

UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE

TITLE: SCHOOL SPORT AND POLITICAL CHANGE

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STATEMENT:

A MINI THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
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ABSTRACT

TITLE: SCHOOL SPORT AND POLITICAL CHANGE

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COURSE: M.ED. MINI THESIS, DEPARTMENT OF PHILSOPHY OF
EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY OF THE WESTERN CAPE.

This dissertation will attempt to explain the changes that have and are taking place within South African sport and especially school sport. This will be viewed in the context of changing political developments. The central question that will be addressed is whether progressive school sports bodies can effect meaningful political change.

Kuhn's theory of scientific revolutions will be used as the theoretical framework for understanding social and political change. He developed the concept of paradigms (frame of reference) in which an established paradigm prevails, challenged by an emerging rival paradigm. This theory has been applied to the present day South African political context in which the apartheid structure is the prevailing paradigm and the democratic movement, the emerging rival paradigm.

Within this theoretical framework the fundamental principles of both the apartheid and democratic paradigms will be discussed, including the bases and limits on which they rest. The incompatibilities of these two paradigms will be discussed. A broad historical overview of apartheid sport will be presented, after which attention will be focussed on

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apartheid school sport. Having located South African school sports historically, I shall argue that apartheid school sport gave rise to the emergence and growth of progressive school sports bodies which challenged the apartheid schools sports structures, an integral part of the apartheid paradigm. This is followed by a discussion which considers ways in which progressive schools sports bodies can bring about far-reaching, meaningful, political change in South Africa. Attention will be focussed on the South African Senior Schools Sports Association (SASSSA), as a progressive school sports body.

JANUARY 1990

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(iv)

OPSOMMING

TITEL: SKOLESPORT EN POLITIEKE VERANDERING (VERTAAL)

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Hierdie verhandeling sal ondersoek instel en probeer verduidelik die veranderinge wat plaasgevind het en wat nog steeds plaasvind in die Suid-Afrikaanse sport en veral skolesport. Dit sal gedoen word in die lig van veranderinge in die bree politieke konteks. Die sentrale vraag wat probeer beantwoord sal word, is of progressiewe skolesport - organisasies, effektiewe politieke veranderinge kan aanbring.

Kuhn se teorie van wetenskaplike omwentelings sal gebruik word as die teoretiese raamwerk vir die begrip van sosiale en politieke veranderinge. Hy het die konsep van paradigmes (verwysingsraamwerke) ontwikkel en verduidelik hoe die bestaande ontwikkelde paradigma deur 'n mededingende paradigma uitgedaag word. Hierdie teorie sal in die hedendaagse Suid-Afrikaanse politieke konteks toegepas word waarin die apartheidsstruktuur, die heersende paradigma is en die demokratiese beweging, die opkomende mededingende paradigma is.

Binne hierdie teoretiese raamwerk sal die fundamentele kenmerke van beide die apartheids en demokratiese paradigmas bespreek word, insluitende die grondslae en beperkings waarop

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hulle rus. Die onverenigbaarhede van hierdie paradigmas sal ook bespreek word. 'n Bree historiese bespreking van apartheidsport sal volg, waarna daar na apartheidskole sport gekyk sal word. Noudat Suid-Afrikaanse skolesport histories geplaas is, sal ek argumenteer dat apartheidskolesport tot gevolg gehad het, die ontstaan en groei van progressiewe skolesport - organisasies. Hierdie organisasies het apartheidskolesport, wat 'n integrale deel van die apartheidsparadigma is, teengestaan. Dit word gevolg deur my bewering dat progressiewe skolesportorganisasies merkwaardige politieke veranderinge in Suid-Afrika kan help aanbring. Aandag sal veral geskenk word aan die Suid-Afrikaanse Senior Skole Sport Vereniging (SASSSA) as 'n progressiewe skolesportorganisasie.

DATUM JANUARIE 1990



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DECLARATION

I declare that SCHOOL SPORT AND POLITICAL CHANGE 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 by complete references.

FULL NAME: KEITH BADEN POWELL

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INTRODUCTION

South Africa is in a transition period of change and to analyse these changes I shall look specifically at sport and political change, with special reference to school sport. Sport reflects many of the divisions and conflicts in society. The issue of South African Apartheid sport is raised as often today as it was since the early seventies.

There is no point in arguing whether there has been change or not. Of course there has. But how do we assess its significance?

