A case-based analysis of the implementation of transformation in Western Cape rugby

by

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Declaration

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Abstract

Rugby in South Africa has a long racial and political history. This history was a direct result of the policy of apartheid in which a deliberate attempt was made to arrange all areas of life along racial lines. One saw rugby being played and administered on the basis of race in which disparities between races became apparent. Twenty years into democracy and one has seen transformation in South African sport been increasingly prioritized by national government in which numerous policies have been developed to bring about redress and equity in sport. The South African Rugby Union (SARU) and Provincial Rugby Unions in their attempt to transform rugby have implemented numerous strategic plans to ensure greater access to the game in historically disadvantaged areas. Yet despite the efforts of both state and non-state actors rugby at a senior national and provincial level is still dominated by white players even though the majority of rugby players at a junior level are non-white.

The research focused on how transformation policies in rugby have been implemented in the Western Cape. The research design was a case study, in which the author conducted a number of interviews with rugby administrators and managers, both past and present, involved at the Western Province Rugby Football Union (WPRFU). The objectives of the research was to look at what implementation initiatives have been put in place, both on and off the field, to bring about transformation of rugby in the Western Cape. The case study focused on rugby played at an intermediate level in which rugby institutions, school rugby and recruitment and club rugby in the Western Cape were explored. The research focused on how transformation policies have been implemented by those involved with rugby at a provincial and local level. Implementation of transformation policies in rugby was seen as a dynamic and complex process in which both state and non-state actors played an important role. Thus the theoretical approach of the research was a bottom-up approach to public policy implementation.

The findings showed that while there was no strict enforcement of a quota on teams at the intermediate level the WPRFU have carried out a number of implementation initiatives in which transformation has been advanced. This is particularly true of transformation off the field in which employment equity and preferential procurement of the Union's broader administrative structure has been advanced. Yet findings into school and club level rugby showed that there still existed great social and economic disparities between historically advantaged and disadvantaged groups. Thus the goal of achieving equity and access in rugby has yet to be reached at these levels. The research highlighted that transformation at a senior

professional level will remain a challenge as rugby cannot escape the socioeconomic context in which it is embedded in. Therefore increase focus needs to be placed on transforming rugby at school and club level in which disadvantaged groups need to be assisted so as to ensure that rugby is played on a level playing field.

Opsomming

Rugby in Suid-Afrika het 'n lang rasse- en politieke geskiedenis. Hierdie geskiedenis is die direkte gevolg van die apartheidsbeleid, wat opsetlik daarop gemik was om alle lewensfasette op grond van rasseonderskeid te organiseer. Rugby is ook op grond van ras gespeel en geadministreer, en die ongelykhede tussen rasse het duidelik daaruit geblyk. Twintig jaar sedert demokrasie ingestel is, word transformasie in Suid-Afrikaanse sport toenemend deur die nasionale regering voorop gestel. Verskeie beleide is ontwikkel om herstel en gelykheid in sport te bewerkstellig. Die Suid-Afrikaanse Rugbyunie (Saru) en provinsiale rugbyunies het talle strategiese planne implementeer in hulle poging om rugby te transformeer en groter toegang tot die spel onder histories-benadeelde gemeenskappe te verseker. Ten spyte van pogings deur regerings- sowel as nieregeringsrolspelers oorheers blanke spelers steeds rugby op senior-nasionale en -provinsiale vlak, al is die meeste spelers op junior vlak nieblank.

Die navorsing fokus op die implementering van transformasiebeleide in rugby in die Wes-Kaap. Die navorsingsontwerp is 'n gevallestudie waarin die outeur 'n aantal onderhoude met rugbyadministrateurs en -bestuurders gevoer het wat tans of in die verlede by die Westelike Provinsie Rugby Voetbalunie (WPRVU) betrokke is of was. Die navorsingsdoelwit was om te kyk na die implementeringsinisiatiewe wat ingestel is, op die veld sowel as daarvan af, om transformasie in rugby in die Wes-Kaap te bewerkstellig. Die gevallestudie het gefokus op rugby op intermediêre vlak; rugby-instellings, skoolrugby en -werwings en klubrugby in die Wes-Kaap is ondersoek. Die navorsing het gefokus op die manier waarop transformasiebeleide op provinsiale en plaaslike vlak geïmplementeer is. Beleidsimplementering het geblyk 'n dinamiese en komplekse proses te wees waarop regerings- sowel as nieregeringsrolspelers 'n belangrike invloed het. Die teoretiese benadering tot die navorsing was dus 'n onder-na-bo-benadering tot openbare beleidsimplementering.

Die bevindinge toon dat, hoewel 'n streng kwotastelsel nie op spanne op intermediêre vlak toegepas is nie, die WPRVU wel transformasie deur middel van 'n aantal implementeringsinisiatiewe bevorder het. Dit geld in die besonder van transformasie weg van die veld af, waar die Unie se breër administratiewe struktuur diensbillikheid en voorkeurverkryging bevorder het. Bevindings wat rugby op skool- en klubvlak betref, het egter getoon dat daar steeds groot sosiale en ekonomiese ongelykhede tussen histories-bevoordeelde en -benadeelde groepe bestaan. Op hierdie vlak is die doelwit om gelykheid en toegang in rugby te bewerkstellig dus nog onbereik. Die navorsing beklemtoon dat

transformasie op senior provinsiale vlak 'n uitdaging sal bly, aangesien rugby nie kan ontsnap aan die sosio-ekonomiese konteks waarin dit gesetel is nie. Wat dus nodig is, is 'n verhoogde fokus om rugby op skool- en klubvlak te transformeer en dat benadeelde groepe bygestaan word om te verseker dat die speelveld vir rugby gelyk gemaak word.

Acknowledgements

Thank you to:

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Chapter 1

Introduction to the research

1.1 Introduction

Rugby is often perceived to be a game played and watched by a minority within South Africa. This minority is said to be mostly made up of white South Africans. Since 1992 with the establishment of a single rugby governing body in South Africa, in the form of the South African Rugby Football Union (SARFU)[1], the challenge has always been to make the game more representative at all levels. This point has been made clear over the years with national government's continuous accusation laid against SARU as not doing enough to transform rugby (De Klerk, Isaacson, Del Carme and Vice, 2014). This criticism is levelled against SARU despite their attempts to implement programs aimed at promoting the development of non-white rugby players from disadvantaged areas across South Africa (De Villiers, 2012). SARU, in their attempt to speed up transformation in the game, used the unofficial quota system[2] at both national and provincial levels to meet their transformation goals as expected by national government (Peacock, 2013). In rugby this unofficial policy has at times been received with a great deal of hostility from the wider public because players are perceived to be selected based on their race and not solely their playing ability. Hence, the term 'transformation' in South African rugby has come to take on a negative connotation.

Yet the narrative surrounding transformation has come to prominence within mainstream political discourse due to the years of racial oppression and discrimination which characterized the apartheid period. It was during the formal years of apartheid that non-white South Africans (Africans, Coloureds and Indians) were treated as second class citizens. The policy of apartheid enforced by the Nationalist Party (NP) led to disparities in healthcare, housing and schooling facilities between race groups. This legacy of unequal treatment impacted all areas of social, political and economic life in which its affects are still being felt. Thompson (1985:27) note that apartheid policies were underpinned by an Afrikaner nationalist methodology motivated by a belief in race superiority. These views, expressed through political propaganda and discourse, enforced the belief that race determines human ability. Much of this can be traced back to the lexicon of early Afrikaner nationalists. By recalling British imperialism and socioeconomic exclusion experienced by the Afrikaner

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[1] The name was subsequently changed in 2005 to the South African Rugby Union (SARU).

[2] In sport it refers to a process of selecting a certain percentage of non-white players in sporting teams.

'volk' the NP branded the policy of apartheid as being essential to ensure the survival and prosperity of the Afrikaner group. Steyn (2004:70) makes the point that Afrikaner 'whiteness' encompassed a unity of language, race and culture which established a unique identity incompatible with other races. It was through these views that the policy of apartheid became attractive with the NP and its constituency as an effective way of organizing South African society. French Philosopher Jacques Derrida (1985:290) states that it was these beliefs which entrenched racial ideology in which apartheid was normalized and gained legitimacy through political discourse.

By the time a democratic dispensation was established in 1994 high levels of poverty and illiteracy, skewed mainly on the basis of race, permeated the South African landscape. The backlog of deprivation which the new government, under the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC), inherited still remains evident to this day. The lack of material benefits afforded to non-white South Africans has had deleterious effects and continues to be one of the main hindrances toward democratic consolidation. While the author does not want to exhaust the topic of apartheid it is important to mention it at the onset of the research. This is due to the fact that the historical legacy remains an important contextual variable in which the research remains firmly embedded in. Any truthful discussion of transformation in South African rugby must be cognisant of the legacy of apartheid. This is best summed up by McGregor (2014) when she states "[a] proper debate needs to be opened up about the role of rugby in [South Africa] which takes into account the fact that it cannot be separated from the ecosystem in which it operates".

With that being said the remainder of the sections in the chapter lays the foundation for the research in which the priorities of the research will be presented. This will be done by firstly discussing the problem statement of the research. This statement serves to outline the problem which the research will attempt to address. This is followed by a detailed discussion of the research question in which the focus of the research becomes clear. A preliminary discussion of the research design will also be presented to show how answers to the research question have been obtained. Furthermore the chapter also presents a literature review of the research topic in which the author accounts for how others have studied transformation in South African rugby. From the available literature the author identifies three broad themes. These themes include: the historical and political patterns of development in rugby, the role of the quota system and affirmative action as well as the impact of professionalism and commercialism on transformation in rugby.

1.2 Problem statement

"I remain convinced that there are more black players who are capable of playing for South Africa than most people think…too many promising young players don't progress any further than under 21 level…more should be done to keep these young black players in the game from age-group level on so that they can be developed towards a standard where they can play international rugby" (Peter de Villiers in de Villiers and Rich, 2012:54).

When Jake White's under-21 Junior Springbok side won the Junior Rugby World Cup in 2002 a strong contingent of the group was made up of non-white rugby players. Similarly in 2005 when the team repeated that success, this time under the leadership of Peter de Villiers, many of the stand-out players of the tournament were black rugby players. The 2005 squad in particular featured a number of talented non-white players including: Thabang Molefe, Sangoni Mxoli and Earl Rose (de Villiers and Rich, 2012:53). Statistics released by SARU shows that in 2010 the demographics of rugby players in South Africa playing rugby between the ages of 11 and 19 years of age stood at 57% black and 43% white (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2012). Additional statistics presented by SARU showed that the demographic profile of junior national teams which included the South African Schools and South African under-20 side from the year 2007 till 2011 had over 40% black representation (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2012). These statistics show that a large portion of players playing at age-group levels are non-white rugby players with many of the most successful national under-19 and under-21 rugby teams having high levels of non-white rugby players.

Yet Savage (2007) makes the point that "[t]he problem has been that this success by black players in the lower levels and junior grades of the sport has not translated into representation at the elite level. In fact, the higher the level of rugby, the fewer black players seem to be on the field". Sulayman (2006) argues that despite the use of quotas in rugby and numerous transformation programs the number of non-white rugby players playing professional rugby at national and provincial levels remains low. Sulayman (2006:49) highlighted that in a 14 year period, spanning from the year 1992 till 2006, only 36 non-white players have represented the South African national rugby team, The Springboks, out of a total of approximately 308 rugby players. This equates to 8.5% of players playing for The Springboks being non-white rugby players with 91.5% of the squad being made up of white rugby players (Sulayman, 2006:49). Similar findings were found by Du Toit, Durandt, Joshua, Masimla and Lambert (2012) in which the researchers attempted to quantify the

number and playing time of South African professional rugby players at four levels. Du Toit *et al.* (2012) showed that at the level of Vodacom Cup[3], Currie Cup[4], Super Rugby[5] and Springboks there were proportionally more white players in national and provincial teams as it stood at the end of the 2011 rugby season. Further findings by the researchers showed that at the Springbok level, 72% of the national team was made up of white players while Coloureds and Blacks made up 19% and 9% respectively (Du Toit *et al.*, 2012:5). These findings are reinforced by a transformation status report released in 2013 by Sports and Recreation South Africa which mapped transformation across five sporting codes. In the field of rugby the report shows that black representation at senior provincial rugby was fairly poor (Sport and Recreation South Africa, 2013:69).

This picture presented above seems paradoxical in that age-group level rugby in South Africa has more non-white rugby players while at senior professional rugby white rugby players form the bulk of the professional rugby playing squads. The argument therefore can be made that the level of rugby which links age-group and senior level rugby is an important area to examine in order to establish what potentially affects the transformation of South African rugby. This level of rugby is defined by the author as being the intermediate level. Within the intermediate level of rugby there are two important points to consider.

Firstly at the intermediate level of rugby teams are made up of under-19 and under-21 year old players. These age-group categories are seen as being the 'feeding systems' to the senior professional teams. It is important to note that while teams who make up the intermediate level are also age specific it differs, for the purpose of this research, from 'age-group' level rugby which refers more to junior rugby from under-10 to under-18. Secondly at the intermediate level, the provincial rugby unions play an important role because before players reach senior professional rugby they start out within junior provincial ranks. It is at this level then that the state of transformation in South African rugby should be examined with a specific focus on the implementation of transformation at the provincial and junior levels of the game.

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[3] An annual professional provincial rugby competition held in South Africa. Often seen as the third tier of competition behind the Currie Cup and Super Rugby competitions.

[4] An annual professional provincial rugby competition held in South Africa. Seen as being the premier rugby tournament in South Africa.

[5] A regional rugby competition held annually featuring teams from Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.

1.3 Research question

Given the above mentioned synopsis it becomes clear that there is a perceived lack of transformation within South African rugby that stems from both within and outside national government. This in spite of the existence of numerous national policies on sport and recreation developed post-apartheid. These early sport policies included: the White Paper on Sport and Recreation (1996) and The National Sport and Recreation Act (No. 110 of 1998) which addressed issued of equity, representation and redress in South African sport. SARU in their attempt to align with the expectations by national government developed their own plans and programs over the years to bring about transformation. These earlier plans included the adoption of 'Vision 2003' as well as establishing the Transformation Charter in 2006.

These strategic documents focused on, but not limited to, increasing the growth of rugby in non-white communities, ensuring equitable access to resources and facilities and development of skills both on and off the field. In addition to SARU all 14 Provincial Rugby Unions, as an affiliate organization, has committed to the strategic initiatives of the National Rugby Federation in which they play a key role in bringing about transformation within their respective regions. Yet despite the efforts of both SARU and Provincial Rugby Unions to support disadvantaged players the game is still dominated by white players at senior levels. Hence this leads to the research question formulated below as:

How have transformation policies in rugby been implemented in the Western Cape?

Transformation, throughout the course of this research, is not only seen in terms of race but comes to encapsulated much of what is viewed as the historically advantaged and disadvantaged groups. By historically disadvantaged the author is referring to those groups subjected to unfair practices of the past to be to the benefit of the historically advantaged. These practices have perpetuated social, political and economic inequality. Transformation then is aimed at integration to ensure a more equitable society which bridges the historically advantaged and disadvantaged gap. Transformation can often be seen to take place in a society with a history of unfair or unequal treatment. In South Africa the terms 'transformation' and 'affirmative action' are often seen as being synonymous. Affirmative action can be defined as 'corrective measures' put in place to create a more equal society, specifically to be to the benefit of those who were disadvantaged during the years of apartheid which lasted a period of 46 years (Ndletyana, 2008:78).

Within the context of sport The White Paper on Sport and Recreation defines transformation "as a process of holistically changing the delivery of sport through the actions of individuals and organisations that comprise the sport sector" (White Paper on Sport and Recreation, 2012:9). This definition shows both the logic of public policy as well as who is responsible for bringing about transformation in sport. Therefore transformation policies, in the context of rugby and this study, can be viewed as a process of holistic integration and change brought on by a number of different role players. These role players have to ensure that rugby creates a platform which promotes equity and access to disadvantaged individuals so as to create a more equal society. This is fundamental when it comes to transformation.

Through the research question it also becomes clear that the objective of the research is to focus on transformation of rugby in the Western Cape. The focus on rugby played in the Western Cape was motivated by both practical and academic reasons. From a practical point of view there are two reasons. Firstly the author is situated in close proximity to Stellenbosch and Cape Town which is known for their rich rugby history and considered to be 'hotbeds' for talent identification. Secondly no funding was received for the research thus to make it financially feasible and practically possible to execute the author decided to limit the study to rugby played in the Western Cape.

From an academic perspective focusing on the Western Cape is useful for a number of reasons. Firstly, rugby is particularly popular amongst the non-white population in the Western Cape in which rugby was first played by non-whites in the region over a century ago. Secondly the organization in charge of running rugby in the Western Cape, namely the Western Province Rugby Football Union (WPRFU), is one of the biggest Provincial Rugby Unions in South Africa and therefore forms an integral part of the South African rugby landscape. The Western Cape therefore is a useful place for scholars interested in transformation of rugby to carry out research.

