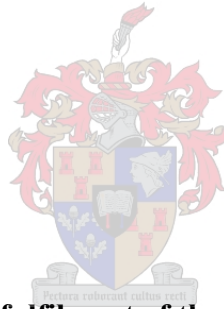# Trends in Gender Norms in South African Sport and Ramifications for the State of Women's Football

By

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Masters of International Studies at the University of Stellenbosch

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Declaration

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author hereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

September 1st, 2011

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Abstract

This thesis provides a gendered analysis of the role of football in the development of girls and women in South Africa. Through analysis of South African society on a whole, and the inclusion of women in football and sport development in particular, this thesis aims to understand the effects that sport involvement has on women, and how these effects are related to prevailing gender norms and gender relations in the country. The thesis explores the role of women in football and the extent to which gender norms influence women's participation in the sport. It also analyses patterns of gender inclusion and exclusion in the sport development field. The aim of the study is to contribute to the existing – albeit limited –research on women's football in South Africa. The thesis focuses on women of all racial and ethnical backgrounds in South Africa, primarily aged 17 and up, that are involved in football.

The empirical data presented was gathered around four main focal points: the challenges, improvements, limitations and experiences of women footballers. These four themes were chosen in an effort to present an overall picture of the process and the involvement of women in football, in addition to shedding light on the trends in norms that determine female participation in sport. Findings indicate that girls and women face challenges varying from gaining access to funding resources to partake in sport, to negative portrayals of female athletes in the media. Improvements in women's football were seen as ways in which girls and women's participation in football was accepted and encouraged by society, and how the bodies of girls and women in sport were perceived. Limitations were measured as factors influencing the participation of girls and women in sport, such as their role as secondary citizens in society and as primary caretakers. Finally, the experiences of girls and women in sport were investigated.

Further research must be carried out regarding the trends of involvement of girls and women in football in South Africa. That would be in addition to research on the positive physical effects of sport on the body, which increases self-esteem, and sense of body ownership. There is also a need to gain understanding of the ways in which the involvement of girls and women in sport changes societal perceptions of gender.

Opsomming

Hierdie tesis verskaf 'n analise op grond van genderuitsluiting met betrekking tot die rol van sokker by die ontwikkeling van meisies en vroue in Suid-Afrika. Met behulp van 'n analise van die Suid-Afrikaanse samelewing in die algemeen, en die insluiting van vroue in sokker en sportontwikkeling in die besonder, beoog hierdie tesis om die gevolge wat betrokkenheid by sport op vroue het, en die wyse waarop hierdie gevolge met heersende gendernorme en genderverhoudings in die land verband hou, te begryp. Die navorsing waaroor hierdie tesis verslag doen, het die rol van vroue in sokker en die mate waartoe gendernorme vroue se deelname aan die sport beïnvloed, verken. Dit het ook patrone van genderinsluiting en -uitsluiting op die gebied van sportontwikkeling analiseer. Die doel van die studie was om by te dra tot bestaande – hoewel beperkte – navorsing oor vrouesokker in Suid-Afrika. Die tesis fokus op vroue vanuit alle Suid-Afrikaanse ras en etniese agtergronde, in besonder op vroue wat 17 jaar oud en ouer is, en wat by sokker betrokke is.

Die empiriese data wat aangebied word, is ingesamel met inagneming van vier belangrike fokuspunte: die uitdagings, verbeteringe, beperkinge en ervaringe van vrouesokkerspelers. Hierdie vier temas is gekies in 'n poging om 'n algemene beeld van die proses en die betrokkenheid van vroue in sokker te bied, maar ook lig te werp op die tendense in norme wat vroue se deelname aan sport bepaal. Bevindinge dui daarop dat meisies en vroue uitdagings die hoof moet bied wat wissel van die verkryging van toegang tot befondsingshulpbronne om aan sport deel te neem, tot negatiewe voorstellings van vroueatlete in die media. Verbeteringe in vrouesokker is beskou as wyses waarop meisies en vroue se deelname aan sokker deur die samelewing aanvaar en aangemoedig word, en die wyse waarop die liggame van meisies en vroue in sport waargeneem word. Beperkinge is gemeet as faktore wat die deelname van meisies en vroue aan sport beïnvloed, soos hulle rol as tweedeklas-burgers in die samelewing en as primêre versorgers. Laastens is die ervaringe van meisies en vroue in sport ondersoek.

Verdere navorsing moet gedoen word oor die tendense van betrokkenheid van meisies en vroue by sokker in Suid-Afrika. Ook is daar ruimte vir navorsing oor die positiewe fisiese gevolge van sport op die liggaam, en die maniere waarop sport 'n gevoel van eiewaarde en 'n gewaarwording van eienaarskap van die liggaam verbeter. Daar is ook 'n behoefte om insig te kry in die wyses waarop die betrokkenheid van meisies en vroue in sport die samelewing se persepsies van gender verander.

Acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
CAF	Confédération Africaine Football
FIFA	Fédération International de Football Association
IOC	International Olympic Committee
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NSC	National Sports Congress
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SACOS	South African Council on Sports
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SASA	South African Sports Association
SANROC	South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee
SAWFA	South African Women's Football Association
SAWSA	South African Women's Soccer Association
SPD	Sport for Peace and Development
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

South Africa has been recognised for its progressive constitution, which was drafted and finalised in 1996, after the end of apartheid, and came into effect on 4 February 1997. On the basis of the constitution as it stands, the country can be celebrated for its efforts to achieve "unity in diversity", which encompasses three categories of rights – individual human rights, minority rights, and the right to self-determination (Henrard 2002:151). The approach used by South Africa due to its challenging past seeks to confirm "the interrelation between these three categories of rights for the elaboration of an 'adequate' system of minority protection" (Henrard 2002:151). It is apparent that this exact amalgamation, and the way in which each of the individual methods to approach minority protection are constructed, are determined by South Africa's unique circumstances, most specifically incorporating its apartheid history and the associated political sensitivity towards discourse on minority rights and self-determination (Henrard 2002; Kunnie 2000). As South Africa is a country of transformation and diversity, the first right that should be discussed as a human right of relevance to the protection of minority groups is the right to equality, in all of its dimensions (Henrard 2002). In the South African constitution, this fundamental concept focuses on the principle of equality, prohibiting both direct and indirect discrimination, while specifically supplying a constitutional possibility to take affirmative action measures (Henrard 2002; Kunnie 2000; Lynn 1994; Morell 2002). The South African constitution is "the apogee of a feminist struggle for the fights of women that has lasted for nearly a century" alongside the international phenomenon surrounding gender equality movements that was already taking place (Walker 1991).

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) Gender Protocol contains numerous articles dedicated to the human rights of women. Fifteen state parties have agreed to this transformative document, which highlights and emphasises the importance of including women in decision-making roles and economic power-holding positions, reaching equality in schools and work environments, working towards a shift in the role of the girl child and woman as caretaker, and placing emphasis on reaching equality between women and men (SADC Gender Protocol Barometer 2010). The SADC Gender Protocol places emphasis on the implementation of legislative and other measures to "eliminate all practices which negatively affect the fundamental rights of women, men, girls and boys, such as their right to life, health, dignity, education and physical integrity" (SADC Gender Protocol Barometer 2010). The protocol calls for states to review, amend and/or repeal all laws and practices that discriminate on basis of sex or gender, by 2015, in line with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) set by the United Nations (UN) (SADC Gender Protocol Barometer 2010; United Nations Millennium Development Goals 2005). These efforts

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towards gender parity are also reflected on the surface in South African politics, as indicated by a speech made by President Jacob Zuma on 8 January 2011. He expressed concern for the wellbeing of South Africa's women when he stated, "The ANC [African National Congress] will continue playing a leading role in bringing about the full emancipation of women. We recognize the tremendous strides made since 1994, as evidenced by the role that women now play in the state, the economy and other sectors" (N/A, "Statement of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress on the Occasion of the 99th Anniversary of the ANC" http://www.anc.org.za/docs/jan8/2011/08Jan2011d.pdf). However, as this thesis will show by looking at the involvement of women in football, gender norms set in place frequently limit this involvement to empty statements in South African politics.

Despite the efforts to create equality on the aforementioned social and political levels reflected through the SADC Gender Barometer Protocol, the UN MDGs and South African politics, South Africa faces significant setbacks when it comes to the development and empowerment of women. Women hold notably fewer seats in government, do not have access to the same amount of economic empowerment activity, and are frequently expected to limit their role to that of the (family) caretaker (SADC Gender Protocol Barometer 2010). Many of the same expectations apply to the girl child (SADC Gender Protocol Barometer 2010). As a result, women are not encouraged to participate in South African society to their full potential, nor are they included in society in the manner in which the constitution, the protocol and, at very select times, the President, recommend they be. These discrepancies are apparent on countless levels, which become evident when dissecting the role of women in the media, in politics or in the educational sector (Martineau 1997). This research study specifically looks at the role of women in sport, and analyses how gender norms affect the state of women's football in South Africa. In addition to primary data gathered in the form of key informant interviews, the works of the leading feminist and sport scholars Saavedra, Hargreaves, Engh, Hartmann-Tews, Pfister, Naidoo and Muholi will most often be used. Although her work has been recognized to focus on female football in both the United Kingdom and on an international level, Williams' work will not be directly (2007). Through the application of a feminist theoretical framework, the way in which gender norms influence the involvement of women in football will be analysed in detail.

International studies have shown the correlation between involvement in organised sport and professional and personal success (Sabo et al. 1998). Particularly after the 2010 Fédération International de Football Association (FIFA) Men's World Cup held in South Africa, sport development came to be considered a field with potential to address community issues through the promotion of local leadership, at both ground level and in the political sphere. According to Zuma

(N/A, "Statement of the National Executive Committee of the African National Congress on the Occasion of the 99th Anniversary of the ANC"
http://www.anc.org.za/docs/jan8/2011/08Jan2011d.pdf), in the same speech mentioned above:

> The 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup demonstrated how all South Africans can unite across race, class and gender divides in a common celebration as a South African people.
>
> This first ever Soccer World Cup tournament on African soil unleashed overwhelming patriotism. The country's rainbow flag and the Bafana Bafana jersey became the most popular items amongst South Africans.
>
> The world will always remember the powerful images of the entire country clad in national colours on 11 June 2010, rooting for the national team while welcoming the world with open arms.

Emphasis is placed on the unification of South Africa as a whole under the umbrella of involvement in men's football on a global scale. However, the role of involvement in women's football is frequently not considered and completely disregarded. Rather, emphasis is placed on what football means for the country, with a result that structures are set in place to promote sport, particularly football, to the male population of Africa and South Africa. As a result, boys are equipped with a sense of self-esteem, team spirit and leadership skills and have access to the development tools necessary for their physical and mental health and wellbeing. Largely ignored is the effect this very same structure could have on girls and women. As the sector evolves and develops it becomes clear that issues such as the gender dimension within sport development are overlooked, with the result that sport becomes a social institution that contributes to the perpetuation of gender norms and ideologies through the portrayal of men's natural dominance in society (Engh 2010). Saavedra (2003) stated that "[g]ender emerges at the intersection of the physical and the social, and this is precisely where sport also resides", highlighting the effectiveness of using sport as a tool to dissect how gender norms affect the state of women's football in South Africa, and women's role in society on the whole. Not only must gains from girls' and women's inclusion in sport be assessed, but the many challenges to this process need to be accounted for; the lack of resources, the lack of funding, the general attitudes towards girls involved in sport and traditional gender norms that consistently hinder development in this particular field.

Thus, there are various reasons for conducting this study. Primarily, gaps in existing scholarship require further attention. Apart from the handful of dedicated scholars listed above, very

limited research has been conducted on sport as a powerful tool for women in South Africa, or on the gender norms that are withholding women from participating in sport. It was not until the 1980s that women in sport started garnering scholarly attention, but even then this was largely with a focus on women in the United States of America (USA) or the United Kingdom (UK); the role of African women in sport was not really part of this academic field. Prior to the campaign, "If You Let Me Play" launched by Nike, there had been no specific focus on the importance of raising media awareness on the participation of girls and women in sport. Again, the effects of this campaign were only apparent in the USA, with women in much of the rest of the world excluded. This study has been conducted to explore the effect sport could have in developing a balanced South African society. By providing girls and women with access to the same developmental tools, it is possible to create an increase in the balance, tolerance and incorporation of women on various social, political and economic levels, reaching beyond involvement in sport. Finally, this research study has been conducted in order to present an understanding of the perception of girls and women in sport, and how a change in negative perceptions can lead to positive change throughout the rest of society. It is hoped that, through this research paper, future policy will be set to incorporate girls and women in the sporting arena in an effort to encourage an equal gender balance in society.

1.2 Background and Rationale

This thesis looks at the role of women in football and the extent to which gender norms withhold women from participating in sport in order to understand why women have been excluded from the field of sport development in South Africa. The emphasis is placed on sport development in South Africa after 1970. Further, the aim of this study is to contribute to the research on women's football in South Africa to date, adding to the work done by previous researchers in the field of sport development. As research on women's football in South Africa is limited, this thesis will also draw on research done in other regions, such as the USA. It is hoped that some of those findings can be made applicable to the South African context, with specific reference to the way in which the development of women's football and the experience of women footballers are shaped by prevailing gender norms.

Research available on the importance of football as a tool for development for girls and women is severely restricted, mainly due to the lack of institutional funding for this type of academic research (as directly experienced by the researcher) and the limited circulation of existing research. Furthermore, as football for men has been prevalent much longer than football for women, and the role of female South African athletes is secondary to the role of male South African athletes, girls and women are not able to participate in sport to the same extent as their male counterparts

(Saavedra 2003). The impact of sport on the development of girls and women is hard to determine, with only a handful of publications available on this topic (Hartmann-Tews & Pfister 2003). In addition, past research focused mainly on women in the USA, while Kramarae and Spender (2000) and Hartman-Tews and Pfister (2003) recognise that women from different racial and cultural backgrounds, in addition to lesbian women, have an even harder time being accepted as athletes. Particularly in South Africa, the issue of lesbian women in sport has garnered some attention recently due to the murder of Eudy Simelane, and subsequent instances of 'corrective rape' (Kelly 2010). Interestingly, the international community showed more concern and interest in this case than did the South African community. This further emphasises the need for a focus on the role of gender norms in the involvement of women in sport in South Africa.

1.3 Aims and Significance of Study

The literature that covers the topic of women in sport in South Africa introduces challenges, the history and the on-going issues faced by female athletes; the above-mentioned scholars, Saavedra, Pelak, Engh, Hargreaves, Naidoo and Muholi discuss these challenges in depth. With regard to works presented outside of academic recount, such as in the media, the image of the South African female athlete is most often that of a "poor, struggling, usually black young woman facing problems of under resourcing, poor training facilities, poor support mechanisms, and so on" (Naidoo & Muholi 2010:108). An effort should be made to present a well-rounded and honest recount of the experiences of women footballers.

By highlighting the potential of sport programmes to create a positive shift in traditional gender norms currently preventing women from reaching their full potential, it is the aim of this study to provide insight into the experience of women footballers with regard to structural and societal constraints, while linking these to their participation in and the development of the women's game. The findings can be used to analyse the effect of gender norms on the experience of women footballers in South Africa, and can be incorporated in the further development of sport programmes and in advocacy for women's participation on the field.

Based on primary research conducted through key informant interviews in South Africa, in addition to information gained from secondary research through the consultation of literature, including international reports and studies, this thesis emphasises how football specifically involves girls and women, and shows the extent to which gender norms limit the participation of girls and women. Women's football continues to have limited coverage in the media, receives negligible funding, and is often disregarded by not being taken seriously. Institutes such as the University of

Pretoria's High Performance Centre[1], which offers education in conjunction with professional football training, offer girls and women a potential space in which to enhance their talent and develop their skills; however, this institute is the only one of its kind. The institute was attended by several of the current players in both the under-17 national women's team and the national women's team who were interviewed for this study. The founder of the centre, Ms Hilton-Smith, was also interviewed for this study. At the time of interview, she was the manager of the South African women's team. This thesis highlights that more institutes with a similar mission can contribute positively towards women's involvement in football in South Africa.

1.4 Primary and Secondary Research Questions

Following from the aims stated above, the main research question guiding this study is the following:

Main Research Question: What are trends in gender norms in South African sport and ramifications for the state of women's football?

Further, the two supporting research questions are:

Primary Supporting Research Question: To what extent are resources made available for the involvement of girls and women in football?

Secondary Supporting Research Question: What role do awareness around the issue of women's football involvement and societal acceptance hereof play in the involvement of girls and women in football?

1.5 Methodology

1.5a Conceptualization

Gender Norms: According to the Praeger Guide to the Psychology of Gender (Paludi 2004:167),

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[1]The University of Pretoria's High Performance Centre is South Africa's first elite performance sports facility and focuses on the development of female sport and academics in a training centre. The goals of the institute are to train female athletes to be strong on the field and to perform well academically. Ms Fran Hilton-Smith, manager of the South African national women's football team, founded the High Performance Centre. The players interviewed have attended or are currently attending the University of Pretoria's High Performance Centre.

Femininity is unarguably a construct; it has been constructed differently in different eras and by different segments of culture. However, if we continue to essentialise femininity as residing within women (and men) and to define the construct by measuring it, then femininity will continue to be defined and measured in relation to masculinity.