The purpose of this dissertation is to explain or make sense of the changes that have taken place and are taking place and to make people aware of the occurrences in school sport. An attempt will be made to answer the question of whether progressive school sports bodies can effect meaningful political change, by looking at the link between sports practices and political paradigms.

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CHAPTER 1

KUHN'S THEORY OF SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION AND HIS CONCEPT OF PARADIGMS

There are various theories of change (functional, evolutionary, conflict, consensus, equilibrium, "rise and fall", and Marxist theories amongst others), but I shall use Kuhn's theory of scientific revolutions as a theoretical framework in which to discuss political changes.

The reason for my choice is that our present South African situation is mirrored in Kuhn's theory of scientific changes. Kuhn explains that a scientific revolution corresponds to the abandonment of one paradigm and the adoption of a new one, not by an individual scientist only, but by the relevant scientific community as a whole. He also introduces the concept of a paradigm, a clearly demarcated frame of reference and then he speaks of a rival paradigm, challenging the existing one. This model seems to fit the South African situation. The apartheid paradigm is the prevailing frame of reference in South Africa and this paradigm is being challenged by the emerging democratic paradigm.

From the onset I want to state my claim clearly. Although progress and change can take place within a paradigm, radical and far-reaching meaningful change takes place only when there is a complete change of paradigm.

In analysing Kuhn's theory, I will focus on what a paradigm is, changes within a paradigm, why a radical change of

paradigm is necessary, what gives rise to the radical change, why this change is meaningful or not, or why it is progress or not.

The concept of Paradigms

Kuhn refers to paradigms as "universally recognised scientific achievements that for a time provide model problems and solutions to a community of practitioners".(1) We find that paradigms set the standards for legitimate work within the science it governs. Paradigms also direct and co-ordinate the activity of the groups of workers within them. Among the components that make up a paradigm will be explicitly stated laws and theoretical assumptions that would be comparable to the components of other research programmes. For example, "Newton's laws of motion would form part of the Newtonian paradigm and Maxwell's equations would form part of the paradigm that constitutes classical electro-magnetic theory". (2) Paradigms will also include standard ways of applying the fundamental laws to a variety of types of situations and instrumental techniques necessary for implementing and applying the laws of the paradigm. Some very general metaphysical principles would also be included to guide work within a paradigm. Paradigms will also include some very general methodological prescriptions. For example, "Make serious attempts to match your paradigm with nature" or "Treat failures in attempts to match a paradigm with nature as serious problems". (3)

In summary then, paradigms are characterized by specific methodologies, applications and practices, practices which

embody and develop the meanings of that paradigm. I would therefore emphasize that paradigms are conceptual schemes or theoretical frameworks from which specific explanations are developed in the discourse of that paradigm.

Institutions and practices

Before I look at the link between practices and paradigms, I shall first look at the link between institutions and practices. I shall follow A. MacIntyre, in that "by a practice I am going to mean any coherent and complex form of socially established co-operative human activity" (4). A practice is subject to the attitudes, choices, preferences and tasks of its participants and to the standards which currently or partially define it. A practice involves standards of excellence and obedience to rules. To enter into a practice is to accept the authority of those standards and the shortcomings of your own performance as judged by them. Practices have a history, thus the standards are not themselves immune from criticism, but nonetheless, you cannot be initiated into a practice without accepting the authority of the best standards realized so far. For example, if when starting to play volleyball, you do not accept that others know better than you when to spike (smash) a ball hard or when to soft spike the ball, you will never learn the art of spiking. Moreover the game of volleyball itself is subject to certain standards and laws that are articulated in the rules of the game. All players have to share and follow these rules in order to allow the game to progress. Every practice

requires a certain kind of relationship between those who participate in it. The kind of purposes and standards which inform practices are shared. In order to pursue some kind of practice, people draw upon the rules and resources which constitute and shape structures or institutions. When looking at this link certain questions spring to mind. Do institutions perpetuate practices or inhibit practices? Do practices challenge institutions? Can institutions and practices challenge the wider, social, political and economic order? I am first going to look at what constitutes institutions.

Practices must not be confused with institutions. Chess, physics and medicine are practices. Chess clubs, laboratories, universities and hospitals are institutions. Institutions are structured in terms of power and status. No practice can survive for any length time unsustained by institutions. Rules and authority are constitutive of institutions.