Furthermore when looking at transformation of rugby played in the Western Cape a number of areas will be explored. These include how the WPRFU has gone about achieving transformation in the region both on and off the field. Particular focus will also be placed on rugby played at the intermediate level. Through exploring these implementation initiatives the author is also interested in answering two important questions. Firstly do these implementation initiatives ensure that more talented rugby players from disadvantaged backgrounds are absorbed into the intermediate provincial ranks? And secondly are these

players assisted to make the step up from the intermediate levels of rugby to senior provincial and national rugby sides? The reason for this being done is that the author believes this is one area where establishing more representative teams should start. Focus on the intermediate level comes to include a detailed discussion on a number of different pathways to the intermediate level of rugby. These pathways include: rugby academies/institutes, school rugby and recruitment as well as club level rugby. By focusing on these pathways a number of factors critical to transformation are highlighted namely: demographic representation, access to the game and provision of resources and facilities.

1.4 Limitation of the study

As the research focuses on rugby played in the Western Cape one of the limitations of the study is that it does not lend itself easily towards making generalizations about rugby played across South Africa as it is limited to only one case. The author acknowledges that findings into the Western Cape could likely differ from findings into rugby played in other provinces.

1.5 Research design

The research design is a case study. The case study focuses on the implementation of rugby in the Western Cape. In order to answer the research question the author conducted a number of interviews with rugby administrators and managers, both past and present, involved at the WPRFU in an attempt to understand if and how transformation policies have been carried out in the region. In addition a Director of Sport in the province was also interviewed to gain a different perspective on transformation within rugby in the Western Cape. These interviews were studied in conjunction with the White Paper on Sport and Recreation (2012), the National Sport and Recreation Plan (2012) and the Transformation Charter (2012), all of which are considered as formal government policy on transformation in South African sport. These policy documents are used as a measuring tool in which transformation in rugby is assessed. The research design is discussed at greater length in chapter 3.

1.6 Literature review: analysing scholarly work in the field

Cornelissen (2011:3) highlights how one has seen the development of a rich historiography which maps out the pre-colonial, colonial and twentieth-century influence of sport in the shaping of South Africa's social and political community. Within rugby this is apparent in the scholarly work of Grundlingh, Odendaal and Spies (1995), Nauright and Chandler (1996) and Booth (1998). These scholars have all emphasised the social, historical and political significance of rugby within South African society. Therefore the first theme to be addressed

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sheds light on the history of rugby in South Africa, particularly within the Western Cape, in which scholars have highlighted how rugby was also deeply integrated in the political struggles during the years of apartheid. In the post-1994 period the link between rugby and politics still remains evident. This is an important theme to address as although it does not focus solely on transformation it shows that because of the history of rugby it is inescapable political and therefore necessitates the need for transformation in rugby post-apartheid.

Another area of concern for scholars has been to evaluate transformation policies implemented in South African rugby. This evaluation has often focused on the use of the quota system and affirmative action at senior national level rugby. How scholars in the field have evaluated transformation policies in rugby can be placed on different if not competing ends in which scholars have argued both for and against the redress mechanism. A final theme to be addressed focuses on how other scholars have accounted for the impact of professionalism and commercialism on the wider transformation of South African rugby.

1.6.1 Historical and political patterns of development in South African rugby

As already mentioned the formal years of apartheid left behind considerable socioeconomic challenges which remain prevalent 20 years since a democratic wave swept across South Africa. To overcome this legacy of apartheid the ANC sought to transform all areas of social, political and economic life. Yet the methods used to transform the South African landscape were not always agreed upon both within the political and public domain. Farquharson and Marjoribanks (2003:28) makes the point that "[o]ne area in which the transformation of the South African nation has been the subject of fierce contestation is the sporting arena, notably in debates around the relationship between rugby union and the post-apartheid nation-building process".

It is often argued that rugby in South Africa, and sport in general, should be free from politics in which merit alone should determine the composition of senior national and provincial teams. Yet it can also be argued that because rugby in South Africa was played and governed by separate bodies according to race it therefore cannot be excluded from the broader political events of its time. This is best summarized by a famous anti-apartheid slogan stating that there can be 'no normal sport in an abnormal society' (Botma, 2010:3). This is particularly true when one highlights scholarly work which maps out the historical development of rugby in South Africa. By accounting for the historical patterns of rugby in South Africa one can show the role it played in shaping society. Furthermore rugby was also

a medium in which non-white South Africans became deeply integrated into the political struggle during the years of apartheid.

Many rugby writers and historians including Dobson (1989), Grundlingh (1996) and Dunn (2009) note that the first documented proof of a game resembling rugby played in South Africa can be traced as far back as the late 19th century. Rugby, although somewhat unstructured, was first played in the Cape at the Diocesan Collegiate School, now known as Diocesan College or simply its more popular term Bishops. Soon after the game was introduced the first football club was established in the Western Cape, Hamilton Football Club, and a few years later in 1883 the Western Province Rugby Football Union was established (Dobson, 1989:184). After the game was introduced at Cape Town it spread to Stellenbosch in the late 19th century which would later become the "Mecca of twentieth-century South African rugby" (Grundlingh, 1996:182). Dunn (2009:7) notes how the development of rugby in Stellenbosch also led to the process of "[r]ugby quickly being incorporated into Afrikaner nationalist culture as an embodiment of the values of Afrikanerdom". Within the Western Cape a number of clubs were formed in the 19th century including, but not limited to: United Banks, Woodstock, Gardens and Suburban Wanderers. Sadly, some of these clubs no longer exist. Rugby within the Western Cape began to thrive in the late 19th to early 20th century and soon spread to other parts of South Africa including Natal, Eastern Province, Kimberley and later Transvaal (Morrell, 1996:93).

While rugby in South Africa became the embodiment of Afrikaner identity non-white rugby also has a rich and proud history which was not always acknowledged within the mainstream South African rugby canon. Odendaal (1995) presents one of the first accounts of non-white rugby in South Africa mapping the history of rugby played by both black and coloured South Africans. Rugby, it was found, was also adopted by non-whites in the late 1900s. The early period of rugby also saw the rise of a number of black and coloured rugby clubs which had a long and illustrious history. These include Roslyns Rugby Football Club, Good Hope and Woodstock Rangers (Nauright, 1999:29). This means that the history of non-white rugby in South Africa spans over a century in which it comes to stand on an equal footing with the history and development of white rugby in the country.

Nowhere is this history more apparent than rugby played by non-whites in the Western Cape. Dobson (1989:184) shows how the first coloured rugby union established in 1886 was the Western Province Coloured Rugby Union which, apart from the Western Province Rugby

Football Union, is the oldest union in South Africa. The union organized matches across the region in which strong coloured communities in Green Point, Mowbray, Newlands and District Six all supported local rugby clubs in and around the area (Nauright, 1999:30). Many other unions were also formed in the Cape which includes the City and Suburban Rugby Football Union, established in 1898, which was made up of a number of clubs in the city and the surrounding suburbs (Scheepers, 1998:6). All of this changed with the introduction of the Group Areas Act of 1950 (Welsh, 2009:55). This apartheid law resulted in coloured communities being uprooted from areas deem suitable only for white occupation and forced to settle on the outskirts of Cape Town. This impacted negatively on rugby played in the Western Cape with many clubs eventually being destroyed because of forced removals. The diaspora of Coloureds across the Cape Flats is still one of the most prominent legacies left behind by apartheid in which poverty and limited opportunities remain a stark reality. In turn this legacy has impacted on rugby development in many of these disadvantaged communities in which access to the game, facilities and resources are some of the biggest challenges.

The policy of apartheid not only impacted on rugby played in the Western Cape but also the rest of South Africa. As society at large was structured according to racial lines so too was rugby played along racial lines. This point is made clear when one identifies how both Black and Coloured South Africans had different rugby governing bodies. Dunn (2009:11) notes how non-white rugby was represented by two separate bodies in the form of the South African Coloured Rugby Board (SACRB) and the South African Bantu Rugby Board (SABRB). During the years of apartheid these non-white rugby bodies were excluded from participation in national rugby. However, non-white rugby's commitment to the democratic struggle became clear when both non-white rugby bodies changed their names. SABRB was the first to change its name to the South African African Rugby Board (SAARB) this was followed by the SACRB changing its name to the South African Rugby Union (SARU) (Desai and Nabbi, 2007:402). This blunt rejection of the apartheid designated terms 'bantu' and 'coloured' signalled the beginning of its commitment to the wider democratic movement (Dunn, 2009:11). Dunn (2009:11) highlights how this alignment to the democratic struggle saw tension exist between SARU, who rejected the state's sport policy, and the South African Rugby Board (SARB), who connived with the state's sport policy.

The tension within South African rugby continued throughout the years of apartheid and into the period of unification. Grundlingh (1998:68) reiterates this point when he notes how "[t]he unification process between anti-apartheid rugby organisations and establishment mainly

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white organisations which followed in the wake of political changes after 1990 was a painful and slow process". The unity talks in South African rugby came to closely resemble the political negotiation process in the form of the Convention for a Democratic South Africa (CODESA). This is because the unification of rugby came to reflect all of the obstacles and contestations which the broader South African society needed to deal with including: the need for transformation, negotiations and reconciliation (Cornelissen, 2011).

The winning of the Rugby World Cup in 1995 was seen by many as marking a new beginning for South African rugby. Yet 20 years into post-apartheid South Africa transformation in rugby remains a contested and controversial topic both within the political and public domain. One of the first noticeable examples of this occurred in 1999 when former Springbok coach Nick Mallet was planning on leaving a promising non-white player out of the match day squad for a critical rugby test match. Mallet went on to state that he would refuse to budge on selecting players to act as mere 'window dressing' stating that at international level rugby players need to be selected on merit (Mallet in Desai and Nabbi, 2007:406). Yet the merit case of selection was not agreed to by everyone. Gavin Rich, a well-respected rugby writer, challenged the idea of merit selection highlighting how non-white players were not afforded the same opportunities as their white counter parts. Rich noted that the criteria applied to talented young white players and talented young non-white players were not the same. Rich notes:

> "[w]ould Dave von Hoesslin [a white player], given his inexperience at the top level and the rough edges to his play, have played scrum-half for South Africa were he born black? Breyton Paulse [a black player] would never have played in Dunedin were it not for the pressure from those campaigning for transformation. Some of us were told in Cardiff that he was not going to play, the reason being that Carisbrook was considered a tough place for a young player to play his first big test. When I asked management why they did not use the same criterion with Von Hoesslin, I did not receive an answer. Probably because there is no really satisfactory one" (Rich in Farquharson and Marjoribanks, 2003:40).

Despite the controversy the incident created an even bigger racial battle would soon emerge that went on to make both national and international headlines. In preparation for the 2003 Rugby World Cup Geo Cronje, a white player, refused to share a room with teammate Quinton Davids, a player of colour, at a Springbok training camp. Both players were

eventually kicked out of the team in which the case against Cronje was subsequently dropped. Yet as Desai and Nabbi (2007:410) note this was done only to cover up the incidence in which *Kampstaaldraad*, loosely translated into camp steel wire, was uncovered. The camp was a military style operation geared at preparing the players for the tournament yet the methods used caused an outcry across South African society. Since then one has seen a number of other incidences in which rugby has been placed increasingly under the spot light. Over the years numerous political figures have weighed in on the transformation debate in rugby including ANC stalwarts Trevor Manuel and Gwede Mantashe.

The previous discussions indicate that rugby has yet to move beyond the confines of race in which it remains as political now as it was during the years of apartheid. Furthermore by highlighting how scholars have mapped the historical patterns of rugby it becomes clear that the separation of sporting bodies on the basis of race led to great disparities between groups in which the natural evolution of non-white rugby was stunted. Hence the need for transformation in rugby is underpinned by undoing the historical injustices of the past.

1.6.2 The quota system and affirmative action in South African rugby

The success of the Springboks at the 1995 Rugby World Cup is often highlighted as an example of how sport can act as a vehicle for reconciliation and nation-building. The Springbok, for so long a symbol of exclusion and Afrikaner nationalism, took on a type of grandeur unseen before. The iconic moment which saw Nelson Mandela wear the Springbok jersey paved the way for a 'new' South Africa this in spite of the team composition consisting of only one non-white rugby player, Chester Williams. Yet by the time the next Rugby World Cup arrived in 1999 a greater debated had started to arise about the composition of the national team (Desai and Nabbi, 2007:405). In order to fast track transformation in South African rugby one measure implemented was that of the quota system. How scholars have come to understand and look at transformation policies, which is often under the guise of the quota system, at senior national level rugby can be placed on different and competing ends. On the one hand some scholars note that transformation policies implemented in rugby are insufficient in bringing about true change and ensuring proper representation (Sulayman, 2006). On the other hand others argue that it is a tool used by national government to enforce their views on all spheres of life (Merrett, Tatz and Adair, 2011).

Sulayman (2006) evaluated transformation policies in rugby by using a questionnaire to survey members of the public on their understanding of transformation in rugby. The study

also evaluated a survey conducted on a Springbok team in 2003 in which rugby players views of transformation was highlighted. The researcher argued that despite clear guidelines from the South African Sports Confederation and Olympic Committee (SASCOC) change remains slow and inconsistent in South African rugby because many perceptions exist as to what transformation actually means (Sulayman, 2006:25). The researcher further found that how the national government, SARU, rugby players as well as the rugby public in general saw transformation differed from the one to the other (Sulayman, 2006:25). As a result affirmative action programs implemented by government and used as guidelines for transformation in sport can be perceived to mean a 'quota' selection of players.

Sulayman (2006:31) further made the point that while large parts of the South African rugby community saw the 'quota' system as being imposed on SARU to implement, the national government has never imposed any quotas on any South African sporting federation. This is due to the fact that policy formulated in the National Sports and Recreation Amendment Act (2006) recognises the position of international sporting bodies which requires that sport should be free of government interference. Moreover, sport and rugby in particular is recognised by government as being a national asset and therefore good and responsible governance of this sector is required (Sulayman, 2006:35). As a result the Minister of Sport and Recreation has had to rely on the goodwill and support of the various South African sports federations to carry out this responsibility. Thus the argument is made that rather than the 'quota' system being imposed on SARU by national government the South African rugby board makes use of 'quota' players to meet transformation objectives (Sulayman, 2006:39). Desai and Nabbi (2007:408) reinforce this point as they note that when looking at transformation in South African rugby the quota system used by those in charge of the game "had become the central mechanism for giving black players a chance".

The implementation of quotas in South African rugby was received with mixed reactions. Chester Williams noted that "[q]uotas are necessary in South African rugby. Without the quota system there would still be limited opportunities for black players" (Williams in Keohane, 2002:157). The use of the quota system allows for talented non-white rugby players to be given exposure and additional time at a high level and thus to ultimately prove their worth. Keohane (2004) reiterates this point highlighting that the quota system has allowed for talented black rugby players to come through the system. Yet the way the quota was being implemented needed to be addressed as it failed to bring about any meaningful change of the composition of senior level rugby teams. This point is noted by Keohane (2004:50) when he

argued that "the implementation of the system has for too many years relied on the selection of two black wings plus 13 white players". In this way quotas come to resemble nothing more than 'window-dressing' in which true transformation is not forthcoming.

As a result there are a number of limitations of the use of the quota system which needs to be addressed. Firstly the use of the quota system has cast doubt over the selection of non-white rugby players in senior provincial and national teams. Williams note that "[i]t creates the perception that if it were not for the quota system then a player would not be good enough to take his place in the team" (Williams in Keohane, 2002:157). Williams further note that this ultimately impacts negatively on non-white players as they become unsure of themselves and their place in the team (Williams in Keohane, 2002:157). This self-doubt, in turn, is detrimental to the psyche of non-white players and could result in poor on-field performance. Secondly as quotas are based on race the system allows for an automatic classification of all non-white rugby players as being 'development players' without taking into account individual circumstances. Desai and Nabbi (2007:409) highlight in one instance a former Springbok hooker only acquired the label of 'quota' and 'development' at senior level rugby even though he was one of the best in his position at a junior grade. This shows that while quotas in rugby might have had good intentions it is used by some rugby stakeholders to simply comply without really committing to transformation. In this way the status quo of South African rugby remains unchanged. Thus it is argued by these scholars that more should be done to bring about transformation in South African rugby than currently is the case.

Conversely there are others who argue that the use of quotas and affirmative action has gone against democratic ideals of equal opportunities and justice for all (Höglund and Sundberg, 2008:810). Merrett *et al.* (2011:766) asks the question "is past omission and exclusion reason enough to insist that there be a new system of positive discrimination to counter and to balance the negative discrimination?". A similar point is raised by former Springbok captain Corné Krige when he posed the question "[w]ith quotas, is there not a danger of denying some highly talented young white players their place in a team because room must be found for a specified number of black players?" (Krige and Bills, 2005:150). The different treatment of rugby players based on race prompts sentiments of discrimination which diminishes any reconciliation benefits (Höglund and Sundberg, 2008:810). From these positions affirmative action in rugby is challenged on the basis that it is a betrayal on behalf of the present day government of the very same non-racial ideals which they agreed to

uphold. These agreements played a central role in the relatively peaceful transition which came to characterize the negotiations for a democratic South Africa.