Gender norms can also be seen to refer to "stylized" behaviour both females and males are subject to (Bernstein & Schaffner 2005). This behaviour is closely associated to trends in behaviour that are associated with both of the sexes.

In this study, the concept of 'gender norms' incorporates an expansion of the aforementioned concept, while highlighting the specific traditional approaches to understanding gender norms in South Africa through an analysis of the different roles men and women are expected to fulfil; an emphasis is placed on women in the role of caretakers, as secondary citizens, as less advanced economic power holders, and as being less inclined to participate on a political scale (SADC Gender Protocol Barometer 2010). One study conducted in the Western Cape, South Africa for the *Journal of Social Aspects of HIV/Aids* quoted a key informant in stating that women's role was to perform domestic tasks while the man goes out to work, " ... men think they are bosses, they think that whatever they say a woman must agree with, even if it is wrong" (Strebel et al. 2006:523). This study further highlights that these gender norms are deeply engrained in specific cultures in South Africa, and that black and coloured women face significant challenges when it comes to breaking these moulds (Strebel et al. 2006). The above-mentioned study (Strebel et al. 2006:523) also recognises that there have been shifts in traditional gender roles related to

The increasing employment of women compared to men, facilitating women's control over household budgets and a resulting shift in domestic power; the current emphasis on gender equality and consequent legal and constitutional change which appears to have empowered women but to have inadvertently marginalized and/or disempowered men to some extent; the use (and reported by some, the exploitation) of legal mechanisms by women to protect themselves against men and assert their rights.

Regardless of these changes, when a woman enters a field predominantly governed by men her entry is often met with efforts to exclude her and her efforts. When looking at women's involvement in football, this exclusion becomes very apparent and can thus be applied to understand South African society to a greater extent.

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Involvement: Two specific features are incorporated in the concept of 'involvement'. First, involvement refers to personal involvement, which includes physical, social and mental inclusion in football as a sport and as an academic field. Previous research highlights the manner in which playing sport helps participants build a number of useful skills, including, but not limited to, discipline, respect, confidence, leadership abilities, responsibility, patience, tolerance and an understanding of group dynamics and the ability to work towards common goals (Korr and Close 2008). In most of the southern region of Africa, South Africa notwithstanding, these skills are not first and foremost associated with girls due to the fact that girls consistently are considered to play a secondary role in society (SADC Gender Protocol Barometer 2010). Significantly less emphasis is placed on the education and development of girls in comparison to the emphasis placed on the education and development of boys (SADC Gender Protocol 2010). However, if girls and women were to possess similar skills, they would be empowered to do better business, build stronger careers, and participate as constructive contributors to the economic, political and social spheres of life. Female empowerment through involvement in football is believed to potentially have strong positive consequences for society in its entirety (Saavedra 2003).

The concept of 'involvement' in this study also appertains to the progression and incorporation of female football players by society on a whole, which includes the levels of awareness and acceptance of female football and the female football players themselves. In addition to involving girls in football as the first step, this study looks at the extent to which female involvement in football is accepted by society. Indicators of this were established by evaluating funding resources made available for the expansion of football programmes for girls, the establishment and sustainability of these programmes, and the reception of the girls participating in these programmes in the media and by society. In this case, reception refers to how the prejudices faced by female athletes and the assumptions made about their personality, sexuality and femininity are further indicators of the awareness surrounding and acceptance of female athletes in South Africa (Engh 2010). Involvement is seen in the level of acceptance and openness surrounding girls and women and their position both as female football players and as a whole within the country. Respect and recognition with regard to the physical performance of these athletes and the opportunities presented to them as a result of their performance indicate progressive development. It is recognized that it is impossible to cover all opinions of football players at all levels of talent.

Football: In this thesis, football is taken to refer to the majority of organised professional and amateur execution of the sport of football, organised sport projects, and programmes or initiatives focusing mainly on the sport of football, or soccer. This includes, but is not limited to, programmes executed during school hours, extracurricular programmes (after school hours), or programmes not connected in any sense to education institutions, such as programmes carried out

by non-governmental organisations (NGOs). The term refers to teams and leagues at both an amateur and a professional level, and to other supporting initiatives provided for athletes. This study has specified an analysis of female-only football and programmes, as this was believed to be the best indicator of society's acceptance of girls' and women's development through football and participation in football. Throughout this research paper, football also refers to the technical aspects related to the development of the sport on the African continent.

1.5b Research Design

The research was conducted through an exploratory, inductive, qualitative research design carried out through key informant interviews. By using an exploratory design it was possible to maintain an open perspective on the issue at hand. This design allowed for the interpretation of results despite a shortage of previous research to guide or determine these results. The inductive research design allowed for analysis to be carried out of the individual answers given by the key informant interviewees. The qualitative research design made the personal and informative nature of the research possible. This type of design was crucial to a study such as this one that had a strong personal nature associated with it.

Key Informant, Semi-structured Interviews: A key informant interview is frequently conducted for research focused on social constructs in society (Klandermans and Staggenborg 2002). According to Klandermans and Staggenborg (2002:105), "The most important requirement for selecting a key informant is the interviewee's position or role in the social movement being studied. The criteria for choosing key informants are the amount of knowledge he or she has about a topic and his or her willingness to communicate with the researcher". Another reason to use key informant interviews is to obtain descriptive data about social movement strategies, cultures, and international dynamics (Klandermans and Staggenborg 2002).

Thus, data collected for this research study was in the form of key informant interviews held with a total of fifteen individuals with a prominent presence in the field of football development, with experience as (female) footballers and/or as coaches in South Africa. Key informants were also chosen on the basis of their theoretical background with regard to female football in South Africa. One of the participants interviewed has published academic writing on women's football in the country. Two of the informants were former South African female football players currently serving as coaches and managers in the field of women's football development. A Dutch male coach based in Cape Town was interviewed, in addition to the Chairperson of the US Soccer Federation. These two individuals were approached due to the need to include male players and coaches in the

interview process and because of their global experience in football. Having worked in North America and Northern and Eastern Europe, they were able to provide insights into their experience in other regions in comparison to that in South Africa. Their reflection on varying gender norms in each region allowed them to apply this knowledge and experience to the South African sphere.

The interviews were semi-structured and conducted in an open, comfortable and private setting. They were-semi structured in order to encourage the interviewees to feel at ease and to encourage a "dialogue", rather than a formal and forced interrogation. The interviews centred mainly on the differences in access to football between female players and male players due to gender norms, the challenges faced by female football players, improvements in the field and how to encourage greater participation in sport by for women. The Chairperson of the US Soccer Federation was an appropriate key informant interviewee as he had developed an international conflict resolution and peace-building programme that draws on his background as a football player. Ten players from the South African under-17 national women's team (Bantwana Bantwana) and the national women's team (Banyana Banyana) were selected as interviewees, in addition to the technical therapist of the national women's team. The players were selected on the basis of their English language proficiency, their ability to formulate their reservations regarding women's inclusion in football, the length of their participation as players in the national teams, their relationship with the manager and coach, and their dedication to the development of women's sport.

The key informant interviews were held in Johannesburg and Cape Town between April 2010 and November 2010. Each interview was held face to face and lasted approximately thirty minutes (please see Table 1.1 on page 11 for questions and themes). Before each interview, the interviewee was informed that s/he would be recorded, both visually and audibly, and that s/he would be at liberty to stop the interview at any time. The interviewee was also advised that s/he would not need to answer any questions that s/he deemed to be uncomfortable. All questions were screened by the management team of the under-17 football team prior to them being asked. In addition, an effort had been made to see if ethical clearance was required by the University of Stellenbosch in order to carry out the interviews, but this was waived, as the interviewees were not answering questions deemed to be of a too personal nature. The interviewer, the interviewee, the cameraperson and occasionally a sound person attended each interview. During the last two interviews with the Banyana Banyana players, the technical coach was present. This was due to the fact that the players were in training camp in preparation for the 2010 Confederation of African Football (CAF) Women's Cup and garnering a bit of media attention. The presence of the technical coach during the interviews was thus an effort to protect the players. In the opinion of the researcher, the presence of the technical coach did not noticeably affect the process of the interview

or the answers given; these were similar to the answers given without the presence of an outside and overseeing body.

Table 1.1. Interview Questions

Theme	Question
Challenges	What are the challenges you have faced as a woman involved in football?
	Did you grow up having access to sport?
	What was the hardest part about being a female football player?
	What are the perceptions of women involved in football in South Africa?
	What would you like to see change in women's football?
	What obstacles does South African society present to women involved in football?
Improvements	How has women's football changed in South Africa?
	What must be done to encourage football for girls and women in South Africa?
	What are the positive changes that have taken place in South Africa since you started playing football?
	What are the positive changes that have taken place in South Africa since the 2010 FIFA Men's World Cup?
	How has women's football grown in the last ten years?
Limitations	What are the limitations that have influenced you as a football player?
	What are the main concerns you have that will not allow women's football to reach its full potential in South Africa?
	What can be done to overcome limitations such as a lack of resources and investment in women's football?
Experience	In what capacity have you been able to apply the lessons you have learned through football to your every day life?
	What has football taught you that sets you apart from girls and women who are not involved in sport?
	What type of challenges have you learned to overcome through your sport involvement and why are these important?

1.5c Data Collection and Analysis

All data collected through the key informant interviews was qualitative and based on different experiences faced by the football players, the coaches, and those with a theoretical background in women's football. Therefore, data analysis was done by placing emphasis on themes, such as the role of gender norms in the experience of the player, the historical development of sport in South Africa, the challenges faced by those involved in football, and the experience of the player with regard to exclusion, bias, harassment and gender norms. Each interview was analysed and major themes were recorded[2]. Most of the interviewees (especially those directly involved in playing the game) were asked similar questions, with at times a slight variation depending on the nature of the interview. The same themes were maintained in every interview. As shown in the table above, these themes were Challenges, Improvements, Limitations and Experience. Through a qualitative and exploratory research design and on a more detailed level, the study investigated how prevailing gender norms in South African football society affect the participation and involvement, and as a result thereof the development, of girls and women in South Africa.

The secondary data was collected through in-depth research of the literature available on trends in the development of women's sport in South Africa, on South Africa's history and the effect of gender norms on the involvement of women in football in South Africa. Literature on the history of men's sport and men's involvement in football was also consulted. The secondary data consulted also covered broader issues such as South Africa's political history and the response of men in South Africa to gender equality. The secondary data was of a qualitative nature, and the majority of the sources were based on key informant interviews with those involved directly in football and sport development in South Africa. The research carried out in the secondary sources was done primarily from the 1990s to 2010.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework applied to this research study centred on a gendered perspective. This feminist perspective was applied for several reasons. As sport is widely considered to reside in a male domain, feminist theory helps shed light on the effects of involvement in sport on women (and men), on society as a whole, and on the challenges withholding women from participation in sport (Hargreaves 1994; Saavedra 2003). Feminist theory was used due to the fact that it is not frequently applied to South Africa's history, or to its history of sport development. Sport is

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[2]Specific interview transcripts available upon request.

frequently looked at from a male perspective, which, among other negative effects, negates the important aspect of football for the development of girls and young women.

The sociology of sport utilises constructivist theory and biological determinism, among others, as evident through the discourse surrounding the topic. Both constructivist and biological determinism were consulted as a theoretical lens for this thesis. Constructivist theory centres on the idea that knowledge and meaning are generated by the interaction between experiences and ideas. Biological determinism focuses specifically on the genetic make-up of humans, and can thus help explain society's constraints on women's participation in football and why the female body is rejected in a primarily male space.

1.7 Limitations and De-limitations

A number of limitations on qualitative research as a whole, and this research design in particular, must be highlighted and explained. Primarily, possible spurious relationships, including the causal direction of the variables, can present a challenge. As an example: the characteristics of self-confidence and strength in the girls participating in sport are brought to the sport by those particular girls, rather than these being traits sport brings out in the girls. Throughout the study, the assumption that sport can further the development of girls has been evaluated critically, and by gathering data from various sources and triangulating the approaches, this assumption has been confirmed through both the primary and secondary data.

There is the possibility that the researcher fails to be non-partisan, and at times during the study could be unsuccessful in recognising central information. There can be several reasons for this: the attention of the researcher can be diverted due to emotional distractions that accompany the nature of the interviewee's answer, or because of the increased need to interpret information correctly. This challenge was addressed by structuring the research design in an adaptable and non-linear manner. By consistently reviewing previous information in order to gain clarity on the foregoing research, this challenge was addressed further. In addition, social bias, discomfort stemming from either the interviewer or the interviewees, or general apprehension can affect the answers given. This was countered through an introductory conversation and by e-mailing the interview questions to the interviewees in advance. Similar to any study that bases research on key informant interviews, limitations may lie in whether the interviewees felt comfortable enough to say what they truly felt, and in the interpretation of the researcher. An attempt was made to counter this by creating a comfortable and open setting in which the interviews were conducted. Finally, importing models, results, research and assumptions from other geographical demographics could

be inapplicable to the African context, regardless of the fact that this research may present the only information available.

Even though it is possible to look at different sports and the involvement of women in these sports in South African society, football has been chosen particularly because of its global and unifying nature. Because football is considered a man's sport residing in a man's domain, it becomes a complex and interesting sport to look at in depth. An understanding of women's role in South African society can be structured around understanding women's involvement in football, as both are considered a man's domain.

Throughout the research, two major restrictions were the lack of funding for the research and time constraints. With no funding sources made available, the study was self-funded, thus complicating the possibility of additional interviews and follow-up interviews. Furthermore, due to time constraints, it was impossible to extend the research over a period of several years, even though this may have provided more usable and detailed data.

I understand that my position a white European woman, with an American accent, studying at a traditional South African university may have affected the interviews with some of the younger football players, specifically the players on the under-17 team. This may be because they are not used to speaking with other women from different backgrounds with unusual accents. Another factor that may have affected the interviews is that, at the time of the interviews, I had not been living in South Africa for a very long time. However, I do believe that my international background, my understanding of the exclusion of women in sport, and my open perspective countered these conceptions.

1.8 Thesis Structure

This thesis consists of five chapters and their subsections.

- Chapter 1 is an introductory chapter and highlights the Background and Rationale, the Research Questions, the Aims of the Study, the Significance of the Study, and the Methodology of the Study.

- Chapter 2 presents a discussion of the prevailing literature surrounding the topic of the development of women's football, both in South Africa and in the rest of the world. Chapter 2 also highlights different discourses on women's football and analyses prevalent theories used in the field of sport development for women.

- Chapter 3 reflects the trends in South African sport history and development, trends in the history of male football development in South Africa and trends in the history of female sport development in South Africa. Chapter 3 also introduces a particular reference to football development in South Africa.

- Chapter 4 introduces the empirical data collected through the key informant interviews, in addition to presenting data gathered through secondary sources. The chapter also highlights factors affecting the position of women in football, as well as the challenges faced by female football players. Throughout the chapter, feminist theory and the understanding of the role of girls and women in sport are incorporated in order to provide a multidimensional approach to the women's platform in sports development.

- Chapter 5, the conclusion, revisits the research question and critically analyses what the study has achieved. Furthermore, it presents a summary of the main findings while discussing the characteristics of the thesis and areas that require further research.

Chapter 2. Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1 Introduction

The following chapter takes a closer look at the core existing literature on women's football, both in South Africa and on a global scale. A grounded discussion of existing scholarship relevant to the topic at hand is presented, the prevailing claims in this particular scholarship are looked at, the main analysis approaches and research gaps are identified, and key theoretical concerns are highlighted and discussed.

Through a review of the relevant literature it becomes apparent that sport is considered male territory, supported by the presumption that aggression, as part of sport behaviour, is an inherently male characteristic (Brackenridge 2001; Deardorff 2000; Goldstein 1989; Hargreaves 1994; Polley 1998). Literature on sport development, particularly in relation to football, highlights high levels of sexism on and off the field (Brackenridge 2001; Deardorff 2000; Goldstein 1989; Hargreaves 1994; Polley 1998). Despite this discrimination, participation in sport and physical activity is integral to the development of every child, and to the progression of society on a whole (Hastings 1999). Particularly in countries where institutionalised and educational opportunities are limited and largely inaccessible, involvement in sport adds significantly to the learning of life skills and community building. Considered the world's most popular sport, football has the potential to provide valuable know-how for its millions of players, and to teach lessons applicable to life both on and off the field (Bloomfield 2010; Korr & Close 2008). Having recently organised the 2010 FIFA Men's World Cup, South Africa, as the first ever African hosts, is now expected to be a leading force in the field of sport development on the continent. During this transformational time, it remains to be seen in which ways women will be recognised as integral players in this field.

2.2 Review of Literature on Women's Sport

Key claims in research on women's sport highlight that bodies of women are less welcome in sport than bodies of men. The main claims in the literature are centred on the idea that women are less likely to participate in sport due to their assigned role in society. This is very apparent in football, with its reputation as a dominantly male sport. On the whole, the research available on women's football is insufficient, both globally and in Africa. With regard to the inclusion of the gender aspect, the academic focus on women's football in Africa has been insufficient, and this lack of theoretical research only further displays the need for expansion in the field. The research available is not widely circulated, which presents another setback (Saavedra 2003). Where the issue

has been explored, it has been as an element of larger works on either oppression in Africa, sport in Africa, or gender roles in Africa (Hargreaves 2001; Hartmann-Tews & Pfister 2003; Mackinnon 2006). Most recently, research by Naidoo and Muholi conducted since 2006 and published in 2010 incorporates media stereotyping of the woman footballer.