It seems as if institutions dictate and prescribe as to how practices will be implemented. But if institutions do not adequately promote the practice, members can challenge the institution and perhaps force it to adapt and bring about change. On the other hand, if the institution satisfies their needs, they will support it and in doing so, perpetuate the institution and the practice even at the expense of members who are not satisfied. But there are also limits as to what institutions are capable of.

We may find institutions and practices no longer appear to be complementary. The one challenges the other. For example in the apartheid legislation of South Africa, it was clearly stated that there should be no mixed sport at any level. Because of the international sports boycott and internal pressures, the government had to change its sports policy and make adjustments to the legislation in order to satisfy the people. With the government allowing for mixed sport at club level, the law pertaining to separate amenities, for example, had to be relaxed to co-incide with the change in policy.

There is thus a distinct link between institutions and practices. What then about the link between paradigms and institutions and practices? Practices and institutions embody and help to develop a paradigm.

We find that paradigms and practices reflect and answer certain needs and meanings. Practices and institutions are key features in the development of a paradigm. In order for a paradigm to grow and be successful it must have the support of a significant number of people. As earlier mentioned, people draw upon the rules and resources, which comprise structures and institutions. As I have also mentioned, paradigms reflect and answer certain social needs and meanings. Not only does a paradigm have certain methodological prescriptions that guide and shape practices, but the success of the paradigm depends on how successful the practices are, i.e. what practices does the paradigm respond to and does it fulfil real needs in the society?

Paradigms can therefore be seen as structures of thought and inquiry and institutions as structures of practices.

In summary thus far, I have attempted to explain what a paradigm is. And in my attempt to show the link between paradigms and practices and institutions I have also explained what institutions are, and have also tried to show the reciprocal link between institutions and practices. I must also stress that I have relied heavily on the work of A.McIntyre in my discussion of institutions and practices. I shall now look at how Kuhn sees scientific progress.

Kuhnian view of progress in science

Kuhn's picture of the way a science progresses can be summarized by the following open-ended scheme. He refers to progress as : pre-science, normal science, crisis revolution, new normal science. I shall explain each one very briefly.

Pre-science is the disorganized and diverse activity that precedes the function of science. It eventually becomes structural and directed when a single paradigm becomes adhered to by a significant scientific community. The paradigm is made up of the general assumptions and laws and techniques for their application that the members of that particular community adopt.

The significance of a paradigm is what Kuhn refers to as normal science. Normal science is, "research firmly based upon one or more past scientific achievements, achievements that some particular scientific community acknowledges for a time

as supplying the foundation for its further practice".(5) Most of what scientists do is to engage in normal science and this, as characterized by Kuhn, is essentially a type of puzzle-solving. The primary aim of normal science is to articulate and fill out what is suggested by the accepted paradigm. In their quest to develop a paradigm, scientists will encounter difficulties, which they will try to resolve within that particular paradigm. If problems of a serious nature cannot be resolved and get out of hand, a crisis state develops.

A crisis, in turn, is partially resolved or alleviated when an entirely new paradigm emerges and attracts the allegiance of more and more members. Eventually the previous problem-ridden paradigm is abandoned. This change constitutes a scientific revolution. The new paradigm full of promise, now guides new normal scientific activity. This then is a brief summary of the Kuhnian view of scientific change or progress.

Changes within a paradigm

I shall now look at Kuhn's theory in much more detail and the first thing I wish to look at, is progress or change within a paradigm.

Paradigms serve a regulative function in directing future research. As I have mentioned, most of what scientists do is to engage in normal science. Normal scientists will articulate and develop the paradigm in their attempt to account for and accommodate the behaviour of some relevant

aspects of the world and understanding of constitutive meanings. This single shared paradigm becomes the accepted theoretical framework of reference. This paradigm co-ordinates and directs the activity of the group of workers within it. There is also the promise of success in solving scientific problems. Workers within a paradigm are concerned with both theoretical development as well as practical application (e.g. the improvement of techniques, the measurement of certain phenomena etc.) These refined articulations and applications of the theory constitute change and progress within the paradigm.