Furthermore Merrett *et al.* (2011) argue that how transformation policies in sport, particularly in rugby and cricket, are implemented is used by national government to impose their views on society. To this point the researchers make the point that the introduction of the quota system "in South African sport has emerged as a way for a powerful new elite to turn history on its head" (Merrett *et al.*, 2011:765). The researchers argue further that transformation policies in sport are used by the present day government both in an open and aggressive way which leads to a sense of entitlement to do as they please (Merrett *et al.*, 2011:765). This is often justified on the basis of the victimhood of the African majority during apartheid (Merrett *et al.*, 2011:765). In addition the researchers state that one needs to ask why there is so much emphasis on transformation in South African rugby, a white dominate sport, yet the same criteria are not applied to the national soccer team which is virtually all black (Merrett *et al.*, 2011:769). Ultimately the quotas used in sport and rugby for that matter, it is said, merely reflects an ignorance about the past and present (Merrett *et al.*, 2011:765).

Some of the arguments above have several possible limitations which merit further discussion. This is because much of the arguments above encapsulate the general rationale of those against affirmative action in rugby. The first short fall exists in terms of the argument made that greater emphasis is placed on transformation in rugby when there is not the same pressure applied on the soccer administration in South Africa. This line of argument is often followed by stating that rugby in South Africa is a sport dominated by white players and as a result this will naturally lead to a team which reflects the racial make-up of the sport. Yet findings by SARU in 2010 show this to be inaccurate. The report by SARU highlighted that in the age-group teams between 11 and 19 years of age there were more non-white rugby players playing the game in South Africa compared to their white counter parts (Parliamentary Portfolio Group, 2012). At club level rugby there is an even great majority of non-whites playing the game when compared to white rugby players in which non-whites accounted for close to 70% of all club rugby players (Parliamentary Portfolio Group, 2012).

In addition to this Fisher (2013) makes the point that local soccer in South Africa is dominated by black South Africans. This is largely due to the historical role of the sport in South Africa as being tied closely to the black working class during the years of apartheid. This is not to say that white South Africans do not play soccer. The rise of Varsity Football in

the last few years bears testament to this. The final of the Varsity Football competition in 2014, featuring the University of Johannesburg and the University of Pretoria, had a number of white players in their match day squads (Varsity Sport, 2014). Instead one can highlight how there exists a negative perception around soccer in South Africa. Matthew Booth, a South African soccer player, notes that very few schools in South Africa offer soccer on their sporting calendar (Aarons, 2010). This view is further elaborated by Neil Tovey, a former South African soccer captain, when he made the point that a majority of schools that have large white demographics do not offer soccer as a school sport (Tovey in Lerman, 2014). Tovey stops short of labelling this as racial discrimination but can definitely be seen as discrimination against soccer (Tovey in Lerman, 2014). These schools tend to place far greater attention on developing rugby and cricket in which minimal resources and opportunities are made available to get learners to play soccer at school.

Furthermore in many cases where one finds white South Africans who are interested in and who play soccer tend to place their allegiance with teams in Europe particularly the United Kingdom and not local soccer teams (Fisher, 2013). Tovey makes the point that soccer in South Africa has a great interest and following particularly amongst English speaking whites yet their attention is focused almost exclusively on well-known overseas clubs including: Manchester United, Liverpool and Real Madrid (Tovey in Lerman, 2014). Ultimately Keohane (2013) sums it up best when he makes the point that "rugby is not the number one spectator sport in South Africa. It never has been. It is primarily a sport played by whites and watched by whites, yet the future of South African rugby will never be restricted to whites".

A second possible shortfall can be placed on the argument that redress mechanism goes against the commitment to a non-racial society as it discriminates on the basis of skin colour. Firstly, the Constitution of South Africa guarantees three types of rights namely: cultural, political and socio-economic rights (Ndletyana, 2008:94). Currently it is debatable whether these rights are widely enjoyed by the majority of South Africans. Thus in order to realize these objectives one would require some form of race based policy to address the shortcomings which exist. One can argue then that the fact that the policy reflects a preference for one race over the other is not a reflection of the lack of commitment to a non-racial society but rather a reflection of the nature of inequality in South Africa (Ndletyana, 2008:94). As Desai and Nabbi (2007:409) note instead of affirmative action being discriminatory it is an attempt to provide benefits to historically marginalized group who were on the receiving end of past political inequalities.

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This logic can also be applied to rugby, and sport in general, played within South Africa. Given the historical legacies of exclusion and inequality rugby was played under different rugby administrations. Between these different rugby bodies there existed great disparities in terms of resources and skills training. These legacies have still not sufficiently been dealt with and as a result non-white players do not and cannot compete on the same level as their white counterparts post-apartheid. Thus one could argue that the fact that there is a call for a redress mechanism in rugby is a reflection of the nature of inequality in terms of how rugby is played and administrated both on and off the field in South Africa. These debates surrounding transformation in South African rugby highlighted above does not seem to be drawing to a close for at least the foreseeable future.

1.6.3 The impact of professionalism and commercialism on transformation in rugby

Another area which scholars have noted that impacts on transformation is the rise of the professionalism and the commercialism of rugby. Rugby played as a professional game has a fairly short history. The game of rugby only started being played professionally in 1996. Before the rise in professionalism rugby was a game rooted firmly in the amateur code with the majority of rugby players holding down steady day jobs. Scholars interested in South African rugby have highlighted how the era of professionalism has also brought with it commercialism and the rise of monopoly capitalism in which rugby ceased to exist as solely a hobby but rather as a business. One has seen the emergence of strong investment interest in rugby in which television deals, branding rights and lucrative sponsorship deals have become a big part of the modern professional game. Furthermore the rise of professionalism in rugby has filtered down into the lower levels of the game including both club and school level rugby. This rise in professionalism in turn only complicated the matter of transforming rugby.

Rich (2013:91) notes how the face of rugby union was changed with an announcement made on the eve of the Rugby World Cup final of 1995. The announcement was that the first television broadcasting deal was signed between Rupert Murdoch, the owner of News Corporation, and the three southern hemisphere rugby powers, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, to cover the newly established Tri-Nations[6] and Super Rugby tournament to commence the following year. The deal ensured broadcasting rights of the two show piece

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[6] A Southern Hemisphere rugby tournament established in 1996 contested annually between Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. In 2012 Argentina was added to the tournament in which the name has subsequently changed to the Rugby Championship.

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rugby union tournaments in the southern hemisphere for a ten year period which amounted to $555 million (Luyt, 2004).

Yet this deal to acquire the broadcasting rights of these two rugby union tournaments was not clear cut. Rich (2013:91) highlighted how the period was characterised by a "global war" in rugby union between two rival factions. One of the primary reasons why the deal with News Corporation was agreed on was to stave off the operations of Super League, who wanted to acquire the services of the top rugby players in the Southern Hemisphere by offering them substantial rugby playing contracts (Rich, 2013:91). Rich (2013:91) makes the point that this broadcasting deal "signalled the end of the old amateur ethos that still underpinned the game". Suddenly rugby was a sport with huge investment potential which led to great returns for investors. This led to a complete paradigm shift of how South African rugby would operate in the 21st century.

In addition the rise of commercialism, brought on by rugby turning professional, impacted all areas of the way the game was played and administered. This in turn had a profound impact on transformation of rugby in the country. Desai and Nabbi (2007:404) note that by giving the broadcasting rights to a pay-for-view channel this move has cut off a large portion of potential rugby viewers in South Africa. This is due to the fact that pay-for-view channels are considered a luxury. A luxury not afforded by the vast majority of the population. In essence one can argue that the commercialism of rugby has also led to the exclusivity of rugby in South Africa. By limiting the television audience the game of rugby cannot grow as it cuts off a large segment of the country, many of which are the historically disadvantaged and the target of transformation.

Yet the decision to sell the broadcasting rights was justified on the basis that the deal would lead to greater profits which in turn could be used to invest in transformation and development of the game (Desai and Nabbi, 2007:405). A similar argument was made with the hosting of the 1995 Rugby World Cup. It was argued by the South African rugby authorities that the tournament would generate considerable amounts of revenue which could be used to grow the game particularly in disadvantaged areas (Desai and Nabbi, 2010:56). To receive the political backing to host the tournament the National Rugby Federation committed to upgrade rugby facilities across South Africa with money generated from hosting the tournament. SARU noted that over the past 20 years it had invested close to half a billion rand in the transformation and development of rugby in South Africa (Parliamentary

Monitoring Group, 2013). A great deal of these investments is only made possible through income generated from selling the broadcasting rights of rugby.

Keohone (2004:155) reaffirms this point by highlighting that by the year 2004 more than half of SARU's annual income was generated by broadcasting deals. After a decade this has remained fairly consistent. This shows that modern day rugby is firmly entrenched into the capitalist world order in which free market capitalism is playing an ever increasing role in the game. To this point Desai and Nabbi (2007:405) note that "[i]f politicians thought they were going to dominate the pace of change, clearly there were new competing interests". These interests in the form of private business have a considerable influence on the pace at which change is carried out in South African rugby. This is because in order to bring about transformation and development within sport in South Africa national government has highlighted how funding is a central component of achieving this goal (Desai, 2010:5). In order to generate the funds needed to bring about transformation and development one requires private business to get involved to help fund initiatives. Thus one can argue that the speed at which the transformation agenda in South African rugby is carried out is greatly dictated by the role of private business.

As mentioned the commercialism of rugby, through the move to full professionalism, has also filtered down to the lower levels at which rugby is being played. Howe (1999) conducted a study on the impact of professionalism on rugby played at a club level. The researcher found that with rugby turning professional it has also necessitated a complete change in how club rugby is both played and administrated (Howe, 1999:166). This is due to the fact that the rise in professionalism has resulted in club players being remunerated for their commitment and contribution towards the clubs success (Howe, 1999:166). This in spite of club rugby considered to be part of the amateur side of the game.

Desai and Nabbi (2010) reported similar findings for a rugby club in Kwazulu-Natal in which they note how financial investment has started to play a greater role in rugby played at club level in South Africa. The researchers highlighted how, in terms of sponsorship deals, many clubs, particularly those situated in disadvantaged communities, are dependent on these deals to survive. These sponsorship deals help to cover operational costs, transportation as well as paying players and coaching staff salaries (Desai and Nabbi, 2010:63). Without this financial assistance many of the rugby clubs in disadvantaged areas would struggle to operate on a day-to-day base. Berger (2007) also made this point highlighting how many traditionally non-

white rugby clubs across South Africa struggle with the basic administrative costs of running and maintaining the club. This then ultimately also impacts on transformation in South African rugby as the erosion of club rugby in disadvantaged areas leads to many non-white players falling out of the system.

Furthermore, Desai and Nabbi (2010:64) note that talented non-white players are often lured away from their parent clubs in the pursuit of better financial rewards for their services. In these instances one has seen it being a regular occurrence in South African club rugby in which smaller, less wealthy clubs, lose players to bigger and wealthier rugby clubs. These players are not always given a sufficient chance at their newly adopted clubs in which non-white players are bought by bigger clubs to meet transformation targets and objectives. Desai and Nabbi (2010:64) highlight how these clubs seek to acquire non-white players who have the talent without the need to invest money in developing non-white talent of their own. This hinders transformation because by acquiring only the best non-white players from other rugby clubs there is no sustainable development to ensure that more talented non-white players are developed. This shows that the rise of commercialism through professional rugby has extended into the amateur ranks in which financial incentives hinder transformation at this level.

Researchers have also highlighted how rugby played at a school level is being influenced by the knock on effects of the commercialism of professional rugby. Grundlingh (2008) highlights how financial interest did not only have an impact at senior level rugby but one has also seen rugby at school level become a commercial product. This is due to the fact that rugby played at school level, particularly at high school, forms the foundation of South African rugby (McGregor, 2013:13). It is during these years that talented rugby players are groomed to eventually go onto play senior professional rugby. As a result this is an area in which investment naturally followed to further nurture and develop the future Springboks.

Rugby as a commercial product at school level is particularly true when one accounts for the rise in popularity of big high school rugby tournaments such as Easter rugby festivals, rugby weeks and classic clashes to name just a few. In these instances large business firms and banks act as sponsors of the school rugby tournaments and in the process rugby played at school level is turned into a commodity with a view on future dividends (Grundlingh, 2008). This has greatly changed the way rugby is played at school level. In some instances many of the wealthier schools come close to operating on a rugby budget which stands on par with

some of the smaller rugby unions in South Africa. This also impacts on transformation at this level in a similar manner described at club level rugby. At school level rugby one has seen talented black rugby players attending poorer schools being bought by bigger and richer rugby schools. McGregor (2014) notes this when she highlights how black rugby players from disadvantaged areas are becoming commodities in which richer schools buy non-white players to bring up their levels of demographic representation with many of them being given very little time to sufficiently prove themselves. This also hinders transformation as many of these talented non-white players eventually fall out of the rugby system instead of being provided with additional time and support to adjust to their new environment.

Furthermore, while rugby turning professional has allowed for greater investment in rugby at school level some highlight that there are disparities in terms of investment into advantaged and disadvantaged schools. Butana Khompela, a former head of the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Sport and Recreation, argued that "big business in the townships do not help black schools…Business is biased against black schools because the thinking seems to be that they get better returns when they invest in white schools" (Khompela in Desai, 2010:5). In this sense private business is criticized on the basis that they mainly invest in areas where they can see some return on their investment. Desai and Nabbi (2010:75) put forward a similar argument when they noted that private business often see disadvantaged areas and schools as not being a viable area to invest as their products have no market there. Advantaged schools, however, are more likely to receive investments as there is potential for private business to gain new clients (Grundlingh, 2008). From this discussion it becomes clear that the rise of professionalism has complicated the pace and direction of transformation in South African rugby. The commercialism of rugby at senior professional rugby has also filtered down into rugby played at a lower level most notable at school and club level where the game is increasingly becoming a commercial product.

The literature review presented above accounted for how others have studied transformation and rugby in South Africa. The themes discussed encapsulate much of the work done in the field. Yet from the literature review it also becomes clear that most of the studies into transformation in South African rugby (e.g. Sulayman 2006, Desai and Nabbi 2007 and Du Toit *et al*. 2012) have looked mainly at player representation at senior national and provincial level rugby. The research study is therefore unique as it makes two meaningful contributions. Firstly, the study focuses on what is currently being done to ensure that promising talented players, particularly those from disadvantaged backgrounds, make it to the highest echelons

of the professional game. This differs from existing studies as there is little to no research on transformation in the transition of rugby players from junior provincial sides to senior professional rugby. Secondly, the research also differs from the existing literature as this study of transformation in rugby is grounded in implementation studies, in which it is approach from a public policy background,

1.7 Conclusion

This chapter has showed that the research will be focusing on how transformation policies in rugby have been implemented in the Western Cape. The research will focus on how the WPRFU have gone about achieving transformation in the region both on and off the field of play. It was also made clear that the research will place particular attention on the intermediate level of rugby. This is done as this is a level identified in which transformation in rugby can be further enhanced. A preliminary discussion of the research design has been presented which highlighted that to be able to answer this research question a number of interviews were conducted with role players at the WPRFU as well as a Director of Sport in the province. In addition how other scholars have studied transformation in South African rugby has also been explored through a literature review of the topic. Three of the biggest themes in the field of rugby have been presented. The literature review demonstrates that not much attention has been placed on the level identified by the author. In addition this research also differed from existing studies as it was approached from a public policy perspective. The latter two reasons indicate the contribution of this study.

With the first chapter established it is now possible to outline the remainder of the chapters. Chapter two integrates the research into the field of public policy implementation in which the author accounts for the theoretical framework used to answer the research question. This framework is drawn from the public policy literature. In Chapter three the research design used to compile the research is presented. The chapter focuses on qualitative research and case study design. Furthermore the chapter also discusses the ethical dimension of the research as well as challenges experience in the research process. Chapter four serves as the analysis chapter in which the findings of the research are presented. Finally chapter five serves as a conclusion to the research study as well as providing recommendations. That said the chapter to follow accounts for the research from a policy implementation perspective.

Chapter 2
Theoretical contextualization of the research study within public policy implementation

2.1 Introduction

At the 2011 National Sport and Recreation Indaba the issue of transformation in South African sport was once again placed on the national agenda. At the Indaba it was recognized how transformation in certain sporting federations remained slow and in some instances not forthcoming. Rugby was highlighted as one sporting code in particular in which transformation remains unfulfilled (Mbalula, 2011a). This in spite of numerous policy documents being developed post-apartheid which included: The National Ministry of Sport and Recreation Act, (No. 110, 1998) and the National Department of Sport and Recreation's White Paper (2001), each of which focused on transformation in South African sport.

To avoid regression the Minister of Sport and Recreation, Fikile Mbalula, noted that there should be an adoption of "a 'popularisation of sports policy' based on the foundations of 'sports for all', especially through cooperation between capital, labour and civil society" (Mbalula, 2011a). This led to the adoption of the National Sport and Recreation Plan at the National Sport and Recreation Indaba in 2011 with the aim of achieving broad-based empowerment, development and transformation. However, as the Minister concedes implementing a transformation strategy through these policies remains an enormous challenge which requires all stakeholders involved buying in to the targets and objectives set out at the Indaba (Mbalula, 2011b). This reaffirms the logic of public policy when it comes to implementing transformation policies in sport including rugby.