2.2a Main Claims: Sport as a Male Domain

Through the identification of sport as a male territory, the position of women and of female athletes has been significantly excluded and undermined, both on the sport field and in the academic field related to sport development (Chavkin & Chesler 2005; Hong & Mangan 2004). Kramarae and Spender (2000:1203) contend that limitations concerned with the leisure choices of women, regardless of their social status, ethnicity, or sexual orientation, "should be a matter of serious concern, because leisure is central to women's wellbeing, to their enjoyment of life, and even to their empowerment". A method to suppress women is excluding them from sport as a tool for development, which has a significant impact on their contribution to progression in society, as society is based on participation, involvement and inclusion (Brackenridge 2001; Kramarae & Spender 2000). As mentioned, South Africa still has prominent gender roles in place, despite the progressive constitution that calls for full equality between women and men (Morell 2002). These roles reinforce male dominance in sport development in the country and in society as a whole. Moreover, these prescribed gender roles further hinder women from inclusion in society and sport, through both direct measures (lack of resources and infrastructure) and indirect measures (stereotyping, stigma and discrimination).

Sport is considered a domain for boys and 'tomboys', a sexist and inaccurate term used to deter and/or label young girls involved in sport. As a result, girls and women who pursue sport are often viewed negatively by society (Goldstein 1989). As highlighted by the research carried out for this thesis, it is not uncommon for women in South Africa to be introduced to sport, and to football in particular, by male family members such as brothers, fathers or other significant male figures. They are first introduced to the sport informally 'in the streets' and are welcome to play, usually until they reach a certain age (the divide most commonly takes place in their teens). When this age is reached, it becomes a challenge for women to remain involved in football due to the lack of structures and teams for young girls, who after a certain time no longer feel comfortable playing with boys (Engh 2010). Violence against girls and women is prominent in South Africa, with the result that girls have a history of negative experiences with boys and men. Thus, it is understandable that girls do not benefit much from sport when participating with boys. Early exclusion from sport deters women from further participation, particularly as they become older and

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the line between girls and young women becomes increasingly blurred. Often, girls and women who attempt to have a career in sport are excluded by society and are not considered to be the 'women' they should be (Saavedra 2003). Hastings supports this point by referring to research done in the USA that shows that bias against girls in sport is not uniquely limited to the African continent:

> Boys traditionally have been encouraged to engage in vigorous and boisterous activity, to take risks, to compete with others, to be strong and independent, while girls have been conditioned to be less active, to avoid conflict and competition, to be 'sugar and spice and everything nice!' They have often been protected because of the notion that they are the 'weaker sex.' This overall stereotyping just naturally carries over into the sports arena. For some girls the bias they encounter is not disguised at all, but rather, the message that sports are not as acceptable or not as important for girls is loud and clear. Parents, grandparents, teachers, or school officials may openly discourage them from participating. Play opportunities in their communities may be limited. Girls may even be called unfeminine for participating in a sport, particularly if they excel at it. They may be told they are not strong enough, that only certain, non-contact sports are acceptable, or that they have no right to try out for a traditionally male-dominated team (1999: 210).

This research is applicable to the South African context, as many of the interviews with the key informants highlighted the same challenges, such as women being the "weaker sex" and overall stereotyping of girls and women affecting them in the sport arena.

2.2b Main Claims: Issues Influencing Women from Partaking in Sport

Saavedra (2003) addresses the issues of the development of women's sport in Africa. Through three case studies she identifies the very basic issues preventing women from playing sport, including a lack of resources, expertise, infrastructure and social infrastructure. The identification of issues facing female football players in Africa within the academic community as being historical, gendered and political further emphasise the importance of and need for this type of research. Engh maintains that ideas surrounding the biological and physical differences between women and men remain instrumental in excluding or limiting women from involvement in sport. Modern sport and sport involvement is considered an arena to celebrate physical masculinity and sportsmanship with as a result that sportswomen's achievements are evaluated against men's (Engh

2010). By recognising the achievements and specific obstacles female athletes face, Saavedra and Engh are able to address women's role in, and their access to, sport. Pelak joins them when she identifies that in South Africa, the strict boundaries separating "male sports" and "female sports" are classic examples of how dominant groups control social, physical and cultural boundaries (Pelak 2009). According to Pelak, the dominant groups are able to "build collective identities and naturalize their privilege" (Pelak 2009:53). These differences also highlight that working towards gender equality within a South African context has historically not been a priority in the same way as working towards racial equality.

Saavedra emphasises the role of women in the realm of politics and economics, social development and equality. Through an analysis of the wide discrepancies in participation in women's football across the continent, Saavedra is able to identify the complexity of local, national, regional and global factors that impede on and advance the development of the game (Saavedra 2003). She accentuates the interaction between women footballers and overbearing global actors such as FIFA, the Confédération Africaine de Football (CAF), and national and international agencies and corporations, in addition to highlighting the impact of the increased visibility and marketing of women's tournaments. Regardless of the fact CAF has established a women's committee, little information on its structure, funding and accomplishments is available (Saavedra 2003). With regard to its work for women's football development, CAF's main responsibility is organising the African Women's Championships, of which five have taken place since 1991. Unfortunately, due to the fact CAF treats this particular branch of the organisation as an 'afterthought', the competitions never see the required amount of funding, planning, promotion and execution as do the men's competitions. Given the fact that CAF is in a position to advance women's football on the continent, advocates for women's football are putting the spotlight on CAF to organise a women's continental club tournament (Saavedra 2003). In an attempt to promote the women's game, CAF has instituted the Female Player of the Year Award, of which the first award was made in 2003 and Noko Matlou of South Africa won most recently. However, this award only brushes the surface of identifying, celebrating and including talented female players.

2.2c Main Claims: Lack of Documentation on and Funding for Women's Sport

As one of the first women to enter the field and conduct research on the ground level in Nigeria, Senegal and South Africa, Saavedra highlights that "primary documentation from [the] organization [CAF] is scarce and ephemeral" (Saavedra 2003:226), disappointing, to say the least, in reference to research on male football. Through her research, she has found that the CAF archives do not have significant material on women's football – no technical reports were produced

on the last two African Women Championship tournaments – despite the fact that it has instituted a women's committee (2003). Not only does this show a lack of interest in women's football, it also highlights that funds are not allocated towards these reports, in addition to management bodies not seeing a need for reports on and analysis of the women's game. Aside from archived documents, the web is becoming an increasing source for documentation, with significant information made available through the South African Football Association's database (Saavedra 2003). However, the information made available on the Internet is frequently out-dated or incorrect and, at times, only accessible at a cost or inaccessible in its entirety.

Other scholars with published work specifically on women's football in South Africa include Pelak (2005, 2006 and 2009), Jones (2003), Engh (2010) and Naidoo and Muholi (2010). Beyond the continent, Hargreaves (1994, 2001), Hartmann-Tews and Pfister (2003), and Gardiner (2002) most commonly present the academic contributions by feminist theorists on sport development. The power balance between the sexes in international relations, in addition to the manner in which these power relations are carried out on a domestic level, are a focus of these works (Ahmed 1998; Robinson 1999; Zalewski & Parpart 1998). Prominent contributors to the field, namely Hargreaves, Hartmann-Tews and Pfister, and Gardiner, focus on feminine and masculine roles and perceptions of sport. Gardiner states that "[h]egemonic masculinity gives men a sense of superiority and of entitlement to advantages over women, and it valorises in men characteristics such as aggression" (Gardiner 2002:90). This analysis has gained widespread popularity, resulting in sport becoming part of the "natural" domain of men (Deardorff 2000; Hargreaves 1994). Goldstein (1989) argues that traditional sport has served to teach patriarchal values to men only, thus contributing to an academic emphasis on men and their development through sport. He is supported by fellow researchers when arguing that, as women are not included in this development tool used to shape socialisation, the individual and collective behaviour of men along lines of sexist values and male dominance was able to develop more rapidly than a strong identity for women (Ali, Coate, Goro 2000; Deardorff 2000; Goldstein 1989; Hargreaves 2001; Mackinnon 2006).

2.3 Theoretical Framework

Theoretical perspectives on sport embody the role of sport for participants and outsiders, analyse sport in society, and examine the role of sport with regard to development and cohesion within a society. Frequently, "the bodies" of athletes and participants as portrayed by the media are also contested and analysed through the use of theoretical perspectives on sport (Hargreaves 1994:6). Hargreaves (1994:6) goes on to state that

The mainstream ideas about sports are concerned with the physical body (something that appears as entirely 'natural' and unchangeable) and because sports are popularly believed to have a 'life of their own', essentially separate from 'important' aspects of the social world of work, politics and economic (something intrinsically innocent, playful and liberating)".

As illustrated by Section 2.3a, on feminist theory, this is largely due to the perceptions around masculine and feminine traits, and society's view of the bodies of women and men (Hargreaves 1994:6). The roles that women and men play are thus highlighted by their gender, and reflected in the male domain of sport (Brackenridge 2001; Deardorff 2000; Goldstein 1989; Hargreaves 1994; Hartmann-Tews and Pfister 2003). A large emphasis is placed on 'socialisation', which is used widely in various perspectives "as a way of explaining how, through sport, individuals learn the dominant norms and values of society" (Hargreaves 1994:9). According to Hargreaves, "It is argued that girls are socialized to behave in 'feminine-appropriate ways'" and, seeing as sport involvement is not necessarily considered feminine, this can pose a problem for female participants (Hargreaves 1994).

In 1990, Coakley argued that the socialisation of gender roles results in discrimination against women and inequalities between the sexes (Coakley 1990). Hargreaves argues "there is a general failure with the concept of socialization to analyse adequately the extent of opposition to gender patterning, and a failure to analyse critically both traditional and newer images of femininity in sports" (Hargreaves 1994:9). Analysing sport is complicated, as it exacerbates prescribed gender roles and gender norms (Brackenridge 2001; Deardorff 2000; Goldstein 1989; Hargreaves 1994; Hartmann-Tews and Pfister 2003). Hargreaves (1994) expands on this notion by arguing that sport, in combination with development, is a conflicting type of research as it attempts to break down the construction of society. Challenges presented by societal analysis regarding women in sport can in part explain why it remains under-researched; prominent and traditional gender boundaries set in South Africa remain at the forefront, regardless of the country's progressive constitution, with women still considered to be secondary citizens (Heywood & Dworkin 1997; Goldstein 1989; Morell 2002).

The relational approach used to highlight the difference between women and men participating in sport is unfound, "The fact that the fastest woman in the world is slower than the fastest man is of no interest in relational analysis. What is important is why this fact is deemed important, what it symbolizes, and how it is implicated in the reproduction of the social relations of gender or male power and privilege in society" (Polley 1998:88). The physical visibility of men's

attributes for sport (i.e. their ability to jump higher, throw further and run faster) perpetuates the perception that sport is the domain for men (Polley 1998:89). The rejection of women's football also comes from the need of men to shape masculine identity through football. Association with the right team, which is also the strongest team and the winning team, does not have space for the inclusion of other bodies that do not conform to these requirements (Sandvoss 2003).

The sociology of sport incorporates constructivist theory, biological determinism and feminist theory, among others (Hargreaves 1994). There are those individuals who support conventional ideas about sport, closely interlinked with gender roles outlined by nature and society, and about feminine and masculine identities (Hargreaves 1994). Since the 1960s there has been an influx of those who question these conventional ideas, supported by the rise of feminism (Polley 1998). As theories surrounding the critical sociology of sport developed further, they became part of a wider theoretical movement. This movement focused on the ideological, traditional and cultural structure within society (Hargreaves 1994). Sociologists attempt to understand the natural relationship between cultural formations and sport, which results in an attempt to understand the organic relationships between issues of agency and structure, and to analyse conflict between continuity (traditional views of sport) and change (challenging views of sport) (Hargreaves 1994). A common theme in various sport sociology perspectives is the marginalisation of women's experiences in sport and gender relationships. Similar to other academic and theoretical discourses, sport history and sport sociology reflect male dominance (Hargreaves 1994; Hartmann-Tews and Pfister 2003; Polley 1998). A challenge is to transcend traditional and mainstream assumptions regarding feminine and masculine appropriate sport and sporting behaviour, and male sport superiority being the 'natural' order of conduct (Hargreaves 1994).

The idea that human behaviour is parallel in many ways to the behaviour of other primates is rooted in biology:

> We behave culturally because it is in our nature to behave culturally, because natural selection has produced an animal that has to behave culturally, that has to invent rules, make myths, speak languages, and form men's clubs, in the same way that the hamadryas baboon has to form harems, adopt infants, and bite its wives on the neck *(sic)* (Tiger and Fox 1971:20).

Biological determinism is prevalent in theories of sport sociology and remains dominant in conventional discourse on sport academia. By explaining the cultural at the level of the biological, the exaggeration and approval of analyses based solely on distinctions between men and women is encouraged, which in turn masks the complex relationship between the biological and the cultural

(Hargreaves 1994). As Paul Willis highlights, "To know, more exactly, why it is that women can muster only 90% of a man's strength cannot help us to comprehend, explain or change the massive feeling in our society that a woman has no business flexing her muscles anyway" (Willis 1978 in Hargreaves 1994:7). This is in line with the understanding that girls are socially trained to be cooperative, kind, nurturing and passive, whereas boys are expected to be active, competitive, dominant and independent (Hastings 1999).

Through the use of both feminist discourse and sport sociology, adversaries have aligned themselves with one of two theoretical camps: essentialism (biological or humanistic) and postmodernism, also known as social constructionism and post-structuralism. Sociologists of sport have delivered a critique of biological determinism, while simultaneously reproducing ideas about sexual differences (Hargreaves 1994). This is done through three main approaches: firstly, by neglecting women through the casual usage of the term 'sports', thus excluding the fact that what really is being analysed is solely the experience of male sport. Women's role in sport is further neglected through reference to 'society' as homogenous, without taking into account the disparities between women and men (Dunning 1971; Hargreaves 1994; Parker 1976). As a reaction to the feminist movement, the second approach is geared to devoting space to female sport and the discourse of gender (perhaps a chapter or section) of mainly male-oriented academic literature (Coakley 1990; Elias and Dunning 1986, John Hargreaves 1986, 2003; Jarvie 1991). In both approaches, the tendency is to fail to distinguish between sex and gender and to depend exclusively on male-focused definitions and values (Hargreaves 1994). The third approach, unlike the two aforementioned, attempts to provoke dominant gender relations in sport sociology and thereby does not construct the female as 'the other' (Boutilier & San Giovanni 1983; Hargreaves 1994; Lenskyj 1986). An effort is made to focus on relations of power between women and men that reflect on society as a whole, rather than the perceived differences between women and men (Hargreaves 1994). This effort is made to challenge sport sociology texts, which, on the whole, do not pay the same attention or give the same treatment to male and female sport, and do not integrate gender relations comprehensively in their analyses (Hargreaves 1994).

Particularly because sport has been recognised as a vehicle with potential to make a positive contribution to the national morale, health and the economy, it is an effective tool for changing gender relations. The United Nations (UN) and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) have identified sport as a tool for global communication. Sport and physical education are traditional aspects of human society, and the inclusion of sport in the work of the UN is a reflection of its influence in connecting, inspiring and encouraging people to compete in a peaceful manner (David 2004; Lyras and Hums 2009; United Nations 2011).

In the USA, the Women's Sports Foundation produced a report, "Sport and Teen Pregnancy", in 1998, one of the first of its kind to place emphasis entirely on the girl child's experience of sport, in addition to presenting an analysis of the important effects of sport on girls and young women (Sabo et al 1998). The report highlights the positive effects of sport on female participants, such as an increased ability to make beneficial choices regarding their sexuality, health and education (Sabo et al 1998). The graphs presented in this report highlight that women who have been playing sport from a young age are less likely to fall pregnant, more likely to stay in school and more likely to finish their education (Sabo et al 1998). As mentioned by Engh (2010), and further highlighted by Jones (2003), similarly to sporting women in Europe and the USA, female participants in sport in Africa experience immense joy, satisfaction and freedom from their participation in sport, which includes participation in football. Positive responses from surveys and key informant interviews carried out with sporting females worldwide are that they feel empowered, in control and in a better position to make choices reflecting these positive attributes. However, particularly reflected in the manner in which the surveys are carried out, both sport and society are treated uncritically. The mainstream tradition of sport sociology dates back to the 1960s and the 1970s (the work of Ball & Loy 1975; Loy & Kenyon 1969; Lüschen 1970, 1988; Sage 1974) and presents "a general idea in functionalist accounts that sport helps individuals to develop stable personalities and contributes to their well-being and all-round development, thus functioning to benefit society as a whole" (Hargreaves 1994). Frequently, the nature of the focus directed towards sport sociology is male oriented, but this is slowly changing as modern sport becomes viewed as "a progressive movement in history reflecting the general enfranchisement of wider and wider sections of the population (including women), symbolized in the philosophy of "Sport for All" (Hargreaves 1994).

