountain Tigers played in a kit of similar colours to Portugal's national soccer team, giving an impression that Portugal might be the World Cup soccer team that they followed. However, Dawid corrected me; 'no, this was the kit they had received as a sponsor from a local farmer!' Among the things that Dawid had to do as the manager of Mountain Tigers was to organise sponsors for the club, for example, soccer balls, jerseys, boots, bags, other equipment, and most important of all, the transport to the games. Because most farmers generally considered sport as a healthy activity and a good deterrent from recreational alcohol consumption, it was not too difficult to acquire soccer sponsors, but his only frustration in doing so, as he expressed, was that it was only and always him who had to go and negotiate with the farmers. Dawid did not explicitly share the reasons for this, but if he was not to organise the transport or the sponsors, no other player from the Mountain Tigers was likely to do so. One of the reasons might be, as I gathered from various conversations, that he was considered among the more reliable workers. In the later part of 2012, he passed his driving licence and was promoted as a tractor driver. Prior to this promotion, he was earning just above the basic wage, R380 per week approximately, even after working at the same farm for over 17 years. Despite his promotion to a semi-skilled status, and added responsibility for a very expensive farming implement, his wage went up by only R15 per week. Dawid's employer had to have a great deal of confidence in him to get away with paying him such low wage to operate a tractor<sup>181</sup>. Nonetheless, his relationship with and rapport among the local farmers seemingly had put him in a better position to negotiate sponsors and transport for the Mountain Tigers.

Clearly, to acquire sponsors for soccer required tapping into the generosity of, and tact with, the local farmers. Dawid had lived all his life in Louwshoek, a small closely-knit farming community, and had a good rapport with most of the farmers. One farmer I had interviewed from Louwshoek spoke graciously about Dawid. He also suggested that, they, as farmers, in this community shared a good cooperative

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<sup>181</sup> Over the course of my study, I was often told that drivers in general earned a much higher wage than the minimum wage set out for general, unskilled and entry-level farm workers. Among the elements of farm worker "development" was skills development, so that farm workers should be able to negotiate a better salary once they are more skilled. However, reading from Dawid's case, there is certainly more involved in farm worker's ability to negotiate a higher wage than the mere level of their skill at work.

relationship and had a system, whereby they shared the labour of the permanent farm workers among the different farm businesses. This way all the farm workers had enough work all year round and the farmers needed to hire fewer hands from outside for the peak season. In a similar manner, Dawid also approached a different farmer each week to ask for transport to the games. A full sponsor for the team was only an occasional incident, but Dawid could rely on a number of different farmers to source soccer balls or other equipment as needed. And if and when he ran out of the soccer balls and willing sponsors, all at the same time, he picked soccer balls up on credit. The first few games I attended of the Mountain Tigers, they had a bus sponsored for their soccer travels, and as long as they could get petrol for it, they could go anywhere. However, in the winter of 2012, the bus met with a road accident, and while no one was hurt, the club lost their private transport for good.



### *Gambling Games*

I met the team Mountain Tigers for the first time while they were playing a gambling game against the De Novians FC, at the municipal field, the RMSF. At this stage, I had little understanding of how these unofficial games worked, and Dawid was among the first to share the secret. In response to my question; ‘how were these games organised,’ Dawid thought for a second and said; ‘we call the other team up!’ Initially, this response sounded a bit trivial. It required an appreciation of how the soccer networks had been operating over the years in the valley to understand the importance of being connected via a personal phone in the contemporary and changing political environment. During the 1980s, when the farm workers’ soccer clubs and games were organised under the Rural Foundation (RF), communication regarding the games had to be channelled through the farm-owners. As one farm worker explained;

No, there were no mobile phones then, but you run to the nearest phone and you call! And, ja, that time, there was apartheid ... If I tell by the boss’s house there, the nearest farm there, and if I tell him what is the problem, and I give him the number for that farm there. And then that boss of that farm near the soccer field, and he come to the field and tell the team.<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> Interview Recording code # VR0080, January 2013

The farm worker who shared the above was no longer involved with the soccer in the valley, but used to administer soccer leagues at the end of the RF and during the time of RDSA. He shared the above in the context of reliability and the sense of responsibility among the farm soccer teams in comparison to the teams from the towns, who at times did not pitch up or did not communicate the unforeseen in case for no shows. However, the usefulness of personal phones went beyond the reliability it offered.

In the year 2000, with the very first tournament that Mountain Tigers played, they entered a year-round soccer network of gambling games. In those days, at the end of a gambling game each weekend, all the soccer teams present would agree on the time, the soccer field, and stakes for the following weekend's game. The number of clubs competing varied, but there could be up to seven teams at a given time. Depending on the number of teams, available daylight hours and individual discretion, teams would either play a one-on-one gambling game or agree on a knock-out tournament.

By 2012, farm workers had access to personal mobile phones, some even had their own personal transport, and some other changes that had contributed to the flexibility in how and where the games were to be organised. Attending gambling games, and spending time outside the practice and match hours with Dawid, his team and other soccer managers, I learned that gambling games for the weekend were often planned on the Friday evenings when many of the farm workers from different farms visited the Rawsonville *dorp* (town). The *dorp* was a busy place at this time of the week, with people shopping, visiting friends, chatting, and often sharing a 2 litre bottle of cold drink among small group, just outside the grocery stores. While my own list of soccer clubs and contacts of soccer managers from across the region was gradually increasing, I found that my phone number had also been in circulation in the local soccer network. During the latter part of my fieldwork, I started to receive phone calls from soccer managers who were either setting up a new club or were looking for contacts to different clubs. One was very direct in asking me to share with him the contact numbers of all the soccer clubs I knew. Another soccer manager explained in some detail that he needed more variety and stronger competition for his players to develop their skill, and

so, if I come to know a new club, I should put him in touch with them. As for Dawid, he allowed me to pass his contact on to any team who might want to play against them, explaining that as and when he can arrange transport, he will take his team to play against the new club.

Apart from access to phone and transport, the gambling games themselves offered enough scope to sustain a soccer club. In principle, to play a gambling game, each player should contribute R20-R30 to make the agreed amount (often R300 or more) which the winning team would take at the end of the game. If a soccer club consistently won more games than it lost, not only it was likely to sustain its operations as a soccer club, the players and managers also enjoyed an additional bit of pocket-money for the weekend. Evidently, the Mountain Tigers had been going for 13 years, and among the reasons for this was, as Dawid shared with great pride in his team, they have been among the strongest soccer clubs in Rawsonville. There was a time when they did not lose a single match in the whole year. Winning was important for many reasons, to keep the players' motivated to practice each week, among others. Besides, most of the soccer players, particularly the younger ones, hardly ever paid their share in the gambling games. This was also true for Mountain Tigers, as Dawid and their supporters often criticised the players for never having money to pay for the games, but they always had money for the bottle or grocery stores. As a coach and manager, Dawid often ended up contributing the larger chunk of money from his own pocket, and if they won, Dawid would take the amount he had contributed, and the rest of the winnings would go into the club. This meant everyone in the team enjoyed a little share of the winnings, but if they lost, it was Dawid who lost his share of money. Given such a dynamic, if the Mountain Tigers were not winning enough games, Dawid would have been forced to pull out and the club would have collapsed.

Even if a soccer club had unrestricted access to a sport field and all their soccer gear and transport was sponsored, but the team did not win enough, they were less likely to survive for any significant length of time. This explains the reasons for the briskness and haphazardness with which so many soccer clubs emerged and collapsed all the time in the region. Some clubs only lasted a few

pay-weekends, some soccer players played for different teams, and there were always those who had little interest in managing and sustaining a soccer club, but organised the soccer teams and games just to gamble money. A keen soccer player whose club was out of sponsorship or money to compete was an ideal target for those who were interested in gambling more than soccer. These soccer players could be recruited to play in a game for a small sum of money, while the gambler organised the game and stakes in a hope to win a larger amount and often the manner of their engagement with the game set them apart from a soccer coach or manager.

On the other hand, there were clubs who made great sacrifices just to keep the club going. For example, a club called River Stars FC had arrived at the field via a hired taxi for R200, and they staked another R200 on the game. If they were to win the match, their travel costs would be covered, but if they lost, they would lose R400; win or lose, other than getting to play a soccer game, there was no financial gain for this club from gambling. Andreas, the coach/manager of River Stars, also shared his frustration with the fact that local farmers were more likely to sponsor a rugby club over a soccer club and how even this support varied from time to time and farmer to farmer. Pointing at his team, he argued, ‘you see some of my guys have full kit, with soccer boots, socks, jerseys and shorts, their *baas* [boss] is good. But the other guys don’t even have proper soccer boots or shorts; those guys’ *baas* is not good!’<sup>183</sup>

Attending these gambling games, I had recorded multiple similar stories, giving me glimpses to a range of ways in which soccer players, teams, clubs, games and networks operated in the valley, but every single story demonstrated agency, the tact with people, resources and conflict, and levels of organisational skills, of the farm workers who organised and participated in these games on an almost weekly basis. These interactions and observations further defied the logics to which ‘dire need for life-skills’<sup>184</sup> for the “development” of farm workers was theorised. As in the case of Dawid, his skills “development,” from being a general

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<sup>183</sup> Field notes: 4<sup>th</sup> August 2012

<sup>184</sup> Farm worker “development” and need for life-skills training in their development is discussed and analysed in some detail in Chapters 4 and 5.

worker to a tractor driver, brought him negligible financial benefit, accentuating the limitations of farm workers' skills "development" discourses. The way gambling soccer networks operated in the valley, these also created its own winners and losers, and at times, the abruptness of these games sparked violent brawls. But then again, the so-called mainstream sport structures were hardly free from conflicts and power struggles. Still, most of the soccer clubs participating in these informal gambling games suggested a desire to compete in the mainstream soccer structures. It was during one of those conversations when I explored with Dawid the reasons why Mountain Tigers did not play the BVLFA league that I learned the appropriateness of gambling games to their context and how this very context stimulated reasons and pressures to join the BVLFA league games.

### ***BVLFA League Games***

In October 2012, the Mountain Tigers entered the BVLFA league games for the first time. This move stimulated a lot of anticipation among the players; they wanted to see and test their prowess in the mainstream and to be seen, a possibility for glory on the official stage. Although playing in a mainstream structure had a charm, in and of itself, Dawid had also found that, while outside the BVLFA, his stronger players were getting poached by other BVLFA clubs like the Gunners. To avoid losing his best players, he had been considering for a while to enter the Mountain Tigers to the BVLFA league. However, a primary hurdle in doing so was uncertainty about the requirements and procedures. By the time I had arrived on the scene and asked him the question why they did not play in the BVLFA, he delegated me to source the information he required to enter the club. As part of my fieldwork, I had already been in touch with the BVLFA officials and was often attending meetings at their Zweletemba offices. I collected the required information and entry forms for the Mountain Tigers; we set up an email address; he found a professional secretary for the club from Louwshoek; they completed all the formalities and entered the club; and we all awaited for the league to start.

Due to some internal conflict within the management of BVLFA, the league started with a delay of two months that season. While this was the club's debut

into the BVLFA league games, they have had a short stint of experience in an official soccer league in 2006-2007 in Rawsonville. Dawid was not sure if that league was linked to the BVLFA, but it was an attempt to organise all the unofficial soccer clubs in Rawsonville into a structured league, which did not last even one full season. Anyhow, the BVLFA league games finally started in November 2012, and for their very first game, Mountain Tigers' opposition did not show up. Their second game was in Zweletemba, on the FIFA sponsored artificial turf, a surface the team had no experience of playing on. Even before they could adjust to it, the game was over, and they lost seven goals to one against this club. For the third game, they were back at the RMSF, and this time they won seven goals to one against a club from Worcester. Their fourth game was in Worcester, and they arrived at the field only to find out that the game was rescheduled without any prior notification. The fifth game was back in Rawsonville, and 30 minutes into the game, their opposition tried to field two players who had arrived long after the game was underway. The referees and the Mountain Tigers objected because this was against the official rules, which led to a brawl, and the visiting club drove off the field in the middle of the game. Despite referees' confirmation that the other club was in the wrong, the BVLFA's official resolved the conflict by arranging a rematch between the two clubs. The sixth game was again in Worcester, and Mountain Tigers arrived at the field only to find that their opposition refused to play, but awarded Mountain Tigersthe winning points. So, until the Christmas break, they had played only two matches out of six, and were placed third in the league standings.

The games resumed in the middle of January 2013, but Dawid was concerned about his players, as very few had been coming to practice. Their seventh game was again in Rawsonville, and despite very low morale among the players, they had a very strong start of the game, with a three-nil lead by the end of first half. In the second half, however, they conceded two relatively weak goals, but in the end won four goals to two. Dawid was not so happy after the match. As he argued, they could have scored at least another three goals. But this win and underperformance, at least, invigorated the players enough to return to practice, which, however, was only to follow another no-show game the following



weekend. On this Saturday, the 26<sup>th</sup> of January, there were two soccer clubs who did not show up, which allowed the Mountain Tigers to arrange a friendly game with the other club who was also stood up. It was the same club they had lost to earlier in the season by a margin of six goals, but with a home advantage, Mountain Tigers won this friendly match by three goals to two.

Between October 2012 and February 2013, the Mountain Tigers had played only four games, one of which was a friendly. Moreover, they were not getting enough games to play, and there seemed to be little incentive to continue playing these games. There were no more spectators cheering for the players than there were for the gambling games, nor were there any scouts or officials looking out for talented players, and winning brought no instant financial reward. What made these matches appear more professional were the SAFA qualified referees, but they not only came with an added expense to the playing clubs, they had limited powers to resolve disputes, and there was always a chance that they might come with a bias in favour to one soccer club over the other. These referees were part of the local soccer scene and were connected to specific clubs, either as players, supporters, coaches or managers, and so, whether their bias was genuine or not, they could always be accused of it. The rest of the BVLFA league season for Mountain Tigers followed a similar pattern. They also started to lose more games, and many of the “no-show” games they should have won points for were revoked and they had to play most of the clubs who had stood them up earlier in the season. This could be due to some internal politics or just a case of poor organisation on BVLFA’s part, or the mismanagement itself could be a result of *realpolitik* that each of the soccer clubs might be negotiating.

Notwithstanding, I am only able to portray the Mountain Tigers’ side of the story, and through them show the dynamics within which a farm workers’ soccer club experienced participation in the BVLFA league. Another significant event that paralleled the Mountain Tigers’ participation in the league games, and was to affect them in a specific way, was the farm workers’ up-rising of 2012/13 that called for better basic salary and improved terms of employment. In February 2013, the Minister of Labour announced the increase in minimum wage for farm labour by about 50%, from R69 to R105 per day, to take effect on the 1<sup>st</sup> March

2013. The BVLFA league games for the season were to continue till June 2013. As a reaction to the wage increase, many of the local farmers made cuts to the “in-kind” benefits of the farm workers. The electricity meters were added to on-farm worker houses, 10% from their wage was taken off towards house rent, the women farm workers were now contracted to work for three days, instead of five days, a week, and among other things, the transport for the soccer games was no longer available. By Dawid’s calculation, the wage increase, despite all these added expenses and loss of his wife’s income still left them with slightly higher household income. However, it was transportation for soccer games that had become difficult to manage. For one of their games in Zweletemba, they paid in the range of R800 on transport.

By April 2013, Dawid mentioned that they had already lost enough games in the BVLFA league that continuing to play the rest of the games was pointless, given the added costs. The players were all demotivated and expressed to Dawid that gambling games were better for them. If they won, they had a little bit of extra money, but if they lost, at least they had a game to play. In the BVLFA games, it was all costs, win or lose, and sometimes they did not even get a game. The last BVLFA league game they were meant to play, they decided to not show up but organised a gambling game against a local farm soccer club at the same time. The BVLFA later informed them that they were to pay a penalty for a no-show, which they ignored as they were unlikely to join the BVLFA league again. At the same time, the access to farm transport was now limited to church visits on Sundays, and gradually the Mountain Tigers completely ceased to play. Dawid did try to revive the club, but the transport had become unaffordable, and, according to Dawid, many young players had already given into drugs abuse and drinking.

### **7.2.2. “Development” Experiences**

In a situation where the effects of poor wages were counteracted by “in-kind” proceeds and where “development” can serve as a euphuism for paternalism and charity, everyday life experiences of permanent farm workers could well be “development” experiences. Sport, not an obligation, was among the “in-kind”

benefits that farm workers were able to negotiate with their employers, but as the case of Mountain Tigers shows, this could not be expected as a right. Still, the perceived relationship between sport and “development” can take many different meanings and forms, and here I focus on just two ways in which Dawid negotiates being both an agent as well as subject of “development”.

Already, his involvement with soccer and management of the club exhibits his agency in sustaining a soccer club over the years, by engaging the soccer players and enthusiasts in training, games, travel and also away from the dangers of drugs and alcohol, however haphazardly. Unlike Kolly of Gunners, he did not express an elevated love for the sport, but always responded that he was doing this because he wanted to help others. A lot of people I met over the course of my fieldwork expressed a similar sentiment, finding meaning in being able to help others, but Dawid’s situation was significantly different from most who expressed themselves in this manner. The physical and financial costs of helping were significantly higher in his case, and he was also a witness to the everyday limits of “helping”. This was particularly evident in his words when he shared that many young children from Louwshoek were already taking drugs, and in his view, it was because there was no more soccer. Still he knew – a lot better than I ever would – that the problems were much more complex and deeper than the lack of soccer, but soccer was among the channels he was able to direct his commitment for the good of his community.