From the above mentioned it therefore becomes clear that the implementation of transformation policies in sport is a dynamic and interactive process. In order for policy implementation to be successful it has to weave its way through numerous challenges, interests and obstacles to achieve intended objectives. It is this complex process which have both attracted and frustrated scholars in the field of implementation studies. When looking at policy implementation scholars have often differed in how they see policy implementation occurring. That is either from a top-down or bottom-up perspective. These competing understandings of policy implementation have been at the forefront of one of the biggest debates within the field (Brynard and De Coning, 2006:186).

This chapter critically explores how these two approaches have been used by scholars to study policy implementation. The top-down approach is discussed first in which it will be highlighted how scholars who use this approach see implementation as being an administrative process. This process is said to have clear identifiable objectives in which implementation does not deviate from the pre-developed goals. Hence this top-down approach also comes to reflect a rational model of thinking. This is followed by a discussion of the bottom-up approach in which proponents of this approach argue that implementation in the real world is far more complex in which negotiations and consensus building between different actors is essential. After presenting the debate between the two approaches to policy implementation the author argues that the research is essentially approached from a bottom-up perspective.

2.2 Conceptualizing policy implementation

Brynard and De Coning (2006:183) make the point that within the field of policy implementation studies there is still confusion about when policy implementation starts, when it ends as well as the number of different types of implementation that exists. This confusion has influenced how scholars have come to conceptualize policy implementation. In a study conducted by Pressman and Wildavsky (1973:xiii), which many consider to be a study which popularized implementation studies, the authors stated that to implement something means "to carry out, accomplish, fulfil, produce, complete". Since then other scholars have presented their own definitions of policy implementation. Edwards (1984) states that policy implementation is the stage of policymaking between the establishment of a policy, through legislative acts, and the consequences of the policy on individuals whom it could affect.

Anderson (1994:188) goes one step further in his definition by accounting for actors involved in the process when he notes that policy implementation involves all the players, organizations, procedures and techniques that help to carry policies into effect with the purpose of attaining certain outcomes and goals. Furthermore policy implementation has also been defined as the actions taken by individuals or entities that are directed at achieving the objectives set forth in the policy decision (Van Meter and Van Horn, 1975:445). These different definitions of policy implementation are important to highlight as it has led to scholars in the field approaching policy implementation in different ways as well as having different research focuses. This in turn has led to some scholars suggesting that policy implementation is a field lacking in conceptual clarity (Lester and Goggin, 1998:1). Nevertheless these definitions provide a useful understanding of policy implementation.

Anderson's (1994) definition is particularly useful as it highlights the role of actors involved in the process as well as making a distinction between implementation, performance and impact. This research comes to view public policy implementation as a process of constant interaction and bargaining in which a number of state and non-state actors work through numerous obstacles to achieve a desired outcome.

2.3 Approaches to studying public policy implementation: exploring top-down versus bottom-up policy implementation

Within the field of public policy there is no universally recognised methodology for analysing policy problems (Howlett, Ramesh and Perl, 2009:20). Instead policy analysts use a number of analytical tools at their disposal to gain a better understanding of policy problems. Within the field of policy implementation research two dominant approaches have been developed to explain how implementation occurs namely: a top-down and bottom-up approach.

2.3.1 Top-down approach to studying policy implementation

Barrett (2004:252) note that much of the early work on policy implementation assumed that implementation was essentially a 'top-down' administrative and hierarchical process. This is particularly true in scholarly work done by Van Meter and Van Horn (1975) and Linder and Peters (1987). Barrett notes of the top-down approach:

"Policy, once formulated and legitimated at the 'top' or centre, is handed in to the administrative system for execution, and successively refined and translated into operating instructions as it moves down the hierarchy to operatives at the 'bottom' of the pyramid" (Barrett, 2004:252).

According to the top-down approach it is assumed that policy implementation begins with clear identifiable objectives which are established at the top in which implementation will naturally follow towards the bottom end of the hierarchy (Schofield, 2001). Parsons (1995:465) note that this view of implementation conforms to the notion of a rational systems model or ideal type of how implementation occurs. From the perspective of a rational model there is a clear 'causal chain' in which implementation is about ensuring that it remains consistent with predetermined policy decisions (Parsons, 1995:466). These predetermined policies are believed to be relatively straight forward that only requires commitment to a specific action. Hill (2009:196) highlights how the top-down perspective is deeply rooted in

the stages model in which there is an emphasis on making a distinction between policy formulation and policy implementation. Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) emphasize this distinction when they note that prior to implementation there exist a policy with clear objectives and means for achieving goals. Implementation therefore cannot succeed or fail without goals and objectives to judge it against (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1973:xxii). To this point Hill (2009:196) note that from this approach "[t]he act of 'implementation' presupposes a prior act, particularly the act of formulating what needs to be done". In this sense implementers are said to be working with a recognisable entity which may be seen as policy. From a top-down approach this policy is seen as self-evident and clear-cut.

Thus, according to the top-down approach, when there is a perceived 'implementation failure' it is not a result of a problem with the policy but rather a number of other factors. Parsons (1995:466) note how this failure is accredited to factors such as selecting the wrong strategy, having a poor response to a problem or something that went wrong at the 'shop-floor level'. In addition Parsons (1995:465) notes of the original study conducted by Pressman and Wildavsky as essentially being 'top-down' in nature. This is because they believed that successful implementation required a strong and effective chain of command with the necessary capacity to co-ordinate and control (Parsons, 1995:465).

In terms of the top-down approach the actors involved at 'the top' in implementing the policy are seen as the most important when attempting to produce the desired effect. Furthermore this approach tries to minimize the number of actors involved in which only key political actors play a prominent role in policy-making. Barrett (2004:252) note that from a top-down approach a multiplicity of actors and agencies is problematic as it leads to ineffective communication and coordination. This can often lead to deviation away from intended goals and objectives. In this sense the top-down approach argues that the most important and influential variables should be under the control of the top of the administrative system (O' Toole, 2004:314). Linder and Peters (1987) also argued that with political leaders placed at the helm this ensures then that a democratic procedure is carried out in the sense that elected officials are in charge of executing public-policy. Yet as focus in the field began to shift towards the effectiveness of a policy to achieving its intended goals a number of 'implementation failures' became apparent.

Firstly, Hill (2009:198) makes the point that the relationship between policy formulation and implementation can be highly problematic. This is due to the fact that policy is never always

straightforward in which "they are made more complex as they are translated into action" (Hill, 2009:199). Many of the problems and shortfalls of policy only become evident in the process of implementation itself. Furthermore Hill (2009:1999) note that policies are often made more complex by politicians when they want to appear in favour of a certain position yet do not do anything about it. To this point Hill (2009) highlights an example of how parliament my easily pass a law to restrict and control certain activities yet do not commit the resources to ensure effective implementation to make this possible. In that sense policy is seen as being nothing more than symbolic.

Secondly, the rational model in which the top-down approach is grounded in was also shown to be ineffective in practice. In a study by Weatherly and Lipsky (1977:171), conducted within the state of Massachusetts, the researchers examined the implementation of Chapter 766 which depended on a shift of attitudes and practices on the part of public sector workers. The researchers found that all the conditions of the rational model were present that came to include a clear chain of command, pre-defined goals as well as the necessary financial resources yet the law was not implemented the way policy-makers intended. Rather when the workload on public sector workers increased these lower level actors were free to develop their own copying strategies which allowed them to simplify the original aims of policymakers. Hence this study came to show that humans involved in implementation cannot be viewed as acting as 'machinery' in a line of command that blindly follows predetermined decisions. This does not represent how people behave in reality as human behaviour is particularly difficult to predict. Ultimately Parsons (1995:468) note that complete control over people when it comes to implementation was not the best way to ensure effective implementation.

Thirdly, the top-down approach has often been criticized for treating policy implementation as a purely administrative process limited to only a single group of political actors even though there could be a multiplicity of actors and agencies involved in implementation (Parsons, 1995:467). On this point Elmore (1980:603) bluntly states that the notion of policy-makers exercising direct control over policy implementation is a 'noble lie'. By highlighting that there are multiplicities of actors critics of the top-down approach argue that inter-organizational interests and values differ between actors, in which those involved in the process have their own motivations and interests for implementing a policy.

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A fourth failure highlighted by Schofield (2001) is that the top-down approach often ignores the role of local expertise in terms of improving policy implementation. This is due to the fact that those at the top of the hierarchy are assumed to have the necessary 'expertise' to ensure that implementation is carried out successfully. Yet local expertise is particularly important as they can provide valuable insight into the local context. In a study conducted by Falleth and Hovik (2009) on nature conservation policy in Norway it was found that national policy was better implemented when transferred to the local council. This is due to the fact that local actors are often better attuned to local needs and interests (Falleth and Hovik, 2009:228). In this way local expertise can help ensure that the policy is adjusted to better meet local circumstances. Based on these limitations some scholars within the field of implementation studies argue that a top-down approach should be substituted by a bottom-up approach.

2.3.2 Bottom-up approach to studying implementation

Hjern and Porter (1981:221) make the point that a bottom-up approach to policy implementation is relatively free from predetermining assumptions. Unlike the top-down approach, which emphasises a 'casual chain', a hierarchy of command and clear relations between actors, proponents of the bottom-up approach are more likely to take into account the complex nature of implementation. Hill (2009:203) note that to fully understand the policy-action relationship one needs to move away from viewing the process as simply being an administrative function. Rather one should account for complex and dynamic interactions between individuals and groups who seek to put policy into effect. For Hill (2009) this is best done through a bottom up approach.

As a result proponents of a bottom-up approach argue that policy implementation is more of an interactive process. This approach comes to focus on a number of different actors and agencies, both within government and outside actors, and the important role which they play in implementing a policy (Lipsky, 1978:398). Lipsky (1976) shows the importance of local actors, which he calls 'street-level bureaucrats', when it comes to policy implementation. Lipsky (1976:208) makes the point that these local actors have a considerable impression on how citizens view government effectiveness, responsiveness and equity in performance. Those who advocate for a bottom-up approach therefore place particular importance on allowing the 'street-level' bureaucrats the freedom to decide how they will apply a particular policy (Parsons, 1995:469). These 'street-level bureaucrats' can come to include a number of professionals all of whom can play a key role in putting policy into effect. Professions diverse

as teachers, doctors, social workers and business administrators all have the opportunity and responsibility to control and deliver services. This is particularly true when it comes to education policies. In South Africa, for example, the Outcomes Based Education (OBE) system greatly depended on teacher's ability to implement the system effectively. Parsons (1995:469) note how teachers can develop different ways of implementing government policy which could be quite different from how policy-makers intended it to be. In essence then a bottom-up approach involves incorporating a number of groups and individuals in policy implementation. This is done to ensure that both the policy objectives are reached as well as ensuring that it has the desired effect at a local level. Researchers who approach their studies from a bottom-up perspective will highlight that policy implementation need not only be limited to government actors or policy decision-makers. Rather implementation comes to include a wide range of both state and non-state actors. The analytical implication of this is that attention is shifted away from variables at the top of the system to the contextual and field variables at the bottom (Nilsen, Ståhl, Roback and Cairney, 2013:2).

In addition while some proponents of the top-down approach, including Linder and Peters (1987), argue that it is based on a democratic procedure de Leon and de Leon (2002) contest this position by stating that the bottom-up approach is more democratic. This is due to the fact that a bottom-up approach to implementation allows for citizens to be able to communicate with policy implementers directly. Furthermore de Leon and de Leon (2002: 477) argue that a top-down approach stifles citizen participation by allowing elected policy makers a greater amount of power despite the complexity of public policy. They note that having more public participation is significantly better than having less public participation, thus by creating more channels to involve citizens it helps to both strengthen and consolidate a country's democracy (de Leon and de Leon, 2002).

Yet while some scholars have argued for using a bottom-up approach to policy implementation it also has its fair share of criticism. Firstly, the bottom-up approach has been criticized for placing too much emphasis on local implementers when in truth the authority to implement and make policy stems directly from the fact that policy-makers are elected officials entrusted to do the job (Schofield, 2001). Secondly, Rubin (2001) notes that while this approach assumes that it allows for more public participation, there is no clear evidence to show that individuals use mechanism at their disposal to participate in the policy process. Finally, by allowing for a multiplicity of actors the bottom-up approach has also been accused of subverting the role of democratic governance (Barrett, 2004:255).

2.4 The bottom up approach as the basis for the research

It becomes clear from the above mentioned that both the top-down and bottom-up approach to policy implementation has received criticism from scholars in the field. Hill (2009:196) notes how this has led to most scholars attempting to try and avoid taking either of the extreme positions. Yet these approaches remain a useful way to analyse policy implementation. Therefore the research will examine the implementation of transformation policies in rugby from a bottom-up perspective. There are a number of reasons as to why a bottom-up approach is useful to use as the basis for the research.

Firstly when looking at the implementation of transformation policies in South African sport the relationship between policy-makers and policy deliverers is particularly important. Since 2011 there has been a number of policy documents developed which clearly expresses National Government's view on sport and recreation. These documents include: The White Paper on Sport and Recreation (2012), The National Sport and Recreation Plan (2012) as well as the Transformation Charter for South African Sport (2012). These policy documents essentially provide the framework for changing the sporting landscape of South Africa with well-developed objectives and targets to assist in development and transformation. Yet when it comes to achieving development and transformation in South African sport, which includes rugby, the Ministry of Sport and Recreation has placed onus on a number of different stakeholders to carry out this implementation plan. In this way the relationship between policy-makers and policy deliverers are essential if implementation is to be successful. A bottom-up approach is better able to account for this relationship by highlighting that implementation comes to include the need for negotiations and consensus-building between a number of different actors involved in the process (Parsons, 1995:469).

Secondly, within these policy documents national sporting federations and their affiliate organizations are ultimately responsible for ensuring that development and transformation takes place within their respective sporting codes. In rugby the National Rugby Federation, SARU, as well as its affiliate organizations, in the form of Provincial Rugby Unions, play an important role in the implementation of transformation policies. This comes to reflect similarities of Parsons (1995) discussion of how 'street level bureaucrats' are afforded the freedom and opportunity to take control of implementing a policy. A bottom-up approach will be useful in this case as it will help account for the role of the various local actors in the implementation of transformation policies in rugby.

Furthermore as the research question focuses on transformation of rugby within the Western Cape the role of the Provincial Rugby Union, in this case the WPRFU, becomes the focal point of the research. Here the role of rugby administrators, managers and coaches are essentially the driving force to ensure that transformation policies are carried out at the bottom level. As a result the research does not see the state as the most important actor but rather that a number of different actors play an important role in the implementation process. By conducting interviews with those in charge of rugby played within the region the author looks at how transformation is implemented at the bottom in which particular attention is placed on those operating at a provincial and local level. These local actors are also better able to account for rugby played at the intermediate level. Thus throughout the research implementation of transformation policies within South African rugby is viewed as an interactive process not only limited to state actors but rather non-state actors are essential to achieving objectives and targets. In this way the research ultimately follows a bottom-up approach to implementation as it is the most useful approach to answer the research question.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has sought to integrate the research into the field of policy implementation studies. This was done by critically exploring one of the oldest debates within the field namely the debate between the top-down versus bottom-up approach to policy implementation. This debate was then used as a platform to present the theoretical approach of the research study in which the author argued that the research will be approached from a bottom-up perspective. This perspective is useful as it stresses that policy implementation is a dynamic and complex process that requires considerable negotiations and consensus-building between state and non-state actors. Furthermore as the research question focuses on how transformation policies in rugby are implemented in the Western Cape a bottom-up approach is useful as it emphasises the role of local actors in the implementation process. The next chapter presents a detailed discussion of the research design used to obtain answers to the research question.

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Chapter 3
Research design: presenting the plan of investigation

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3.1 Introduction

The research design used for the research is a case study design. As a case study is being used the research approach can be classified as being qualitative. In the first section of this chapter the details of the research approach and design will be discussed as well as the benefits of using these methods to answer the research question. The chapter will also come to include a discussion of data collection and data analysis respectively. The section on data collection will explain the interviewing process which is how a large part of the research data was collected. This discussion of data collection will highlight both the advantages and disadvantages of using interviews as well as how respondents were selected. The section on data analysis explains how the findings were analysed and interpreted.

In addition ethical principles and standards, which are an essential part of the research process, will be discussed. The author shows what measures were put in place during the data collection process and when reporting on the data to ensure that the research adheres to ethical standards. Finally challenges experienced during the research are discussed. This is important because as policy implementation in practice does not always follow what is predicted in theory so too does Burnham, Lutz and Grant (2008:38) argue that the practice of conducting research often differs from the ideal model of the research process. Research may come across as being well thought out and calculated yet in reality it is often complex and fraught with difficulties such as setbacks, delays and resource constraints. Through the course of conducting research for this research study the author experienced some of these challenges first hand.