However, in their attempt to account for, accomodate and predict the behaviour of some relevant aspects of the world, they will inevitably experience difficulties and encounter apparent contradictions or anomalies (more about this later). " Normal scientists presuppose that a paradigm provides the means for the solution of the puzzle posed within it. A failure to solve the puzzle is seen as a failure of the scientist, rather than as an inadequacy of the paradigm."(6) A contradiction or an anomaly is seen as to deviate from the rule or as being irregular. The initial reaction to the awareness of anomalies is to attempt in various ways to assimilate them to the existing paradigm, or to ignore them, or postpone the attempt to solve them, or suppress them (a point I shall elaborate on later when I discuss reform measures within the apartheid paradigm). Anomalies can resist integration into an accepted paradigm, causing a pronounced failure in the normal problem - solving activity

guided by the paradigm. If this happens a crisis state can develop. But the mere existence of problems and anomalies within a paradigm does not in itself constitute a crisis. Kuhn recognises that paradigms will always encounter difficulties, that there will always be anomalies, questions that have no answers. Scientists will try everything in their power to solve these anomalies. They will devote more time in an attempt to explain these anomalies. A "proliferation of competing articulations, the willingness to try everything, the expression of explicit discontent, the recourse of philosophy and the debate over fundamentals, all of these are symptoms of a transition from normal to extraordinary research".(7) They resort to this kind of action to resolve the problems within a paradigm. They do this because they share the same practices and it is not only their willingness to try anything that they are engaged in these practices, but also in order to develop a possible new paradigm.

In summary, because scientists share the same practices and practices embody the paradigm that they want to articulate, they will strive to solve the problems and anomalies within the existing paradigm. They either assimilate them into the existing paradigm, or they ignore, postpone or suppress them. It is important to note that changes within a paradigm cannot be seen as fundamental progress, because the status quo would be maintained and control would still be in the hands of those that favour the prevailing paradigm. But what happens if pressing anomalies or urgent problems cannot be assimilated, ignored or suppressed? Does it mean a radical

change of paradigm? I shall now attempt to discuss the conditions that necessitate a radical change in paradigm.

The necessity for a radical change in paradigm

It is only under special sets of conditions that the anomalies can develop in such a way as to undermine confidence in the prevailing paradigm. But when an anomaly "comes to seem more than just another puzzle of normal science, the transition to crisis and to extraordinary science has begun". (8) Anomalies will be regarded as serious if they strike at the fundamentals of a paradigm, if they are important to some pressing social need, and the length of time they resist attempts to remove them. I have mentioned earlier that anomalies are seen as deviating from the rule or as being irregular. When anomalies start to resist integration into the accepted paradigm, causing a pronounced failure in the normal problem - solving activity guided by the paradigm, then there is the emergence of a shift in the fundamental principles of that paradigm. If this happens a crisis develops. The seriousness of a crisis deepens when a rival paradigm makes its appearance. It is important to note that the emergence of a new paradigm affects the structure of the prevailing group and its practices. When people start losing confidence in the existing paradigm and when it seems that the existing paradigm cannot deal with the problems and the anomalies or solve them, then the emergence of a rival paradigm is also imminent.

Probably the single most prevalent claim advanced by the

proponents of a new paradigm is that they can solve the problems that have led the old one to a crisis. The new theory the adherents claim, is "neater", more suitable or simpler than the old one. If there is an abandonment of the existing paradigm it can be viewed as progress, because the new paradigm will view the world differently and subscribe to a different set of standards and rules. Adherents of the new paradigm would have their own ideas as to how institutions and practices would operate to advance the new paradigm. From the above, we can deduce that a radical change of paradigm is necessary to bring about fundamental change.

The new paradigm will be very different from the old one. Kuhn maintains that it will be incompatible with the old one. A lot of criticism has been levelled at this specific claim of Kuhn's. He uses the term "incommensurability". Many people interpret Kuhn's extreme view of incompatibility to mean that dialogue between the practitioners of the different paradigms is not possible. I will, however, not take Kuhn's view to that extreme. It is obvious that proponents of competing paradigms will subscribe to different sets of standards (as earlier mentioned) and will even view the world in different ways and describe it in a different type of language. However discussion and mutual enlightenment between members of rival paradigms is possible (i.e. Marxian theorist can have meaningful discussion with a liberal thinker).

"The aim of arguments and discussions between supporters of rival paradigms should be rational persuasion rather than compulsion". (9) Although practitioners of rival paradigms

regard different kinds of questions as legitimate or meaningful, as well as focussing on different solutions, dialogue is possible between practitioners of two rival paradigms. So, in order to express their views and listen to the views of others, adherents of both paradigms should be able to communicate and have some form of dialogue. But how does this change from the existing paradigm to the emerging rival paradigm take place?

