POLITICAL PRISONER EDUCATION
through
SPORT ON ROBBEN ISLAND:
1960-1990

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ABSTRACT

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This research was motivated by my interest in the sport and the systems of provision of the education on Robben Island. The problem that gave rise to the study was to determine how political prisoners were able to organise prisoner education (political education and non-formal education) and participate in prison-sponsored education (formal education) and to find answers to the question of what impact education had on the sport that they agitated for.

I relied on critical theory, adult learning theory, and social movement theory to investigate the relationships between political-prisoner education and sport on Robben Island. I argue that prisoners were able to study, play soccer and fight the apartheid system, from within prison, as members of a social movement, in this context, the Makana Football Association (MFA). I therefore posit that the MFA as a sports organisation can be interpreted as a social movement and that learning took place within this realm.

I adopted a qualitative approach to data collection. This empirical research approach afforded me the opportunity to spend time with the participants in the natural, comfortable environment of their homes and their workplaces. All participants were former political prisoners who were instrumental, influential and participated in the education and sport that occurred on the Island between 1960 and 1990.

This study revealed strong relationships between the education practices that took place on the Island and the sport played by the political prisoners. The significance of the study exposes sport as a site for covert political education and was used as a strategy for resisting prison conditions and to develop prisoners as political leaders for after their release from prison.

May 2018

DECLARATION

I declare that *Political Prisoner Education Through Sport on Robben Island: 1960-1990* is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

Signed:

Vanessa Mitchell

May 2018

UNIVERSITY *of the* WESTERN CAPE

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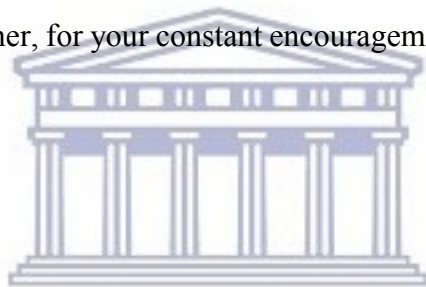
My mother, Enid Mitchell, for her daily prayers.

My son, Dale de Kock, who was always around to offer an encouraging word. I hope my challenges as a matured student inspire you to get it done early in your life.

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I provide the rationale and my motivation for the study. The background to the study, highlighting the history of Robben Island, follows it. I then outline the research problem, research aims and research questions. I present the theoretical framework and the results that I anticipated. The chapter concludes with an overview of the other chapters in this study.

1.2. Rationale for the study

This research is motivated by my interest in sport and education, and in particular the relationship between sport and education among political prisoners on Robben Island between 1960 and 1990. I worked as an educator at a high school for ten years and have been involved in sport as a player and administrator since the 1980s. After I resigned from my teaching post, I joined the Robben Island Museum (RIM). Over the past 20 years, I have worked on Robben Island as a tour guide and a heritage educator where I was responsible for the design and implementation of educational programmes for schools, as well as adult and university groups that visit Robben Island.

The stories of the ex-Robben Island prisoners sparked my interest in sport and sport education among prisoners on Robben Island. This interest resulted in a programme called 'Sport the unifier', where the children and grandchildren of former political prisoners were invited to Robben Island for a week to learn more about museums and also to share the stories of their parents and investigate the sporting experiences of political prisoners. During the week on Robben Island the children researched the cell in which their parent was imprisoned, the kind of sport they played and the kinds of education they pursued. The children later explored the documents at the RIM Mayibuye Archive at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) related to sport and education, which their parents had written. They used this information to establish their own clubs and design their own Robben Island game, which they taught to schools, which were invited to the Island for the day.

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My other interest is the kind of education that took place, the system or systems of provision of the education and the curriculum that prevailed on the Island during the political prisoner period. Some of the former political prisoners, whom I had the privilege to meet, spoke fondly and passionately about the education system that prevailed on the Island. Political prisoners adopted a two-pronged approach to education: political-prisoner education and prison-sponsored education. A combination would stand them in good stead when they were eventually released. Based on the above, I was interested in exploring the relationships between sport and education among political prisoners on Robben Island and how the two were connected and intersected with one other.

1.3. Background to the study

Robben Island or RI is also referred to as *the Island*, a name that not only conjures up its importance as a former penal island and a place of banishment for those who opposed the status quo, but also has global significance as a symbol of the struggle of the South African people against the oppressive apartheid government. Ahmed Kathrada in his opening address at the opening of the Robben Island Exhibition, *ESIQITINI,* on 26 May 1993 summed up his experiences in prison but also his hope for the Island:

> While we will not forget the brutality of apartheid, we will not want Robben Island to be a monument of our hardship and suffering. We would want it to be a monument reflecting the triumph of the human spirit against the forces of evil; a triumph of freedom and human dignity over repression and humiliation; a triumph of wisdom and largeness of spirit against small minds and pettiness; a triumph of courage and determination over human frailty and weakness; a triumph of non-racialism over bigotry and intolerance; a triumph of the new South Africa over the old (Deacon, Penn, Odendaal & Davidson, 1996, p. 5).

RI has a long history of being a place of banishment for those who opposed the status quo or for those considered the undesirables of society. The layered history and use of the Island can be categorised as:

- occasional occupation prior to 1652;

- a colonial prison (1657- 1921);

- a colonial hospital (1846-1931);

- a naval base (1931-1959);

- an apartheid prison (1961-1994), and eventually culminating in it being declared

- a national museum in 1995 and a World Heritage site in 1999 (Deacon et al., 1996).

Recurring themes throughout the history of the Island include oppression, opposition to this oppression, banishment or imprisonment, and eventual release or transfer from the Island. It is, however, the recent use of the Island as a maximum security prison for political and common law prisoners under the apartheid government between 1960 and 1990 that the Island gained its significance and importance as a penal island. Despite the Island's notoriety as a prison and place of banishment, it has become a symbol of the triumph of the human spirit over adversity and pain, and is a tangible reminder of the attainment of democracy in South Africa.

Education on Robben Island has a unique and proud history that emerged in the worst conditions imaginable in the maximum-security prison. In spite of this, many political prisoners left Robben Island after having either started or completed degrees or improved their qualifications. Once on RI and behind bars, political prisoners were subjected to a prison ideology with an emphasis on retribution, revenge and punishment, and a system of prison regulations constituted under the Prisons and Reformatories Act 13 of 1911 that was replaced by the Correctional Services Act 8 of 1959, which later became the Correctional Services Act 111 of 1998. This Act outlined the features of a prison system that was dominated by segregation, strict secrecy relating to prison matters and the adoption of corporal punishment as a means of discipline. The Act also stipulated that political prisoners should be divided along racial lines and be kept and guarded separately, but it allowed political prisoners to study formally. In spite of this provision, warders used this regulation as a privilege that could be, and *was* taken away at any time as a form of punishment. Warders devised their own rules and by 1966, only political

prisoners who received money from their immediate families could make applications for formal studies.

When prisoners felt the aches and pains of long working hours in the quarries, they longed for some form of recreation. Their requests for recreation or sport were refused by the warders who would not allow any unauthorised activities on the Island other than those specified by prison regulations. According to s. 3 (11) and s.3 (21) of the Correctional Services Act 111 of 1998, prisoners were allowed at least one hour of exercise daily and were also allowed to raise any issues they might have during the request and complaints sessions on a Saturday morning. After doing some investigation, the prisoners learnt to use and organise this creative plan as a protest for sport and to use these prison regulations to their advantage; they would request to play soccer as part of their exercise, during these Saturday requests and complaints morning sessions. A plan was hatched where each week a different prisoner was tasked with making the request to the head warder. In December 1964, prisoners started to agitate for playing organised sport and initially it was only to play soccer but the requests would continue to include a host of other sporting codes. The quest for organised sport became a cause in itself and was an opportunity for the prisoners to join forces and ease the tension between the political organisations they represented within the prison. Playing sport would not only mean the enjoyment and benefit of physical activity and the competition that came with it, but it would also be a means for the prisoners to prove to themselves and the prison authorities that they were capable of organising themselves – skills they would need once they were released from prison. After a protracted struggle of almost three years to get sport organised, prisoners were eventually given permission to play soccer for 30 minutes every Saturday (Korr & Close, 2008). This would be the start of organised sport for prisoners *by* prisoners. After 1976, changes in the sports arena took place. A more militant group of prisoners who were sentenced to RI after the 1976 Soweto uprisings and were isolated from the rest of the prison population, were kept in what was known as the 'A' section. They demanded that they also be allowed to play sport and to build their own volleyball and tennis courts. These were the only two codes of sport that the prisoners were allowed to play on their own. The prisoners understood that sport was important not

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only for health reasons but more importantly it afforded them the necessary discipline they needed to bring the prison community together (Buntman, 2003).

Over the next three decades, prisoners were allowed to play various sports such as soccer, rugby, chess, and tennis and organised summer games, which included "invented" games like "wheel barrow race, stick pulling, late-for-work-race, potato-and-spoon race (Korr & Close, 2008, p. 188).

In spite of the Island's notoriety as a prison and place of banishment, it has become a symbol of the triumph of the human spirit over adversity and pain, and is a tangible reminder of the attainment of democracy in South Africa. After 1 January 1997, the role of the Island as a museum and a World Heritage site after December 1999, is a vast contrast to what it was when it was a penal colony. The 11 February 2015 marked the 20th anniversary of the reunion of political prisoners on the Island where two decades earlier thousands of former political prisoners from prisons all over South Africa, detainees and those who were in exile converged on the Island to celebrate their release from prison and the end of political imprisonment. It is reported that political prisoners, who had worked in the lime quarry, re-enacted the work they were once forced to do there. At the end of the ceremony the late Nelson Mandela placed a rock at the entrance and all those present followed to build a cairn of stones as a monument to all those who had sacrificed their lives in the fight against apartheid. The cairn is still visible for tourists to see when they visit the Robben Island Museum.

1.4. Research problem

There are complex relationships between sport and politics. Although the sphere of sport is politicised, it is not always conceptualised consciously and intentionally as a space for political education. Understanding these relationships can provide sports people with knowledge and strategies to fight for the right to sport and recreation in oppressive contexts such as political prisons.

1.5. Research aims

The aims of the study are:

(1)   to investigate the relationships between political-prisoner education and sport;

(2)   to demonstrate that political-prisoner education took place in the sports arena;

(3)   to generate new theoretical perspectives on the relationships between political-prisoner education and sport;

(4)   to use the findings to inform the curriculum of the workshops which we offer on Robben Island; and

(5)   to use the findings to inform the curriculum of sport workshops that I conduct with the teams that I coach.

1.6. Research question

What was the nature of the relationships between sport and political-prisoner education on Robben Island between 1960 and 1990?

1.7. Theoretical framework

For the purposes of this study, I have developed a theoretical framework, which incorporates critical theory, adult learning, popular education and social movement learning. I draw on Brookfield's theoretical perspectives on *The Power of Critical Theory for Adult Learning* (2005), Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1972), Diani's "Concept of Social Movements" (1992) and Casas-Cortés, Osterweil and Powell's "Study of Social Movements" (2008). I also draw on Harvey's "Alterglobalization, Global Social Movements and the Possibility of Political Transformation through Sport" (2009) and Millward and Poulton's "Football Fandom, Mobilization and Herbert Blumer: A Social Movement Analysis of FC United of Manchester" (2014).

1.8. Anticipated findings

I anticipated that I would find significant relationships between sport and education among political prisoners. I expected to find that sport was a site for covert political education and that the latter was used as a strategy for resisting prison conditions and the development of political leadership. It was likely that I would find a parallel between sport used as a tool to resist prison conditions and sport used as a tool to fight apartheid in broader society. I expected to find that education was also used as a tool to combat the harsh prison system.

1.9. Overview of thesis

The thesis is divided into seven chapters. Chapter 1 presents an introduction and describes the background to the study. In this chapter, I outline the rationale behind the study and highlight the problem that gave rise to the study and the suggested aims and questions that governed the study. I present the theoretical framework and conclude the chapter with the limitations of the study and the results that I anticipated.

Chapter 2 presents a review of debates in relation to social movements and sports organisations as social movements. This chapter also examines social movements and sport as sites of struggle for liberation and resistance to racial sport. I highlight the South African Council on Sport (SACOS) as a sports movement in South Africa and its role as a tool in the fight against racial sport. I also present the Makana Football Association (MFA) as a social movement.

In Chapter 3, I construct a theoretical framework, which incorporates critical theory, social movements and social movement learning and includes theories related to learning in social movements, political action, mobilisation, building organisations, learning to protest, popular education, mobilisation and protest.

Chapter 4 provides a detailed description of the research design and methodology for the study. In this chapter, I explain the data collection methods of semi-structured interviews and data-analysis. This is accompanied by a description of Robben Island as a research site.

In Chapter 5, I present the data that I collected through a qualitative process using semi-structured interviews.

Chapter 6 presents the data that was collected by analysing documents that are held at the Robben Island Museum/UWC Mayibuye Archive, in relation to the Atlantic Raiders vs Blue Rocks soccer incident.

Chapter 7 concludes with a summary of my findings and recommendations.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Social movements and the struggle for liberation in sports organisations

2.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I present social movements as sites for liberation. I start with a conceptualisation of social movements and present prison as a site for liberation and learning with an emphasis on the Robben Island maximum-security prison. The chapter continues with a section on sport as a site of struggle for liberation and learning with an emphasis on the South African Council on Sport (SACOS), the liberation movement that was established to oppose racial sport. The chapter concludes with a section on the case for football organisations as social movements with the Manchester United Football club and the Makana Football Association as examples.

2.2. Social movements

It is useful to elaborate on the conceptualisation, dimensions, role and success of social movements to determine what the relationship is between political-prisoner education and sport. There are three types of social movements: general social movements that represent the need to change a particular situation. An example is the anti-racism movements that emerged during the 1980s and 1990s in the United Kingdom. Blumer (as cited in Millward & Poulton, 2014, p. 6) describes expressive social movements as movements that do not necessarily "change the institutions that give social order" but that it gives its members a semblance of group culture, a sense of belonging and the belief that those outside the group are "lost". He further describes specific social movements as either reform or revolutionary movements with specific goals that have typical "stages of development" (Blumer as cited in Millward & Poulton, 2014, p. 6). The stages of development are "social unrest"; "popular excitement"; "formalisation"; "and institutionalisation" with the last step being the "establishment of the movement" (Blumer as cited in Millward & Poulton, 2014, p. 6). In most instances the membership of reform movements is the middle class and the membership of revolutionary movements generally consists of the lower class or underprivileged (Millward & Poulton, 2014).

Social movements are spaces of collective learning "that prolifically produces knowledge, a category often reserved for social and natural scientists, and other recognized experts" (Casa-Cortés et al., 2008, p. 21). During the 1950s and 1960s, social movements generally consisted of student protest and counter-cultural protests but the uprisings during the 1960s and 1970s resulted in the emergence of political organisations with the sole purpose of "revolutionary social transformation" (Da 'Souza, 2009, p. 21). Millward and Poulton (2014) support the view that the term 'social movement' only emerged during the late 1960s student and mass mobilisations, when the role of social movements changed to being more "emancipatory rather than unruly" (p. 5). The mass and social movements, however, had negative connotations for theorists, like Gustav Le Bon (2008, as cited in Millward & Poulton, 2014) claiming that these "physical gatherings" conjure up emotions in people that may convert into violence and present a "vicious crowd mind" (p. 5). Other theorists, like Herbert Blumer (as cited in Diani, 1992), found a more positive side to collective action and suggested that there was a more sustained notion of collective behaviour. To this end, he coined the concept of "*symbolic interactionism*", challenging us to view crowd collective action as "purposive, meaningful and potentially creative action capable of introducing new norms, behaviors and skills among participants within society" (Millward & Poulton, 2014, p. 5). Diani (1992) contends that a social movement is "a network of informal interactions between a number of individuals, groups and or organizations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity" (p. 1).

Social movement theory is linked to various ideas like "resource mobilization theory", "political processes and opportunity structures", "new social movements" (Millward & Poulton, 2014, p. 5; Diani, 1992, p. 3), "collective behaviour" (Diani, 1992, p. 3), and "rational choice practices" (Millward & Poulton, 2014, p. 5). Resource mobilisation theorists, McCarthy and Zald (1977), maintain that social movements are spaces for challenging the social structure, but differ slightly from the conceptualisation, as defined by collective behaviour theorists, in their emphasis on "organisational factors" and that "the aggregation of resources (money and labour) is crucial to an understanding of social movement activity" (p. 1216). The resource mobilisation approach therefore, emphasises that social movements rely on a "variety of resources that must be mobilised, the linkages of social movements to other groups,

and the dependence of movements upon external support for success" (McCarthy & Zald, 1977, p. 1213).

Tilly's "political process and opportunity structures" theory states that social movements relate to a broader political process where the proletariat attempts to obtain what they have been excluded from (Tilly as cited in Diani, 1992, p. 5). Tilly concentrates his attention on the "overall dynamics which determine social unrest" and emphasises that a social movement is a

> sustained series of interactions between power holders and persons successfully claiming to speak on behalf of a constituency lacking formal representation in the course of which those persons make publicly visible demands for changes in the distribution or exercise of power and back those demands with public demonstrations of support. (as cited in Diani, 1992, p. 5)

Social movements, by his definition, also describe social movements as "sustained interactions among and with participants who share a collective identity and objective" (Tilly as cited in Diani, 1992, p. 5). New social movements are equated to "large scale structural and cultural changes" where the social movement is the "organised collective behaviour struggling against his class adversary for control of the historicity in a community" (Tilly as cited in Diani, 1992, p. 5). "Historicity" is the "overall system of meaning which sets dominant rules in a given society" (Touraine as cited in Diani, 1991, p. 5).

Harvey (2009) supports the view that new social movements differ from old social movements in its modus operandi and focus. New social movements have transcended the sole economic fight to incorporate social, cultural and political aspects that may affect a society and no longer rely on the "old fashioned drastic measures or proletarian revolution, like the old workers' movements" (Harvey, 2009, pp. 385-386). The new social movement, which now incorporates global issues, contends with aspects related to civil rights, gender, feminism, human rights, and more recently environmental and ecological issues. Goodwin and Jasper (as cited in Casas-Cortés et al., 2008) guard against framing social movements as sites of political and mobilisation action only and suggest that we view it as spaces that are shaped by the needs and wants of the participants and activists. While they agree that social

movements historically emerged as political movements and that mobilisation was the primary objective, it is critical to understand that this is not the only objective.

Along similar lines, Kurzman (2008) develops the claim that the emergence of social movements studies after the 1970s sought to "examine social movements from the perspective of the participants and debunk the notion by earlier scholars that activists were irrational" (p. 8). Proponents of the collective behaviour perspective of social movements, Turner and Killian (as cited in Diani, 1992, p. 4) define social movements as "a peculiar kind of collective behaviour" in contrast to "organisational" and "institutional" behaviour. This (organisational and institutional behaviour) is described as more organised than the "looser organisational principles" adopted in social movements. They describe a social movement as "collectivity acting with some continuity to promote or resist a change in society or organisation of which it is part" (Turner & Killings cited in Diani, 1992, p. 4). It is a "group with indefinite and shifting membership and with leadership whose position is determined by informal response of adherents rather than by formal procedures for legitimising authority" (Turner & Killian as cited in Diani, 1992, p. 4).

Freeman (1999) found that after a study of four social movements – the civil rights movement, student protests, welfare rights and women's liberation movements during the sixties – the common element that is present in the formation of social movements is that social movements consist of a network of like-minded members who have similar ideas and express the same discontent of a "social crisis" (p. 8). The interaction between members in the movement and interactions with other movements and organisations is highlighted as a factor that contributes to the success of the movement.

Hirsch (1999) strongly believes that participants choose to belong to movements so that they can benefit from the results gained by the movement. The sustainability and success of a social movement is measured by good organisation and leadership, but Freeman supports the view that during the beginning stages of a social movement, the organisers are more important than the leadership and the two roles are distinct from each other. In order for a social movement to thrive and spread there must be a pre-existing communications network, but if not, the "members of the movement must be highly organised in order to affect the organisation of that movement"

(Freeman, 1999, p. 8). The communications network must be "co-optable to the new ideas of the incipient movement". To be co-optable the communication network must consist of like-minded members who have similar ideas and backgrounds and who are receptive to the ideas of the new movement (Freeman, 1999, p. 8).

Social movements are a "specific class of collective phenomenon which contains three dimensions" (Melucci as cited in Diani, 1992, p. 6). The dimensions are described as "collective action which involves solidarity; the movement is engaged in conflict and it breaks the limits of compatibility of the system that it can tolerate without altering its structure" (Melucci as cited in Diani, 1992, p. 6). Theorists, Touraine, Melucci and Tilly (as cited in Diani, 1992, p. 9) agree that "conflict" is a dimension of social movements. The notion of "conflict" is understood in various ways and is defined as "crisis", "discontent", "disruption", "contest", "mount challenges", and "collective action" (Diani, 1992, p. 10).

In order for a new social movement to exist, there must be a "crisis or discontent of some form in which the members, of the new social movement, have a common experience and perception" (Freeman, 1999, p. 70). A social movement is a "combination of the principle of identity" where the participants will "identify themselves, their social opponents and the stakes in a conflict" (Touraine, 1985, p. 760). In the Robben Island context, the "crisis" is due to the lack of recreation and organised sport for political prisoners. Different social movements have different objectives but they all contest forms of oppression, exploitation, gender, political, and other social issues. Turner and Killian (as cited in Diani, 1999, p. 9) and McCarthy and Zald (1977, p. 1218), emphasise that social movements "define themselves with respect to processes of social change". Tarrow (as cited in Millward & Poulton, 2014, p. 3) agrees that "social movements mount challenges through disruptive direct action against elites, authorities, other groups or cultural codes". Goodwin and Jasper lend support to the claim that social movements aim to change the status quo (as cited in Millward & Poulton, 2014, p. 3).

Daro (2009) also raises differences in language, culture, political persuasion, organising traditions and how participants transcend these differences as dimensions of social movements. The differences are also evident in the modus operandi of protest action where she highlights that tensions may arise if

participants in the group or movement do not agree with the manner in which the protest action must happen. The differences in modus operandi and protest action, however, did not detract from the goal that activists in the movement wanted to achieve. She stresses that the knowledge produced and the learning that takes place during the deliberations about these differences assisted the participants to develop new principles and models to mitigate effectively the differences among themselves and that these differences enhanced and strengthened the movement.

Through a study of 53 American social and activists' groups active during the period 1800-1945, Gamson determined that the impact and effectiveness of groups or social movements are that:

> groups that had single-issue demands were more successful than those who had multiple-issue demands; the use of selective incentives was positively correlated with success; the use of violence and generally disruptive tactics was associated with success; successful groups were generally bureaucratized; centralized, and unfactionalized (as cited in Guigni, 1998, p. 375).

Social movements, therefore, tend to be more effective and may reach their goals when there is disruption and violence.

2.3. Social movements and sport as sites of struggle for liberation and learning

Hartman (as cited in Davis-Delano & Crosset, 2008, p. 115) states that despite the perception that sport "is not the proper setting for politics and social movements", there are social movements that are associated with sport, yet few instances where social movement theory is employed in sport-related social movements. She suggests that the lack of social movement theory in sport may be because it is seen as a conservative space where, if there are activists, they have a focus that is beyond the sport that they are participating in and may be related to a broader social challenge or issue. These activists may not necessarily be part of a sports organisation, but will use it as a vehicle to change sport in a broader context, for example, gender equality in sport, or it may be used as an arena to raise a social issue or convey a message (Davis-Delano & Crosset, 2008). Although theorists are relatively silent on sport-related activism, we have witnessed the stances and

protests taken by athletes over the years when they use their status and the sports arena to highlight various social issues (Davis-Delano & Crosset, 2008). I cite the example of Cathy Freeman, the Australian 400m gold medallist who, at the 2000 Olympics, took a victory lap of honour carrying the Australian and Aboriginal flags. This was a brave gesture since unofficial flags are banned at the Olympic Games. The Aboriginal flag is an official flag in Australia, but it is not a national flag and therefore not recognised by the International Olympic Committee (IOC). Through this subtle 'silent protest' Freeman made a statement for the recognition of the Aboriginal people. This protest was a means to raise awareness of a social issue that was not necessarily related to sport.

Harvey (2009) presents a study of sport movements and alterglobalisation and argues that there are reformist sport and non-sport based organisations, and transformist sport and non-based organisations. Reformist organisations "attempt to modify sport and/or produce a difference in existing sport institutions and organisations". Transformist organisations "seek to produce alternative sport forms within different sport organisations" (Harvey, 2009, p. 393). An example of a reformist non-sport based organisation is the Play Fair campaign, which advocated to improve the conditions of workers and to eliminate exploitation of workers in the sporting goods industry.

The Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) is another non-sport based reformist organisation that produced reports on the impact of hosting mega sports events and highlighted the "forced eviction of people from their homes when these are located in or near the designated sites for the mega event" (Harvey, 2009, p. 394). The Surfers against Sewage (SAS) and Play the Game are examples of reformist sport-based organisations since they "attempt to modify sport and produce difference in existing sport forms" (Harvey, 2009, p. 395). SAS, for their part in their mission statement "highlight the inherent flaws in current practices, attitudes and legislation, challenging industry, legislators and politicians to end their 'pump and dump' policies" (Harvey, 2009, p. 395). The goal of the Play the Game movement is "to strengthen the basic ethical values of sport and encourage democracy, transparency and freedom of expression in the world of sport" (Harvey, 2009, p. 395).

The Reporters without Borders (RWB) and Amnesty International are non-sport based transformist organisations that used the sporting arena to "advocate for the radical transformation in sport and other areas of social life to foster human rights and freedom of expression" (Harvey, 2009, p. 396). The Unione Italiana Sport Per tutti (UISP) is an example of a transformist sport based organisation that "attempts to produce alternative social relations rather than modify social relations" (Harvey, 2009, p. 397).

2.4. The South African Council on Sport (SACOS) as a social movement and site for liberation and resistance to racial sport in South Africa (SA)

Sport was never officially segregated in SA, but because of the apartheid system and its unjust racial laws, it became an international issue, and as a result, SA found itself in sporting isolation. Before the Nationalist government came into power in SA, racial discrimination in sport was only a social practice, but from 1948 onwards the government made use of apartheid laws and Acts to obstruct racially mixed sport. Various individual international sport federations and international sport bodies soon expelled SA from its structures and placed embargos on all-white SA teams and on any person or team that either travelled to SA to compete or any country that hosted SA teams. Players, who participated in games against SA, were expelled by their own national federations and many international federations started suspending or expelling SA federations (Ramsamy, 1982).

In 1958 the South African Sports Association (SASA) was formed by a number of black sportspersons and other sports organisations who were forced to organise themselves along racial lines due to the stringent apartheid laws. The aims of the association were to coordinate, advance and improve non-white sport on a non-racial basis. After failed attempts to become members of the SA Olympic and Commonwealth Games Association in 1962, the South African Non-racial Olympic Committee (SAN-ROC) was established with SASA as its forerunner. The aims of the committee were to shift from mere coordination of non-racial sport to a more militant, hardened approach to expel and isolate SA from the international sports arena in a more organised and strategic manner. Unfortunately, the founding officials of SAN-ROC, Dennis Brutus (president, banned from attending meetings), Rev B.L.E. Sigamoney (vice president), N. Rathinsamy (chairman), Reg

Hlongwane (secretary) and N. Solanki (treasurer), were severely harassed and arrested. Some were forced into exile. SAN-ROC was consequently re-established in London in 1967, which was closer to the international world and would subsequently have a stronger impact (Van der Horst, 2005). The void left by SAN-ROC's move was filled by the South African Non-Racial Sports Organisation (SASPO) that called for the complete non-racial establishment of equality in sport for all but were also prepared to negotiate with white sports bodies about the differences and the privileges they were afforded and rejected the racial permit system (Ramsamy, 1982).

In 1973, SACOS was established as the only legitimate non-racial sports movement by 8 organisations under the leadership of Hassan Howa, Manickum N. Pather, Geo Singh, Cassim Abbass, Morgan Naidoo, and Norman Middleton (Van der Horst, 2005). It adopted the non-racial and non-discriminatory principles and clauses of the Olympic charter and became the sports wing of the liberation movement:

> [T]o foster a spirit of goodwill, equality and fraternity among all people without any discrimination whatever on the grounds of race, colour or creed and further carry out the provisions of the statutes of IOC and other international bodies controlling sport in the world and also to prevent racial, colour, religious or political discrimination among sportsmen (Constitution of the South African Council on Sport, 1973, s 2a).

The slogan "no normal sport in an abnormal society" originally formulated by Don Richards (soccer) and A. Jordaan (cricket), and popularised by officials, became synonymous with SACOS. The organisation rejected all forms of racialism in sport and made a call for a moratorium on all sports tours to and from SA until the trappings of apartheid were removed (Van der Horst, 2005). Over the next couple of years SACOS affiliates increased steadily and comprised of autonomous national sports bodies, their provincial unions, local clubs and provincial councils of sport and grew to a membership of over two million grassroots sportspersons that emanated from all walks of life including civic, student, youth, cultural, church, mosque, educational, women, health, professional and resistance organisations. SACOS helped to form new non-racial sports bodies across SA and increased its membership expanding into new townships, thereby breaking down racial barriers

and promoting national and local affiliates in the form of sports councils. During SACOS conferences, policies for a non-racial, non-sexist egalitarian society were adopted on a consensus basis.

SACOS and other non-racial sports bodies functioned successfully despite the lack of financial backing from any major sponsorships or advertising and relied heavily on membership fees for sustainability. Officials and delegates, elected via democratic processes, offered their time voluntarily to organise their clubs and associations. The impact and influence that SACOS generated was a thorn in the side of the apartheid government and on many occasions the organisation was warned and its members harassed. In an attempt to lure SA sportspeople into international competition and show the international world that the apartheid government was attempting to normalise sport, Piet Koornhof, the apartheid Minister of Sport, introduced a "normal multi-racial sports policy". This policy, broadly outlined, would 'allow' multi-racial matches between clubs to take place nationally or at other levels under a special racial permit or a blanket dispensation. The new "normal multi-racial sports policy" made the way for national and provincial bodies to make application for the permit at the beginning of a season for the entire season for matches to take place. This new policy excluded other apartheid legislation and the Group Areas Act 41 of 1950 remained intact, which meant that black players, still could not play for white clubs and vice versa (Ramsamy, 1982, p. 20). According to Van der Horst (2005), SACOS and other non-racial sport bodies rejected the policy as reformed discrimination and as a result issued the historic Double Standards Resolution at a meeting on 6 April 1977 in which:

> Any person, whether he is a player, administrator or a spectator, committed to the non-racial principle in sport, shall not participate in or be associated with any other code of sport which practices, perpetuates or condones racialism or multi-racialism. Players and/ or administrators disregarding the essence of this principle shall be guilty of practising double-standards, and cannot therefore be members of any organisation affiliated to SACOS (p. 12).

SACOS and its overseas associate, SAN-ROC, gained support and collaborated with various international bodies to call for the total isolation of SA and its apartheid structures and a moratorium on all sport. Apartheid SA was completely isolated from the international world through the efforts of SACOS and other non-racial sports bodies. The SA Football Association was suspended by FIFA in 1961, but was only officially expelled in 1976 after 12 years of cajoling by Sir Stanley Rous, an avid apartheid supporter, to keep SA instated (Ramsamy, 1982).

SAN-ROC, in spite of being prevented from sending a representative to the International Olympic Committee, raised the apartheid issue and SA was first prevented from participating in the 1964 Tokyo Olympics. The 1968 Mexico Olympic Games was in jeopardy when a number of African countries threatened to withdraw if South Africa participated. In 1970, South Africa was expelled for violating the Olympic Charter. By 1971, the international campaign for South Africa's sport isolation had gained considerable momentum. The International Athletics Federation (IAAF) suspended SA in 1971 and the International Cricket Committee (ICC) imposed a moratorium on all cricket tours to and from SA in 1971. In June 1977, at Gleneagles in Scotland the Common wealth heads of government signed an agreement to sever all sporting ties with SA. This became known as the Common Wealth states agreement on apartheid and better known as the Gleneagles agreement (Ramsamy, 1982). In December of the same year, the General Assembly of the United Nations (UN) also adopted a declaration to isolate SA from international sport. SA would only be accepted back into the UN in 1994.

Despite the boycotts and isolation, some 'unofficial' tours to and from SA took place. The most notable was the rugby tour by the SA Springboks to New Zealand in 1981 that caused huge debate, protest action and confrontation between opponents and proponents of the tour. Very few 'unofficial' soccer tours took place because players did not want to risk a life ban for participating against SA (Oakes, 1988).

Many talented black sports people were not allowed to join white sports clubs nor could they represent SA internationally. Frustrated by the uncompromising attitude of white South Africans and the restrictive apartheid laws, black sports people's plight fell on deaf ears, and the only alternative left was to go abroad to gain

international recognition. Due to financial constraints and movement restrictions, only a handful was able to slip through the cracks and leave South Africa. Here are a few documented and better-known examples:

- William Ronald Eland represented Great Britain in the 1952 Olympic Games Britain.

- Jasmat Dhiraj and Herman Abrahams won the North of England Men's tennis doubles Championship in 1968.

- Precious McKenzie, the weightlifter, left for England in 1964 and represented England in the Commonwealth and Olympic games as well as New Zealand in the Commonwealth games after he settled there.

- Basil D'Oliviera, the cricketer, left SA in 1960 and represented the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) in England and was at the centre of attention when he was initially excluded from the English team to compete against SA in 1968, but then selected when another player had to withdraw from the team. The SA government refused to accept the team and the MCC cancelled the tour.

In order to break out of this isolation, the SA government made numerous adjustments to its racial policies and conferred honorary white status on and special concessions to black players. Many people rejected the South African policies and were outspoken about it. D. J. Dalling, a member of the opposition party, opposed the implementation of the new legislation:

> [I]t gives sportsmen – here we are only dealing with sportsmen – a licence to be white as they leave the club premises. They cannot go with their team mates to the movies and they cannot ride with their team mates in the same public transport in most cities in this country (Ramsamy, 1982, p. 44).

Tony Ward, an Irish rugby player who toured SA in 1980 with the Lions, but refused to return in 1981 with the Irish team, had this to say about the situation in SA at the time:

> But at the end of the day you and I play a game and then we go to the bar for a pint. If you are black in SA, that is not possible. I go to the bar and you

> go to your township or whatever… and I'm alone in the bar with my pint.
> That's neither rugby, nor sporting nor moral (Ramsamy, 1982, p. 8).

Another campaign was to offer large rewards and inflated appearance fees to international stars to persuade them to compete in South Africa (Oakes,1988). In 1982, South Africa embarked on a campaign to garner favour with the international football world and offered Kevin Keegan, the English football captain, £250,000 and another English player, Justin Fashanu, £200,000 to participate in the six-match tour. Both players rejected the offers. International referees were offered £10,000 to officiate at the matches with Clive Thomas, one of Britain's respected referees, rejecting the offer by saying:

> I would have earned more there in three weeks than in the next two years in
> the (English) football league, but for me it wasn't a question of money but
> principle. I don't agree with what's going on in South Africa (Ramsamy,
> 1982, p. 67).

2.5. The case of football organisations as social movements

The study of social movements in sport is important against the backdrop of the collective action that takes place when groups of people who have the same interests congregate regularly to "renew their beliefs and identification with a movement" (Millward & Poulton, 2014, p. 5). It is therefore suggested that social movements emerged out of a need to solve a particular political or social problem by a group of people who recognised and believed this problem could be solved through a collective effort. This, Millward and Poulton (2014) recommend, is also indicative in the context of football (soccer) or any other spectator sport where people gather to support their team. In spite of the numerous protest actions, among others, the removal of coaches and managers by football fans, Millward and Poulton (2014) strongly believe that these protests have not been thoroughly researched using social movement theories. He highlights instances where "fan movements can be described as mobilizing" and "fanzines", magazines produced by supporters, can be considered a new social movement since it challenges the notion that fans of soccer are hooligans (p. 4). The group of supporters, who put pressure on the UK government to investigate the Hillsborough disaster of 1989, is mooted as a social movement. Social movements can therefore, take any shape; magazines, made and produced by

supporters, and used as a tool to "protest" or a group of fans that gather to protest can also be considered as social movements (Millward & Poulton, 2014, p. 4). He further suggests that "football fandom has been regularly compared with religious acts; in the way supporters adopt teams" (Millward & Poulton, 2014, p. 4). This suggests the idea that football fandom can be equated to a social movement.