3.2 A qualitative approach to research

Within the field of social science a distinction is often made between quantitative and qualitative research. Quantitative research can be seen as a process of inquiry based on testing a theory usually composed of numbers, variables and statistical techniques (Berg, 2007:2). From a quantitative approach the assumption is that the 'real' world can be studied objectively independent of the researcher's beliefs. Berg (2007:4) note that it is this emphasis on scientific knowledge that has led some to believe that quantitative research is more precise. Yet Bogdan (1972) argues that qualitative research also has a valuable contribution to make in which it has left its mark conceptually and theoretically on the social sciences.

Qualitative research is a process of constructing a complex yet holistic picture of a phenomenon of interest in its natural setting (Silverman, 2005:9). Unlike quantitative research, which is often based on rigorous statistical investigations, qualitative research is less structured and more flexible. Thus it accommodates itself better to unanticipated data. Qualitative research seeks to provide "answers to questions by examining various social settings and the individuals who inhabit these settings" (Berg, 2007:8). Researchers who approach their studies from a qualitative approach are more interested in how humans arrange themselves within their social settings as well as how they make sense of their surroundings (Berg, 2007:8). Qualitative techniques therefore allows for a researcher to share in the perceptions and understandings of the individuals they are studying.

There are a number of research designs which can be linked to qualitative research with the most common being ethnographic studies, action research and case studies. Ethnography studies are often based on observational work in particular settings (Spradley, 1979:3). Those engaging in ethnography studies argue that in order to understand a group or individuals one must engage in an extensive period of observation by being placed in the midst of the phenomenon being studied (Silverman, 2005:49). Action research is seen as a collaborative approach to research that provides individuals with the means to take action in an effort to solve a specific problem (Berg, 2007:224). Action research embraces participation and empowerment of groups with the aim of improving their social settings. Case studies are often used when in-depth knowledge is to be generated from a single social setting.

A qualitative approach is useful when trying to answer the 'what', 'why' and 'how' research question. Furthermore qualitative research is particularly attractive for researchers who are trying to gain in-depth information from a particular social setting (Burnham *et al.*, 2008:40). Therefore a qualitative research method is the most suitable approach for the research. This is due to the fact that the research question places emphasis on a single social setting, namely the Western Cape. From this social setting the researcher was particularly interested in gaining detailed and in-depth knowledge of rugby played within the Western Cape. In order to gain this knowledge the researcher needed to engage with individuals involved with rugby in the Western Cape in their natural setting. By conducting this fieldwork the researcher could come to engage with individual's knowledge, perceptions and insight into transformation policies in rugby which ultimately assisted in answering the research question.

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3.3 A case study as research design

Before a research project can even start to take shape it is important for the researcher to identify the most appropriate course of action to address the research question. Burnham *et al.* (2008:42) state that the purpose of the research design is twofold: firstly it should be used to develop an operational plan and secondly, to ensure that the plan developed provides answers to the research problem. It is often the second function which is given higher importance at times as De Vaus (2001) notes that the function of the research design is to make sure that the evidence collected by the research helps to answer the research question.

Burnham *et al.* (2008:63) note that case studies are one of the most popular forms of research design and are widely used throughout the social sciences when researchers want to gain information from individuals, groups or organizations. Bogdan and Biklen (2003:54) define case studies as being "a detailed examination of one setting, or a single subject, a single depository of documents, or one particular event". The basic idea behind case studies is that one or a number of small cases are studied in great detail using the most appropriate methods (Punch, 1998:150). As case studies are used to study a range of simple and complex phenomenon the unit of analysis could differ from one person to larger groups and corporations (Berg, 2007:283).

3.3.1 Advantages and disadvantages of a case study

There are a number of advantages for using a case study. Firstly as case studies tend to focus on a single group, individuals or events it allows for extremely rich and detailed knowledge to be gathered of a particular case. This is something which large scale surveys research, for example, will not be able to do as it provides at best superficial knowledge (Berg, 2007:284). Secondly as case studies allow for detailed knowledge to be generated researchers can capture small shifts in patterns and pick up on more latent elements which other research approaches might overlook (Berg, 2007:284). Conversely case studies have a few disadvantages. Firstly Burnham *et al.* (2008:64) note that case studies tend to differ from one case to the other in which it is often not based on a representative sample. This means that case studies do not lend themselves easy to making generalizations about a population group as a whole as each case is unique. Secondly, as case studies usually incorporate understanding and examining individuals or groups in their social setting the objectivity of the research can also come into question. This is because findings need to be interpreted by the researcher in which their own subjective beliefs and values need to be account for.

Despite these limitations a case study is a useful research design to answer the research question. As mentioned the research question is focused on how transformation policies in rugby have been implemented in the Western Cape. Therefore the author is particularly interested in gaining detailed information about transformation of rugby in a single region. A case study lends itself to answering the research question as it emphasizes a single or smaller number of cases while allowing it to be studied in-depth to provide rich and detailed findings. Furthermore this focus on in-depth knowledge is particularly useful when accounting for the intermediate level of rugby. The focus on this level of rugby also comes to include focusing on a number of different pathways including: rugby institutes, school rugby and recruitment as well as club level rugby. A case study allows for the author to study the intermediate level of rugby and the different pathways in great detail because the emphasis is on generating in-depth knowledge of the phenomenon being studied. A case study design therefore ensures that the research is measuring what is intended to measure, meaning it ensures validity.

3.4 Data collection methods

Data collection methods refer to the different ways in which data is collected for the research with the aim of answering the research question. Burnham *et al.* (2008:45) note that the third stage of the research process is to decide on the most appropriate ways in which data will be collected. Researchers often make use of a number of different data collection instruments. These can include developing questionnaires, setting up focus groups, doing observations, conducting interviews or collecting documents and detailed records. The data collection methods used in the research came to include interviews and the use of documentations.

3.4.1 Interviews as a source of data

The first method used to collect data for the research was through setting up interviews. Burnham *et al.* (2008:231) make the point that "[t]he majority of work done by political scientists is concerned with the study of decision-makers". As a result interviews become an important research technique in which information can be obtained about decision-makers and decision-making processes (Burnham *et al.*, 2008:231). Berg (2007:89) states that "[i]nterviews may be defined simply as a conversation with a purpose". This purpose is usually aimed at gathering information. As qualitative research is based on studying various social settings and the individuals who inhabit these setting interviews are closely linked with this research approach. This is due to the fact that interviews allow for the collection of in-depth knowledge to gain insight into the phenomenon of interest.

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When it comes to conducting interviews one gets different types of interviews which includes: structured, semi-structured, unstructured and focus groups (Burnham *et al.*, 2008:123). Structured interviews often make use of pre-developed questions in which there is no deviation from question order with questions being asked exactly as they have been written (Berg, 2007:93). Semi-structured interviews contain structured and unstructured sections which allows for more flexibility and adjustment in language when asking questions (Berg, 2007:93). Unstructured interviews are informal in which there are no set questions. Focus groups are also a form of interviewing yet it consists of a small group of individuals.

The advantages of semi-structured interviews are that it allows interviewees experience and views of a topic to be explored in great detail. This means that while questions are asked in a systematic and consistent order, the interviewer does have the freedom to explore and probe answers giving to questions asked (Berg, 2007:95). Semi-structured interviews are also useful when dealing with a topic considered sensitive. As semi-structured interviews are flexible the interviewer can adjust words and language which takes into account the interviewees feelings and perspectives. The disadvantage of semi-structured interviews are that it can be time consuming in that sufficient time needs to be prioritized to the processing of findings. As probing is part of semi-structured interviews it often requires an interviewer skilled in the art of conducting interviews. This is because a skilled interviewer will try to probe beyond the immediate answers, this is not always done by an inexperienced interviewer who might not recognise when follow-up questions are needed (Berg, 2007:95).

For the purpose of the research the author used semi-structured interviews with key provincial rugby administrators and managers, both past and present. In total four full length interviews were conducted, each of which was carried out face-to-face. Two of the interviewees were still directly involved with the operations of WPRFU while a third was a retired member of the organisation. These 3 interviewees could provide relevant insight as they all had expert knowledge and experience of rugby development and transformation within the Western Cape. In addition a director of sport at a tertiary institution in the province was also interviewed. The latter interview afforded the researcher the opportunity to gain a different perceptive on transformation of rugby in the region as the individual was not directly involved with the Provincial Rugby Union. Before the interviews were initiated the researcher asked all respondents if a recording device could be used. This was done to avoid depending only on the memory of the interviewer and more importantly to provide accurate analysis and findings independent of the researcher's values. Based on these recordings the

researcher transcribed each of the interviews conducted which was revisited throughout the completion of the research study. A short set of pre-developed questions were established beforehand by the researcher which was then posed to each of the interviewees. Each interviewee was asked about what initiatives have been implemented to facilitate transformation of rugby across all levels both on and off the field. These included questions relating to initiatives carried out within the administration structure, age-group rugby structure as well as academy structures. This ensured that questions asked related back to the research question as framing questions around what initiatives have been undertaken gives useful insight into how transformation in Western Cape rugby has been implemented.

3.4.2 Documentation as a source of data

Silverman (2005:150) makes the point that even when researchers intend to conduct their own interviews and gather their own data documentation in the public sphere, including formal reports, newspaper and website articles, can prove particularly useful. By using documentation evidence it provides a good basis on which the findings from interviews conducted can be measured against. This is because documentations can either reinforce views expressed by interviewees or it could come to refute information conveyed.

Given that the research focused on policy implementation it was imperative that all relevant policy documents and legislation on transformation policies in sport were analysed and incorporated within the research study. These policy documents included: the White Paper on Sport and Recreation (2012), the National Sport and Recreation Plan (2012) and the Transformation Charter for South African Sport (2012). These documents were considered as the official government policies in relation to transformation in South African sport. The expectations outlined in these policy documents were used as a measuring tool in which transformation in rugby was assessed. In addition to these formal policy documents the author also incorporated a number of SARU briefings to the Parliamentary Portfolio on Sport and Recreation. The findings into school level rugby were obtained by researching team compositions of Western Province under-18 Craven Week sides for a period of five years. The team compositions were collected from press releases made available by Western Province Rugby official website.

3.5 Data analysis

Once interviews were completed for the research the data was analysed. Data analysis often consists of three actions that come to include data reduction, data display and conclusion and

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verification (Huberman and Miles, 1994:10). Before data can be analysis raw data often needs to be reduced and simplified to more manageable forms (Berg, 2007:47). This is usually followed by organizing the data in such a manner that permits inferences to be made and conclusions drawn (Berg, 2007:47). Yet data analysis can be particularly challenging in which drawing conclusions is never a straightforward process. Burnham *et al.* (2008:51) note that when doing qualitative research conducting objective and rigorous data analysis can be a challenge. This is because as qualitative research is interested in studying a social phenomenon in a natural setting the conclusions and findings drawn have to be independent of the researchers own values and biases.

Before data was analysed for the research the author followed a number of steps to ensure objective and reliable findings. Firstly all the raw data from the interviews conducted were transcribed. These transcripts were then further modified and transformed so as to draw out various themes and patterns across all the interviews. Patterns and themes in interviews were combined with document analysis. As mentioned documentation provides a good way in which data gained from interviews can be measured against. By using multiple research methods the author was better able to establish a clearer and objective reality.

3.6 Ethical considerations

Ethical principles form an integral part of research which no research study can escape (Burnham *et al.*, 2008:282). When conducting field research in which human participants are observed and interviewed ethical considerations becomes even more important. Bulmer (2001:46) highlights that there is a need for researchers to constantly reflect on the principle sensitivity to the rights of others. It can be easy for researchers to get caught up in the research process without becoming aware of the impact of their research. Thus a number of basic ethical principles need to be taken into account before research can commence.

Given the nature of the research study the author needed to obtain clearance from the Departmental Ethics Screening Committee (DESC). This was done by drawing up a preliminary research proposal describing the nature of the study and how the author intended to obtain information. Furthermore, the author also needed to address the ethical implications of the research. This was done by adhering to the University's framework policy on the promotion of ethical and accountable research applicable from 2013. This framework requires that a number of steps be taken to act ethically as a researcher. These steps are obtaining informed consent and ensuring voluntary participation, privacy and confidentiality.

To ensure that the above mentioned ethical principles were met the researcher firstly developed two documents which would accompany all interviews conducted for the purpose of the research study. The first document used was a consent to participate in research form. The form was developed based on Stellenbosch University's framework consent to participate in research form. The form was adapted to include the details of the research. The author gave each interviewee a copy of the consent to participate in the research form. The second document used was an institutional permission form. This form was also developed by using the framework of the Stellenbosch University consent to participate in research form. It was also adapted to ensure that it reflects the nature of the research study. Institutional permission forms were, however, only used in cases when permission was needed from an organisation to speak to its members.

Informed consent was obtained by the researcher through the consent form which made clear that participation in the research study is done on a voluntary basis. The participants were asked to read through and sign the form in which the participant agrees to the terms and conditions set out in the form. Additional time was also allocated for participants to ask questions, if they had any, before signing the document and before the interviews were proceeded with. Voluntary participation was also obtained through the consent form. It was made clear to the participants that they have the right to withdraw from the study at any point in time as well as having the right to refuse to answer any question asked by the researcher.

Privacy was ensured by restricting access to the information obtained through the interviews. All data collected from the interviews, written or recorded, was only made accessible to the researcher. Furthermore all information was stored in a private area as identified by the researcher. This ensured that no unauthorized person(s) would have access to the information gained through the interviews. Finally to ensure confidentiality and anonymity the researcher made sure that all information that can possibly be identified with any respondent has been kept a secret. To ensure anonymity respondents were not identified by name rather an alias was created for each of the respondents. In addition the author notes that transformation policies in South Africa in general is a much debated topic let alone within rugby, a sport with a long racial history in which transformation can at times be highly controversial. Yet ultimately in order to successfully complete this research study findings need to be acknowledged with a sense of truthfulness and openness.

3.7 Challenges experienced in the research process

Throughout the completion of the research study it became even clearer to the author that conducting formal research can be a strenuous and time consuming task. In order to reach the level of saturation needed for the research question to fully be answered a number of interviews needed to be conducted. Yet interviews, at times, proved hard to come by which took up a considerable amount of time to arrange. In one instance when the researcher made contact with a rugby structure telephonically he was directed to the relevant person who in turn had to direct the researcher to the most appropriate person to speak to, but that interview however never materialized. This was due to the relevant person not responding to a follow up by the researcher. This initially slowed down the research process.

Another challenge which the researcher experienced in the course of completing the research was the issue of confidentiality of formal documents. There were instances when a number of internal reports were only available to rugby administrators and members involved in the WPRFU. Many of these reports would have provided useful data yet given the confidentiality surrounding working documents as well as adhering to ethical principles the researcher refrained from using these documents. The formal rugby reports used in the research were freely accessible in the public domain.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter described the research process in which it was highlighted that a qualitative research approach would be used to answer the research question. A qualitative research approach was shown to be a useful approach in which rugby in the Western Cape was explored. The research design was a case study in which in-depth and detailed knowledge was generated of rugby in the Western Cape. Data collection was based on semi-structured interviews with key rugby administrators and managers involved at WPRFU as well as a Director of Sport in the province. Other means of data collection included documents made available pertaining to transformation in rugby which was analysed in relation to formal government policy documents. Data analysis came to include the use of multiple research methods in order to ensure objective and reliable findings. The importance of conducting ethical research was discussed and acknowledged in which a detailed account of measures put in place to mitigate unethical practices in the research was presented. Finally some of the challenges experience in completing the research process was discussed. The next chapter discusses the findings of the data obtained.

Chapter 4
Implementing transformation policy in Western Province rugby: the research findings

4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings regarding how transformation policies have been implemented within Western Province rugby. By conducting interviews with those involved with rugby at a provincial and local level attention is placed on a number of non-state actors. This reiterates a bottom-up approach as described by Lipsky (1976). This is because the role of the provincial rugby administrators can also be viewed as similar to a 'street level bureaucrat' in which they play an important role in the implementation of transformation in rugby. Through the research conducted one of the findings is that while WPRFU has not implemented a strict quota on transformation on its teams at the intermediate level the Union has carried out a number of initiatives at various other levels in which transformation has been prioritized. These included the hosting of workshops and seminars with all role players involved at WPRFU in which attention was placed on transformation of rugby within the region. In addition to this the WPRFU has undertaken transformation at a boardroom level in which employment equity and preferential procurement within the organizations broader structure has been advanced. Thus the author argues that because WPRFU have prioritized transformation off the field in which the demographics of the administration has changed it has led to having a comparatively more number of transformed teams on the field in which those in charge of rugby have become cognisant of the need for transformation.