2.3a Feminist Theory

Applying a feminist framework to women's role in sport brings severe incongruities to light, regardless of a multitude of feminist lenses. Peterson and True highlight that "[t]here is no one feminism, no single approach to the construction of feminist theory" (Peterson & True cited in Zalewski & Parpart 1999:15). Modern feminism not only analyses patterns of contrast constituted by differences between women and men, but also by differences among women, which is particularly applicable to this research as the cultural identities of women in South Africa are vastly different and directly reflected in their capacity to be involved in sport (Peterson & True in cited in Zalewski & Parpart 1999). While some women have the choice to participate in sport rather freely,

others face impossible constraints, frequently as a result of tradition and historical convention, skin colour and social class, not to mention physical constraints caused by bodily injury or abuse (Hargreaves 1994).

In addition to cultural diversity contributing to the lack of cohesion in South Africa, it poses a problem for the feminist praxis and the ending of gender oppression as a collective thought pattern (Peterson & True cited in Zalewski & Parpart 1999). While there is no single mainstream feminist approach, it becomes significantly more challenging to resolve a global concern without specifying a universally comprehensive solution (Peterson & True cited in Zalewski & Parpart 1999). Despite the continuous evolvement of feminist theory, feminists initially worked within existing classification systems and explanatory frameworks, challenging the androcentric norm in which male is dominant (Harding & Hintikka 1983; Peterson & True cited in Zalewski & Parpart 1999). Emphasis is placed on the manner in which women's ways of being and knowing are excluded from conventional considerations, and the symbolic "woman" is treated as non-standard and inferior in respect to the male-as-norm principle (Peterson & True cited in Zalewski & Parpart 1999). In its early days, feminist theory primarily focused on "adding women" through visibility across different fields and by challenging the trivialisation of symbolic "women" (Peterson & True cited in Zalewski & Parpart 1999:15).

A gender unbalance continued, regardless of the incorporation of women into fields dominated by men, as these fields (the public sphere, distribution and ownership of economic power, and citizenship) imply categorically masculine traits – rationality, productivity, autonomy, agency – and exclude feminine traits – irrationality, reproductivity, dependence, and passivity. Incorporating women introduces the feminine, "it contradicts the conventional meaning…. Gender is thus not only a variable that can sometimes be 'added' but also an analytic category with profound consequences for how we categorize, think about, and 'know' the world" (Peterson & True in cited Zalewski & Parpart 1999 1999:16). No longer is contemporary feminism simply about adding women to conventional structures, as these structures are already gendered (Brown 1989; Peterson & True cited in Zalewski & Parpart 1999). Feminist scholars now extend their approach well beyond the "add women and stir" technique (Peterson & True cited in Zalewski & Parpart 1999:15). By recognising gender as an analytical category in which humans categorise their behaviour and social activity, feminists challenge structures of thought as well as structured practices (Harding 1986).

According to Allen, "[p]ower is clearly a crucial concept for feminist theory. Whatever else feminists may be interested in, we are certainly interested in understanding the way that gender, race, class and sexuality intersect with power" (Allen 1999:8). Assessing feminist conceptions of power is not an easy task, as these conceptions are more readily found in radical writing than in

explicit discussion (Allen 1999). As a result, it is crucial that established conceptions of power with regard to feminist theory are understood:

1. The first conception understands the idea of power as a "positive social good", a value of which the distribution among women and men is currently unequal and unbalanced (Allen 1999). Therefore, the goal of feminism is redistribution, with an effort to provide women with the same power as men (Allen 1999).

2. The second conception highlights power not as a resource that can be obtained or (re)distributed, but rather as a relation of male dominance versus female subordination (Allen 1999). This view emphasises that the goal of feminism is not to enable women to have equal, or roughly equal, amounts of power to men, but to undo the domination-based system in its entirety (Allen 1999).

3. The third view rejects the above-mentioned conceptions, emphasising a positive understanding of power gained through empowerment and transformation. According to this view, power is a positive capacity that grows out of feminine traits, capacities, or practices; conceptualized this way, women's power becomes the basis for a wholesale revision of the masculinist conceptions of social and political life that have been at the fore of Western political thought (Allen 1999).

Arguably so, power as an equal resource shared between women and men has been the most influential conception since the beginning of the feminist movement (Allen 1999). In Mill's work, published in 1997, his main arguments centre on the idea of equal opportunity for women and men, as "political power is a resource that most, if not all, men have and most, if not all, women do not" (Allen 1999:9). Feminism should aim to solve the issue of women's exclusion from and under-representation within the political sphere; "the solution is adequate representation and inclusion in this sphere" (Allen 1999:9).

The first two waves of feminism, feminist literature and thought have influenced contemporary feminist thought. An increasing emphasis is placed on the girl child. "Boyology", a term used to describe the analysis of the attitudes and behaviours of boys, has long been the primary focus of concern and, where girls and young women did appear, this was usually in academic research focusing on the display of a combination of anxiety and fascination over young women's sexuality (Griffin 2004). The feminist movement during the 1980s was the first to focus on working with girls and young women, in an effort to place girls as central, visible and valued and to understand the lives of girls and young women, both in their own terms and located in wider political and historical contexts (Griffin 2004). The research, which took place primarily in the UK and the USA, centred on girls and girlhood, and the different experiences and challenges girls faced, while presenting opposing works on the presupposed assumptions on which most theories

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about youth had previously been formulated (Griffin 1988; Lees 1996; MacPherson and Fine 1995). A group of black researchers in the USA argued that the lives of girls and young women of colour within and outside of the developed world did not necessarily fit the established Western feminist perspectives on girlhood (Griffin 1988). The Anglocentric approach to youth research, particularly linked to girls and young women, was criticised (Amos and Parmar 1981; Ladner 1971). Girls and young women continue to remain invisible in most youth research, with some girls and young women being even more invisible in recount than others (Griffin 1988). This is particularly applicable in South Africa, where black and white female athletes face different challenges (Jones 2003).

2.3b Sport as a Tool for Peace and Development

The framework that was consulted to identify sport as a tool for development is based on research surrounding the Sport for Peace and Development (SPD) framework, advocated by the United Nations (UN) and the International Olympic Committee (IOC) (David 2004; Lyras and Hums 2009). An in-depth look at this model is relevant, as it sheds light on understanding how sport can be used as a tool for development and empowerment. The UN identifies that "sport is a global language. Sport and physical education are traditional aspects of human society, and sport inclusion in the work of the UN is a reflection of its power to connect, inspire and allow people to peacefully compete" (United Nations 2011). This framework, identified through the Magglingen Call to Action, a 2005 agreement organised by the UN and stakeholders in the fields of sport, business, media and governments, encourages the implementation of strategies that support and uphold the Millennium Development Goals as well as the integration of sport as a tool for promoting international development project and activities. Sport is now recognized as an instrument that can and should be utilized for improving gender equality (United Nations 2011)

Since 1978, the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization has recognised access to sport as a "fundamental right" (United Nations 2011). Further, since the passing of Resolution 58/5, the UN General Assembly has implemented the theme of "Sport as a means to promote education, health, development and peace" (United Nations 20011). Questions remain, such as for whom was sport considered a fundamental right? In a quest to understand if football serves as a development tool women, this research will also focus on the 'bodies' of women. The 'bodies' of women who participate in sport are frequently viewed as objects rather than subjects, as a rejection of "true womanhood" (Goldstein 1989; Hargreaves 2001). The ideas of piety, submissiveness, purity and domesticity are rooted in the belief that women are too fragile to participate in sports, a

prominent idea in cultures across the world. Through their work published in 1998, Ahmed, Zalewski and Parpart support this research, while exploring gender norms and roles.

A case accurately highlighting the above-mentioned theories and ideas, while incorporating the aspect of violence towards female athletes, is that of the female South African professional football player for the national team, Eudy Simelane. In 2008, ex-captain Simelane was raped, stabbed 25 times, and hung in her township. As the star of the football team and an openly gay athlete, she faced immense discrimination, displayed through 'corrective' rape and stabbing, vicious attacks on the female body (Kelly 2009; Sjoberg 2007). The perceived notion that she was not fulfilling her role as a woman by being a football player was further accentuated by the fact that she was gay.

2.3c The Empowering Sport Model

Sport for Peace, a curriculum devised by Ennis and her colleagues, was based on the Peace Education Theory and Sport Education, and is a model that integrates crucial curricular structures of sport education, such as the player's roles and responsibilities in addition to developmentally appropriate, authentic competition. Ennis was inspired to construct this model in order to encourage the participation of girls in sport and with her colleagues emphasised teaching strategies for conflict negotiation, mandatory participation of each student during every class, and rules requiring that students rotate through every position and responsibility (except that of coach) (Laker 2003). With this model, they aimed to create levels of authentic conflict in order to teach students negotiating techniques and compromise (Laker 2003). During the implementation of Sport for Peace in urban schools, the programme was found to promote joint responsibility for learning, trust, respect and a sense of community (Ennis et al. 1999). Ennis and her fellow researchers reported that students of varying skill levels, both high and low skilled, felt as though they successfully achieved something. By responding positively to this success, they created an environment in the classroom which was more conducive to progression and participation (Laker 2003).

Hastie and Buchanan were drawn to improving the athletic performance of middle-schoolers (mainly boys) with regard to the fair play requirements of sport education and simulated in Ennis et al.'s 1999 model. They further incorporated Hellison's model of "Teaching for Personal and Social Responsibility" (1995), and devised a model called "Empowering Sport". Similar to Ennis's model, the main difference between the two was Hastie and Buchanan's focus on boys, while Ennis's work was aimed specifically at "disengaged" girls. As mentioned, she utilised the basic Sport Education curriculum framework, but extended it to "include a focus on negotiation, care and concern for others, and self and social responsibility" (Ennis 1999:38). Her model included the "use of

negotiation, conciliation, mediation, arbitration … ways of analysing conflict, words that lead to conflict, and ways to improve communication, manage anger and build consensus" (Ennis et al. 1999:38). In Ennis's description of the Sport for Peace model, she explains efforts to devise a more democratic and inclusive decision-making structure among the participants:

> Students were given responsibility for many decisions they considered important such as how players rotate through positions, how disagreements would be solved and conflict negotiated, and what adjustments would be made in player personnel and team strategies to increase opportunities for success against particular opponents (Ennis 1999:38).

Although the Sport for Peace model has a significant positive impact, traditional hierarchies between the participants remained. Despite the aspiration of the Sport for Peace model to include all the participants at an equal level, Ennis points out that "[h]ighly skilled players, both girls and boys, were elevated to the position of coach", while "low-skilled participants also were given responsibilities … some of these showcased their competence and organizational ability in off-the-court supportive roles" (Ennis 1999:38). As a result, those roles relating most directly to performance were associated with the most competent players. The less competent players were portrayed as the other less valued players, with less ability to perform as players (Laker 2003). Ennis further reports that the Sport for Peace model "reduced the pressure [for girls] to 'be like the boys' and always do it perfectly the first time' to be accepted; instead, providing a positive, yet challenging atmosphere for them to focus on participating, while improving their skills and playing ability" (Ennis 1999:38). In addition, the requirement for all participants to be given roughly equal playing time encouraged high-skilled participants to teach the low-skilled participants in order to reach success as a team (Ennis 1999).

2.4 Resources from the Field

Resources from the field provide excellent insight into the development of programming, and subsequent advances, such as the High Performance Centre, are addressed through this research. The emergence of female-specific programmes and advocacy show progress. Organisations such as Women Win, Girl Action Foundation, The Women's Sports Foundation, Girls & Football SA, and their many partners represent a growing field of experts preparing to weigh in and answer some of the important questions posed. As part of a growing awareness, "[r]esearch has shown that if you invest in girls, you invest in society because the education, increased earnings and

human development of young women have a direct impact upon their families" (Murray 2010:5). In the following chapters, resources from the field will be analysed through primary and secondary data.

2.5 Conclusion

Through analysis of both primary resources (through key informant interviews), secondary resources (through consultation of key literature) and by gathering data from resources in the field, it is possible to come to a greater understanding of the role of sport for women in South Africa. This chapter sought to highlight the areas where research on the involvement of girls and women in sport is still lacking, in addition to portraying successful models in sport development than are applicable to the development of the girl child. Further, the chapter sought to introduce the main claims in key literature. The following chapters will highlight the background of trends in sport development in South Africa, in addition to incorporating empirical research from the above mentioned key informant interviews.

Chapter 3: Background on Sport Development in South Africa

3.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at the history of sport in South Africa and the history of the involvement of women in sport, with particular reference to football, in South Africa. The period considered ranges from the late 1970s, with a specific focus on the apartheid era, until the current involvement of women in sport. Although the specific goal is to present an analysis on the level of involvement of women in football, due to the limited available research, other athletic fields will be explored in an effort to track women's overall involvement in sport development and the history of sport in South Africa in general. The researchers whose work will be closely looked at are Jarvie and Reid, Saavedra, Jones, Hartmann-Tews and Pfister, Engh, and Naidoo and Muholi. Jones's work on the differences between female athletes' access to sport due to cultural differences is illustrated in order to highlight that women's sport involvement in South Africa, in addition to the history of women's sport involvement, is not applicable to all sporting females. Women from different communities in South Africa have experienced and continue to experience different levels of involvement. The

extraordinary cultural diversity of South African women must be recognised (Hargreaves 1994:201).

3.2 Trends in South African Sport Development – Apartheid and the End of Apartheid's Effect on the Growth of Sport

Despite South Africa being banned from the international sporting arena during the apartheid regime, sport has always been an important feature through which different cultural groups in South Africa reworked relationships and challenged their political climate (Cobley 1997; Jarvie & Reid 1999 cited in Riordan & Kruger 1999). Throughout most of the latter half of the twentieth century, many athletes grappled with the supremacist nature of Afrikaner nationalism, with its explicit goal of excluding black South Africans from all aspects of life, including sport (Cobley 1997; Jarvie & Reid 1999 cited in Riordan & Kruger 1999). In reaction, emphasis was placed on sport, and bridging the gap between black and white people on the playing field became extremely important before and during the era of apartheid. Even before the apartheid regime gained full political power in 1948, South Africans utilised sport in determining both internal and external opinions on the country's economic, social and political spheres (Jarvie & Reid 1999 cited in Riordan & Kruger 1999). In 1902, the Second Anglo Boer War had ended and tennis, swimming, athletics, cycling and gymnastics all had national federations. These imperial sports had appeared on the scene by the start of the 1900s – with the exception of cricket and horseracing – and shaped the divide between black and white sport, which was set to worsen over the following decades:

> It might be suggested that: (i) all the major sports apart from rugby/football (1862), athletics, cycling, golf, boxing and tennis appeared between 1880 and 1900; (ii) the institutionalization of several sports occurred between 1875 and 1885; during this decade the first clubs were formed in rugby, football, athletics, cycling, horse-racing, golf and tennis; (iii) sports were subsequently taken up at such a rate that the first national federations appeared only ten years afterwards and were established in all the major sports before the 1920s; and (iv) the development of colonial sports and the marginalization of indigenous sports continued. Two particularly active periods are worth mentioning, namely the interwar years and the 1950s (Jarvie & Reid 1999 cited in Riordan & Kruger 1999:237).

As Afrikaner nationalism continued to expand during the 1930s, its ideological nature was reflected in sport development. Rugby, fulfilling the role of national sport for the Afrikaners while

reflecting the Afrikaner's way of life, has frequently emphasised the values of religion and a rugged frontier lifestyle (Williams 2004 cited in Manjumbar & Mangan; Jarvie & Reid 1999 cited in Riordan & Kruger 1999). Both English and Afrikaans whites considered rugby the ideal game for the demonstration of white superiority (Nauright 1997; Van der Merwe 1990). The Afrikaner's opinion was based on the idea that sport could be used as a method by which to achieve two political goals, one being to socially control black leaders, communities and urban workers, and the other to bridge the gap between the two communities of the Boer and the Briton, as highlighted by British Colonel P.A. Silburn in 1927:

> The Boer and the Briton … follow the same sports with equal fervour and skill, they belong to the same clubs and play in the same teams…The love of the same sport is gradually eradicating racial antagonism, and it will be upon the sports field that it will eventually expire and be decently buried. The postponement of that day is mainly due to the non-sporting, self-seeking politicians of both races … whose stock in trade is racialism (Archer & Bouillon 1982:34).

At schools and universities, white sport was institutionalised in physical education programmes to further serve as a method to segregate the different races. Before the 1940s, physical education was a compulsory subject in school and university programmes, but the majority of the population remained unaffected, as only a very small minority of black students were granted access to these programmes (Jarvie & Reid 1999 cited in Riordan & Kruger 1999). Further, the schools attended by black students lacked significant funding and financial infrastructure, to such an extent that access to proper sport was limited. Rather, the expansion of South Africa's population primarily emphasised a higher quality of life for white people, in addition to maximising sporting opportunities through the expansion of facilities, programmes and federations for white people. During periods of economic growth, the boom in white sport had a further impact on the exploitation of the black workforce, while shaping, funding and sustaining sporting facilities for the Afrikaner and widening the cultural and social gap between the two races (Jarvie & Reid 1999 cited in Riordan & Kruger 1999).