As mentioned in last section, the team Mountain Tigers-junior was among the participants in the Solid Rock Soccer Day, and Dawid had not only paid the R50 from his pocket to bring the children to the event, but used this as an incentive to train the selected junior soccer players in the lead up to the event. When the local primary school was invited to a soccer match against another school, Dawid organised the soccer team, drove<sup>185</sup> the learners to and back from the field for training during the weeks prior to the game, and led them to victory. And when I asked him how he got involved in school’s soccer and if his time (or fuel) was compensated, he expressed his concerns that there was no sport activity for the

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<sup>185</sup> Early in the year 2013, Dawid bought a car with the financial help of his wife’s brother.

learners at the school (and of course he was not compensated, it was a voluntary one-off event). Despite all this, his farm worker status indiscriminately made him a subject of “development” – and why not, if this meant that transport will be organised to collect him and his team from their door-step, bring them to a sport stadium for a full day of sport activities, food, medals, etcetera, all at the courtesy of a SDP organisation or a programme?

### ***The DCAS’s Farm Workers Sport Day***

‘Farm workers’ day a success’ was the headline of an article published in a newspaper, *The New Age*, on 6<sup>th</sup> May 2014<sup>186</sup>. I had attended this annual event twice, the first time in 2010 and the next time in 2013. In 2010, I did not connect with any participating farm workers, and only learned from conversing with organisers the importance of the sport day for farm workers and their concerns over possible funding cuts to the initiative. By 2013, however, I was at the later stages in my fieldwork, and Dawid Prins along with a group of soccer players and spectators from Rawsonville were among the participants. The reason that for the first time (and perhaps for the last time)<sup>187</sup> a soccer team from Rawsonville was invited to this sport day was my attendance at the planning meetings with the Western Cape Farmworker Sport Committee in the lead up to the event.

On the morning of the Sport Day, Dawid and his combined team (Mountain Tigers and Young Stars FC, another farm workers’ soccer club from Rawsonville, had come together to field a stronger team) greeted me with much anticipation and excitement about the games to follow on the day, looking forward to show the “outside” world how good they were at soccer as one soccer player proclaimed. They were here to win. However, the competition did not unfold as they might have hoped. The referees penalised the team at the very start of their first game for taking too long to get to the field and causing delay to the day’s programme. Not only that the team did not get a warm up, the match was reduced to ten minutes a half. Due to time constraints to fit in possible nine soccer games in the day, all the soccer games were reduced to fifteen minutes a half, instead of the standard forty

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<sup>186</sup> See [http://www.thenewage.co.za/124725-1011-53-Farm\\_workers\\_day\\_a\\_success](http://www.thenewage.co.za/124725-1011-53-Farm_workers_day_a_success) [Accessed: 10<sup>th</sup> August 2014]

<sup>187</sup> I continued to be in communication with Dawid and some others at the time of writing. They all confirmed that they were not invited to the 2014 or 2015 Sport Day.

five minutes. There was some unhappiness among the players and coaches about the penalty and the shorter games, but no-one complained or overtly expressed discontent. The time penalty was particularly ironic as Dawid's team had been waiting all morning for the games to start.

In addition, Dawid had pointed out to me earlier in the day that many of his players did not make it to the stadium as they were still asleep when the official transport arrived at five in the morning to collect them. It takes no longer than an hour (if that) to travel from Rawsonville to the Dal Josephat Stadium in Paarl, the venue for the Sport Day. By this calculation, Dawid's team (the ones who did come) should have been at the venue by 6am, but the bus also got lost along the way and they arrived at the venue, closer to 8am. However, the Sport Day was formally inaugurated by the Minister only at 11am, and no sport activity started until the mid-day. So, after waiting for approximately four to seven hours to compete in the mainstream sport, which started with a time penalty, followed by a loss and a draw on the soccer field and savouring refreshments provided by the organisers, Dawid and his team affirmed that they enjoyed the day out and the food was very nice.

This DCAS sponsored annual *Farm Worker Sport Day* was the flagship event of their programme for the Western Cape Farmworker Sport and Recreation Development that I discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. Through this Sport Day, the DCAS's aim was to contribute to the "development" of farm workers' sport and recreation, as well as address the "development" problems among farm workers. This attempt was particularly evident in speeches delivered on the day by the, then, Minister of DCAS, Dr Ivan Meyer, and the president of the Committee, Reggie Deysel, respectively:<sup>188</sup>

Farm workers need access to sport and recreation. Through the games [the Sport Day] they have the opportunity to enjoy participating in sport. (Dr Meyer)

Farm communities are often isolated and underdeveloped but sport and recreation opportunities such as the sport and recreation day made sure that teams from these areas were brought into the mainstream. (Mr Deysel)

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<sup>188</sup> Quoted in a newspaper article published on 6th May 2014, [http://www.thenewage.co.za/124725-1011-53-Farm\\_workers\\_day\\_a\\_success](http://www.thenewage.co.za/124725-1011-53-Farm_workers_day_a_success) [Accessed: 10<sup>th</sup> August 2014]

Given the story of Mountain Tigers I sketched earlier, these rhetorical statements not only misrepresent the farm workers' "need [for] sport and recreation," but also congratulate the programme for addressing "needs," which it failed to achieve even by its own terms. This sport day, even by the definition of the DCAS officials, would not qualify as a mainstream sport event. However, this self-congratulation did not end with merely giving farm workers the joy of 'participation in sport', but went on to award them for their participation in the day. Thus, the 'annual Western Cape Farmworkers' Sport and Recreation awards ceremony' was the final activity of the day, where:

Prizes were handed over to teams and individual participants for their outstanding efforts. The day brought the joy of participating in sport and recreational activities back to the farms in the province and participants left the stadium with a sense of **pride** and many good memories of playing **better together**. (DCAS, 2013, online<sup>189</sup>, my emphasis)

The ceremony took place at a community hall about a kilometre away from the stadium. All the participants were seated according to their regional affiliation, which was marked by the colour of the t-shirts they wore. There were medals for each participant and trophies for the winning teams, and some other special honours. Each time a region was announced for prizes, only the affiliates to that region cheered, while all others watched quietly. Early in the ceremony, a representative from each region was called upon the stage to collect the allocated medals on the behalf of all their participants. The aim of this award ceremony was to give recognition to farm workers for their 'valuable contribution to sport in the province'<sup>190</sup>, as Dr Meyer had announced earlier in the day, and to build "pride" among the farm workers as was explained to me at the Committee meetings to justify the importance of the ceremony. I had questioned the purpose of such a ceremony, as the Committee was well aware that the sporting structures and opportunities for farm workers across the Western Cape were not uniform, and there were still high barriers to mainstream official sport structures for the vast majority. In response, I was told that a token of appreciation for their sporting achievements (that is, for being picked to participate on the day, as medals were

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<sup>189</sup> See the official website of Western Cape Government, under: News and Speeches, date: 20 May 2013; <http://www.westerncape.gov.za/news/fun-and-games-farmworkers-sport-and-recreation-day> [Accessed: 10<sup>th</sup> August 2014]

<sup>190</sup> See, [http://www.thenewage.co.za/124725-1011-53-Farm\\_workers\\_day\\_a\\_success](http://www.thenewage.co.za/124725-1011-53-Farm_workers_day_a_success)

given to all participants, not just achievers) would trickle down to enthuse other farm workers to take part in sport. In such a commentary, there was a denial to recognise the limitations of institutions like DCAS and the Farm Worker Sport Committee, while also ignoring the agency of farm workers and the possibility that sport might have been practiced outside of DCAS's Sport Day.

Moreover, claims to build "pride" in the process were used liberally to further accentuate the importance of such programmes despite the intangibility of such emotions. Such claims, in the context of farm workers' "development", are not only a reserve for the government Departments' clichés (as in the case of Agriculture Department's aims for Farmworker Development or in the DCAS's communication), but are also adopted by some social scientists. For example, a senior researcher, Doreen Atkinson, has argued that among the "development" outcomes of the Rural Foundation of 1980s 'was the restoring of farm workers' **dignity**' (2007, p. 141 my emphasis). Could psychological and personal level experiences of "pride" or "dignity" be substantially attributed to a collective, a group as large and diverse as *farm workers*? Such commentaries and claims are often a product of unreflective social rhetoric, serving, at best, to self-congratulate, and at worst, are irresponsible.

The soccer team and the spectators from Rawsonville had left before the start of the awards ceremony, and their medals (and "pride") were delivered to them later in the week. In my conversations with Dawid after the event, he sounded grateful for the opportunity to attend the Sport Day, affirming that it was enjoyable and that the food was nice. He also mentioned that, since they did not win anything, they had no reason to stay back for the awards. The manager-coach of the Young Stars, with whom Dawid had collaborated to compete at the event, was a foreman at a Fair Trade accredited farm. This meant that he had access to a farm truck, and so, he drove the soccer spectators from his farm to the stadium that morning. This allowed all of them to leave the event when they were ready to do so. If there was anything that the Young Stars' coach complained about regarding the Sport Day, it was the sport itself. Because they had received the invite to participate at a short notice, they felt that they did not get enough time to prepare for the competition. They also questioned if the organisers knew the

number of soccer teams invited to compete on the day, why were the fixtures for the games not posted earlier? Such questions were cautiously framed, and my guess is that they were being careful not to offend me as I had been the primary connection between them and the Committee, and so, the emphasis was on how they had had a good day. The actual soccer competition, with modified rules, time allocation, and no stakes, had lost its meaning anyway. What was left in the day was an organised picnic at the expense of the provincial government.

### 7.3. FAIRHILLS FOOTBALL CLUB

The Fairhills FC was founded in 2006 as part of the Fairhills Association,<sup>191</sup> a Fair Trade initiative organised as a partnership between the Origin Wine, Du Toitskloof Winery and their worker community. While I only briefly introduce the operations and political situatedness of the Association, organisation of sport activities in general and their soccer club in particular will remain a central focus of my descriptions in this section. The Origin Wine, an exporter of South African wine in the United Kingdom, responded to the market demands for Fair Trade wines by getting their long-term supplier, the Du Toitskloof winery and affiliated 21 wine farms owned by 14 producers (farmers),<sup>192</sup> accredited as a Fair Trade brand. In the process, a large scale community project, the Fairhills Association was born, which invested in building and improving the physical infrastructure (housing, transport, community and day-care centres, etcetera), and providing various welfare services and community “development” projects for the workforce.

The funds raised through the Fair Trade agreements with their UK importers were to be used for the benefit of Association’s *members* – as the farm workers of Fairhills farms were referred to. A particular and important aspect of the Fairhills Association was its democratically elected *Joint Body* committee, which included

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<sup>191</sup> Along with descriptive information available on their website (see [www.fairhills.co.za](http://www.fairhills.co.za)), the *Fairhills Association* has been a case study subject of a doctoral research, offering an analytical discussion on ethical implications of South Africa wine as a Fair Trade product (Herman, 2010).

<sup>192</sup> The figures, 14 producers and 21 wine farms, were accurate at the time of fieldwork, according to Association’s management (2012-13). Up to date information on their website shows 22 farms and 11 producers (2015). It was suggested in my interviews with management that there were farmers who were likely to quit the project, either because they were unable to comply with standards set by Fair Trade or wished to produce their own Fair Trade branded wine.



40 farm worker members, two farm owners and one representative from Origin Wine, who assessed and prioritised “development” requirements of the worker community (Herman, 2010). This organisational arrangement gave some farm workers a degree of decision making powers in the Association’s activities. Many different social clubs (for example, women, youth and sports) and activities were organised and managed through the Joint Body, who represented about a 1000 farm worker members. Sport was generally regarded as an important and preferred item on the list of social activities, evident in the fact that the Fairhills Sport Committee (FSC) had the largest membership and was allocated the biggest share of budget by the Joint Body. The Fairhills FC was one among other sport clubs operating within FSC.

### **7.3.1. “Development” Experiences**

Because of Fairhills FC’s situatedness within a community “development” initiative, I describe the club as a “development” experience before discussing the sporting lives of those connected to it. It is important to emphasise that sport was one of the many welfare and “development” activities of the Association, and soccer was one among other sport activities that Fairhills’ members were able to access. Thus, it would be useful to locate Fairhills FC within “development” discourses of the Association. To understand the role of sport in a Fair Trade wine initiative, the Fairhills’ project manager I interviewed explained:

Sport has always been a very important aspect of Fairhills. Our very first event in 2005 was actually a sport day, which we held in Rawsonville. Sport is also very important to the people in Rawsonville, due to the fact that it also creates opportunity for the people to do something by themselves, in the sense of spending their free time. In the past, the alcohol abuse problems that South Africa has, specifically in this area, up till three years ago, Rawsonville was in the gunnies book of world records for highest alcohol consumption, per capita, per person.

... To build this project we have to focus really heavily on sport. And that was where we started. Everything was basically on sport. If you look at our DVD, a lot of the footage is around sport. That was also because at the beginning, the first four years of the project, due to the income of the project and everything and because we really focused on really providing good quality crèches for our children and focused on education. So, we didn’t really have enough money left to create projects for the adults, because at that stage we only focused on the small children, the infants, the primary school children and secondary school

children. So, sport was basically the one thing that we can use towards our advantage to keep the adult people busy.<sup>193</sup>

In sum, sport was seen as an important part of the “development” project because it served as a deterrent to substance abuse, produced good ‘footage’ for promotional purposes and served to ‘keep the adult people busy’, while the project fulfilled its priorities to build infrastructure for children, youth and their education. To these ends, sport as a “development” project of Fairhills included annual sport days and festivals, as well as managed clubs and teams in rugby, soccer, netball and chess. The sport day events were organised to “develop” community spirit and cohesion among the farm workers from different Fairhills’ farms, and different sport clubs were to create ‘opportunity for the people to do something by themselves’. Moreover, the ideas of sport as a deterrent from alcoholism was as normalised as the urban legend about Rawsonville holding a world record for highest levels of alcohol consumption (also see Levine, 2013, p. 66). The educational opportunities that the Fairhills had organised for children and youth had value in and of itself, but how a sport project was to satisfy the adult members would need a deeper analysis of the sporting lives of these members. The budget for all the sports and sport clubs was allocated annually by the Joint Body, through the FSC. For example, in 2012 the FSC received R120,000 for the year, and this amount was used to ‘budget all the activities and fundraise’<sup>194</sup>. But the budget for the annual events was separate from FSC. In response to how the decisions were made regarding the sport day events, the project manager explained:

Well, the committee [FSC] decides when they want to have the annual sport day. Usually we have one Annual Sport Day, which is a big sport day, where there is a lot of big investment of money, with proper food, like the one we just had, it cost the project like R110,000. Then we have a smaller sport day, we started this year [2012], which they call the *Boer Sport Day*, where you do activities not like rugby or soccer, but you have like a three-legged race or running with a wheelbarrow and so on<sup>195</sup>

I attended both events, the Annual Sport Day and the Boer Sport Day, in 2012. The latter was an end-of-harvest festival. Intended for people ‘just to relax a bit or

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<sup>193</sup> Interview Recording code # VR0057, November 2012

<sup>194</sup> Ibid

<sup>195</sup> Ibid

so on',<sup>196</sup> the festival included no competitive sport in its schedule of events. It took place on Saturday the 2<sup>nd</sup> June 2012 and included multiple non-competitive, entertainment activities, such as horse-riding, jumping castle, farm games, music, food and etcetera, with very little overt emphasis on "development". It was the former, the Annual Sport Day, organised around inter-farm competitions in rugby, netball, soccer and tug-of-war, as primary sport activities, which was the flag-ship event and featured heavily in the Fairhills' promotional DVDs,<sup>197</sup> demonstrating the "development" role of sport.

I was invited to the Annual Sport Day, which took place on Saturday the 6<sup>th</sup> October 2012 at sport grounds of the Brandvlei Correctional Services (BSC), by David 'Marshal' Jansen, the coach of Fairhills FC, who was also responsible for organising the sport teams at the event. The BSC is situated by the Brandvlei dam, approximately half way between Worcester and Rawsonville, and boasted an impressive set of sport facilities. The event was open to the Fairhills' members only, and there were four soccer teams, four rugby teams, two netball teams and a tug-of-war event. In addition to the professionally organised sport competitions, evident in the fact that professional referees for each sport code were invited to conduct the games, there was food, drinks, music and other recreational activities, including horse riding. While the day was full of action for the sport participants, for the non-participants and spectators, it was a day of picnic or a party.

I joined a small group of women and girls, who I had come to know from attending Fairhills FC's soccer games. Among them were the family and friends of a soccer player, Jeremy, who played as a goalkeeper for Young Chiefs FC (another soccer club with a longer history of existence in Rawsonville than the Fairhills FC) in the BVLFA league games. Jeremy also played for Fairhills FC as a striker, but only in the gambling games. Marshal was hoping to recruit him to play for his team full-time, but the coach/manager of Young Chiefs, Flip Arendse, was not keen on letting him go. The BVLFA have set rules and fees in place for player transfer from one club to another, and player transfers or poaching were among the causes for contention between soccer clubs in the region. Flip was

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<sup>196</sup> Ibid

<sup>197</sup> The project manager had shared their promotional DVD with me.

involved in soccer in the valley for a long time and was among the administrators during the time of the RDSA. Because my direct interaction with him was only brief, I am unsure if he was part of the Fairhills Association in any way. This was because his team trained at an informal soccer field on a Fairhills farm, but I never saw him at any of the Fairhills' activities. As a foreman of a farm, he had access to higher income, his own transport and other resources to run his soccer club and life on his own terms, allowing him to work independently of the activities of the Association.