Manchester United is arguably one of the most popular football clubs in the world with a fan base of millions across the world. If one considers the notion that social movements challenge the status quo through direct action it can be deduced that the numerous protests by the fans of the famous club could be considered the best-supported social movement in the world. There are numerous examples of protest action by the fans. Millward and Poulton (2014) cite examples when fans of Manchester United protested and mobilised against decisions made by the owners of the club. One major campaign was started in 1995 when a group of fans established the Independent Manchester United Supporters' Association (IMUSA) to oppose the club's plans to suspend standing at matches. A second campaign was launched in 1998 under the auspices of IMUSA and the newly established Shareholders' Unite against Murdoch (SUAM which later became Manchester United Supporters Trust /MUST) to oppose the takeover of the club and the spin off this would have. The joint effort of the two movements successfully challenged the take over and further averted the concerns linked to it for example, "raised ticket prices, over-mediatisation of games, and the breakup of the EPL (English Premier League) collective broadcasting agreement and conflict of interest in the club" (Millward & Poulton, 2014, p. 4).

2.6. The Makana Football Association (MFA) as a social movement

I assert that political prisoners on Robben Island (RI) were able to study, play soccer and fight the apartheid system, from within prison, as members of a "revolutionary" social movement, in this instance, the MFA. I therefore posit that the MFA as a sports organisation presents itself as a social movement and that learning took place within this realm. In recent years, the perception of social movements has been transformed from that of "crowd behaviour to movement organisations" that "generate opportunities for movement activity" and meaningful education and learning takes place within these social movements. A relationship between adult

education theory and a social movement theory can contribute to a "synthesis which accounts for both learning and social commitment" (Scandrett, Crowther, Hemmi, Mukherjee, Shah, & Sen, 2010, p. 125).

RI had a notorious reputation that instilled fear and trepidation in those destined to be incarcerated there. Warders used a divide and rule policy to create tension among prisoners and used any other means to demoralise and crush their spirits. The discrimination with regard to food and clothing was meant to divide inmates in the hope that this would cause further tension among them. Prisoners, however, learnt that collectively they could force the authorities to make changes to improve their conditions and the 1966 hunger strike helped to bring the plight of the prisoners to international attention (Naidoo, 1982). From a theoretical perspective, a group of like-minded individuals whose purpose it is to change the status quo sees collective action as purposeful action. Diani (1992) argues that a social movement is "a network of informal interactions between a number of individuals, groups and or organizations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity" (p. 1). Against the backdrop of Blumer's description of social movements (as cited in Millward & Poulton, 2014), the MFA is described as a specific social movement with specific goals. Blumer also intimates that in most instances the membership of reform movements is the middle class and the membership of revolutionary movements are generally the lower-class or the underprivileged. When the MFA received permission to play its first game, it surpassed Blumer's stages of "social unrest" and "popular excitement". It satisfied the stages of "formalisation", "institutionalisation" and the last stage of "establishment" when the MFA constitution was adopted on 21 June 1969 (Millward & Poulton, 2014, p. 7).

Kurzman (2008) states that social movements incorporate aspects of collective identity, moral judgment, narrative structure and other aspects related to meaning-making and learning. In a country where soccer, coined the 'beautiful game', is a national sport and one that is played on every street corner and at every opportunity, it is little wonder that the passion for the game transcended racial, political and religious boundaries even in the stark, harsh Robben Island prison. Although RI was a political prison for activists who opposed the apartheid regime, the prisoners learnt to transform it into a cultural and recreational hive where they pitted their

strengths and talents against each other in the hope that it would relieve the tension of prison life. The foundations of organised soccer were instigated and initiated in 1963 by soccer enthusiasts Anthony Suze, Marcus Solomon, Lizo Sitoto, Dimake 'Pro' Malepe, Sedick Isaacs and others who in order to pass the time and have fun, made the first soccer ball using rolled up prison shirts. This they used to start a casual shortened version of the game with five-a-side and eight-a-side matches in the cells (Korr & Close, 2008).

Prisoners learnt to mobilise and protest for sport and after a protracted, unrelenting campaign for almost three years, gained a victory when they were given permission to play their first outdoor game in December 1967. Korr & Close (2008) claims that the first outdoor game in 1967 was played between two teams randomly chosen by the warders from cell block 4 under the auspices of Rangers and Bucks. He further claims that very little is known of the names of the players, the referee or the score of this inaugural match, but the 30-minute game was the start of organised soccer *for* prisoners *by* prisoners. However, records (Mayibuye Centre Historical papers (MCH) 64 7.2. 30a) in the Political Prisoners General Recreation Collection in the Mayibuye Archive, show a team list dated 11 December 1967, drafted by the Robben Island selecting committee. Contrary to Korr and Close (2008), I want to put forward that this listed the two teams that contested the first match. From the initial game played, prisoners were allowed to play for 30 minutes every Saturday and the other cells hastily attempted to get their teams up and running (MCH 64. 7.2.11a). The advent of the soccer matches outside the cells brought about a new lease of life for the prisoners as they went about organising their lives around the games. Even though prisoners were still subjected to hard labour in the quarries during the day, they would still have their clandestine coaching sessions at night because they were determined to improve the standard of the games. The ingenuity of prisoners shone as they constructed the poles from planks and debris washed up on the shores (Roberts, 1994). As the weeks dragged on the requests for longer matches were granted, and this helped the prisoners to dream about a more organised structure.

McCarthy and Zald (as cited in Diani, 1992, p. 4) believe that a "strong, professional organisation, with a leadership of the movement that have previous political background, is needed to put the plans of the movement into action". In line with

this, a sport and recreation committee was established to provide the much needed physical and mental exercise that would maintain and sustain a sense of discipline, camaraderie, as prisoners collectively campaigned for formal soccer matches, and fierce competition that would see them through their incarceration period. Through various sport-related activities, prisoners used democratic principles and learnt to organise and facilitate meetings, to draft constitutions, to establish clubs, to draw up and organise fixtures, to structure a league, to write reports, and to write minutes of meetings. It also brought men to the fore that would learn to organise, negotiate and teach others through soccer in preparation for their eventual release and rightful place in society. The game of soccer was introduced through a combination of factors, but mostly through the efforts and persistence of political prisoners. Dennis Brutus also played a significant role in this regard. He spent 18 months as a political prisoner on the Island, and his testimony, after his release, at the United Nations Special Committee on Apartheid in 1972, about the human rights abuses he suffered while imprisoned on RI alerted several organisations to the evils of the system (Ramsamy, 1982). Organisations like the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), who visited RI on several occasions, placed pressure on the prison authorities to improve the prison conditions. One of the requests the ICRC made to the prison authorities was to provide a library for the prisoners. This was a rudimentary few shelves with a few books but also the 'holy grail'- a FIFA rule book that would change the lives of all the prisoners on the Island (Korr & Close, 2008). The irony is that prisoners broke the rules of the country in their quest to fight the apartheid system, but they adhered strictly to the FIFA rules. Outside pressure from various organisations and the agitation of the prison population resulted in the warders granting prisoners their wishes, albeit under strict prison regulations and a privilege that could be wrestled from them at any given time

The first soccer association formed on 6 September 1967 was named the Island Football Association (FA), but the name was changed to the Matyeni FA (MFA), an isiXhosa word for stone, referring to the quarry where prisoners were forced to crush stones (MCH 64.7.2.2). In striving to adhere to the philosophy of excellence, the new Makana Football Association, with a new constitution, was launched on 21 June 1969. The constitution outlined the titles, duties, roles and responsibilities of each of the office bearers that would serve on the MFA executive committee. The

overarching aims of the MFA were to 'organise and promote the game of soccer and inculcate the spirit of sportsmanship; to serve as liaison between the prison authorities, clubs and MFA subsidiary bodies; to provide recreation for the inmates of the prison by organising matches and to popularise soccer in the prison' (MCH 64.8.1.14). The aims and objectives of the association emphasised that all affiliates had to adhere to strict FIFA rules and regulations (MCH 64.8.1.14). The MFA kept meticulous records of all meetings and correspondence of all its activities and every aspect of the game was guided by the constitution. Dikgang Moseneke was selected as the first president, Indres Naidoo as the secretary and M. Meyiwe (sic) as the treasurer (MCH 64.7.2.44b). The first 7 clubs were Rangers, Bucks, Hotspurs, Dynamos, Ditshitshidi, Black Eagles and Gunners were formed along political party lines. Manong FC, the eighth club, established itself as a club open to all irrespective of political persuasion. Through negotiations and donations from the International Red Cross (IRC), family members sending money and the help of the chief warder, the clubs were rewarded with playing kits. Gunners chose black and white; Ditshitshidi chose maroon and white; Rangers went with royal blue and gold; Hotspurs chose green and white; Dynamos went with maroon and black; Manong chose maroon and gold; Bucks chose black and gold; Black eagles chose navy and sky blue and the new club Mphatlhalatsane chose green and gold (Korr & Close, 2008). In order have as many prisoners involved in the organisation of the MFA it was agreed that all clubs should have 3 teams. This comprised of the top team being the strongest team, the second team being those that have some skill level and the lowest team would be beginners and the older prisoners (MCH 64.8.1.14).

All clubs had to have their own constitution and had to elect their own president, secretary and other officials. In the run-up to the establishment of the association, various committees were formed to ensure the smooth running of clubs and the association. Each subsidiary body had its own constitution and jurisdiction but it was governed by the MFA.

The Protest and Misconduct Tribunal committee (P.M.C.), also referred to as the Tribunal, was a committee elected to settle disputes arising from an administrative perspective as well as playing affairs. The Appeal Tribunal consisted of the

Association executive who acted as the appeal board in the event of an appeal against a sentence meted out by the P.M.C (MCH 64.8.1.14).

The Referees' Union (R.U.) had its own constitution (MCH 64.6.3.2) which outlined the duties and responsibilities of the R.U. executive, referees and linesmen and lived by the motto of *'Service before Self'*. It was primarily responsible for the allocation and teaching of referees and linesmen for each game, but it also aimed "to educate soccer enthusiasts in the Law of the game and to foster friendliness and cooperation between the MFA and other sub bodies" (MCH 64.6.3.2).

The Selection Committee consisting of 5 members elected at the AGM was responsible for the selection of the best players to represent the MFA at exhibition or representative games as well as the best 'soccerite' of the year. The MFA devised various awards namely the 'soccerite' and 'team of the year' to encourage good sportsmanship. To be eligible for the awards, players and teams had to satisfy a set of pre-determined criteria. The soccerite had to possess certain qualities. Performance on the field and tackling technique determined the skill of a player and measured how considerate players were of their peers. Sportsmanship was measured by gentlemanly conduct and to encourage individual flair, players had to display the art of the game. Players had to demonstrate a strong team ethic and a will to be part of a part of a greater whole. Pride in their appearance was measured by the way players presented themselves. The team of the year had to display attributes of punctuality to determine respect for their opponents. Presentation and pride was sought in their appearance. To exhibit sportsmanship and grace teams had to co-operate with referees and accept the decisions that were made by them in a respectable manner. In order to cultivate discipline, clubs were responsible for the control of fans (MCH 64.8.1.14).

The Ad Hoc Auditing Committee, who had the necessary "ability and proficiency", was elected every six months to audit the financial books and draw up financial statements of the MFA (MCH 64.6.3.2).

The First Aid Unit (F.A.U.) was an independent body that was established to administer first aid when it was necessary. It supplied the MFA with a list of injured players on a weekly basis and players deemed unfit to play due to an injury were

not allowed to play until such time that they were cleared by the F.A.U. Any club, which contravened this rule, was harshly dealt with by the MFA (MCH 64.8.1.14).

The Fixtures Committee was established to draw up and distribute fixtures to all the clubs in the various cell blocks. They were also responsible for drafting the logs for each division. In accordance with its constitution, the MFA arranged the fixtures for the league, knockout, friendly and exhibition matches. The fixtures for the league were drawn in three divisions, A, B and C, with A and B being the most competitive and C being for beginners and older prisoners. Points were awarded for the games won and the logs were drawn up at the end of each league season. The knockout was a separate competition, but players in the higher divisions were not allowed to play in the lower divisions (MCH 64.8.1.14).

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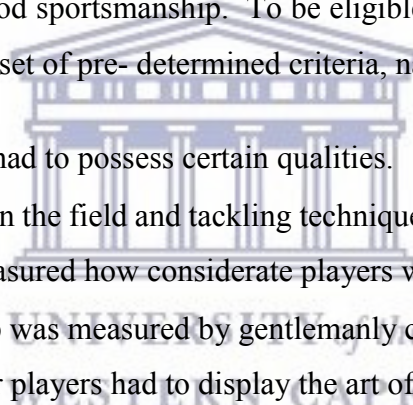- In order to cultivate discipline clubs were responsible for the control of fans (MCH 64.8.1.14).

*The name of the Association is linked to Makana/Makhanda, also known as Nxele, the legendary Xhosa chief who led his people against the British in Grahamstown on 22 April 1819. The battle against the colonists was lost and he was banished to RI. In 1820, Makana and 30 other prisoners attempted to escape from the Island but the boat carrying Makana capsized and he drowned. Legend has it that he promised to return to save his people. The Xhosa proverb *KukuzakukaNxele*, or the 'coming of Nxele', refers to anything that has long been expected, but which never occurs. His followers waited half a century for his return to lead them to victory, but he would return no more. Despite this, the name was held in high esteem and would lend credence to the struggle and strife prisoners had to endure as a result of their incarceration and the prisoners believed that the name would not mean anything to the warders.

* The MFA was awarded honorary membership of FIFA during a prestigious event held on Robben Island on 18 July 2007, which was also the celebration of Nelson Mandela's 89th birthday ("Soccer pays tribute", 2007). The award highlighted the significance of the MFA in their adherence to FIFA rules and regulations, but it would also be the first time that an organisation would receive the status. All other members of FIFA are countries. The MFA also received the Order of the Ikhamanga by the Ministry in the Presidency on 27 April 2010 for 'its contribution to the field of soccer in the face of overwhelming odds on Robben Island'.

2.7. Summary

This chapter characterised prison as a site for liberation and learning with an emphasis on the Robben Island maximum-security prison. I examined sport as a site of struggle for liberation and resistance to racial sport. I highlighted the SACOS as a sports movement in South Africa and its use as a tool in the fight against racial sport. This chapter also gave an account of football organisations as social movements with an emphasis on Manchester United and the MFA.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Critical theory, social movements and social movement learning

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I construct a theoretical framework, which incorporates critical theory, popular education, and social movement learning to understand *how* and *what* the relationship was between political-prisoner education and sport on Robben Island. Critical theory draws on Marxist and Neo-Marxist principles that not only understands and explains, but also counters and critiques dominant social ideologies and argue, among others, that society has the ability to identify, challenge and transform the situations in which they find themselves (Brookfield, 2005).

The theoretical perspectives of Freire (1972, 1981) and Brookfield (2005) are included in my theoretical framework as they are inextricably linked to critical theory through their concepts of "conscientisation", "learning to unmask power"; "uncover hegemony" and "challenging ideology" (Brookfield, 2005, p. 39). Brookfield's findings on "the utility of a theory", suggests that there are three fundamental uses of a critical theory for adult learning (p. 4).

Critical theory assists in explaining and making meaning of the world and helps us to name and rename aspects of our experiences that we do not fully understand. In other words, it affords us the opportunity to comprehend fully what we observe and experience. Secondly, critical theory not only helps us to understand the world or society in which we live, but it also shows how it can be changed for the better, both socially and politically. Critical theory for adult learning, therefore, suggests ways in which adult learning can contribute to building a democratic society and bring about a change for the better. Thirdly, critical theory gives us hope that the dominant ideology can be challenged, and it can be effective in that it keeps our hopes alive for a better society (Brookfield, 2005).

Popular education, espoused by Freire (1972, 1981), is intended to provide an alternative educational approach that will lead to social justice and assist people to

identify their own challenges and empower themselves to solve it collectively. Political prisoners on Robben Island, between 1960 and 1990, adopted aspects of Freire's "education for liberation" and "problem-posing education" that focus on participatory, interactive learning where the role of the teacher is interchangeable with that of the student (Marvin, Interview, October 15, 2015). Freirean pedagogy is dialogic in nature and the facilitator and participant jointly decide on the learning programme (Freire, 1972).

The history and conceptualisation of popular education, even though the terminology and versions may differ, has its roots in various contexts in different countries. As Kane (2012) eloquently puts it, "…popular education is not only a philosophy-cum-practice in Latin America but it has come to constitute a social movement in its own right" (p. 69). Popular education is intended to provide an alternative educational approach that will lead to social justice. I therefore put forward the claim that popular education and social movements offer alternative educational approaches. It is within this context that my study was conceptualised so as to contribute to the growing debate within the field of social movements and social movement learning.

3.2. Education in South Africa as a site of struggle for liberation

All over the world there have been, and still are, encounters and systems of racial segregation, separation, marginalisation and oppression of people. The formalisation of this system into law is what sets the South African system apart from others. The National Party came into power in 1948 and systematically and ingeniously entrenched their racial ideologies and systems into law.

There were two policies which influenced the structure of the education system during the apartheid era. The first was the Bantu Education Act 47 of 1953, introduced by Dr Hendrik Verwoerd in parliament, when he was quoted as saying:

> I just want to remind the Honorable Members of Parliament that if the native in South Africa is taught to expect that he will lead his adult life under the policy of equal rights, he is making a big mistake. The native must not be subject to a school system which draws him away from his own community,

and misleads him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he is not allowed to gaze (Christie, 1985, p. 93).

This Act was one of the pillars of apartheid and provided for a black education department that was controlled by the Nationalist government. The Act was implemented and enforced with the sole purpose of schooling blacks into believing that they were inferior to whites, and that they were only good enough to serve the white man as workers. Dr Verwoerd, the Minister of Native Affairs at the time, stated that:

> …the school must equip the Bantu to meet the demands which the economic life will impose on him. What is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice? Education must train and teach in accordance with their opportunities in life (Oakes, 1988, p. 379).

The Bantu Education Act therefore ensured that blacks would never become academically qualified and would forever remain the labourers of the country. In order to enforce these ideologies, schools were racially segregated and a number of other policies were also put in place to ensure the separation was affirmed. The Extension of University Education Act 45 of 1959 ensured that universities were also segregated, and separate universities for black students were established. All black students that were enrolled at white universities had to leave by the beginning of 1961 (Oakes, 1988). Separate education systems were set up in 1963 and 1964 for coloureds and Indians respectively. In 1967 the National Education Policy Act 39 of 1967 was passed, which laid down the guiding principles for "white education" (Christie, 1985. p. 161).

The second policy was the National Education Policy Act 39 of 1967, which promoted a racially, culturally segregated and differentiated education system based on the ideology of Christian National Education or CNE (Christie, 1985). Before the Bantu education system was implemented, black schools were ill-staffed and many teachers were underqualified or not qualified at all. Verwoerd further implemented his separation policy and removed all white teachers from black schools. With a lack of funding, low resources, under or unqualified teachers and a mediocre curriculum, it was unlikely that the academic standards for blacks would be high. Bantu education was "born as a separate education

system for Africans, to meet the development plans of apartheid. The apartheid education system was designed to prepare blacks for the working class and to keep them in an inferior position" (Christie & Collins, 1986, p. 79). The formal curriculum for black schools was different to that of the white schools and one would find subjects like gardening and agriculture in the curriculum for black schools and a huge emphasis on vocational courses. Some subjects were also removed from the curriculum, and in many cases, the standards of subjects were dropped. The subjects taught in schools were those decided on by the state. Instruction for these learners was restricted to basic communication skills and just enough numeracy and literacy to communicate with the boss (Christie, 1985). The notion of a hidden curriculum of apartheid was evident in the divided school system that saw schools not only divided along racial lines, but also according to mother tongue instruction, city and rural schools, class distinction and gender. This curriculum also schooled learners into understanding and obeying authority and adhering to the rules made by schools. There are particular hierarchical structures and a hierarchy of power that must be obeyed (Christie, 1985).

Apartheid education was further entrenched in the financial support or funding received by schools. Black schools received less money per capita per child than white, coloured and Indian schools, which meant that their education would be inferior, and there would be fewer resources for these schools. In some instances, black children were required to make compulsory contributions to their schools unlike their white counterparts. There was some increase in the contributions for black children after 1950, but it was not significant enough to make an impact on the quality of the education the children were receiving.

In order to oppose these new education laws, alternative education was set up to educate black children properly, but these were declared illegal in terms of the law which stated that private schools could not be set up without being registered by the Native Affairs Department. Culture clubs were clandestinely established and initially catered for over 8000 children, but soon dwindled due to lack of funds, teaching equipment, expertise, and constant threats of police raids (Christie & Collins, 1986). Other forms of opposition to the apartheid system ensued with many people being detained, banned, exiled, arrested and imprisoned at prisons around the country and on Robben Island.

3.3. Robben Island prison as a site of struggle for liberation and learning

> Studying was very important, especially to the long term prisoner. It meant
> he could occupy his time and exercise his mental faculties and that when the
> time came for him to re-join society he would find it so much easier to adjust
> (Daniels, 2002, pp. 157-158).

The prison environment "infiltrates the entire educational endeavor" (Collins,
1998, p. 102). Security, especially in maximum-security prisons, takes
precedence over everything else, as prisoners have to contend with daily
surveillance, roll calls, hard labour and general bad conditions of prison life. The
"setting" of imprisonment "shapes the context in which adult literacy
programmes, technical-vocational courses and the few university-level classes
are delivered to the inmates" (Collins, 1998, p. 102). While this refers to
maximum-security prisons, it also relates to the Robben Island prison context
since it was declared a maximum-security prison for political prisoners. The
education system that emerged from the RI prison epitomises a struggle for better
prison conditions, a struggle for formalised education, a struggle to play
organised sport and the bigger struggle of dismantling the apartheid system.
Despite these struggles and the challenges of imprisonment, political prisoners
were able to turn a negative prison space into a positive learning environment.

Prisons have over the years been punitive rather than rehabilitative, but Collins
(1998) proposes that there are "correctional education models that provide a
rationale for educational programming" (p. 104) that can be can be applied to
prison education. According to the "medical model", the introduction of
educational programmes in prison should lead to the reduction of the "recidivism
rate and the successful rehabilitation of prisoners in normal society" (Collins,
1998, p. 104). This model defines and controls the design and education of
prisoners**.** The "opportunities model" makes provision for a "variety of
educational and training options for prisoners while they are incarcerated, de-
emphasising a need to invoke reduction in the rate of recidivism" (Collins, 1998,
p. 104). In other words, the model only provides the means to education with no
autonomy of educational practices with the opportunity to keep prisoners busy.

The "cognitive deficiency model" gives more credence to the function of education in the prison context and "restores an ethical dimension of education and provides a practical alternative to the medical model's fixing techniques" (Collins, 1998, p. 105). While the cognitive deficiency model provides an avenue for education to take place in prison, it is still subjected to the constraints of imprisonment (Collins, 1998). In the Robben Island context, the introduction of education on the Island was one of the most important aspects to bring about a semblance of normality to prison life and another method to resolve conflict among political organisations.

When one considers the notion of prisoner education, there is an assumption that this would encompass all types of prisoners and all types of education. However, Westrheim (2008) claims that literature relating to political-prisoner education has been somewhat "neglected" (p. 4) by scholars in favour of writing about the conditions, persecutions, torture and the imprisonment of the said political prisoners. She speculates that this may be due to the research being difficult and political prisoners' hesitancy to speak about their captivity. Hammond (1996) suggests that in spite of the lack of literature on political-prisoner education it offers an opportunity to compare what he calls "prison-sponsored education" (formal education programmes) and "education organised by prisoners" (non-formal political education) (p. 26). He claims that the purpose of "prison-sponsored education" (p. 26) is to rehabilitate offenders so that they can be re-introduced to society and that the transfer of skills or knowledge is only secondary in the process.

Batchelder and Pippert (2002) argue that the purpose of providing prison education is also to teach basic literacy skills so that prisoners are able to obtain jobs and to further their studies once they are released. Political prisoners on Robben Island adopted a two-pronged approach to education: political-prisoner education and prison-sponsored education, a combination that would stand them in good stead when they were eventually released. Political-prisoner education allowed political prisoners to collectively improve their skills and at the same time re-enforce their ideological commitment to the struggle that had put them in prison in the first place. Studying, like work, helped pass the time in prison and it was also a means of resistance to the status quo.

The concepts of political prisoner and criminal (common law) prisoner have drawn much debate over time. Westrheim (2008) defines a political prisoner as "someone who is held in captivity or detention because his or her ideas are perceived as threatening by the government because they challenge the authority of the state" (p. 2). Hammond (1996) contrasts the two concepts claiming that criminal prisoners' resistance to their incarceration will be "covert and sporadic, at the least" (p. 21). He claims that if their operations were a collective one it would be "the occasional violent outbursts rather than sustained concerted struggle and that the warders would make a practice of overlooking some violations conceding tacit permission as an additional means to secure inmates' compliance" (p. 21). He is of the opinion that political prisoners, on the other hand, have resources that enable them to wage more protracted and organised struggles. This, he says, is a result of a common, political belief that connects them and so enhances joint action. Political prisoners' belief that they were unjustly imprisoned made the four walls of the prison merely "a new arena for the same struggle in which they were engaged on the outside (Hammond, 1996, p. 21). This demonstration of collective organisation very often persuaded the warders to grant political prisoners more leeway in terms of their struggles and demands as opposed to that of criminal prisoners.

In considering Wertheim's definition of a political prisoner, there is an assumption that within the South African context the notion of the political prisoner would be a person that was incarcerated or detained for his or her opposition to the apartheid system. Coleman (1998) maintains that the opposition to the apartheid system could include any kind of antagonism towards the state and includes peaceful protests, participating in political unrest, taking up arms, having political beliefs and associations with banned organisations. The apartheid government implemented and passed a range of laws and acts that were worded broadly to include any activity against the government as unlawful and therefore criminal (Coleman, 1998). These acts and laws culminated in the Internal Security Act 74 of 1982 (ISA), a system of formal repression, and with it a series of provisions to block and prevent any form of political expression. The South African classification of prisoners must be viewed against the backdrop of the apartheid system and as such differs from other countries in that political activity was deemed a criminal offence and as such, the notion of a 'political prisoner' did not exist during the apartheid system. In the 1966

Commissioner of Prisons report, the state denied the existence of political prisoners, but conceded that there may be one exception:

> Apparently there is an impression that in recent times "political" detainees are in custody in South African prisons. To clear up this misapprehension, it is considered necessary to mention that with the possible exception of one,[1] the category of prisoners apparently so referred to consist of persons tried in open court, convicted and sentenced for offences against public security. For the purposes of detention and treatment, such persons consequently fall under the respective group sentenced prisoners to which they have been classified (Buntman, 2003, p. 27).

The denial of the category of 'political prisoner' was consistent with the apartheid regime's objective to obliterate and mar the legitimacy of political prisoners and therefore deter any other dissidents from emulating those already incarcerated (Buntman, 1999). The fact that RI political prisoners wore prison clothing, and were forced to do hard labour, is indicative that political prisoners were classified as criminals and not as political prisoners. A political prisoner was there to be punished for his actions and that is what was meted out arbitrarily. The prison ideology also consisted of prison regulations constituted under the Prisons and Reformatories Act 13 of 1911 that was replaced by the Correctional Services Act 8 of 1959 and later became the Correctional Services Act 111 of 1998. The Act outlined the features of a prison system that was dominated by segregation, strict secrecy relating to prison matters and the adoption of corporal punishment as a means of discipline. The Act also stipulated that prisoners should be divided along racial lines and be kept and guarded separately. It also included corporal punishment not exceeding six strokes for prisoners under the age of 40 and dietary punishment if a prisoner was found guilty of contravening any prison rules. Information about the Island was a closely guarded secret and considered very sensitive (Coleman, 1998). It is for this reason that visits were restricted to one every six months and were closely monitored and recorded by the warders. As at March 1989, the apartheid government reported that

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[1] The 'exception' was Robert Sobukwe, the PAC leader, who was incarcerated in a house on RI for six years after completing his prison sentence, under a special law known as the 'Sobukwe clause'. Under this clause anybody could be detained indefinitely after completing a prison sentence (Hutton, 1999, pp.49-50).

there were officially 347 "security prisoners" or prisoners serving sentences for "offences against the state" (Coleman, 1998, p. 80). It is estimated that at the end of 1989 there were 370 "security" prisoners as a result of a number of high profile prisoners being released before the end of their sentences and other prisoners entering the prison system. However, the Human Rights Commission claimed that under the definition mentioned above there was an estimated 2500-3000 political prisoners in South Africa (SA) between 1984 and 1990 (Coleman, 1998, p. 80).

3.4. Formal education and the struggle for liberation and learning

Shugurensky (2000) states that formal education resembles an "institutional ladder" that goes from pre-school to graduate studies (p. 29). It is highly institutionalised, includes a period of basic education, and is regulated by the state and employs teachers. In formal education, the student must satisfy a set of criteria, receive a report, diploma or favourable grades in order to proceed to the next level or grade. Tight (1996) challenges the notion that education can only take place in educational institutions and says that it is flawed for a number of reasons; one being that the definition of the one term relies on the definition of the other.

McGuire and Gubbins (2010) contend that over the years the approaches to learning and teaching have changed to "become more informal, progressive, situated, flexible, and learner centred" (p. 249). One of the fundamental changes that have occurred as a result of this, is the experience of the learner. They claim that traditional approaches to education and learning apply the "jug and mug" metaphor, which sees the passive transfer of knowledge from the facilitator to the student, with the student not actively involved during the learning process (McGuire & Gubbins, 2013, p. 250). This method is referred to as Paulo Freire's "banking method of teaching" (Shor, 1993, p. 26). Contemporary educational approaches are referred to as the "sower and seed" philosophy where students "are expected to become aware of and evaluate their own experience where the instructor is no longer an oracle but a guide who participates in learning" (McGuire & Gubbins, 2013, p. 250). From a Freirean perspective, this refers to the "problem-posing education" where learners and teachers reach a critical consciousness of reality through the creation of their own dialogic education and learning (Shor, 1993, p. 26). McGuire and Gubbins (2013) maintain that formal learning plays a more "diminished role being replaced

by informal, experiential, and incidental forms of learning" (p. 250). The choice between the two relies on "cognitive, personal, historical, social, and emotional factors" (McGuire & Gubbins, 2013, p. 250).

Sisulu (1997) describes two kinds of education that prevailed on Robben Island during the 1960s. He recalls that some political prisoners studied for degrees while others were taught to read and write. Political prisoners speak about the nature and success of the political education (non-formal) and formal (distance learning) education structures that evolved in the Robben Island prison. However, a 1974 report from an education examiner, who was a prisoner, indicates that in spite of education being their main function, it very often had to take a back seat to sport and sport meetings (MCH 64.50.1.7). The Western Cape Training Centre offered vocational courses like concrete handling, general construction operator, a fencing course and elementary spray painting that political prisoners could attend (MCH 64.50.1.49) (refer to Chapter 6: Document analysis). Sisulu (1977) indicates that certificates were handed out to political prisoners on the completion of these apprentice courses.

3.5. Non-formal education and the struggle for liberation and learning

Endresen (2013) suggests that during the apartheid period, when education was segregated, and "impoverished forms of schooling existed, many black people only received their first real education in the political struggle through non-formal political education and action" (p. 29). Coombs and Ahmed (as cited in Endresen, 2013, p. 29) define non-formal education as "any organised, systematic education activity carried on outside the framework of the formal system to provide selected types of learning to particular subgroups in the population, adults as well as children". Non-formal education takes the form of workshops, extra-mural activities, literacy education initiatives in non-governmental organisations, political education for workers and women, progressive theatre in the Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) and related anti-apartheid campaigns (Endresen, 2013).

In the Robben Island prison context, non-formal education consisted of political discussions, lectures, talks and debates. Political prisoners formed clandestine huddles and groups while working in the quarries where these discussions and debates formed the basis of the education. Mandela (1994) emphasised that the

"university grew out of a necessity" (p. 556) when they realised that the younger men who were incarcerated after them did not know about the history of ANC. Daniels (2002) describes the lime quarry "as our classroom" (p. 157) where political prisoners would huddle in groups and discuss topics related to various subjects. This group would secretly and silently break up and form another group, which would be another "class" (Daniels, p. 157). While the focus of non-formal education during the apartheid period was on literacy projects, adult educators valued the inclusion of political and worker education and "focused on learning for liberation" (Endresen, 2013, p. 29), a concept that was influenced by Freire. Over a two-year period, political prisoners on Robben Island were provided with a platform to learn about the history of political organisations. Walter Sisulu taught the "ANC's formation and growth" while Kathrada taught "the development and role of the Indian Congress" (Kathrada, 2004, p. 231). Due to prisoner restrictions, "teachers" smuggled the notes of the lectures to the general sections and the "students" would respond by writing back and asking questions. In this way, a form of "correspondence course" (Daniels, 2002, p. 157) was introduced on the Island.

Like formal education, non-formal education also employs teachers but the programmes follow a fairly flexible curriculum. Unlike formal education, non-formal education does not rely on a prerequisite of previous schooling or background in order to participate in a programme (Schugurensky, 2000). Between 1983 and 1990, the non-formal education on RI evolved into what was known as the "Main Mrabulo Programme". The programme consisted of three main topics: "Strategy and tactics of the South African revolution, Contemporary problems of the world and Central tenets of Marxism-Leninism", which was further divided into smaller topics (MCH 64.76.1-5a). In *Robben Island, Our University* (Wilson, 1988) Neville Alexander, Fikile Bam and Kwedi Mkalipi explain that the beginnings of education in 1964 emerged through conversation and discussions amongst the political prisoners. Neville Alexander highlights that political prisoners through these discussions taught one another how to "study; take notes, how best to write an essay and how to learn" (Wilson,1998). He maintains that in spite of their incarceration they were able to deliver seminars, lectures and lessons while yielding picks and shovels. Fikile Bam, in the same interview, emphasised that anyone who had a degree in the section was a teacher. These teachers would meet in the morning

before the work schedule and discuss the flow of the education periods. Fikile Bam describes this system as the basis for education on the Island and served as a platform to follow once formal studies were allowed (Wilson, 1988). Despite the widespread acceptance of informal and non-formal learning, McGuire and Gubbins, (2010, p. 254) argue that there is some criticism levelled against these practices. They argue that while non-formal learning is important, it is "not sufficient for the acquisition of knowledge and needs to be supported by formal learning". Some learners may feel "helpless and directionless" in the process if there is not sufficient access to "learning and educational support to provide direction" (Conlon, as cited in McGuire, 2010, p. 254).

3.6. Social movement learning and the struggle for liberation

Melucci (1985) claims that the sphere of cultural production continues to take place outside the parameters of the social movement engaging in campaigns and protests. Public action is therefore only one aspect that constitutes social movements. Casas-Cortés et al. (2008) hold the view that "knowledge-practices are a crucial component of the creative and daily practice of social movements" (p. 18). They describe these "diverse knowledge practices" (p. 20) as being a range of encounters, which may include debates and discussions online, meetings where ideas are discussed in what they term "direct action", conferences *in* and *at* sites of native and indigenous knowledge where indigenous knowledge is crucial to the debates. In other words, the practices of social movements have taken on a new dimension and form which can now be used as sites of contest for any social, political and or cultural 'problem' in a community or society. The role of social movements has shifted beyond that of political rights or state power. The study of social movements now incorporates aspects of collective identity, moral judgment, narrative structure and other aspects related to meaning making and learning (Kurzman, 2008).

The value placed on learning and knowledge production in social movements and social activism is often ignored or down played in favour of the knowledge produced and disseminated through academic scholarship. There is often a misconception that knowledge that is produced and learning that takes place within the academia carries more weight than the knowledge that is produced and the learning that takes place through incidents of activism in social movements

(Choudry, 2009; Harley, 2012). Knowledge production in political organisations and or social movements became apparent; however, these publications or productions of knowledge had to remain underground for fear of reprisal for the author (Da 'Souza, 2009).

Kurzman (2008), states that social movements are more than just spaces of mobilisation and that the concept of meaning-making and learning should be the "central feature" of social movements (p. 8). He elaborates on the understanding of meaning-making to be a process of personal perceptions of how people interpret the world around them. In other words, there may be different interpretations of the same incident depending on your loci. Meaning-making is not unique or limited to social movements, but that they (social movements) are sites that allow for challenges of the status quo by allowing participants to rethink their situations and raise questions about issues that may have been taken for granted or issues that they may not have thought about previously. This is linked to Freire's notion of "conscientisation that refers to the process in which human beings remain, not as mere passive recipients, but as knowing subjects, who achieve a deepening awareness both of the socio-cultural reality which shapes their lives and of the capacity to transform that given reality" (Mithra, 2014, p. 99). Kurzman (2008) observes that meaning-making can be divided into two "complementary theoretical registers" (pp. 5-6). Methodological individualists understand the world and make meaning of their contexts as individuals. In this sense, perceptions and understandings will differ from one individual to the next, and "meaning-making, in this regard is the mental processing that makes sense out of the senses" (Kurzman, 2008, p. 6). Culturalists by contrast make sense of the world as a collective through "readymade interpretations that allow people to assimilate information into established categories of understanding" (Kurzman, 2008, p. 6).