In 1948, the National Party came to power after consistently building a degree of segregation and inequality to support their ideology. To be a part of the 'volk' an individual needed to be a white, Afrikaans-speaking Calvinist (Grundlingh 1999; Jarvie & Reid 1999 cited in Riordan & Kruger 1999). With regard to sporting opportunities, relations and construction, there was little need to impose another policy of apartheid. According to the general rules established and imposed

by the apartheid regime, multiracial sport was impossible, as it was illegal for black and white people to associate, whether in society or in sporting competition (Fuller 1999).

From 1948 until 1992, apartheid developed into a full-blown segregation regime, which resulted in South Africa's isolation from major international sporting events. The external struggle, in addition to the internal struggle between different sporting societies in South Africa, continued (Jarvie & Reid 1999 cited in Riordan & Kruger 1999). In 1964, South Africa was banned from the Olympic Games because of the government's policy that only white people could represent the nation (Anderson et al 2004). Should a non-white South African participate in the Games, they could not share an airplane, hotel or uniform with their fellow country-people, in addition to being restricted from entering any event that a white South African had entered (Guelke 1986). The 1970s saw appalling facts with regard to the ownership by white people of sporting grounds: 73% of all athletic tracks, 92% of all golf courses, 83% of hockey fields, 84% of cricket pitches, 95% of squash courts, 80% of badminton courts, 83% of swimming pools and 82% of rugby fields where in possession of white Afrikaners (Jarvie & Reid 1999 cited in Riordan & Kruger 1999).

Throughout the apartheid regime, black participation in sport was under constant mediation (Jarvie & Reid 1999 cited in Riordan & Kruger 1999). Surveys conducted reflected the underdevelopment of black participation in sport. The results highlighted that 144 sports were practised in KwaZulu-Natal, with almost 216 000 participants registered in government-authorised sport associations; fewer than 45% of these participants were black (Zulu and Booth 1988). The sole exception with regard to sport participation could be found in football, with 90% of participants being black South Africans (Jarvie & Reid 1999 cited in Riordan & Kruger 1999). Football became a trademark sport in opposition to the apartheid regime and a trademark sport for black South Africans, even being played on Robben Island (Korr and Close 2008). In the 1950s, South Africa saw progress with regard to other sports as well, when both the International Table Tennis Federation and the South African Sports Association (SASA) recognised and highlighted Non-Racial Table Tennis. One decade later, a transition to bold, non-racial policies led to the formation of the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SAN-ROC) (Jarvie & Reid 1999 cited in Riordan & Kruger 1999). In the 1970s, other non-racial sporting organisations, such as the South African Non-Racial Sports Organization (SASPO) and the South African Council on Sport (SACOS), were formed. Despite this progress, on 15 June 1977 the development of sport under apartheid was condemned, and the Commonwealth heads of government encouraged efforts to isolate South Africa from the international sporting arena (Jarvie & Reid 1999 cited in Riordan & Kruger 1999).

The late 1980s continued to witness change on the sporting ground in South Africa, which was pulled in two directions. The government's position was that sport was "free from all statutory control" (Jarvie & Reid 1999 cited in Riordan & Kruger 1999:240). However, this was far from mainstream; in 1956, Dr Eben Dönges, the Minister of the Interior, maintained that white and non-white people should organize sporting involvement and behaviour separately, and Prime Minister Vorster backed him in 1967 (Jarvie & Reid 1999 cited in Riordan & Kruger 1999). Supporters of then President FW De Klerk countered these statements during the process of integration and bridge building between black and white, with critics arguing that "the changes were cosmetic, ideological and indeed peripheral to the lives of the majority" (Jarvie & Reid 1999 cited in Riordan & Kruger 1999:240). The anti-apartheid sporting organisations in the 1970s were mainly the abovementioned – SASA and SACOS – with the National Sports Congress (NSC) formed in the late 1980s (Jarvie & Reid 1999 cited in Riordan & Kruger 1999). As more anti-racist sporting organisations were forming, there were increasing expectations of social change, thus, "freedom in sport, it was argued, could only materialize as a result of true liberation, which in turn necessitated the dismantling of apartheid's core status and policies" (Jarvie & Reid 1999 cited in Riordan & Kruger 1999:237). In the early 1990s, cricket underwent a dramatic change in paving the way for South Africa's re-acceptance into the international sport arena (Guelke 1993). In 1991, the Commonwealth heads of government, who were meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe, decided immediately to lift the sanctions on sporting exchanges, among others. The decision to lift the sanctions against South Africa's participation in international sport was in line with a recommendation of the Commonwealth Foreign Ministers meeting held in New Delhi in the same year.

Cricket continued to be ground-breaking in changing the political scene in South Africa, as highlighted by the events surrounding the arrival of the last rebel cricket tour to visit South Africa, in January 1990 (Gemmell 2004). This tour was faced with the harsh reality of the transitional period of the apartheid regime (Jarvie & Reid 1999 cited in Riordan & Kruger 1999). The rebel tour, which was breaking sanctions, was met with a mass protest at Jan Smuts airport in Johannesburg (Jarvie & Reid 1999 cited in Riordan & Kruger 1999). Demonstrations were organised on the pitch, outside the grounds, and at the players' hotels; eight hundred people took part in a protest outside the cricket ground in Bloemfontein (Jarvie & Reid 1999 cited in Riordan & Kruger 1999). Interestingly, the tour coincided with a milestone in South Africa's political history, when President FW de Klerk announced the lifting of the ban on the ANC, the PAC and the South African Communist Party (SACP) (Guelke 1993:155). A bit more than a week later, on 11 February, Nelson Mandela was released from jail – welcoming a new phase in development in South Africa, including in sport (Jarvie & Reid 1999 cited in Riordan & Kruger 1999).

New policies were announced in the 1990s by then President de Klerk. The release of the African National Congress leader, Nelson Mandela, was followed by the release of other political prisoners (Jarvie & Reid 1999 cited in Riordan & Kruger 1999). Involved in the process of removing the remaining sanctions on South Africa were Mrs Margaret Thatcher (then British prime minister) and President Juan Antonio Samaranch of the International Olympic Committee, who urged the IOC to welcome South Africa back into the world of sport (Jarvie & Reid 1999 cited in Riordan & Kruger 1999). Four years later, in April 1994, Mandela was elected President and the ANC, in collaboration with the Government of National Unity, set out a Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), which was based on six principles – of which sport was viewed as central to the process of nation-building, reconciliation, unity and development (Jarvie & Reid 1999 cited in Riordan & Kruger 1999). Sport became a pillar in South Africa's development, and the role of sport in the RDP was such that

1. All sport and recreation agencies had to reflect the needs of all South Africans

2. The restructuring of the nation through sport could not be left to individual sporting communities or individual governing bodies; and

3. Sport and recreation were seen as activities through which under-privileged individuals and communities could be empowered (Jarvie & Reid 1999 cited in Riordan & Kruger 1999).

These guidelines assured that South Africa competed in the Olympic Games in 1992, but it was in 1995, when South Africa hosted the Rugby World Cup, that the ideal platform was presented for South Africa's reinstitution in the international sport arena. With protocol in place, there was the possibility for reconciliation and nation-building, common in countries emerging from conflict (Jarvie & Reid 1999 cited in Riordan & Kruger 1999). Jarvie and Reid (cited in Riordan & Kruger 1999: 243) summarised some of the main themes apparent in utilising sport as a tool for nation building:

1. Sport helps to reinforce not only locality but also a national identity.
2. Sport is an arena through which submerged nations can assert themselves and play a role in international affairs.
3. There are better ways of celebrating a nation than football or rugby with their assumed democratic working class status. Sport often bolsters a working-class romanticism at odds with the nation's experience as a country where social mobility is possible.

4. As a form of cultural politics sport helps to reinforce national consciousness.

It is important to bear in mind that sport is a tool to build, but should not be considered the be all and end all for the political restructuring of a country (Jarvie & Reid 1999 cited in Riordan & Kruger 1999), specifically when the guidelines set out are, in actual fact, not met, as this thesis will illustrate with regard to the incorporation of women in sport in South Africa.

3.3 Trends in South African Men's Football

At the height of apartheid, football was an escape from the drudgery and repression of a world dominated by white people:

> Momentarily their emotional life which is often subdued and repressed during the week...is allowed to break through.... The drudgery, which their life imposes on them, is temporarily forgotten.... This pre-occupation with football matches makes life worth living despite its frustrations (Magubane 1963:53)

As mentioned, during the apartheid regime the government found it highly necessary to exert maximum control over the separate racial identities in order to maintain boundaries separating "Whites" from "non-Whites" (Anderson et al Jones 2004). In 1950, non-white football associations, particularly the black, coloured and Indian football associations, opposed this legislation, but the South African apartheid government forced them to split into three separate organisations by 1960 (Booth 1997). Teams that refused racial segregation were banned from utilising all public playing fields and from watching public games (Archer & Bouillon 1982). As a result, the "Whites only" South African football team was expelled from the international football arena by FIFA in 1976, even though some white soccer players were allowed to play on black teams in the 1970s (Anderson et al 2004).

Soccer thus began to represent a non-racial aspect of South Africa, which led researchers, historians and politicians alike to question whether sport could increase racial respect and co-operation (Anderson et al 2004; Cobley 1997). As easily as it was used to segregate South Africa further, the question raised was whether players experiencing mixed-race teams and learning about other races and cultures in a positive way through sport would help build the nation (Anderson et al 2004). This was particularly evident in the manner in which men's football evolved in the country, and the manner in which football allowed for reconciliation between black South Africans and the white South Africans who used it in this way (Anderson et al 2004), particularly in the decade that

ensued after Mandela's release from prison. By pressing the constant segregation of black and white people, white South Africans 'pushed' black South Africans to form a 'black' identity on the soccer field, which was now considered a free arena for the creation, performance and celebration of African identity (Anderson et al 2004). Football became the only platform to allow South Africans "to assert, even celebrate, equality with whites, locally if not internationally, in at least one area of endeavour that was of importance to whites" (Anderson et al 2004:1). Seeing that football hardly mattered to the ruling Afrikaners during apartheid, white South Africans were willing to grant black South Africans 'superiority' in the sport (Anderson et al 2004). Thus, it became a tool to ease the re-entry of migrants from rural areas into the white-dominated urban areas. Young men had been forced into mining compounds in the belief that it would be easier to exert political control over these men if they felt lost in their new surroundings (Anderson et al 2004). In contrast to the predictions of the Afrikaners, football was even more of a tool for unification than initially expected, with those playing on football teams in Johannesburg only to return with stories about the city life to their friends and family. Thus, those men expected to feel lost in their own country were in actual fact better equipped to navigate urban areas (Anderson et al 2004).

The football stadium, the players and fans constructed a Pan-South African identity – football had officially become a black urban sport (Anderson et al 2004). South Africans, and Africans in general, from all backgrounds and regions, and speaking countless different languages, congregated at football games (Anderson et al 2004). With "African" culture expressed through clothing, dances and songs, "African" culture was overwhelmingly present at football games. For black men, football became a highly appreciated and reasonably safe arena to demonstrate their resistance against apartheid (Archer and Bouillon 1982; Blades 1998).

3.4 Trends in South African Women's Sport Development

Despite the positive effects of football on black South African men, women's football has not been present on the African continent for nearly as long. Research shows that female players are excluded from the field because of their gender and their skin colour. Furthermore, women face discrimination on a deeper level: as athletes, their inclusion in sport makes them unfeminine, masculine and un-womanly. The female athletes were, and still are, considered 'tomboys' rather than women (Engh 2010:145). South Africa's exclusion from international competition due to the apartheid regime further impeded on the involvement of women in sport: "women's football in Africa is affected by the development of the game internationally and specifically by what FIFA and CAF are or are not doing to promote the game" (Saavedra 2003:229).

Women's limited involvement in sport is in part due to various obstacles, as presented by Saavedra in her 2003 work. These obstacles include cultural mitigation, limited access for women in Africa to be included in the game on a global level, the political economic reality of women in South Africa, and women as a low social priority (Saavedra 2003:229). These issues will be explored further, after a brief account of the history of women's football in South Africa, taking into account both female athletes of different cultural backgrounds and the general history of South African politics and sport.

The 1990s marked the first obvious public attempt at the inclusion of women in sport, and Saavedra (2003:229) states,

> From various newspaper accounts, it is clear that the Women's World Cup tournament has made an impression, and a broader section of the population is ready to at least consider women's football. National football associations have begun to pay lip service to developing opportunities for women based on nudging from FIFA and the International Olympic Committee.

According to Saavedra, these international competition bodies are powerful tools for forcing national associations to "implement policies for women in their Financial Assistance Program, in which national associations receive $1 million over a four year period to do things such as improving grass roots development" (Saavedra 2003:229). This included an attempt to promote sport for women. However, research has shown that a budget for women's sport is rarely raised and budgets frequently do not delegate significant funding to women's football or sport development; the neglect of providing a budget for women's involvement in sport significantly impedes its development.

According to Jones, "much has been written about the relationship between sport and politics in South Africa. Unfortunately, the contributions of sporting females are largely invisible in these accounts" (2003:130). Through the work of Hargreaves (1994, 2001), more is known about the contribution of female sports activists to the anti-apartheid movement, largely through the membership of coloured females of the South African Council on Sport (SACOS) (Jones 2003). Although Jones's account of women in sport refers particularly to track and athletics, the understanding she presents of the history of women's involvement in sport in South Africa can be applied to the development of both women's involvement in sport in general, and in women's football in particular. Although not ideal, it is crucial to rely on works presented by other researchers on various sporting grounds due to the limited research that is available on the history of women in football in South Africa. In Jones's 2003 article, she refers to her 2001 work on the

transformation of gender relations in South Africa, and presents work on gender, race, class and sport in the history of South Africa. She specifically looks at the effect of the living conditions and life circumstances of women in South Africa and the way they related to sport participation and sport practices at (Jones 2003).

A report presented by the Sports Information and Sciences Agency in 1997 and Burnett's work presented in 2001 provide an analysis of a gendered portrayal of elite, high-performance sport in South Africa. However, there is little to no other quantitative research on participation in sport by South African women (Jones 2003). In this arena, there is research on the development of women and sport in South Africa during the late 1980s, as these developments coincided with South Africa's democratisation, the nearing of the end of the apartheid regime, and the merging of the different cultures around the country (Jones 2003). Unfortunately, this does not dismiss the fact that the history of women's sport in South Africa is racially divided. This racial aspect is observable in various women's sports in South Africa and, on the whole, women as a social category are subject to powerlessness in most areas of community life. Certain demographics face greater disadvantages than others (Burnett 2002). Even though urban black women most often participate in women's football, the access of these women to sporting facilities and a sport budget to maintain their activities is significantly limited. This adds another dimension to the subordination of women through sport participation, thus gender does not always account for the most important reasons for marginalisation and exclusionary practices in sport (Burnett 2002). Often, women living in rural areas do not have access to the funds needed to travel to the sport fields, they may face a dangerous route to the field, they are most likely to perform domestic tasks instead of partaking in leisure activities, and they face cultural stigma emphasised through traditional gender norms.

In her analysis, Jones presents two sporting females in South Africa, 23-year-old Dikeledi Moropane, from a historically black township in South Africa, and Hestrie Cloete, a 23-year-old white Afrikaans-speaking sportswoman. Although these athletes are not football players, the relevance of including them in this research is illustrated by the conclusions Jones draws from their involvement in sport. In 2004, Moropane was a national 100-meter champion, with her sights set on the Athens Olympics. Throughout her training, Moropane received all the benefits afforded to talented female and male athletes taking part in South Africa's elite sport development programme, known as "Operation Excellence" (Jones 2003:130). Her expenses as a female athlete in South Africa were covered, ranging from access to a doctor, physiotherapist and psychologist, to the cost of her equipment. As a well-recognised African female athlete she became a role model, "especially for thousands of black female athletes", while at the same time "upholding cultural expectations around what it means to be an African woman" (Jones 2003:131). As a black South African athlete, Moropane illustrates the difference between the sportswomen in South Africa, in addition to dealing

with gender inequality in the sports system, even though she received benefits once she was recognized as a star athlete (Jones 2003). The cultural background of a South African woman in particular often defines her involvement in sport as a whole, and many black or coloured female athletes would not be able to achieve Moropane's high levels of success because of their limited access to sport.

Cloete's talent as a high jumper was discovered when she was in high school (Jones 2003). By the age of 23, she had won gold metals at the World Athletics Championships in Canada and the Goodwill Games, as well as a silver medal at the Sydney Olympics. Cloete's talent is undeniable, but, according to Jones, "the differences between the opportunities which were available to her at school level compared to Dikeledi [Moropane] highlight the huge problems which females from historically disadvantaged communities still experience" (Jones 2003:131). Not only is the battle of gender inequality in sports participation a huge challenge for South African female athletes, but the cultural differences between them and their access to resources create a further divide.

Moropane's success as a South African athlete is an example of the first generation of black sporting females "to be nurtured in South Africa since the democratization of South African sport" (Jones 2003:131). Jones goes on to state that "[b]lack women from [Moropane's] mother's generation did not have the resources or opportunities to develop their sporting potential. Many of them were involved in the broader struggle against apartheid and/or poverty … participating in sport was not a priority" (Jones 2003:131). Jones points out that

> This did not mean that black women were not sports activists during the apartheid era. On the contrary, there were women, mostly of Coloured descent, who used sport to challenge apartheid and through the process realized the potential of sport as site of personal and group empowerment.