Before discussing the findings the chapter highlights in greater detail national government's policy expectations regarding transformation in sport. This will be done by firstly reflecting briefly on initiatives undertaken by the Ministry of Sport and Recreation leading up to the National Sport and Recreation Indaba in 2011. This is followed by a discussion of three policy documents adopted post-2011 namely: The White Paper on Sport and Recreation (2012), The National Sport and Recreation Plan (2012) and the Transformation Charter (2012). These policies identify the implementation plan for transformation and development in which a number of actors play a role in the implementation of the sporting policy. These policy documents are then used as measuring tools for the research in which transformation in rugby is assessed. Furthermore a discussion of the policy implementation responsibility of the National Rugby Federation (SARU) and its affiliate organizations (Provincial Rugby Unions) is also presented. This is followed by presenting the case study of rugby played in

the Western Cape. Apart from the implementation initiatives undertaken off the field findings on the intermediate level are also presented. The discussion of the intermediate level comes to focus on a number of different pathways that feed into this level including: the Western Province Rugby Institute, the school boy rugby system and recruitment as well as club level rugby within the Western Cape.

4.2 The National Policy on Sport and Recreation in South Africa

The resolutions adopted at the 2011 Sport and Recreation Indaba did not appear overnight rather these resolutions were a result of years of planning and research into the state of South African sport. In the year 2000 the former Minister of Sport and Recreation South Africa, Ngconde Balfour, appointed a Ministerial Task Team (MTT) with the primary goal of assessing the state of high performance sport in South Africa (White Paper on Sport and Recreation, 2012:17). The mandate given to the MTT was to investigate where South African sport was not performing at an acceptable level and to make recommendations on how this could be addressed. This investigation led to a total restructure of South African sport in which all umbrella bodies were replaced by two designated sport organizations namely: Sport and Recreation South Africa (SRSA) and the South African Sports Confederation and Olympic Committee (SASCOC) (White Paper on Sport and Recreation, 2012:18). In 2009 SRSA released a report entitled *A Case for Sport* which focused on two internationally recognised pillars for sport development and performance these included both increasing levels of participation in sport as well as achieving success in sport at an elite level (National Sport and Recreation Plan, 2012:11). The findings of both the MTT and the 2009 report resulted in previous policy documents on sport and recreation being outdated.

Early in 2011 SRSA along with SASCOC and all Members of the Executive Council (MECs) met at a Departmental Strategic Workshop in which it was agreed that the National Sport and Recreation Plan would be adopted at the National Sport and Recreation Indaba towards the end of 2011 (Mbalula, 2011b). Leading up to the Indaba both the National Sport and Recreation Plan and the Transformation Charter were presented to both the Portfolio Committee on Sport and Recreation as well as the public for comments and inputs. This led to both drafts being finalized and later presented to over 600 people involved with sport in South Africa (National Sport and Recreation Plan, 2012:15). The Indaba was concluded by the signing of the policy declaration by all relevant stakeholders in South African sport who committed themselves to fundamentally changing the country's sporting landscape. The 2011 Indaba came to be seen as a ground breaking moment in the history of South African sport.

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4.2.1 The White Paper on Sport and Recreation 2012

The changing of the sporting environment in which new role-players emerged led to the development of an updated White Paper on Sport and Recreation to account for these changes. The revised White Paper clearly states national government's policy on sport and recreation in South Africa. By this it is meant that the White Paper presents the strategic objectives of government to deliver sport and recreation opportunities effectively to South African citizens. The White Paper also provides clear policy directives for both the promotion of high performance sport as well as recreation in South Africa (White Paper on Sport and Recreation, 2012:10). The promotion of both high performance sport as well as sport for recreation are two areas that are prioritized within the White Paper for the purpose of achieving both an active and winning nation.

By active nation emphasis is placed on the physical well-being of the nation which is facilitated through active recreation. Here the goal is to ensure that South Africans will reap the social benefits of active recreation which increases not only physical health but also mental health (White Paper on Sport and Recreation, 2012:22). The White Paper recognises the provision of mass participation opportunities to all South Africans to participate in sport and recreation as well as school sport. By winning nation emphasis is placed on achieving success in sport on both a national and international stage in which sporting excellence is prioritized at all levels (White Paper on Sport and Recreation, 2012:31). At this elite level the White Paper emphasises talent identification, support programs for coaches and athletes as well as domestic and international competitions (White Paper on Sport and Recreation, 2012:31). To achieve these two outcomes The White Paper has identified a number of enablers which are to play a vital role in achieving this objective.

Figure 1: Key enablers for sporting development in South Africa
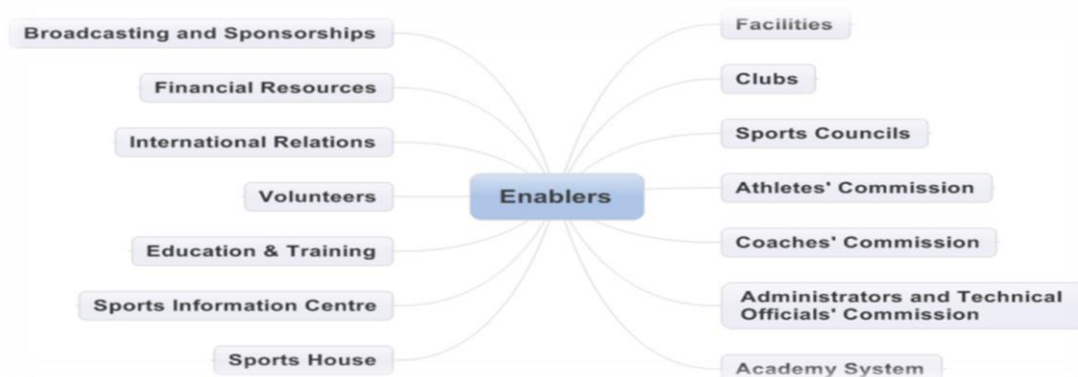
Source: White Paper on Sport and Recreation South Africa (2012:35).

Within the White Paper these enablers have been identified by SRSA as fundamental to developing and nurturing new talent. Each enabler has a strategic objective with the aim of achieving the two outcomes in which mass participation and high performance programs are interlinked (White Paper on Sport and Recreation, 2012:35). Through these enablers it becomes clear that a holistic approach to transformation in South African sport has been recognised by national government. Yet while the White Paper on Sport and Recreation provides the policy framework it is the National Sport and Recreation Plan which is the implementation plan for achieving the strategic objectives and targets of government.

4.2.2 The National Sport and Recreation Plan 2012

The National Sport and Recreation Plan can be seen as an eight year sustainable implementation plan geared towards achieving the objectives set forth in the White Paper on Sport and Recreation (National Sport and Recreation Plan, 2012:4). In essence then the White Paper captures the 'what' while the National Sport and Recreation Plan is the 'how' of the sport policy implementation plan. Within the National Sport and Recreation Plan a number of different stakeholders are identified and entrusted with implementation responsibilities to achieve both an active and winning nation. These include both state and non-state actors.

The state actor, in the form of SRSA, remains the custodian of the sport policy yet the implementation plan comes to include delivery partners which are essential to achieving the outcomes of the policy. These delivery partners include a wide range of actors including: the Department of Basic Education (DBE), SASCOC, National Sporting Federations as well as affiliate organizations. Furthermore while the goal of the National Sport and Recreation Plan is to achieve the identified outcomes SRSA's primary role is to provide strategic support and resources in which implementation falls on the respective sporting organisations. In essence then the implementation plan is driven from a bottom up approach in which each sporting federation has to take responsibility for achieving mass participation and transformation within their respective sporting codes.

While the National Sport and Recreation Indaba in 2011 paved the way for the adoption of the National Sport and Recreation Plan a resolution was also passed to adopt a Transformation Charter for South African sport. This came about with the recognition that South African society emerged from apartheid in which inequality existed in all areas of social, political and economic life. Sport in South Africa therefore was not exempt from this legacy as historical imbalances continue to hinder sporting opportunities.

4.2.3 Transformation Charter for South African Sport 2012

Within the Charter transformation is recognised not only in terms of race but rather is seen as a holistic change to the sporting landscape of South Africa. The focus on race has led to transformation in sport being viewed simply as a 'numbers game'. By this it is meant that transformation is defined only in terms of the number of non-whites in a team in which it has led to transformation in sport, particularly in rugby, being viewed in negative terms by the wider public (Struwig and Roberts, 2007:12). Hence when the question of transformation in sport is raised it automatically becomes associated with tokenism and as being motivated by a political agenda. To move away from this negative association the Transformation Charter (2012:7) defines transformation as a process of holistic change to increase access of opportunities to all South Africans. Emphasis is placed particularly on disadvantaged and marginalized groups including: people with disabilities, women, children and the elderly (Transformation Charter, 2012:4). By targeting these groups this will ensure, in principle at least, that sporting opportunities are afforded to groups who were historically marginalized.

Within the Transformation Charter for South African sport a multi-dimensional scorecard is used with the aim of reflecting all sporting federation's performance in implementing transformation initiatives. This multi-dimensional scorecard consists of six dimensions each carrying a points weighting. The greater the weighting for each dimension the higher the level of transformation is said to exist. The six dimensions include: Access to Infrastructure and Participation Opportunities, Skills and Capability Development, Demographic Profile, Performance of Sporting Teams, Contribution to Government Priorities and Good Governance (Transformation Charter, 2012:27). Through the scorecard sporting federations can analyse and monitor the state of transformation in their respective sporting codes.

Under each dimension there are a number of indicators in which transformation is assessed. These come to include a number of both on and off the field indicators. Some of the most prominent off the field indicators include black representation in senior to middle level management, female representation in senior to middle level management as well as people with disabilities within the organization structure (Transformation Charter, 2012:29). Other key indicators include increasing sporting access to schools and clubs in disadvantaged areas and increasing national and provincial team demographics (Transformation Charter, 2012:47). These indicators highlighted above will serve as a measuring tool in which transformation in rugby is assessed. The reason these indicators are used is that it provides a

useful way of measuring transformation in rugby as it focuses on both on field and off field development. By focusing on what is happening both on and off the field a more holistic view of the state of transformation in rugby can be put forward.

4.3 Policy implementation responsibility: the role of key actors

In the wake of the National Sport and Recreation Indaba in 2011 SARU briefed a Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Sport and Recreation in 2012. At the meeting SARU outlined the progress which South African rugby has made since the unification of rugby in 1992. The National Federation noted that since unity R0.5 billion had been invested in development and transformation of South African rugby (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2012). However, an independent investigation into the current state of rugby revealed that while there were more non-whites playing the game at school and club level rugby this did not translate to greater representation at a senior provincial and national level (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2012).

SARU can be seen as the national governing body for all rugby played in South Africa. The National Rugby Federation is in charge of organizing all national rugby teams amongst them include the senior national rugby team, the national sevens rugby team and the national women's rugby team. The governance structure of the National Federation includes an executive council and a number of committee and sub-committee structures (SARU Annual Report, 2013:12). This governance structure administers all rugby related matters on a national level. Furthermore as transformation in sport is a national agenda the national rugby federation has a responsibility to ensure transformation and development takes place.

Yet the national policy on sport and recreation does not only recognise the role of National Federations but also the role of its affiliate organizations as important delivery partners. In the case of rugby Provincial Rugby Unions play an important role in implementing the policy within their respective regions as it takes into account local conditions and circumstances. Within rugby Provincial Rugby Unions, including the WPRFU, have all committed themselves to achieving transformation targets (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2013). This commitment was made clear when SARU hosted a Transformation Indaba in 2012. The Indaba addressed issues of transformation and development with each of the 14 Provincial Rugby Unions and their various role-players. The Indaba was concluded with each of the Unions agreeing to meet transformation objectives for their respective regions (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2013). This was a step in the right direction for South African rugby.

In addition to SARU and Provincial Rugby Unions there are a number of other actors who play a role in transformation of rugby. At school level The Schools Rugby Association of South Africa plays an important role in which SARU, in essence, has no jurisdiction when it comes to school level rugby (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2013). This is because The Schools Rugby Association of South Africa is an independent organization with its own constitution. Problems of school rugby matches were often dealt with by the DBE and representatives of schools concerned. Thus rugby at school level requires a joint partnership between SARU, Provincial Rugby Unions, the DBE and SRSA. It becomes clear that in order to achieve transformation within rugby is no straightforward task as there needs to be negotiations and consensus-building between the different actors involved. This is an element which the bottom up approach to policy implementation places particular importance on.

4.4 Implementation initiatives by Western Province rugby

The research is based on a case study of transformation policies in rugby with the Western Cape. In order to answer the research question the author has conducted a number of interviews with members involved at the WPRFU to assess how transformation policies have been implemented within the region with particular focus being placed on the intermediate level of rugby. These members are what Lipsky (1976) refers to as 'street level bureaucrats' as they are responsible for the implementation of transformation in rugby. It is from these 'street level bureaucrats' that the author has identified what implementation activities have been undertaken to facilitate transformation in rugby. The findings show that while there is no enforcement of a quota number of players on teams at the intermediate level of rugby, the WPRFU have implemented a number of initiatives through which transformation has been advanced. These include the changing of boardroom demographics, the hosting of workshops and seminars as well has having an academy system geared towards talent identification and development. In order to protect the identities of respondents interviewed for the research study an alias has been created for each respondent.

4.4.1 Changing of boardroom demographics

*Rugby Manager 1[7] (2014), a member of WPRFU currently involved at the Western Province Rugby Institute, highlighted that the WPRFU, as an organizational structure, consists of two parts. On the one hand there is the Pty Limited, established soon after the unification of rugby, which in essence is the commercial arm of the Union and on the other

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[7] *Indicates that an alias has been used for each of the respondents.

hand there is the Football Union. A similar point was made by *Rugby Administrator 2 (2014), a member of the WPRFU who is currently involved at the executive level of the organization, when he spoke of the Western Province Rugby Board which consists of both the Pty Limited and the amateur side which is run by the executive. Rugby Manager 1 (2014) explained that the commercial arm of the Union is primarily geared towards generating profits while the Football Union is the non-profit part of the organizational structure.

When it comes to transformation the author found that a great emphasis was placed on the transformation of boardroom staff and members. *Rugby Administrator 1 (2014), a retired member who served on the inaugural WPRFU transformation committee, made the point that when looking at transformation in Western Province Rugby the Provincial Rugby Union has come a long way since unification in the year 1992. Rugby Administrator 1 (2014) mentioned that the WPRFU was initially a majority 'white run' organization. Yet after more than 20 years of unity in rugby the structures of the Union has change dramatically. Rugby Administrator 1 (2014) made the point that one only needed to go and look at the current structure of WPRFU. At all levels the respondent noted how the demographic representation has changed referring to the composition of the executive, sub-committees, everyday staff and more recently the coaches.

The changes in the organizations structures, according to the respondent, could be credited to the foundations laid in the early years after unification. Rugby Administrator 1 (2014) noted that under the leadership of Ronnie Masson, who led the Union in the early years after unification, the Union was very clear in which direction it wanted to go. Ronnie Masson was succeeded by Koos Basson under whom a transformation committee was established. The transformation committee was used to fast track transformation of rugby in the region by making people aware, particularly those involved in rugby in the region, of the important role it plays in post-apartheid South Africa. Rugby Administrator 2 (2014) explained how to this day WPRFU continues to use a transformation committee which measures transformation within the Union's structure.

In addition Rugby Administrator 1 (2014) noted that WPRFU has made it a point over the years to push the line of transformation within the organization in which the presidents of the Union have been at the forefront of this process. Rugby Administrator 1 (2014) stated that under the leadership of the first two presidents then under Tobie Titus and now with current President Thelo Wakefield transformation continues to be high on the Union's priority list.

This point was reinforced in a separate interview with a former member of SASCOC *Sports Director 1 (2014) who noted that WPRFU does make it a point to talk about transformation at its general meetings. The changes have become evident to see as noted by Rugby Administrator 2 (2014) when he explained the composition of the board of Western Province Rugby. According to Rugby Administrator 2 (2014) the board was fully transformed in terms of both race and gender. This is one of the main implementation initiatives undertaken at WPRFU in which demographic representation at a boardroom level and its administrative structures has been advanced.

These changes at a boardroom level has had a wider impact on the organizations overall transformation and development performance. Sports Director 1 (2014) noted that in order to advance transformation those individuals or committees responsible for leading transformation initiatives need to be a fully transformed unit as well. Thus one can argue that if one has an organization structure which is representative of the demography of the region it is more likely that transformation and development will occur. However, saying that the author does concede to the fact that a transformed board does not necessarily correlate to having a completely transformed organization. Therefore in order for transformation to further be enhanced the WPRFU has also held a number of workshops and seminars with all role players involved within its organizational structure.

4.4.2 WPRFU hosted workshops and seminars

Rugby Administrator 2 (2014) explained that when one looks at transformation in rugby one of the main challenges is to get people to understand that transformation comes from the heart. This is a very important point to consider as it ties in with the moral imperative for transformation. South Africa emerged from the years of minority rule a divided nation in which reconciliation and nation building was essential for consolidating the new found democracy. This process was not only about forgiving individuals for sins of the past but also required reparations for years of deprivation and injustices which affected all areas of people's lives. It is engaging with people for this moral need for transformation, even within rugby, that remains a challenge in post-apartheid South Africa.