O'Sullivan (1999) suggests that we take cognisance of "3 educational moments" that may occur organically within social movement learning: "moments of critique, resistance and creation" (p. 5). These moments should not be seen as occurring in a linear fashion, but that they may occur in tandem and in any order throughout the life span of the movement. Steinklammer (2012) proposes that there are "actions or practices of learning" in social movements; "informal learning-in-practice"; "resistance learning" and, "learning to put up resistance" in movements (pp. 27-

30). In other words, humans, as social beings, rely on each other, but the individual also takes up her/his space and shapes her/his own learning through the experience with others within social movements. During protests, participants learn certain practices that they continually reflect on and develop further. An example of a practice is the communication network within a social movement. The strategy of communication within the network is constantly reviewed through "providing themselves with the opportunity of exchange, reflection, articulation of concerns, discussion and of political decision-making processes" (Steinklammer, 2012, p. 32). However, the learning that takes place in social movements "cannot fulfil their empowering potential" if they remain "covert and unconscious" (Steinklammer, 2012, p. 33). The "practice of resistance" like "learning different forms of resistance, establishment and use of autonomous communication and organisation structures" (Steinklammer, 2012, p. 33), has to be learnt and developed by participants in social movements.

3.6.1. *Social movement learning: learning to resist, recognise, and challenge apartheid ideology*

To create a society in which people will live "collectively in ways that encourage free exercise of their creativity without foreclosing that of others", Brookfield (2005, p. 39) suggests a series of learning tasks. The most prominent learning task is that of "challenging ideology" or, what I have termed, 'mobilising for learning and learning to resist' (Brookfield, 2005, p. 66). The conceptualisation of ideology is complex and at most times contested. According to Larrain (1979), the concept of ideology may be considered in negative terms in that it may form a perception which distorts the understanding of social reality or the social group. However, from a critical theory perspective, ideology reflects the ideas, values and beliefs of a ruling group or class primarily through manipulation and force. Eagleton (1991) argues that the term has a "whole range of useful meanings" and suggests that ideology could mean:

> The process of production of meanings, signs and values in social life, a body of ideas characteristic of a particular group, ideas which help to legitimate the political power, false ideas which legitimate the dominant political power, systematically distorted communication, that which offers

a position for the subject and forms of thought motivated by social interests (p. 1).

Ideology finds itself embedded in a range of other forms including language, social habits, myths and cultural forms. Brookfield (2005) believes that negative ideology is present and in practice when people "shrug their shoulders at the inconveniences, setbacks and difficulties in life" (p. 69). He refers to this as a "mustn't grumble" phenomenon and concludes that the "must grumble" phenomenon, by way of deduction, must be the start of an ideology critique (p. 69). Thousands of activists took to the streets in protest, went on boycotts, signed partitions, went on go-slows, went into exile and were banished to RI as political prisoners of the state as they challenged and opposed apartheid ideology. Ideology may, however, also be perceived in a positive light when it portrays the opinions, theories and attitudes of a class or group in order to defend and promote its interests.

Despite the varied understanding and conceptualisation of ideology, this does not preclude it from having connotations of oppression and domination by a minority over a majority (Brookfield 2005). After the Nationalist Party (NP) came to power in 1948, the Afrikaner government, with its apartheid ideology, was determined to create a society in which their control would become permanent "in order to safeguard and perpetuate that power in the face of a hostile and non-compliant majority" (Coleman, 1998, p. 1). The apartheid system and ideology had its origins in the segregationist policies of earlier governments, like the Dutch and British colonists, and advocated racial separation, exploitation and discrimination.

These pillars of apartheid were entrenched when, amongst others, the following laws were passed: The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act 55 of 1949, the amendment of the Immorality Act 5 of 1927, the Population Registration Act 30 of 1950, the Group Areas Act41 of 1950 and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act 49 of 1953 (Oakes, 1988). The Bantu Education Act 47 of 1953 was implemented and enforced with the sole purpose of schooling blacks into believing that they were inferior to whites, and that they were only good enough to serve the white man as workers. The Act ensured that blacks would never become academically sound and would forever remain the labourers of the country.

In order to enforce these ideologies, schools were separated and a number of policies put in place to ensure the separation was affirmed. Apartheid education reproduced apartheid ideologically and economically. Ideologically the apartheid system separated people according to their race and as mentioned before, various acts and laws were passed to entrench this segregation and separation (Christie, 1985).

Radical educators have argued that the main functions of schools were not to develop the individual and uplift them socially, but rather that schools are the reproduction of the dominant ideology and are used by the state to reproduce the division of labour (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1986). Schools as state institutions reproduced the ideology of the state so that they could maintain hegemony. The process whereby adults unravel and challenge the trappings of a dominant ideology is referred to as "ideology critique" (Brookfield, 2005, p. 69). Steinklammer (2012) argues that learning to resist comes about when people have identified the trappings of the dominant ideology and have learnt, at times through the processes of social movements, that they have the power to change their situations. Resistance is therefore a necessary act if one was to challenge and critique ideology. Similarly, there was resistance to the apartheid era education. While the June 1976 Soweto student uprisings was a landmark day in the resistance to apartheid education, it does not stand alone as resistance to oppression, segregation and exploitation. Teachers who were affected by the new system established resistance to the Bantu Education Act 47 of 1953. They would have to work longer hours, have bigger classes and they would not be paid adequately. During the 1955 schools boycott the African Education Movement (AME) tried to organise alternative education classes for the children. Various culture clubs were set up to teach the basic formal school subjects using alternative, non-formal methods of singing, stories and games. In spite of the good intentions of these clubs to set up alternative education, the clubs did not last long since numbers dwindled after schools reopened. Alternative education, however, is more concerned with needs of the individual than with how the individual fits into the group and the group dynamic. On the other hand, the People's Education Movement as a subset of alternative education is more specific and is fundamentally opposed to the exploitation and oppression of the poor. The movement was specific in its intentions: the fight against apartheid for the

upliftment of the people and not just the teaching of formal subjects as outlined by the Alternative Education Movement (Christie, 1985).

3.6.2. Social movement learning: learning to uncover and counter hegemony

Ideology becomes hegemony when people learn to accept the unjust social order of a dominant system as 'natural'; it is the way in which people practice a system or systems of beliefs knowing it is harmful to them. Brookfield (2005) argues that if hegemony works then there is no need for coercive control by the state or ruling class to maintain order since people accept the status quo willingly and with consent. Antonio Gramsci's notion of hegemony is not only described as:

> … situations in which one nation exercises political, cultural or economic influence over others, but extended to apply to relationships between groups especially social classes. Hence, one social class can be thought of as exercising hegemony over other subaltern classes (Entwistle, 1979, p. 11).

In the light of this he preached a form of "proletarian hegemony" as opposed to "bourgeois hegemony" and believed that the only way the working class would be able to fight this was to think and act like the "ruling class" (Entwistle, 1979, p. 11). Steinklammer (2012) refers to hegemony as "a type of domination that is not based on direct force but on the leadership and consensus of a large part of the population" (p. 25). The leadership accepts and adopts the ideology of the dominant group without coercion. Hegemony in this instance is a practice that is accepted by people in spite of it being in opposition to their beliefs. Having the ability to recognise and counter hegemony is related to the formation and enhancement of political and social movements that fight oppression, racism, sexism and homophobia. By virtue of the formation of a movement and the "moments of protest", the social movement questions aspects of cultural and political hegemony. The self-images of people are changed through participation in struggle, as part of a social movement, where they learnt the value of "standing up for their rights" (Steinklammer, 2012, p. 31).

Education is the tool the working class uses to counter hegemony through a theory of learning which encompasses the "formation and development of a critical consciousness" (Brookfield, 2005, p. 106). Freirean pedagogy mirrors this notion

by proposing that people become critically aware of their oppressive situations, and make the effort to change those situations to positive life experiences, through the attainment of critical consciousness through liberation and problem-posing education, dialogue and praxis (Freire, 1972). Gramsci (as cited in Steinklammer, 2012, p. 27) states that "every relationship of hegemony is necessarily an educational relationship" that exists between individuals and groups and may take place through organised formal or informal learning processes.

3.6.3. Social movement learning: learning to unmask power

Hall and Clover (2000) claim that there is a link between adult learning and social movement learning and describe the learning that takes place in social movements as "learning in action" (p. 1). Consciousness-raising, reflection and experience are elements within the ambit of "learning in action" that cannot be replicated or planned for in planned educational processes. Learning by persons within social movements may occur in an informal way by virtue of being a member of the movement and participating in the activities of the movement or it may occur by means of planned educational activities arranged by the organisation itself (Hall & Clover, 2000).

Brookfield (2005) in his clarification of the task of "learning to unmask power" (p. 118), describes the power relations between teacher and learner in the adult learning context as vastly different to that of mainstream school classrooms. Children are compelled to attend school, but adults are more likely to become involved in educational activities because they want to. Adults have the ability to recognise power in their lives and involve themselves in educational opportunities by choice. The many learning activities in which they involve themselves are self-directed and, in some instances, there is no need for a professional teacher or educational provider. Since adults are not coerced to participate in educational activities, they have the capacity to exert influence on the world through the exercise of individual and collective power. People *can* and *do* learn informally from walking around a museum or art gallery, from listening to an orchestra, reading a book or using the internet. Such interactions are undertaken voluntarily and often for a purpose (Brookfield, 2005). Similarly, adults join social movements on their own accord, accept the processes of that movement, and participate in the learning that takes

place there. Adult education classes are generally accepted as power-free zones or spaces of power sharing between teachers and learners. From a Freirean perspective a partnership is formed between teacher and student with both having an equal role in shaping the learning processes. Both student and teacher understand that their roles are interchangeable as they negotiate the learning programme (Freire, 1972). Shor (1993) describes Freire's education model as participatory where participants are encouraged, through dialogue in culture circles, to reflect on their own experiences, evaluate their own knowledge and jointly design the learning programme using generative themes relevant to their experiences.

Research into the motivation for participating in adult education concludes that adults feel motivated to learn when they have control over their learning (Fasukun, Katahoire & Oduaran, 2005). However, the reasons for attending are not, usually, solely to do with the learner but lie in the tension that exists between learners and the socio-cultural world. Socio-economic class, previous education, attitude of family and friends, available time and money may all play a part in determining whether or not an adult is motivated to engage in educational activity. But, even if they are motivated, they have the power to terminate their studies. One of the problems facing the adult educator arises from the very nature of the adult status of participants: the power to terminate their classes if they do not like the class or the learning context. In light of this, adult educators must enter into partnerships with their students and cannot exercise the authority of the schoolteacher who has a legal duty to ensure that the children undertake the learning prescribed by the curriculum. Steinklammer (2012), however, suggests that "power is not something that humans or social groups simply possess" (p. 24), but that it represents the relationship between those from the dominant group and those that are dominated. Power relations are formed based on the constitution of the groups within a society but this power is not necessarily enforced as long as the ruling group is adequately convincing in "defining and enforcing their own interests and the social formations that go along with it as common social interests" (Steinklammer, 2012, p. 25).

3.6.4. Social movement learning: learning participatory democracy

Schoeman (2010) states that the critics of democracy have traditionally described it as "mob rule: the rule of the rabble, of base prejudice and ignorant opinion"

(p. 132). Proponents of democracy, on the other hand, state that "democracy means, transforming the individual through education into a deliberative citizen…so that when empowered, they can govern reasonably and live well" (Schoeman, 2010, p. 132).

Feu, Serra, Canimas, Làzaro and Simo-Gil (2017) understand democracy as having four dimensions: "governance, inhabitance, otherness, and ethos" (p. 647). The first dimension, the most common understanding, refers to governance, which they describe as "the structures and processes through which political decisions are made and the public sphere is managed" (p. 650). In other words, this aspect of democracy gives citizens of a state or organisation the collective power to make decisions. This aspect of democracy is demonstrated in the way that the political prisoners on Robben Island organised their sport and education structures. New social movements have adopted the stance that in a democracy "political freedom" is not sufficient but that it must include the aspect of "inhabitance" (Feu et al., 2017, p. 650). This means that in order for true democracy to be achieved there must also be equality based on "material" aspects in terms of economic, material and health conditions, access to information, training and security (Feu et al., 2017, p. 650). In other words, basic human rights, aspects the political prisoners fought for while in prison on Robben Island. Feu et al. (2017) describe "otherness" as democracy as "the protection of minority groups or the discriminated against, respect for cultural diversity and for the general choices that people make in their lives" (p. 652). The fourth dimension Feu et al. (2017) propose is democracy as "ethos" which relates to the "values, virtues and capabilities that each of us must possess as citizens" (p. 653).

After the 2011 uprisings in Egypt, one protester stated that learning took place during their protest action and that the Egyptians had "broadened their political awareness and knowledge" (English & Mayo 2012, p. 115). They (the protestors) also learnt how to organise themselves, defend themselves, and she learnt that it was possible for change to occur and that being passive was self-destructive. However, she stated that during the process they were still not able to put aside their differences, which was detrimental to the protest movement since the government had cause to use this against them, and "we still need to learn about democracy and about accepting one another's opinion" (English & Mayo, 2012, p. 115).

Democracy in the Egyptian uprising context therefore means that the members of a movement need to accept their differences in their attempt to organise the movement. English and Mayo (2012) guard against using "western models and learning of social movements to bear on the analysis of people coming together in action for change in non-western contexts" (p. 109). The constitution of social movements differs according to contexts so "we should not define social movements according to set templates and models" (English & Mayo, 2012, p. 114).

In their study of the Zapatistas of Mexico and the Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais SEM Terra (Movement of Landless Rural Workers-MST), Starr, Martinez-Torres and Rosset (2011) describe participatory democracy as "an auxiliary to the state processes and as an institutional and cultural part of social movements with autonomy as the central concern for participatory democracy" (p. 102). Both movements had a "school of democracy" where democratic principles were taught (Starr et al., 2011. p. 113). These democratic principles included a rotation of governance to avoid a few members from gaining too much power, and where decisions were made, all members were consulted as part of the "culture of listening" (Starr et al., 2011, p. 113). A political culture was adopted that included a consciousness about their situation, listening to each other, having short efficient meetings, and other aspects that enabled a participatory democracy like trust and commitment to the movement (Starr et al., 2011). The Zapatistas defined their autonomy as "collective, relational, intercultural and centrally concerned with territory, self-governance and control over resources" (Starr et al., 2011, p. 112). The MST established their autonomy by creating "self-governed, self-provisioning communities committed to liberation at every level" (Starr et al., 2011, p. 112).

3.7. Social movement learning and popular education

3.7.1. History of popular education

Popular education is a long-standing tradition that has been implemented by civil rights organisations, labour movements, workers' unions and like-minded organisations to empower, in most instances, the proletariat to strive for a just and egalitarian society. Braster (2011) claims that the beginnings of popular education in Europe can be linked to various Protestant educationists and Catholic religious

orders. St Joseph Calasanz (1557-1648) is said to be the founder of the first free public school in Europe where he offered education to all irrespective of their social standing. Jean Baptiste de La Salle (1651-1719) dedicated his life to working with the poor children in France; August Hermann Francke (1663-1727) established what was known as the "ragged school for orphans in Germany" (p. 3); Johann Bernard Basedow (1723-1790) established the *'Philanthropen'* in Germany and Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi (1746-1827) started a school in Switzerland. Popular education in the Dutch context was termed "education accessible to all" as inscribed in the draft constitution of the Netherlands in 1796 and was later referred to as "public schools" (Braster, 2011, p. 3).

At the beginning of the nineteenth century popular education was described as "education for all" and included education of the privileged and education for the masses (Braster, 2011, p. 3). During the twentieth century, popular education was linked to education for the "underprivileged groups" like the poor and those who were not able to complete their schooling. Later in the twentieth century, popular education was transformed to being "education for the oppressed" (Braster, 2011, p. 4). In Latin America, the concept of popular education translates to an education that belongs to the poor rather than the elite (Kane, 2012).

After the 1970s, popular education became synonymous with Paulo Freire and the meaning of popular education changed to mean "education of the oppressed" from its original meaning of "education for the people" (Braster, 2011, p. 5). The modality of popular education has its interest in the struggles of the ordinary people, its opposition to the oppressive status quo, rejection of state-organised formal education, its hegemonic structures as well as its commitment to social and political change for those who are marginalised. These elements reflect Brookfield's concepts of "learning to resist, recognise, and challenge apartheid ideology, learning to uncover and counter hegemony learning to unmask power" (Brookfield, 2005, p. 39).

Popular education has been associated with concepts and disciplines like "people's education", "working class education", "self-education", "adult education", "women's education" or "social education" (Ferrer, 2011, p. 15). While many scholars have introduced and implemented popular education in these various

disciplines, the process of popular education has general characteristics and particular fundamental aspects. The methodologies used in the variants of popular education focuses on group development, instead of individual learning and development, with the ultimate result being alternative spaces for learning with the emphasis on social action over and above just mere education/learning (Crowther, 2013). Kane (2012) concludes that "the aim of popular education is to promote political knowledge, dialogue and critical subjects whose method of collective action humanises the educator" (p. 70).

3.7.2. Social movement learning: Freirean perspective on popular education

Paulo Freire is amongst the forerunners in the study of adult education and social transformation that introduced a literacy programme in Brazil based on popular education during the 1960s. His seminal work will continue to have an influence on the debates on the emancipatory nature and possibilities of adult education. Born into a middle-class family, Freire experienced dire financial constraints during the depression when he encountered and experienced a working class situation for the first time. His second encounter with the working class presented itself when he was appointed as the coordinator of a programme concerned with education and culture with the Social Service for Industry, an institution set up by the National Confederation of Brazilian Industries. These encounters and first-hand experiences of being poor and his engagement with the proletariat may have shaped his philosophy, theories and his variant of popular education later in his life (Taylor, 1993):

> It is only the oppressed who, by freeing themselves, can free their oppressors…That contradiction will be resolved by the appearance of the new man who is neither oppressor nor oppressed-man in the process of liberation (Freire, 1972, p. 166).

Freire's variant of popular education, known as Método Paulo Freire, "a method which is both a process of literacy acquisition and a process of conscientisation" (Taylor, 1993, p. 73). It is based on the principles of a counter hegemonic alternative model of education, the curriculum of which was developed by the popular classes in their resistance to compulsory oppressive schooling (Taylor, 1993).

Freire's philosophy of education incorporates the use of generative themes where learners and teachers are regarded as "subjects" (Freire, 1972, p. 59). The learners and teachers reach a critical consciousness of reality through the creation of their own dialogic education and learning. A tenet of Freire's work was to change people's thinking and assist them to move from a "magical consciousness to a critical consciousness" and advocated a number of stages one would have to transcend in order to reach a state of "critical consciousness and critical transitivity" (Taylor, 1993, p. 73).

Freire's method of teaching is not only as one that is based on a "process of literacy acquisition and a process of conscientisation" but it also includes a three-stage investigation, which comprises of three fundamental questions. The three-stage investigation consists of:

1) a "naming stage" which asks the question: 'What are the problems/what is the situation?

2) a "reflection stage" which asks the question: 'Why is there a problem/situation?

3) an "action stage" which asks the question: What can be done to change the situation?

Popular education within social movements continues to be important in "address[ing] explicitly the educational dimensions of their activities and do not leave it to chance" (Taylor, 1993, p. 73).

Shor (1993) states that Freire's pedagogy is distinctive in that it "links political content with pedagogical form" (p. 27), and is a student-centred dialogue that tries to develop a critical consciousness by using generative themes from everyday life. Freire's pedagogy has an agenda of values that could be described as "participatory" where participants are encouraged to engage in the learning process by "decoding thematic problems through dialogue" (Shor, 1993, p.33). The learning process is interactive where the participants do more discussing and writing instead of the teacher talking. The programme content is situated within the participant's understanding and reality. Participants are encouraged to critically reflect on their learning, evaluate the process, their own knowledge and the programme content.

Democratic principles are practised in the classrooms where participants and coordinators jointly develop and evaluate the programme content, and all participants and coordinators have equal speaking rights. The methodology of the classroom is that of dialogue where the coordinator guides the discussion by posing questions and problems to the participants who are encouraged to take ownership of their own education and their own learning. This kind of pedagogy challenges the notions of learner passivity and authority-dependence that are perpetuated in traditional classrooms (Shor, 1993). Teachers are also "desocialised" from the traditional authority in the class to a "problem-poser and dialogue-leader" (Shor, 1993, p. 29). The classroom acknowledges and "recognises all and various cultures", ethnic, regional, age-based, and sexual societies. Discrimination and equality are frowned upon and the curriculum is balanced to satisfy all groups. All participants are expected to research the problems that they encounter in their daily lives. The classroom is active due to the participatory, problem-posing and co-operative learning format. There is an expectation that there will be action from the inquiries during the dialogue. The learning process is interested in the "broader development of human feeling" as well as "development of social inquiry" **(**Shor, 1993, p. 31).

Freire's popular education pedagogy is conceptually linked to activities of social movement learning. Learning in social movements and moments of popular education take "place in many forms: "readings designed to inform and persuade, planned educational workshops, and incidental learning acquired through the hidden curriculum of social movements" (Kane, 2012, p. 70).

3.7.3. *Social movement learning: Freire's problem-posing education versus the banking method*

Freire (1972) advocated an education in opposition to the "banking method" (p. 164) that saw students as depositories to be filled by teachers who are the depositors and who consider themselves knowledgeable. Through this negative education, the teacher is elevated to the centre around which all learning revolves and the students are passive receptacles that are filled with information by the teacher. The banking system of education was used to stifle the creativity of students and maintain an oppressive society, which led to an "education for domestication" (Freire, 1972, p.

166). This philosophy of education perpetuates the notion that students are ignorant and the teacher who has the knowledge is presented as the opposite of the students. The banking method of education renders the student incapable of reaching the stage of critical consciousness since the student is only expected to receive the information. Gadotti and Torres (2009) describe this as a kind of education where the teacher has to adhere to strict rules and regulations established by the authorities and maintain strict discipline. They argue that "to ensure his/her pension" the teacher disciplines the pupils and ensures that they satisfy the necessary requirements to enter and exit grades.

A Freirean philosophy of education invites an alternative "education for liberation and problem-posing education in opposition to the banking concept of education" (Zibechi as cited in Kane, 2012, p. 70). In terms of popular education, social movements are centres of learning, in its own right, through its various activities and have a "pedagogical intentionality" which is a revolutionary change with respect to our understanding of education" (Zibechi as cited in Kane, 2012, p. 70).

Kane (2012) suggests that in Latin America during the 1980s, popular education grew significantly with the rise of social movements and highlights that "in terms of popular education, some movements now have their own independent, systematic approaches to maximising the educational potential of every part of the movements' activity" (p. 74). Participants in social movements use "really useful knowledge" which is generated dialectically, to contribute to changing society towards a greater social justice (Scandrett et al., 2010, p. 126). The strongest contribution social movement learning has made to the political struggle is:

> …an understanding of radical, democratic and transformative methods and processes which aim to create new spaces for personal, local and global change. Education within and outside social movements is a space of pedagogical exuberance and creativity coupled with critique. Social movement learning gives hope to those opposing the status quo, provide a base for counter-power from the ground up, negotiate with the authorities when necessary, create new knowledge about the world that they envisage and provides ways to obtain their goals and create a better future (Scandrett et al., 2010, pp. 127-128).

A new terminology, which can also be applied to learning in social movements, was introduced to embrace the "new education system". The term "school" was changed to a more flexible concept the "culture circle" because it was believed that the concept "school" was a passive concept. Culture circles represented and encouraged debates and dialogues, the most important component of pedagogical process, to find solutions to the various topics suggested by the group. The traditional "teacher" became a "coordinator" or "animator;" a "lecture" was now referred to as a "dialogue"; "pupils" became known as "group participants" and a "syllabus" became a "codified programme" (Freire, 1981, p. 42).

Shor (1993) proposes that there are "critical educators" who pose problems to students and encourage curiosity and treat students as "substantial human beings" (p. 33). The "revolutionary educator" makes a concerted effort to form a partnership with the students and engage them in critical thinking in their quest for an "education for liberation", a partnership that is rejected by the banking method as an indicator of undermining the power of oppression. Through this kind of education, the teacher-student relationship is resolved as both parties have an equal role to play and their roles during the process may be reversed at any time (Freire, 1972, p. 166). The term "teacher-of-the-students" is replaced by a new term, "teacher-student with student-teacher". The role of the teacher and student is interchangeable, with the teacher no longer in authority and both teach and learn at the same time. Through a process of "co-intentionality", the teacher and student have the same intention to solve a study collectively. Both take ownership of the issue that is related to an aspect of the student experience. In "liberating and critical classrooms" students are free to empower themselves for social change and educators reject the traditional educational methods and provide the space for students to express themselves (Freire, 1972, p. 169).

The "problem-posing education regards dialogue as indispensable to the act of cognition which unveils reality" (Freire, 1972, pp. 171-172). Dialogue is thus important if one is to move from a state of intransivity to a state of critical consciousness. It is a horizontal relationship, infused with mutual respect, love, humility, faith, trust and hope among those who are in the dialogical circle. Critical dialogue cannot take place if participants are not willing to participate and it rejects the notion that one person dominates and wants to impose his/her ideas on the rest

of the participants. There needs to be mutual respect for each other, a love for fellow man and a commitment to the cause if true liberation is to take place. Dialogue cannot be effective if man is not prepared to be humble and accept that there may be instances where others know more and that there are people who can make more meaningful contributions. Participants in dialogical processes must have the ultimate trust in their fellow participants for dialogue to be truly effective. However, in order for participants to trust one another there has to be a demonstration of the intentions as shared in the circle. If actions are contradictory to the spoken word, there will not be trust and dialogue cannot take place. In order for dialogue to be successful, participants need to enter the dialogue with the hope that their fight will yield good results, yet they need to hope with action and not expect change to occur by being passive. True dialogue needs critical thinking to be effective resulting in good communication, which leads to true education (Freire, 1972).

Freire (1981) argues that man, being a higher order species, has the ability to reason and reflect and in so doing can make critical decisions and make changes to his situation through action. Animals on the other hand "are beings of pure activity" (Freire, 1972, p. 3). The ability to reflect and take action is thus seen as "praxis", an action that has been informed by values, and it is the combination of the two that is needed to transform a situation. Freire therefore, contends that the one cannot function without the other to bring about the necessary change. Taylor (1993) agrees that Freire condemned those who were merely activists and blind followers and attacked the policy makers and educational administrators. What was required was "active reflection and reflective action" (Taylor, 1993, p. 56). Action and reflection occur simultaneously and not as separate processes. Praxis comprises three components: "thought, reality and perception" which form part of the process of conscientisation and the process of the Practice of Education (Taylor, 1993, p. 57).

3.7.4. Social Movement learning: Freire's concept of conscientisation

The process of conscientisation is not merely a technical approach or transition but one that is achieved through an alternative "liberating education" that would gradually assist people to understand and consciously think about their situation and their place in the world (Freire, 2009, p. 169). According to Taylor (1993),

conscientisation is an ongoing process in which the "discovery of the person in the reality" is something that is continually happening (p. 64). The concept of conscientisation emerged from a discussion group within the Institute of Brazilian Studies, popularised by Dom Hélder Câmara, the Bishop of Recife during the mid-1960s (Taylor, 1993). Mithra (2014) describes conscientisation as a process whereby human beings move from a state of consciousness inertia to become "knowing subjects" (p. 99) who understand and can transform their realities.

Mithra (2014) suggests that Freire's concept and process of conscientisation allows people to identify their oppressive situations and help them to move from a state of passivity to one of action (praxis) in attempting to change their realities. Mithra (2014) and Shor (1993) suggest that the intransitive stage which encompasses the semi-intransitive stage; the transitive stage which includes the naïve transitive stage and the critically transitive state of consciousness are stages of growth along the path to critical consciousness.

Freire (1981) suggests that the semi-intransitive (magical) stage is represented as the lowest state of consciousness where men are illogical and "cannot apprehend problems situated outside their sphere of biological necessity" (p. 17). In other words, men cannot transcend the barrier between just existing, and existing and thinking about their lives and realities in a manner that will give them the desire to change their lives. However, man is not altogether closed and describes people in this stage as those who are more open to change than those in the intransitive stage. They will exercise some thought and take some action to transform their lives, but may still rely on popular leaders to guide them to a better reality instead of attempting to change their own lives. Thought processes are centred on one central issue and they are unable to uncover the underlying issues that inform that particular issue (Shor, 1993). In other words, there is no attempt to investigate and comprehend the root causes of issues.

As man moves to a better perception of their reality, through an enabling educational process, "they become more conscious of their surroundings and progress to a transitive stage where they are more open and permeable" (Freire, 1981, p. 17.). During the transitive stage, man is more open to dialogue with others but more importantly, he is able to interrogate his own reality through introspection.

Participants in the stage of consciousness take responsibility and take action to correct their situation in spite of a semblance of reliance on others to assist them. Freire (1981) suggests that a stage of "naïve transitivity characterised by an oversimplification of problems, deindividuation, a lack of dialogue with traces of the magical intransitive stage evident in some thinking and understanding, exists before there is progression to the stage of critical transitivity" (p. 18). People in this stage are prone to being "massified", a concept or state that is in direct contrast to conscientisation. People in a state of "massification" have been manipulated by the elite into beings that cannot think for themselves and where people have become invisible as they are enveloped by the group dynamic. In other words, "massification" renders people unable to participate in meaningful dialogue because they have been stripped of their individuality even though they consider themselves free.

If the transition from the "naive transitive stage" to the "critical consciousness" stage does not transpire, Freire (1981) warns, that the person will "fall into a 'fanaticized consciousness' which in his opinion will render the person in a state more "disengaged from reality" than in the semi-intransitive stage of consciousness. The "fanaticized consciousness" stage renders man irrational without the possibility of reason and not able to help themselves out of their dire situations (pp. 19-20). The ultimate level of thinking is to reach a state of "critical consciousness" and "critical transitivity" where one has the highest thoughts and critical thinking about a situation. This stage of thinking is characterised by a depth of interpretation of problems and the ability to engage in debate and dialogue where people are prepared to take responsibility for their situations and reject complacency. People who have reached this stage of thinking have an acceptance of the new way of thinking without rejecting the past but have the ability to merge the positives of both the old and the new. Freire (1981) states that conscientisation leads to development of an individual but that it is not an automatic transition and can only be achieved through a liberating educational process. However, "conscientisation is not exactly the starting point of commitment but more the product of commitment" (Freire, 1981, p. 19). Critical transitivity is therefore a process that involves a combination of critical thought and, most importantly, critical action if an individual is to make and experience changes in his or her life. Critical

transitivity is a characteristic of democratic regimes where people are regarded as subjects, not objects and given the space to become more critical and make non-coercive choices.

Shor (1993) supports the view that people, who have reached a stage of critical consciousness, could be described as possessing the qualities of power awareness, critical literacy, desocialisation, self-organisation and self-education. Power awareness describes the knowledge that history is shaped by the actions of humans and groups and an understanding of who yields and controls the power in a society. Critical literacy in the state of critical consciousness includes the ability to analyse, think, read and write critically and to engage in discussions that go beyond the surface of traditional opinions and meanings. The deeper meanings of any social interaction or situation, whether it is a text, a process, a statement, an object or image is critically analysed, processed and applied to the contexts of a person's life. People have the ability to, not only recognise and challenge the values, myths and language that was learned during the "massification" process, but they also have the ability to critically examine the regressive values of …*isms* that have been internalised into their consciousness. The quality of self-organisation and self-education is displayed in the manner in which people are able to oppose the dominant, unequal system and transform it to their satisfaction by initiating and participating in social change projects (social movements) and initiatives. The success of social movements is measured when the knowledge generated and disseminated opposes "what is legitimated as knowledge" and changes the way in which the world is perceived (Scandrett et al., 2010, p. 125). Social movements are spaces where knowledge is generated and distributed through "cognitive praxis" (Eyerman & Jamison as cited in Scandrett et al., 2010, p. 125). This idea describes social movements as places where knowledge is produced and disseminated with the aim to change the cognitive understanding of members within the movement. Learning in social movements is therefore a two-way process; that of learning skills and gaining knowledge to take action more effectively, and learning from the experience after the action (Scandrett et al., 2010).

3.7.5. Social movement learning: Freire's codes and decoding

Freire (1981) proposes that the content of learning programmes in the problem-posing method of education must relate to the reality of the participants in the culture circle. It must be presented to the participants as questions to which they will respond after a dialogue within the culture circle and are then able to respond both on an "intellectual level as well as on a level of action" (Freire, 1981, p. 43). The language that is used to construct the programme and the language used in the circles must be familiar to the participants and not be one that is imposed onto them either by the facilitator or by anybody else with perceived power. Man is distinguished from animals as conscious beings able to reason and can therefore "tri-dimensionalise time into the past, the present and the future" (Freire, 1981, p. 44). These epochal units consist of "complex of ideas, concepts, hopes, doubts, values and challenges" that form part of the reality of man, the concrete representations of which manifest into "generative themes" (Freire, 1981, p. 49). Generative themes are named so because "they contain the possibility of generating new themes" (Freire, 1981, p. 49) as they are unpacked, analysed and reflected on by the participants in the culture circles. Freire (1981) also included a concept of "hinged themes" which evolved as either a theme that encompassed the entire programme or a theme that was introduced or included during the programme that was used to link themes under discussion (p. 49).

Generative themes were represented by a number of illustrations, sketches or pictures and in some cases oral, represented by a word and a series of words, and were referred to as a "coded existential situation". These "codes" represented "real, everyday situations" (Freire, 1981, p. 51) that participants found themselves in. The original ten illustrations (which represented 10 life situations), drawn by Francisco Brenand, were confiscated from Freire when he was arrested in 1964 (Freire, 1981). The ten "situations" are:

- The first situation, "Man in the World and with the World, Nature and Culture", illustrates man's relationship with nature and culture.

- The second situation, "Dialogue Mediated by Nature", emphasises the importance of dialogue and communication and highlights that culture is created by man since man can communicate both verbally and graphically.

- Stages 3 to 5, "Unlettered Hunter, Lettered Hunter, the Hunter and the Cat", illustrate the difference between nature and culture. The three situations represent hunting in various forms with the first two depicting man's success when hunting and the third showing the dominance of a cat over mice. This does not only illustrate man's ability to progress from the bow and arrow to the gun but it also emphasises that man is self-directed by knowledge and not only by instinct as inherent in animals.

- Situations 6 and 7 direct the conversation in the culture groups to the concept of work and culture. Freire (1981) describes the connection between work and culture and how participants, through dialogue, concluded that they were able to make culture through work.

- Situation 8 is "Poetry" that is used to elicit a discussion about poetry as a form of culture and to assist the participants to recognise words. The words of the poem are familiar to the participants and they are able to recognise the words as they recite the poem.

- Situation 9 called "Patterns of Behaviour" attempts to elicit discussions about tradition, culture, need and resistance to change.

- The tenth situation depicts a culture circle and allows the participants to reflect on the activities and discussions that have taken place before (Freire, 1981, pp. 63-81).

When planning a literacy programme, Freire (1981) describes the investigation of generative themes or a thematic investigation as a process of stages that a group of investigators follow in order to collate the information needed for the programme. The first stage is the identification and survey of an area and a call for volunteers from that area that will act as assistants during the process. An initial meeting will be held with volunteers from the area, who will act as sources of information and conduits, community members and interested participants to outline the process and the objectives for the programme. Investigators, with the help of the volunteers, will do a complete survey of the area and the people in order to gather information that will inform the generative theme and the discussion in the culture circle.

The second stage is represented by an evaluation meeting of all the investigators where the findings of the investigation of the "living code" (the area of investigation) are presented and discussed in order to get to the "nuclei" of the contradictions of the inhabitants of the area. It is important to note that the volunteers are part of and are consulted throughout the process. At this juncture, the investigators are able to construct the programme content for the educational programmes by selecting some of the contradictions, discussed earlier, as part of the codifications (p. 51).

The third stage takes the investigators and volunteers back into the community to engage the participants in culture circles to decode the codes. During the last stage, an interdisciplinary study is made of the findings of the information that was gathered during the culture circles. The investigators or facilitators will write up their findings into thematic essays, which in turn will be used in the training of teacher-students who will work on future culture circles.

Taylor (1993) describes Freire's literacy programme as having the following five phases in which the participants and educators work together in the culture circle to achieve their goals.

- During phase one the needs, interests, life situations and everyday language of the participants are investigated through research carried out through informal discussions with the people in the area (Freire, 1981).

- A list of generative words based on their phonemic value, its phonetic difficulty and its relevance are identified during phase two.

- Phase three comprises of creating the codes that relate to the interests, needs and life situations, as identified during phase one and the generative words identified in phase two.

- During phase four an agenda, which is flexible, is drafted in order to assist with decoding the situation.

- Flash cards or slides are produced to stimulate recognition of word and the recreation of new words during phase five.