The apartheid system banned black and coloured South Africans from having access to the same sporting opportunities as white South Africans, which further hindered the involvement of both women and men (Jones 2003). It was mainly coloured sportswomen who actively supported the South African Council on Sport, especially with regard to its struggles against the apartheid government. In the 1970s and 1980s, these women used the slogan, "No Normal Sport in an Abnormal Society", to reject any apartheid government funding and joining of apartheid government-funded sport clubs. The activists made do with few facilities compared to their white counterparts, while pushing their political message. Although this may have impeded the involvement of females on the sporting field, it is apparent that the political battle being fought took precedence.

In addition to the challenges women in South Africa have faced due to their cultural background and skin colour, this section will look at the four main obstacles faced by female footballers, as outlined by Saavedra (2003). These four obstacles are cultural mitigation, the political economic reality of women in South Africa, limited access for women in Africa to be included in the game on a global level, and women as a low social priority (Saavedra 2003).

3.5 Trends in the Development of South African Women's Football

Little to nothing is known or has been recorded about women's football in South Africa prior to the 1970s, "The material that exists is scattered and, apart from the contributions made by Cynthia Fabrizio Pelak and Martha Saavedra, virtually nothing has been published about the development of the women's game in South Africa" (Engh 2010:140). In contrast to the extreme popularity of the game among men, "women's football has been met with scepticism, neglect and sometimes outright hostility" (Saavedra 2003:203). With the process of democratisation under way in South Africa, new frameworks and organisations were established to create a racially inclusive administration of sport (Engh 2010). It was not until 1993 that the first national women's football team (later known as Banyana Banyana) was selected (Engh 2010). Eight years later, in 2001, the launch of the South African Football Association Sanlam National Women's League brought to the forefront a new phase in women's soccer (Engh 2010). The establishment of the national league and various tournaments geared towards female players was critical in the development of women's football (Engh 2010). These progressions provided a platform for consistent games and competition; the players were able to maintain their fitness levels and, concurrently, they provided a space for new talent to develop and to be discovered (Saavedra 2003).

Although football in South Africa has never been considered as elite a sport as rugby and cricket, it became part of the colonial project through its sporting tours (Nauright 1997). Even in modern-day South Africa, football is not considered a sport for white people in the same way that rugby and cricket are, regardless of the fact that it is "one of those flagship masculine sports … which serves as an ideological cornerstone for the maintenance of men's dominance" (Pelak 2005:57).

To advance the sport on the continent, FIFA implemented an extensive development programme in Africa. However, it is not clear if women are specifically targeted.

> FIFA's material for these courses includes a small section on developing the women's game, but there is little indication that these forums are used specifically to

promote the women's game or that there is any special effort to recruit women to participate in these courses (Saavedra 2003:230).

Programmes such as the Goal Project and The Legacy, both seemingly dedicated to the development of grassroots football and seeking to "empower national associations in four areas: infrastructure, administration, education and youth football", do so without a specific programme for women's development (Saavedra 2003:230). Without coaches trained specifically in coaching women, without the funds for grassroots development, and without the creation of proper information aimed at women's sport, success in the development of women's sport remains limited.

According to Pelak, "[t]he strict boundaries between so-called 'male sport' and 'female sport' in South Africa are classic examples of how dominant groups construct social, physical and cultural boundaries to build collective identities and naturalize their privilege" (Pelak 2005:58). Research shows that organised sport is not only deeply gendered, but also classed and raced (Engh 2010). Burnett states that of about 25 million women in South Africa, only about 2 million participate in sport, as a result of various obstacles (Burnett 2002). Among the main prohibiting factors is the role of women as caretakers, and hence, their domestic responsibilities, in addition to high dropout rates from school, in part due to early pregnancy (Engh 2010). Further, the increase in gender based violence against girls and women in South Africa since 1994 greatly affects their freedom of movement through public spaces (Pelak 2009). Thus, fear of violence hinders girls and women from participating in sport, especially if the sporting grounds are far removed from their homes.

There has been a massive move towards anti-racism, and at times towards anti-sexism, in South Africa, largely as "a part of the strategy to deal with the legacies of colonialism in South Africa" (Engh 2010:139). However, regardless of the way that sport has been restructured in the country since the 1990s, these efforts do not come close to the efforts and funding allocated to the development of men's sport (Hargreaves 1997:191). Although sport has officially been recognised as an important avenue for nation building, sport development work continues to solely prioritise male sport (Hargreaves 1997:191). One of the main reasons for the disregard of women's sport is the fact that "women's sport … [has] not been extensively commercialized and is thus not recognized as revenue producing" (Pelak 2006:397). One of the members of the South African women's football management team supported this statement, saying that there "is no money in women's football" (Interviewee A, Johannesburg 2010).

3.5a Political Economic Reality for Women

Although not applicable across the board, an argument can be made that the majority of girls and women in Africa have limited time for leisure activities and the pursuit of activities like football (Saavedra 2003). This is in part due to the fact that girls and women are expected to spend considerably more time completing household chores and tasks. Saavedra (2003:232). stressed that

> The heavy workload, often referred to as the 'double-day' could be true either for women in rural areas who are involved in agriculture or other primary product production, or in urban areas where they may be economically active in trade, service of manufacturing sectors, whether formal or informal.

Whatever the case may be, the majority of African women have overwhelming and intensive household and reproductive obligations that leave little time to play regularly and develop their football skills (Saavedra 2003).

3.5b Limited Access for Women in Africa to be Included in the Game on a Global Level

Across the continent, academies for football development are taking shape, "encompassing the hopes of coaches, children, parents, and national associations that new talent can be found to be exported to the rich markets of Europe" (Saavedra 2003:232). Except for the High Performance Institute in Pretoria, these academies mostly train boys. Saavedra argues that this is largely due to the fact that female football has not yet developed into a lucrative market (Saavedra 2003). To make matters more complicated, the lack of funding makes it impossible to play internationally on the continent. There are no sponsors significantly large enough to support teams in international games. The manager of the South African women's national team pointed out that travel in Africa is expensive and dangerous (Saavedra 2003). Furthermore, matches are often cancelled, postponed or delayed due to a lack of funds (Saavedra 2003). Saavedra adds, "Such circumstances are disruptive to preparation and training. Without competition among African women's national teams and clubs, the levels of play and the visibility of women's football will not easily progress" (Saavedra 2003:233).

3.5c Women: A Low Social Priority

Resources are not readily allocated to the development of women's sport. With more pressing issues, such as public health, education, and internal and national security, sport takes a low priority.

> Even if one is just looking at women's issues, one might argue that developing opportunities to pursue sport in general is simply a low priority when faced with other issues such as low literacy rates, high maternal morbidity and mortality rates, HIV/AIDS, malaria, respiratory ailments, high unemployment and underemployment, domestic violence, personal insecurity, war, internal displacement, drought, land mines, structural adjustment, and so on (Saavedra 2003:233).

With a list of such challenges, sport does not seem to be a priority. However, this does not account for a few, elite sports for males that are heavily funded. In addition, grassroots programmes that focus on developing leadership qualities for boys, in addition to encouraging them to be disciplined team players, frequently exclude female athletes. Saavedra (2003:233) states that "governments and international agencies promote sport as a tool to combat juvenile delinquency, drug use, unemployment, and contracting educational opportunities in societies which are overwhelming young". If football is presented as a tool for development, funding might become available for football programmes. However, due to the increasing rhetoric questioning the value of participation by women, individuals and organisations across the board and at the national and international levels frequently continue to neglect the women's game (Saavedra 2003).

Chapter 4: Empirical Findings

4.1. Introduction

In alignment with the above secondary research presented, the participants interviewed[3] for this study agreed sport programming, education and incorporation of sports for girls and women in South Africa is underdeveloped, yet crucial to the development of girls and women. The participants all expressed sport and football is not only important for the physical development of girls and women, through its positive effects on body ownership and self-esteem, but emphasized it is also crucial for societal development which allows for girls and women to be presented with significantly more opportunities. This chapter presents the empirical process both through primary

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[3] Please see "Annex" section for list of dates and locations with interviewees.

and secondary data collection in four main themes, by presenting Challenges, Limitations, Improvements and Experience. This chapter looks at the sanctioning of women participating in sports, gender norms challenging the experiences of these players, and the experience of the players of professional football players throughout their football careers. Further, this chapter looks at the fashion in which female football players are regarded when they partake in the sport, and takes a closer look at what influences the experiences faced by professional female football players. The empirical data and secondary data specifically focus on the portrayal of women's bodies in football-related media, and the role women are expected to play on the field. Further, the gender norms influencing the involvement of women in football are highlighted. Finally, this chapter highlights the discrepancy in financial support between men and women in football in South Africa.

4.2 Challenges – Challenges Faced On and Off the Field

All the interviewees were in agreement that by making football accessible to girls and women, their social development and access to opportunities, both through the sport of football and separate from the sport of football, would increase. Interestingly, both the female athletes and the male athletes interviewed expressed similar ideas. A male coach of one of the most prominent football teams in South Africa stated if a country does not recognize the importance of football on the development of girls and women, the social development of girls and women is adversely affected. He emphasized that just as football is important to the development of boys and men, it significantly influences the development of girls and women. He referred to European countries where girls and women are playing and competing successfully, and emphasized it was possible to replicate this success in South Africa (Interviewee K, Cape Town, May 2010). Another key informant underlined that in a country like South Africa, the social development of girls and women can be improved through sport involvement. The consistent, successful performance of the women's national team illustrates that an emphasis on sport for girls and women has positive results (Interviewee L, Johannesburg, July 2010). Both interviewees emphasized football should not be directed solely towards the development of boys and men as this results in unbalanced gender roles and the furthering of traditional and prescribed gender roles.

In the guide on women's sport programming, "The International Guide to Run Effective Sports Programs for Girls", the Women Win Organization emphasizes the challenges young girls face with regard to their body and physical development upon entering puberty, which can severely deter them from participating in sports (Murray, 2010). Frequently, these challenges are downplayed, remain unaddressed or are addressed with inaccurate information, regardless of research proving that sport programming provides an effective platform to raise awareness on

health matters. Further, situations where female athletes are discriminated against are identified as "cultural differences" rather than the actual offenses they are (Saavedra 2003). The interviewees, when discussing the challenges girl athletes face, agreed with the aforementioned points, reaffirming traditional cultures significantly impede the level of participation of girls and women in football. Prescribed gender roles affirm a woman's place "is in the kitchen" (Interviewee I, Johannesburg, June 2010) and work to undermine the importance of sports in the lives of girls and women. The respondents stated that because of the traditional assumptions surrounding the capabilities of women in South Africa, they were deterred from playing football.

Two respondents stated various cultures in South Africa highlight women are seen as "less than" men and that women are not as strong as men with as a result women not being encouraged to compete in sports (Interviewee L, Johannesburg, July 2010; Interviewee I, Johannesburg, June 2010). They further stated women are being denied opportunities due to cultural views and a lack of access to resources, with as a closing statement that providing the opposite would be beneficial as women involved in football "have a better future in the country" (Interviewee L, Johannesburg, July 2010). According to one of the interviewees, "We're being denied opportunities obviously because of resources and stuff like that" (Interviewee L, Johannesburg, July 2010). Her teammate echoed when stating, "In all cultures, coming from South Africa, it's always seen that the women are less than men. And that's only recently started to change. But before, even in career wise, in everything, the women is seen less than the man. Like, the woman is not supposed to work, she's supposed to stay at home and clean the house and cook" (Interviewee I, Johannesburg June 2010). Echoed by another teammate, who highlighted in her interview that girls play a secondary role to boys when it comes to football involvement, "Like, most of like boys, or most like people they say soccer it's a sport for mans, and I don't know why, and it's even for girls. Cause, like, also showing them that we can play that sport, it's not for only boys. Even us, we can play. Maybe, we girls, we can play better than boys" (Interviewee G, Johannesburg, April 2010). According to her teammate, even with small changes in attitudes, the challenges remain, "Yah, it is challenging, it is challenging because many people don't, don't think that girls can do what boys do, but it's all in our minds" (Interviewee E, Johannesburg April 2010).

4.3. Improvements – Where are the Improvements in Women's Football?

Since the start of professional women's football in South Africa, there have been limited improvements within the field with regard to funding, academic research and opportunities for female involvement in football. According to one of the players, even with a seemingly increased focused on the involvement of women in sport, "It's a little bit difficult, cause it's like one or two

people fighting for all of women's football" (Interviewee I, Johannesburg June 2010). In 1995, Nike launched a campaign entitled "If You Let Me Play" highlighting the important benefits girls and women who were involved in sport gained from being active and accepted athletes (Heywood and Dworkin 2003:29). This campaign, by some criticised as controversial, highlighted women's athletic bodies, in addition to sending powerful messages geared towards raising awareness of the "psychological struggle" women face (Heywood and Dworkin 2003:6). Empowering messages to raise the issue of the importance of accepting women athletes played a massive role in the media in North America 1995 and 1996, and all of a sudden women athletes were photographed as strong powerhouses, with emphasis placed on their muscular bodies, rather than highlighting and sexualising their feminine curves (Heywood and Dworkin 2003). The politics on women's bodies was called in to question as the women were highlighted as strong athletes rather than feminine and sexual beings. Unfortunately, these efforts, although leaving an inspiring message for young girls in North America who were, as a result, inspired to join soccer teams and baseball leagues, did not reach the rest of the world in a manner as effective as they should have, "turn to page 10 of almost any edition of Soccer Life and you'll be sure to find a picture of a semi-clad girlfriend of a famous male footballer, with a caption saying something like, 'Showing fine form, so and so's fiancée suns herself aboard a luxury yacht" (Naidoo & Muholi 2010:107). Through relentless objectification in that, "almost every soccer magazine has a column or page showcasing the 'fineness' of the feminine form" women's role in football has been reduced to one men feel comfortable with (Naidoo & Muholi 2010:107). The FIFA Men's World Cup featured women's bodies as 'props', posing with schedules of matches and games, wearing bikinis or less, and covering feature stories of men's football magazines and it seems efforts to highlight women as athletes were disregarded (Naidoo & Muholi 2010).

Unfortunately, most commonly the construction of the 'soccer babe' is by far the preferred way in which women should contribute to the sport, followed by a close second of the grappling female athlete (Naidoo & Muholi 2010). In most cases, female athletes are portrayed "as victims of a bigger and more powerful system of inequality, discrimination, marginalization and exclusion" (Naidoo & Muholi 2010:107). The few mainstream newspaper articles profiling women's football highlight a struggling, poor, and most commonly, a black woman facing problems of a lack of resources, support and training facilities (Naidoo & Muholi 2010). Not entirely untrue, these representations do in fact illustrate a very real part of the problems facing female footballers. However, as stated by Naidoo and Muholi, they fail to analyse the reason such disparities and gender discrimination even exist (2010:108). The two images of women's involvement in football, the 'soccer babe' versus 'the struggling victim', highlight a male dominated version of the actual role women play (Naidoo & Muholi 2010:108). In 2005, Pelak (2005:57) stated that,

Soccer in South Africa is one of those flagship masculine sports, like ice hockey in Canada, which serves as an ideological cornerstone for the maintenance of men's dominance/ Through the historical exclusion of women, soccer has been marked as men's/boy's territory...Football is also more than 'a game' in South Africa. It is an institution that facilitates and shaped the distribution of political and economic power.

Pelak continues by analysing the role of established gender norms in South Africa, where

The gendered division of household labour, which burdens women and privileges men, is a critical factor in limiting South African women's access to sports. Without school-based soccer opportunities for girls, like those available to boys, the development of women's soccer in South Africa has been limited. The most popular school- based sport for South African girls of all racial and class backgrounds is netball, a quintessential feminine sport. The strict boundaries between so-called 'male sports' and 'female sports' in South Africa are classical examples of how dominant groups construct social, physical, and cultural boundaries to build collective identities and naturalize their privilege.

It becomes incredibly difficult for women interested in partaking in the game of football to be accepted by their male counterparts. Several of the interviewees stated they grew up playing football with boys, until they reached a certain age, "Mostly, I stayed with my grandfather and when I stayed with my grandfather, I used to play with boys. I used to play with boys because that was their sport" (Interviewee F, Johannesburg April 2010). However, on a positive note, one of the interviewees did state that once the boys she was playing with realized she was very good, they accepted her as an athlete and football player (Interviewee D, Johannesburg, April 2010). But, getting to that point is not easy, as the overall experience of the players is that they are deterred from sport involvement

When I first started playing girls' football, I was told that, girls don't play, girls don't play football. And I think that is the norm throughout South Africa. But, I believe that, girls should be able to do whatever they want to do. If they feel they want to play football, play football. Why are there people out there, or or, stereotyped people

out there saying girl's shouldn't play football?" (Interviewee B, Johannesburg June 2010).