Scientific Revolutions

The transition from one paradigm to another, Kuhn calls a scientific revolution. A scientific revolution corresponds to the abandonment of one paradigm and the adoption of a new one, not by an individual scientist only, but by a significant proportion of the relevant scientific community. As more and more individual scientists, for a variety of reasons (one possibly being that the new paradigm can solve problems that have been battling with for a long time) are converted to the new paradigm, there is an increasing shift in the distribution of professional allegiances. If the revolution is to be successful, then this will spread so as to include the majority of the relevant scientific community. Paradigms have such a persuasive influence on the science practised within them, that the replacement of one by another must be a revolutionary one. Why revolutionary? A change in paradigm also leads to a change in practice. Political revolutions very often come about with the realization that existing institutions have ceased adequately to meet the problems posed by an environment that these very institutions

have in part created. In much the same way scientific revolutions came about with the realization that an existing paradigm has ceased to function adequately. "Political revolutions aim to change political institutions in ways that the institutions themselves prohibit".(10) Their success therefore necessitates the partial relinquishment of one set of institutions in favour of another.

Initially it is crisis alone that weakens the role of paradigms. Then as the crisis deepens, many of these individuals commit themselves to some concrete proposal for the reconstruction of society in a new institutional framework or paradigm, a conceptual framework.

The historical study of paradigm change reveals very similar characteristics. Like the choice between competing political institutions, the choice between competing paradigms proves to be a choice between incompatible modes of community life. "As in political revolutions, so in paradigm choice, there is no standard higher than the assent of the relevant political community." (11) For example, later we will see that the apartheid paradigm does not have the assent of the relevant community and this is one of the reasons for the apartheid paradigm to be abandoned. In a political arena you will find the die - hards that will cling to what they have built up. They would be prepared to bring about changes, but only changes within that particular paradigm. They will articulate, argue and use their powers of persuasion and even force, to impress upon their followers that the changes are

for the betterment of the whole community. If a crisis situation arises, they will make every effort to solve it, but still within the existing paradigm. But when the paradigm is challenged and adherents of the existing paradigm have run out of solutions to counter problems, then we find a definite shift to eliminate or abandon that paradigm. A political revolution will take place, when there will be a great surge to change political institutions. The die-hards will eventually surrender to the new order.

In summary, we find that a radical change of paradigm is necessary when the existing paradigms cannot satisfy the significant majority of the relevant people any longer. When the existing paradigm cannot solve serious anomalies or pressing problems, a crisis situation develops. A change of paradigm is also imminent, especially when it seems as if the rival paradigm can solve some of the problems and anomalies of the existing one. As I have mentioned earlier, change here can be seen as progress, because adherents of the new paradigm will improve techniques and skills and there will be a distinct change in practices and institutions. More and more people will give their allegiance to the new paradigm and when this happens a scientific revolution is taking place. The revolutionary step of replacing the entire paradigm by another becomes essential for the effective progress of science. Paradigms have such a persuasive influence on the science practiced within them that the replacement of one by another cannot but be a revolutionary one. If the revolution is successful then this will spread to

include the majority of the relevant scientific community. Progress and far - reaching meaningful change can only take place if there is a complete or radical change of paradigm.

I have mentioned that Kuhn's model seems to fit the South African situation in that the apartheid paradigm is the prevailing frame of reference in South Africa and that this paradigm is being challenged by the emerging democratic paradigm. I shall now attempt to discuss the basis and fundamental principles on which the apartheid paradigm rests.



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CHAPTER 2

THE BASIS AND LIMITS OF THE APARTHEID PARADIGM AND THE
FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES ON WHICH IT RESTS.

South Africa is regarded as the world's most fully developed racially dominated state. The state is controlled by and exists to uphold and protect the privileges of a white community. The majority of people living in South Africa are politically, economically and socially subordinated. The maintenance of the exclusive interests and values of the white minority has defined the character and dynamics of political life in South Africa.

The apartheid paradigm

What then constitutes an apartheid paradigm and how did it come about? Apartheid is defined as "the policy of strict racial segregation and discrimination against the native Negroes and the colored peoples as practiced in South Africa".(12)

The ideology of apartheid has been pursued through successive regimes which have built up an oppressive legal order to sanction and define a system of racial domination and segregation.