Freire (1981) argues that the generation and collation of the codifications must adhere to certain principles, the first being that the codes should be familiar to the participants in order for them to recognise it as situations that they can relate to. Codes should be easy to interpret and decipher but complex enough to challenge the participants in the process of decoding. Codes should be organised in such a manner that during and after the decoding new themes are uncovered and appear as a "thematic fan". Codifications had to relate to the needs of the participants otherwise they would not participate in discussions in the culture circles (Freire, 1981, p. 53). The "decoding" process sees the participants move from the abstract to the concrete as they interrogate and decipher the code through a series of questions posed by the facilitator and then dialogue and discussion with the other participants in the culture circle follow (Freire, 1981, p. 49). In other words, the subject (the participant) recognises him/herself in the object (the coded existential situation) and recognises that the object is a situation in which he/she will find him/herself. When presented by the "coded situation" the participant will "split" the situation into an initial stage of description of the code and through further interrogation and discussion he/she is able to find meaning in the representation and is able to relate it to his/her own life/situation (Freire, 1972, p. 47).

3.8. Summary

In this chapter, I described the theoretical framework that was used to frame this study. It commenced with a brief account of the apartheid education system as a backdrop to a discussion about the formal and non-formal education that manifested in the education model that was adopted in the Robben Island maximum-security prison. I examined social movement learning in relation to Brookfield's learning tasks of learning to resist, recognise, and challenge apartheid ideology, learning to uncover and counter hegemony, and learning to unmask power. The chapter concluded with a Freireien perspective of popular education in relation to social movement learning.

The next chapter (Chapter 4) is a description of the research design and methodology used for this study.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to elaborate on the research design, research approach and the methodology of data and document analysis used in this study. The first section describes the Robben Island maximum-security prison as a research site, the procedure for the selection of the participants and an examination of political prisoners as participants. Data gathering methods include interview guides, the interview process, as well as the data capturing, coding and data analysis. The section on data analysis concludes with the ethical considerations involved in the research. In the next section of the chapter, I give an account of the document analysis process including an insight into the documents in the Political Prisoners General Recreation Collection in the Mayibuye Archive. This is followed by an explanation of the sampling strategies including data reduction methods of coding and the use of a coding scheme to code the data by using a coding manual and a coding schedule.
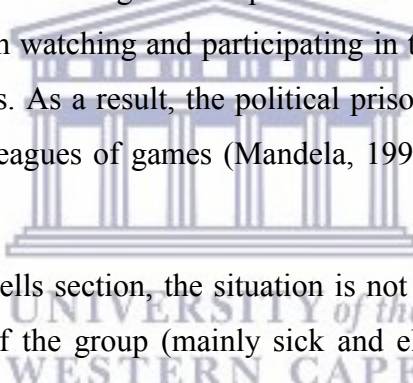
4.2. Data analysis

4.2.1. Research approach

A qualitative research approach falls within interpretive approaches to research. The purpose of interpretivism is to understand how ordinary people manage their lives and how they manage to get things done (Neuman, 1997). Researchers, who use this approach, focus on the quality of the interaction with humans and attempt to unearth what appears to be on the surface (Oka, 2000). Techniques used in this approach are participant observation, interviews, questionnaires and field research. This empirical approach allows the researcher to spend a substantial amount of time with the participants in their natural environment to get as much input from them as possible (Neuman, 1997). This approach afforded me the opportunity to spend time with the former political prisoners in the natural, comfortable environment of their homes and their workplaces, and allowed me to gather as much data as I could from them over an extended period.

4.2.2. Research site

The Robben Island Maximum Security Prison (MSP) was built by political and common-law prisoners in the 1960s. Political prisoners were kept in the 'ou tronk' (old jail) and 'zink tronk' (zinc jail) while the MSP was being built. The MSP is made up of four general sections each with four cells that were used to house the rank and file political and common law prisoners. The isolation section, also known as the leadership section, was for prisoners who were classified as the leaders of political organisations. By 1977, the isolation section was divided into three, separated by a high wall, to prevent political prisoners from communicating with each other. The A- section was exclusively for new prisoners who were banished to the Island, the B -section was for the leadership and the C-section became the punishment section (Buntman, 2003). Sport was mainly played in the general sections of the prison, where political prisoners eventually played a host of indoor and outdoor games. Prison regulations prevented the political prisoners in the isolation sections from watching and participating in the matches played by those in the general sections. As a result, the political prisoners in the isolation section organised their own leagues of games (Mandela, 1994). According to Alexander (1994),

> In the single cells section, the situation is not quite satisfactory. The age-composition of the group (mainly sick and elderly men) precludes most outdoor games, except tennisette which was started in 1974. (p. 85)

Political education on Robben Island has its roots in the lime and stone quarries on the Island. Since study and teaching conditions were not ideal, political prisoners would huddle around the leader and have their discussions clandestinely (Mandela, 1994). Daniels (2002) agrees that the lime quarry was their classroom and that political, formal and non-formal education took place there. Political prisoners in the general sections were included in the "correspondence course" when the notes were sent to them, clandestinely, and they responded with questions (Mandela, 1994, p. 557).

Political prisoners who were studying towards formal qualifications were allowed to study up to a certain hour in their cells at night. The cut off time for those in standard eight (grade ten) would be eight o'clock at night. University students could

study until eleven o'clock at night (Kathrada, 2004). Alexander (1994) reported that official permission was given to hold literacy classes in the general sections but not in the section where the Namibian political prisoners were held.

4.2.3. Selection of participants: purposive sampling

In order to glean information about the Robben Island political prisoner experience, I was selective in my choice of participants. All participants in this study are former political prisoners who were incarcerated on Robben Island between 1960 and 1990. They were all instrumental, influential and participated in the education and sport administered on the Island during their period of incarceration. I narrowed the list down to reflect players and/or administrators who were affiliated to the Makana Football Association (MFA), which was established on Robben Island in 1968. Participants had to satisfy the criteria of being either a member of the MFA committee, member of the Sport and Recreation Committee, a member of the Referees' Committee or players from selected clubs. I refined the criteria once I had access to the Robben Island Museum database of former political prisoners and once I was able to identify the participants.

4.3. Research questions

4.3.1. Main research question

What was the nature of the relationships between sport and political-prisoner education on Robben Island between 1960 and 1990?

4.3.2. Sub-questions

How was the political-prisoner education curriculum facilitated on the Island?

How did playing sport enhance political-prisoner education?

What political education was learnt through sporting activities?

What lessons were learnt through sporting activities?

What kinds of organising skills did political prisoners bring to the Island to organise political education and sport?

4.4. Method of data gathering

Interpretive researchers use various methods to collect data. I used interviews to collect data. Cohen and Manion (1980) claim that in the wider context of life there are many purposes for the use of the interview, for example, selecting an employee, psychiatric interview, for gathering data, but in all contexts the interview, at some level is a "means of evaluating or assessing a person in some respect" (p. 241). Despite the purpose of the interview, the "common denominator is the transaction" that takes place between the interviewer and the interviewee with the one party aiming to gather information and the other supplying the information (Cohen & Manion, 1980, p. 241). Kajornboon (2005) refers to this interaction as "a systematic way of talking and listening to people and another way to collect data from individuals through conversations". (p. 2).

Qualitative interviews are classified into three types: structured interviews, unstructured interview and semi-structured interviews. Structured interviews are occasionally called standardised interviews and are in reality face-to-face questionnaires (McNiff, 1996; Cohen & Manion, 1980; Kajornboon, 2005). Unstructured interviews are also termed informal conversational interviews. These types of interviews do not have a predetermined set of questions although the research questions will govern the content of the questions asked (Cohen & Manion, 1980).

I made use of face-to face, verbal semi-structured interviews which are also referred to as guided interviews and is somewhere between the structured and unstructured interview in format. I prepared a list of key themes, issues and questions that I wanted to ask, but the questions were asked in order depending on the responses from the participants. This type of interview allowed me to probe and gave me the opportunity to ask questions that I had not anticipated and allowed for other questions that I did not have initially (Kajornboon, 2005).

4.4.1. Interview process

I requested and received permission to conduct the research (see Appendix A). I telephonically called and met with each of the former political prisoners to set up an appointment for the interview. In order to ensure that participants fully

understood their involvement in the study, I provided them with an information letter at the start of each interview (see Appendix B). I discussed the purpose of the interview and gave each participant the consent form to complete (see Appendix C). I explained that the interview was confidential and that the participant could request a copy of it. The interviews were conducted in English after the participant signed the consent form. "In qualitative research the interview is usually audio-recorded and transcribed wherever possible because qualitative researchers are frequently not just interested in *what* people say but also in the *way* that they say it" (Bryman, 2012, p. 482).

It is for this reason that I voice-recorded all the interviews for an accurate and verbatim record of the interview. The method allowed me to "be highly alert to what was being said- following up interesting points made" (Bryman, 2012, p. 482). I made written notes during the interview, which helped me to formulate other questions during the interview, and it helped to note information for follow up later during the interview. These notes also assisted during the data analysis process because it helped me to remember things that I did not capture during the interview.

4.4.2. Research Instrument

The interview guide (see Appendix D) allowed me to ask for "more specific and detailed information" (Bless & Higson-Smith, 1995. p. 107), but I could formulate other questions depending on the answers to the main questions. Blanche and Kelly (2002) propose that the interview guide have three parts: the opening, the body and the closing. The opening should set the scene and provide a summary of the interview. The body should consist of the topics and questions that will be asked and the closing should maintain the tone set during the interview but the interview should not end too abruptly. The strength of this approach led to the opportunity to probe the former political prisoner for more information and this led to other questions, ideas and issues that were not anticipated.

4.5. Research ethics

The research was guided by ethical guidelines. It sought to do no harm and abided by the principles of confidentiality. In conducting interviews, ethical issues are very important because the participants should not be harmed in any way (Kajornboon, 2005). Miles and Huberman (1994) argue that as qualitative researchers we need to be cognisant of the "rightness and wrongness of our actions as researchers in relation to the people whose lives we are studying" (p. 288). A number of issues need to be considered before, during and after qualitative studies. Amongst these are worthiness of the project, competence boundaries, purpose, informed consent, benefits, costs and reciprocity, harm and risk, honesty and trust, privacy, confidentiality and anonymity, ownership of data and conclusions (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

As an employee of the RIM, I was able to obtain permission from the RIM Research Unit and Mayibuye Archives to use the database to locate former political prisoners and to source original documents. As a RIM employee I was cognisant of the issues relating to politics, culture and gender and recognised that I may have had different perspectives and that those differences could have caused some tension. I was sensitive to those issues and was prepared, and therefore carefully selected the participants in such a manner that I did not offend anybody. In the initial meeting with the former political prisoners, I explained the purpose of the study and requested permission to conduct the interview. Participants completed the consent forms after they gave me permission to do the interview. I informed all participants that they could withdraw at any time if they did not feel comfortable. I comforted the participants that there would not be financial gain for anybody, and the benefits were to be able to answer the questions outlined in my research questions. I ensured them that there was minimal risk of harm to all participants.

During the interview, some participants became emotional due to the sensitive issues of their incarceration and refused to answer some questions. I was sensitive to the participant's feelings and allowed him to demonstrate his emotions without judgement. I emphasised honesty and trust at all times, and the participants were guaranteed that their responses would be kept anonymous and private if that was their wish. All information will be kept confidential and all data gathered will be

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kept at the UWC Faculty of Education for safe keeping for no longer than five years. Once the data have been analysed, all participants will have access to the results if required or needed.

4.6. Document analysis

I analysed documents to complement the data that I collected during interviews, since the events on Robben Island can no longer be observed and some of the participants could not remember certain events that took place on the Island. Document analysis is the review and evaluation of documents, like in other qualitative research methods, in order to "elicit meaning, gain understanding and develop empirical knowledge" (Bowen, 2009, p. 27) and may be used in combination with other qualitative research methods. Stake (2005) describes the use of more than one method of data collection as triangulation and considers this as "a process of using multiple perceptions to clarify meaning, verifying the repeatability of an observation and interpretation" (p. 437).

"Document analysis is often used in combination with other qualitative research methods as a means of triangulation – the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon" (Bowen, 2009, p. 28). Triangulation in this sense validates the information already gathered but also renders the data "trustworthy", a term linked with qualitative studies (Wagner, Kawulich & Garner, 2012, p. 228). Although document analysis has been used mostly to complement other research methods, it also can also serve as a "stand-alone method" and can serve a variety of purposes as part of the research process (Bowen, 2009, p. 29).

I used a combination of qualitative content analysis and thematic analysis to analyse the data that I extracted from the documents. Babbie (2013) describes content analysis as the "study of recorded human communication" (p. 302) that could comprise of documents, books, websites and paintings. Content analysis is a research technique that seeks to assist the researcher to search for "underlying themes in the content of the material being analysed" (Bryman, 2012, p. 557). The process leads to the extraction of "latent content", which are the meanings that are beneath the surface of the content (Bryman, 2012, p. 557). In other words, there is an emphasis on the underlying meanings of the themes and meanings of the written text. The search for themes is a common approach to qualitative data analysis with

some writers claiming that themes are the same as codes, while others claim that themes constitute groups of codes. Thematic analysis is therefore a process of creating a central theme and subthemes by carefuly reading the raw data and organising the data into the various themes and subthemes (Bryman, 2008).

Altheide (1987) states that content analysis is a reflexive approach to document analysis but claims that aspects and certain ethnographic codification procedures can be applied to content analysis. He refers to this as ethnographic content analysis (ECA) where the aim is to understand the meanings and nuances of data and to emphasise the context within which the documents were produced. He however highlights that ECA has the distinctive characteristic that there is more movement between conceptualisation, data collection, analysis and interpretation of documents than during traditional content analysis procedures.

4.6.1. Research approach

I used a qualitative research approach since I wanted to establish how the Makana Football Association was formed, how it was constitutionalised, what the nature of the Atlantic Raiders/Blue Rocks incident was and the impact it had on the future of football in the RI prison in relation to my main research question.

4.6.2. Sample description

Documents can "provide background and historical information, suggest questions or situations that need to be observed in the research, provide supplementary research data, provide a means of tracking change and development, and can be analysed to verify evidence" (Bowen, 2009, p. 29). It also proved to be a useful and effective means to gather data since the events on RI can no longer be observed and some of the participants cannot remember the events that happened. Documents represent data that have been recorded without the intervention of the researcher and may include agendas, attendance registers, and minutes of meetings, manuals, background papers, books, paperbacks, brochures, letters, newspaper clippings, cultural artefacts and archival material (Bowen, 2009).

Bryman (2012) concurs that documents represent data that has been recorded without the intervention of the researcher and the analysis of these documents as secondary analysis since the researcher will probably not have collected the data in

the first place. According to Bryman (2012), the generation of documents in organisations (minutes of meetings, constitutions, mission statements and job definitions) may be viewed as "representations of the reality of that organisation" (p. 554) and may give us insight into that organisation. However, Atkinson and Coffey (as cited in Bryman, 2012, p. 554) suggest caution when using documents in this manner. They suggest that documents should be examined "in terms of the context in which they were produced and the audience they were written for" Atkinson and Coffey (as cited in Bryman, 2012, p. 554). Documents should also be examined in conjunction with other documents to give it context since, for example, the minutes of meetings may be connected to the minutes of the previous meeting. They also suggest that since these documents are open to scrutiny by others outside the organisation some of the aspects in the minutes may be "manipulated" and not reveal the reality of proceedings of the meeting (Bryman, 2012, p. 555). In other words, they suggest that the analysis or examination of documents be coupled with other sources of data that could help to provide context and that the examiners of these documents have experience about the topic and can draw on their experiences to complete the examination. Miles and Huberman (1994) concur that documents are lengthy and need to be analysed and explained, but more importantly the documents must be put into context and its significance emphasised.

4.6.3. *Documents in the Political Prisoners General Recreation Collection in the Mayibuye Archive*

The UWC-Robben Island Museum Mayibuye Archive (Mayibuye Archive), established in 1992 and situated at the University of the Western Cape (UWC), was originally known as the Mayibuye Centre for History and Culture. The word Mayibuye means 'let it return'. The name is appropriate as the archive functions to retrieve, receive and hold previously banned collections of many organisations and individuals who opposed the apartheid system. The first collection in the Mayibuye archive was that of the London-based International Defence and Aid Fund (IDAF). IDAF had been involved in an international campaign to raise awareness of the apartheid atrocities and had garnered support for the liberation movement. The Mayibuye Archive holds four main sections of material: historical papers, photographs, audio-visual material and art, and artefacts (King, 2001). I examined and analysed the historical papers section, which includes more than 350 collections

of personal and organisational records that document the major political events and turning points that culminated in the unbanning of political organisations in the 1990s.

4.7. Main research question

What was the nature of the relationships between sport and political-prisoner education on Robben Island between 1960 and 1990?

Sub-questions

How was soccer and the MFA organised?

How was the MFA constitutionalised?

What was the nature of the Atlantic Raiders /Blue Rocks incident?

How was the MFA constitutional framework contravened?

4.8. Sampling strategies

The Robben Island Collection found in the historical papers section of the Mayibuye Archive is of significance to me. The Collection contains the Political Prisoners General Recreation Collection, which I selected as my sample. The Collection consists of 83 numbered box files each containing a number of folders, which contain documents that were drafted and maintained very meticulously by Robben Island political prisoners. Boxes 1-43 contain the records related to the sports activities and the establishment and organisation of sport on the Island; boxes 44-49 contain material related to the other recreational activities that took place on the Island after 1970; and boxes 50-82 contain the records of the kinds of education that took place on the Island.

This Collection has various documents, which describe the incident that took place in 1970 after a match between the Atlantic Raiders and Blue Rocks soccer teams. The Atlantic Raiders was a very strong soccer team, which lost to the Blue Rocks, a very weak team made up of older men. The Atlantic Raiders' team members were not happy about the result and protested by lying prone on the field during the next match preventing the game from taking place. This incident, which culminated in a drawn out case from December 1970 to February 1971, drew the ire of many

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political prisoners who blamed the players for destroying the hard work that went into mobilising the playing of soccer in the first instance.

The Atlantic Raiders/Blue Rocks incident is important for my research because it reveals some insights into the relationship between sport and political prisoner education on Robben Island; how soccer and the MFA was formed and organised, how the MFA was constitutionalised, how the MFA constitutional framework was contravened and the nature of the incident. It is for these reasons that I have identified documents from the Political Prisoners General Recreation Collection in the Mayibuye Archive from boxes 1-43, which contain the records that relate to the formation of the MFA and the Atlantic Raiders incident. These documents include internal correspondence, letters, minutes of meetings, annual reports, executive committee reports, discussion papers, orders for equipment, fixtures, the MFA constitution (Woodson, 1996). The Political Prisoners General Recreation Collection is digitised so I did not have to handle the original documents.

4.8.1 Data reduction methods: coding

Coding data is the most common starting point in the qualitative data analysis process. In open coding, the codes are made up as the researcher works through the data. These codes will then further be categorised into related groups and named (Henning, 2004). Coding, as described by Altheide (1987), applies predefined categories to the sources, but there is room for these categories to be refined and for new categories to emerge.

Miles and Huberman (1994) describe coding as differentiating and combining the data and the meaning that is extracted from the data. They argue that codes are " labels" (p. 56) that the researcher uses to attach meaning to the data. To avoid being overwhelmed by the amount of data at the end of the data collection period, I coded the documents as soon as possible. I read the data and made notes about the significant information related to the dimensions in the coding schedule and the coding manual. These notes translated into broad codes that I refined as I continued to read the documents. I identified fragments and snippets from the data in relation to the dimensions and categories identified in the coding schedule and the coding manual. The fragments and snippets are illustrated by quotations extracted from the

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data. I strived to maintain the context of the text when I extracted the fragments of texts from the data.

Bryman (2012) argues that some of the challenges with coding relate to losing the context of what was transmitted when portions of the text are extracted resulting in a "fragmentation of the data" (p. 578). In this way the essence and "narrative flow" (p. 578) of what was initially said is lost.

Coding scheme

I made use of a coding scheme for collecting data from the documents in the Political Prisoners General Recreation Collection in the Mayibuye Archive. Bryman (2012) suggests that when content analysis is employed two main elements exist in the coding scheme that of a *coding manual* and a *coding schedule*. In order to highlight any challenges and potential pitfalls, Bryman (2012) suggests that the coding scheme be tested a few times on the collection of other documents before being used on the documents identified for the analysis.

(i) Coding manual

A coding manual (Appendix E) is a list of all the possible dimensions with its different categories under each dimension and the codes that correspond with each dimension and category. It assigns a list of instructions, which Bryman (2012) describes as a "statement of instructions" (p. 299) to coders, and gives guidance about how to interpret the dimensions and its respective categories.

The coding manual I designed has the following list of dimensions: Learning to establish the MFA, learning the constitutional framework of the MFA, learning to protest and the organisation of other sport codes. These dimensions emerged as I read the documents in the **Political Prisoners General Recreation** Collection in the Mayibuye Archive. The dimensions were further categorised to elicit the learning that emerged from the formation of the MFA and the organisation of soccer on the Island.

(ii) Coding schedule

I used a coding schedule (see Appendix F) to record the data related to each dimension being coded. A coding schedule is a form made up of columns on which

the data extracted from the documents will be recorded. Each column in the schedule represents a dimension that is being coded and the researcher must ensure that the dimensions in the schedule are clearly defined and that all possible categories in each dimension are identified. The categories in each dimension should not overlap each other and clear instructions on how to interpret the data must be given to avoid ambiguity (Bryman, 2012).

4.9. Summary

This chapter provided a detailed description of the research design and methodology for the study. The method of data analysis was described to respond to the research question, what was the nature of the relationships between sport and political-prisoner education on Robben Island? The chapter discussed data collection using semi-structured interviews with former political prisoners as participants and the Robben Island maximum security prison as a research site. The chapter also introduced the use of documents from the Robben Island Museum/UWC Mayibuye Archive to supplement the data that was collected through interviews. The documents were analysed to establish how the Makana Football Association was formed, how it was constitutionalised, what the nature of the Atlantic Raiders/Blue Rocks incident was and the impact it had on the future of football in the RI prison in relation to my main research question.
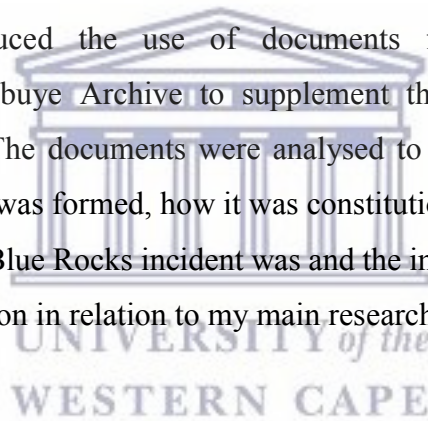
CHAPTER 5

THEMATIC DATA ANALYSIS:

SOCIAL MOVEMENT LEARNING

5.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the thematic data analysis process. It starts with a description of the process of data analysis. The next section describes the process I followed to analyse the data including coding and placing the data into themes. This is followed by a participant profile. In the last section of the chapter, I present the data that was analysed to find answers to the research question: *What was the nature of the relationships between sport and political-prisoner education on Robben Island between 1960 and 1990?*

5.2. Data analysis

Data analysis is essentially about "prose in the form of field notes, interview transcripts, or documents but the most important aspect is to interpret data to establish its meaning and to explore the what, where, who, when and how with the participant" (Bryman, 2012, p. 565). Data analysis in qualitative research is an ongoing and emerging process with thematic analysis, content analysis, global analysis, grounded theory analysis, discourse analysis and narrative analysis among the different approaches to analysing qualitative data (Henning, 2004). Taylor-Powell and Renner (2003) describe data analysis as a fluid process that involves a series of steps, "getting to know the data, focus the analysis, categorise the information, and identify patterns and connections within and between categories, interpretation of the data" (p. 2), which the researcher will move between several times during the analysis process. Open-ended questions, written comments, questionnaires, testimonials, observations and discussion groups may all provide narrative data that will require analysis (Taylor-Powell & Renner, 2003). Wagner et al. (2012) on the other hand, state "anything that helps you understand the topic can serve as data and thus can be coded, categorised and analysed" (p. 228).

5.2.1. Data analysis process

This research was positioned within a thematic data analysis approach since I wanted to understand "some phenomenon by looking at how various participants experienced that phenomenon" (Wagner et al., 2012, p. 231). The phenomenon I wanted to investigate was 'the relationship between political prisoner education and sport on Robben Island'.

As a first step in the data analysis process, I transcribed the interviews to provide a paper copy of the data and to write up the rough notes I made during the interviews (Wagner et al., 2012). I read the transcripts to get a sense of the whole and to put the experiences of the former political prisoners into context. The advantage of transcribing and writing up the notes was to engage with the data at an early stage and to identify pertinent points and crucial understandings that were not evident in the initial transcripts. In order to understand the relationship between education and sport on Robben Island, it was important to sequence the data according to the interview questions. The initial questions were: *How was formal education organised, what kinds of education ideologies were followed? What did education do for the morale of the prisoners? What lessons were learnt through education on RI? What was the nature of involvement in sport before incarceration? What political issues played itself out in the organisation of soccer on RI?* And *what lessons were learnt from the Atlantic Raiders vs. Blue Rocks incident?* I organised the data to focus on each question to glean how each participant responded to a particular question and to determine the differences and consistencies in responses to the questions.

As a second step I read the data and identified units of analysis for each topic (in this case the questions in the interview) and labelled these units with a code. Boyatzis states that a good code has five elements:

> a label or name, a definition of what the code concerns, a description of how to know when the coded theme occurs, a description of qualifications or exclusions to the identification of that code, and a list of examples, positive and negative, to eliminate confusion of codes. (as cited in Wagner et al., 2012, p. 231)

In open coding the codes are made up as the researcher works through the data (Henning, 2004), however, Taylor (1993) suggests that there are two ways to code data, i.e. by pre-set categories or emergent categories. The former being determined beforehand and the data plugged into the pre-listed categories. Emergent categories are determined as the data is being read and determined after working with the data. Taylor (1993) suggests that a combination of the two will allow the researcher to start with some pre-set categories and add others as the need arises. I used a combination of the two as I initially divided the data into the five broad themes related to the questions posed during the interview. I chose to mark the codes in the margin using words, and as new codes emerged, I underlined them with different colour markers. As I examined each new piece of data, I labelled it using the previous coding or a new code if it had not been identified before. The process of coding, referred to by Wagner et al. (2012) as the "constant comparative method" (p. 231), created a coding scheme, which assisted me to identify patterns in the data.

I wanted to find a relationship between the themes so that I could interpret the data and attach meaning and significance to the analysis. I noted new categories that emerged during the process of analysis and further categorised the data into related groups and renamed it. The following themes and subthemes emerged:

1)   Learning to mobilise for formal education:

  -   learning values in formal education;

  -   learning from others/learning to teach others;

  -   learning to apply to study;

  -   learning to organise political education;

  -   learning the value of education.

2)   Learning to organise political education in sport:

  -   learning to challenge ideology;

  -   learning to negotiate for sport;

  -   learning to organise sport;

  -   learning to establish committees;

- learning and conscientisation.

3)   Learning to organise political education in soccer:

- learning to negotiate for soccer;

- learning to unmask power/contest hegemony and resist;

- learning to draft a constitution;

- learning to establish structures;

- learning politics and political tolerance in soccer:

- learning human values in soccer;

- learning the value of sport and education;

- learning to build the MFA as a democratic organisation (social movement).

5.3. Profile of participants

Marvin was sentenced to ten years on Robben Island, 1964-1974, for sabotage and treason. He was incarcerated in the general section of the prison and was a member of the Hotspurs football club, one of the founding clubs of the MFA.

Shami was sentenced to ten years on Robben Island, 1963-1974, for sabotage. He was incarcerated in the general section of the prison and was a member of the Rangers football club, one of the founding clubs of the MFA. He was the secretary of the MFA in 1970.

Leslie was sentenced to seven years on Robben Island, 1964-1971, for conspiracy to commit acts of sabotage. He was incarcerated in the B section (isolation) of the prison. Prisoners in the B section did not form clubs but they played games amongst each other.

Terry was sentenced to five years on Robben Island, 1977-1982, for sabotage. He was incarcerated in the general section of the prison and played soccer. The general sections in the prison constituted their own league in each section.

Eric was sentenced to 15 years on Robben Island, 1964-1979, for sabotage. He was incarcerated in the B section (isolation) of the prison. Political prisoners in the B section did not form clubs but they played games amongst each other.

Khanyiso was sentenced to 20 years on Robben Island, 1966-1986, for sabotage. He was incarcerated in the B section (isolation) of the prison. Political prisoners in the B section did not form clubs but they played games amongst each other.

Jani was sentenced to 15 years on Robben Island, 1977-1982, for sabotage. He was incarcerated in the E section of the prison. The general sections in the prison constituted their own league in each section.

Vuyo was sentenced to eight years on Robben Island, 1983-1991, for incitement, terrorism and murder. He was incarcerated in the E section (general section) of the prison. The general sections in the prison constituted their own league in each section. He played soccer and belonged to the referees' association of the sports committee for E section.

Ronald was sentenced to six years on Robben Island, 1972-1978, under the Terrorism Act 83 of 1967. He was initially incarcerated in the D section (with Namibian political prisoners) and then transferred to the B section of the prison. Political prisoners in the B section did not form clubs but they played games amongst each other. He was the 'Minister of Sport' for the B section.

Vukani was sentenced to 15 years on Robben Island, 1978-1991, for sabotage, defeating the ends of justice, terrorism and intimidation. He was incarcerated in the general section of the prison. The general sections in the prison constituted their own league in each section.

Mandla was sentenced to 22 years on Robben Island for belonging to a banned organisation and taking part in terrorist activities and treason, but only served from 1978-1991 because all political prisoners were released in 1991. He was incarcerated in the general section of the prison where he played soccer and was a referee. The general sections in the prison constituted their own league in each section.

5.4. Learning to mobilise for formal education

5.4.1. Learning values in formal education

A unique education system organised and implemented by political prisoners for political prisoners, comprising formal, non-formal and political education, was established on the Island. Political prisoners in all sections were almost compelled to participate in some form of education. The education system that was adopted was a great morale booster for political prisoners, especially for those who were taught to read and write. The value of education in prison and its connection to sport is emphasised by Vuyo, Marvin and Ronald as:

> So, now education played no small role in terms of broadening our perspective in terms of understanding the reason why we were playing sport. In terms of understanding the role that sport was playing in sort of healing us. Well, education by its nature plays a very important role in so far as deepening and broadening the understanding of sport. (Vuyo, Interview, October 6, 2015).

> Formal education you go to a class, it's a controlled situation. Outside the work situation organisations would campaign, that's also part of schooling. I would say sport is education by excellence. Because everything that you learnt, skills, ideology, values come together there and you are tested… we did not only play sport we did education; we did a lot of political work so everything, and that is what happened. Everything was integrated. Sport I think. It was about sport on RI but it wasn't the main thing. (Marvin, Interview, October 15, 2015).

> Education was serious and sport was only recreation. Studies helped one tremendously, at night. RI was a MSP so the lights were on 24 hours a day. So you could study during the day, you were not supposed to but if you lay against the window the warder could not see what you were doing. (Ronald, Interview, February 8, 2016).

Political prisoners were encouraged to adopt a holistic approach to studying and incorporate all forms of learning. Here Vuyo describes the lessons he learnt from Govan Mbeki (Oom Gov):

> Well that takes me back to what Oom Gov used to say to me: "Look, many of your inmates or comrades don't want to get involved with academic education. They are just so obsessed with political education. So I'd like to urge you to combine both

political and academic education and balance it out. So that we can prepare that when we get freedom you can also participate." So political education and academic education augmented each other in terms of normalising conditions in prison. (Vuyo, Interview, October 6, 2015).

Permission to study was restricted to only those who could find funding. Leslie explains how political prisoners were able to circumvent this restriction:

When I arrived on the Island political prisoners were still battling with permission to be able to study. But some of the prisoners who had been arrested and before they were brought to Robben Island had already enrolled at, for example, London University and other institutions. Like Nanda had already registered with the London University. But on Robben Island there was this reluctance to allow prisoners to study. But before they could even allow prisoners to study, that's '64, if I can remember, is that prisoners were already beginning to teach others. Now this was illegally done. They had no permission. (Leslie, Interview, October 2, 2015).

5.4.2. Learning from others/learning to teach others

A system of 'each-one-teach-one' was adopted where political prisoners who were studying would teach someone who was lower down the academic rank. This is confirmed by Eric, Leslie, Jani and Vuyo, who give examples of this form of teaching and learning:

Yes, I helped those who couldn't read at all. Others helped me to understand the new education I was introduced to like Neil Abrahams, Mandeep Misra. They all helped us. But we in turn helped others. Things had relaxed by then. We didn't go out to work; we could sit in the sun. We haven't got papers we used to use soap wrappers. I used to go around and book the sunlight soap wrappers. That became my scribblers until I could start buying. Velani and I used to sit and read the Bible. So we helped one another. We worked, but easy. But first it was a chase. We had to work to get lorry loads and fill it full of lime. After a while they didn't bother when we went to work. We were doing Matric, five or six of us, and we would decide the night before what we would learn, so at work with the pick we would discuss the subjects. People like Leslie v d Heiden would help. If I had other subjects I would just make an appointment with whomever and say listen can we

work together, and we would discuss the subject. (Eric, Interview, February 2, 2016).

It was consciously realised that education would be one of the pillars that would help to keep us strong, as prisoners in jail. And so there was no kind of particular single philosophy…we had this very different strands, it had nothing to do with philosophies. It was just basic education to help prisoners develop themselves. That was the criteria. First of all, the many educators on the Island came from very different backgrounds, were influenced by very different education philosophies. So Paulo Freire would have influenced people like Neil Abrahams, Les, Kwezi Bantu and the many other teachers, educated people. But the one thing that also helped the togetherness was that we came from different cultures, different language groups, even different religious groups, because we had Muslims, we had Christians. We had Hindus, we had Indian philosophy Buddhists. We had people from the Jewish faith. We had people with their old spiritual, cultural beliefs from the African community. So these are all different strands of the life in SA that had one objective. And that is to help with the education system in jail. And the other thing: when we talk about education it is not only book learning. It's also oral education. Because here you had a person from, let's say a Xhosa background, who may not have been to school but he knows Xhosa tradition and he could talk with great authority about the ways of life within the Xhosa community, Xhosa cultural identity, and the like. And these would be debated, very much like political issues would be debated. And that again helped with educating the prison. (Leslie, Interview, October 2, 2016)

Ja, there were subjects, but there were people who couldn't read or write and when we found somebody like that we would arrange somebody to teach them. In terms of subjects it depended on people who did Standard 3 or Form 5, then we will arrange them. We studied through JMB (Joint Matriculation Board). The others who did degrees studied through UNISA. (Jani, Interview, May 26, 2016).

There were informal education classes, there were study groups. You were just roped into those study groups. Sometimes, you know, you are in Standard 8, there are people in matric, you would be joining these classes. Some are at UNISA studying sociology. You'd be joining those classes. That's why it was so easy for people who were studying to further their studies. (Vuyo, Interview, October 6, 2015).

Political prisoners opposed the oppressive prison ideology by assisting one another at any given opportunity. The help was not restricted to the workstations, where political prisoners helped each other attain their work quota for the day, but it also extended to education, where political prisoners helped each other both financially as well as academically. This is confirmed by Eric, Ronald and Shami, who described the lengths that political prisoners would go to in order to assist one another:

> Kassie had ordered a lot of scribblers and what he did, he took a huge risk. In my diary I kept a note of all the assaults and I lost my studies for five years. Kassie took a risk. He got about four degrees in jail. I got two, actually three. I got a BA and B Com degree. Kassie also studied. Kassie did very well. He got a couple of degrees. (Eric, Interview, February 14, 2016).

> But after I went to the single cells things were much more organised. There were various groups doing various subjects so I immediately fell into the Statistics because I was enrolled in Science. I assisted the Accounting group because I had experience in Accounting. (Ronald, Interview, February 8, 2016).

> We got to the stage where we all agreed that we must fight for our education. The worst part was that you need money; you had to pay for it yourself. The state is not going to give you money. So some of us who had family who was financially well off could supply us. But the other comrades didn't have that. A few of us were given permission to study with strict laws governing it. If you get punished they take away your studies. (Shami, Interview, December 5, 2015).

Warders used every obstacle they could find to discourage political prisoners from studying. Political prisoners had to adhere to a rigorous application process in order to study. Vuyo and Jani provide examples of the application process:

> We had to get permission to study, and still those who wanted to study had to register for Standard 8 even if you had never gone to school, if you wanted to study you had to register for Standard 8. (Vuyo, Interview, October 6, 2015).

Unfortunately, for us we couldn't just study. One had to apply, and when we applied in 1977 and 1978 were not allowed. We were only given permission in 1979. And of course we people who arrived in 1977 were not allowed to study beyond Matric. And those people who arrived in 1977 who wanted to do degrees were not allowed to do it. (Jani, Interview, May 26, 2016).

Vukani describes how they learnt from and were encouraged to study by the political prisoners that were incarcerated before them.

Education, when I arrived we actually had to apply to the study office after you have been introduced to the reception when you receive your first prison number. Then, when you reach the section the inmates will advise you to enrol for studies at the study office. So they were the link between us and the institutions of learning on the outside. You have to do it through the study office. Then they will then send it to the different institutions on the outside. So in prison also when education was introduced to us by the people who have been before. (Vukani, Interview, December 22, 2015).