Jeremy was among the farm youth who were engaging and benefiting from the various activities and opportunities that the Fairhills had created, and was also keen to move to the Fairhills FC. On the day of the annual event, however, he had already played a soccer game and a rugby game, and both teams he played for were through to the finals. By the time he came over to join us, he expressed how tired he was, after approximately four hours of intense competition in two sports, and he shared that he might only play in the soccer finals. As I engaged in multiple conversations, I learned that the sport day was more popular among the spectators, while it was difficult to bring together enough athletes from all 21 farms to truly make it an inter-farm sport event. There were simply not enough people interested in sport to do so. Jeremy was one example, who participated in both soccer and netball, the latter of which barely had enough participants to make two teams.

As for “social cohesion” or a deterrent to alcoholism, there was little observable evidence at either of the sport days. There were as many sober farm workers at the events as there were the intoxicated ones, and at times, it seemed that sense of togetherness was particularly enhanced among the ones who were totally intoxicated. It is true that serious competitors were less likely to be found drunk during the games, but they were also less likely to compete against their opposition with a sense of “social cohesion”. The personal stories that people shared about getting out of, or being drawn into, alcoholism were often unrelated to sport. For instance, during one of my conversations at the annual sport day, a mother of another soccer player shared that she had lost both her parents by the time she was a teenager, and drinking alcohol was just a way of life for her in

those days. But then she met her husband, who is a good and honest man, and they both ‘found the Lord’, and turned away from alcohol for good. Similarly, a grandmother caring for her young grandchild shared that her daughter was a ‘good church going woman’, but during her pregnancy, her husband ran away with another woman, and since then she had turned to alcohol. Already at the sport day, a clear divide between the sober participants/spectators and the intoxicated ones was observable – they simply did not mingle. The sport day offered little to produce “social cohesion” or deter alcoholism in the face of powerful social and historical forces.

It was in such a context that didactic lessons on substance abuse, HIV/AIDS, teenage pregnancies, etcetera, among the youth took place. Over the course of my fieldwork, I did not meet anyone who was so naïve as not to know or understand the harmful consequences of alcohol and substance abuse. At the same time, most people believed that sport was good for the youth and helped in keeping them busy and away from alcohol and drug abuse. To disintegrate contradictory, yet coexisting, understandings of sport’s “development” usefulness requires attention to the different registers in which people express themselves. It was during a pre-season friendly rugby game I attended with a group of Fairhills’ soccer players (who gave me timely updates on the scores, players and the local gossip) that I observed the different realms in which people created different meanings through and of sport. It was a busy sport field with a large number of spectators gathered to watch the games. The group of teenagers with whom I was watching the game were full of excitement as some of their friends were on the field. While we casually laughed and gossiped, I also carved out a few moments to ask them how they understood the importance and role of sport in their community. They responded with, what sounded to me like, a well-rehearsed answer: ‘sport is good for us, it keeps us busy, out of trouble, and away from drinking alcohol and all other bad things’. To which I replied, reminding them of our conversation a few minutes earlier, ‘But you just told me that all the players on the field were drunk’.<sup>198</sup>

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<sup>198</sup> Field Notes: 29<sup>th</sup> September 2012

In this sense, it was the sport clubs that participated in regular sport league games and organised their own practice sessions, friendly and gambling games, where a more earnest engagement with sport was available to be observed. These spaces were relatively more likely to meet the “development” objectives of achieving social cohesion and deterring substance abuse. And yet, even these affects were contingent on multiple and complex sets of factors, for example, sustained competitive success on the field, a sense of purpose in participation, and a realistic possibility to excel. Yet, this would be true for most soccer and sport clubs in the valley, two examples of which I discussed earlier in this chapter. Notwithstanding, Fairhills FC’s association with an organised community “development” project did affect some of the ways in which the sporting lives of the Fairhills FC patrons’ unfolded differently from other farm worker sport clubs.

### **7.3.2. Sporting Lives**

I was introduced to the FSC at the Fairhills Associations’ Annual General Meeting (AGM) on 25<sup>th</sup> May 2012, when the soccer coach, David ‘Marshal’ Jansen, invited me to the soccer tournament they had organised at the RMSF the following day. The event was to start at 10am on Saturday, and by the time I arrived at the field at about 11am, there were only a few people on the field, along with Marshal. This was a gambling tournament, and about six to eight soccer teams were expected to take part. However, by 2pm, when the games actually started, only five teams were drawn to play in the knock-out tournament. While the support from FSC had allowed Marshal to book the official soccer field and organise the music system and other add-ons that were not always part of the unofficial or gambling tournaments, it was probably wishful-thinking to expect local soccer teams to be on the field as early as 10am. The rhythms of the rural town and farming life simply did not allow for punctuality over the weekends, particularly when most people were caught up with chores in the morning. Besides, I did not attend a single gambling or BVLFA game that started before the mid-day over the year. It was similar scenarios that revealed opportunities and limitations of being associated with Fairhills Association.

With a secure budget and access to resources that Fairhills FC enjoyed came the conditions in which the club was to be organised. For example, all the soccer players in Fairhills FC team had to be members (or dependents of the members) of the Association. Unlike most soccer clubs, Fairhills FC was in unique position to plan ahead and was able to organise games against clubs beyond their locale, Rawsonville or Breede Valley. Still, their planning-ahead was not always as compatible with how the broader soccer networks operated in the valley. These, however, were minor concerns in comparison to building a strong soccer club. As I discussed in the case of Mountain Tigers, sustainability of a soccer club depends on, among other things, on-field success, which also helped build a bond among the players of a club. Fairhills FC, however, could go on irrespective of their on-field performance. And as it was, Fairhills FC was not taken as a serious contender by other soccer clubs and hovered at the bottom of BVLFA league standings. They were also a young club (most of their players were in their late teens) and over the course of the year that I had observed them, their on-field performance did visibly improve. Secure access to resources does not necessarily correlate to weaker on-field performance. On the contrary, resources can help attract talented players and boost the chances of a sport club to perform better. However, there were multiple dynamics at play, including the history and meaning of being Fairhills FC to the players and patrons, aspirations and motivation of FSC, and the coach.

#### ***David ‘Marshal’ Jansen***

Among the key reasons for Fairhills FC’s gradual improvement in on-field performance were regular and consistent training throughout the year with the same coach. David ‘Marshal’ Jansen, who mostly goes by the name of Marshal and is a “coloured” man, had only started to coach the 2012 team around the same time as I met the club. In fact, on the day of their AGM, when I first met the FSC, there was another young man, Maxwell, who was introduced to me as the sport coach for all the sport clubs in FSC. Marshal and many others were introduced as the member of FSC. I was unable to find out exactly what happened but was told that Maxwell had left Fairhills and gone to Johannesburg. At one of Fairhills FC’s BVLFA games, Marshal was happy to share that he will be coaching the team

from then on. There were many people in the FSC to whom I was introduced, who had been involved in soccer for a long time, even before the Fairhills existed, but it seemed that Marshal had developed a rapport with the 2012 team and was favoured over other potential soccer coaches. This was also a volunteer position and required a commitment during the evenings and over the weekends, which might have a role to play in Marshal's selection as a coach. But also, unlike some others with soccer history in the FSC and Joint Body members, Marshal was not contending in the committee for any leadership positions.

Marshal grew up in Aberdeen, in the Eastern Cape, with his grandparents, while his parents worked at the commercial farms in Rawsonville. When he was old enough, probably 15 or 16 years old, he also found a job in Rawsonville, working at a farm. He worked as a tractor driver and felt secure about his job and about the future of his children, more so, since the Fairhills Association had been investing in the education of the farm youth and offering bursaries for tertiary level studies. He shared that the annual bonuses and extra money they earned because of Fairhills was negligible, but he felt positive about the opportunities their children now had. He also explained that in Aberdeen he used to play soccer, but when he moved to Rawsonville, he learned to play rugby, and did so for a while. When the Fairhills FC started, he was happy as soccer had always been his preferred sport.

Marshal also maintained a low profile in the affairs of FSC, and perhaps it was his humble and accommodating personality that had won him the trust of the Joint Body's treasurer, which meant he could negotiate transport and better deal for the soccer club. I had spoken to many farm worker-members of the Fairhills, and not all were as positive about the benefits of Fairhills as Marshal was, a point that suggested Marshal's tact in how he managed to make the best out of the opportunities Fairhills had created. He had secured regular access to floodlit RMSF for after-work soccer training. There were always competing priorities, including negotiating talented sport people for soccer with other sport and social clubs within Fairhills, and space on the field for practice with other local soccer clubs. For example, as the performance of his team had started to improve, particularly after they lost a very close match against the De Novians FC, De



Novians asked to change their practice times at the field, accusing Marshal of stealing their training methods. Besides, it was winning that had started to build confidence and a bond between Marshal and his players, and the Fairhills FC started to have meaning in the lives of its patrons, which, if I interpret Marshal correctly, was not there before.

### *Sports Activities and Sporting Aspirations*

The assumption among the Fairhills' project managers and coordinators was that rugby was the preferred sport. My own observations, however, were to the contrary. The Fairhills FC was the only club in FSC that had a direct affiliation with its official sport governing body, the BVLFA, and the club played all year round. As argued in discussing the role of Marshal, it was in the soccer club that a sense of "Fairhills as a team" or "social cohesion" was observably apparent. In a discussion regarding if soccer was more a popular sport activity, the Fairhills' project manager corrected me by explaining:

It also depends on the different cultural group, on the dimension of that group. We all know that soccer in South Africa is more played or more participated by black South Africans. Whereby coloured and white South Africans, they participate more in rugby and netball, for example. Also a big favourite for coloured people is tug-of-war. But, ja! Soccer is still quite big, especially in the informal settlements and rural areas, and so on. But rugby is, I would say, is still king, in the sense that if you look at the demographics of our projects, 90% of the people working on our farms or belonging to the project are coloured South Africans, and only 10% are black South Africans. It's just based on specific region. If you go towards, for example, the Eastern Cape, the demographics change completely. Ja! Within our project, rugby is also the stronger sport of Fairhills. Soccer is there, rugby is still the strongest sport.<sup>199</sup>

Fairhills rugby, as the manager went on to explain, played in the regional leagues (of Boland Rugby Union (BRU)) as a fourth team of the Rawsonville United RFC, and there were two senior and two junior netball teams. While I am sure that the Fairhills netball was limited to their Annual Sport Days, I am unsure as to how the arrangement between Fairhills and Rawsonville United worked in practice, given that only three teams played in a league game at the level in which Rawsonville United was competing in BRU leagues. Even if I was to accept that Rawsonville United had a fourth team, their opposition was unlikely to bring an

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<sup>199</sup> Interview Recording code # VR0057, November 2012

extra team along to the league games. I am only able to speculate, either that the project manager assumed I was unlikely to have much knowledge about rugby, given my Indian and female identity, or he himself was simply unaware of how the Fairhills rugby operated outside the Annual Sport Days. It is possible that some of the members of Fairhills played for Rawsonville United, but that has to be because they were selected due to their rugby ability, not because they were part of Fairhills. These assumptions and responses were more of a reflection of how Fairhills intended to be seen or positioned within the broader sporting or farming community, rather than how sport activities operated in practice.

Given the initial and on-going challenges and resistance from the farmers as well as farm workers in managing the Association (see Herman, 2010 for details on causes of contention), the management did try to contain themselves as an independent project, with minimum outside influence or interference. In the case of rugby, a preferred scenario would have been independent Fairhills RFC, similar to the Fairhills FC. However, the barriers to enter a new rugby club into the BRU were high, as I discussed in the last chapter. Not only did they need reliable access to a rugby field and other facilities, which at the time they did not have, but also they also had to start at the feeder level league, the Worcester Rugby Zone (WRZ), from where a rugby club qualified for BRU leagues. I doubt if the project manager was even aware of latter technicality, as until 1994, WRZ and many other rugby clubs organised by the “coloureds” would have been invisible to “whites”, and they were unlikely to have more intricate and up-to-date knowledge of regional rugby structures, at least for two reasons. Firstly, most of the traditionally “white” rugby clubs in the farming region had broken away from BRU; and second, the BRU structures have been in flux over the years<sup>200</sup>. While the efforts of management in allocating resources and in organising sport clubs for Fairhills’ members were well-intended, they seemed to lack a realistic understanding of the history and politics of organisation of sport among the “black” and “coloured” farm workers.

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<sup>200</sup> I have already discussed Rugga, the social rugby league that broke-away from BRU in last chapter (see Chapter 6). Moreover, between the time of fieldwork and writing the thesis, BRU structures were re-configured. Many inconsistencies that I observed even during the fieldwork were often explained in terms of “recent changes in structure”.

The dominant and repeated official discourse in the provision of sport for the farm worker communities had been that of its lack. Likewise, Fairhills was providing the sport opportunities to their farm worker-members that they never had before. So, the official historical discourse on sport among farm workers was that of its absence and it served well to garner resources and justify funding for special projects of sport for the farm workers. The FSC itself had some power to decide where and how the resources allocated for sport were to be used. But FSC also had members who were more attuned to the history of sport practices, activities, clubs and coaches among the farm worker communities over the years. This unacknowledged history of farm worker sport offered an important context to analyse the sporting lives and mutating aspirations for sport among them.

As it is, saying that – “farm workers do not have opportunity to participate in sport” – can mean many different things to different people in different contexts. I have already shown in previous chapters that soccer clubs and leagues had been organised and participated in by “coloured” and “black” farm workers at least since the early 1980s, if not before. The chairperson of a WRZ league rugby club, Klipdrift RFC, a man called Karneels, was a foreman at a Fairhills farm, but he did not fully engage with the Association’s operations. This rugby club had been in existence since 1985, and despite the fact that most of the players of the club were part of the Fairhills Association, they were not Fairhills rugby, nor did the Klipdrift RFC benefited from the sport budget of FSC. Among the contenders for the presidency position in the Joint Body was a soccer administrator from the days of the RF and the RDSA. While he shared the history of soccer in Rawsonville with me in an interview, he was no longer involved in soccer, neither at Fairhills, nor with any other soccer club in the valley. Moreover, as the processes of democracy go, there were divides and power struggles among the farm worker-members of the Joint Body. In this sense, Fairhills had created a space for different interests and views to be raised, debated and contested. My information and analysis in this context is limited to sport. And even within the narrow context of sport, there remained many more questions to be asked, different farm workers’ sport discourses to be explained, and many more ways in which farm workers organised and participated in sport to be understood.

The example that follows shows how differently *lack of sport* was understood between farm workers on the one hand and project managers and coordinators on the other hand. On my request, Marshal had organised for me to speak to a group of FSC members in the leadership positions. There were about twelve of them, but only four or five were more expressive. I illustrate a dialogue between them (FSC) and me (T) below. I started the conversation by asking about the role, importance and benefits of sport to their community, their response to which was a cynical hope or desire to compete at professional sport:

T: do you see any other benefit of doing sport ... other than becoming a sport professional?

FSC: no, not in this valley!! Not here in this town!

T: but what about, as they say, doing regular sport keeps you healthy, keeps you out of trouble, good for your concentration, good for discipline, good for team work, fun; is that something seen [as] important?

FSC: yes, yes! Of course! All that or something like that!! Only value for yourself [or] for other people. Not really for me! Yes, I want my boy to play rugby here and then I want people like WP, Sharks [professional rugby clubs in South Africa] to come, and have a look for my boy, and I want him to play there! But there is no way, because no-one comes looking for talents.

T: that is what you really value, no other benefit, like health or fun?

FSC: if the people come out and have a look how the people play in this town, that will benefit!

... And you see, one of the children is playing rugby or soccer, to provide, to make money for you, and to have a better life!<sup>201</sup>

There was a lot of texture, animation and emotion (not so easy to bring out in the transcribed words on a flat paper) to the way the FSC members explained to me their desire and aspirations for sport. They took their time to assess me and how they should approach my questions. And as the ice was broken with one member sharing his aspirations, others joined in. Some continued to remind others, sport was just to 'keep the youth busy', while others dismissed this idea altogether. Moreover, they were in leadership positions in the FSC and the Joint Body, with years of experience in the valley and in its ways with sport and farming. They were not going to let me distract them with any other benefit than the charms of professional sport that lures them to consider it as a worthy pursuit

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<sup>201</sup> Interview Recording code # VR0039, August 2012

at the first place. The likes of Breyton Paulse<sup>202</sup> and Heini Adams<sup>203</sup>, professional rugby players with backgrounds not too dissimilar to that of farm workers' of the Western Cape, gives them all the more reasons to believe in the possibilities sport can offer 'to have a better life'. And yet, a combination of pessimism, optimism and realism was interwoven into the way this conversation flowed. Some optimism might have been caused by my presence, particularly in a hope (explicitly expressed) that I might have connections to scouts they wish would come looking for talent in the valley. For some these aspirations were genuine and for others a reason to mock the ambitions that seemed beyond the reach for the ones in their condition. In response to my naïve questions and ideas about "development" of and through sport, Marshal often reminded me that 'people don't get along with each other here'<sup>204</sup>. Or was it that different people had different understandings, lives and interests, and even Fairhills farm worker-members were not a singular entity, and farm workers of Rawsonville were, indeed, not an undifferentiated mass.