Law upon law has been enacted by the South African government to build the legal frameworks of apartheid. To implement and enforce such a complex system the government developed a substantial bureaucracy. In South Africa, such a state with

its accompanying bureaucracy has been developed primarily to secure and uphold the dominance and privileges of a racial minority. The whites enjoy a liberal democratic substate, while the subordinated majority is ruled by a modern authoritarian state.

With the 1948 electoral victory of the nationalist party, the apartheid ideology came to the fore and was further developed in an elaborate system of laws. A single principle underlay the ideology and that was the separation of black and white races in South Africa. (13) The apartheid paradigm was clearly demarcated and it co-ordinated and directed the activities of the people within it. With the assumption of the premiership by Hendrik Verwoerd in 1958, government domestic policy was directed at enforcing race separation in every conceivable sphere; in interpersonal relations, social and economic organization, in residential patterns and in the political organization of the state. It is therefore clear that race was the bedrock of the policy of apartheid. Other factors also played a major role in formulating the apartheid ideology.

Religion

Two closely related things that were significant to the apartheid ideology were the Afrikaner Civil Religion and the maintenance of their identity.

Religion played a very important role in the existence of the Afrikaner. Their religion acted as a reinforcing mechanism to the apartheid creed in its most severe form, adding the

divine touch of predestination of the chosen people to Afrikaner cultural identity. They also believed that "God created the Afrikaner people with a unique language, a unique life and their own history and tradition .."(14) and it was therefore their God-given right to protect this. Religious beliefs also helped to mould Afrikaner attitudes towards blacks. Because of their belief in a kind of group (and racial) exclusivity, they also claimed that the development of their own language, Afrikaans, did not only distinguish them from the English and the Dutch, it also made them a separate race or a separate nation. The Afrikaner church therefore, as an institution, perpetuated the practice of apartheid. It is out of this belief of exclusivity and separatism that the practice and mythology of apartheid as a political reality emerged.

Their view of themselves was that of a pure race which needed to maintain its purity by racial segregation. The policy of apartheid was geared towards establishing their own identity, and removing other groups either geographically or culturally from them, to that effect that they needed to control other groups, so that these could not threaten their Afrikaner identity. (15) The main thrusts were, it claimed, "cultural" differences between "racial groups" and the importance to maintain the "differences" and the "identity" that goes with it. The philosophic basis of apartheid was spelled out by M.D.C. de Wet Nel, 1959 when he said, "Every People in the world, of whatever race or colour, just like every individual, has an inherent right to live and to develop.

Every people is entitled to the right of self preservation
.... It is our deep conviction that the personal and national
ideals of every individual and of every ethnic group can best
be developed within its own national community ...". (16) It
is important to note that apartheid sees "ethnic" and
"national community" groups as "racial groups". It is
therefore this emphasis that permits the justification of the
entire apartheid paradigm in terms of how equality, self -
determination and group (i.e. race) identity is perceived.

Economy

The rise of apartheid can also be spelt out in terms of
economic forces and the relations of production. South Africa
is a capitalist society divided into various antagonistic
classes. Classes are defined in terms of the position and
function of their members in the economy. The two main
antagonistic classes in society are the capitalist class and
the working class. In South Africa the capitalist class owns
the means of production, (the factories, farms and mines) and
the working class provides the labour. In South Africa "class
and race" co - incide to a very large extent, with whites in
predominantly the capitalist class and blacks forming the
overwhelming part of the working class. Most whites are in a
privileged position, because apartheid secures their jobs and
positions. Most skilled jobs are in the hands of whites and
the majority of blacks hold unskilled jobs. They provide
cheap labour in order for racial capitalism to survive. Even
after the second world war when the "poor whites" (the white
mine workers) saw their jobs being threatened, the apartheid

policy secured their jobs.

Education

To implement and entrench the practices of apartheid the government also found it necessary to control education as a means of reproducing the status quo. The education system also operated to produce racial inequality. In 1953 the government took control of Bantu Education and the Bantu Education Act came into effect. This Act gave wide powers to the minister of Native Affairs, then Dr.H.F.Verwoerd. Black education became centrally controlled and financed under the minister. Syllabuses were adopted to the black way of life. Educational provisions for blacks were far from adequate. There was a shortage of teachers, many of them were poorly qualified, or not qualified at all. School facilities were limited and buildings were rudimentary and inadequate. There was also a shortage of furniture, books and other equipment. Limited school facilities ensured an inadequate education for black pupils.