Henrard (2003:37) argues that it remains vital to engage with perceptions surrounding the importance of the implementation of transformation policies in order to achieve true reconciliation. In order to engage with these perceptions workshops and seminars become a useful tool. Rugby Administrator 2 (2014) explained that the hosting of workshops and

seminars have played an important role in which transformation in the organization has been further enhanced. These workshops are hosted both nationally and provincially. For example at a provincial level Rugby Administrator 2 (2014) highlighted how all the role players at WPRFU including coaches, managers and staff are made aware of what transformation is and transformation targets set by the Union. While at a national level one has seen SARU host its own seminars with all provincial rugby unions to convey their transformation expectations (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2013).

Rugby Administrator 2 (2014) further makes the point that once the role-players are made aware of the need for transformation and their responsibility in the process they have to commit to the cause. This is best summed up when Rugby Administrator 2 (2014) stated "[w]e live in South Africa where transformation is not negotiable so anyone at Western Province [Rugby] who claims that he or she doesn't understand the concept of transformation is telling a lie". Understanding what transformation entails is particularly important as changing the demographics of administrative staff will have little to no effect on advancing transformation when those in charge of bringing about change do not buy into or believe wholeheartedly in the process. Sports Director 1 (2014) reiterated this point when she highlighted the importance of training and development when it comes to achieving transformation. Sports Director 1 (2014) explained that at the heart of this process is the need to capacitate members of an organization to understand what transformation is really about.

In this regard WPRFU have implemented initiatives to bring about transformation within its broader administrative structure. This is in line with national government policy on sport and recreation particularly the Transformation Charter for South African sport highlighted earlier in the chapter. One of the dimensions within the Transformation Charter is that of 'Demographic Profile'. This dimension measures transformation of sport structures both on and off the field. As the research takes on a more holistic approach to transformation, off the field indicators are equally as important as the composition of teams on the field. Under the dimension of 'Demographic Profile' key indicators include, but not limited to, percentage of non-whites in management structures, percentage of female managers and percent of non-white accredited coaches (Transformation Charter, 2012:37). These are all off the field indicators when it comes to achieving transformation objectives. If one then uses this as a measuring tool to assess transformation of rugby happening off the field then one can argue that the WPRFU have made considerable progress in this regard.

4.4.3 Moving from transformation off the field to transformation on the field

While transformation of rugby off the field is important it is the composition of rugby teams on the playing field that continues to be the most debated and contested area. To this point SARU has noted that transformation in South African rugby is measure primarily on what is happening on the rugby field (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2012). This is due to the fact that it is changing the demographic profile on the playing field which has been the biggest challenge to transformation in South African rugby. Furthermore, as statistics by SARU revealed in chapter one, in South African rugby there are a majority of non-whites playing at school and club level. Yet the higher one looks up in the rugby echelons the less prominent the number of non-white players become.

As the intermediate level falls between school level rugby and senior professional rugby this becomes an area worthy of further investigation. SARU's Chief Executive Officer (CEO), Jurie Roux, stated that in terms of school rugby, provinces including the Western Cape, Eastern Cape and Gauteng had the highest numbers of rugby playing schools (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2012). In addition the Western and Eastern Cape account for just over 60% of all rugby playing high schools in the country (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2012). Thus the Western Cape is a useful place in which the intermediate level can be investigated. The research therefore also focused on what was being done at this level of rugby within the region. The investigation into the intermediate level of rugby produced findings on three pathways which feed into this level. These three pathways included: The Western Province Rugby Institute, school rugby recruitment as well as club rugby. The findings into these pathways are discussed in the sections to follow.

4.4.4 The Western Province Rugby Institute in the context of high performance sport

The first pathway investigated by the author when looking at the intermediate level is the Western Province Rugby Institute. According to Rugby Manager 1 (2014), the Western Province Rugby Institute was established in the year 2007 to be the official academy of Western Province Rugby with the aim of taking rugby players from a school leaver's age and incorporating them into the under-19 and under-21 structures. The rugby institute creates a highly professional environment for promising age-group rugby players in the region in order to better equip them to handle the demands of senior professional rugby. On average the Institute can accommodate 50 rugby players, a large portion of which are contracted players at Western Province and South African Rugby (WP Rugby, 2014).

Rugby Manager 1 (2014) further explained that the total duration which rugby players spend at the rugby institute is 10 months running from January to the end of October when the under-19 rugby competition ends. Rugby Manager 1 (2014) went on to explain that the 10 month period can further be broken down into two five month periods namely a pre-season phase and a competition phase. The first five months is pre-season which forms a large part of the institute's program. In this first five months the focus is on getting the players ready for the competition phase which is the second five months. The pre-season phase incorporates a highly focused conditioning program aimed at getting age-group rugby players ready for higher level rugby. Rugby Manager 1 (2014) noted that the competition phase differs from the preseason phase in that less focus is placed on conditioning and more on preparing for the weekly matches. In essence the rugby institute is a high profile and professional environment which mimics the routine which senior professional rugby players go through on a day-to-day basis. Hence the institute itself has been established by the WPRFU in order to equip talented young rugby players with the skills to be able to make it as senior professional rugby players.

When further investigating the operations of the rugby institute the author also explored what development initiatives have been undertaken by the rugby institute. By this it is meant what is being done to ensure that promising young rugby players, particularly disadvantaged rugby players, are incorporated into its rugby structure. The role of the academy system, as an enabler to developing and nurturing talent, is recognised in national policies on sport and recreation. The White Paper on Sport and Recreation (2012:38) note that an academy system plays an integral part in the South African sporting continuum. The academy system defined in the White Paper comes to include a range of sporting institutions including sport specific and private academies (White Paper on Sport and Recreation, 2012:38). These institutions all form part of a national unified approach to sport in which the objective is to accelerate the development of talented athletes, particularly those from disadvantaged groups (National Sport and Recreation Plan, 2012:41). It becomes clear then that the Western Province Rugby Institute forms part of the national unified approach.

Rugby Administrator 2 (2014) explained that apart from the selection of their junior Craven Week sides, which requires a certain quota of non-white players, when it comes to under-19 teams and upwards there is no mandate which they enforce on their rugby sides. Rather the Union employs a monitoring system which accounts for player representation in all its teams. Rugby Manager 1 (2014) reiterated this point when he stated that while there is nothing officially stipulated on record or within the Union's own policy about this they remain

cognisant of the fact that it is imperative to find promising young disadvantaged rugby players. Rugby Manager 1 (2014) stated that currently the rugby institute aims for an intake of around 40% previously disadvantaged. To ensure more than just lip service on this issue the Western Province Rugby Institute regularly provides bursaries to promising young rugby players. Rugby Administrator 2 (2014) noted that through the Union's partnership with its various stakeholders, including Tsogo Sun, the financial burden of attending the rugby institute on young rugby players is often made easier by subsidizing players. Rugby Manager 1 (2014) explained that the financial model of the institute can sustainably support up to 35 players. These rugby players will at minimum receive a program for free that includes accommodation, meals, sport science and certain medical consultations. In this regard then the rugby institute itself while being a high performance environment does make an attempt to assist talented players to eventually go on to make it as senior professional rugby players.

These initiatives off the field by WPRFU have filtered through into the make-up of the Union's senior professional side. While the author could not gain access to formal documentation which accounts for the exact number of player representation due to documents being confidential there are ways of making inferences. Firstly when one looks at the rugby players who have come through the Western Province Rugby Institute since it was established in 2007 some of the most prominent includes: Nick Koster, Nizaam Carr, Rynardt Elstadt and Siya Kolisi all of whom have gone on to play senior professional rugby. Secondly when Rugby Manager 1 (2014) was asked about how many players that have attended the institute actually went on to play senior professional rugby he noted that it stood in the region of over 50 players since its inception. Hence one can argue that the WPRFU, through the rugby institute, have managed to ensure that a number of talented junior players make the step up from junior level rugby to senior professional rugby.

Yet to fully understand the role and operations of an academy system two important areas needs to be taken into consideration. These areas include talent development and the high performance element which accompanies professional sport. These areas need to be taken into account when it comes to transformation in rugby. Burgess and Naughton (2010) note that developing talent, particularly at an age-group level, is no easy task as it requires a strict monitoring system in which a players levels of skill, physical and mental ability are tracked. Rugby is a sport in which physical strength and size plays an important role. Often in rugby bigger and stronger players tend to have an advantage over their smaller and less powerful counterparts (Lambert and Durandt, 2010:68).

In South Africa this does play a major role, due to socioeconomic factors one has seen a physical bias towards children of an affluent background when compared to children from a disadvantaged background. Given South Africa's legacy of racial discrimination and inequality those who make up the historically advantaged and historically disadvantaged groups also tends to take on a racial distinction. Non-white children are mainly concentrated in the lower end of the socioeconomic category while white children make up a large portion of the high end of the socioeconomic strata (Armstrong, Lambert and Lambert, 2011:1000).

In what group a child finds him or herself does, to a certain extent, impact on the overall success of sporting performance. Armstrong *et al.* (2011) study sheds light on this point when they looked at physical fitness of children aged between 6 and 13 years of age across different ethnic groups in South Africa. This was done through the use of a EUROFIT testing battery[8] as well as cricket ball throwing scores (Armstrong *et al.*, 2011:999). What the researchers found was that in most of the tests White children performed the best followed by Coloured children and African children (Armstrong *et al.*, 2011:1015). These differences in test scores can loosely be associated with the spread of ethnicity across the socio-economic scale (Armstrong *et al.*, 2011:1014). Yet as the researchers acknowledge these differences can also be credited to a number of other factors including differences in height, weight and access to physical education at school. Therefore more research is needed to definitely prove a causal link between socioeconomic differences and differences in scores across race group.

However one cannot ignore the socioeconomic legacy and its impact, especially when looking at rugby and the number of non-white rugby players who eventually go on to play senior professional rugby. This point is reinforced by McGregor (2014) when she argues that the senior national rugby team is mostly white due to the fact that contemporary South Africa still affords White South Africans the best chance of fulfilling their potential. Non-white rugby players, many of whom fall into the lower end of the socioeconomic scale, do not always have access to proper training and resources to fully develop their talents. This is only compounded by their socioeconomic conditions which they find themselves in where they are less likely to have nutritional meals and supplementation which are essential to building muscle to withstand the physical demands of elite level rugby. McGregor (2014) notes that these challenges are real and "[n]o matter how talented a rugby player he is, his chances of developing his skills are limited".

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[8] The measurements used in the test included height, weight, Body Mass Index, standing long jump, shuttle run, sit-and-reach and sit-ups.

Secondly, when one looks at professional sport, particularly at national and international level, it is both highly competitive and highly organised. Rugby Manager 1 (2014) explained that in order to make it as a rugby player at the highest level one needs three things namely: talent, one needs to be placed in the right environment and most importantly one needs to want to work hard. Rugby Manager 1 (2014) further explained that at the Western Province Rugby Institute players are assisted to make the adjustment towards being able to handle the full demands of professional rugby yet in the end the responsibility still falls on each individual to make a success of the chance which they have been provide with.

Furthermore, Rugby Administrator 1 (2014) stated that one needs to understand that not all rugby players, across all race groups, who show promise at age-group rugby level, go on to play senior professional rugby. Rugby Administrator 1 (2014) further noted that in his years of involvement at an age-group level at Western Province only a handful of players made it to the top as to make it as a professional rugby player requires, over and above talent, dedication and the ability to bounce back from setbacks. A similar view is expressed by McGregor (2014) when she highlights that to make it at the highest level requires a certain degree of emotional resilience, the ability to withstand lengthy time off due to injury as well as loss of form. Furthermore Peter de Villiers notes that in his first training camp as Springbok coach he invited a number of young players, some were non-white players who showed promise at a junior level, yet never made the grade at the highest level and thus never featured again (de Villiers and Rich, 2012:88). The above mentioned does impact on the pace of transformation in South African rugby in the sense that one cannot ignore the nature of professional sport in which to make it at the highest level comes largely down to merit.

Yet this is only one side of the coin in that one cannot say that rugby players, particularly non-white players, who do not make the transition from age-group level to senior professional rugby do not have the talent and commitment to make a success at that level. McGregor (2014) makes the point that non-white rugby players are often burdened by socioeconomic factors which distracts them from focusing solely on their performance on the field. This is a real challenge which does impact on the number of non-white players who go on to play senior level rugby. Furthermore players develop at different degrees for example; non-white players might show the necessary skill levels to make a success yet lack the size to meet the physical demands of the game. In these instances it becomes important that promising young players should be provided with additional time so as to work on the areas which need improving in order to eventually make a success.

Yet additional time to develop individual talent is not always a luxury afforded to South African rugby players. One reason for this could be to look at the amount of rugby players playing the game in the country. In a study conducted by Lambert and Durandt (2010:67) the researchers found that South Africa has more than double the amount of registered rugby players playing at age-group and senior level rugby in comparison to the other two southern hemisphere rugby powers namely: Australia and New Zealand. Given South Africa's high number of rugby players in the country the talent does not always have to be effectively managed as there is a strong and consistent 'conveyor-belt' of players coming through (Lambert and Durandt, 2010:67).

The researchers note that in the case of South African rugby the principle of 'survival of the fittest' can be applied (Lambert and Durandt, 2010:67). By this it is meant that as there are so many players to choose from at the lower levels of rugby only the best progress through to senior professional rugby. Thus given the high levels of talented rugby players it is easy to replace one player with another. Therefore the amount of rugby players playing the game as well as the strong competition for places often results in many talented players falling out of the system. To this point Rugby Manager 1 (2014) explained that to combat this trend some rugby players who attend the Western Province Rugby Institute are given an extra year or two to develop within a high performance environment. This is critical as it prevents the likelihood of talented players, particularly disadvantaged players, from dropping out of the system altogether.

The initiatives put in place at the Western Province Rugby Institute has greatly assisted in talent development within the region in which many promising young rugby players have gone on to play senior professional rugby. This is in line with the role of an academy system as identified in both the National Sport and Recreation Plan (2012) and the White Paper on Sport and Recreation (2012). The academy system should assist in accelerating the development of talent athletes, including those from disadvantaged areas, by providing them with support to enhance their talent so as to make it at the highest level (National Sport and Recreation Plan, 2012:41). When using these policy documents as a measuring tool to assess transformation then one can argue that the Western Province Rugby Institute have managed to develop sporting talent, including those from disadvantaged groups, in the context of high performance sport. This was achieved without a strict enforcement of a quota number of players but rather being aware of the need to incorporate players of talent into the Unions under-19 and under-21 sides.

4.4.5 School boy recruitment: the state of school rugby in the region

Yet given that rugby in South Africa at a junior level has a majority of non-white players one would expect an even greater number of these rugby players progressing to the intermediate level than currently is the case. Therefore only looking at the academy level does not provide sufficient answers to the implementation of transformation in the Western Cape. In order to understand how transformation in rugby is being implemented one also has to look at where these talented rugby players come from. Rugby Manager 1 (2014) explains that many of the rugby players who attend the rugby institute and eventually do go on to play under-19 and under-21 level rugby can be traced back to early school identification. Players who show promise at school level rugby are often contracted once they complete their secondary education by provincial unions across the country. Where most age-group rugby talent is often found and recruited at school level is the under-18 Craven Week[9] (de Villiers and Rich, 2012:43).

Within the National Sport and Recreation Plan (2012) increased focus has been placed on school sport in South Africa. It is noted in the policy that "[s]chool sport has a valuable contribution to make in the development and transformation of sport [in South Africa]" (National Sport and Recreation Plan, 2012:23). Sports Director 1 (2014) explained that the current ministry is placing a greater importance on the school sport system as a driver for achieving its identified objectives. Within the school sports system the National Sport and Recreation Plan (2012) has a number of performance indicators. These indicators include: increasing the number of learners participating in school sport, increase the number of educators who can deliver the school's sports program and increasing the number of schools with schools sports programs (National Sport and Recreation Plan, 2012:24). In order to achieve this national sporting federations are expected to assist in the development of their respective sporting codes across the country. As mentioned earlier in the chapter when it comes to rugby SARU, the Provincial Rugby Union's, SRSA and the DBE all have a role to play in implementing a school sports program. Rugby Administrator 1 (2014) explained that as Provincial Rugby Unions have all subscribed to the transformation policies outlined by SARU they ultimately have a role to play in meeting these targets and objectives.

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[9] An annual under-18 provincial rugby tournament held in South Africa in which representatives of each provincial team is made up of different schools in the country.

Rugby is a sport which is particularly popular within the Western Cape. It is one of the provinces with the highest levels of participation particularly at school level rugby in which the Western Cape and Eastern Cape accounts for 60% of all rugby playing high schools in South Africa (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2013). However Rugby Administrator 1 (2014) noted that while transformation has come a long way in the region, particularly in changing the demographic profile of staff, when one looks at on field representation there are still not enough non-whites playing at a provincial level. As a result the respondent felt that more can and should be done to bring players through the ranks. This point is particularly relevant when one looks at the state of school level rugby in the region.