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

By means of these soccer stories, networks and aspirations, I try to elucidate a complex, but also conflated nexus between sport and "development". While only mere glimpses into a more complex, richer and diverse set of practices, networks and histories, these snapshots of sporting lives and "development" experiences not only complicate and expose the limitations of SDP discourses and practices, but also highlight that there is more to a study of sport than explaining its moralising and instrumental value. Importantly, such a focus allowed me to illuminate the nuances and multiplicity in how soccer was practiced and negotiated and all the meanings it took on by those broadly referred to as farm workers. The diverse ways in which soccer coaches, managers and players negotiated their soccer lives were determined by the socio-economic context in which each of them lived, yet

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<sup>202</sup> Breyton Paulse played for the South African rugby union team, the Springboks, since 1999. He grew up on a farm in Koue Bokkeveld, Ceres, where many of his peers work as farm workers.

<sup>203</sup> Heini Adams grew up in *Roodewal*, a locality known for very high rates of crime in Worcester area. He comes from a humble background, and was (at the time of fieldwork) an admired local hero, at the time playing for a professional rugby club in France.

<sup>204</sup> Interview Recording code # VR0080, January 2013

their life trajectories, how they pursued soccer, their tact, their commitments, their talents, and how they performed soccer into their lives was unique to each of them. In presenting the stories of three different soccer clubs, in very different situations from each other and with different associations among the broader farming community, my intention was to break down the possibilities to read the lives of farm workers in any singular or simplistic ways. The different realities, conditions, aspirations, struggles, experiences and subjectivities illustrated here have remained outside the realms of, if not intentionally ignored by, the alluded SDP discourses and projects discussed earlier in Chapters 4 and 5. Drawing out and elaborating on the theoretical significance of the everyday and autonomous sporting spaces of subaltern sociality, I proceed to the concluding Chapter to discuss and extrapolate on the nexus and disjuncture between “development” and sport.



Cordelia: Unhappy that I am, I cannot heave  
My heart into my mouth. I love your majesty  
According to my bond, no more nor less.

Shakespeare (King Lear, 1605, Act 1 Scene 1)

The aim of this study was to critically analyse the nexus (or one might say, the *bond*) between sport and “development” (SDN). Over the past 15 or so years, proclamations and practices of “sport for development and peace” (SDP) have emerged as globally recognised phenomena, where sport is promoted as a tool to achieve a broad range of “development” objectives, including the Millennium Development Goals (Cornelissen, 2011; Darnell, 2014a; Kidd, 2008). With the proliferation of SDP propositions, programmes and organisations, came research agendas that sought evidence to prove the impact and systematic application of sport to “development” ends. The popularity, traction and commercialisation of international sport could be argued as among the reasons for the attention SDP has received. However, the emphasis in discourses and practices of SDP has remained on the amateur and grassroots sport activities, often targeting children and youth. Although the conceptions of SDP may appeal as much to “developers” as to subjects and objects of “development,” both sport and “development” take on very different meanings, at different times, for different people, and were pursued for different aspirations, performed in different ways and could end up serving very many different interests.

To conclude this thesis I expound on a point: namely, there is a world of difference between, on the one hand, the claims that attribute instrumental benefits to sport and, on the other, claims such as: ‘*soccer is in the blood*’<sup>205</sup> and ‘... *just for the love of sport*’ – made by those deemed in need of “development”. These claims and understandings are often conflated in a way that reinforces and validates SDP, while affecting intended and unintended social processes. This is particularly evident in the stories of three different soccer clubs that I discussed in

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<sup>205</sup> Ibid

the last chapter. For example, the community building objectives of the Fairhills Association through their sport projects did not necessarily help develop feelings of ‘social cohesion’ among the member-farm workers. But the opportunities and greater participation in decision making processes of the project created as much a positive sense for the future of farm youth and children as it created a space for conflict and personal interests to be raised, pursued and contested. It would be unlikely to raise funds for an SDP project by promoting its capacity to increase power-struggles and conflict among a select group, even if it was argued that these were among the results of greater inclusion and empowerment. It is to this end that I refer to Shakespeare’s *King Lear* to suggest that there may be other, more complex and perhaps some political and material interests at stake in the inflated claims made in the promotion of SDP. Above, I refer to Cordelia, who refuses to perform her love for her father, King Lear, for material ends, to draw attention to the nexus between sport and “development”. In this nexus, I argue that sport does ‘no more nor less’ for “development,” but the experiences of sport and “development” are necessarily contingent on the historical, geographical, political and material circumstances of those involved.

With the goal of advancing debates in the field of SDP and understandings of SDN, I have critically analysed discourses and practices of SDP in the light of broader structural realities, everyday sporting lives and the “development” experiences of the people concerned. In so doing, I illustrated different and seemingly disconnected frames and positions from which theories of SDP and experiences of sport and “development,” were observed. These case studies, stories and depictions, while only fragments from more complex and diverse realities, offer contrasts and counter-narratives that complicate and contest the simplified notions commonly projected in global SDP discourses and locally specific “development” agendas. Consolidating the empirical findings I presented in the last four chapters, I discuss some obvious connections and disjuncture in farm workers’ “development” discourses, SDP practices and their everyday sporting lives. At a conceptual level, I discuss the implications of my study, including the theoretical and methodological approaches I employed to examine SDP/SDN. This chapter brings the thesis to conclusion by theorizing an approach



that explores, observes, engages with and analyses the confused, the complex and the inconsistent in the everyday of *Subaltern Sport*.

### 8.1. CENTRAL THESIS ARGUMENTS

How do “development” problems that sport is supposed to solve, according to SDP discourses, correspond to the social, economic and political realities in a given context? – is the central organising question I interrogated in this thesis. The historical review, contemporary “development” and SDP discourses, descriptions of structural arrangements, case studies, and stories through which I presented my research observations, and articulated central thesis arguments, revealed some obvious continuities and contradictions between SDP objectives and practices and the realities of everyday sporting lives, which I discuss in this section. Among the formative turns I took in conducting ethnographic fieldwork and in presenting my research observations and analysis was to implicate myself and invite the reader into the confusing and complex process of learning and knowledge production. Indeed, it was critical self-reflection on engagement with the field early-on that had reshaped my inquiry to look beyond the “development” utility of sport to explore and unpack the very different associations, assumptions, meanings and experiences of sport and “development”.

If there is one argument I can extract from my analysis of SDN, it would be this: a genuine interest in popular sport among a large number of people from across the social divides *precedes* any tangible or intangible, “factual” or rhetorical logics which link “development” to sport. In other words, sport was followed and pursued irrespective of direct or corollary “developmental” benefits. Sport belongs to social practices that are never fully regulated, but serve as vital spaces of autonomy, creativity and self-realization, even for those who may not otherwise have such opportunities. But with global recognition and endorsement of SDP as a concept and the commercial opportunities that have emerged in the making of this sector, sport has become an attractive option even for those disinterested or only mildly interested in sport and the more complex issues of social justice.

Critical review of reports, resolutions, official planning and policy documents, as well as academic literature on SDP show how the search for evidence about whether and how sport contributes to “development” was likely to result in calls for better planned, more relevant, more appropriate and well-resourced SDP programmes, intervention models, policy recommendations and more impact evaluations. In other words, as I discuss in Chapter 3, the evidence of lack of “development” impact was not taken as evidence that the SDP paradigm itself is flawed but as evidence that better effort to evaluate and conduct SDP should be made. There is a danger in such an approach to SDP research, in that it can remain caught up in a self-validating trap. There is no denying that academic research on SDP takes shape in search for applied knowledge. However, uncritical acceptance of sport as a tool and “development” as valid and desirable objective to be project managed is deeply problematic. To this end, Ferguson’s analysis of “development” as *the anti-politics machine* proved particularly useful to look for, unpack and examine the problematic in the discourses and practices of farm worker “development” and SDP. I had organised my analysis around three contrasting frames of observation, namely: 1) the historical and contemporary discourses and politics of farm worker “development” and SDP programmes and practices, 2) the structural arrangements of competitive and physical infrastructure for official sport, and 3) the everyday (official and unofficial) sporting practices and experiences of the rural working class people. To consolidate the descriptions, depictions and the arguments scattered across the preceding chapters, I extrapolate and discuss the nexus and the disjuncture in these frames of contrasts.

### **8.1.1. The Nexus and The Disjuncture**

At a general level, SDP practices were theorised for amateur and community building values of sport that accommodate large-scale and cost-effective participation, while visibility and highly competitive projections of mega-sport events and elite athletes were left for inspirational and promotional purposes only. There is an implicit ideological contradiction in the way SDP discourses draw on the popularity of highly competitive and elitist pursuits to promote ideals of social cohesion and cooperation embedded in amateur or community level sport. The case studies I discussed in Chapter 5 show that the funding and implementation of

SDP interventions used indicators of social welfare deficit to identify farm workers of the Western Cape as “development” subjects, while the claims that South Africa is a sport-mad nation justified the relevance of sport. In this way, SDP interventions were conducted in the absence of the historical and political implications and served to exempt the funders and implementers from dealing with structural causes and imbalances that reproduce the problems they claimed to solve.

Within the SDP paradigm in the context of farm workers of the Western Cape, sport was promoted as: part of a healthy lifestyle, a deterrent from delinquent behaviour an attractive and productive way to fill the free time away from boredom, an opportunity for talented sport persons to excel and get out of their material poverty, a chance to build character and self-disciplined team-players, a way to enhance self-worth, self-esteem and build pride; and a “creative way” to impart “life skills”. Whether it was a small initiative out of an individual’s philanthropic volition or a project administered by an organisation with large donor funding or sponsors; whether it was a sporadic day-long sport event, or a committed weekly sport practice; the feature that defined it as an SDP initiative was its participants, a group of people identified as in “development” need. Through the case study examples I presented in Chapter 5, I demonstrated that while SDP agendas may serve many different, divergent and at times conflicting interests, farm workers’ own agency, initiative and aspirations do not feature in SDP and “development” discourses.

Beyond the narrow confines of farm worker “development” discourses in the Western Cape, and sporadic and temporary SDP projects for marginalised rural inhabitants, there was a vibrant and active world of formal and informal sport. The sporting practices, spaces and networks in the rural town of Rawsonville had its own economy, sociality, history and politics (as discussed in Chapters 6 and 7), which provided a vital context to deconstruct the logics of SDP and garner deeper understanding of the social world and lives of those targeted by such programmes. And while the seemingly politically disengaged and enthusiastically embraced qualities of sport may continue to serve as reasons for its traction on “development” and peace agendas, I was also able to employ these apolitical and

trivial connotations and participation in sport as an ethnographic method. In purposely inserting myself in the sport scene at the farmlands, I was not only able to garner nuanced insights on the sporting and social life of farm workers, but critical self-reflections also exposed the limitations, as much as the value, of researchers' subjective positioning in making sense of the world under study. As discussed in Chapter 2, all the obvious, misunderstood, assumed and imposed, identity markers that I carried played a central role in how, and to what extent, I was able to negotiate access to the kind of information I garnered.

Broadly, the ethnographic details I have presented in this thesis demonstrate how the structural arrangements of various sporting activities were influenced by and maintained along the political and socio-economic organisation of the broader society. In the last two chapters, I described the sporting landscape, the physical, the competitive, and the structural, infrastructure of sport, the politics of access, and the multitudes of ways in which sport and life unfolded among the lower socio-economic and marginalised groups of people. In depicting the stories of soccer clubs, networks and practices, I drew attention to the diverse and specific ways in which sport was imagined, organised and adapted in and by participants and enthusiasts of sport. By focusing on the everyday sporting lives of athletes, coaches, managers, organisers and soccer clubs, I painted a picture that reveals the diversity and inconsistency of experiences and meanings of *farm worker* as an identity, a class position and an occupation. Interrogating how farm workers were embedded within the broader rural sport structures, I described the complex set of factors that shaped their access to and participations in sport. It was not mere competence in sport, but an individual's socio-economic class, race, gender, religious and political affiliations, social and personal relations, tact to navigate the circumstances one was born into, and other idiosyncrasies that determined experiences of sport and "development".

Evidently, the historical organisation of sport along racial lines was still perpetuated in the extent to which farm workers and other lower socio-economic inhabitants of Rawsonville were able to access contemporary mainstream sport structures, competitions and infrastructure. The farm worker sport "development" efforts of the provincial government Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport

(DCAS), who, while recognizing farm workers as a distinct group and setting out one of their objectives ‘to bring farm workers into the mainstream of sport’, relied on an annual sport day to claim achievement of “development” through sport among the farm workers. While I analysed a number of contradictions in the way this initiative was conceptualised and promoted, the organisation of a sport day as the main activity through which DCAS achieved its “development” objectives was also consistent with how SDP practices were generally operationalized. In order to use sport for a positive “development” impact, the sport activities, competitions and awards at the event were modified to the degree that for the participants, it was no more than a fully-sponsored organised picnic. Of course, not all the SDP case studies I discussed were as vocal or deliberate in modifying sport to affect “development,” but each case shows how the organisers operated with rather superficial or misconstrued understandings of sporting lives and experiences of farm workers.

An understanding of farm workers’ social marginality and their limited access to sport did feed into “development” discourses, particularly apparent in the provincial government’s “development” programmes that focused on farm workers as a distinct “priority” group. However, there were neither any mechanisms in place by which a rural working class person was to be identified as *farm worker*, nor was there any coherent or coordinated plans or systematically stipulated strategy to make mainstream sport more accessible for farm workers (as discussed in Chapter 6). Still, there were many projects that used sport as an aspect of farm worker “development” (a selection of case studies, to this end, were discussed in Chapter 5). This is where the disjuncture in farm worker “development” and SDP discourses and practices lies. While the SDP projects do not engage with the structural weaknesses and the politics of the everyday that deny the lower socio-economic classes access to sport, they nonetheless use this “lack” and popularity of sport to justify their “development” projects.

To this end, the proponents and practitioners of SDP have often reminded me: SDP is not about competitive sport, but about giving people an opportunity to take

part in sport, to improve their life,<sup>206</sup> ‘to learn them’<sup>207</sup> and ‘develop themselves!’<sup>208</sup> Such arguments reflect ignorance, indifference, or even refusal to engage with the subjects of “development” on any other terms than as the bearers of generalised, assumed, and conveniently understood, “lacks” and “needs”. As my research findings show, there was not necessarily a lack of opportunity to take part in sport, but the large physical distances, lack of access to reliable transport and financial resources to compete in the mainstream sports, on their own terms, which marginalised the rural working class people. The sporadic and temporary quality of many of the SDP projects also exposed that these were neither equipped to affect structural changes, nor address immediate, day to day, problems and struggles. This, perhaps, is a condition endemic to the use of language of “development,” which conflates and obscures the differences between the immediate or apparent “lacks” and the structural “wrongs”. While it identifies and groups its objects on the basis of the “wrongs” of their structural position, but rather than working out the structural causes of, and challenging, these “wrongs”, it focuses on making up for the (often misunderstood and misrepresented) “lacks”.

Implicit in farm worker “development” agendas is the recognition that there is something peculiar about farm labour practices in the Western Cape. The fact that a group was identified as in need of “development” by their occupation and class position indicates that the problematic might be in the broader agricultural labour relations and its political economy. Still, the explicit “development” agendas seek voluntarist solutions in changing the person of “farm worker”, either by developing their work-related skills, or by training them in life-skills, or by providing them with opportunities to enjoy sport. Such propositions were presented as if the material conditions of farm workers, and the history and politics of the agriculture sector, the wine industry, and the land-ownership in South Africa, have no bearing on the present conditions that make farm labour a group targeted for “development”. There was little content in the SDP discourses

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<sup>206</sup> This is my interpretive summary of many conversations I have had with many different people directly involved in SDP programmes and projects.

<sup>207</sup> ‘to learn them’ is a colloquial expression commonly used to say: ‘to teach them!’ (Field notes)

<sup>208</sup> Extract from an interview recording (Recording # VR0015, 2012), where an interviewee explained organization of sport opportunities for farm workers as a space where they can ‘go and develop themselves’.

and practices directed at farm workers that was likely to affect the occupation of farm labour in the Western Cape, in any structural or specific manner. It was only by ignoring the history and politics of continued poor wages, unequal power-relations, and exploitative terms of employment, that sport could be seen as an aspect of farm worker “development”.

Into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, the underlying assumption that “development” of farm labour entails skills “training” echoes the conditions of “training” proposed for emancipation of slaves in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Dooling, 2007; Scully, 1997; Worden, 1994). Rhetorically speaking, how much “training” does the farm labour of the Western Cape really need to come out of a materially constrained and politically or geographically marginalised status? Notwithstanding, the concepts of farm worker “development” or their need for “empowerment” were completely absent during the time of slavery. The charitable contributions of paternalist benevolence since the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century (Wilson et al., 1977) and, later, the institutionalised farm worker “development” efforts of the Rural Foundation, were supported by the discourses of improved worker productivity and strategic management of the farm business (Mayson, 1990). Even today, the discourses of skills training were situated anywhere between requirements of farm human resource management and enhanced curriculum vitae of farm workers. Explained in terms of farm worker “development”, it is argued that a better skilled labourer should be empowered to negotiate a better salary, opportunities and working conditions (Atkinson, 2014).<sup>209</sup> However, the story of Dawid Prins (discussed in Chapter 7) and Breedekloof Wine and Tourism’s (BWT) approach to “development” (discussed in Chapters 4 and 5), suggest that there is more at stake than skills of labour to overcome the constraints that identify them as subjects and objects of “development”.