Education and learning were not only restricted to political prisoners. It also had a positive impact on the warders, who were encouraged to study in order to improve their qualifications to enhance their chances of promotion. Leslie describes how political prisoners encouraged warders to study:

One the ironies of education on the Island was that the prison guards who were looking after the political prisoners, most of them were very poorly educated and many of them had been working in the prison system for decades, could not get promotion and did not have enough education or adequate education. So when they saw the successes of the political prisoners they realised that, hey man these guys. First of all, they thought, you know that there must be a particular method of teaching black students that enabled them to make such good results. But they turned to the political prisoners for help with their education because they were inspired by the political prisoners. (Leslie, Interview, October 2, 2015).

Political prisoners learnt that through education they could derive other benefits and win the warders over to their side. Leslie describes how they won prison warders over:

> And the other code in jail was that when a prison guard asked for, by this time there were only white prison guards. If he asked for help, help him. Because by helping him you are making a friend. And this is how they could break that, that deadlock that the prison authorities had over the prisoners and it worked. Some of the harshest, most brutal prison guard in later years came to apologise to the political prisoners for how they had been treated. Because, through all the years the political prisoners had a moral code that governed their life. (Leslie, Interview, October 2, 2015).

In spite of the hard labour, bad food and warder interference, political prisoners vowed to turn the harsh reality of prison life into something more positive. The introduction of education into the mundane prison routine yielded many success stories, with many political prisoners completing degrees and improving their educational qualifications. Marvin, Leslie and Terry reflect on the achievements of political prisoners and the success of education on the whole:

> And about a year after I got to the Island I applied, and by then we were getting into the motion. When I went I only had my teacher's diploma. I did a degree via UNISA. (Marvin, Interview, October 15, 2015).

> Others went on to study at high school level. Some of these guys who came there with elementary school education went through high school education, some of them actually left with university degrees, studying through UNISA. For example, there's Eddie Daniels who came there with elementary education. There's Kathrada with high school education. There was myself, although I could not go further than [to] complete my high school education. (Leslie, Interview, October 2, 2015).

> And when most of them left RI they completed their Matric or Grade 12. Some of them completed their degrees here and some of them managed to start with their Honours here on RI. That was education. Then we used UNISA, Damelin and Success College. Those were the colleges we made

use of. Grade 8-10 was formal education, within RI, through Damelin and Success College. Post-Matric was UNISA. (Terry, Interview, December 21, 2015).

5.4.3. Learning to apply to study

Political prisoners were at different levels of education. Those political prisoners doing elementary education made application to colleges such as Damelin and Rapid Results College. Once they had completed this stage they had the option to apply for graduate studies at UNISA and other universities. This is conveyed by Vuyo and Marvin as they describe the educational pathways prisoners followed on Robben Island:

> You must start with Standard 8. They would apply to distance learning education institutions like Damelin College. Damelin was popular of course. (Vuyo, Interview, October 6, 2015).

> A range of us…but whoever could read and write had to help. But those who had a bit of methodology, like I knew how to conduct classes and then I taught Xhosa. I knew Xhosa but how to teach. We encouraged the comrades to do mother tongue and it went from first gear to fifth gear. So after the literacy and post-literacy programme we registered with Rapid Results College for primary school. (Marvin, Interview, October 15, 2015).

Political prisoners who were studying towards a degree could apply to UNISA. Khanyiso and Ronald describe how this process worked:

> It [education] was not informal because we were registered with the UNISA. Others were registered with Damelin and so on. (Khanyiso, Interview, January 23, 2016).

> But when I arrived on the Island I registered and completed my degree there. People were registered with Damelin. Many were registered through UNISA and others, except Nanda who was studying through the University of London. Until they stopped him. We had great difficulty in studying, because you had to pass all your subjects in one go or you'd have to repeat

a year. And if you kept failing you had to repeat. And by that time they decided that prisoners couldn't study at a foreign university anymore that he had to study at a SA institution. And they virtually put a ban on postgraduate studies as well. Before that they did that and thought we were stupid and could not manage, but they were surprised to see how many did quite well in postgraduate work. So they stopped that. Nanda was switched to UNISA as well. I don't know what happened to him after that because I left in 1978 [in response to why the shift from London University to UNISA occurred]. Well. I don't understand, they did some queer things. I don't know if they thought the University of London would supply political influence or ideas that would not be supplied by UNISA. (Ronald, Interview, February 8, 2016).

5.4.4. Learning to organise political education

Once the education system was established, political prisoners participated in various categories of education and forms of learning. The non-formal education was categorised into literacy classes and was taught to political prisoners by political prisoners. They used cement paper bags and Palmolive soap wrappers as writing paper and pens were smuggled in to assist in the teaching (Kathrada, 2004; Daniels, 2002). Leslie, Ronald and Terry describe how political prisoners fashioned books out of cement paper bags:

> But it was a time when we were not allowed pencils and paper, books or anything. But what was happening at the time was they were still building the new prison, we were in the old prison so the maximum prison was still being built. So what was happening is that these heavy duty brown paper bags [were] floating around and prisoners then dared to smuggle these bags into the cell. They would wash them, dry them, all clandestinely, and then they would tear, say into A4 sheets, and they would then fold these sheets and create a spine and then you'd have one page on top of another page. They would then stitch the spine taking the cotton from their blankets, and so they had books. It is a time when the criminals were allowed to work in the homes of the prison guard where they got hold of pencils and of course that is how political prisoners got hold of pencils. So at night, over public

holidays, over weekends, prisoners were teaching each other. Lights never went out in jail or in the prison cells so they found a way to teach each other. (Leslie, Interview, October 2, 2015).

Let me start with the general section. Those people were all impoverished and would write on anything from cement bags to paper from books that they managed to acquire. They all had a low level of education but nevertheless we were asked to assist where we could. It was mostly English that we helped with and maybe some Maths. (Ronald, Interview, February 8, 2016).

I'll start with education because I met up with those guys from the 60s here on the Island and most of them were released in the 80s, and during those times the prison was still under construction. Remember the political prisoners were first kept at the ou tronk [old jail] and the zinc tronk [zinc jail]. And during those years when the prison was still under construction those brown cement bags were cut into A4 papers and folded and made into books. Pens and pencils were smuggled to those that needed it. Remember during those years we had doctors, lawyers, teachers, journalists and businessmen here. Those years not everybody that came to RI was able to read and write, but those who could would teach those who could not read or write. (Terry, Interview, December 21, 2015).

The literacy classes were the foundations of the education system on RI. This is confirmed by Marvin, Leslie, Shami, Vuyo and Jani, who describe these literacy classes:

But we had a literacy programme and the majority was illiterate or very low level of formal education. That in itself was the most exciting exercise because people wanted English and through a process for example. Because I was a training teacher I was responsible for the literacy and post literacy programme. (Marvin, Interview, 15 October 2015).

And what then happens is that in most cases is that those who were studying illegally, they learnt to read and write. Eventually they could write their own letters home. They could also read their own letters. Those who were

allowed to study came there with elementary school education and learnt to read and write and to further their education. (Leslie, Interview, October 2, 2015).

There was literacy because a lot of them that never got to go [to] school. We started the classes. By this time Zatyo came in 1964. Just after that we were granted study rights and so forth. He was one of the chaps that were educated by us in the cell with Ebrahim Ismail, I and Reggie and so forth. (Shami, Interview, December 5, 2015).

So there were informal classes that were conducted there that in the process I was also asked to assist, like in History, Geography, English, especially those who were at an elementary level. To put them at a level where they can, on their own now apply to study, so even if [they] left school at Standard 5 or Standard 3, but our education would make it possible for you to apply to study or register for Standard 8. (Vuyo, Interview, October 6, 2015).

As I said when I came here we were from different parts of SA so it took us a while to get organised to teach each other. So we taught each other when we were locked after 4 p.m. or if we didn't go out to work. But if we didn't go to work we would arrange ourselves and people for a certain class would go to a certain cell and get a tutor. So that's how we arranged ourselves. We studied after 4 p.m. There were [subjects] but there were people who couldn't read or write and when we found somebody like that we would arrange somebody to teach them. In terms of subjects it depended on people who did Standard 3 or Form 5, and then we will arrange them. Those that were higher would teach those who were lower. (Jani, Interview, May 26, 2016).

Political prisoners on Robben Island adopted some of Freire's approaches, such as participatory learning, by having discussions in groups and accepting that the role of the teacher was interchangeable with that of the student. Education involved active participation, in which political prisoners took their engagement in the learning process seriously, particularly through debate and vigorous discussions. In other words, there was responsible, self-motivated participatory learning with an

emphasis on character development. Each political organisation took the responsibility of facilitating political education classes. These classes consisted of teaching, especially the newer, younger political prisoners, the history and ideologies of their organisation. These practices commenced during the early 1960s and continued until after the 1980s. The political prisoner who had the knowledge and expertise about a topic or subject was automatically the teacher, but then this role would be reversed and another teacher would take over. Former political prisoners describe the how political classes were arranged:

> We got to know Freire even before we even read Paulo Freire. Because you can't deal with your comrade like a little illiterate chap because he was not only your senior by many years but also through experience. He worked on the mines, was part of the armed struggle. The comrades on the mines taught us songs, and the history of the New Unity movement and what happened in the mines in 1946, how they stabilised the mines. So it wasn't only the literacy, it was a schooling process. Everybody was both learner and teacher. So we learnt that everyone had something to teach. We had massive literacy programmes in the 70s and 80s. We [are] going to teach you confidence. You start where people are at. What you know. (Marvin, Interview, October 15, 2015).

> Well the education was, initially when we got here, first thing we did, and we formed a branch of the ANC in our cell. When the others came they did the same. We carried on with our education in the branch, political education continued. (Shami, Interview, December 5, 2015).

> So when we came in each political party was involved with its own education and that went on, but it was futile because most of the people of the PAC did not even have Standard 6, the highest was Matric but the others were not all educated. But as we went on we began to, because prison warders were pushing us together and we were able to speak to each other, and people then said why we should not educate each other. (Khanyiso, Interview, January 21, 2016).

> We had discussions on various topics at night, if you can call that informal. In 1976, when the BC came in, we looked at the role of the youth in the

struggles nationally and internationally and we had a full scale discussion. We used to talk through the windows of the cells at night. That was informal. At night we would talk through the windows and not go into the hall. When we went to work we had all kinds of discussions. (Ronald, Interview, February 8, 2016).

If you needed English, they would teach English. If you needed to be taught Agriculture or Aardrykskunde [Geography] you would be taught by someone in that field. Political education was also the other level you were taught. Political education was a bit different in a sense that you were taught by your organisation not by other organisations. (Vukani, Interview, December 22, 2015).

There was political education. I was an interpreter. We had to speak English because we came from different provinces so we spoke different vernacular languages. So we had to use a common language which was English. Political education consisted of South African history and an introduction to Marxism and Leninism. Political education was compulsory and informal education was not compulsory. (Vuyo, Interview, October 6, 2015).

Political education was organised in your organisation. There were four organisations in one cell because we were mixed. Each organisation had its corner, ANC, PAC, BC and UM. So all the time during the political education time, we would go to our corner for an hour. When comrades first arrived depending on the length of their sentence… Like if it was a short sentence, SA history was compulsory, History of the ANC, Freedom Charter, basics. But if the sentence was longer it would be political economy, international politics, and history of the Soviet Union, linkages with other countries. (Mandla, Interview, March 21, 2016).

Vuyo and Mandla explain the importance of news analysis and how it contributed to political education:

And then also [there was] news analysis. It was part and parcel of political education. It was also compulsory news reading. We would have news readings sessions every day. Only on Sundays we would have the weekly

news analysis. So we had monthly news analysis, quarterly news analysis, and yearly news analysis. (Vuyo, Interview, October 6, 2015).

News analysis was a weekly thing. Everybody did news analysis. We always knew news analysis times. There was a team that led news analysis. We smuggled in newspapers and translated it and disseminated to other cells. Besides reading the documents for our leadership, we were doing news analysis every week. Comrades that were studying got material and it was the very material they got for school which we used for political education. At some stage we had to write some documents. We had some library books, Karl Marx, *Das Kapitaal*. All those books and then we'd translate them. (Mandla, Interview, March 21, 2016).

5.4.5. Learning the value of education

It is fascinating to note how sophisticated, in terms of current educational theory, the educational methods, which developed organically on Robben Island, were. There were instances, as mentioned before, where political prisoners taught one another and learning was a collaborative and co-operative undertaking, utilising group work and co-operative learning processes. Nelson Mandela in his book *Long walk to Freedom* (1994) vowed that they would turn Robben Island into a university and that an atmosphere of learning should prevail. This "university" he claims, "was not only because of what we learnt from books but also from what we learnt from each other" (p. 557). He also stressed that as freedom fighters and political prisoners they had the obligation to "strengthen and improve" themselves and that studying was one of the few opportunities that they had to do so (p. 556). The comments from Marvin, Leslie and Khanyiso aptly confirm the value of education and the lessons they learnt from it:

So the comrades had a lot to teach us. We learnt a lot from each other. The comrades on the mines taught us songs, and the history of the New Unity movement and what happened in the mines in 1946, how they stabilised the mines. So it wasn't only the literacy, it was a schooling process. (Marvin, Interview, October 15, 2015).

But RI political fraternity made it possible for people to learn things that they had never learnt before. But on RI we had, we made time to be able to engage, to sing, to play. And that is, when we talk about education, that's holistic. And whether you were ANC, PAC or whatever, you joined the same team and that again – a form of education. (Leslie, Interview, October 2, 2015).

Yes. There was informal education happening. Like when we came in we were divided into some form tribal, but more racial distinction and attitude. For example, the so called coloureds were referred to as people from the Hottentot roots and so on. Some of us in the black communities have clans that originate from the Khoi-Khoi tribes. Now, what we have to do, because politically we couldn't allow that, because it allowed us to be more divided. And there was the Indian community that was regarded as a group of oppressors and exploiters and so on. But when we started, first we started informally but then we came together and conversed with each and went back to our political roots. If you called someone a coloured were we not offending ourselves or offending this man also? In [the] US there is no such thing as a coloured person, they're all Americans, and then why should we allow ourselves that kind of thing. This is the kind of education. There was also the kind of things that was done by one tribe and not the other. For example, circumcision. It belongs to the Xhosas but eventually and because of our staying together those things began to merge and eventually whether you were a Zulu you went to circumcision school. (Khanyiso, Interview, January 2, 2016).

5.5. Learning to organise political education in sport

5.5.1. Learning to challenge ideology

From a critical theory perspective, ideology reflects the ideas, values and beliefs of a ruling group or class primarily through manipulation and force. Eagleton (1991) argues that the term has a wide variety of "useful meanings" and suggests that ideology could mean, "the process of production of meanings", "signs and values in social life", "a body of ideas characteristic of a particular group", "ideas which help to legitimate the political power", "false ideas which legitimate the dominant

political power", and "systematically distorted communication" (p. 1). The Robben Island prison system employed a variety of disciplinary measures to maintain power and control over the political prisoners. Political prisoners had to abide by the oppressive rules and prison conditions set out by the prison system, and implemented by the warders, or the privilege to play sport was rescinded. Due to prison regulations, the political prisoners in the communal sections were not allowed to integrate or engage with the political prisoners in the isolation sections. Political prisoners learned to challenge the prison ideology of oppression by agitating to play soccer. After a relentless campaign and persistence for almost four years during the 1960s, the warders capitulated and political prisoners won permission to play sport. Sport organised by political prisoners allowed them to continue countering the ideology and hegemony of the ruling group that had resulted in their incarceration in the first place. Despite the inflexible prison conditions, they were able to organise themselves and established the MFA, a sports league that catered for all sections in the prison. Political prisoners in the B section (isolation section) learnt to form their own sports committee to organise sport in their section. South African political prisoners in communal cells could neither play sport with nor mix with the Namibian political prisoners.

Political prisoners who served time on Robben Island speak about the nature and success of the sport structures and the lessons they learnt through organising and playing sport. Leslie and Khanyiso share their experiences of how they challenged the prison ideology by organising the sport in their sections and the lengths they went to achieve their goals:

> I think that whole section of ours [in reference to the isolation section he was incarcerated in] was never allowed to play. The other thing is when we started playing sport in 1967 you had people who had never played sport in civil society before, whether it be rugby, soccer, whether it be games like chess, scrabble, draughts, dominoes, bridge, they had never ever played these games. Maybe in civil society he was so involved in fighting the oppressors he never had time, never made time to engage in sport. To engage in other community activities, singing and so forth. (Leslie, Interview, October 2, 2015).

We in B section were not allowed to integrate and play sport with the people of the general sections. So we played in that field in that yard in front. We had to play football, tenniquoit, tennis and table tennis. But it was mainly for us the indoor sports, monopoly chess, and dominoes, cards. (Khanyiso, Interview, January 23, 2016).

5.5.2. Learning to negotiate for sport

Political prisoners learnt to use hunger strikes and other negotiation strategies and tactics to agitate for permission to play sport and for better prison conditions. Shami and Eric, who were imprisoned during the 1960s, describe their negotiation strategies and tactics as:

Initially I stole the cement for the tennis courts. I managed to push myself to working in the store. So when the other building projects were taking place the chaps came for cement. When they say I must give them five cements I would make the five into three and say 'Here'. The two I kept for the tennis court. It wasn't solid but we managed to get it. (Shami, Interview, December 5, 2015).

First of all, we got permission to play via the Red Cross. The Red Cross asked us and made things available. We had people who had money. Kassie had money and so we could afford to buy chess. Unlike in the general sections, the people were poor. (Eric, Interview, February 14, 2016).

Despite the differences in age, political and cultural ideologies, political prisoners learnt the value of unity and collectively negotiated for organised sport. Vuyo describes an example of how political prisoners unified:

It's not that the prison authorities like us playing soccer; they would at times want to use the soccer games as a battering ram or something that would be used to force us to do certain things they would like us to do which we don't like. Using sport that if you don't then you not going to play. To try to blackmail us, but I must be honest, that is where the unity will be displayed. When the conditions become bad we come together, like with education, when you start to deny people the right and the privilege to study then it doesn't matter. (Vuyo, Interview, October 6, 2015).

By 1978, sport was still segregated, but political prisoners also learnt to use hunger strikes as a strategy to gain access to other sections. This strategy is conveyed by Vukani, who described the results of the hunger strikes as:

> The sport when I arrived in 1978 was segregated. G section [this was a communal cell section] was playing alone. We were segregated into our sections [in reference to the prison sections]. Due to the efforts of the IRC [the International Red Cross rendered support to political prisoners] and our hunger strike we engaged in made it possible for us to play at G section under certain conditions given by the authorities. We were not allowed to play with the Namibians. So in that engagement of the hunger strike we were also able to play with the Namibians. Finally, [we] were able to play but they had to remain in their section [the Namibians were isolated in the D section]. We were allowed to go to their section, especially people who worked in the kitchen. For example, I worked in the kitchen, I could go in and out of their section. So through the embarkation of the hunger strike, pressure from outside made the authorities to change. (Vukani, Interview, December 22, 2015).

5.5.3. Learning to organise sport

Despite the harsh conditions of imprisonment, political prisoners were able to organise themselves and learnt to establish a system that catered for all political prisoners and a variety of sport codes. Ronald, who was initially imprisoned in the communal section and was later transferred to the isolation section, compares the difference in the organisation of sport between the communal cells and the single cells:

> We weren't so formal in the singles cells like in the general sections where they had a very formal structure in football and rugby. They had minutes and everything. We didn't go to that extent. We just had a little committee and at the Christmas period we set a plan out how this was going to work. We would pick the teams and pick the competitors. We picked who would play who in table tennis, scrabble, Ludo and chess. As I say in the D section I was there for a short period. I think about two years afterwards they removed this terrorist thing and moved the ANC and APDUSA members to

the general sections. But they kept the Namibians separate. They would have fallen in with the organised sport on that side. They had tennis courts, soccer and rugby and I suppose the board games too. But they were highly organised. People like Sedick and Marcus played a big role in those things there. (Ronald, Interview, February 8, 2016).

5.5.4. Learning to establish committees

Political prisoners learnt to establish committees and put structures in place to organise themselves. Leslie, who was incarcerated in the B section during the 1960s period, describes the sport structures in this section:

> You see, we were completely cut off from the rest of the jail but had our own structure in our section. One of the things that we must also understand is that there would always be a core of people who were elected to programme sports, to programme education. And invariably the persons who were involved with the sports were also involved in education. And democratically people would be asked to volunteer to teach Xhosa, to teach English. And so the same thing applied to sport. There would be match officials. Again, democratically elected from cells. So it's all done by the same political prisoners with the same objective of helping to keep your sanity, how to grow. (Leslie, Interview, October 2, 2015).

Political prisoners learnt that the establishment of committees was crucial for the smooth running and organisation of sport. The members who served on these committees were selected through democratic principles and were people who the majority felt had the necessary skills. Terry, Mandla and Vuyo, who were incarcerated during the 1970s-1980s, discuss the importance of these committees:

> When I came here they played soccer, rugby tennis and volleyball and again they had a committee that was elected that consisted of prisoners that were on RI. They were responsible for organising and running sports on RI… they were the ones that communicated with the authorities in prison here and whatever discussion or negotiations there were they were the ones; the sports committee were the ones responsible for talking on behalf of prisoners on RI. (Terry, Interview, December 21, 2015).

The sport was very well organised. We used to play once per week, Saturdays. We had the structure, the Directorate that had all the sports equipment. Tokyo Sexwale was part of it. Every Saturday all sections would play sport. We would play sport in our section. F and G were called 'binne plaas' [the inside area], where there was common ground. D Section, B, A sections had their own [area to play sport]. The hospital was part of G section. The people in the hospital would come and watch sport in G section. We used to play soccer, rugby, tennis, volleyball. (Mandla, Interview, March 21, 2016).

People on the committee were not chosen whether they played or not. Sections decided who they wanted on the committee. There are people who were on the committee who they just selected whether they played or not. The sports committee would negotiate with the officials and other sections. They were the negotiating team for sports. (Mandla, Interview, March 21, 2016).

Political prisoners from all walks of life with different experiences, skills and knowledge were incarcerated on the Island. These skills stood them in good stead as they used them at various times during their incarceration to teach one another. The teaching was not restricted to education, but expanded to teaching each other to play and organise sport. Vuyo explains how they had to study the records of the committees in order to learn how to organise:

Because there were records on RI, as a sports committee we were forced to read and understand what the sports committee was all about and how it operated so that it could assist in our sections to run the sport. I was part of organising the summer games. As I said I served on the sports committee for F section and for G section I played a role there. (Vuyo, Interview, October 6, 2015).

The Sports Coordinating Committee coordinated a variety of sport codes. Ronald and Eric who were incarcerated in the single cells during the early 1960s, describe some of the codes they played:

In the single cells the situation was different because you were confined to the courtyard. There was a variety of sport. We had a table tennis board downstairs near the toilets and eating room. People played cards, chess, scrabble, Ludo. Then later on we played tenniquoit. It started out as a tennisette but later extended to a full tennis court and we played on Saturdays, Sundays and on the same court we played volleyball and tenniquoit. At the end of the year we would have, when the warders went on leave and we didn't go to work, they would allow us some easier time, where we would not be locked up all the time. We had free time to organise a sports tournament. We divided ourselves up into three teams and then we would compete on all the sports, table tennis, cards, scrabble, volleyball, tenniquoit etc. Yes, I had a title of Minister of Sport. We gave ourselves grand titles. For a number of years, I was the Minister of Sport. I organised… Just a time table really but everybody had to agree. (Ronald, Interview, February 8, 2016).

We built a tennis court for tenniquoit and other games. We played chess and cards. We had volleyball, tennis, chess, and cue kerim. At the end we had a tennis court. We also played Scrabble which became our religion. We could now mix freely within our section (isolation section). There was no formal structure. If you wanted a game you would just play (Eric, Interview, February 14, 2016).

Mandla and Terry who were incarcerated on the Island from 1978 describe the various sport codes that were played during their incarceration period and highlight the values that they learnt through sport:

We did not only play soccer and rugby but also athletics at the end of the year. It was called Summer Games. Summer games were played at the end of the year. We would mix the sports codes, soccer and rugby. When KO [knockout was a special competition that allowed for all teams to compete and if the team lost it would be knocked out of the competition] and other fixtures were done, before the rugby season, we would have athletics. Javelin and all those sports but the Constitution was guiding all those and there was a code of conduct where you'll get a yellow card or get suspended.

It was the same like in the PSL. Two yellow cards are a red card. Three yellow cards and you are suspended for the next game, so it was the guiding principles. (Mandla, Interview, March 21, 2016).

In order to participate in sport, political prisoners had to learn the rules of the different sport codes. Political prisoners used every opportunity as a learning opportunity, as conveyed by Khanyiso when he described the lessons they learnt through playing chess:

It [sport and education] did a great deal because when we used to play sport, e.g. monopoly or chess, a guy would come and explain the basics on which the sport is based. Chess was the knights and bishops and he gave the background that these came from the middle ages. Who were the people from the middle ages? They were the people who came as a result of the breakdown of feudalism, the feudal system. (Khanyiso, Interview, January 23, 2016).

5.5.5. Learning and conscientisation and learning from others

Political prisoners who were sentenced and imprisoned during the 1980s learnt valuable lessons from those who were imprisoned before them. They emulated their predecessors by continuing to negotiate and mobilise themselves to attain their goals. Vuyo describes the lessons he learnt from his predecessors:

Prison conditions are abnormal and prison conditions can be very boring and that is what we were advised against by the leadership on arrival, that we need not be idle, sit and be idle. We had to prod and trouble the prison authorities all the time to give us something to do. So that we can avoid conflict over trivial things and all those things and do something constructive. (Vuyo, Interview, October 6, 2015).

Vuyo describes the sport structure that was organised by his predecessors as:

Well, sport was well-organised. But then you should understand that we were new arrivals and we were placed in E section. But then E section was a section that was closed for some time but reopened when we arrived and we did find some inmates already there when we came in August 1983. There was soccer kit that was on RI in E section. There was a structure that

was there, a sectional committee. It was a prison sports committee that was coordinating sport, music and music like records playing in the cells and all those things, and organising the summer games as well, that was the sports committee. Now that sports committee devolved into sectional ones. So the sectional ones had to, you know, do everything that was done by the overall sports committee. (Vuyo, Interview, October 6, 2015).

Conditions in prison changed after 1976 but the need and desire to play and organise sport was still apparent, as described by Terry who was incarcerated after 1976:

When I came here they played soccer, rugby tennis and volleyball and again they had a committee that was elected that consisted of prisoners that were on RI. They were responsible for organising and running sports on RI. Then the IRC committee too, because they contributed sports facilities to us like soccer jerseys, soccer balls and shoes. Well what they taught us is that they specifically state that if you become a sports administrator or education administrator, 1, you must be committed, 2, you must be honest and you must not be partisan and you should serve all political prisoners whether they were PAC, ANC or BC, you must serve them first and then your party politics will be secondary. (Terry, Interview, December 21, 2015).

By the time Vuyo arrived on the Island the MFA was no longer in existence, but he learnt from the legacy of the association that was started by the political prisoners during the 1960s.

We used FIFA rules to regiment ourselves. I read about it [the MFA and the constitution]. I must be honest, by the time I arrived there it was no longer there [MFA no longer organised the soccer on RI]. But its legacy was there. (Vuyo, Interview, October 6, 2015).

5.6. Learning to organise political education in soccer

5.6.1. Learning to negotiate for soccer

Political prisoners challenged the prison ideology by agitating to play soccer. They learnt to use the tactic of demanding to play soccer during their weekly interviews with the warders. After constant nagging and persistence for almost four years, the warders relented and gave political prisoners permission to play and organise

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soccer. Ronald describes their campaign for permission to play soccer in the communal section as:

> In the D section [this was a communal section] we weren't allowed to do anything until we protested to play soccer. We managed to get some netting from the beach, and wood was no problem there, and built soccer posts and played soccer there on Saturdays only. (Ronald, Interview, February 8, 2016).

Political prisoners in the single cells also learnt to campaign for the right to play soccer as intimated by Ronald:

> Later on we campaigned for a tennis court. And we campaigned and said we also wanted to play soccer in the courtyard. We said the general section played soccer, why couldn't we. So they gave in and would escort us to near the landing strip. (Ronald, Interview, February 8, 2016).

5.6.2. Learning to unmask power, contest hegemony, and resist

The permission to play soccer came with conditions, as highlighted by Shami:

> They gave us permission and said we could order things through your family. Sports equipment – two cartons of jerseys, socks arrived. Everything came through them [referring to the warders]. We had to buy from their [the warders'] tuck shop here. They wanted to make money out of it. We did manage to get finances and we bought our equipment. (Shami, Interview, December 5, 2015).

The warders did not assist with the acquisition of the necessary equipment the political prisoners needed. Shami describes how political prisoners learnt to devise ways to make the equipment they needed with material they found on the Island:

> And so we started forming the clubs and so forth. Eventually we played on the field outside the prison. That area we cleared out, stones, glass, and bricks, whatever we found and rolled it out and made it flat. We made goal posts from pieces of wood and so forth. And nets were made by, you know on the coast you find the ropes that would be washed up from the ships, and

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we took those ropes and there was a guy from Malawi. He was a fisherman. He used to knit the nets for us. The stand that was there. You see the cement was only for the tennis courts and then when we were making the stands. Every weekend or when we played sports the comrades were standing, getting hot. So we thought that we should get a 'lekker' [meaning nice] stand. We asked Lieutenant Fourie for wood and so forth. He reluctantly gave a piece here and there. Again so we said we need to make the stand and we discussed it amongst ourselves and we spoke to him and said that we would name the stand after him. He was taken up with the idea and gave us some wood. There were some parts missing but we made the stand. We conned him by saying we'll name it after him. That's how sport started. Initially it was just soccer. Natal, Transvaal and Free State were all soccer players. Eastern Cape and Western Cape was rugby so there was the sign. We said that they can organise that. We didn't say no. They started also but by the time they really played rugby we were out [released from prison]. Soccer was the big game that we started. We formed clubs. Each one had their little logo. (Shami, Interview, December 5, 2015).

Political prisoners who were incarcerated after 1976 had a more militant approach to their imprisonment and in some instances disagreed with the passive approach that was adopted by the "older men" (Buntman, 2003, p. 112). From a theoretical perspective, Brookfield refers to this as negative ideology, which is present and in practice when people "shrug their shoulders at the inconveniences, setbacks and difficulties in life" and refers to this as a "mustn't grumble" phenomenon and concludes that the "must grumble" phenomenon, by way of deduction, must be the start of an ideology critique (Brookfield, 2005, p. 69). Brookfield (2005) also suggests that the process whereby adults unravel and challenge the trappings of a dominant ideology is referred to as "ideology critique". The act of acting on impulse against these inconveniences allows adults to challenge the dominant ideology. Mandla and Vuyo, who were incarcerated after 1976, describe examples of how they challenged the dominant ideology:

By the time I came it was mixed. Late 70s, 80s and 90s. We knew there were other struggles in the 60s but we were not interested. As the group of '76 we had a different perspective on everything. We differed in the outlook

of things from the older generation. Club and then association. Your club will deal with you, the Referees' Association and the DC. They will sit and decide whether you are guilty irrespective of which organisation you belong [to]. I will for example side with the PAC person against a comrade. I will not look at that guilty person as my club mate but at what was done wrong. Whatever was done wrong would be looked at. It was always like that. In sport it was as a team. But in other aspects the politicians ran. We had to have a merit of earning a case. Some comrades were not very well disciplined. If something happened we had to find the merits of the case, find witnesses irrespective of the organisation. If it was wrong it was wrong. (Mandla, Interview, March 21, 2016).

Well, education was not along political party lines and soccer, that is sport whether it was rugby, tennis or indoors or out door games it was not according to political party lines, so at the end of the day the conditions that were challenging, so challenging, in prison united us more than anything else. (Vuyo, Interview, October 6, 2015).

5.6.3. Learning to draft a constitution

Once the MFA was established, political prisoners learnt to form soccer leagues and to incorporate Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) rules and conventions into the MFA constitution. Shami describes how they infused FIFA rules into the constitution:

But basically some of them [referring to political prisoners] knew the rules of FIFA and on the basis of that… the wording might be slightly different wording. They might have worded the constitution [referring to the MFA constitution] from there. They didn't have the official constitution of FIFA. So when they formed this thing they might have taken aspects from that, from recall or whatever. But it was a fairly good constitution, there's no getting away from that. The clubs came about and we followed FIFA rules and formed the Association with all these clubs and that's how the MFA came about. We needed stationery and so forth. So every club was asked to

donate. We couldn't donate cash so we used to donate paper, carbon paper. That was our contribution. We were allowed to study. So we used our study material. (Shami, Interview, December 5, 2015).

The political prisoners established the executive committee of the MFA with various positions. Shami describes the configuration of the executive as:

I was on the executive of the Association. Indres Naidoo was the secretary and Ernest was the Chairperson. Ernest, I think, learnt a lot of his administration from here. (Shami, Interview, December 5, 2015).

5.6.4. Learning to establish structures

Political prisoners learnt to form various committees in the MFA to create order and maintain a high standard of administration. The Referees' Association was one of the most important committees as described by Marvin, Vukani and Vuyo:

That's why I became a qualified referee on RI. Something I learnt there. What a referee says on the field. They say it is something like this: the referee is the decision maker about what is a fact on the field. If the ball goes into the net and he says it didn't go in, it didn't go in. And of course you have to accept it. (Marvin, Interview, October 15, 2015).

There were bodies that were established. The Referees' Association, the association of soccer and rugby association would be established. Those people would teach others through sport and they would also write exams in sort of informal to see if they knew the rules of sport. (Vukani, Interview, 22 December 2015).

We also had a Referees' Association, like for instance soccer was very popular on RI when I arrived. (Vuyo, Interview, October 6, 2015).

The overarching aim of the MFA was to organise soccer for all the political prisoners and different leagues were developed to accommodate as many political prisoners as possible. Political prisoners learnt to form clubs so that they could make application to the Association in order to play in the various leagues. Marvin highlights the objectives of the league and how some clubs were formed:

Hotspurs eventually merged with Dynamos when some of the chaps left. It became Dynaspurs. Pro was our coach although he belonged to Manong. And they used to say 'julle smokkel al die manne van Pretoria'. [You are smuggling in all the men from Pretoria]. So from there and almost from the inception everybody had to play. Each club had to have a balance of young and old. And you couldn't always play the main… more experienced guy. You had to mix them. Because we have first and second division and 'magou' [those who could not even kick a ball]. There had to be a balance because it wasn't about playing sport on Saturday, in the narrow sense, it was about going out and making life bearable under those circumstances and helping to build. (Marvin, Interview, October 15, 2015).

Once the league was up and running there was a need for more competition and the Executive of the MFA learnt to devise a log system where points were awarded for a win. Mandla describes how the log system worked:

There was B and C division soccer. MFA was like the PSL, like a league. All sections had different clubs like Gunners, Manong, whatever. We played for points just like the PSL. The team who had the most points after the league (at least 12-15 games). We also played the cup finals and for trophies. But the MFA was the structure for all sporting codes. B section had its own arrangement. A section had its own, so did the D Section where the Namibians were. F and G also had their own. E section had its own and the number of people in your section determined the number of clubs. MFA was overall for all the sport. (Mandla, Interview, March 21, 2016).

Initially clubs were formed along political persuasions, but political prisoners realised that it served their purposes better if they integrated. Soccer clubs, after much debate, chose players across the political affiliation spectrum in order to emphasise the unifying nature of sport. Marvin and Shami explain that there was a collaborative effort to integrate the clubs across the political spectrum:

In fact, there was a whole thing about the clubs. It can't just be ANC or PAC clubs only. No ways. Certain things were put in place; the building blocks were a long process. (Marvin, Interview, October 15, 2015).

When we started it was PAC clubs and ANC clubs and so forth. PAC was in the majority at the time and so and they were much stronger clubs. And so we started forming the clubs and so forth. You see the whole thing. The aspect of the whole, especially when we started mingling or mixing the clubs, PAC, ANC they started playing for the same clubs. Initially it was only PAC against ANC. Later, from what I gather, they split up again. (Shami, Interview, December 5, 2015).

When Terry arrived on the Island the MFA, with its various clubs, was already established but they learnt from their predecessors and adopted the same system, as he explains below:

Then we divided ourselves into different clubs and each club had a chairman, secretary and a constitution. You can go check the constitution [this is in reference to the Makana Football Association's constitution] in one of the cells [there is currently an exhibition on the Sports Committee in one of the cells on RI] and it was written and they [this refers to the committee that was formed] were the ones that communicated with the authorities in prison here and whatever discussion or negotiations there were, they were the ones, the sports committee were the ones responsible for talking on behalf of prisoners on RI. I can remember the MFA. I can't remember what date it was formed but when I got to the Island [Terry was incarcerated on the Island from 1976 and by then the MFA was already established] that committee was already in place and there were people serving on the sports and education committee. (Terry, Interview, December 21, 2015).