One area which could highlight the state of school rugby in the region is to look at the make-up of the Western Province under-18 Craven Week sides. The reason for this is twofold firstly, as mentioned, many of the junior players playing in the under-19 and under-21 structures are identified at school boy level with many of them being past graduates of the prestigious under-18 rugby week. Secondly, this will provide useful insights because it shows where the majority of rugby players who play in this high profile tournament come from. When accounting for the Western Province under-18 Craven Week team over a five year period, from the year 2010 till 2014, the following was found summarized in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Western Province under-18 Craven Week players per school 2010-2014
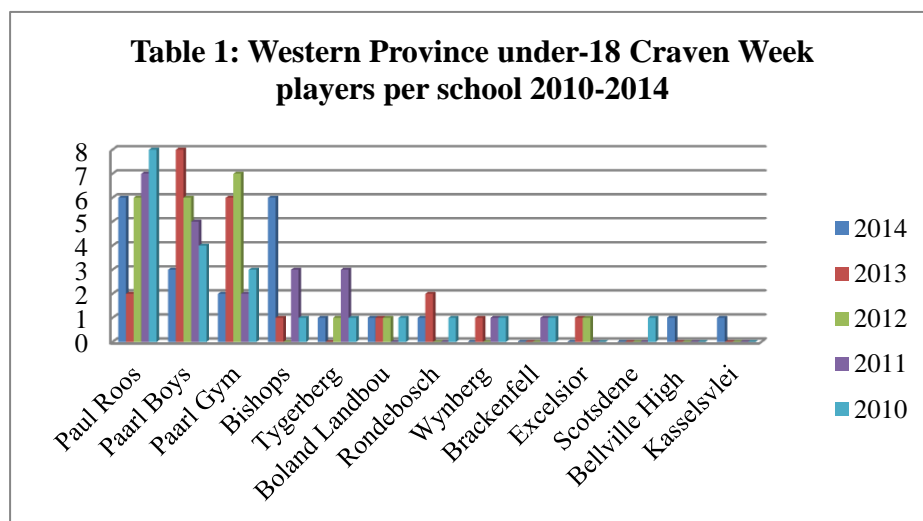
Source: Western Province Rugby official website.

Calculations: Authors own.

The horizontal axis represents all the different schools from which the under-18 Western Province Craven Week team representatives was made up of over the five year period examined. The vertical axis represents the total number of rugby players each school had in the team per year while the five different colours used corresponds with one of the five years

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starting from 2014 till the year 2010. Finally when adding up schools representatives per year the total comes down to 22 players as this is the total number of players allowed to compete.

From Table 1 one can deduce a number of important findings. Firstly over a five year period examined only 13 schools in the region accounted for the total number of players, which is 110 rugby players over 5 years, in the under-18 Craven Week teams. Of the 13 schools 7 of the schools are elite rugby playing schools these include: Paul Roos Gymnasium, Paarl Boys High, Paarl Gymnasium, Wynberg Boys High, Bishops Diocesan College, Boland Landbou and Rondebosch High. Furthermore of the total number of players to play for the Western Province under-18 Craven Week team from 2010 till 2014 4 of the elite schools (Paul Roos Gymnasium, Paarl Boys High, Paarl Gymnasium and Bishops Diocesan College) accounted for 86 of the 110 rugby players. This equates to 78,1% of the team coming from only 4 elite rugby schools over a five year period. On the other hand the total of rugby players who played Craven Week over this five year period to come from non-elite rugby playing schools namely Bellville High, Tygerberg, Scotsdene, Kasselsvlei and Brackenfell High is 13 out of 110 rugby players. This equates to only 11.8% of the Western Province under-18 Craven Week team over the five year period.

These statistics raise a number of important points to consider regarding transformation in rugby. Firstly, it shows that only a few schools in the region are producing provincial age-group rugby players considered good enough to make the grade evens though there are a number of different high schools across the Western Cape. Secondly a majority of these rugby producing schools are all former Model C schools which tend to have larger white demographics. During the years of apartheid each race group had separate education systems in which there were disparities between white and non-white education (Lemon and Batterysby-Lennard, 2009:518). Black South Africans received inferior education in the form of Bantu education while white schools were categorized as Model C schools (Schuster, 2011:42). While a unified education system has been established post-apartheid in which children of all races are no longer resigned to schools based on race the historical legacy remains. Therefore one can argue that the composition of the Craven Week team is dominated by pupils attending historically advantaged schools in which pupils from historically disadvantaged schools account for only a handful of players.

These findings are placed in perspective when one looks at the disparities between historically advantaged and disadvantaged schools. Rugby Administrator 1 (2014) explained

that a number of schools across the Western Cape still do not have access to sporting facilities and playing equipment. In order to participate in rugby those rugby players who attend disadvantaged schools often have to travel to their nearest rugby playing clubs or community fields in which transportation costs are involved. Therefore the performance indicators of increasing the number of children playing sport, in this case rugby, and increasing the number of schools with a sport program remains a challenge in the region.

Increasing the number of teachers who are trained and delivering a school sports program is another area of concern. Rugby Administrator 1 (2014), who was a teacher for many years, noted that when he was a school principal the school managed to put together 10 rugby teams across various age-group categories. Yet the following year when he left there was no longer rugby at the school. Rugby Administrator 1 (2014) then went on to highlight a few schools in the surrounding area where he lives that do not have rugby as a sport namely: Alexander Sinton, Belgravia and Ned Doman in which none of them have rugby facilities to offer it as a school sport. These are not isolated examples as it is a reality at many other schools in historically disadvantaged areas across the province. In addition to lack of sporting facilities teachers at disadvantaged schools are already overburdened with meeting academic targets in which being involved in extramural activities is simply not an option. The circumstances surrounding these schools suggest that it remains debateable whether they will achieve the targets set out in the National Sport and Recreation Plan.

Funding is another important factor to consider at this level. Rugby Administrator 1 (2014) explained how elite rugby schools in the region have bigger budgets in which they can prioritize training, equipment and sports tours in which many disadvantaged schools operates on a shoe string budget. McGregor (2014) similarly note that disadvantaged schools, many of which could be non-fee paying schools, operate with inadequate sporting and training facilities and with very little resources as compared to elite schools. McGregor (2014) further notes that these elite schools have well developed facilities and parents who can afford to pay for the school to employ extra staff. However, there are instances where disadvantaged schools have managed to, in spite of these challenges, be competitive and roll out a school sports program. Both Sports Director 1 (2014) and Rugby Administrator 1 (2014) highlighted the same example of a school situated in a disadvantaged area in Bellville, Kasselsvlei High, where the school managed to organise a number of rugby teams and was also producing Craven Week rugby players over the years. This can largely be credited to the commitment and involvement of educators at the school.

It should also be noted that there are instances where school rugby scholarships are provided to players from disadvantaged schools in which one has seen more non-white players being exposed to better quality rugby. In some instances elite rugby playing schools, for example Paul Roos and Paarl Gymnasium, do provide scholarships to talented rugby players. Yet ultimately it can be argued that one will continue to see a similar pattern in provincial age-group rugby teams, where rugby players from elite schools dominate team selection. This does impact on the provincial under-19 and under-21 teams as talented disadvantaged players who show promise at school level, many of which are non-white, often have very little chance of progressing through the ranks given the circumstances and challenges highlighted.

4.4.6 Exploring club rugby in the region

In addition to the academy and school rugby system, club level rugby plays an important role when looking at the intermediate level. Rugby Manager 1 (2014) noted that the academy system of Western Province Rugby is not the only way rugby players can gain selection into the provincial under-19 and under-21 teams as those who play at club level can also get selected. Club rugby involvement in the Western Cape is amongst one of the highest in South Africa. The Western Cape, along with the Eastern Cape, accounts for 80% of all club rugby players in the country (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2012). Rugby Administrator 1 (2014) explained that participation at club level rugby in the Western Cape exceeded that of other areas in the country in which the strength of South African club rugby and mass participation lies within the region. Furthermore, the number of non-white players playing rugby at a club level is significant. SARU noted that in 2012 at club level of the total number of rugby players playing the game 69% were non-white rugby players in comparison to 30% white players (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2012).

The club system is recognised in national policy on sport and recreation as a way of achieving development and transformation objectives. The National Sport and Recreation Plan (2012:37) highlights that club sport "serves as a vehicle for long term participant development as well as mentorship programs to cater for high performance". Sport development and excellence would not be possible without a strong club structure in place (National Sport and Recreation Plan, 2012:37). When it comes to the club system the National Sport and Recreation Plan (2012) have identified a number of delivery partners. In rugby these partners include: SARU, Provincial Rugby Unions, the DBE and SRSA. These delivery partners have to ensure that there is a club rugby system in place in all provinces,

encouraging clubs to adopt their nearest schools and to lobby the local department of transport to assist with transportation (National Sport and Recreation Plan, 2012:38).

Within the Western Cape the author found a number of interesting findings when it came to club rugby. Rugby Administrator 1 (2014) explained how the current club which he is involved in is independently run in which there is no government, municipality or department of sport supporting them. The club covered all the overhead costs itself which includes paying for water and electricity, coaches and playing equipment. Rugby Administrator 1 (2014) further noted that all the funds generated by the club simply go back into the maintenance and upkeep of the club itself. Rugby Administrator 1 (2014) explained that in his time involved in the club rugby system clubs continue to only have representation from one race group, in which clubs failed to transform in that they were strictly a White club, Coloured club or Black Club. With rugby clubs being independently run from Provincial Rugby Unions and SARU it remains a challenge to get clubs to buy into and implement transformation at this level.

However one has seen WPRFU being active at club level rugby. Rugby Administrator 1 (2014) explained that within Western Province club rugby a Disa team is selected each year in which emerging talent is selected from the respective club leagues in the region. This Disa team is primarily geared towards further player development in the region to ensure that promising players are recognised and thus ensure that they keep them within the region. These players are identified in the hope that they can make the next step into the Vodacom Cup competition.

In addition one of the biggest initiatives carried out which incorporates club level rugby is the school and club linkage program. This is a development initiative outlined in the National Sport and Recreation Plan (2012). In rugby this initiative encourages rugby clubs to adopt their nearest community schools particularly in rural areas where schools lack the necessary rugby infrastructure. This development plan was rolled out across all rugby playing regions in South Africa in which Provincial Rugby Unions were provided with funds by SARU to set up these school linkage programs (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2012). Yet this initiative remains difficult to implement successfully. This is due to the fact that children who want to play rugby for the club do not always have the means of getting to practices and matches as transportation costs are involved. Rugby Administrator 1 (2014) explains that clubs do not always have the financial means to get these children to matches and practice at their

grounds. Furthermore SARU revealed that across all the regions where the school club linkage program has been implemented 50% of them reported that the program remained a challenge to execute successfully (Parliamentary Monitoring Group, 2012). Therefore when using the national policies on sport and recreation as a measuring tool for the club system it remains debatable whether transformation objectives are being met at this level.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter reflected on the findings of the research in which implementation initiatives in rugby in the Western Cape have been explored. The findings came to focus greatly on the role of non-state actors in ensuring transformation in rugby. In this way the study was approached from a bottom-up perspective as emphasis was placed on the role of individuals and organisations who are the actual implementers of transformation policy. These non-state actors ultimately decided how they would apply national policy to meet transformation objectives.

The findings showed that WPRFU have managed to change the demographic makeup of the organization as well as conducting a number of workshops and seminar programs. The WPRFU has also managed, through its official academy system, to ensure that promising talented players within the region have been integrated into its structure. Yet when investigating the intermediate level of rugby it became clear that it cannot be studied in isolation in which a number of different pathways feed into this level. Two of these pathways, school and club level rugby, face a number of challenges which ultimately impact on the total number of talented players that go on to play provincial rugby. These findings taken together provide a more holistic view of the state of the implementation of transformation in the region.

Chapter 5
Recommendations and conclusion to research

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides concluding remarks on the research presented through the course of the thesis. Furthermore this chapter also serves to provide recommendation to improving policy implementation in rugby. These recommendations will help to improve transformation of rugby in the Western Cape. The first section to follow reflects on the findings of the research while also discussing lessons learnt from the implementation of transformation policies in Western Province rugby. This is followed by providing recommendations to improving the state of rugby in the region and beyond. The author argues that for transformation in rugby to improve increased attention needs to be placed on strengthening school and club structures, particularly in disadvantaged areas, while emphasis should also be placed on awareness campaigns in which the need for transformation is prioritized.

5.2 Reflection on the research and lessons learnt

The research sought to investigate how transformation policies in rugby have been implemented in the Western Cape. The research was initiated based on the problem outlined within the problem statement presented in chapter one. In the problem statement it was shown that non-white rugby players dominate at age-group level yet the numbers decrease substantially at the highest levels of rugby. To this point former Springbok coach, Peter de Villiers, noted that more should be done to keep talented non-white players after age-group level to ensure that they go on to play senior professional rugby (de Villiers and Rich, 2012:54). It is for this reason that the research placed particular focus on the level of rugby between age-group rugby and senior professional rugby. This came to be known throughout the research as the intermediate level. This level, the author argued, is an area in which transformation could ultimately be enhanced.

The research showed that while the WPRFU have not implemented a strict quota on transformation of teams at the intermediate level the Union has implemented a number of initiatives in which transformation in its broader structure has been advanced. Transformation initiatives are particularly evident to see in the demographic changes of administrative staff at the WPRFU. The Union has also hosted a number of seminars in which transformation in rugby has been presented to all members of the organization. The importance of transformation off the field was shown to be critical to achieving transformation on the field

in the region. In this way members of the Union have become cognisant of the fact that they play an important role in the transformation process in rugby within the region. Furthermore through the Western Province Rugby Institute the Union has prioritized finding and recruiting players of talent into the Union's under-19 and under-21 rugby structures.

From the research there are a number of lessons one can then learn about transformation of rugby implemented in the Western Cape. By prioritizing transformation off the field the WPRFU have been at the forefront of having comparatively more transformed teams on the field in South Africa. The implementation of transformation policies in rugby has at times focused to rigorously on demographic representation of teams on the playing field. Yet through the research it became clear that the composition of rugby teams merely reflects the final output in the transformation process. The WPRFU have shown that transformation needs to occur off the field before transformation can be actively pursued on the field. It is those in charge of rugby off the field who ultimately have to ensure that talented players, particularly disadvantaged players, are retained from age-group level. By having an administrative structure which has itself gone through a process of transformation is therefore better equipped to transform the demographics of its teams on the field. On the other hand, however, the Union is also situated in a province in which there cannot be any excuse to not have transformed teams. By this the author is referring to how the game of rugby was shown to have a long history amongst non-whites in the Western Cape in which rugby is particularly popular in non-white communities. This does affect demographic representation of teams produced by the WPRFU as it has a greater numbers of non-white players to draw from.

5.3 Policy recommendations

While the research has shown that the WPRFU have made significant steps to transforming its provincial rugby teams a number of challenges remain. At school and club level there are great disparities between historically advantaged and historically disadvantaged areas in the region. Lack of resources, coaches and facilities are evident to see in which rugby in disadvantaged areas is played on a different level to that of rugby played in advantaged areas. These challenges remain some of the most fundamental challenges to transforming the sport. Thus while non-white players dominate at age-group and club level rugby transformation in rugby at the highest level will continue to remain a challenge as rugby cannot escape the socioeconomic context in which it is embedded in. In order to overcome this one requires a greater emphasis to be placed on addressing the challenges experienced by schools and clubs situated in disadvantaged areas. This is not only a problem of WPRFU or SARU but the DBE

also has a role to play. In many instances schools in disadvantaged areas do not have extramural activities on their schooling calendar. It requires therefore that the DBE to play a greater role to ensure that students are afforded the opportunity to take part in extramural activities.

Furthermore the issue of funding was also highlighted as a major obstacle to practical policy implementation in rugby. One possible solution is to get private business involved to help fund more ventures in disadvantaged areas where rugby is being played. To achieve this goal Provincial Rugby Unions as well as SARU, each with their various stakeholders and sponsors, could invest in areas in which talented rugby players come from. For example, Kasselsvlei High School, which was shown to be in possession of talented rugby players could be assisted with additional coaches, setting up a gymnasium as well as providing them with playing equipment. A program of this nature could be set up across the country to fund similar schools that show potential for developing promising disadvantaged players. This will ensure greater numbers of disadvantaged young rugby players having access to facilities and skills training which they might not have experienced before.

Finally policy implementation in rugby also needs to be accompanied by a shift in thinking by all role players involved. This is a point highlighted by a number of respondents interviewed for the research. Transformation in rugby will only ever be successful if transformation comes from within. In this sense transformation is seen as coming from the 'heart'. Therefore one should see a continuation of workshops and seminars in rugby implemented in which transformation is discussed at all levels of rugby. By making individuals aware of what transformation entails and the moral need for it one can get more individuals to buy into the process. This serves as an important vehicle in which role players are capacitated to carry out change both on and off the field.

5.4 Conclusion

While many have highlighted the nation-building aspect of sport in post-apartheid South Africa the truth of the matter is that sport, and rugby in particular, is still being played on two different levels. In order to transform the composition of our senior provincial and national rugby team's greater attention needs to be placed on eliminating the challenges experienced at the lower levels of the game which continue to hold non-white players back. Only once these challenges are addressed will more non-white players progress from age-group level to senior professional rugby. This will help to ensure not only that our rugby teams are more

representative of our demography but also ensure that the unifying factor of sport will remain long lasting.

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