While I am generally critical of grandiose notions of what sport or SDP organisations can or cannot do, this critique is not intended to undermine or dismiss the genuine interest, passion and commitment that motivate so many

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<sup>209</sup> See: <http://www.bdlive.co.za/opinion/2014/08/08/ownership-no-longer-the-key-to-empowering-farm-workers> [Accessed on: 3<sup>rd</sup> September 2014]

people from very different backgrounds and life experiences to engage in sport in so many different ways and to different aspirations. In a non-institutionalised sense, the efforts of James (discussed in Chapter 1), Tanduxolo ‘Kolly’ Mkoboza, Dawid Prins and David ‘Marshal’ Jansen (discussed in Chapter 7) could well be read as SDP interventions. And while I am convinced that they inspired change in their locales in specific and important ways, they were also witness to the *difficulties*, limitations, failures, triumphs and ambiguities of the everyday, within and beyond the sports fields. The role and efforts of all those sport coaches, managers, players, as well as the nurses, school teachers, pastors, social workers and others were overshadowed by, or assumed mundane in comparison to, the formally organised and well-resourced operations of SDP. In general, most kinds of institutionalised SDP practices (be that international, national, provincial, regional or local) that I discussed in Chapters 4 and 5 seem to have remained (intentionally or unintentionally) oblivious to the everyday struggles and sport practices outside their own initiatives.

Instead, there were discourses where farm workers’ own efforts to organise and participate in sport, particularly in the form of gambling games, were ignored or denounced for their unofficial and disorganised nature, or were taken up by the SDP discourses as an objective to bring these into the mainstream. At the same time, these sport networks and practices, to some extent, benefited from their under-recognised and invisible status. These practices allowed for a kind of autonomy, affordability, flexibility, a space to wonder, imagine and create – aspects that were likely to disappear when more structured efforts of powerful actors intervened. Besides, the impersonal, organised, celebrated, well-resourced and self-congratulatory efforts of “development” and SDP organisations or even the sport governing bodies on their own, were unlikely to achieve the level and intensity of sport practiced in the everyday among the rural working class.

The contrasts I discuss here in presenting and critiquing the contingent and inconsistent nexus between sport and “development,” and its disjuncture with the realities of everyday life, is to argue for refocusing the gaze of SDP/SDN research on the nuanced and specifics of everyday sporting lives of the people in situations identified as in “development” need. In so doing, the point that needs to be re-



emphasised is that: “‘The people’ are not an undifferentiated mass’ (Ferguson, 1990, p. 281), and nor did I find any consistency, uniformity or solidarity among “the people” along class, gender, race, ethnicity, occupation, sporting or any other understanding or form of identity. It was shared political, material interests and shared experiences of adversity that seemed to solidify a sense of identity, which, as in competitive sport, relied on, and measured its strength against, its opposition. And in such a mutating and complex web of social processes in a given context, the value of studying sport has to be in capturing the intricacies and idiosyncrasies in the individual life stories, experiences and the relationships that people form with and within sporting practices.

### **8.1.2. The Gambling Games**

Among the most interesting displays of everyday tactics and agency of rural working class people was found in the unofficial soccer spaces, practices and networks. These unofficial /informal soccer practices, colloquially referred to as the gambling games, opened up an alternative and largely unacknowledged side of farm workers’ sporting lives from where I was able to garner some important and nuanced insights into the conditions and politics of “development” and access to sport. These practices and networks were as much shaped by the structural and historical corollaries as the very personal, social and individual commitments and interests. In Chapters 6 and 7, I discussed the different layers of meanings and practices that constituted the scenes of soccer networks and gambling games in Rawsonville. Here, I theorize the relevance of such practices in a study of sport by briefly historicizing the significance of gambling or betting in the making of modern sport.

Gambling in sport is neither a novel nor a unique phenomenon, but can be traced back to the history of formalisation of modern sport (McComb, 2004; Vamplew, 2007). Wray Vamplew argues that the ‘primacy (but not exclusively) in the formation and development of rules can be attributed to gambling’ (2007, p. 844). He demonstrates that most of the modern (British) sports, in their pre-modern and non-standardised form, were contested according to a variety of rules, usually agreed upon at the start of the game/match, yet the ultimate stakes of any

contest were defined by the bets placed on it. It was gambling that influenced the standardisation of rules to create ‘equality of opportunity to win’ and ‘to eliminate cheating and sharp practice’ (Vamplew, 2007, p. 857). And the standardisation of rules and regulation was, indeed, what affected the ‘diffusion of a sport: without standardized rules a game cannot spread’ – writes Vamplew (2007, p. 844).

The scholarship on sport in the world history consistently suggests the origins of many forms of competitive sport in gambling (McComb, 2004; Vamplew, 2007). There are also many recorded accounts that offer fascinating descriptions of the social embeddedness of gambling in human societies across historical and pre-historical times, and physical and cultural geographies. In a seminal anthropological study of gambling practices in Bali, for example, Clifford Geertz (1972) argues that nuanced insights on subtle cultural meanings and organisation of broader socio-economic and political life of the people could be garnered from Balinese cockfights. Similarly, McKibbin’s (1979) analysis of gambling practices in the late 19<sup>th</sup> to early 20<sup>th</sup> century Britain reflects on the classed-associations and dynamics of participation in sport and gambling. He argues that gambling has been popular across the different classes; however, while gambling among the middle-classes was formalised and legitimised, gambling among the working class people was stigmatized and made a criminal offence. Yet, the ‘football pools’, that is, betting on local football games by the lower classes continued and remained outside the law.

In another historical account on *Gambling in Traditional Africa*, Thomas Reeve offers a broad description of gambling and sporting cultures in different parts of Africa and how the two practices overlap and get attached to social and personal ‘prestige, honour and esteem’ (1987, p. 57-59). He introduces his paper by defining gambling as: ‘play, a universal human function, and like the other forms of play gambling can be a most serious undertaking’ (1987, p. 47). In this sense, projections of sport’s universality would equally apply to gambling. Truly, gambling is a sport. But not all ‘games of chance,’ as Reeve continues to elaborate on the relation between sport and gambling, are played with material or something tangible at stake (ibid). While my reference to sport (and its colloquial association in the context of my study) was the modern, standardised rule bound competitive

activities diffused as such across the globe, the actual performance of sport still took many different forms, often with regional, cultural, class and gender peculiarities. In recent years, gambling in sport has become a more regulated field, with formal legislation that is meant to make both sport as well as gambling fairer. However, participation in this form of regulated sport gambling operates along capitalist principles, often serving the interests of a specific socio-economic class (Fields, 2014; Forrest and Simmons, 2003).

Among the most fascinating accounts on the intricate links between *Sport, Gambling and Government* may be found in Hill and Clark's (2001) archaeological exploration into ball-courts and competitive sport in Mesoamerican societies. They explored the role that sport and gambling might have played in the transition of Mesoamerican societies from egalitarian forms to 'ranked societies,' and in the development of early forms of governments. They argue that it was the prestige and community identity associated with the results of competitive sport and high-stake gambling that created hierarchical systems of early-government and institutions of slavery among Mesoamerican societies some 3600 years ago. Besides, 'the association of sport prowess with success is synonymous with wealth, renown, and potential power' even today, and while it may serve to build a sense of identity among a group, these would have been of little benefit in an egalitarian setting (Hill and Clark, 2001, p. 340). The socio-historical studies of, and archaeological inferences about, sport not only show sport's relation to gambling, but also offer useful arguments that defy some essentialist and often socialist-inclined logics of sport for social "development" or peace.

What is more important and interesting to understand is the ways in which sport and its social meanings and usefulness gets transformed into a symbol of something wholesome, socially desirable and a medium to impart moral values. One such description of changing/altering meanings of sport is available in the writings of C.L.R. James. James offers a Marxist reading of the historical transition of the sport of cricket, from its foundations in the pre-Victorian England to its transformation into a Victorian sport. About cricket, James wrote:

In all essentials the modern game was formed and shaped between 1778, when Hazlitt was born, and 1830, when he died. It was created by the yeoman

farmer, the gamekeeper, the potter, the tinker, the Nottingham coal-miner, the Yorkshire factory hand. These artisans made it, men of hand and eye. Rich and idle young noblemen and some substantial city people contributed money, organisation and prestige. Between them, by 1837 they had evolved a highly complicated game with all the typical characteristics of a genuinely national art form: founded on elements long present in the nation, profoundly popular in origin, yet attracting to it disinterested elements of the leisured and educated classes. Confined to areas and numbers which were relatively small, it contained all the premises of rapid growth. There was nothing in the slightest degree Victorian about it. At their matches cricketers ate and drank with the gusto of the time, sang songs and played for large sums of money. Bookies sat before the pavilion at Lord's openly taking bets. The unscrupulous nobleman and the poor but dishonest commoner alike bought and sold matches. Both Sir Donald Bradman and Mr. Neville Cardus think that cricket is too complex a game to encourage betting. The history of the game is against them. There is nothing too complex for men to bet on. Cricket took its start from the age in which it was born, both the good and the bad. That the good could predominate was a testimony to the simple men who made it and the life they lived.

The class of the population that seems to have contributed least was the class destined to appropriate the game and convert it into a national institution. This was the solid Victorian middle class. It was accumulating wealth. ... Its chief subjective quality was a moral unctuousness. This it wore like armour to justify its exploitation of common labour, and to protect itself from the loose and erratic lives of the aristocracy it was preparing to supplant (2005 (1963), pp. 210–211).

The sport of cricket, as James argues, was a working class invention, with among the elements unlikely to find approval in the modern-day “development” discourses. Moreover, James’s portrayal of the overt gambling at the scenes of early cricket games has some similarities with other sociological, historical and anthropological or archaeological studies on relationship between gambling, sport and class and political interests (see for example, Fields, 2014; Forrest and Simmons, 2003; Hill and Clark, 2001; Levy and Galily, 2009; McKibbin, 1979; Reeve, 1987; Vamplew, 2007). He goes on to show that it was in the middle class appropriation of sport that ‘the most fantastic transformation in the history of education and of culture’ took place (2005 (1963), p. 215). Explaining ‘moralism’ as part of the climate of the time, sport was purged of its supposedly unmoral elements (ibid, p.212) and expanded into what came after. As James, quoting ‘the historian of sport, who writes:

‘The next step came with the realisation that football and other games were not merely useful as substitutes for undesirable activities but might be used to inculcate more positive virtues – loyalty and self-sacrifice, unselfishness, co-operation and *esprit de corps*, a sense of honour, the capacity to be a “good

loser” or to “take it” (if we may use anachronistically two colloquialisms of later, but different, dates). This way of looking at games is more or less taken for granted now, at any rate in schools, but it was a novelty then. With it seems to have grown up the notion that the English nation derives some of its peculiar virtues from addiction to games – a thesis which appears far from obvious now, but may contain a grain of truth’ (ibid, p.215, as in original).

The point to be taken from the above quote is that the notions of sport as a ground for moral education and character building, often discussed as ‘Muscular Christianity’ (see Kidd, 2006; MacAloon, 2006), and the emergence of its secularised versions in SDP, have a deeper history in class appropriations of these social spaces and activities to very different ends, diverse reasons and to equally diverse consequences. With claims for sport as “a leveller of the playing field” or a “universal language,” contemporary SDP discourses suggest an aspiration for an egalitarian society. But the history of sport points to the contrary. For example, as James shows, sport’s meritocratic and moralising values internalised and promoted by the colonial masters did not automatically disrupt the class and racial hierarchies in the West Indian colonial society. Not only were the discrimination along class and racial hierarchies maintained within and across the cricket clubs as well as in the selection of the West Indian national cricket team, but also these unequal, unjust and oppressive colonial structures had to be deliberately challenged and the change had to be fought for.

In another example, Hill and Clark argued that ‘pleasure rather than hardship was the downhill slope leading to primitive government’ (2001, p. 331). Such a contrast between pleasure and hardship is also observable in the soccer gambling games, where these under-the-radar spaces and practices took shape in the context of hardship, while creating autonomous realms of pleasure and enjoyment. If it was not for material constraints, gambling games may not have been as popular among farm workers as these were, and in the context of social, economic and political marginality of this group, these spaces offered an important space to exercise agency and initiative. Hill and Clark’s research shows, through strong circumstantial evidence, that it was the presence and location of ball-courts that led to the ‘development of hereditary inequality and formal ascribed leadership’ (ibid). Throughout the history of sport, the current state of affairs in the global sporting scene, and from the various illustrations I present in my empirical study,

it is possible to infer that it is the principles of elitism rather than egalitarianism that underpin practices of the modern, mainstream and global sports. And while SDP discourses actively avoid or even denounce aspects of highly competitive, professional and commercialised sports, SDP programmes and practices, directly or indirectly, benefit from the global traction of the international elite sport industry.

The soccer gambling games among the rural working classes I discuss not only operated in parallel social, economic and political context to the SDP discourses and practices, the patrons of these informal games also drew on similar moralising logics to garner support for their sporting practices as the logics that underpinned SDP discourses. This was evident in the way Dawid Prins negotiated access to transport for soccer gambling games and other resources and sponsors for the Mountain Tigers FC, by arguing that these soccer games were important and healthy distraction for the youth and children from his community. Still, these unofficial games were the products of a different historical trajectory, had distinct, but diverse logics, discourses and consequences, and more importantly, revealed layers of subaltern politics, agency and initiative. In contrasting the everyday world of subaltern sport with SDP, my goal was not simply to uncover some obvious limitations and contradictions in the ideas of “development” through sport, but to advance knowledge about the social and sporting spaces and assumptions that invite SDP interventions.

## **8.2. THEORIZING FOR FUTURE RESEARCH**

In this final section, I proceed to discuss directions, modes and areas for future research by consolidating key arguments, and identifying gaps and limitations in my research project. With an aim to build on the analytical importance of attending to and engaging with everyday sporting practices, I conclude this thesis by theorizing an abstract idea I have referred to as subaltern sport. Following a deconstructionist approach, I explored and examined the field of SDP beyond the confines of a “development” problematic and interventions and into the unofficial and autonomous realms of subalterns and their sporting lives. Drawing analytical inferences from my research materials and ethnographic observations, I was able

to present a critique of the SDP sector and various logics of SDN. What remains to be foregrounded even more is subaltern sociality and agency. In the context of SDP, this area has barely been explored and it is from here that some important learnings and insights may be garnered.

To this end, Ferguson's contention that the people stranded in conditions of deprivation 'know the tactics proper to their situations far better than any expert does' is of particular importance (Ferguson and Lohmann, 1994, p. 181). Of course, this is not to suggest an absolute irrelevance of "development" agendas and interventions, but to reemphasise that these agendas and discourses are products of and operate within particular and specific historical and political contexts. Similarly, "development" interventions were not mere random acts of kindness; these were responses to some serious socio-economic and political issues and exposed varying degrees of intentionality and understanding of the problems, its causes and solutions. For example, farm worker "development" discourses were internalised in the language of "social-ills," often explained in vague and obscured correlations between its origins, reasons of manifestation, consequences and proposed solutions (see Chapter 4). If at all it is possible to generalise the "problems" or constraints of being a farm worker in the Western Cape, I would argue, it is to do with their poor cash income and limited prospect for better employment opportunity outside of the agricultural sector, or even the geographical region, for those already in the system. Additionally, as du Toit argues, struggles of farm workers have never been merely about income, 'but also farm workers' ability to run their own lives and to make their own decisions about household livelihoods' (1994, p. 380).

Similarly, in the context of SDN, it was not so much the "lack" of or "need" for sport, or even the focused use of sport to generate kinds of "development" impact, but rather the restricted options and inequality of opportunities for how the farm workers and other marginalised groups' access to sport that exposed the causes and effects of structural imbalances and "development" problems. The explicit recognition and focus on farm workers as a group of "development" subjects implicitly conveys the calls for change in the social, political and economic organisation of farm labour in South Africa. The abolition of slavery in

the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, the reform efforts of the RF, the introduction of farm labour laws in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century and the recent farm worker up-risings, despite uneven and contradictory implications, did disrupt the on-farm power-relations. And while “development” interventions are unlikely to challenge racial and class inequalities, deliberate and critical interrogation of such discourses and practices do create possibilities for new understandings to be garnered and new debates to be instigated.

In any case, as Ferguson, referring to Foucault, argues ‘change comes when critique has been played out in the real, not when reformers have realized their ideas’ (1990, p. 281). Though the ideas are important and have real consequences, questions such as *whose* ideas for precisely *whom* to accomplish *what* are matters of ideological contestation, resulting in power struggles and inextricable from “development” problems. In such a context, my position as an academic researcher is that of relative privilege as well as of responsibility. My privilege is in this space from where I get to assert my ideological and political standpoint, whereas my responsibility lies in how my academic, political and ideological learnings and understandings continue to engage with such broader debates. For an academic research to make a real intervention towards a ‘liberating social action,’ du Toit insists ‘on the value and importance of a more probing, critical and reflective theoretical enquiry’ that ‘problematize[s] and question[s] given agendas and priorities’ (2002, p. 358). To continue on this path of critical and reflective enquiry, I elaborate on some of the gaps and limitations of this project.