The B section was isolated from the communal sections, yet the political prisoners in the isolation section were informed about the MFA, as explained by Khanyiso:

We knew about MFA because [of] communication between us and the general section, in spite of the fact that we were not allowed communicating with each other. Communication was very strong. That they were forming clubs within Makana. This MFA was based on the fact that the people from outside had their own clubs. They then formed the clubs inside. They started playing using the names of those [clubs from the outside]. In that way

although it was cruel of the system, we in B section were not allowed to watch the football. We were locked in. (Khanyiso, Interview, January 23, 2016).

Political prisoners who were brought into prison after 1976 were still privy to information about the MFA and used those examples to establish new clubs. This is conveyed by Jani, who described how they organised their clubs:

In E section there wasn't clubs. I think there were structures in other sections. I only got to know about MFA when we went to play at the general sections. It was then that we formed clubs. We made arrangements that we formed clubs. (Jani, Interview, May 26, 2016)

Political prisoners used soccer as a means to bring about a semblance of humanity to the cold prison reality. Leslie describes his experience when he learnt to play soccer on the Island:

But on the Island because we were so few in the B section of course, you know the old toppies [older men] like Nanda, Kassie, Shozi, Mbatha, they didn't want to play soccer. But now the younger guys, Neville, Masondo, myself, no, we would play soccer you know. Never mind if it was badly. Because nobody could see how badly I played. And we played in that quad there in B section. (Leslie, Interview, October 2, 2015).

Political prisoners used every opportunity that presented itself to play soccer, even if it meant some discomfort, as described by Vuyo:

It was cold until November. And it was still raining. We played soccer. Instead, we preferred playing soccer instead of being locked inside the cell. We played soccer and got drenched in rain nonstop. And the ref would have to go bring his rain suit. But we don't mind. We played because we don't want to be locked up. (Vuyo, Interview, October 6, 2015).

There was an unwritten code of conduct that all political prisoners had to adhere to. In order to participate in soccer activities political prisoners had to abide by this code or face the wrath of their organisation or disciplinary action as stipulated in the MFA constitution. Here Jani and Terry highlight the importance of discipline and the consequences of discord:

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Sport itself helps us to get along well with each other that is why it was not based on affiliation. That would have caused a division. It taught us about guidance. That in everything there was guidance. Even if we were in prison and played sport, we didn't just play for the sake of playing. There were rules. These committees were there for that. It taught us that you can't just do as you wish, there were guidelines that one had to follow. (Jani, Interview, May 26, 2016).

There were some of those prisoners at first, who didn't want to study or who broke the sports code rules. They were suspended from sports and their organisation, if PAC, PAC would take disciplinary. If ANC, they would take disciplinary action. The BCM they were the ones that were hard on the question of discipline. They will suspend you and for a period you will be isolated. (Terry, Interview, December 21, 2015).

5.6.5. Learning politics and political tolerance in soccer

The prison population was represented by various political persuasions, cultures and ages, which naturally yielded conflict and generational differences. The classification of prisoners into categories and separation into various sections also gave rise to contradictions and contestations. This is conveyed by Mandla, Vukani and Vuyo as they describe how they learnt to resolve these contestations:

But in other aspects the politicians ran. We had some in fighting when we arrived and to stop the in-fighting politics had to dominate and had to get leadership from the B section. To fight these youngsters, we must politicise them, that's why political education was emphasised. The separate sections had their own set of rules but there was no connection between the generations. But there were older people in our sections, but they were mainly the managers because they couldn't play with us. On the whole we found that most elderly people had a very soft approach. We were violent, affirmative and militant. 1976 breed had a lot of militants. Other things we changed it forcibly. They would say we will negotiate with authorities and we will say no, we will fight. At times we win and at times we don't win. There was a gap in terms of age – they wanted things to be negotiated and we must sit down. (Mandla, Interview, March 21, 2016).

You can't play sport in an abnormal society. Now RI we also had to realise that we were in prison. Now even if we want to boycott sports, but we had to play sport for our physical and. Otherwise, so that we can join this teams again outside or the administration bodies outside to influence them on a political level. So you could not exclude sport, so when the authority gives it, you use it, you do not reject it in prison. Someone from outside will say it's a contradiction; you boycott sports outside but play inside. But we thought of it in another way, for instance education also. You had to equip you in order to shape your country because we [were] preparing for the future and the country, and the main aim was to bring the nation at all times. So sport and education was instrumental in bringing people together. (Vukani, Interview, December 22, 2015).

For instance, with the people coming in to prison for the first time and still with the outside mentality, playing for competition, that competition that will break someone with rough games. So we would have to use that political understanding. (Vuyo, Interview, October 6, 2015).

Despite their generational and ideological differences political prisoners had a common goal to counter the apartheid government and its oppressive ideology. Political prisoners learnt to use the prison and its confines as a site of planning and preparation where committees were established to discuss and oversee any eventuality. This is confirmed by Ronald, Eric and Leslie as they describe the committees that were formed in prison:

There was a policy to agree to disagree. Yes, that's how it was. Things changed when the BC came to the Island. The situation on the Island was that of a big family. You came there with your political differences set aside. You would retain your political independence but when it came to friendships and so on it was across political lines. We stood up for one another. For instance, if somebody had a psychological problem due to some problem that he had heard of at home. Then a group of us would meet and discuss who would be the best person to assist and speak to him. The person could be from any organisation. He could be from ANC, PAC, and APDUSA. It didn't matter. We had of course a committee overseeing

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everything. The people on that committee were chosen, not democratically, but we made sure every political organisation was represented. (Ronald, Interview, February 8, 2016).

… in the section I was in [B section] each organisation had a rep and they would meet if there was a misunderstanding or a fight. We had to meet a few times just to keep law and order. Like when we went on hunger strike we would all get together and organise a hunger strike. We had a committee which represented all organisations. The committee would talk about it or just the organisation (Eric, Interview, February 14, 2016).

We lived in a very confined community. And whereas in civil society you could walk away if you do not agree with somebody, but don't forget tensions. It could be family issues. How do you get rid of that frustrations and sometimes it comes out in sport because that's the only way you can get rid of your angst? And the match officials, for example, would give match reports about how so and so did what and what. That person would then have to appear before the match officials. And the match officials will decide what your punishment will be. It is religiously carried out because you are not only affecting the club you play for; you are affecting the relationships between political rivals for example. And we tried to lessen those tensions. So that happens. The officials would then write these reports in detail, and you, of course as the, how does one put, and the offender would be given a fair opportunity to state your case. You are going to appear before this committee. But it's all done democratically. It's got nothing to do with your PAC, your ANC or whatever you are. (Leslie, Interview, October 2, 2015).

5.6.6. Learning human values in soccer

During the organisation of soccer, political prisoners were taught hard skills like administration, drafting fixtures and running meetings. However, political prisoners also learnt other valuable life lessons. Khanyiso, Leslie and Marvin reflect on the lessons they learnt through playing and organising soccer and the impact it had on the relationships between political prisoners:

The sport influenced a great deal in our education. The fact was that the relations were very strong among the prisoners. These relationships were built over the relationships of sport. We lost prejudice and we began to become human beings as we were supposed to be. For example, someone would be admired as a good soccer player. In that way things would then become closer with that. But the bigger thing about us about this type of education was that we were able to communicate with each other based on our own education. (Khanyiso, Interview, January 23, 2016).

These guys were so organised, well-organised. Because it is what kept our sanity – these contestations. These Oh! If it were not for that we would have been thinking of other things to occupy our time that may not have been so fruitful. Political differences would have been at the forefront of our lives on RI and that would have created so much tension. So in that sense I would say that the education and the sports somehow were intertwined. It reduced tension. That is the one most important thing. It allowed you to live together as South Africans would be doing in civil society. But with this difference: whereas in civil society we were always separated based on culture, based on colour, on RI we learnt to live together as South Africans. The irony, the miracle of the RI experience. So it's those things that you also conducted yourself. Morally, politically there were always tensions. But by doing all these other things, sharing our food, playing sport together, some of it moved us away from the inevitable political tension that would have arisen if we did not have education and sport as a code of conduct you know, that moral code of doing things. So for us, I would say that it is on RI that we actually learnt to live together as South Africans. (Leslie, Interview and 2 October 2015).

The main thing was really to develop sound, healthy relationships with each other. Because we were living under very serious, tenuous conditions, especially the early years. So, we had to be very careful how we solved and addressed conflict amongst ourselves. There had to be a balance because it wasn't about playing sport on Saturday, in the narrow sense, it was about going out and making life bearable under those circumstances and helping to build. Sports were very important but part of that and also the need to

address the issue of religion, political and ideological differences and how do you address that? (Marvin, Interview, October 15, 2015).

5.6.7. Learning the value of sport and education

The relationship between sport and education assisted in bringing about a sense of normality to prison life and camaraderie among political prisoners. Vukani and Vuyo highlighted this when they described the value of sport and education and the relationship between the two:

> It [referring to the relationship between education and sport] was mutual because the same people who served on the committee, educators, lawyers, tutors are educating others about the course. Leaders were elected according to your ability. Others were groomed to be leaders. There was a link. Sports and education always played the role together. The two cannot be separated from one another because physically and otherwise it liberates you from social conditions. (Vukani, Interview, and December 22, 2015).

> Now sport played a very important role in so far as normalising the conditions. Because there were abnormal conditions but it at least it will bring happiness. That happiness, togetherness and some form of team building, you know you forget about all those things of what we used to say tronkbiting [prison biting]. (Vuyo, Interview, October 6, 2016).

Mandla and Khanyiso agreed that there was a relationship between sport and education and that the two influenced each other:

> Some people when they studied did sport-related courses. That was called specialisation. But sport in general was assisting because besides that, you never felt the length of your sentence. You are doing sports every week. But if you do sports it helps. It was part of our remedy. (Mandla, Interview, March 21, 2016).

> The sport influenced a great deal in our education. The fact was that the relations were very strong among the prisoners. These relationships were built over the relationships of sport. (Khanyiso, Interview, January 23, 2016)

Political prisoners learnt that organising and playing sport was educational but realised that they needed to be strategic if they wanted to maintain the status quo as intimated by Mandla:

> Sport, studies was a privilege that could be suspended at any time. That's why when we were quarrelling we made sure those authorities did not suspend sport. Unless we were in a hunger strike. It was educational because it was teaching us about our rights. We have a right of association. We had our perspective on rights that were not only limited. There was a national group right. It was giving light to our understanding of our rights. There was a connection between education and sport. In order to study you must know the rules. In order to pass you have to also study the referee's charter. You can't just referee. (Mandla, Interview, March 21, 2016).

5.7. Summary

In this chapter, I presented the data that I collected through a qualitative process using semi-structured interviews. The analysis provided answers to the research question, *what was the nature of the relationships between political prisoner education and sport on Robben Island?*

The next chapter, (Chapter 6) presents the data that was collected using documents in the Robben Island/UWC Mayibuye Archive.

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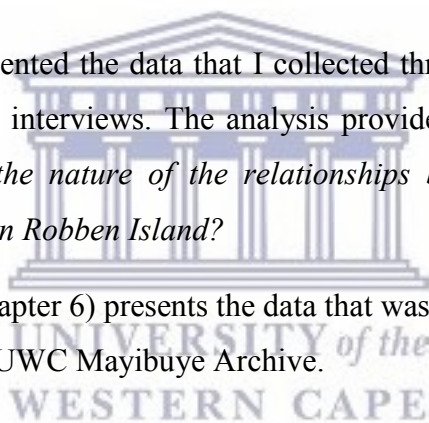
CHAPTER 6

DOCUMENT ANALYSIS:

BUILDING THE MFA AS A SOCIAL MOVEMENT

6.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will present a document analysis which demonstrates, analyses, and interprets the relationships between sport and political-prisoner education which manifested in the Atlantic Raiders and Blue Rocks incident.

6.2. Sampling strategies

The Robben Island Collection found in the historical papers section of the Mayibuye Archive is of significance to me. This collection contains the Political Prisoners General Recreation Collection, which I selected as my sample. It consists of 83 numbered box files, each containing a number of folders, which contain documents that were drafted and maintained very meticulously by Robben Island prisoners. Boxes 1-43 contain the records related to the sports activities and the establishment and organisation of sport on the Island. Boxes 44-49 contain material related to the other recreational activities that took place on the Island after 1970 and boxes 50-82 contain the records of the kinds of education that took place on the Island.

The Robben Island collection has various documents that describe the incident that took place in 1970 after a match between the Atlantic Raiders and Blue Rocks soccer teams. The Atlantic Raiders, which was a very strong soccer team, lost to the Blue Rocks, a very weak team made up of older men. The Atlantic Raiders team members were not happy about the result and protested by lying prone on the field during the next match, preventing the game from taking place. The incident, which culminated into a drawn out case from December 1970 to February 1971, drew the ire of many prisoners who blamed the players for destroying the hard work that went into mobilising to play soccer in the first instance.

The Atlantic Raiders and Blue Rocks incident is important for my research because it reveals insights into the relationship between sport and political prisoner education on Robben Island. It demonstrates how soccer and the MFA were formed

and organised, how the MFA was constitutionalised, and how the MFA constitutional framework was contravened and the nature of the incident. It is for these reasons that I have identified documents from the Political Prisoners General Recreation Collection in the Mayibuye Archive from boxes 1-43 that contain the records that relate to the formation of the MFA and the Atlantic Raiders incident. These documents include internal correspondence, letters, minutes of meetings, annual reports, executive committee reports, discussion papers, and orders for equipment, fixtures and the MFA constitution (Woodson, 1996). The Political Prisoners General Recreation Collection is digitised, so I did not have to physically manipulate the original documents.

6.3. Data collection method: Document Analysis

I analysed documents to complement the data that I collected during interviews since the events on Robben Island can no longer be observed and some of the participants could not remember certain events that took place on the Island. Document analysis is the review and evaluation of documents, as in other qualitative research methods, in order to "elicit meaning, gain understanding and develop empirical knowledge" and may be used in combination with other qualitative research methods (Bowen, 2009, p. 27). Stake (2005) describes the use of more than one method of data collection as triangulation and considers this as "a process of using multiple perceptions to clarify meaning, verifying the repeatability of an observation and interpretation" (p. 437). "Document analysis is often used in combination with other qualitative research methods as a means of triangulation – the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomenon" (Bowen, 2009, p. 28). Triangulation in this sense validates the information already gathered but also renders the data "trustworthy", a term linked with qualitative studies (Kawulich et al., 2012, p. 228). Although document analysis has been mostly used to complement other research methods it also can also serve as a "stand-alone method" and can serve a variety of purposes as part of the research process (Bowen, 2009, p. 29).

I used a combination of qualitative content analysis and thematic analysis to analyse the data that I extracted from the documents. Babbie (2013) describes content analysis as the "study of recorded human communication" that could comprise of

documents, books, websites and paintings (p. 302). Content analysis is a research technique that seeks to assist the researcher to search for "underlying themes in the content of the material being analysed" (Bryman, 2012, p. 557). The process leads to the extraction of "latent content", which are the meanings that are beneath the surface of the content (Bryman, 2012, p. 557). In other words, there is an emphasis on the underlying meanings of the themes and meanings of the written text. The search for themes is a common approach to qualitative data analysis, with some writers claiming that themes are the same as codes, while others claim that themes constitute groups of codes. Altheide (1987) states that content analysis is a reflexive approach to document analysis but claims that aspects and certain ethnographic codification procedures can be applied to content analysis. He refers to this as Ethnographic Content Analysis (ECA) where the aim is to understand the meanings and nuances of data and to emphasise the context within which the documents were produced. He however highlights that ECA has the distinctive characteristic that there is more movement between conceptualisation, data collection, analysis and interpretation of documents than during traditional content analysis procedures. Thematic analysis is therefore a process of creating a central theme and subthemes by carefully reading the raw data and organising the data into the various themes and subthemes (Bryman, 2012).

6.4. Data reduction methods

6.4.1. Coding

Coding data is the most common starting point in the qualitative data analysis process. Henning (2004) states that in open coding the codes are made up as the researcher works through the data. These codes will then further be categorised into related groups and be named. Coding as described by Altheide (1987) applies predefined categories to the sources, but there is room for these categories to be refined and for new categories to emerge. Miles and Huberman (1994) describes coding as differentiating and combining the data and the meaning that is extracted from this data. He argues that codes are "labels" that the researcher uses to attach meaning to the data (p. 56). To avoid being overwhelmed by the amount of data at the end of the data collection period I coded the documents as soon as possible to give me a sense of the data. I first read through the data and made notes about the

significant information related to the dimensions in the coding schedule and the coding manual. These notes translated into broad codes that I refined as I continued to read the documents. I identified fragments and snippets from the data in relation to the dimensions and categories identified in the coding schedule and the coding manual. The fragments and snippets are illustrated by quotations extracted from the data. I wanted to maintain the context of the text when I extracted the fragments of texts from the data. Bryman (2012) argues that some of the challenges with coding relate to losing the context of what was transmitted when portions of the text are extracted resulting in a "fragmentation of the data". In this way the essence and "narrative flow" of what was initially said is lost (p. 578).

Coding Scheme

I made use of a coding scheme for collecting data from the documents in the Political Prisoners General Recreation Collection in the Mayibuye Archive. Bryman (2012) suggests that when content analysis is employed two main elements exist in the coding scheme that of a *coding manual* and a *coding schedule*. Bryman (2012) recommends that in order to highlight any challenges and potential pitfalls, the coding scheme be tested a few times on the collection of other documents before being used on the documents identified for the analysis.

(i) Coding manual

A coding manual is a list of all the possible dimensions with its different categories under each dimension and the codes that correspond with each dimension and category. It assigns a list of instructions, which Bryman (2012) describes as a "statement of instructions" to coders, and gives guidance about how to interpret the dimensions and its respective categories (p. 299). The coding manual I designed has the following list of dimensions: *Learning to establish the MFA, learning the constitutional framework of the MFA, learning to protest and the organisation of other sport codes.* These dimensions emerged as I read through the documents in the Political Prisoners General Recreation Collection in the Mayibuye Archive. The dimensions were further categorised to elicit the learning that emerged from the formation of the MFA and the organisation of soccer on the Island.

(ii)Coding Schedule

I used a coding schedule to record the data related to each dimension being coded. A coding schedule is a form, made up of columns, on which the data extracted from the documents will be recorded. Each column in the schedule represents a dimension that is being coded and the researcher must ensure that the dimensions in the schedule are clearly defined and that all possible categories in each dimension are identified. The categories in each dimension should not overlap each other and clear instructions on how to interpret the data must be given to avoid ambiguity (Bryman, 2012).

6.5. Learning democracy and building the MFA as a democratic social movement

In order for a new social movement to exist there must be a "crisis or discontent of some form in which the members, of the new social movement, have a common experience and perception" (Freeman, 1999, p. 8). In the Robben Island context, the 'crisis' was due to the lack of recreation and organised sport for prisoners

6.5.1. Learning sport as protest

As prisoners were denied participation in sports activities they learnt to develop games and sports as protest activities. Prisoners learnt to occupy their minds by ingeniously using found or stolen material to fashion equipment that they needed to play various games. They used stolen soap to make dice, scrap pieces of paper to make cards and driftwood, found on the beach near the quarry, to make chess pieces (Korr & Close, 2008). These practices prompted the need for more formalised sport as the beginnings of organised sport *for* prisoners *by* prisoners. These makeshift games provided much-needed recreation, fun and respite from the brutal prison life but as it became increasingly competitive and serious it created a deep desire to play organised games on a 'real' field. This desire to play is evident in the minutes of the MFA meeting held on 19 July 1969 when there was an application from prisoners to register a new club. The outcome was not favourable for them but it highlighted the desire to play:

> Black Eagles: 2 representatives present. They made an application. 2 of the members of this club are members of the Rangers FC viz W. Yeye and H.

Soci. Discussion opened for discussion. First opinion is that (they) join another club because there is no time to fit in more clubs. Second opinion asked the members of the Black Eagles to persuade their members to keep themselves busy by joining other clubs or postpone their application towards the end of the league fixtures. Third opinion was made by RFC (Rangers football club) supporting the objection to the application and those they should join the already existing clubs. The next opinion was that the club should wait until the first round of the league. A question was asked as to which of the opinions the representatives favoured. Their answer: There is no opinion we favour but what we want is to form our club. Secretary said the difficulty we face is the question of time and more work for the association (MCH 64.7.2.11a).

Prisoners learnt that they could use interviews with the prison authorities to agitate for playing organised soccer. This is conveyed by the secretary of the MFA, Shirish Nanabhai who described the interviews that were conducted with the warders in his secretarial report as:

In an attempt to secure and protect all privileges and rights pertaining to soccer, granted by the prison authorities to the R.I.P. (Robben Island prison) inmates, the MFA have had several interviews with the authorities (S. Nanabhai, Secretary MFA, secretary report 6 June 1970) (MCH 64.9.9.3g).

6.5.2. Learning to negotiate for soccer

In order to realise their dream of facilitating organised soccer, prisoners concluded that they had to learn to negotiate. The minutes of a meeting held on 19 July 1969 emphasises the negotiations with the prison authorities as:

10. Secretary interview: the secretary of MFA was interviewed by a member of the prison security on the question of sports. The report was given in detail to all the representatives.

11. The MFA. sent one of its men to meet the authorities on the question of buying balls. The Lt of the prison placed an order of (3) three balls to GG stores. One of those balls will be sent to the Zink tronk. He also raised the question of opening the doors in the mornings on a Saturday. He said that

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the doors will be opened from the mornings to lunch periods. The prison official said that the football players should make provision of time in three weeks to come for the bioscope that was going to be. Bioscope should be given an afternoon period (MFA minutes of meeting 19 July 1969) (MCH 64.2.11c).

The lessons learnt from the interviews and negotiations bore fruit when prisoners were given permission to play soccer, as confirmed by the extract from S. Nanabhai's 1970 Secretarial report:

> What we might perhaps regard as the most important of these, was an interview between Brigadier Aucamp and Mr. I Naidoo, the then Secretary of the MFA. It was during this interview that our playing soccer on the Island was once and for all affirmed. Among other things we were granted leave by the said officer to purchase soccer kit and he further blessed the idea of our having a properly constituted committee in furtherance of soccer and other sporting codes (S. Nanabhai's, Secretary MFA, secretary report 6 June 1970) (MCH 64.9.9.3g).

6.5.3. Learning to *draft a democratic constitution for the MFA*

The MFA's official philosophy was to be an all-inclusive democratic association offering sport, recreation and entertainment to all and aimed to have as many political prisoners involved in the organisation of the association. In order to attain this, prisoners agreed that they needed an overarching democratic document to guide them, and all aspects of the organisation of soccer on RI. After months of debate, heated arguments, and inputs from all clubs and its members, consensus was reached and a constitution was drafted and effected. This democratically drafted constitution outlined the aims and objectives of the MFA and the titles, duties, roles and responsibilities of each of the office bearers that would serve on the MFA executive committee. It described the different types of meetings with very particular rules and guidelines pertaining to each of these and the various committees and its roles, as well as the general running of the MFA. The secretarial report of 6-7 June 1970 describes the pathway to the establishment of the constitution:

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In the inaugural meeting of the Assn. (association) of 21/6/69 it was decided that a Constitution be drafted and for that purpose a Constitution Committee was set up, consisting of five members under the Chairmanship of Mr. E Tshabalala. The draft Constitution was submitted to the Assn (association); it was incomplete. Then the Assn. (association) Executive redrafted the Constitution which was finally adopted on the 27th and 28th March 1970. Subsequent hereto an addendum to the Constitution was adopted on the 10/5/70 as a SGM. Although this Constitution was adopted in March, 1970 it was to take effect from 21/6/1969 (S. Nanabhai, Secretary MFA, secretary report 6-7 June 1970) (MCH 64. 9.3.3e).

The aims and objectives of the MFA are listed in the constitution as:

A. To organise and promote the game of soccer and inculcate the spirit of sportsmanship and goodwill among the inmates of the Robben Island new goal (hereinafter referred to as R.I.P.) and to co-ordinate the activities of the various clubs affiliated to it, and the subsidiary bodies under its auspices.

B. To serve as liaison through the Sports Co-Coordinating Committee between the Prison authorities and the clubs and other subsidiary bodies with regard to matters relating to the organisation of soccer in R.I.P (MFA constitution June 1969) (MCH 64.8.1.14).

Clause 11C of the constitution which states:

… to provide recreation for the inmates of R.I.P by arranging matches which will not only be directed at serving the interests of the player but also those of the spectator (MFA constitution June 1969) (MCH 64.8.1.14):

emphasised that the organisation of soccer was for the benefit of all prisoners on the Island.

6.5.4. *Learning to implement the democratic constitution*

The implementation of a democratic constitution emphasised that the organisation of soccer was also a vehicle to teach other skills and set certain standards. This is described in Clause D of the constitution:

D. To popularise soccer in R.I.P. by:

1. Organizing talks, lectures, exhibition matches and selecting the soccerite and Junior soccerite of the year and to see to it that all players adhere to the standards as prescribed by F.I.F.A (MFA constitution June 1969) (MCH 64.8.1.14).

The Chairperson, Ernest Dikgang Moseneke, in his AGM report, encouraged the membership to study the conventions of the constitution so that they could apply it procedurally and *democratically* for the smooth running of the Association:

My observation has been that many Clubs and officials are not yet conversant with the provisions of the Constitution. This has resulted in minor problems of procedure. We suggest that everybody should be in the know of the Constitution. We also suggest that for an appropriate preservation of our Constitution arrangements should be made with the authorities to have this Constitution typed, cyclostyled and each Club be supplied a copy. All expenses should be borne by the Clubs (E. Moseneke, Chairman MFA, 6 June 1970) (MCH 64.9.3.1d).

Prisoners realised that the constitution could not cover all aspects and therefore decided to adopt strategies and put systems in place to address this. The Chairperson of the Association, Ernest Moseneke, in his Chairperson's report, highlighted the way in which they implemented democratic principles:

Our constitution was drawn, drafted and subsequently adopted by us all. It is intended to cover all foreseeable situations and problems. However, often the Executive has encountered moot points, that is, situations uncovered by the Constitution. Since a man-made Constitution cannot possibly be all perfect, where the Constitution is wanting on a given issue, the Executive uses its own decisions and G.M (General meeting) resolutions to fill up the gap (E. Moseneke, Chairman MFA, 6 June 1970) (MCH 64.9.3.1d).

The constitution also made provision to acknowledge good performance and sportsmanship as stipulated in Clause D (ii) which read:

Selecting a playing division which has shown the best progress and performance in all aspects that go to make good sportsmanship; and, for the

selection of such a division, an ad hoc committee – composed of the Association Executive, the Selection Committee and the Referees Union – be set up. Such selection shall be at the end of the League and Knock-Outs (MFA constitution, 21 June 1969) (MCH 64.8.1.14).

6.5.5. *Learning to conduct democratic elections*

The relationship between sport and political-prisoner education on Robben Island manifested in the way the roles and responsibilities of the office bearers of the MFA were defined. An executive committee was put in place to facilitate and organise the MFA. The constitution outlined this structure and functions as follows:

> The Executive of the Association shall comprise of five (5) members elected to the Annual General Meeting by popular vote. The office bearers of the above-mentioned executive shall be: Chairman, Vice-chairman, Secretary, Assistant-Secretary and Trustee (MFA constitution June 1969) (MCH 64.8.1.14).

Even though the election of office bearers was open to all members, the incumbent had to satisfy certain criteria stipulated in the constitution as:

> Election into office shall be open to all members of the Association on the basis of merit, competency, ability and enthusiasm (MFA constitution June 1969) (MCH 64.8.1.14).

6.5.6. *Learning to establish structures to regulate democratic functioning*

A Sports Coordinating Committee (SC) was established to co-ordinate all the recreational activities for prisoners. The MFA, a subsidiary of the Sports Coordinating Committee, was established to organise soccer for the prisoners. Prisoners learnt to establish various committees and put systems in place in order to ensure the smooth running of the association. Each subsidiary body had its own constitution and jurisdiction but it was governed by the MFA. The constitution (MCH 64.8.1.14) outlines the committees in Clause VI as:

> The following organs are under the jurisdiction of the Association:

> The Protest and Misconduct Committee

The Appeal Tribunal

The Referees Union (R.U)

The Selection Committee

The Ad Hoc auditing Committee

The Referees Union constitution encouraged the teaching and learning of rules and the writing of examinations to ensure that referees were familiar with the rules governed by FIFA. The following clauses from the MFA constitution highlight this as:

Clause 11 A Powers, Duties and Functions

(ii)   To apply the Referees Chart as adopted by FIFA and to adapt Laws 1, 5 & 7 to the condition maintaining on RIP (Ground injury and Time) as embodied in the MFA Constitution.

(iii)   To educate soccer enthusiasts in the laws of the Game.

(vi)   To arrange lectures and meetings for the study of the Laws

(x)   To conduct grading and classification of referees registered with the Union

Clause IV the Referee

(iii)   Each referee shall be given tasks ranging from officiating over matches to conduction of lectures and talks for the upliftment of soccer.

(iv)   He shall study the rules of the game and abide by the dictates of the Constitution (Referees constitution).

Clause VII Grading

(v)   The Union shall from time to time appoint a Board of examiners who shall conduct Examinations at places and times fixed by the Union.

(ii)   In accordance with VII (i) above, there shall be practical and or theoretical tests

(iii)   Referees notified of these Examinations shall avail themselves of the examinations and shall not be absent. A referee who absents himself from Exams shall not officiate over any further matches.

(iv)   On the basis of these exams, the Union shall allot referees for matches fixtured by the MFA.

(v)   The Examinations shall be conducted on nothing else other than the proper interpretation, application and enforcement of the Laws of the game of Soccer as approved by the Union in accordance with Clauses II A (i) and (ii) of this Constitution.

6.5.7. Learning to implement the constitution to provide soccer

The MFA helped create the Sports Coordinating Committee (SCC) that was the umbrella body for all the sporting codes and was the link between the MFA and the prison authorities. The SCC was established in response to the chief warder only wanting to deal with one person from one body. Generally, the chairman of this body would negotiate with the warden on behalf of any sporting code. This body also took responsibility for the allotment of playing time on the field as codes often shared the same facilities.

The relationship between sport and political-prisoner education and learning on Robben Island manifested in the way soccer was organised. As the weeks dragged on, the requests for longer matches were granted and this helped the prisoners to envisage a more organised structure. Evidence of the original MFA structure is found in the 1970s secretarial report and the minutes of a general meeting of 19 July 1969. Eight clubs formed the initial structure of the MFA as confirmed by the secretarial report:

> The inaugural meeting of the Makana Football Association (MFA.) was held on 21 June 1969 in Cell C1 at approximately 11 a.m. There present were the affiliates: Mphatlhalatsane Football Club (Mph.F.C.), Bucks Football Club (B.F.C.), Ditshitshidi Football Club (Dy.F.C.), Dynamos Football Club (Dy.F.C.), Gunners Football Club (G.F.C.), Hotspurs Football club (H.F.C.), Manong Football Club (M.F.C.) and Rangers

Football Club (R.F.C.). An Association Executive was elected (S. Nanabhai, MFA)

6.5.8. *Learning to organise democratic meetings*

Prisoners learnt that organising and conducting regular executive and general meetings contributed to the smooth running of the Association. Ernest Moseneke highlights the importance of such meetings in this statement from his Annual Chairperson's report:

> In Island association football, the sine qua non of efficiency is meetings for discussion, in a word: "no meeting, no association". Perhaps an illustration of this matter may be that, the Executive held no less than 50 meetings, while a minimum of 14 General meetings were held (E. Moseneke, Chairman MFA, Chairman report 6-7 June 1970) (MCH 64.9.3.1a).

The secretary of the MFA agreed that meetings were important and served to keep the rest of the members of MFA informed about the Association:

> Subsequent to the Inaugural Meeting of the MFA, General and executive meetings were held for administrative purposes and other matters relating to the Association Football on the Island (S. Nanabhai, Secretary MFA, secretary report 6-7 June 1970) (MCH 64. 9.3.3b).

The Chairperson of the MFA, Ernest Moseneke, describes how the executive members learnt to negotiate and reach consensus during their meetings and in this way avoid voting, which he believed caused division:

> To any executive my advice is that never should Executive issues be decided by vote. Matters should be discussed thoroughly until all options are synthesised into one sound common decision. Vote encourages division, disintegration and block-formation, which tend to crystallise with time. I have the pleasure of announcing that for my term of office as Chairman no issues in the Executive were decided by voting (E. Moseneke, Chairman MFA, Chairman report 6-7 June 1970) (MCH 64.9.3.1a).

The advent of the soccer matches outside the cells brought about a new lease of life for the prisoners as they went about organising their lives around the games. Each

prisoner had his role to play whether it was a player, administrator or spectator. However, it seems as if there may have been some lack of enthusiasm at some point as reported by the chairperson, Ernest Moseneke, in his inaugural report in June 1970:

> Here I wish to indicate that, in this light, problems are infinite we still have to do a lot of spade work to bring things to the standard we desire. My major complaint here on behalf of the Assn, is that, the inmates here have a tendency of shirking their responsibilities of securing privileges and recreation time and amenities. Rightly the Assn's duty is to administer already existing amenities. Several appeals have been made to Clubs for positive contribution to this effort but all in vain. I am calling for a concerted effort to solve this problem (E. Moseneke, Chairman MFA, Chairman report 6-7 June 1970) (MCH 64.9.3.1e).

6.5.9. Learning to apply to play soccer

All clubs had to learn to draft their own constitution and had to elect their own president, secretary and other officials. This exercise emphasised the unifying nature of sport, as men from different political, cultural and religious backgrounds fought together, again, for a cause other than the apartheid system – the right to play soccer. It also brought men to the fore that would learn to organise, negotiate and teach others through soccer in preparation for their eventual release from prison to take up their rightful place in society. Clubs attempted to get their teams up and running and made application to the MFA for affiliation. The minutes of the meeting of 19 July 1969 reflect an application made by the Black Eagles representatives as:

> Black Eagles 2 representatives were present. They made an application [to the MFA] 2 of the members of this club are members of the Rangers FC viz W. Yeyewe and H. Soci [these two members were already members of another club, but they wanted to register as a new club to the MFA.]. (MFA Minutes of meeting held on 19 July 1969) (MCH 64.7.2.44b).

The members of the Black Eagles club learnt that they had to adhere to the guiding principles of the MFA constitution and that their application was denied on the basis that it was in contravention of the MFA constitution, Clause VIII a (i) (b):

> The GM (General meeting) shall consider such application for affiliation and may accept it; however, such application shall not be accepted while competitive games are in progress (MFA constitution June 1969) (MCH 64.8.1.14).

The Black Eagles club was not happy about the outcome but accepted the decision that ensued after the discussion in the meeting. Club representatives, in the MFA general meeting of 19 July 1969, gave their opinion about the application and through discussions, led by the chairperson, consensus was reached:

> Discussion opened for decision: 1st opinion should join other clubs because there is no time to fit in more clubs. The membership of this club submitted to the M.F.C. (Manong Football club). The 2nd opinion asked the representatives of the Black Eagles to persuade their members to keep themselves busy by joining other clubs to postpone the application towards the end of the league fixtures. 3rd opinion was made by R.F.C. (Rangers Football Club) supporting the objection to the application. They should join the already existing clubs and this club should wait until the first round of the league. They cannot play because they A and Bs are going play for league fixture. The opinion (of other clubs) supported the objection. The question was asked as to which opinion the representatives' favoured (answer). There's no opinion that we favour but what we want is to form our own club. The secretary said the difficulty we face is the question of time and more work for the association (MFA Minutes of meeting held on 19 July 1967) (MCH 64.7.2.44b).

Once the stipulated time had elapsed, as stipulated in the MFA constitution, the Black Eagles FC was accepted as an affiliate and they were drafted into the friendly leagues of the MFA structure as reported by S. Nanabhai in his secretarial report:

> The MFA has under its jurisdiction a total of nine clubs. Eight clubs are original affiliates to the MFA and in November 1969, Black Eagles was

accepted as a new club to the Assn. The original affiliate clubs all participated in the 'A' & 'B' competitions, however B.E.F.C. (Black Eagles) played in the friendly matches in the 'B' division (S. Nanabhai, Secretary MFA, secretary report 6-7 June 1970) (MCH 64.9.3.3f).

6.5.10. Learning sportsmanship

Teams and clubs were formed by prisoners in the cell blocks in which they were imprisoned. The arrangement soon changed as the hunger and passion for competition increased. The prisoners learnt to jump and exchange places in the roll call line in what Korr and Close (2008) called 'border crossing', to be able to sleep in the same block as their team mates. This allowed teams to practise and strategise together in the run up to important games. They learnt that physical and mental exercise could relieve the stresses of prison life and introduced friendly soccer matches. The initial objectives for the friendly matches were surpassed and they yielded lessons in sportsmanship when prisoners learnt to devise ways to allow as many prisoners as possible to play, as confirmed by the chairman of the MFA, Ernest Moseneke:

> After strenuous competitive games, friendly matches have always been an applaud able source of relief and rest. These have served a wonderful purpose of encouraging sportsmanship. Clubs offered 'sides' to players who were non-members of their clubs; games were played without animosity and anxiety. In brief they were fine. Friendly matches are a feature in our play here. They will be an everlasting joy if seen in the correct perspective by players that is not as a chance for unprogressive insensible dribbling but as a serious match, though not competitive (E. Moseneke, Chairman MFA, Chairman report 6-7 June 1970) (MCH 64.9.3.1a).