When women enter the traditionally male world of football, their participation is often trivialized or devalued (Naidoo & Muholi 2010:110). In South Africa, many of the first female football teams were formed to play 'curtain raisers' to 'the real games' played by the professional male teams (Naidoo & Muholi 2010:110). Their experience, talent and dedication were not seen as an actual asset to the football field, and not important enough to be taken seriously. According to one of the interviewees, "Generally, I believe that most women, especially the culture in Africa and South Africa, the culture is more for women to take a secondary role to be house – you know, mothers – stay at home, etc. and it's taken a lot of effort to get a lot of the players to become self assertive, to have self confidence, to believe in themselves" (Interviewee A, Johannesburg June 2010). This interviewee further stated, "Growing up as a football player in South Africa, I realized, especially when we got back into FIFA in the 90s, that there were hundreds of women from South Africa, especially black women, who were really good at football, really skilful, they grow up in families where the father, brothers, the family are football orientated because it's the national sport" (Interviewee A, Johannesburg June 2010). However, involving these women in a male dominated domain is not easy, and working towards improvements thus remains a challenge due to factors influencing women's involvement in sport.

Although the majority of the respondents verbalised that football is considered a sport for boys and not a sport for girls, interest in it is on a rise and has grown rapidly over the last few years. One of the participants claimed football is now also considered the national sport for women in South Africa, and quoted Sepp Blatter, the President of FIFA, in saying, "The future of football is feminine" (Interviewee A, Johannesburg, June 2010). Although this quote is outdated, and does not illustrate an honest picture of female football according to academic research, it does, for a brief moment, put female football in a positive light. Further, even with the increase in involvement surrounding the game by women, significant limitations (as illustrated below) prevent girls and women from reaching their full potential as football players in South Africa.

4.4. Limitations – Factors Influencing Women from Partaking in Football

Female athletes face significantly different challenges on the field than men do. Apparent from the research conducted, these challenges are centred on football residing in a male domain, the lack of financial sponsorship and the capricious relationship with the South African government.

4.4a Football As A Man's Sport

One of the main reasons women have been able to contribute to "the beautiful game" is due to the dedicated players who are strong enough to withstand the discrimination against them in what is universally considered as a man's sport. In Chapter Three, Jones's work on the distribution of resources and allocations of goods was introduced, which incorporated not only the gender question, but also the racial issue. This racial hierarchy had white South Africans benefitting far more than anybody else, followed by coloured, Indians, and finally South African blacks. These differences were further established through the segregation of class and gender, in addition to living environment (urban or rural). One of the white football players, (Interviewee I, Johannesburg June 2010), on the current national women's team stated, "At my school, I had always been the fastest runner. Then I met a girl from another school, and she ran so fast. She had never trained before, even though I was training all the time at my school. She said she'd never run before, she'd never had access". During another interview, one of the respondents, (Interviewee A, Johannesburg June 2010), stated, "During camp, the best players would come to us, but they'd be injured because they'd be the best players on their team, back home. So, we'd take them in for a couple of days, fix them up, and then they'd go back to nothing". The lack of structure for women's sport involvement in South Africa ensures that even talented players have to struggle in order to maintain their levels of skill and receive worthy financial compensation. According to Ms Hilton-Smith, who at time of interview was the Captain of the South African national women's team,

> When South Africa was put back into FIFA in the early '90s, there was a huge upsurge of black women playing football and logically the game moved to the townships where the numbers were. Many white girls were not comfortable traveling in the townships and moved to play in-door (football). Now that the living boundaries have been levelled, many white girls are no coming back to outdoor and also from some cultures that did not play girls' football in the past, e.g. Indian girls." (Naidoo & Muholi 2010 interview Hilton-Smith on October 6 2006).

White, middle class and white working class women enjoyed greater access to certain sports than black women did (Naidoo & Muholi 2010). Often times they had more access to sport than black men (Naidoo & Muholi 2010). It goes without saying that this racial divide has had a lasting impact on sport participation in South Africa, and that even in a democratic South Africa, women's football has had to deal with the consistent issues brought on by racial discrimination so deeply rooted in the culture since apartheid (Naidoo & Muholi 2010).

Despite the official end of apartheid, and South Africa's participation in international sport competitions, Naidoo and Muholi state that discrimination has remained apparent on the field and will only start to change as South African society changes (Naidoo & Muholi 2010:114). Women's football and sport development remained overshadowed, and it is in part for this reason that very little has been written about women's football in South Africa (Naidoo & Muholi 2010). Despite an increase in the number of women partaking in the game, very little has been recorded of their experiences. The South African Women's Football Association (SAWFA) was formed in 1974, yet the women represented by the organisation were only the white and coloured population, with an all-white management team (Naidoo & Muholi 2010). In Cape Town and surrounding areas, considered "the heart of the women's game", football was quite popular among women, and competitions were organised in both the Western Cape and the Eastern Cape (Saavedra 2004:243). In the early 1990s, another shift took place, and black women in townships started organizing their own leagues and competitions. As the number of black women's teams increased, the South African Women's Soccer Association (SAWSA) was formed in 1991 to represent them (Naidoo & Muholi 2010). Similar to other sport development in the aftermath of apartheid, "these organisations and the interests attached to them fell into a power struggle with each other and the new national organizations to establish control, authority and access to resources" (Saavedra 2004:243).

Since the 1990s, there has been an increase in the media attention paid towards female athletes, even though newspapers and other media outlets still overwhelmingly focus on football as a men's game (Naidoo & Muholi 2010). Furthermore, these stories often portrayed women's football as being dependent on the development of the men's game (Naidoo & Muholi 2010:115). Pelak (2005:54), one of the theorists attributing this growth to an increase in opportunity as a result of national and international factors, states that,

> South African women's football makes a particularly interesting case study because the recent global expansion of women's soccer coincided with the emergence of a national discourse around gender equality in South Africa. As a broad-based women's movement emerged during the early 1990s and gender equality became recognized as an autonomous aspect of democratization of post-apartheid South Africa, FIFA started sponsoring the World Cup competitions for women's soccer and the International Olympic Committee started including women's soccer as a full-medal sport. The convergence of these processes meant a shift in the opportunity structures for organizing women's soccer in South Africa.

In their research, Naidoo and Muholi (2010:114) realized that

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These opportunity structures opened up not just for women, but also for men, something that was to pose certain problems for the manner in which women's football in South Africa began to develop; as women's football became a lucrative enterprise, many men found it appealing to establish female teams without necessarily possessing any talent or skill with regard to women's football.

In 1993, when the first non-racial competitive league matches for women were played, the national women's team, Banyana Banyana, was selected. Their first international friendlies were played, and the team entered the qualifying stages of the Women's World Cup, having lost not one match (Naidoo & Muholi 2010). They ended up losing to Nigeria - a trend that has followed the team - and in July 1996, the above-mentioned problems facing women's football development were brought before the Pickard Commission. The Pickard Commission was an organising structure appointed by the Minister of Sport and Recreation, Steve Tswhwete. The role of this body was to "investigate the reasons behind the problems plaguing the administration of football in South Africa" which can largely be accounted for when taking into account the gender discrimination in sport (Naidoo & Muholi 2010:116). The results of the Pickard Commission were unsatisfactory; with the outcome that SAWFA would continue to be an associate member of SAFA (Naidoo & Muholi 2010). The actual problems facing women's football were not wholly answered to or taken into consideration,

....We went to the Pickard Commission to demand that women run women's football. And that was approved by Judge Pickard at the time. But it never really happened like it should have. Women's football has just been given a kind of lip service. In fact, what happened then, which shouldn't have happened, and didn't help us at all, was that women's football, which was until then a separate body and an affiliate of SAFA - we ran our own affairs while still under them - was disbanded and made a standing committee of SAFA. The committee had a chairperson, but this chairperson didn't have a voice on the NBC. So it didn't really help us at all. And it was such a pity because we had this huge problem of sexual harassment at the time" (Naidoo & Muholi 2010, Hilton - Smith interview 22 February 2006).

It seemed the tables had been turned since Banyana Banyana's 1996 meeting with Nelson Mandela when high hopes were set on the development of women's football, in part due to gender

norms penetrating the South African women's football scene (Naidoo & Muholi 2010). Hilton-Smith states,

> When they took me out of being the national coach in 2000, they appointed male coaches who were not of the right calibre. And that's often a problem in women's football - that there's not enough women coaches...we found with the male coaches that same to women's football - we had Gregory Mashilo there for two, maybe three, years and Augusto Palacios - and women's football in this country, in most countries...is a specialized sport. As I work for FIFA, I have travelled to many countries around the world, many developing countries, and the men there have no idea of women's football. Yes, it's football, but there's a lot of psychological, a lot of issues, that are very different in women's football. And having these two guys, specifically in the last five years, has set us back tremendously. Because the team played last year in the African Women's Championships and they sank to their lowest level. They didn't win a single game. And therefore something had to be done. That is what we are currently doing in preparing the team for the next African Women's World Cup in China next year" (Naidoo & Muholi, 2010 Hilton- Smith interview February 22, 2006).

Women's football continued to be regarded as an afterthought, and coaches suitable and qualified to train women were never appointed. A typical case affecting the professional female players of the South African female football team was the appointing of coach Styles Phumo, who was concurrently coaching the under-20 men's team. Right before a very important match for the national women's team, Phumo chose to leave the team because the under 20 men's team was playing a game at the same time. Hilton – Smith reflected on this event, "As with most male coaches, its no special thing to coach the women's national team" (Naidoo & Muholi 2010:119). With the above example, women are treated as secondary athletes, a direct reflection of the treatment of women in South African society as a whole. This marginalization is beyond sport, it is an accurate representation of established gender norms in South Africa. The appointment of Augustine Makalakalane as the team's coach was the first to be widely celebrated and accepted by Banyana Banyana (Naidoo & Muholi interview with Hilton Smith 2006, Modise interview; Carelse interview; Jijana interview). It was thought Makalakalane would be well suited for the job, and according to Portia Modise in an interview, "Not only is he a coach, but he is a friend as well...With him on our side, we will definitely do well in our games" (The Star: June 2006). The opposite

proved true when Makalakalane was fired in January 2011 under claims of sexually harassing two of the players on the South African National Women's team (Kick OFF!, January 2011).

In December of 2010, two players Nthabiseng "Moemish" Matshaba and Globria Thato filed reports to SAFA on the grounds of sexual harassment by the coach and Makalakalane was suspended pending investigation (Kick OFF!, January 2011; Nalk 2010). Matshaba claimed the coach repeatedly harassed her sexually, and after she refused his advances, she was dropped from the squad, "The coach asked me on numerous occasions to have sex with him and each time I declined...he tried to fondle me also but I never allowed him to" (Nalk 2010). In addition to these allegations, players came forth to complain that Makalakalane was homophobic and only wanted straight players on his team (Nalk 2010). The allegations towards him confirm the gender discrimination and confirm the challenges female athletes are faced with.

4.4b Financial Sponsorship

With regard to financial support it becomes apparent female football players face an uphill battle, which exemplifies the gender norms established across the board in South Africa. Exact figures are not easily available to illustrate this fact, yet it is possible to gather insight through feedback from those involved directly in female football. As one of the players (Interviewee I, Johannesburg, June 2010) states, "It would be a start if they gave half, or even a part of the money, to the women's team. If they want us to perform like the men, its only fair they give us the support". However, in the past, support has rarely been provided for the players in the South African women's team,

> Another significant factor that has contributed to the perpetuation of soccer as an exclusivist sport is the manner in which money flows through sport. In particular, the issue of sponsorships has been a limiting factor in the development of women's football, and contributes towards the continued absence of a professional women's football league in South Africa" (Naidoo & Muholi, 2010:120).

When Sanlam entered into the picture in 2001, it was believed that things would change for women's football. Sanlam was the first major corporate sponsor of Banyana Banyana. According to Hilton-Smith in an interview conducted by Naidoo and Muholi in February of 2006, "Many see this as a result of the overwhelming response received by Sanlam after its sponsorship of the 2000 African Women's Football Championships held in South Africa, in which Banyana Banyana finished second overall" (Naidoo & Muholi 2010:120). This sponsorship, although highly regarded at first, was ended by Sanlam in 2003, claiming they had not treated well by SAFA. During this

period, Vodacom started to express an interest in sponsoring the women's football league (Naidoo & Muholi 2010). Vodacom supported the team until 2007, but left early, leaving the league in crisis until ABSA took over sponsorship (Naidoo & Muholi 2010:120).

The interviewees also expressed the lack of football leagues for young girls and the lack of possibilities for girls to play football at schools posing as a significant challenge. Although in some schools girls are encouraged to participate in athletics, opportunities are limited and not readily encouraged or accessed. Several of the respondents stated that in order for sports to develop it is crucial more sports programs are implemented for girls and women, financial support is available, and resources and quality coaching is readily provided. One participant echoed these thoughts and stated that it was only fair the female players received the same amount of funding as the male players, because "the money is there" (Interviewee I, Johannesburg, June 2010).

The respondents stressed that being coached in football by a person trained only to coach male players presented a challenge for their participation in the sport, as male coaches are not necessarily sensitive to the needs of female players. One of the interviewees, who was closely involved with the FIFA Men's World Cup 2010, claimed that if female ex-players would start teaching and coaching the game to other girls and women, there would be more progress in the sport for women (Interviewee B, Johannesburg, June 2010). This respondent stressed that becoming a qualified women's coach in South Africa was challenging, as there were limited possibilities to receive training, in part due to lack of funding, but also as a result of the limited awareness surrounding women's football and the subsequent low awareness of the importance of teaching women how to coach. In addition, as pointed out by both primary and secondary sources, the emphasis on women as football coaches is inadequate, and there are virtually no trained coaches in South Africa who are qualified to deal with the way women play and how they should be trained. This poses a major challenge to the advancement of the sport (Saavedra 2003). If no women are encouraged to further the inclusion of women in football, the field will remain under-developed and its potential untapped. If there are no women encouraged to further the inclusion of females in football, the field will remain under-developed and its potential untapped.

The lack of funding withholds the sport from evolving to its full capacity, highlighted by the predicament of one of the respondents, the captain of the South African national women's team. Currently residing in the United States of America, she was, due to a lack of funding and support for the women's team, unsure of whether or not she would be partaking in the 2010 African Women's Championship in October and November. It was the seventh time this Championship is taking place in South Africa, and the two winning teams qualified for the FIFA Women's World Cup held in Germany in 2011.

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Finally, according to one of the respondents, a crucial aspect hindering the furtherance of the development of girls' and women's football is the blatant lack of awareness. This respondent highlighted that, if a country does not play an active role in promoting sport as a positive tool for women, development will remain stagnant. Several interviewees stated that campaigns and training sessions should be organised for girls in rural areas, in order to encourage raising awareness on sport. One organisation to actively do so for girls' development in South Africa is Girls & Football SA, who combine football advocacy with life skills based football workshops.

As one of the respondents said, without money it is impossible for a female athlete to achieve the same status as a male athlete. She stressed that an easy way to raise awareness of women's sport would be to advertise the players on billboards and in the media so that other South Africans become aware that "there is a women's football team" (Interviewee I, Johannesburg, June 2010). Several respondents were in agreement, saying that the female players are not as well known, even though they often play better than the men's team by scoring more goals on average in matches. The respondents stressed that highlighting the success of the women's teams would in turn increase awareness, which would thus increase the amount of funding and resources that are made available to female athletes. "Success breeds interest," according to one of the respondents (Interviewee A, Johannesburg, June 2010). This interviewee stated further that due to the recent success of the South African national under-17 women's team, known as Bantwana Bantwana (translated: "The Little Girls"), they are now receiving increased media attention, which is raising the profile of the sport for women in South Africa. The respondents all agreed that, by raising awareness of women successfully participating in the sport, the younger generation of South African girls and women will have role models they can look up to, athletes to model themselves after, and a new-found inspiration to succeed. However, this will not come easily, and one of the participants stated that it felt as if there were only one or two women fighting for "all women's football" (Interviewee I, Johannesburg, June 2010).

As illustrated in the previous chapter, several analysts of female football in South Africa have identified that the role of women in football is not determined solely by the fact that they are women, but that their class and race further exemplify how they are treated as females in football. Pelak emphasises that recognising the exclusivist nature of soccer in gendered terms is crucial to understanding the role of female athletes. She also highlights the dangers inherent in feminist theories that rely on an understanding of women "as a homogeneous category in order to make their arguments of male dominance and female exclusion in the world of football, and sport more generally" (Naidoo & Muholi, 2010:111). Naidoo and Muholi (2010:111) state that such theorists rather

Argue for a multi-faceted approach to understanding the world of football and the place of women in it, one that examines issues of race, class and gender, and the way they intersect, when analysing the experiences of women in the world of football. Such an approach is critical to an understanding of the position of women in South African football historically, and at the present time, given that racial and class inequalities have defined the ways in which gender oppression is experienced by different women.

4.4c Relationship with the Government

The relationship between the South African government and the national women's team mirrors South African society's relationship with gender. The South African government contributed a small portion of its finances towards the development of women's football, and this was allocated directly to SAFA, without a serious or comprehensive approach towards resource allocation for the development of women's football, which would include addressing issues such as introducing football to school-going girls (Naidoo & Muholi 2010). Even worse, Banyana Banyana's development "has continued to depend on the strengths or weaknesses of SAFA at any given time" (Naidoo & Muholi 2010:121). According to Hilton - Smith,

> I feel strongly that the government should sponsor women's football irrespective of what is happening in men's football. If they've got problems I don't see why they should become our problems. And what we're doing now is opening our own banking account for women's football where, if say government gives us money, we will account for our money because we don't want to be painted with the same brush...we need more government support and we certainly need women's football to run itself - under SAFA, yes, the mother body, but we need to run our own affairs, and I'm hoping that that will happen because without that we're going nowhere. We need to be able to appoint our own coaches, not SAFA" (Naidoo & Muholi, 2010 interview Hilton – Smith February 22 2006).