### **8.2.1. Reflections on Gaps and Limitations**

As soon as understandings and ideas crystalize onto the paper, the limitation of written words to capture the whole truth, in its multitudinous and contradictory forms, is exposed. Despite adopting a critical self-reflective and subjective writing approach to present my empirical findings and thesis arguments, I have been often left with a kind of discontent with the absoluteness in anything that I have presented. Some arguments might come across stronger than their reality and some of my judgments might have been unwarranted. While my goal has been to present and represent all aspects of my study as accurately as I understood in the



given time, I have also tried to be as transparent as possible to allow the readers, at least those better-versed in some of the fields I engage with, to identify the limitations in my understandings, interpretations and knowledge to which I might have remained oblivious at the time of writing. Knowledge production, as much as learning, is and should remain an on-going process, and at this stage of this particular process, it is worth reflecting on the aspects that can be productively pursued to advance what I have learned for now.

To this end, and while I acknowledge that there remain many areas and issues that need more in-depth study, I am going to be selective in discussing the areas I am most invested in and would pursue in future research, as I lay out the gaps and limitations of my study. In so doing, all the issues I focus on here are related to the ethnographic snapshots presented throughout my thesis. Among the many limitations in conducting this research could be the methodological preparations and alterations that I made in the process. I had arrived at employing ethnographic techniques, not by training, but by a series of accidents. Firstly, I had entered to research a field from a managerial perspective with a rudimentary understanding of South Africa's history, politics and socio-cultural sensibilities and peculiarities broadly, and agricultural labour relations in the Western Cape specifically. In trying to make sense of how SDP would operate among the farm workers of the Western Cape in purely technical terms presented some obvious challenges and contradictions, both in the social world I was to study and in my own understandings and self-perceptions. While reflexive ethnography proved most appropriate to deal with and organise my learnings into useful thesis arguments, learning to make most of ethnographic methods has been an on-going process. In this sense, the ethnographic snapshots I present barely scratch the surface of more complex, fluid and ephemeral social realities. Still, my research discoveries point to the possibilities to further ethnographic explorations into the under-the-radar and unofficial worlds of subaltern sport, not only in Rawsonville or the Western Cape, but in many different geographical and political contexts.

Secondly, in order to contextualise “development” and sport among the farm workers I was required to look beyond the dominant and popular discourses in South Africa on the selected themes. This inevitably meant a level of engagement

with the historical accounts and immersion in the contemporary politics of farm labour practices and sport outside the “development” paradigm. With my lack of training in the disciplines of historiography and political science, I was neither always able to discern and analyse the political leanings shaping the historical arguments that I refer to, nor was I always able to place the certain kinds of contemporary political discourses in their specific historical trajectory. Acknowledging this limitation is not to fend off potential criticism or to ‘sit on the fence’ on complex political positions, but to point out that the thesis arguments need deeper historical grounding and sharper political sensitivities, which I intend to pursue in future projects.

The third point I discuss relates to generalizability and specificity in depicting the sporting lives. As Davies (2008) argues, in an ethnographic analysis, the aim is not to draw generalizable representations from the case studies, but to infer abstract explanations and theoretical generalisations from specificities and nuances in individual cases. While I started this process in illustrating the sporting lives and “development” experiences of three soccer clubs, unique and specific to the time and space in which these unfolded (see Chapter 7), my theoretical inferences were limited to critical analysis of the SDN. Bearing in mind Paratha Chatterjee’s arguments in relation to studying and depicting subaltern lives that:

... detailed ethnographic description of local practices requires immersion in a seemingly bottomless pool of names, places and events that are unlikely to be familiar to readers outside the immediate geographical region. ... The difficulty was circumvented by establishing strong connections between the ethnographic account and the relevant conceptual formations or theoretical debates in the discipline: in the end, the theory predominated (2012, p. 49)

Notwithstanding, my research was not initially organised to dwell in ‘detailed ethnographic descriptions of local practices’, nor was it a social history project. Within the limited scope of my study, I used ethnographic descriptions of the everyday sporting lives to substantiate a critical analysis of SDP sector and SDN as a field of study. Above and beyond this, it would have been useful to theorize an approach that could be applied across varied contexts. Acknowledging this gap is an invitation for broader and deeper empirical and conceptual explorations into the subaltern sociality and the everyday world of sport.

Empirically, a fuller immersion into the life trajectories of the selected soccer clubs and their patrons would have further deepened my understandings of the subaltern's world of sport. A life history project or a biographical ethnography of a selected sport club, an athlete and/or a sport coach, to this end, could be a useful approach to advance knowledge of sport at the grassroots levels. I am also certain that a more focused study of the sport of rugby among farm workers and female workers' association with netball would have been insightful in garnering information on a different set of sporting, gender and power relations. Besides, the everyday sporting lives of those I call subaltern are so underreported, both in SDP and in sport studies literature, that subaltern sport as a concept holds much promise in paving a path for future research agendas and directions. It is to this end that I start abstracting an idea or a research topic that explores subaltern sociality and how these shape diverse sporting endeavours.

### **8.2.2. The Subaltern Sport**

The argument that I take on from my research in abstracting this idea or field of subaltern sport is that the autonomous spaces of sport, enjoyment, imagination and ingenuity hold much value in accessing complex understandings of social processes of sport and the socio-economic and political processes within which these take shape. The concept of *subaltern* and *subalternity* has been employed in many different contexts and through many different disciplinary combinations, with an overriding intention 'to examine the complex relationship between power, culture and knowledge in a postmodern paradigm' (Bandyopadhyay, 2009, p. 2270). From its foundations in social history, *Subaltern Studies* has broadened to examine 'embodied practices as activities that people carry out for their own sake,' rather than being 'concerned with uncovering the implicit conceptual structures that supposedly underlie the practical activities of people who do not produce large bodies of texts of their own' (Chatterjee, 2012, p. 49). These are among the arguments that offer useful ways to think about and approach a study of sport among those who are unlikely to make news headlines or find their voices heard among the hegemonic discourses (Kapoor, 2004; Spivak, 1996).

Theoretically, *subaltern* refers to a social group in a relatively powerless or disenfranchised structural status within a set of power relations, and *subalternity* is the everyday experiences of subalterns. In the context of “development” or SDP, subaltern would be the group for whom interventions are conceptualised, planned and implemented. While subaltern is always defined in contrast to another dominant or hegemonic group, the subaltern studies tend to valorise, draw on and engage with various forms and acts of subaltern agency, intra-group power relations, politics and resistance (Spivak, 1990, 2004; Spivak and Harasym, 1990). In this sense, a study of subalternity is not merely a study of an oppressed group, but of layers and multitudes of social realities and experiences in a given context (ibid). To this end, subaltern sport could be defined as a study of practices and spaces of sport among subalterns and their sporting subalternities. For example, as shown in the case of farm workers of the Western Cape, all the different ways in which they experience and negotiate participation in sport, including their experiences of SDP, official and unofficial sport, would be what I have referred to as subaltern sport. There are a number of examples in social history literature, where fascinating accounts of subaltern sport could be found (see for example Alegi, 2004; Bale and Cronin, 2003; Guha, 2002; James, 2005 (1963); Klein, 1991; Majumdar, 2004; Odendaal, 2003 among others), yet the concept of subaltern in these texts has remained only implicit.

It is only recently that explicit references to the concept are made, and the publication that directly used the term subaltern sport is, indeed, an edited volume entitled *Subaltern Sport: Politics and Sport in South Asia* by James Mills (2005). There are also critical literary and anthropological works on sport with direct reference to subaltern as an analytical reference (for example Aquino, 2015; Chakraborty, 2003; MacLean, 2010; Mannathukkaren, 2001 among others). The only other scholarly project that explicitly explores subalternity in sport activities, to my knowledge, is a doctoral dissertation, entitled: *Can the Subaltern Play? Postcolonial Transition and the Making of Basketball as the National Sports in the Philippines*, by Lou Apolinario Antolihao (2009).

The essays included in Mills’s edited volume cover a wide range of sports and sporting localities, still the conceptualisation of subaltern and subalternity and its

relationship to sport has remained curiously vague, inconsistent and fragmented across the different chapters in the volume. In contrast, Antolihao's thesis is more specific in its use of the term subaltern 'to represent the position of the Philippines (and the Filipinos) as a colonial and neo-colonial subject/s that has been continually exposed to the political, economic, and cultural dominance of the United States as its colonial master' (2009, p. 7). Antolihao's approach to identify subalterns in this way is particularly curious, given that the Subaltern Studies, as an intellectual project, emerged as a critique of nationalism. Such a stance to contrast the national sport of Philippines to the United States' dominance in claiming Filipinos' subalternity probably comes at the cost of ignoring layers of power-relations and politics of the everyday that might exist within the Philippines and their domestic and local sporting arrangements.

This conflation could be because Antolihao (2009, p. 8) uncritically accepts Mills's broadened interpretation of subaltern as 'the dominated party in any power relation and the study of subalternity ... [as] relationships characterised by 'dominance without hegemony'' (2005, p. 1). Such a definition of subaltern in a simplified binary of dominant-dominated undermines all the intermediaries, alternatives and contradictory forms of power relations and struggles on which the *Subaltern Studies* project was premised. Instead of explaining or elaborating on what 'dominance without hegemony' might mean to study subaltern sport, or how it relates to, or borrows from, Ranajit Guha's compelling and historically specific conceptualisation of 'dominance without hegemony' (the title of Guha's (1997) book), Mills follows up his argument with declaring the importance of the concept of subalternity 'in its recognition of the 'autonomous domain' of the subaltern agent or agency' (2005, p. 1). At this level of abstraction, the arguments and interpretations of subalternity are likely to obscure or even conflate, rather than deconstruct, some very different social realities, at starkly different degrees of domination and with possibly very different consequences. However, it is when Mills discusses sport as an aspect of subalternity, or as he puts it: 'Sports invite subalternity' – that he takes an explicit departure from the founding project of Subaltern Studies and the ideas, debates, critiques and concepts that shaped this intellectual field. For example, he goes on to argue that:

... because sports, especially those organized games of the modern period, are all about contest and competition in which victory or defeat are the anticipated outcomes of the exercise. In **an ideal world** however, it is the competitor with the most suitable combination of skill, prowess, concentration and guile that will triumph. These attributes are not necessarily gifts bestowed by wealth, social status or political manipulation and as such the sporting arena is a world in which societal elites are stripped of their traditional head starts and privileges, and in which they have to face the challenge of others with only the resources of their own bodies to secure ascendancy (2005, p. 1, my emphasis).

It is the 'ideal world' that Mills paints to explain subalternity which could not be further from the sporting world that I deal with in my study. I have shown in laying out the sporting landscape of farmlands in and around Rawsonville that the sporting activities of the socially, politically or economically marginalised, have, for various reasons, remained outside Mills's 'ideal world'. His description of the 'ideal world' of sport is in glaring contradiction with the "real" sporting world of the rural working class of the Cape Winelands, whose sporting lives and opportunities affected and were affected by their subaltern status (see Chapter 6 and 7). 'Wealth, social status or political manipulation' were absolutely among the factors that influenced how, which, and where, sports were accessed and who was likely to claim triumph in a given sport contest. Many of the essays in Mills's volume and Antolihao's thesis do exemplify that social inequalities were not only contested in sporting arenas, but were also made conspicuous. Still, none of the writings in the two volumes necessarily show that sport contests or arenas strip societal elites of 'their traditional head starts and privileges'.

Similarly, Bandyopadhyay's review essay on Mills's edited volume commends its contributors to have 'address[ed] a complex web of relationships – between tradition and modernity, centre and periphery, core and margin, conservatism and progress, superior and inferior; yet, the effort is too optimistic and illusory' (2009, p. 2281). As a conceptual framework, neither Mills nor Antolihao fully spell out how the concepts of subaltern and subalternity advance their respective theses to analyse sport, nor do they fully engage with or benefit from the theoretical concepts and critical questions raised within the *Subaltern Studies* over the last 30 or so years. Still, this lack of cohesive understanding of subaltern sport neither compromises the quality of most of the essays in Mills's collection, nor does it undermine Antolihao's research project in any way. Both

are, indeed important contributions to the historical sociology of sport in their own right, these are limited in the way they conceptualise subaltern sport. A careful and critical examination of these two and other social history projects on sport should further an important debate ‘over where one may or may not locate the subaltern’ (Muldoon, 2006, p. 1).

Indeed, such a debate would be central in abstracting subaltern sport, which engages with various forms and layers of sociality and politics in sporting practices and experiences of the subaltern. To draw out theoretical generalisations, it would be useful to ground some of the fundamental arguments produced in Subaltern Studies. Central to this intellectual project was its critique of nationalism and the national postcolonial history that narrated the making of a nation only from the perspectives and political consciousness of a nation’s elites. Of particular note in the shaping of this formative project of its time was the seminal contributions of Ranajit Guha (1983, 1982) on ‘peasant insurgency in colonial India’, where he observed ‘that the Indian political elite internalized and used this language of political modernity, but this democratic tendency existed alongside and interlarded with undemocratic relations of domination and subordination’ (Chakrabarty, 2000, p. 23). His attention to such a complex web of social and political relations and domains exposed ‘*the failure of the bourgeoisie to speak for the nation*’ (Chakrabarty, 2000, p. 22 Guha’s emphasis). It is to this end that Dipesh Chakrabarty argued: ‘There was, in fact, no unitary “nation” to speak for’ (2000, p. 22 quotation marks in original). The ideas, observations, critiques and concerns that emerged from Subaltern Studies were, thus, premised primarily on the ‘consideration of the autonomy of the subaltern agents and agencies’ in bringing about social and political changes (Bandyopadhyay, 2009, p. 2270). Expanding on this premise, Chakrabarty explicates that Guha’s use of the terms – ‘autonomy of consciousness’ or ‘peasant subjecthood’ were taken to mean as ‘something immanent in the very practices of peasant insurgency’ and his examination of ‘rebel practices [was] to decipher the particular relationships – between elites and subalterns and between subalterns themselves’ (2000, p. 23).

These kinds of theoretical and analytical pointers hold important potential to advance the study of sport. Specifically, the spaces and practices of sport, as my

study shows, are imbued with social meanings and multitudes of power relations, and are often shaped by very particular histories and politics, which offer rich potentialities to study subaltern sporting autonomy and agency. In contrast to the dominant and often romanticised discourses of, say, sport as a social-bond, a class or racial “unifier” or “leveller,” it was the complex and multi-layered domains of politics in the most trivial, mundane, informal, unofficial and autonomous realms of sport that exposed both traction as well as limitations of sport and “development”.

In concluding my thesis with propositions to study the subaltern spaces of imagination, autonomy, enjoyment, leisure and sport, is an anticipation to continue on new research journeys and explorations. A process of thinking for future research finds its lead in a quote by C.L.R. James, from his *Beyond a Boundary*, where he profoundly portrays the subjectivities of a subaltern group, the West Indian cricket fans and the colonial subjects of that time, who seek recognition in the sporting glory of a fellow subaltern. In so doing, he recalls:

One said weightily: ‘You know what I waitn’ for? When he go to Lord’s and the Oval and make his century there! That’s what I want to see.’ I have to repeat: it took me years to understand. To paraphrase a famous sentence: It was the instinct of an oppressed man that spoke. (James, 2005 (1963), p. 121)





**MAP C**

*Map of the Study Field with official and unofficial sport fields, schools, wine cellars and key landmarks (Snipped and Adapted from an online source: see <http://www.mapstudio.co.za/locationmap.php?loc=Rawsonville> [Accessed October 2015])*



**MAP D**

*Arial view of Rawsonville (Dorp) Town (Snipped and Adapted from an online source: see Google Maps: <https://www.google.co.za/maps/place/Rawsonville/@-33.7108398,19.3185886,3015a,20y,41.03t/data=!3m1!1e3!4m2!3m1!1s0x1dcd9d9b09aded4f:0x8c808f8ef4260451?hl=en> [Accessed October 2015])*

Be Cheerful, Sir!

Our revels now are ended. These our actors,  
As I foretold you, were all spirits and  
Are melted into air, into thin air:  
And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,  
The cloud-capp'd towers, the gorgeous palaces,  
The solemn temples, the great globe itself,  
Ye all which it inherit, shall dissolve  
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,  
Leave not a rack behind.

We are such stuff  
As dreams are made on, and our little life  
Is rounded with a sleep.