Many prisoners were content with friendly matches, but those prisoners who were skilled at the game had the desire to play in a more competitive environment. This prompted the prisoners to learn to collectively campaign for more formal soccer matches and fierce competition. This is conveyed by Ernest Moseneke, who described the need for a more competitive league as:

While the major purpose of sport in prison is recreation and emotional relief, it has often been necessary to infuse interest and vitality in our games by way of competitive league and K/O matches. Such matches were arranged between our 8 affiliate clubs and it can now be said that there is little doubt as to the efficacy of such competitive games. They were challenging, exacting, and commendably revitalising (E. Moseneke, Chairman MFA, Chairman report 6-7 June 1970) (MCH 64.9.3.1a).

The quest for organised soccer fixtures and structures became a cause in itself, as it was an opportunity for the prisoners to join forces and ease the tension between political organisations. Playing sport would not only mean the enjoyment of physical activity, the competition and the other qualities sport has, it would also be a means for the prisoners to prove to the prison authorities that they were capable of organising themselves – characteristics and skills they would need once they were released from prison. During the process of organising soccer, prisoners learnt administrative skills such as writing minutes of meetings, writing reports and meeting procedures as illustrated in the secretarial report by Shirish Nanabhai:

For the smooth and efficient running of the Assn. the executive had to have frequent executive meetings. These may be divided into two: Formal and informal meetings. Due to local exigencies and urgency of certain matters the executive met at any odd place and time, such meetings were termed informal. Meetings properly arranged were termed formal meetings. In both types of meeting minutes and records were kept and all were duly adopted as executive minutes. These may be found in the executive minutes' book. A total of 16 formal and 32 informal executive meetings were held (S. Nanabhai, Secretary MFA, secretary report, 6-7 June 1970) (MCH 64. 9.3.3b).

Over the next three decades, prisoners were allowed to play various sports. They learnt to play rugby, chess, and tennis and organised the summer games that also included 'invented' games like wheelbarrow race, stick pulling, and potato-and-spoon race (Korr & Close, 2008). But the most organised of these was the organisation of soccer and the establishment of the Makana Football association (MFA). An extract from the inaugural report, by the first chairman Ernest

Moseneke, conveys pride in the success of their organised soccer league, despite the challenges they faced:

> It is with great joy that it may be optimistically declared that all problems in life may be overcome through application, sincerity and industry. From 1967 when soccer was started here on the Island multiple factor problems were encountered. Several solutions to these soccer problems were sought but all in vain. However, it is with great pride and felicities that I may here on this day declare that we are celebrating the 1st anniversary of the MFA which was inaugurated on 21st June 1970 under the Chairmanship of ED Moseneke (E Moseneke, Chairman MFA, Chairman report 6-7 June 1970) (MCH 64.9.3.1a).

Prisoners learnt to arrange various types of fixtures including league, knockout, friendly and exhibition matches in order to include as many prisoners as possible. An executive member of the MFA, S. Nanabhai, in his secretarial report describes the league as:

> The executive arranged a two round league for the 'A' and 'B' divisions separately. This league was preceded by a Knock out Competition Games for the 'A' division only. The K/O commenced on 12 July 1969 and ended on 23 August 1969 (S. Nanabhai, Secretary MFA, secretary report 6 June 1970) (MCH 64.9.9.3a).

It was agreed that all clubs had to have three teams with the top team being the strongest team, the second team being those that have some skill level and the lowest team made up of beginners and the older prisoners. The third team was accommodated in the friendly league as described by S. Nanabhai in his report:

> In pursuance of section VIII C (i) of the constitution the executive arranged friendly matches where possible. 'C' division friendly matches were also introduced as a relief measure for members who neither participated in 'A' nor 'B' division (S. Nanabhai, Secretary MFA, secretary report 6 June 1970) (MCH 64.9.9.3a).

Representative teams were selected from players from the different clubs. The number of these representative matches is described by the secretary of the MFA as follows:

> In pursuance of Section VIII D of the Constitution, selected sides and exhibition matches were arranged. A total of 54 sides playing 27 matches were selected (S. Nanabhai, Secretary MFA, secretary report 6 June 1970) (MCH 64.9.9.3b).

The chairperson of the Association, E. Moseneke, commented that competitive games were important but noted that some unsportsmanlike behaviour was creeping into soccer and that this should be addressed:

> It is worth remarking that quite often league and K/O matches in the 'A' division sunk into an unpleasant state of over-anxiety to win, lack of sportsmanship and rough tackling. Indeed, here our 'A' division erred for our real motive is that of recreation, competition is of secondary importance. I would that such unsavoury and destructive ill feelings during Competitive games should be discarded in favour of enjoyment, sportsmanship and goodwill (E. Moseneke, Chairman MFA, Chairman report 6-7 June 1970) (MCH 64.9.3.1a).

There was value in selecting exhibition sides because it recognised the skill of players, but the chairman of the MFA, E. Moseneke, reported that some players were using it for reasons other than its intention:

> Our league and friendly matches were often punctuated by impromptu and formal selection sides. Impromptu selected sides were arranged by the Assn. when more time was made available to us unexpectedly. These sides were prepared without consideration of merit and skill of play. Often such matches were a dismal failure. Players, particularly some of our best, exasperatingly misused this time for self-amusement, needless antics and insensible "mlolo", as dribbling is now called here. Indeed, this undue "mlolo" which the pavilion (spectators) hates no less that the Assn does. I would strongly recommend that such informal sides should be completely avoided where possible. On the whole formal picked sides were a success

for some new development which may be remedied. The "mlolo" spirit of the impromptu picked side seems to be croaching into the otherwise fine display of our exhibition side. Another problem has been that of players declining to play in picked sides for one faked reason or another. These problems, if tackled by the Clubs, are minor and I would thus make a call to the Clubs to give them full attention (E. Moseneke, Chairman MFA, Chairman report 6-7 June 1970) (MCH 64.9.3.1b).

In order to determine the winners of the various leagues prisoners had to learn to keep a record of the results of all matches and had to learn to draw up logs. The Secretary's 1970 report gives a list of the winners of the leagues as:

The winner for the K/O finalist was the Manong Football Club. The first round league competitions of the 'B' started on 9th August, 1969 and that of the 'A' division on the 23rd August 1969. The 'A' and 'B' division league were in progress simultaneously. The first round league competition was won by Manong F.C and Rangers F.C. in the 'A' and 'B' divisions respectively (S. Nanabhai, Secretary MFA, secretary report 6 June 1970) (MCH 64.9.9.3h).

The Assn. executive has arranged for issuing of certificates for the winners and 1st and 2nd runners up of both divisions. Included hereto is a 'shield trophy', 'The Mabukachaba Trophy' for the B division league competition winners (S. Nanabhai, Secretary MFA, secretary report 6 June 1970) (MCH 64.9.9.3h).

6.5.11. Learning to unmask power, contest hegemony and resist

Steinklammer (2012) suggests that power is "not something that humans or social groups simply possess", but that it represents the relationship between those from the dominant group and those that are dominated. Power relations are formed based on the constitution of the groups within a society but that the power is not necessarily enforced as long as the ruling group is adequately convincing in "defining and enforcing their own interests and the social formations that go along with it as common social interests" (pp. 24-25).

One of the challenges for prisoners to achieve their purpose of engaging in sporting activities was noticeable when prison authorities confiscated boxes of sporting equipment sent to prisoners by their family members. This led to further tensions and unrest on RI (Ngidi, 2014). The prisoners were determined to play but the warders were equally determined to make things as difficult as possible. Although the prison authorities agreed to allow prisoners to play, they (warders) were not prepared to provide the means to carry out their activities. The control of the matches was still firmly in the hands of the warders who would exercise their power at any given time. The MFA secretary, S. Nanabhai, describes the challenge that prisoners faced in terms of the amount of time they were afforded in order fulfil their fixtures:

> However, despite all the achievements the MFA has experienced a serious setback in connection with time as allocated by the present authorities. After the Sunday time had been taken away from us the MFA has made a number of representations to the authorities for extra time but no favorable answer has come forth (S. Nanabhai, Secretary MFA, secretary report 6 June 1970) (MCH 64.9.9.3g).

Prisoners, however, learnt a tactic that when the Chief Warder refused their requests, they enlisted a higher authority by negotiating with the Colonel, as highlighted by Shirish Nanabhai in his secretarial report:

> While the Chief Warder Fourie has flatly refused to extend our playing time on Saturdays, the Colonel has promised that we can play on Saturday mornings and in the afternoons, from one to three p.m. An attempt was made by the MFA. Executive to secure the whole Sat. for soccer but it met with no success in this line (S. Nanabhai, Secretary MFA, secretary report 6 June 1970) (MCH 64.9.9.3g).

Matches were played in a good, friendly but competitive manner from December 1967 until February 1968 when the warders suddenly put a halt to the soccer matches (Korr & Close, 2008). The RI prison authorities soon realised the value that prisoners placed on being able to play soccer. This privilege, like any other, could be taken away at any time. Soccer was at the mercy of the guards who would often disrupt games by running on the field, withdrawing prisoners from the game,

refusing to release some prisoners from their cells or ending games prematurely even when the allotted recreation time had not elapsed. The secretary, Shirish Nanabhai confirms these challenges in his inaugural secretarial report:

> Also in this connection (the relationship with warders) can be mentioned the difficulties the MFA has been encountering with some of the warders responsible for opening up in the afternoons. These invariable open up later than two p.m. and that too, after a lot of pressure by the soccer enthusiasts. When they think that the time is up, they fail to give our games, which may be in progress, any form of respect and walk onto the field in an attempt to bring the match to an end (S. Nanabhai, Secretary MFA, secretary report 6-7 June 1970) (MCH 64. 9.9.3h).

Over the next couple of months between February 1968 and April 1969 the warders were 'in charge' of the decision whether prisoners played or not. On many occasions matches could not take place because the warders did not open the cells. In April 1968 the warders opened the cells to once again allow the prisoners to play but prisoners had learnt that they could use this against the warders and refused the offer in protest of the warders' decisions made two months before (Korr & Close, 2008). The secretary in his report describes the negative effects this had on the morale of prisoners:

> It may be pointed out that although the Colonel has granted us playing time from 1 to 3pm in the afternoons only a few warders open up at the right times and this has brought about a number of difficulties in the arrangement of fixtures. Recently matches had to be played against the warder decisions. This simply demonstrates the nature of co-operation the Assn. Executive has had from the present officials. Needless to say attempts have been made to have our time for soccer specified and no interference should be tolerated (S. Nanabhai, Secretary MFA, secretary report 6-7 June 1970) (MCH 64. 9.9.3h).

The warders gave prisoners permission to build their own sport facilities but did not provide them with the necessary materials. Prisoners went to great lengths to get what they needed and learnt to use material that they found on the Island. For instance, Shirish Nanabhai who was imprisoned on the Island, 1963-1973,

'pinched' hundreds of bags of cement to build the tennis court while he was working in the stores (Roberts, 1994, p. 13). In his 1967 secretarial report, he describes the resources they obtained after their requests during the interviews with the warders:

Subsequently other interviews were held with the local authorities for the purpose of securing more amenities for soccer. As a result of some of these interviews, which were mainly with Chief Warder Munro and Lt. Gestner, the following facilities were obtained or granted:

Our playing time was extended from the meagre 2 hours in the morning to an extra hour in the afternoon. New balls were given in exchange for old ones. A request to extend the playing field was granted. A constant supply of the lime was made available for the marking of the field. New goal-posts and nets supports were promised but have not been given (S. Nanabhai, Secretary MFA, secretary report 6 June 1970) (MCH 64.9.9.3h).

Prisoners learnt to use various tactics to improve their living conditions and initiated a number of hunger strikes to draw attention to their need for better prison conditions. This act indirectly taught the warders a lesson in solidarity and strength in numbers when the single warders boycotted the officers' mess and made demands for better food. Slowly the prisoners noticed an improvement in their food and stood their ground in the hope that their plight would again be noticed by the outside world. Their perseverance and persistence once again paid off and by June 1969 soccer was re-instated and the prisoners won the right to organise soccer matches again (Korr & Close, 2008).

6.5.12. Learning to organise other codes of sport

Initially the request was to play soccer but the unrelenting prisoners continued to apply pressure on the warders to include a host of other sporting codes as well. In order to maintain an atmosphere of inclusivity it was important for sport to be integrated and prisoners also organised other sporting codes. It was important to maintain a good relationship with other sporting codes. The connection with the RI recreational committee is described by Indres Naidoo in this report below:

The Chairman read out a letter from the Recreational Committee informing the Association that a meeting of the RC will be held and the sole purpose

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of the meeting is the submission of the RC constitution for discussion and adoption by all the sporting codes and cultural codes set up under the auspices of the RC and that our association is therefore required to sent (sic) two (2) representatives to the meeting (Indres Naidoo, Secretary, Matyeni Football association report- 1967) (MCH 64.7.2.30b).

The soccer fraternity soon realised that the introduction and management of soccer would not be enough to retain the interest of the prisoners and encouraged the introduction of other codes, especially rugby. However, rugby was short-lived as described Ernest Dikgang Moseneke in the Chairman's report:

During our term of office, rugby was both opened and closed before it grew into fruition. It is with regret that such a thing occurred. Although several clashes were had between rugby and soccer, these were not of substance nor did they debar us from loving rugby. Our efforts, communications and agreements with the Rugby board should be sought in the Secretary's report. I wish to say that soon we will be bored to the marrow by soccer and here rugby would have retained variety and acted as relief. We express our sincere regret for the closure of rugby. Modern developments seem to indicate that if no other sporting codes are encouraged for variety, soccer will soon be a source of boredom in itself. We thus suggest that other sporting codes be encouraged and established. The Island Casino Club is an example in mind (E Moseneke, Chairman MFA, Chairman report 6-7 June 1970) (MCH 64.9.3.1a).

By the time the Assn. executive was inaugurated, 2 friendly rugby matches were played on 31/5/69 and 14/6/69. These matches were played in the afternoon of the said days. Soccer was played only in the morning periods. Later a Rugby board was formed, thus the Assn had to arrange meetings with them to decide on an equitable distribution of time available for playing. Several meetings with the Rugby board were held and multiple difficulties were experienced. These were finally solved when the Assn and the Board agreed that soccer shall use Saturday mornings while Rugby uses Saturday and Sunday afternoons. The Sunday morning period shall alternately be used by the two sporting codes. The GM was well informed

about all these soccer-rugby problems (S. Nanabhai, Secretary MFA, secretary report 6 June 1970) (MCH 64.9.9.3h).

6.6. Atlantic Raiders and Blue Rocks incident: testing democracy

6.6.1. Exercising democracy to challenge democracy

The relationship between sport and political-prisoner education on Robben Island manifested in the way that prisoners learnt to protest and in so doing contravened the constitution of the MFA.

The Protest and Misconduct Committee (P&MC), also referred to as the Tribunal, had the unenviable task of presiding over cases brought to its attention by the Association. It administered a range of issues as stipulated in the MFA constitution (MCH 64.8.1.14) clause:

VI a (vii), Jurisdiction: (of the P&MC)

Matters to be considered by the Tribunal shall be:

Protests lodged with the referee by a referee in charge of a match.

Players sent off the field of play by a referee in charge of the match

All such matters as normally constitute misconduct in matters of Association misconduct in matters of "Association Football" (F.I.F.A).

Unauthorized use or possession of Association property. Association property here above referred to shall be reflected in the Association records.

Threats of violence, actual violence and/or insults to the officials of the Association.

The Tribunal shall act as a court of appeal in appeals lodged by members against decisions of their own clubs. In such appeals, however, the Tribunal's decision shall be final.

The Constitution was very clear about the composition of the appeal Tribunal:

Clause VI b

(ii) Composition

(a) In cases where the disputant parties are those provided for in VI (a), (b) and (c) the Associations Executive shall arbitrate the matter as the Appeal Tribunal (a, b and c in this instance means Clubs in dispute, Referee complaining against a player/s and Referee complaining against a club or vice-versa)

(b) In cases such as provided for in VIA (ix) (d) the Association's Executive shall not act as Appeal Tribunal but a GM (General meeting) shall appoint an Ad Hoc Appeal Tribunal of five (5) members with the chairman among them elected in the GM to adjudicate over the matter that occasioned the appeal (d in this instance means Association complaining against clubs or individuals under the Association's jurisdiction)

The Chairperson of the Association discussed the importance of the P&MC but also stressed that clubs and its members should learn to abide by the rules of the Association:

Any Assn. should administer by law; however, it should be with good reason that it takes recourse to punishment. Complimentarily, all Clubs and persons under the Assn. should abide by the law, but should not hesitate to claim their rights that accrue form Assn. law. What I mean is that the P&MC can be of no use if each of us plays his required part well (E. Moseneke, Chairman MFA, Chairman report 6-7 June 1970) (MCH 64.9.3.1c).

During the first year of its existence the P&MC presided over minor cases and protests as discussed by the Association Chairperson, E. Moseneke and the secretary, S. Nanabhai, in their respective reports:

Our annual judiciary record is not bad. Only two cases of misconduct per se, were handled, namely MFA vs. Dt. FC (Ditshitshidi Football club) and MFA vs. Dy.F.C (Dynamos Football club); both clubs were sentenced. The rest of the cases were protests namely Dy.F.C (Dynamos Football Club) vs. M.F.C Manong Football club), Mph.F.C (Mphatlhalatsane Football Club) vs. B.F.C (Bucks Football Club), Dy.F.C. Of these three protests the first

two was not granted and the last was granted an appeal (E. Moseneke, Chairman, MFA report 6-7 June 1970) (MCH 64.9.3.1c).

Where need arose as provided for in the Constitution of the MFA, the Assn. Executive submitted cases to the P&MC. In cases where as appeal was lodged against the P2MC. Judgment, such appeal was forwarded to the Appeal Tribunal. The P&MC which is the judicial sub-body of the MFA has handled, within its term of office 5 cases in all (S. Nanabhai, Secretary MFA, secretary report 6-7 June 1970) (MCH 64. 9.9.3b).

The Chairman appealed to the clubs and its membership to display good manners so that there was no need for a P&MC:

The Appeal Tribunal functioned only twice in the Mph. F.C (Mphatlhalatsane Football Club) vs. B.F.C (Bucks Football Club) and Dy.F.C (Dynamos Football club) vs. B.F.C. (Bucks Football Club) the former protest was not granted and the latter was granted. We have a total of 5 cases, and these can be considerably reduced if everybody fully plays his role. I am calling upon you all to render the P&M.C defunctor nominal by good conformative conduct and co-operation (E. Moseneke, Chairman MFA report 6-7 June 1970) (MCH 64.9.3.1c).

6.6.2. Learning to conduct internal protest

The longest and possibly the most 'infamous' case was that of the Atlantic Raiders vs. MFA. The incident that emanated from the Atlantic Raiders versus Blue Rocks game rocked the solidarity of the prison community and almost caused the suspension of soccer on the Island.

5 December 1970 is remembered as the beginning of a contest between two factions that was not contested on the playing field but in a 'courtroom' as a battle for goals, ideals, pride, respect and dignity ensued. When the match between the Blue Rocks and Carlton was about to begin members of the Atlantic Raiders invaded the pitch and lay prone on their bellies in the middle of the field. The game could not start and after 45 minutes it was called off. A plethora of emotions erupted as the soccer fraternity, including the warders realised the magnitude of this kind of protest action. On the one hand the spectators were angered by the kind of action because

they had looked forward to the week's match and were afraid that this act of defiance could lead to conflict that would see the warders resort to violence to contain and maintain order. On the other hand, they believed that the players had the right to protest and since the MFA was stalling in their response, this was the only way they saw fit to garner support and to get their plight noticed. The protest action taken by the Atlantic Raiders players was the talk of the prison and much debate and discussion ensued as to the validity of the sit-in and the lack of communication from the MFA.

The MFA was thriving and prisoners now had a new lease of life as soccer enveloped them. By 1970 the Manong team was by far the leading team in the A division. In terms of statistics, by 1971 they were on their way to annex the league winning trophy for a second season as seen on the log (MCH 64.7.2.39a). They were by far the best team in the league but it seems as if the confidence of the Manong players was misconstrued as arrogance by others and that their attitude was causing division in the ranks even before the leagues started. This is evident in a strongly-worded letter written to the MFA by Mr. Mabokadaba, a member of the Gunners club, who expressed his views as:

> Dear Sirs,
>
> I am afraid to put too much venom into my letter but explaining the causes of my present attitude and conduct I am not going to give you the causes of this new attitude and conduct because you will need definite and intimate knowledge to make out heads from tails. I think all I need to do is to give you direction in which such causes may be sought. The vile calumny which has become the constant theme of many a good gentleman, particularly some of Manong's veteran players, top supports, and dependable members has stung me to the quick. I am really in doubt whether it is correct to mention A's and B's and C's and… names, and show that their daily parlance foments strife and hatred. All this stems from soccer. I have therefore adopted an attitude, not of sharing attitudes, but of becoming practically ruthless and dangerous to all who will support soccer affairs into our conversation. I would, therefore that all soccerites be well advised of this point (J. Mabokadaba, 15/8/1969) (MCH 64.7.1.18a).

The MFA executive soon realised that interest in soccer was waning due to the Manong dominance and introduced a special inter-cell knockout competition in the hope that it would help to revive the interest in soccer. Players formed teams in their own cell blocks and competed against other cells. This proved to defeat the purpose of more competitive matches since most of the Manong players and other talented players were from cell block C4. The Atlantic Raiders emerged from the new competition and it was soon evident that this newly formed club would win the new competition as well. They applied for affiliation to the MFA and wanted to prepare their players for the games as stipulated in their letter to the MFA executive:

> Dear Sir,
>
> We the Cell C4 which forms an integral part of the population to which the privilege of football has been granted by the authorities, beg the loan of a whistle, a ball and the field for 45 min every Saturday. We have formed a club and hope to affiliate to your Association therefore we are confident that this inconvenience would not be lasting.
>
> With the best regards
>
> Yours in Sport
>
> S Isaacs (Secretary)
>
> A Suze (Chairman)
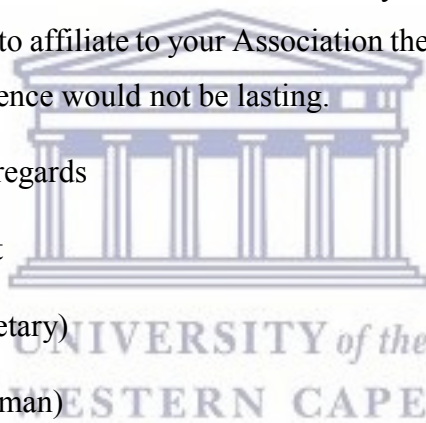
There was great excitement in the lead up to the first match of the new competition. The Atlantic Raiders were drawn to play Blue Rocks, a team that consisted of older, less talented players. The prison soccer population expected the Atlantic Raiders to win by far and there was a certain amount of arrogance about the team as they ran onto the field knowing that they would win. The Blue Rocks players could not match the skills of the Atlantic Raiders players and went onto the field with the knowledge that this would be a walk over for the Atlantic Raiders. The match kicked off on 21 November 1970 and a few minutes later, against all odds, the less-favoured Blue Rocks scored a goal. The Atlantic Raiders claimed that the goal scorer was in an offside position and that one of the Blue Rocks players had handled the ball prior to scoring. The Atlantic Raiders players vehemently protested the awarding of the goal and bombarded the referee, Mr. Hilliard, who walked off the

field. The game was suspended for a while but resumed when a new referee was assigned to the game. The Blue Rocks players packed the goal posts, as a tactic, in an attempt to prevent the Atlantic Raiders from scoring. Thirty minutes later the match was over and the Blue Rocks were victors over what was considered to be the best team in the league.

The Atlantic Raiders players did not accept the loss of the game by what they perceived as an illegitimate goal. Apart from losing the game, their pride was also dented and as vociferous as their fight to play soccer so too was the need to fight for their pride to be restored. The next day they filed an official complaint through a strongly-worded letter by Sedick Isaacs. The letter was received by the MFA, as reported in the informal meeting of the MFA executive on 23 November 1970 (MCH 64.9.2.57). However, the MFA rejected their appeal on the grounds that they had not followed the constitutional procedure as found in the minutes of the meeting:

> RE: Letters.
>
> Next was a letter from the C4 cell team "Atlantic Raiders" protesting of the irregularities which occurred in their match and wanted a replay. As their interpretation of the Constitution was inconsistent with the meaning we attach thereto and as the protest was not formally lodged as required it was rendered invalid and unacceptable. The match was taken as played and reply was not granted (MFA executive minutes 23 November 1970) (MCH 64.9.2.57).

The MFA, however, took the behaviour of referees seriously and wrote to the Referees' Union to request for more information about the incident as illustrated in the minutes of the same meeting, 23 November 1970:

> With regards [to] the irregularities that took place on the field on Sat 21/11/70 in the Atlantic Raiders vs. Blue Rocks friendly match, where the referee, Mr. Hilliard, walked off the field halfway through the game, it was decided to write to the Referees Union asking them as to what transpired and what they were doing about the behaviour of the referee (MFA executive minutes 23 November 1970) (MCH 64.9.2.57 & 58).

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The incensed Atlantic Raiders players were not happy with the response from the MFA and hastily responded with another letter penned by Sedick Isaacs on 24 November 1970 stating that the MFA had erred in their interpretation of the constitution and that they deserved some form of compensation:

Dear Sir,

Thank you for your letter dated 24.11.70. Firstly, we beg to point out that we are invoking Section VII C(c) of your Constitution and NOT Section VII C (e) which at this stage is merely a phantom clause and totally non-existent. This error cannot but firmly bring home to us the off-hand and careless manner in which our protest was handled by you. This was further aggravated by the fact that you issued your week-end fixture soon after we handed in our protest and replying to our protests only two days later. VII C (c) required us to voice our protest to the official referee but since this official abandoned the field and since it took some time for us to observe the grievance we voiced our protest in writing to your esteemed Association. In any event even if our protest is not within the ambit of your constitution and if (a) your association is truly and sincerely interested in maintaining a high standard (b) really wants to uphold an honour the impartiality of the office of a Referee, then it would face our panel with courage and patience and go into the matter with vigor and thoroughness. Our biggest fear as sportsmen is that a precedent on referee behaviour would be created if the matter in now allowed to rest.

We now formally lodge a petition to your office as a whole to accept an interview with our panel before the week-end or alternatively to suspend the present series so that we can go into the matter with patience.

Hoping that sportsmanship would prevail.

Yours in sport

Capt.: F Simon

Vice Capt.: L Mahlangu

Sec: S Isaacs

(Letter written to MFA by Atlantic Raiders, 24 November 1970) (MCH 64.18.1.2 a, b).

During a meeting held on 1 December 1970 the MFA executive, amongst other business of the meeting, agreed on and released the fixtures for 5 December 1970 that included a match between Blue Rocks and Carlton XI. This meant that the Atlantic Raiders were not going to be given a chance to redeem themselves in the rematch which they requested. The decision made by the MFA executive related to the Atlantic Raiders matter was recorded in the minutes of the meeting as:

> The matter which had been touched the previous day pertaining to the Atlantic Raiders protest was discussed fully. The agreement was that it be pointed out to them that their protest is unacceptable on the grounds that it was not lodged at the correct time and place ;that the inter-cell matches were not played strictly according to K/O competition matches, hence no replays were granted in cases of a draw; rather they were played as friendly K/Os for exhibition as per Section VIII c & d of the Constitution; that the executive takes strong exception to their insinuations and the tone of their letters; that their objection based on a letter addressed to the MFA. Chairman is baseless since all executive members have the right to address letters; that their claim that they possess evidence to the effect that the MFA. has received no match reports of the matches of 21/11/70, be challenged; that their claim that the second referee was unauthorized by the secretary of the Referees' Union; and that they be asked to explain what they mean by 'duress'' and what type of procedure they intend following in applying their "duress". If after this letter (Re: 1/12/70) they still pursue the matter further action will have to be taken against them (Minutes of MFA executive meeting held 1 December 1970) (MCH 64.9.2.59, 60).

The Atlantic Raiders was infuriated and felt that the MFA was ignoring them and sent another letter on 3 December, in response to the one that they received from the MFA on 1 December 1970, to request a meeting between the Executive of the MFA and a delegation of the Atlantic Raiders before the next game. The minutes of the meeting of 4 December reflects this request as follows:

Then came the Atlantic Raiders' letter of 3/12/70 in which they demanded that the MFA executive meet their delegation between 7 a.m. on Friday 4/12/70 and 10 a.m. Saturday 5/12/70 to finalise this case. (MFA executive meeting minutes 4 December 1970) (MCH 64.9.2.63).

The MFA executive refused to have a meeting with a delegation and instead summoned the captain Freddie Simon and vice-Captain Lucas Mahlangu to a meeting and questioned them about the 'action' that they were going to take. The men would not divulge any information but were informed of the following:

(i) No delegation would be met, (ii) the decision of the executive still stands, (iii) they (Atlantic Raiders) must not take the field by force, and (iv) they, as captains, shall be held responsible for whatever might arise as a consequence of the duress (MFA executive meeting minutes 4 December 1970) (MCH 64.9.2.63).

6.6.3. Learning from protests

The next day Mahlangu withdrew as the vice-captain because he knew what his team mates were planning and did not want be part of it. Unfortunately, the other clubs were not prepared to support the Atlantic Raiders in their quest to have the clause overturned because by now they were restless and frustrated that the incident had escalated to this point and indirectly blamed them for the lull in matches. Very little soccer had been played and the players and the warders yearned to have things 'back to normal' and were now appealing to them to end the deadlock with the MFA. The 1971 secretarial report sums up the feelings and impact the incident had on soccer in prison:

This issue (Atlantic Raiders affair) which is quite well known to all of us started in the 5th December 1970 and up to now, it's far reaching consequences are still being felt by the most if not all of us. The executive had no less than 26 meetings over the matters of and arising from the Raiders issue. A total of no less than 250 sheets of foolscap paper were used during this issue, let alone issues arising there from. Finally, the time spent on this matter, well over 100 hours (MFA secretarial report 1971) (MCH 64.9.3.5h).

Realising that they were not going to win over any clubs and that the players were not prepared to wait another year before they could play, the Atlantic Raiders withdrew their application for membership to the MFA. They also concluded that they were not going to win the case and decided to dissolve the club on 14 February 1971 in a letter to the MFA (MCH 64.18.1.19). The letter also requested the MFA to relax the '14-day clause'. This clause D (iii) in the constitution stipulated that:

> The player shall be required to serve a period of fourteen (14) days from the day of his registration with the Association, before playing in any league or Knock-out (fixtures) competitions.

6.6.4. Learning to compromise

The MFA and Atlantic Raiders reached a compromise. The Appeals Tribunal overturned the one-month ban to a suspended sentence of six months on condition that the men did not commit the offence again and each accused had to write a letter of apology to the Association. Freddy Simon, the captain of the Atlantic Raiders, wrote this letter of apology (MCH 64.18.1.30). After five months of battle the Atlantic Raiders-Blue Rocks affair was over but the repercussions would reverberate throughout the prison for a very long time, as intimated by the Chairperson in his 1971 report:

> The emphasis should now be on variety exhibition matches. We have tried it with a real success; if we are to only to remember a few: Veterans v. Youth, 5-a-side, Short men vs. Tall men and the greatest of them all, inter-cell match which brought untold sorrows [referring to the Atlantic Raiders incidents]. Our member affiliates still stand at 8, though there was a melodramatic, though very short lived, increase of affiliates to 9 on 21 January 1971 only for the number to fall back to 8 by 14 January 1971 when the Atlantic Raiders F.C as they put it "peacefully passed away". May it rest in peace? (E Moseneke, Chairman report June 1971) (MCH 64.9.3.4d).

Despite the negative results of the affair that led to months of inertia, debates, fighting, arguing and almost the end of soccer on RI, there were lessons to be learnt from this experience. This is conveyed by the Chairperson, Ernest Moseneke, when he described the lessons from the incident:

The momentous Atlantic Raiders case taught us a lot and we came to know each other closer. Clubs which were least affected – probable loss of membership– were consistently vehement against the Raiders. But it is a real pity that in some cases the consistency against the Raiders was not due to moral conviction of the wrongfulness of the act but that they had nothing at stake. On the other hand, clubs which were most affected were at first very vehement against A.R.F.C. only to turn from black to white, though they did not have sufficient guts to come out on this issue. Having gone this far as it had the Executive was almost exposed to sole proprietorship of the enterprise (E Moseneke, Chairman report June 1971) (MCH 64.9.3.4g).

The fight for the right to play soccer and the subsequent trial had achieved its goal of conduit to transcend the barriers of political ideology and other barriers. This is conveyed by the Chairperson, Ernest Moseneke, in his report:

Either than their overwhelming interest, variety matches create new and commendably short-lived group identification. Players forget their adhesive and corroding club over- identification in favour of some wholesome affiliation like "shorties", "veterans" etc. The scars left by club over-identification are rather deep and unlookable and I feel strongly too, that variety exhibition matches can be the afficaciuos [efficacious] plastic surgery (E. Moseneke, Chairman report June 1971) (MCH 64.9.3.4g).

Anthony Suze, a staunch PAC member and Freddie Simon, a common law prisoner who joined the ANC after his imprisonment, became allies as members of the Atlantic Raiders team and co-accused in the case. This kind of collaboration would not have been heard of a few years earlier when the notion of playing organised soccer on the Island was a dream (Korr & Close, 2008).

6.6.5. Learning the impact of protest

The incident had an impact on the organisation and smooth running of the Association and the executive had to re-arrange the fixtures as recorded in the minutes of the meeting of 7 December 1970:

Since the standing programme on fixtures was completely disturbed by the demonstrations the executive was forced to make adjustments as follows:

12/12/70: Morn.3B's friendly match

G vs. DU B division-league replay

Aft: 2Cs friendly

Blue Rocks vs. Carlton XI (this is the game that was disrupted on 5/2/70)

Mr. S Brander, the organiser of the Veterans was to be told that the bioscope on 28/11/70 and the demonstrations on 5/12/70 disturbed the programme of the executive so much that the Veteran matches were to be shifted to Boxing day (26/12/70) when they shall be offered as a Boxing Day surprise packet for the public (Minutes of the MFA executive 7/12/70) (MCH 64.9.2.66, 67).

The informal executive meeting also endorsed that Mr. Hilliard, the referee that abandoned the match on 21 November 1970, be provisionally suspended. The executive also discussed the demonstrations by the Atlantic Raiders and made the following decisions:

As the executive regarded the matter as very urgent it decided to waste no time on it. All 11 demonstrators were to be duly charged for the disturbance. Since Messrs. B. Ntoele and A. Suze are members of the Protest and Misconduct Committee and are involved in the said demonstrations, it was decided the P&MC be written to and be told the these two persons recuse themselves immediately for the particular case and that the above commission furnish the executive with the name of its acting secretary since its secretary (Mr. B Ntoele) shall not handle any correspondence pertaining to the case (Minutes of MFA executive informal meeting 7 December 1970) (MCH 64.9.2.65).

The MFA executive called an emergency meeting with the clubs on 8 December 1970, to inform them of the circumstances surrounding the invasion of the pitch and the consequences of it. They also penned a letter to the Selection Committee stating:

The executive has decided that when arranging sides for the selection matches on 16/12/70 you exclude the following persons:

Mr. A Chiloane, Mr. B. Ntoele, Mr. L. Takane, Mr., A. Suze, Mr. F Simon, Mr. E Malgas, Mr. M. Masemola, Mr. Kamteni, Mr. D. Phiti, Mr. A Hoho, Mr. L. Mpongoshe

For the reasons that (1) their actions on Saturday 5/12/70 was not sportsmanlike, (2) public opinion is so much against their action that some people might refuse to play against or together with these men and (3) since they defied the instructions of the executive it is doubtful whether they will comply with its instructions this time and should they not comply, the matches will be seriously marred (Letter from the MFA to the Selection Committee 7 December 1970) (MCH 64.10.1.137).