Hilton - Smith approached the National Lottery for funding to open a high performance centre for girls. Girls are recruited to train at the centre, in addition to being required to perform well academically. According to Hilton-Smith (Johannesburg 2010)

> I decided to start an academy for girls in Pretoria at a sports centre and we scouted the country and got a big sponsor form the lottery and we brought in 25 girls. We started developing them there, and one of the big priorities was that they had to be

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really good at school, because I realized that most of the female football players would not become professional, it's not professional in South Africa. We have nine or ten that play overseas and make some money, but generally the girls would have to find a way to make a living, a career…We don't have, in schools, leagues for the girls and that's the nursery for girls' football. We would like far more girls playing football in schools, on a structured level, more clubs. There's a lot to be done, but of course this all costs money. And to develop coaches, they have to go on courses, which costs money.

Both Desiree Ellis, a leading female sports activist in South Africa, and Hilton-Smith state that because there is no professional league in place for women, an emphasis is placed on the education of girls attending the High Performance Centre. According to Ellis, "If you can choose between soccer and school, choose school...." Girls are considered secondary to boys on an educational level, yet with such a structure in place, there is space for a change in the field for female athletes, in addition to on a whole in South Africa. As stated by Naidoo and Muholi, "While a single high-performance centre may improve South Africa's chances at scoring more international goals in women's football, it is only able to reach a select few of the many talented South African girls out there. It does not in any way address the far more fundamental levels of inequality and difference that are perpetuated through a lack of resources, for example at school level" (Naidoo & Muholi 2010:122). Modise, one of South Africa's leading female football players, stated (Naidoo & Muholi 2010:125)

Our experience, to tell you the honest truth, is very bad because when you are a woman in this country, they don't take you serious, but we are hoping for the best because, you see, now women are getting power. Not having much support as the national team is not good because we are also representing the country. We're not doing a different thing to Bafana Bafana. We're doing the same ting, representing the country. With us, I think it's a problem because we are women. They believe that we have to be in the kitchen; why do we have to play soccer? But I think things are changing now. It's coming better and better. But we're still struggling now. I can't say that it's better. We're still struggling a lot 'cos by now we should have been having our cars, having our homes, but we're still struggling for those things.

Even where women are encouraged to play sport, this is usually limited to sports such as netball, which is considered a female sport (Naidoo & Muholi 2010). Naidoo and Muholi state

young women entering the world of sport do so to enjoy playing in a team and reaching their goals, they "end up learning just how their bodies will come to be disciplined and made to function in this world" (Naidoo & Muholi 2010:129). They continue by stating that while South African democracy was unfolding and women's football exploded onto the international scene, more women were taking up the sport and playing in their own teams. However, Naidoo and Muholi state (2010:130),

> The separation of women into a space apart from men does not seem to address the problems that begin to emerge in adolescence with girls playing in boys' teams. Instead, women tend to have to conform to certain normative gender stereotypes in order to be included in the world of women's football. In many cases, playing football is a consistent pressure to conform to a model that allows their bodies to function within the dominant patriarchal, heterosexist and capitalist order.

When looking at the way teams were established, the gender discrimination in the process was disheartening. Upon SAFA's entry back in the world sport arena, there was a sudden interest coming from African men, specifically, to promote themselves through women's football, as this was not as competitive and over saturated as men's football. According to Hilton-Smith, she found that the majority of men, excluding a few with genuinely good intentions, entered the women's football world as they had not been able to prove themselves in the men's football world. Hilton-Smith goes on to say that,

> All they were doing was collecting all these women as their property. And they were sleeping with them in order for them to play. And they were trading them with other coaches. It was like a slave market...because, if you wanted to play on a Sunday, which they wanted to play, then they'd sleep with the coach or manager because you wanted play. I also introduced a policy then...that one of the two officials - either the coach or the manager - had to be a woman. And I thought that was a bright idea initially. But then I realized that all that was happening was that the male coach was appointing his girlfriend as the manager, and it didn't help me a tall...Of course you still have sexual harassment where there are sports coached by men where there are women, but it is certainly nothing like it was in the beginning. (Naidoo & Muholi 2010 interview Hilton-Smith February 2006).

4.5 Experience

Several of the participants interviewed highlighted that, through the experience of playing football they were introduced to a wide range of possibilities, similar to the possibilities boys and

men are presented with from early childhood, such as leadership skills, confidence and the sense of belonging to a team (Bloomfield 2010; Korr and Close 2008). Particularly with reference to the structured training at the University of Pretoria's High Performance Centre, one of the interviewees (Interviewee J, Johannesburg June 2010), stated,

> It was difficult, because you know you are out of your normal circumstances and you had to move to a place whereby not just one thing is a priority but both of them, soccer and school is a priority, are a priority. It was a bit difficult, but uhm, they made sure that we adapted, they provided resources for us to make it easier for us. As time went by, we just got used to the circumstances and we made the best out of it. And I think that the girls who are there now are also enjoying themselves.

Had it not been for their exposure to football, many of the female athletes interviewed said they feel they would not have been able to reach the same level of academic performance, possess the same amount of discipline and sense of responsibility, and feel as healthy and safe. One of the interviewees stated, "School is more important, if you want to be a sportswoman, you have to balance both school and sport. So, I think they should just work to what they want to be" (Interviewee H, Johannesburg April 2010).

Other interviewees echoed her attitude, and stated that sports involvement was an effective way to keep them away from "drugs, teen pregnancies, and infections" and, therefore, they had an increased desire to have access to sports. According to one of the respondents, "South Africa is a developing country, so, in parts of South Africa there is people that are struggling, in rural areas and all that. Football could, and, going to training, it could take you away from all the bad things outside…" (Interviewee H, Johannesburg April 2010). Her teammate showed sensitivity when stating that, "It hurts me so much if I see like young girls involving themselves in alcohol, in drinking and stuff…" after which she highlights that for her, football "was a field full of unlimited possibilities" (Interviewee C, Johannesburg April 2010). The respondents involved heavily in football also identified that they realized they were lucky because of the experience, "I grew up in like a township…Most of the girls don't play soccer. So, I feel unique" (Interviewee F, Johannesburg, April 2010). One of the respondents stated football teaches responsibility and women who participate in sport in South Africa are at an advantage because they "learn about life in a different way" (Interviewee I, Johannesburg, June 2010). She stressed that the life skills she learned through football helped her make goals and work towards these goals, a lesson young boys are encouraged to learn early on through sports.

The manager of the South African national women's football team stated had it not been for the opportunities for a few select girls in South Africa to play football through the High Performance Centre, many of them would not have attended secondary school or had the possibility to go on to university. She stated that even though football might not present the girls with a career in sport, it frequently introduces the girls to a career in sports management or a career in a completely different field (Interviewee A, Johannesburg, June 2010). The players interviewed agreed and stressed due to their involvement in sport they were encouraged to develop a career, even if it was not directly related to sport. The interviewees mentioned that due to their experience in sport, they felt they better understood the other women on their team, regardless of cultural or racial background. This positively contributes to the social development of girls and women, and South African society on a whole.

It was not until 2006, that Banyana Banyana received the same treatment as Bafana Bafana (the South African national men's team). It was towards the end of October that year, when the team met Mandela for the first time, eight years after they started playing, and waiting for "this chance at getting a little taste of 'the Madiba magic'" (Naidoo & Muholi 2010:105). For these players, the meeting symbolized a different kind of acceptance - it symbolized the changing of gender norms which had so long suppressed female athletes in South Africa, and finally highlighted acceptance by their country (Naidoo & Muholi 2010:106).

During that time, Hilton-Smith, then manager of the national women's team stated, "It's a dream come true. We firmly believe this will give us the impetus to do well" (Naidoo & Muholi 2010:106). Then Captain Portia Modise, who has been highlighted as a role model and one of South Africa's most talented female football players, said in accordance with her coach, "We've come to have him give us some of his magic. We do have a lot of chances to go the finals and lift the trophy" (News24.com). This was not the only positive outcome of the Nelson Mandela meeting on the lives of the Banyana Banyana players. Since that day, they gained significantly more media coverage than usual and "internet searches conducted at the end of October 2006 for material on Banyana Banyana yielded several articles, based on this historic meeting, that celebrated the team and the talent and success of its players" (Naidoo & Muholi 2010:106). That being said, had the same Internet searches been conducted a month before the historic meeting, far less news, and far less positive news about the team, would have shown up. Even worse, (Naidoo & Muholi 2010:106), state that,

> Articles sourced by authors portrayed the world of football as a male- dominated, heterosexist one from which women are generally excluded, and in which they have to struggle to gain inclusion. Yet everywhere in the mainstream media's coverage of

soccer women's beautiful bodies abound, selling the sexiness of the game and its myriad spin off.

According to Engh (2010:133), "whereas having an athletic and muscular body is easily compatible with heterosexual masculinity, it is not a normalized feature of hegemonic femininity. Women athletes, who present bodies that are considered too muscular, or who participate in historically male sports, are often labelled as 'pseudo men'. Engh goes further to state that, "this labelling is a result of attempts to control and even prevent women's participation in sport (Engh 2010). As apparent in the answers given by the key informants, who all focused on the limitations faced due to gender, this statement rings true.

4.6. Conclusion

According to the interviewees, football has not only encouraged them to pursue educational options, it increased their self-confidence, and their ideas on gender equality between women and men in South Africa. Many of the interviewees stated they felt that they knew girls could do what boys do, and they echoed the belief that it was important to invest and focus on the development of football for girls and women. They also realized that due to their participation in football, they were presented with more opportunities, particularly through their access to education. The empirical research also showed that although the options to play are limited, those girls and women that due participate in sport, and football in particular, greatly appreciate their experience. The interviewees also stated that their positive experience in football was shaped through being part of a team, and being challenged through both participating in sport and school.

The participants stated that more leagues and structure must be put in place for girls at a younger level. They were in accordance that the lack of structure for girls at a younger age was a direct reason why the women were not performing at a high enough level. Further, they stated that structures in place for proper training and coaching for girls and women must be implemented, and that these structures would allow for the furthering of women's football in South Africa. Unfortunately, without the funding in place for these structures, women in football continue to face challenges and limitations. Further, one of the interviewees specifically pointed out that football was a useful medium through which to share important information with girls, which was echoed by other interviewees who stated that setting up leagues for girls in schools and rural communities would increase their well-being.

The majority of interviewees stated that they felt girls and women were considered as secondary citizens in South Africa. They felt that the general attitude towards girls and women was

shaped by the idea that women belonged in the kitchen and primarily were meant to carry out domestic tasks. However, none of the interviewees stated that they personally felt the need to conform towards these ideas. Rather, the interviewees generally stated they felt empowered through the sport and the options that were presented to them through their involvement in football.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

5.1. Introduction

This thesis looked at the role of women in football and the extent to which gender norms withhold women from participating in sport, in order to understand why women have been excluded from the sport development field in South Africa. Further, the aim of this study was to contribute to the research presented on women's football in South Africa to date, adding to the work done by previous researchers in the field of sport development. As research on women's football in South Africa is limited, this thesis also drew on research done in other regions, such as North America. It was the hope to make part of those findings applicable to the South African context, with specific reference to the way in which the development of women's football and the experience of women footballers are shaped by prevailing gender norms.

In an effort to answer the research question, this thesis has focused on the traditional gender norms withholding women from partaking in sport, and in particular football, in South Africa. The aim of this research was to translate these findings onto a wider scale in South Africa, and utilizing the research to translate to South African society on a whole. This was achieved through primary data gathering, collected through key information interviews with various interviewees, some representing their experiences of football in South African. Further, this was achieved through consultation of secondary resources in the form of reports, studies, books and other research materials. The chapter after the first chapter highlighted the data collected through both the primary and secondary research, in addition to presenting a summary on the results gained. The findings presented in Chapters 3 and 4 were summarized and presented, and included the empirical results. Further, these chapters looked at what the research has achieved, while presenting a summary of the rationale and introducing areas of further research. Following this introduction to the conclusion, a short outline on the progression of the thesis writing process and additional information coinciding with the thesis research will be presented.

5.2 Progression

The first steps of this research included consulting sources highlighting the perception of the role of girls and women within South African society. This included consulting secondary sources presenting statistics and facts on the incorporation of girls and women in sport and society, in addition to consulting secondary resources that highlighted the experience of girls and young women. This was in the form of qualitative data. Through this research, it was possible to start understanding the position of girls and women in South Africa.

Thereafter, the role of sport in South Africa was analysed. This included the role of sport during apartheid, the role of sport and football in particular for men in both South Africa, and traditional gender norms surrounding notions of sport in South Africa. Through this research, an understanding of the differences between the perceptions of boys and men in sport was shaped, versus the perception of girls and women in sport. At this stage, it was clear boys and men were meant to partake in sport behaviour, whereas girls and women were not.

The third step in answering the research question included primary data collection with key informant interviewees, while consistently consulting secondary data. The primary data helped shaped the basis of the research and allowed for a wider understanding of the topic of hand. Through personal recounts, the experiences of the female footballers came increasingly to light, and the negative gender imbalance became reality.

5.3 Empirical Data: Findings from the Field

Chapter 4 of this thesis presented data gathered through consultation of secondary sources. This data focused primarily on the trends in South African sport and how apartheid shaped South African sporting behaviour. An emphasis was placed on flagship sports that strengthened the message of apartheid, and the manner in which football countered this development. Thereafter, this thesis focused on the trends in South African men's football, highlighting the importance of the sport for the development of men. Examples of the influence of football within South African society where used as a means to illustrate the importance of the sport within South Africa, its effects on cohesion within South Africa and its effects on the development of men. Thereafter, trends in women's football in South Africa where highlighted. This was done through presentation of data gathered through secondary sources, primarily identified through key informant interviews carried out by fellow researchers. Further, through consultation of international reports and studies, data was gathered to highlight the ways in which football can have a potentially positive effect on

the development of girls and young women. The empirical data presented was gathered around four main focal points: Challenges, Improvements, Limitations and Improvements. These four areas were chosen to present an overall picture of the process and the involvement of women in football, in addition to shedding light on the trends in traditional gender norms withholding girls and women from partaking in sport.

5.4 Answering the Research Question

Drawn from primary research conducted through key-informant interviews in South Africa in addition to information gained through secondary research in the form of literature and international reports and studies, this thesis emphasized how football specifically influences girls and women, and the extent to which gender norms limit the participation of girls and women. The research was conducted through an exploratory, inductive, qualitative research design carried out with key informant interviews. Through an exploratory design it was possible to maintain an open perspective of the issue at hand. This design allowed for interpretation of results without overwhelming previous research to guide or determine these results. The inductive research design allowed for analysis to be formed based on individual answers given by the key informant interviewees. The qualitative research design made the personal and informative nature of the research possible. Data collected for this research study was in the form of key informant interviews held with a total of fifteen individuals with a prominent presence in the football development field, with experience as (female) footballers and/or as coaches in South Africa. Key informants were also chosen based on their theoretical background with regard to female football in South Africa.

5.5 Implications of the Findings and the Way Forward

The findings illustrate that involvement in sport is crucial to the well being of every child. Through involvement in sport, crucial skills are learned that will further enhance society. However, the findings highlight that girls and women are excluded from sport involvement, particularly due to traditional gender norms withholding them from partaking in sport. As a result, boys and men are equipped with valuable tool sets and skills that women have less or no access to. This, in part, contributes to the unequal gender balance within South African society. Further, as sport is crucial to the physical and mental well being of both women and men, through their exclusion from sport, it is impossible for women to reap similar benefits to men. By highlighting the lack of access of girls and women to sport, this thesis illustrated the incongruities still present within South African society, and the manner in which both girls and women are systematically excluded. Traditionally a male sport, football is a perfect lens through which to encapsulate South African society. Through

highlighting women's exclusion from a male's domain, it is possible to present an understanding of the role of women in society on a while.

The findings highlight that girls and women are excluded from sport involvement, and where they do participate in sport, their bodies are often rejected, degraded or sexually exploited. However, the findings highlight this is only a part of the issue at hand. Sport merely highlights one section of South African society in which girls and women are not fully included, but through applying this analysis on a wider scale within the country, it is possible to realize this is an accurate reflection on South African society on a whole.

5.6. Potential Issues for Future Research

It goes without saying that further research must be carried out on the importance of the involvement of girls and women in sport. Not only in lieu of the positive physical effects on their bodies, and the ways in which sport increases self-esteem and sense of body ownership, but also in an effort to gain understanding on how the involvement of girls and women in sport changes the perception men and boys have of girls and women on a whole. South Africa consistently struggles with an unequal gender balance within society, highlighted through the lack of women participating at top levels in government, the media, and other institutional structures. This is in part due to the fact that girls and women remain secondary citizens within South Africa, and the perception of their capabilities and role within society. In order to challenge these perceptions and make space for positive change within South Africa, it is crucial several tools are mobilized, of which one is sport. A simple and approachable model, sport involvement teaches importance lessons from the bottom up. It is highly encouraged that further research is carried out over a span of a minimum of ten years, through which the opinions of girls and women in sport are gathered, in addition to the perceptions perpetuated by boys and men of girls and women.

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