--Prospero, *The Tempest* (Act 4, Scene 1)

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APPENDIX A

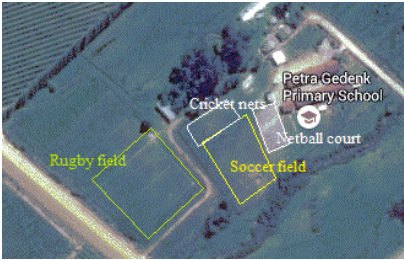





**Sport Infrastructure**

***Official versus Unofficial Sport Spaces***

Official Sport Fields		Unofficial Sport Fields	
Name/Location	Ownership	Name/Location	Ownership
<b>Soccer Fields</b>		<b>Soccer Fields</b>	
RMSF in Rawsonville Town	Municipality (BVM)	Tierstel	Private Property
		Louwshoek	Private Property
<b>Rugby Fields</b>		Merwida	Private Property
GHSF	School (GHS)	<b>Goudini Cellar</b>	Private Property
Breërivier	Half of the field on Private Property (Waboomsrivier Cellar) & Half on School (Petra Gedenk)	Pokraal	Private Property
		<b>Witelsrivier</b>	Private Property
		<b>Hugoskraal</b>	Private Property
Brandwacht	Private Property	<b>Slanghoek Cellar</b>	Private Property
Rainbow farm PlotB8	Private Property	Breëland	Private Property
Wyserdrift	Private Property	Botha Cellar	Private Property
Klipdrift	Private Property	Tuienhuise	Private Property
		Waiihoek	Private Property
		<b>Breërevier</b>	Private Property
		<b>Normandie</b>	Private Property
		<b>Dammas</b>	Private Property
		<b>Brandwacht</b>	Private Property
<b>Netball Courts</b>		<b>Netball Courts</b>	
Roslyn NC	Rawsonville Primary	Klipdrift NC	Private Property
Protea NC	Brandwacht Primary	Normandie NC	Private Property
Fairhills NC	Goudini HS	Mountain Tigers NC	Private Property
		Rainbow NC	Private Property

***School Sport Infrastructure***

S Nr	School	Map	Sports & Conditions	Learners
1.	Bet-El Primary, Olifantberg		A rocky field (or a ruin of an athletic track) & Play area Something like a running track but in poor condition Play area for sports & games	84
2.	Botha's Halte Primary, near Botha Cellar		An unfinished rugby field. Lotto funding was secured by BWT to build this field	93
3.	Brandwacht Primary, Brandwacht		1 netball court & rugby field Both in good condition, but rugby field doesn't belong to the school	123
4.	Breërivier LS Primary, Breërivier		1 netball court, small rugby field, tennis courts & hockey Facilities in very good condition, BWT Lotto funded the floodlights for tennis courts. For hockey games, school uses the Petra Gedenk's rugby field	48
5.	Goudini Bad NGK Primary, Rawsonville		Small play patch Only good enough space for casual play	70
6.	Lorraine NGK Primary, Rawsonville		Play area only Supported by Fairhills Association	81

7.	Petra Gedenk Primary, Breërivier		<p>1 netball court, 2 cricket nets, 1 soccer field &amp; half a rugby field</p> <p>Facilities in fair condition but are heavily used by school as well as the local worker community. BWT Lotto funding toward soccer field &amp; cricket nets</p>	230
8.	Slanghoek NGK Primary, Slanghoek		<p>1 netball court &amp; 1 soccer field</p> <p>BWT Lotto funded facilities, relatively new, usable, but not well maintained</p>	210
9.	Weltevrede NGK Primary, Louwshoek		<p>Play area</p> <p>No obvious sports space</p>	170
10.	Wyersdrift Primary, Goudini weg		<p>Play area</p> <p>Ruins of a netball or tennis court from the years when it was a “white”-only school. Now no real sport space but a lot of donated sport equipment</p>	180
11.	Goudini HS, Rawsonville		<p>Extensive sport infrastructure in an excellent condition, also received BWT Lotto funding to refurbish the club house of their rugby field</p>	384
12.	Rawsonville Primary, Rawsonville		<p>1 netball court &amp; 1 green field BWT Lotto funding towards grass for the sport field but not enough resources for its up keep (e.g. lawn mower)</p>	900+
<b>Total Sport Infrastructure</b>		<b>8 (2 soccer, 2 rugby, 4 netball courts, 1 green field &amp; 5 Play area (excluding Goudini HS &amp; Breeriver LS))</b>		

## APPENDIX B

### Sport Events

#### Gambling Games, Tournaments and other Non-Institutionalised Events

1. **May 19 2012:** Soccer Tournament @ Goudini Wine Cellar's Soccer Field: 4 Teams
2. **May 26 2012:** Fairhills Soccer Tournament @ RMSF: 6 Teams
3. **June 2 2012:** Two Soccer Gambling Games @ Goudini Wine Cellar's Soccer Field: 4 Teams
4. **June 16 2012:** Roslyn Netball Club Fundraising Event @ Rawsonville Primary School
5. **June 30 2012:** Soccer Tournament @ Hugoskraal Soccer Field: 4 Teams
6. **July 2 2012:** Soccer Development Coaching Clinic (Maties and Gunners initiative) @ Goudini HS play area; participation: approximately 50 children between 7 to 17 years
7. **July 14 2012:** Friendly Soccer Game between the Maties FC and the Rawsonville Gunners FC @ RMSF
8. **July 28 2012:** Soccer Gambling Game @ Breërivier Rugby Field: 2 Teams
9. **July 28 2012:** Soccer Gambling Game @ Slanghoek Soccer Field: 2 Teams
10. **July 28 2012:** Soccer Tournament @ Witelsrivier Soccer Field: 3 Teams
11. **July 28 2012:** De Novian Soccer Tournament @ RMSF: 6 Teams
12. **August 4 2012:** Soccer Gambling Game @ Merwida Soccer Field: 2 Teams
13. **August 4 2012:** Soccer Gambling Games @ Witelsrivier Soccer Field: 4 Teams
14. **August 9 2012:** Gunners Women Day Sport Event @ RMSF; participation: approximately 60 athletes
15. **August 18 2012:** Soccer Gambling Game @ Hugoskraal Soccer Field: 2 Teams
16. **September 15 2012:** Golden Experience Soccer Tournament @ Slanghoek Soccer Field: 5 Teams
17. **September 16 2012:** Brandwacht Soccer Games @ Normandie Soccer Field: 3 Teams
18. **September 16 2012:** Soccer Friendly Game @ Louwshoek field: Mountain Tigers vs. a team of Basotho soccer players
19. **September 29 2012:** Fairhills Rugby Tournament @ GHSF: 4 Teams
20. **October 06 2012:** Hugoskraal Soccer Tournament @ Hugoskraal Soccer Field: 4 Teams
21. **October 13 2012:** Soccer Gambling Game @ Waaihoek Soccer Stadium: 2 Teams

22. **November 24 2012:** Branwacht Soccer Tournament @ Normandie Soccer Field: 7 Teams (about 300 people attended)
23. **December 09 2012:** BVLFA game turned into a Friendly game (4 out of 2 teams did not show up) @ RMSF
24. **December 15 2012:** Discovered a set of Soccer Gambling Games at a Soccer Field behind Breërivier Rugby Field: 2 Teams
25. **January 05 2013:** Junior Soccer Tournament @ Merwida field: 3 teams but 2 teams did not show up. Games played by splitting up players junior players from the farm into 2 teams.
26. **January 13 2013:** Brandwacht Netball Tournament @ Brandwacht Primary School: 7 Teams (about 300 people attended)
27. **January 13 2013:** Soccer Gambling Games @ Normandie Soccer Field: 4 Teams
28. **January 26 2013:** Breërivier Soccer Tournament @ Breëderivier Soccer Field: 4 Senior Teams and 2 Junior Teams
29. **February 02 2013:** Soccer Gambling Games @ Slanghoek Soccer Field: 4 Teams, 2 Games
30. **February 09 2013:** Pre-season friendly Netball and Rugby game @ Brandwacht: Cancelled
31. **February 09 2013:** Rugby 7s Tournament @ Klipdrift Rugby Field: 6 Teams
32. **February 09 2013:** Rainbow Soccer Tournament @ Brandwacht Rainbow Farm's Soccer Fields: 4 Teams
33. **February 16 2013:** Roslyn Netball Tournament @ Rawsonville Primary School: 4 Teams
34. **March 06 2013:** Fit2Run Schools & Business Relay @ Worcester High Street: 16 Primary Schools (6 Farm Schools), 4 High Schools & 49 Senior/Business Teams

#### **Sport Federations led League Games**

1. **May 19 2012:** BRU League Game: Rawsonville United Rugby Football Club @ GHSF
2. **June 2 2012:** Coca Cola African Schools Soccer Cup, Zweletemba Football Stadium. 6 Teams
3. **June 9 2012:** Central Boland Netball League Games @ Esllen Park: 6 Teams
4. **June 30 2012:** BVLFA Winter League Games @ RMSF: 4 Teams; 2 Games
5. **August 4 2012:** BVLFA Winter League Games @ RMSF: 6 Teams; 3 Games
6. **August 4 2012:** BRU League Game @ Breërivier Sport Field

7. **August 5 2012:** BVLFA Winter League, Quarter Finals
8. **August 11 2012:** BRU League Game @ Rugby Field in Wolsely: Teams: Breërivier Villagers RFC vs. Miracles RFC [called-off after teams arrived at the field due to snow and unfit condition of the field]
9. **August 18 2012:** BRU League Game @ Brandwacht: Breërivier Villagers RFC vs. Protea RFC
10. **August 19 2012:** BVLFA Winter League Semi Finals @ RMSF
11. **September 29 2012:** BRU Play Offs @ Overhex Rugby Ground
12. **December 08 2012:** BVLFA League Games @ RMSF: 4 Teams; 2 Games
13. **December 16 2012:** BVLFA League Games @ RMSF: 4 Teams; 2 Games
14. **January 19 2013:** BVLFA League Games @ RMSF: 4 Teams; 2 Games
15. **January 20 2013:** BVLFA League Games @ RMSF: 4 Teams; 2 Games
16. **January 26 2013:** BVLFA League Games: called off
17. **February 02 2013:** BVLFA League Games @ RMSF: 2 Teams
18. **February 09 2013:** BVLFA League Games @ RMSF: 2 Teams
19. **February 10 2013:** BVLFA League Games @ NID Sport Ground: 2 Teams
20. **February 16 2013:** BVLFA League Games @ RMSF: 4 Teams; 2 Games
21. **February 23 2013:** BVLFA League Games @ RMSF: fight between players and referee interrupted the game
22. **February 23 2013:** BRU (pre-season friendly game): Rawsonville United RFC @ GHSF

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**Sport Organised by the Farming or Private Enterprises**

(These include independent NGOs who are beneficiaries of local farming businesses or the Agricultural Business Sector)

1. **June 2 2012:** Fairhills Festival @ GHSF: Sport and Fun events
2. **August 10 2012:** Solid Rock Soccer Tournament @ Worcester Gymnasium School: about 600 participants
3. **September 8 2012:** BADISA Fun Run: about 50 runners
4. **October 06 2012:** Fairhills Sport Day @ Branvlie Correctional Services' Sport Facilities: Farmworkers from 13 Farms
5. **October 12 2012:** BWineT Festival @ Botha Cellar: Farmworker Go-Carting & Tug of War event
6. **October 13 2012:** Breedekloof Wine & Tourism Festival
  - i. @ Slanghoek Cellar: Mountain Bike Event
  - ii. @ Botha Cellar: WP School Tug-a-war

**Sport organised with Government Support**

1. **May 01 2010:** DCAS Farmworker Sport Day @ Esllen Park Stadium, Worcester
2. **March 09 2012:** CWDM Luzerne Cricket Sets - Hand Over Function Worcester
3. **May 18 2012:** DCAS Farmworker Sport Day @ Dal Josaphat Stadium, Paarl

**School Sport Days**

1. **August 18 2012:** School Sport Day @ Petra Gedenk Primary: 4 Schools
2. **August 25 2012:** School Sport Day @ Brandvlie Correctional Services; Host School: HM Beet Primary: 8 Schools
3. **September 08 2012:** Rawsonville Primary School Sport Day @ GHSF
4. **January 31 2013:** Goudini HS Sport Day, @ GHSF
5. **February 01 2013:** Eureka Youth Centre Intra-school Athletics Meet @ the school premises

*Note:* The sport events charted here only include the ones I attended in person. There were many more events in the region during the time I was conducting fieldwork. It was physically impossible to attend every event and spend quality time learning about the teams, styles of play, motivations and social histories of teams and individuals involved. Whether I could physically be present at the event or not, every effort was made to stay abreast with any sport related activities among the farm workers in the study region.

## APPENDIX C

### Digital Recordings of Interviews & Group Discussions



S. Nr.	Recording Code #	Respondent's Affiliation	Date	Recording Length
<b>Wine Industry/ Agriculture Sector</b>				
1	VR0001	Wine Industry Representative	08 June 2011	51m20s
2	VR0015	Wine Industry Representative	28 May 2012	66m00s
3	VR0021	Farmer	12 June 2012	69m42s
4	VR0031	Farmer	27 June 2012	125m54s
5	VR0041	Farmer	17 Aug. 2012	39m27s
6	VR0042	Wine Maker	22 Aug. 2012	27m50s
7	VR0046	Farmer	11 Sept. 2012	90m31s
8	VR0054	Farmer	04 Oct. 2012	68m13s
9	VR0055	Farmer	11 Oct. 2012	72m20s
10	VR0060	Farmer	18 Dec. 2012	39m52s
11	VR0071	Farmer	18 Jan. 2013	79m36s
12	VR0072	Farmer	18 Jan. 2013	42m27s
13	VR0079	Wine Industry Representative	31 Jan. 2013	43m24s
14	VR0086	Wine Maker	05 Feb. 2013	54m21s
<b>Sport Administrators (non-government)</b>				
1.	VR0002	WC Farm Worker Sport Committee	22 Feb. 2012	25m15s
2.	VR0026	BVLFA Executive	20 June 2012	91m33s
3.	VR0033	USSASA	23 July 2012	97m39s
4.	VR0043	Soccer Coach	22 Aug. 2012	52m38s
5.	VR0044	Sport Journalist	06 Sept. 2012	119m37s
6.	VR0050	Farm School Sport	27 Sept. 2012	28m14s
7.	VR0051	WRZ Executives	03 Oct. 2012	34m12s
8.	VR0058	Sport Coordinator	28 Nov. 2012	56m11s
9.	VR0062	BVLFA Executive	18 Dec. 2012	63m57s
10.	VR0063	Netball Executive	18 Dec. 2012	48m12s
11.	VR0068	Rugby Executive (ex-Farm Worker)	16 Jan. 2013	51m08s
12.	VR0080	Soccer Admin (Farm Worker)	31 Jan. 2013	48m00s
13.	VR0081	WC Farm Worker Sport Committee	01 Feb. 2013	49m50s
14.	VR0090	Chairperson of a Rugby Club	07 March 2013	44m54s
<b>Government Officials</b>				
1.	VR0029	DCAS Official	21 June 2012	89m24s
2.	VR0037	Dept. Agriculture	27 July 2012	56m35s
3.	VR0047	Dept. Education	13 Sept. 2012	106m18s
4.	VR0065	Dept. Agriculture, Forestry & Fisheries	20 Dec. 2012	86m51s
5.	VR0075	DCAS Official	23 Jan 2013	44m55s



6.	VR0076	DCAS Official	23 Jan 2013	26m24s
7.	VR0088	DCAS Official	14 Feb 2013	65m43s
8.	VR0089	BVM Official	22 Feb 2013	74m50s
<b>Farm School Teachers</b>				
1.	VR0017	Slanghoek PS	06 June 2012	53m49s
2.	VR0022	Goudini-Bad PS	15 June 2012	32m06s
3.	VR0024	Sibabalwe PS	19 June 2012	90m00s
4.	VR0025	Bonne Esperance PS	19 June 2012	98m10s
5.	VR0069	Botha's Halt PS	17 Jan. 2013	47m37s
6.	VR0073	Brandwacht PS	18 Jan. 2013	65m36s
7.	VR0078	Bet El PS	30 Jan. 2013	31m17s
8.	VR0082	Bet El PS	04 Feb. 2013	35m31s
9.	VR0087	Petra Gedenk PS	06 Feb. 2013	34m44s
<b>Civil Society</b>				
1.	VR0016	Development Worker	29 May 2012	37m11s
2.	VR0036	Social Worker	26 July 2012	56m48s
3.	VR0045	Development Worker	10 Sept. 2012	61m38s
4.	VR0057	Fairhills Project Manager	21 Nov. 2012	74m02s
5.	VR0067	Development Worker (Farm worker)	11 Jan. 2013	57m26s
6.	VR0077	Development Worker (during the RF)	26 Jan. 2013	78m02s
7.	VR0084	Fairhills Project Coordinator	05 Feb. 2013	47m45s
<b>Group Discussions (GD)/ Meetings</b>				
1.	VR0020	CWDM Rural Sport Development GD	07 June 2012	44m37s
2.	VR0032	Gunners FC Planning	27 June 2012	88m24s
3.	VR0034	Gunners FC Planning	24 July 2012	59m28s
4.	VR0039	Fairhills Sport Committee GD	08 Aug. 2012	32m12s
5.	VR0048	BVM Soccer Meeting		
6.	VR0059	Farm School Sport GD	03 Dec. 2012	72m00s
7.	VR0066	Farm Sport Development GD	11 Jan. 2013	57m26s
<b>Sum Total</b>				
<b>Number of Recordings</b>	59		<b>Length of Time</b>	25m15s to 2h05m54s