The actions by the Atlantic Raiders players had an impact on all aspects of the organisation of soccer on the Island. The clubs gathered at an emergency meeting agreed with the decisions made by the Association executive to suspend the 11 Atlantic Raider players. They requested that a letter be sent to the cell C4 to request them to desist from any further action and proposed actions as indicated in the letter below:

I move that, this meeting endorse all the steps taken thus far by the exec of the Assn. in their dealing s with the former Atlantic Raiders and the handling of the Atlantic Raider Affair; letter be addressed to the inmates of C4, wherein a call is made upon them to desist from the actions they have pursued up to now, such as demonstrating, and any other similar actions they might have in mind and that they inform the Executive of the Ass. of their decision to desist from such actions by Friday, 11th Dec., 1970; the Executive be given the powers to postpone and/or cancel the Inter-section friendly knock-out matches by Saturday 12th Dec, 1970, if it has by then received no favorable reply from C4. The meeting selects an individual to read this letter, mentioned under (2), to the inmates of C4 as a group and individually to the 11 individuals who demonstrated on the soccer field on Saturday, 5th Dec, 1970.

Mover: M Solomon. Seconded: Nape(r) Bahule (Resolution by clubs 8/12/70) (MCH 64.10.1.147a & b).

The minutes of the meeting of 7 December 1970 reflect the action that would be taken against all those involved in the incident as follows:

> It was decided that he, M. Masemola be charged under 4 counts and that he must appear together with Messrs. A Suze and D Phiti and that two separate indictments should be made. Instead the 11 will be charged together on 2 counts after which Messrs. A. Suze and D. Phiti will be further charged on two counts for failure to perform their duties as assigned by the Union.

The duties referred to in the letter related to the fact that they were assigned to the match on 5/12/70 as referee and linesmen respectively. It was later revealed that Mr. Masemola had resigned from the Referees Union a day before the match between Blue Rocks and Carlton XI.

The letter was presented to the Atlantic Raiders administrators who were not happy with the decision and wrote a fourth letter to request affiliation to the MFA. The acting secretary of the MFA, J Makofane, referred the club to the constitution in his letter to them by stating:

> However, the executive is aware of your intention to affiliate to the MFA. as a club and we have pleasure to inform you the conditions for affiliation are reflected in Section VI A (i) (a), (b), (c) and (d) of the MFA. Constitution and we hope to hear from you soon (Letter to the Atlantic Raiders from the acting secretary of the MFA 7/12/70) (MCH 64.10.1.143).

The Atlantic Raiders expressed the desire to resolve the matter amicably but were not prepared to take responsibility for what happened. They also wanted the MFA to recognise that they had a legitimate complaint and requested a meeting with the Executive by issuing a memorandum that was presented by Mr. Suze who acted as liaison between the executive and cell C4. The minutes reflect what transpired in that meeting as:

> The Chairman opened the meeting and allowed Mr. A. Suze. Who had been appointed liaison between the executive and Cell C4, to give the executive an explanation of his cell's views. He said that while Cell C4 appreciates and understands the letter from the Executive to them he personally feels a meeting with the cell was necessary. He further urged the executive to do

all in its power to obviate any further chaos, for the matter now affects the clubs also. (Minutes of Executive meeting, 11 December 1970) (MCH 64.9.2.70).

The chairperson's response to this was:

> In reply the chairperson pointed out that the executive has always been willing to have the matter thrashed out. However, the executive was still going to decide whether to go to C4 or not. Mr. Suze then handed over the memorandum from C4 and he was allowed to leave the meeting. The memorandum was then read and it was found to be containing among other things the fact that the executive has to go to C4 on 11/12/70 "to decide with us the fate of the inter-cell matches" (Minutes of Executive meeting, 11 December 1970) (MCH 64.9.2.70).

The meeting between the MFA executive and the Atlantic Raiders (cell C4) took place on 11 December 1970 and it was soon evident that an amicable solution was not going to be reached. The two sides continued to hurl accusations at each other and the meeting was further intensified by the spectators who were unhappy that soccer on the Island was in a chaotic state and were afraid that it might be taken from them if the situation was not resolved soon. That meeting ended in a deadlock.

Two weeks later another meeting was convened in an attempt to find a solution to the matter but the tension between the two parties was intensified by new dynamics which extended beyond the match and the subsequent demonstration on the field. It seemed that now the dispute was no longer between a club and the MFA but between cells block C4 and the MFA. The prisoners in cell block C4 raised the issue that they were not chosen to play in the friendly matches arranged by the MFA because they had shown their support for the Atlantic Raiders and that they were being marginalised and castigated without real cause. This meeting also ended in a stalemate with both parties expecting the other to admit that they were wrong (Korr & Close, 2008).

6.6.6. Learning to appeal

On 16 December 1970 the Atlantic Raiders received an indictment letter (MCH 64.18.1.8) stating that 11 of their players were charged with various counts and that

they had to appear before the P&MC to answer to the charges. All the men signed the indictment except Mr. Nontembe Kamtemi who lodged a protest against the indictment, as seen in the original MCH 64.18.1.5. They were all found guilty of the charges and each man received a one-month ban from playing soccer.

The administration of Atlantic Raiders was not going to accept neither the charges nor the sentencing and launched an appeal. Ernest Moseneke resigned from the MFA to act as prosecutor of the Appeals Tribunal. The case dragged on for three months with the Atlantic Raiders using every means possible to reduce or get the sentences expunged. Sedick Isaacs and George Moffat wrote lengthy reports, submitted arguments and got players to write letters of appeal where they raised procedural issues and accused the MFA of employing delaying tactics. This resulted in them not being able to play for a long time which they felt was punitive enough.

6.6.7. Learning to exercise constitutional democracy

The other strategy they used was to apply for official membership to the MFA. A precisely written application (MCH 64.18.1.13a, b) that met all the criteria, as stipulated in the constitution, clause VIII A, Club rules:

Affiliation

On application for affiliation to the Association the applicant shall submit a list of office-bearers and a list of at least thirteen members, reflecting such members' full names, signatures and ages (MFA constitution – Clause VIII A (i) (a) (MCH 64.8.1.14).

The Atlantic Raiders were confident that their application would be accepted and cheekily 'announced' that they would play their first friendly match on 31 January 1971 by sending this letter to the Dynaspurs Football club in the hope that it would put pressure on the MFA to accept them as an affiliate:

Dear Sir,

On 30 January 1971, we shall be playing our maiden match under the MFA. and for the purpose we would like to appear as neat as possible. We,

therefore beg the loan of your set of green striped socks. (Our official colours are black and green).

Thanking you in anticipation.

Yours in sport

Sedick Isaacs

This strategy caught the MFA off guard and they initially did not respond because they had no other recourse but to accept the application. However, they found this clause in the constitution:

Clause VIII A. Club rules

Affiliation: The GM shall consider such application for affiliation and may accept it; however, such application shall not be accepted while competitive games are in progress.

This meant that Atlantic Raiders could not play their first match since they had to wait until the new season to register their club or garner enough votes to review and rescind the clause in the constitution as stipulated in Clause XI – Amendments:

Proposals for amendments to this constitution shall be submitted to the secretary in writing. The secretary shall thereupon communicate such proposed amendments to the clubs and after reasonable time he shall arrange for a G.M. (General Meeting) to consider such proposed amendments

Amendments to this Constitution shall be adopted by a simple majority (MFA Constitution – XI (i), (ii) (MCH 64.1.8.14).

The club members decided to disband the club as indicated by this letter sent to the MFA (MCH 64.18.1.19):

Dear Sir,

We beg to inform you that "the club in Embryo" of 6th Dec, 1970 (A.R.F.C.) has now peacefully passed away. It, however, been [sic] a ghost may at some stage in the future (and should the need arise), be revived to once more sit, walk, run or play the field of R.I.

As a result of objections by soccerites to the effect that the existence of A.R.F.C. is interfering with the standard of soccer we have decided to rather disband.

Since A.R.F.C. is no more, we request you not to apply the "14-day clause" to our ex-members who are now joining other clubs of your Association.

Please accept our apology for any possible inconveniences.

With best regards and farewell,

Yours in sport,

S. Isaacs (Secretary)

M. Masemola (Acting Chairman)

A. Suze (Chairman)

6.7. I used the following data from the thematic data analysis in order to strengthen the argument about the Atlantic Raiders affair.

6.7.1. Learning to protest in soccer

Given the nature of the organisation of soccer in the confines of a prison it was inevitable that there would be tensions, dissatisfaction and conflict. Marvin explained the nature of this incident, the protest and the lessons they learnt from it:

> If my memory serves me correctly, we made it very clear that we wanted to have this matter [the protest by the Atlantic Raiders players] resolved as soon as possible because it was creating tension in the community. Now what was more important? A few people wanted to play and win at all cost. All because the referee didn't see. But the law says the ref is the soul fact of judge. Everybody was involved because when we went to the quarry the meeting had continued. The way we lived everything that was done was almost a daily part of your life. If something happened, it was discussed in the quarry where you worked. In the evening you would discuss again. It became an obsession over and over and over… That showed us again like today, you can't teach values. It's about creating an environment so they can internalize. So the incident showed us that the values and the desire to

compete and win are strong because that's how you are socialised outside. People wanted to win and they wanted a strong team and they lost against a weak team. So sports are par excellence the activity that tests you all the time when you are on the field, your values. Are you going to fight every time someone pushes you? You must control yourself. It was about testing your value system, how you respond in competition. That is what the case was about. You see, when you play in a setting you play with comrades of yours, you play against and with. And you depend on them for your life basically, for your existence, for example even when you argue. We had to learn how to argue now. (Marvin, Interview, October 15, 2015).

6.7.2. *Learning to understand conflict and engage in conflict resolution in soccer*

The Atlantic Raiders incident and other protests were catalysts for prisoners to learn to understand and engage in conflict resolution if they hoped to retain control of soccer. Marvin describes how prisoners resolved this:

This incident is so vital. Because we realised that you can be highly educated. All that learning. What has it achieved? Learned peopled are amongst the worse people. We played sport and we enjoyed it tremendously I can tell you. We argued and whatever. But this is the reflection when you're outside the stadium/sport field and then you realise later that perhaps you over did it. What is a sport? Because now if you say we must win then everybody will drift to a strong club and that was not the purpose of the sports programme. The sports programme was so that everybody is physically active. Because was it a life-threatening situation? (Marvin, Interview, 15 October 2015).

6.7.3. *Learning to implement the democratic constitution*

Prisoners engaged with each other and learnt to put systems in place to resolve conflict as rapidly as possible. The MFA constitution outlined the disciplinary steps and procedures which prisoners had to study and follow to the hilt if they wanted to be a successful organisation. Jani and Vuyo describe how they adhered to these rules as laid out in the constitution.

There were cases. We took our sport seriously. We had a sport and recreation committee. Each sport code had its own committee and there was a DC. In case something happened on the field. We took it seriously. I wasn't an administrator. But if one could hear the arguments when there was a case you would know we took it serious. You could even get a legal representative. It was quite exciting. I even attended one or two of the cases. If you broke the rules on the field the referee would put it in his report. If someone from the opposing team did something wrong the captain of the team shall protest about it on the field. The matter would then be taken to the DC and then action will be taken. There will be [a] hearing, captains and refs of both clubs will present their reports and a hearing will take place. And they would have to appear. (Jani, Interview, and May 26, 2016).

There were during my time on RI, incidents of dissatisfaction. But we had a constitution that would regulate that. Like for instance you don't leave the match and after the match you protest. You protest during the match. So that we can record it. And then as a sports committee we can sit down and discuss and apply the constitution and then that's what would guide us more than anything else. Then we had what were organisationally sessions of criticism and self-criticism. And maybe one of us played another member, comrade of another club or organisation badly. We would under certain circumstances suspend such a person from the organisation. So that we try to rehabilitate that person. You would be ostracised and alone and thrown out of the kolgos (kolgos was a system where all resources were pooled to share among the prisoners in that particular cell or section) and if you smoked your cigarettes would be finished. You can't get a smoke from anybody because it belonged to the kolgos – you do not belong to the kolgos so can't benefit anything, so that you would apologise even before the period ends. And join again the kolgos. And you can see the behaviour of the person in the field has changed. That, I think that was the most painful punishment – to be excluded from the kolgos. (Vuyo, Interview, October 6, 2015).

Apart from the Atlantic Raiders incident there were other protests that took place in prison. Vukani and Mandla share their experiences of conflict and the measures they put in place in the event of a protest or dissent from players:

No, I don't know about that protest (Atlantic raiders vs. Blue Rocks incident). But there was a protest during my time where there was foul play with a club and the committee then sat and said that they must iron out their differences. There was always that kind of initiative to iron out these things and there would be no compromise if a person has done wrong to punish that person. Disciplinary measures were taken. (Vukani, Interview, December 22, 2015).

Yes, we had some quarrels but not a sit-in for 90 minutes. (In reference to the Atlantic Raiders incident) We had some quarrels and issues. I was a referee but I would rely on my lines man. The minute I blow people would complain and I would go to my linesman and I would blow against all the people. It used to happen and any player who would misbehave would get a yellow card. And if the captain wants to argue I will tell him that I am the referee and my decision is final. If he continues I will give him a yellow card or take out my referee's book and write down their numbers and if the game can't continue I will go to the match commissioner and he will advise and the game will be over. But we never had a situation where we had a sit in. We had red cards and people who were playing bad or retaliating and they would get red cards. It was a form of discipline. If things go bad I would just bump the ball. When they argue I say bring the referee's chart. The referee's word is final. There'll be no other person whether the referee is right or wrong. (Mandla, Interview, March 21, 2016).

After every game a referee had to write a report. When there's a protest the DC (Disciplinary Committee) will first look at the referee's report and they will see what the ref said and apply the rule and look at that, so these were the deliberations we looked at for a long time. It was for the well-being of prisoners. (Mandla, Interview, March 21, 2016).

6.7. Summary

This chapter presented the data that was collected by reviewing documents that are held at the Robben Island Museum/UWC Mayibuye Archive, in relation to the Atlantic Raiders/Blue Rocks soccer incident. The analysis process was made easier because many of the documents in this collection are digitised. The next chapter (Chapter 7) will present a summary of the findings and suggested recommendations based on the findings.

SUMMARY, FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I present a summary of findings, theoretical insights and recommendations. The research problem that was addressed in this study was to determine how political prisoners were able to organise prisoner education (political education, non-formal and informal education) and participate in prison-sponsored education (formal education) and to find answers to the question of what impact education had on the sport that they agitated for and what the relationship was between sport and education.

I investigated the main research question as well as sub-questions:

Main research question: *What was the nature of the relationships between sport and political-prisoner education on Robben Island between 1960 and 1990?*

Sub-questions: *How was the political-prisoner education curriculum facilitated on the Island? How did playing sport enhance political-prisoner education? What political education was learnt through sporting activities? What lessons were learnt through sporting activities? What kinds of organising skills did political prisoners bring to the Island to organise political education and sport?*

The theoretical framework that guided this study is based on the work by Paulo Freire and Stephen Brookfield. Popular education, espoused by Freire, is intended to provide an alternative educational approach that would lead to social justice and assist people to identify their own problems and empower them to solve it collectively. Freire (1972) proposed two types of education. The banking method of education led to "education for domestication" that had people accept things as they are. Through this negative education people accepted the role imposed on them and merely adapted to the "world as it is and to the fragmented reality deposited in them". The alternative "education for liberation" would allow man to be seen as conscious beings and not merely as empty vessels to be filled. Education for liberation sees the role of the teacher and student as interchangeable with the teacher no longer the authority on knowledge. Both student and teacher have knowledge

and both teach and learn at the same time. Teachers were students and teachers at the same time – there was peer learning and teaching which translates to group work. Learning was as much an individual as a group process.

I also explored the notion of a sports organisation as a social movement and the learning that takes place within a social movement.

I used a qualitative research approach which produced rich data that contributed to an understanding of the relationship between political-prisoner education and sport practised in the prison on Robben Island. I used thematic analysis to analyse the data. I also analysed documents to complement the data that I collected during interviews since the events on Robben Island can no longer be observed and some of the participants could not remember certain events that took place on the Island.

The research instrument I used was an interview guide which facilitated a semi-structured interview. I made use of face-to face verbal semi-structured interviews which are also referred to as guided interviews and is somewhere between the structured and unstructured interview in format. In these types of interviews, the interviewer asks the same set of questions in the same order to different interviewees. Structured interviews are very often used in quantitative research and do not leave much room for the interviewer to deviate from the predetermined questions. The aim of this kind of interview is to extract the same answers from all the interviewee**s** (McNiff, 1996).

I audio-taped all the interviews and made written notes to ensure that I captured the interaction. After the interviews I transcribed the data and captured it electronically and stored it in various forms, for example on a flash drive, on my lap top, hard drive and hard copies to ensure that valuable data is not lost. The transcripts were analysed to give me a sense of the whole and to put the experiences of the political prisoners into context. I organised the data and divided it into codes of meaning. Henning (2004) proposes that in open coding the codes are made up as the researcher works through the data. These codes were further categorised into related groups and named. Relationships between the categories and themes emerged as I read and re-read the raw data. I found a relationship between the themes so I interpreted the data and attached meaning and significance to the analysis. Three

final categories emerged during the analyses process and this was further categorised into sub-categories and renamed. I was then able to plug the data into these categories and in this sense analyse the data.

The data gave me a clear understanding of how and what the relationship between education and sport on Robben Island was.

7.2. Summary of findings

Several participants agreed that the introduction and organisation of sport and education on the Island helped to bring about a sense of normality and helped to ease the tension among political prisoners.

All participants stated that all political prisoners were involved in the education process whether it was as a learner or teacher.

One participant emphasised that education was not only about literacy and subjects but that it was a "process of schooling".

Participants all agreed that there was a non-formal education and a formal education system.

All participants agreed that the literacy programme was the foundation of the education system where the concept of 'each one, teach one' became a popular methodology.

Several participants remarked that political prisoners would arrange themselves around a tutor during literacy classes.

Evidence suggests that political prisoners shared their resources because only those who had money could afford to buy stationery.

Several participants highlighted that many political prisoners were encouraged to study, both formally and non-formally, by their predecessors.

Several participants stated that each political organisation represented on the Island was responsible for teaching political education.

One participant revealed that political prisoners started teaching each other because prison warders put them in the cells together almost 'forcing' them to interact.

Several participants stated that there was value in the education system and that it was a holistic process that helped political prisoners to accept their differences and that after some time they (political prisoners) also adopted others' cultures.

All participants agreed that it was a challenge for political prisoners to get permission to study formally, but that once they were allowed to, many political prisoners completed school certificates and many obtained degrees.

One participant noted that warders were encouraged to study when they saw that political prisoners were successful in their studies.

Several participants remarked that political prisoners agitated for sport, a formal soccer structure, and better prison conditions by using various stratagems such as hunger strikes and negotiation strategies and tactics.

All participants agreed that soccer was well-organised in the communal sections but that the soccer and other sport in the single cells were organised on a more casual basis.

A few participants stated that after a protracted struggle the MFA was established and a democratic constitution based on FIFA rules was drafted.

A few participants highlighted that the MFA constitution stipulated that education was also a priority.

A few participants mentioned that political prisoners who were kept in B section were not allowed to play sport with the political prisoners in the communal sections and had to arrange their own sport.

Several participants stated that political prisoners learnt to use found material to make the equipment they needed to play their sport.

All participants agreed that political prisoners learnt valuable lessons during the organisation and implementation of soccer on the Island.

Several participants stated that the contravention of the code of conduct was subject to disciplinary action.

All participants agree that the protest caused division in prison. Some political prisoners felt it was wrong to protest because it jeopardised their hard work to get

soccer organised. Other political prisoners felt that the protest was justified and the only manner in which their plight could be heard.

Evidence suggests that the most important lesson was that the incident and the subsequent trial was the conduit to transcend the barriers of political ideology.

Evidence revealed a parallel with sport that was used to resist prison conditions and sport in the broader South African context that was used as a tool to fight apartheid.

The significance of the study exposes sport as a site for covert political education and was used as a strategy for resisting prison conditions and to develop political prisoners as political leaders after their release from prison.

This study was significant because it revealed the nuances of the relationship between sport and education on RI.

The study revealed a strong relationship between the education practices that took place on the Island and the sport played by the political prisoners.

7.3. Limitations of the study

The data gathering process was challenging in terms of setting up appointments with participants. I interviewed 11 former RI political prisoners to gather sufficient data. I made 32 appointments but 21 were cancelled for various reasons. Despite my assurance that the interviews were for academic purposes only, there was a semblance of scepticism about the motives for the interview. Potential participants expressed fear that they would be exploited and that neither they nor their families would benefit from the interviews if the interviews were going to be used for commercial purposes. Some former political prisoners were not willing to be interviewed since these are painful, personal stories, in spite of them being assured of their anonymity and confidentiality.

The planned interviews took place during the run up to the 2016 FIFA Presidential race. A certain group of potential participants claimed that the interviews were part of a publicity stunt to feature a certain short-listed candidate in the presidential race and they did not want to be party to that. Others were too busy with their regular employment and did not have the time for the interview and several did not respond to my requests.

Since the Atlantic Raiders (AR) vs. Blue Rocks (BR) incident took place 46 years ago (at the time of the interviews) it was a challenge to find participants who were involved and participated in the incident. I was, however, fortunate enough to interview two founding members of the Makana Football Association (MFA). The first participant, Marvin, remembered the whole incident and was very forthcoming with the information that I needed. The second participant, Shami, could remember most of what transpired before and during his imprisonment and showed me the logo he had designed for his soccer club, Rangers. However, in spite of him being the secretary of the club and the secretary of the MFA since its inception 21 June 1969-1 December 1970 (MCH 64.10.1.137 and MCH 64.10.1.145) he had no recollection of the AR vs. BR incident. After some thought, during the interview, he explained that he may not have remembered the incident for two reasons. Some political prisoners had shorter sentences than others and left the prison and the names of the clubs would also have changed. He also confirmed that at some stage some political prisoners were not allowed out of the cells and it may have been that he was one of those at the time of the incident. The interview with a third MFA founder member could not take place because he was a patient at a frail care home and Alzheimer's had set in. I tried to help him remember by writing the name of the club he was a member of. This seemed to have triggered a memory because he then recalled and recited his prison number and the prison numbers of his two co-accused, one of which was Shami. He then recognised Shami (who was with me during the visit to him) and questioned where their other co-accused was. Shami did not respond to this knowing that their co-accused had passed away a few years before.

While sorting the data I realised that certain questions could not be answered because the participants could either not remember or they were not privy to information because it did not happen in their cell or in their section. I also discovered that there were different versions of stories from political prisoners who shared a cell or were in the same section and a disjuncture in information even if they were in prison at the same time. I concluded that this is the delicate nature of memory.

The unique physical location of Robben Island had limitations for this study. As an apartheid prison, very little, if anything was known about what was happening on

the Island. The only information was received from those who were being released. This narrow pool of political prisoners and warders are the only people that can shed light on what transpired in the prison. Contested memories may lead to inaccuracies and differences in the findings or some former political prisoners may not be able to remember aspects of their incarceration on the Island.

The apartheid system rendered black people as second-class citizens with many not having completed school and as many not attending school, resulting in low levels of literacy during the early 1960s period of political imprisonment. Due to this I encountered the phenomenon where history, in particular African history, is carried over by word of mouth as opposed to in writing as in more developed and Western countries. This method has been passed down through generations but it has its limitations in that if the person dies, the story dies, unless plans have been made to record the story. The African adage of "if an old person dies a library is burnt down" is true if one considers that many Africans, especially former political prisoners, have to date not written their stories. There are examples of biographies and autobiographies of famous former political prisoners but the unknown, ordinary, rank and file political prisoners have not begun to write their stories and there is a great danger that they will pass on before it has been written.

7.4. Theoretical Insights

My theoretical framework encompasses the following aspects:

- Freire's (1972) popular education concepts of problem-posing education versus the banking method, conscientisation, and generative themes, codes and decoding.

- Brookfield's (2005) series of learning tasks of recognising and challenging ideology, learning to uncover and counter hegemony and learning to unmask power, to create a society in which people will live "collectively in ways that encourage free exercise of their creativity without foreclosing that of others".

- A body of theorists that argue that learning takes place within social movements.

My theoretical framework enabled me to develop the following theoretical insights.

Freire's concept of problem-posing education versus the banking method is appropriate to sum up the education practices that emanated from the Robben Island prison. The RI education curriculum, which consisted of formal studies and political-prisoner education, was facilitated through participatory learning and group discussions. The curriculum was agreed on by all and there were 'democratic' classes where the role of the teacher was interchangeable with that of the student.

Freire's notion of critical consciousness was confirmed when political prisoners collectively used the confines of the prison to think about their oppressive situation, identify their challenges and move from a state of passivity to one of action when they embarked on campaigns for better prison conditions, the right to play sport, and the right to education.

The use of Freire's generative themes, codes and coding were not explicit in the implementation of literacy classes on RI.

Political prisoners used the learning tasks of recognising and challenging ideology, learning to uncover and counter hegemony, and learning to unmask to turn the negative prison space into a positive learning environment by studying, playing sport, and finding other ways of surviving the punitive prison system.

I argue that political prisoners were able to study, play soccer and fight the apartheid system, from within prison, as members of a social movement, in this context, the Makana Football Association (MFA). I therefore posit that the MFA as a sports organisation presents itself as a social movement and that learning took place within this realm.

7.5. Recommendations

Based on the research findings I recommend the following:

- Further investigation into how many political prisoners progressed beyond literacy classes and how far they proceeded with their studies.

- In general, literature about prisons reveal that research emphasis has been on prison education supplied by the authorities but further research about education organised by political prisoners is recommended.

- Further research about sport and recreation and the connection between sport and education among political prisoners.

- Further research into the notion of sports organisations as social movements.

- Further research into the learning that takes place in social movements.

- Further research in the application of social movement theory to sport-related social movements.

7.6. Conclusion

The study confirmed that a critical theory perspective, with a Freirean methodology, is effective in describing the education system and educational methods adopted on Robben Island. It is fascinating to note how sophisticated, in terms of current educational theory, the education system was. It is evident that despite the appalling prison conditions, political prisoners were able turn the negative, punitive system into a positive learning environment.

The study reveals that there is room for sports organisations to be considered social movements and that learning does take place in this realm. Foley (1999) suggests that the learning that takes place in social movements has not been recognised and "is not emancipatory in some linear, developmental sense" and therefore merits more investigation and study (p. 7).

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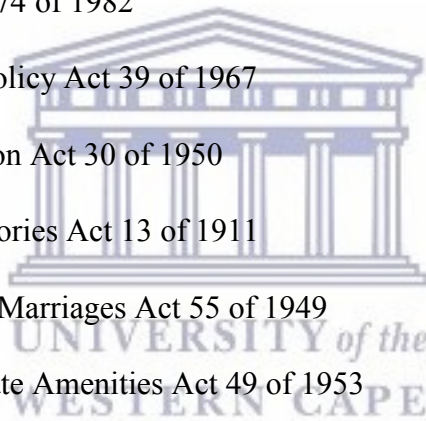
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Population Registration Act 30 of 1950

Prisons and Reformatories Act 13 of 1911

Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act 55 of 1949

Reservation of Separate Amenities Act 49 of 1953

Terrorism Act 83 of 1967

ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
APDUSA	African People's Democratic Union of Southern Africa
B.E.F.C.	Black Eagles Football Club
B.F.C.	Bucks Football Club
BC	Black Consciousness
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
CNE	Christian National Education
COHRE	Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions
DC	Disciplinary Committee
Dy.F.C.	Ditshitshidi Football Club
Dy.F.C.	Dynamos Football Club
ECA	Ethnographic Content analysis
F.A.U.	First Aid Unit
FIFA	Fédération Internationale de Football Association
G.F.C.	Gunners Football Club
H.F.C.	Hotspurs Football Club
IAAF	International Athletics Federation
ICC	International Cricket Committee
IOC	International Olympic Committee
IRC	International Red Cross
JMB	Joint Matriculation Board
MDM	Mass Democratic Movement
MFA	Makana Football Association
M.F.C.	Manong Football Club
Mph.F.C.	Mphatlhalatsane Football Club
MSP	maximum security prison
P&MC	Protest and Misconduct Committee
P.M.C.	Protest and Misconduct Tribunal Committee
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress of Azania
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress of Azania
PSL	Premier Soccer League
R.F.C.	Rangers Football Club
RI	Robben Island
RIM	Robben Island Museum
R.I.P.	Robben Island Prison
R.U.	Referees' Union
SACOS	South African Council on Sport
SC	Sport Coordinating committee
SCC	Sports Coordinating Committee
SAN-ROC	South African Non-racial Olympic Committee
SAS	Surfers against Sewage
SASA	South African Sports Association
SASPO	South African Non-Racial Sports Organisation
UDM	United Democratic Movement
UISP	Unione Italiana Sport Per tutti
UN	United Nations
UNISA	University of South Africa

GLOSSARY

binne plaas	the inside area
Geography	Aardrykskunde
julle smokkel al die manne van Pretoria	you are smuggling in all the men from Pretoria
kolgos	a system where all resources were pooled to share among the prisoners in that particular cell or section
magou	those who could not even kick a ball
mlolo	dribbling
old toppies	older men
ou tronk	old jail
scribblers	notepads
tronkbiting	prison biting
zinc tronk	zinc jail

UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

APPENDICES

Appendix A:
Request for RIM prisoner records, documents and archival material

76 Garfield Road
Claremont
7700
28 September 2015

The CEO
Robben Island Museum
Nelson Mandela Gateway
V& A Waterfront
Cape Town
8000

Dear Sir

I am a registered Masters in Education student at the University of the Western Cape (UWC).

My proposal has been accepted and I will start the process of collecting data for my research study into: *"What is the nature of the relationship between political-prisoner education and the sport played by prisoners on Robben Island between 1960 and 1990?* I hereby request permission to peruse and use the RIM prisoner records, documents and archival material in the RIM research unit and the Mayibuye archive to gather information for my research study. All information gathered and interviews conducted will be kept confidential and stored for safe-keeping in the UWC education faculty.

I trust that my request meets with your approval.

Regards
Vanessa Mitchell
M ED student
UWC

A Place of Quality, A Place to Grow

Appendix B:
Letter sent to Robben Island former political prisoners

Dear Robben Island former political prisoner

I am a registered Masters in Education student at the University of the Western Cape (UWC) and I am inviting you to participate in a research study.

It is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve.

Please take the time to read the following information carefully and ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you need more information.

The purpose of this study is to answer the following question:

What is the nature of the relationship between political-prisoner education and the sport played by prisoners on Robben Island between 1960 and 1990?

Study Procedure:

The interview should take about 20-30 minutes and I will make use of audio recordings and make written notes of pertinent points.

Risks:

The risks of this study are minimal. These risks are similar to those you experience when disclosing work-related information to others. You may decline to answer any question you do not feel comfortable with.

 Benefits:

There will be no direct benefit to you for your participation in this study. However, I hope that the information obtained from this study may assist me in getting a better understanding of the topic and how others can benefit in the future.

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Confidentiality:

Every effort will be made to preserve your confidentiality and the information from this research will be used solely for the purpose of this study and any publications that may result from this.

Your anonymity will be maintained and you may request a copy of your transcribed interview.

Voluntary Participation:

If you decide to take part in this study, you will be asked to sign a consent form but you are free to withdraw at any time without giving a reason. You may refuse to answer any question or questions if you choose. This will not affect the relationship you have with me.

Unforeseeable Risks:

There may be risks that are not anticipated. However, every effort will be made to minimize any of these risks.

Costs to Subject:

There are no costs to you for your participation in this study. (Except your valuable time to answer the questions)

Compensation:

There is no monetary compensation to you for your participation in this study.

If you agree to participate in this study please complete the consent form and return to me.

Thank you for your valuable time.

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Appendix C:
Participant consent form

Participant consent form

Consent:

By signing this consent form, I confirm that I have read and understood the information and have the opportunity to ask questions. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason and without cost. I understand that I will be given a copy of this consent form.

I voluntarily agree to take part in this study.

Print name _____

Signature_____

Date _____

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Appendix D:
Interview guide

<u>Interview guide to gather information from former political prisoners</u>

Personal Information:

Name:

Address:

Age:

Marital status:

Occupation:

Before incarceration:

What events led to your involvement in the liberation struggle? Which political activities were you involved in? Can you describe the events leading up to your arrest and trial? What was your charge and sentence?

Education on RI

What were conditions or what systems were in place in prison when you first arrived on the Island? How did education evolve from the rudimentary "cement paper bags"? What led to these changes? What was your (and other prisoners' role) in effecting these changes?

The education system was formal, non and informal. How was non-formal education organised? Who decided on the curriculum? Which 'subjects' were taught? Who were the teachers on the island?

How was formal education organised? How did you get your reading material and stationery? Where did you write your exams?

Did you study? What did you study? Were you part of organising education on the Island?

What kind of ideologies/models of education influenced or was adopted as part of the education system on RI?
Can you describe some of the lessons you learnt on the island through studying or through the education system?

What did education do for the morale of the prisoners?

Sport/soccer on RI

Did you play soccer/sport before your incarceration? Did you play for a club? Was the club affiliated to a non- racial sport organisation? Did you have any sport administration experience before your incarceration? If so what was it and was it enhanced during your incarceration period as part of the MFA?

Can you describe the conditions in prison in relation to sport when you arrived on the Island? What systems were in place? If any. How did it change during your time in prison? What was your role (and other prisoners) in effecting the change? Describe the soccer system that evolved on the Island? What role did you play in the organisation of soccer on the Island? How did education enhance the organisation of soccer on the Island?

Do you remember the Atlantic Raiders vs. Blue Rocks incident? What lessons were learnt from this incident and how was it resolved?

What political issues played itself out in the organisation of soccer on the Island? How did the MFA resolve these issues? What did you learn from those issues and the way that it was dealt with? What role did the MFA play in resolving some of the challenges prisoners had in terms of prison conditions and in terms of what was happening on the playing field

What would you say was the relationship between the education system on RI during the political imprisonment period and the organisation of soccer on the Island? How did the two influence each other? What did you learn through playing soccer? What benefits (besides physical) were there to playing soccer?

Questions about the AR vs. BR incident

(Conscientisation, critical awareness, unmasking power, contesting hegemony, challenging ideology, domestication,

Critical thinking and Learning –AR vs. BR incident and struggles in soccer

What did you think about the incident?

Do you think the incident was divisive?

Why do you think it was divisive?

What were the consequences of the incident?

What did you learn about the power struggles in the incident?

What did you learn about political unity and how that was achieved?

Present letter/s-

What did you learn from these letters?

What did the letters teach you about legal procedures?

What did it teach you about sport administration?

What did it teach you about writing letters?

What did it teach you about interpretation of rules?

Present minutes of Meetings about protest

What did you learn about political mobilisation when the members protested?

What did you think about members who broke the rules?

Present minutes of Meetings

What did you learn about debating?

What did you learn about arguing?

Present Constitution

What did you learn about the importance of justice?

What did you learn about the value of a constitution?

What did you learn about authority?

What did you learn about discipline and contravention of the constitution?

Present indictment

What did you learn about the power struggles in the incident?

Questions about the AR vs. BR incident in order to interrogate the learning that took place in soccer

Appendix E:
Coding Manual

Learning to establish the MFA

1. Learning to mobilise to gain permission to play soccer

2. Learning to express the desire to play soccer

3. Learning to organise soccer

4. Learning to face challenges during the organisation of soccer

5. Learning to structure the soccer league

6. Learning to draft the various types of fixtures

7. Learning to conduct and organise meetings

8. Learning meeting procedures

9. Learning to establish clubs

10. Learning to make application for membership to the Association

11. Learning to write reports and minutes of meetings

12. Learning the rules of the game of soccer

Learning the constitutional framework of the MFA

1. Learning to write the Constitution

2. Learning to formulate the aims and objectives of the MFA

3. Learning the political philosophy of the MFA

4. Learning to define the roles and responsibilities of the office bearers of the MFA

5. Learning to establish committees and their functions

Learning to protest

1. Learning about the Constitutional protest rules and procedures

2. Learning from the Atlantic Raiders /Blue Rock incident

3. Learning about the individuals involved in the Atlantic Raiders/Blue Rocks incident

4. Learning about the responses to the incident from players, spectators, and administrators

5. Learning from the lessons of the incident

6. Learning about the impact of the incident on the organisation of soccer on the Island

Learning organisation of other sport codes

1. Learning about the relationship between the MFA and other sport codes

2. Learning to participate as sub bodies of associations

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Learning to establish the MFA	Learning the constitutional framework of the MFA	Learning to protest	Organisation of other sport codes
Learning to mobilise to gain permission to play soccer.	Learning to write the Constitution	Learning about the Constitutional protest rules and procedures	Learning about the relationship between the MFA and other sport codes
Learning to express the desire to play soccer	Learning to formulate the Aims and objectives of the MFA	Learning from the Atlantic Raiders /Blue Rock incident	Learning to participate as a sub body of an association
Learning organise soccer	Learning the political philosophy of the MFA	Learning about the individuals involved in the Atlantic Raiders/Blue Rocks incident	
Learning to face challenges in the organisation of soccer	Learning to define the roles and responsibilities of the office bearers of the MFA	Learning about the responses to the incident from players, spectators, and administrators	
Learning to structure the soccer league	Learning to establish committees and their functions	Learning from the lessons of the incident	
Learning to draft the various types of fixtures		Learning about the impact of the incident on the organisation of soccer on the Island	

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