APPENDIX D

Boland Rugby League Clubs & League Structure<sup>210</sup>

 <b>BOLAND RUGBY UNIE</b> <b>KLUB LIGA INDELING 2013</b> 					
<b>PREMIERLIGA</b>					
Black Leaves Gansbaai Ceres Hawston Roses United Robertson Saldanha Villagers Worcester Vredenburg Wellington Wesbank					
<b>Yellow Highlight:</b> Rugby Clubs in my study region & research respondents					
<b>SUPERLIGA</b>					
<b>SUPERLIGA (OOS)</b>			<b>SUPERLIGA (WES)</b>		
Ashton United Bella Vista Caledon Delicious Hamlet Kleinmond Newtons Standards Villagers Montagu Young Hamiltons			Abbotsdale Darling Hillcrest Hopefield Langebaan Mamre Samoa Moorreesburg Never Despair Piketberg St Helenabaai		
<b>PRESIDENTSLIGA</b>					
<b>WESKUS</b>		<b>WYNLAND</b>		<b>PLATTELAND</b>	
Citrusdal Coronations Evergreen (P) Good Hopes Porterville Saron Velddrif Villagers Wittewater Voorberg Young Hearts		De Doorns McGregor Protea (De Doorns) Rangers Robertson Rawsonville United Touwpark Tulbagh Wolseley Worcester Perseverance Y.G.H Ashton		Atlantics Botrivier CPUT Genadendal Grabouw Napier Riviersonderend Safcol Spring Roses Villiersdorp	
<b>NOORDWESTE</b>					
Attackers Cederberg Leopards Delicious Doringbaai Young Spurs Eagles Excelcior Invincibles Marines Rooi Tere Titans					
<b>EERSTE LIGA</b>					
<b>WESKUS</b>		<b>SENTRAAAL</b>		<b>WITZENBERG</b>	
Aurora Broodkraal Elandsbaai Flying Eagles Goedverwacht Koringberg Paternoster Red Stars Saldanha Tigers Universals Young Tigers Zebras		Adelaars Black Vultures Die Dorings Flying Eagles Malmesbury Riebeeck Utd Temperance United Stones Vill. Newton Wamakersv. Young Blues Young Eagles		Green Lillies G Swallows Môrester Op-die-Berg Paardekloof Rosendal Ver. Ceres Vill. Citrusdal Y.B.A. Young Blues Young Diggers Y. Westlyans	
<b>LANGEBERG</b>		<b>BREËRIVIER</b>		<b>MIDDELLANDE</b>	
All Stars Dennegeur Golden Eagles Laingsburg Miracles Mountain Stars Orchards Overhex Protea Worc. Thistles Vill. Breërivier Young Stars		Blue Swallows Growing Stars Montagu Rooiberg Utd Rang. De Hoop United Stars Y. Eagles Bon Y. Proteas Rob Young Tigers Young Turbos		Cheetahs Elandskloof Elim Gold Stars Greyton Sportk Mortru Rangers Bred Red Roses Sea Hawks Struisbaai Universals Y Eagles Bereav	

<sup>210</sup> Online source: <http://www.bolandrugby.com> [Accessed: November 2012]

Worcester Rugby Zone (List of Clubs<sup>211</sup>)

WORCESTER VALLEI RUGBY & NETBAL UNIE

WORCESTER VALLEI SONE

Klub naam	Klub Voorsitter	Sekretaris
Worcester Sone	Frans Pietersen	Elroy Van Wyk
Young Tigers	Patrick August	J.Syster
Greenleaves	J. Linnerts	Jannie Struis
<b>Klipdrift</b>	Kerneels Lakay	A.Engelbreht
Blue Birds	Phil Bobbejee	Michelle Jansen
Lemoenpoort	K.Cupido	A.Kammies
<b>Goudini United</b>	H.Fielies	
Sandhills	Gert Kaptein	Abigail Ruiters
<b>Rainbow</b>	Kenneth Prins	Elroy V.Wyk
Universals	Brandon Links	Adam Jansen
Young Lions	S.Adams	J. Miggels
Theewaterkloof	C. Willemse	Petrus Mshiba
Laingsburg	D. Grootboom	D. Prins
Sone.Voorsitter	Klaas Cloete	

<sup>211</sup> Shared by a Research Participant (Field Notes: 3<sup>rd</sup> October 2012)

Worcester Rugby Zone (Example of League Fixtures<sup>212</sup>)

## WORCESTER SONE LIGAPROGRAM 2012

<b>Datum</b>	<b>1 ste Ronde</b>		<b>1 ste Ronde</b>
	<b>Tuisspan</b>		<b>Besoekende Span</b>
<b>17.03.2012</b>	Sandhills	vs	Blue Birds
	Young Tigers	vs	Klipdrift
	Young Lions	vs	Lemoenpoort
	Rainbow	vs	Goudini
	Theewaterskloof	vs	Universals
	Greenleaves	vs	Laingsburg
<b>24.03.2012</b>	Greenleaves	vs	Sandhills
	Lemoenpoort	vs	Young Tigers
	Universals	vs	Rainbow
	Goudini	vs	Theewaterskloof
	Klipdrift	vs	Young Lions
	Laingsburg	vs	Blue Birds
<b>31.03.2012</b>	Greenleaves	vs	Blue Birds
	Universals	vs	Goudini
	Rainbow	vs	Theewaterskloof
	Lemoenpoort	vs	Klipdrift
	Young Tigers	vs	Young Lions
	Sandhills	vs	Laingsburg
<b>14.04.2012</b>	Rainbow	vs	Young Tigers
	Theewaterskloof	vs	Blue Birds
	Klipdrift	vs	Greenleaves
	Young lions	vs	Universals
	Sandhills	vs	Lemoenpoort
	Goudini	vs	Laingsburg
<b>21.04.2012</b>	Blue Birds	vs	Klipdrift
	Young Tigers	vs	Sandhills
	Greenleaves	vs	Theewaterskloof
	Goudini	vs	Young Lions
	Lemoenpoort	vs	Rainbow
	Laingsburg	vs	Universals
<b>28.04.2012</b>	Young Tigers	vs	Goudini
	Lemoenpoort	vs	Theewaterskloof
	Sandhills	vs	Rainbow
	Universals	vs	Greenleaves
	Klipdrift	vs	Laingsburg
	Blue Birds, Young Lions(loslootjie)		

<sup>212</sup> Ibid

## APPENDIX E

### Breede Valley Local Football Association's Promotional League Structure/ Fixtures 2012-13 (An example<sup>213</sup>)

Fix date	HOME TEAM	SCORE	AWAY TEAM	SCORE	Venue	TIME
18.01.13	WORC. SPURS	v	GR. LOVERS		ZWEL. A	18H30
19.01.13	BARCELONA	v	V. O. H.		ESSP. A	14H15
19.01.13	A TO Z	v	XI EXPERIENCE		ESSP. A	16H00
19.01.13	YOUNG CHIEFS	v	JUVENTUS		RAW	15H45
19.01.13	MOUNTAIN TIGERS	v	ZWEL. ALL STARS		RAW	14H15
20.01.13	FAIRHILLS	v	V. O. H.		RAW	13H45
20.01.13	RAW. GUNNERS	v	BARCELONA		RAW	15H30
20.01.13	DE NOVIANS	v	M. SWEEPERS		RAW	17H15
20.01.13	MIGHTY SWALLOWS	v	XI EXPERIENCE		ESSP. B	14H15
20.01.13	BOLAND AJAX	v	TUINDORP		ZWEL. A	14H30
20.01.13	WORC. SPURS	v	SWALLOWS		ZWEL. A	16H15

<sup>213</sup> League Fixtures for the seasons: "Winter 2012" and "Summer 2012-2013" were emailed to me by my research participants over the course of my fieldwork.

## APPENDIX F

### A SDP Day Event

#### Programme of CWDM's *Lucerne Cricket Sets Handover Ceremony*



CAPE WINELANDS DISTRICT  
MUNICIPALITY • MUNISIPALITEIT • UMASIPALA

Department of Rural and Social Development

#### LUZERNE CRICKET SETS - HAND OVER FUNCTION

FANIE OTTO SPORTS GROUND, DE WET  
9 MARCH 2012



#### PROGRAMME

Programme Director: Mike Mgajo – Municipal Manager

09:30	Registration –	
10:00	Exhibition Game	"Protea" Lucerne Team vs Invitational Team
11:00	Entertainment	SAPS Band
11:10	Welcome	Cllr Basil Kivedo - Executive Mayor BVM
11:20	Partnerships:	
	1. CWDM 2. SAPS 3. Boland Cricket	1. Claudié Schroeder – Executive Director 2. Provincial Office 3. Omar Henry – CEO
11:40	Entertainment	SAPS Band
11:50	Feedback:	
	1. Luzerne Cricket 2. Vlakkie Cricket	1. Capt Pieter Pienaar – SAPS 2. Denver Pienaar – BVM
12:00	Introduction of Keynote Speaker	Ald. CA De Bruyn -Executive Mayor CWDM
12:10	Entertainment	Police Band
12:20	Keynote Address	Dr Ivan Meyer Minister of Cultural Affairs and Sport
12:35	Hand-over Ceremony & Photo Session	
12:45	Vote of Thanks	Cllr Ruth Arnolds – Sports Portfolio Councillor
13:00	Finger Lunch & Entertainment	Police Band

## APPENDIX G

### Programme of BWT's Breedekloof Outdoor and Wine Festival

FRIDAY, 11 OCTOBER 2013

		Booking	Cost
<b>Remember:</b>	Festival Pass to be bought at first cellar and used for the duration of the festival		R100p.p.
<b>Badsberg Cellar</b> <span style="float: right;"><b>023 344 3021</b></span>			
09:00 - 16:00	Wine tasting & sales	No	Festival pass
19:00 - 21:00	Badsberg Steak Dinner: bookings must be made directly at the cellar. Limited tickets available.	Yes	200g - R75 300g - R90
19:00 - late	Wynand Barnard & Demi-lee Moore LIVE in Olof Bergh Festival Tent. Cash bar available in tent.	No	Festival pass
19:00 - late	ATKV Goudini Spa Restaurant Food stall available	No	Varies
<b>Bergsig Estate</b> <span style="float: right;"><b>023 355 1603</b></span>			
09:00 - 16:00	Wine tasting & Sales	No	Festival pass
09:00 - 16:00	Bergsig Bistro open all day, from breakfast to dinner	Advisable	A la Carte Menu
09:00 - 16:00	Food & Wine Pairing Experience an abundance of flavours, with gourmet finger food, paired with Bergsig's wines.	No	R70p.p.
<b>Boshimela</b> <span style="float: right;"><b>023 344 3220</b></span>			
09:00 - late	Open-air dance under the oak trees	No	Free
09:00 - late	Cash bar No alcohol to u/18yrs. ID's will be asked.	No	Varies
09:00 - late	Restaurant open for meals	No	Varies
<b>Botha Cellar</b> <span style="float: right;"><b>023 355 1740</b></span>			
09:00 - 17:00	Wine tasting & Sales	No	Festival pass
Starts at 14:30	Go-cart race and Tug-of-War competitions for farm workers	No	Free
<b>Deetlefs Estate</b> <span style="float: right;"><b>023 349 1260</b></span>			
09:00 - 17:00	Wine tasting & Sales Free Weekend Getaway Vouchers upon the purchase of a case of Deetlefs Estate Wine	No	Festival pass
09:00 - 17:00	Live music by Andre Michael Combrinck	No	Free
09:00 - 17:00	Gourmet Pizzas with various toppings	No	Varies
09:00 - 17:00	Plaasvetkoeke with various fillings - made the way Grandma used to	No	Varies
09:00 - 17:00	Cheese platters & other food products for sale	No	Varies
<b>Goudini Wines</b> <span style="float: right;"><b>023 349 1090</b></span>			
09:00 - 17:00	Wine Tasting & Sales Includes newly release Goudini Mirabilis Welwitschia Red & White flagship wines	No	Festival pass

## APPENDIX H

### Research Participant Information Letter (Template)

#### PARTICIPATION INFORMATION SHEET

#### **RESEARCH TITLE: Sporting Lives and “Development” Agendas: A critical analysis of Sport and Development Nexus in the context of Farm workers of the Western Cape**

Dear Participant

You are invited to participate in a research study conducted by **Tarminder Kaur (student # 3007608)**. It is in partial completion of the researcher’s thesis towards the PHD Degree at the School of Government, at the University of the Western Cape.

Before you decide to participate, it is important for you to understand the purpose of the research and what it would entail. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. If you are unclear of anything, I would be happy to answer any questions you may have.

#### **PURPOSE OF THE STUDY**

The overriding aim of the study is to analyse critically the sport and development nexus. Specifically, this study investigates how notions of “development” and related practices are constructed around sport practice, participation, and provision, for the farm worker communities of the Cape Wineleands.

#### **DESCRIPTION OF STUDY AND YOUR INVOLVEMENT**

Broadly, the researcher will be recording multiple perspectives on the role sport plays among farm worker communities and how its benefits are understood. The research is tracing sporting trends, such as what sport activities, frequency of practice and the key actors involved in organising sport among the farm worker communities. Are there any farm worker development projects that particularly focus on sport? What kind of social concerns or developments do practice of sport address among worker communities and how?

These are the kinds of questions that researcher will be asking you in a 60-90 minute long interview. The interview will start by asking you to share some background information about yourself and your relationship to sport and farming communities. The approach adopted in this interview will be conversational and semi-structured. All the questions are open-ended, with no right or wrong answers.

#### **CONFIDENTIALITY**

Please be advised that the results of the study will neither divulge the organisation’s particulars nor the individual particulars, as to maintain confidentiality at all times. Any



information that can connect the responses to an individual or organisation will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission. The researcher shall keep all records and tapes of your participation, including a signed consent form which is required from you should you agree to participate in this research study, and locked away at all times.

### **VOLUNTARY PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL**

Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary, which means that you are free to decline from participation. It is your decision whether or not to take part. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind and without giving a reason. You may also choose not to answer particular questions that are asked in the study. If there is anything that you would prefer not to discuss, please feel free to say so.

### **PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION**

There are no costs to the participant for partaking in the study.

### **INFORMED CONSENT**

Your signed consent to participate in this research study is required before the researcher can proceed to interview you. The consent form is included with this information sheet so that you will be able to review the consent form and then decide whether you would like to participate in this study or not.

### **QUESTIONS**

Should you have further questions or wish to know more, researcher can be contact as follows:

Student Name : Tarminder Kaur  
Student Number : 3007608  
Mobile Number : +27 7999 41199  
Work Number :  
Email : [tarmindergrover@hotmail.com](mailto:tarmindergrover@hotmail.com)

I am accountable to my supervisor : Prof Marion Keim Lees  
School of Government (SOG) :  
Telephone : +27 21 959 3137  
Fax : +27 21 959 3849  
Email : [mkeim@uwc.ac.uk](mailto:mkeim@uwc.ac.uk)

## Research Participant Consent Form (Template)

### CONSENT FORM

**RESEARCH TITLE: Sporting Lives and “Development” Agendas: A critical analysis of Sport and Development Nexus in the context of Farm workers of the Western Cape**

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by **Tarminder Kaur** towards the Doctoral Programme at the School of Government (SOG) at the University of the Western Cape.

This study has been described to me in a language that I understand and I freely and voluntarily agree to participate. My questions about the study have been answered.

I understand that my identity will not be disclosed and was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time by advising the student researcher.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree to participate in this study.

Participant Name : \_\_\_\_\_  
Participant ID Number : \_\_\_\_\_  
Participant Signature : \_\_\_\_\_  
Date : \_\_\_\_\_  
Place : \_\_\_\_\_

Student Researcher : Tarminder Kaur \_\_\_\_\_  
Student Researcher Signature : \_\_\_\_\_  
Student Number : 3007608 \_\_\_\_\_  
Mobile Number : +27 (0) 799941199 \_\_\_\_\_  
Email : [tarmindegrover@hotmail.com](mailto:tarmindegrover@hotmail.com) \_\_\_\_\_

I am accountable to my supervisor : Prof Marion Keim Lees \_\_\_\_\_  
School of Government ( SOG )  
Telephone : +27 21 959 3137  
Fax : +27 21 959 3849  
Email : [mkeim@uwc.ac.za](mailto:mkeim@uwc.ac.za) \_\_\_\_\_

APPENDIX I

**Coding and Indexing**

Themes	Lives people live		Structures	
	1 <sup>st</sup> order codes	2 <sup>nd</sup> order codes	1 <sup>st</sup> order codes	2 <sup>nd</sup> order codes
<b>Sport</b>	Sport Participation	Active participation	Spor Infrastructure	Fields on Private Land
		Spectatorship		School fields
		Sport administrators		Municipal fields
		SDP projects		History/geography of Sport facilities
	Sport Practices	Training Sessions	Access	Training space
		Gambling Games		League Games
		League Games		Information
		Community Events		Resources
		School Sport		socio-political class/ race/ sport codes
		Charity Sport Events		Coach Education
	Sport Vernacular	<i>sport is really important in this community</i>	Institutions	DCAS
		<i>soccer is in my blood</i>		Sport Federations
		<i>keep them busy</i>		Sport NGOs
		<i>teaches discipline</i>		Sport Clubs
		<i>just for love of sport</i>		School Sport
			Life Skills	
	1 <sup>st</sup> order codes	2 <sup>nd</sup> order codes	1 <sup>st</sup> order codes	2 <sup>nd</sup> order codes
<b>“Development”</b>	Discourses & Vernacular	Political Transformation	Institutions	Civil Society
		Change (observing/ creating/ challenging)		NGOs & After-school programmes
		Alcohol/Drugs Problem		Farming Enterprises
		“Upliftment” & Life Skills		Agrarian Umbrella Bodies
	Life Struggles	Racial identities, racialism & racism	Policies, Plans & Projects	Public Sector local/ regional/ national gov. departments
		Socio-politics		“Development” Programmes
		Material conditions		Farmworker of the year
		Social status quo		IDP Municipal Documents
		Negotiating life		1994 Policy on Farmworkers
	Awards	Farm Worker Strikes (2012-2013)		
<b>Sport and “Development”</b>	<b>History &amp; Politics (Secondary literature and Oral accounts)</b>			
	Projects & Programmes	NLFT/ BWT School Sport infrastructure Development		
		DCAS’s Western Cape Farmworker Sport and Recreation Development Committee		
		Rural Foundation		



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