" Segregated schools affirmed the division colour castes, with different systems preparing black and white pupils for their respective sub-and super-ordinate positions". (17) This centrally controlled black schooling system ensured South Africa's labour needs. Because of all black schools having to be registered with the government, this measure enabled the government to close any educational programme which did not support its aims. The Bantu Education Act also gave wide powers to the minister including control over teachers,

syllabuses and any other matter relating to the establishment, maintenance, management and control over government black schools. (18)

Another point of importance in Bantu Education as pointed out by Paul Christie and Colin Collins was "that blacks had to contribute to the financing of their own schooling. Black parents had to contribute to the cost of erecting buildings and paying additional teachers. Black children were required to make a compulsory contribution to their schools, as well as to pay for their own books and stationery (which was not required of white children)". (19)

As regards skills, black schooling was geared to the instruction in basic communication, literacy and numeracy and familiarity with one of the official languages, English or Afrikaans. The language of the employers was an important part of the curriculum so as to ensure clear understanding of the employers institutions and communication. It was clear that power and control was firmly in white state hands. Control facilitated schooling being more specifically geared to fulfilling the labour needs of capital in general and racial capital in particular both in respect of skills and attitudes, and values appropriate to capitalist social relations. There is thus a clear link between the education for blacks, whites and the capitalist system in South Africa.

Laws

To further implement the apartheid policies a barrage of laws was passed. We find that strict racist dogmas prevailed

throughout the 1950s and 1960 s. We find that whites enjoyed highly favoured positions in the distribution of jobs and amenities ensured through legal structures. The ideological doctrine of apartheid favoured the minority and it also provided a guiding principle for government action and legislation. Government, as I have earlier mentioned, implemented laws which imposed requirements for separate facilities, separate group areas and racial classification and casual contact between different racial groups and which provided for separate "cultural" organizations, separate academic societies and separate education.

In summary, thus far I have attempted to sketch briefly the rise of the apartheid paradigm and the fundamental principles on which it rests. It is clear that racial separation is the bedrock of the apartheid ideology. Also significant to the apartheid ideology is the Afrikaner Civil Religion and the maintenance of their group identity. By showing the link between education and capitalism, I have shown how the South African government ensures power and control and because of this, they are able to prescribe and dictate practices. But as Kuhn pointed out, each paradigm has its problems and questions that remain unanswered. The apartheid paradigm is no exception. We have seen how institutions, (schools, churches, economic structures) sustain practices. We have also seen how education was used to maintain power and control. It was therefore inevitable that a sense of resistance had to grow amongst the oppressed. Institutions

were being challenged and anomalies, such as the lack of universal franchise, and lack of freedom of speech and expression (I will discuss this in more detail later) forced the South African government to make certain adjustments and bring about changes. I shall now look at changes brought about by the South African government within the apartheid paradigm and the responses to those changes.

Changes within the apartheid paradigm

Because of pressure exerted on the South African government both internally and externally, it resorted to some kind of "reform" measures. For economic purposes education policy for blacks was reconstructed. However again it was reconstructed to serve the needs of the dominant class. The provisions of the Bantu Education Act was to be the springboard for educational policies to continue to contribute towards the reproduction of black labour in a stable form. One of the aims of Bantu Education was to facilitate the reproduction of the relations of production in a docile form. More money was made available for black schools. Programmes for technical training of black youth in urban areas were initiated. The government saw these changes in policy as pragmatic adjustments.

The adjustments however were not enough to end resistance to the apartheid paradigm. The rise of worker militancy and the mass strikes of 1973, the defeat of Portuguese colonialism in Mosambique and Angola, the rise of military struggle in Namibia and Zambia all helped to underscore the view that the

South African regime was isolated in a sense, that it had no real allies and could be challenged. The advance in popular struggles in the 1970s was not confined to the trade union movement. During the late 1960s and the early 1970s, other forces among the oppressed, particularly students, began to organise and engage in various forms of struggle.

The Soweto uprising must be central to any analysis of the politics of the last decade. It prompted the state's repressive measures. It also strengthened the cumulative black anger and the experience of the possibilities for confrontation. The seventies also saw an accelerated rate of overall, but particularly black urbanization, increased economic integration and far-reaching changes in black labour organisations. Black resistance and alienation were rapidly developing and exploded with the Soweto riots of 1976, when the compulsory instruction of Afrikaans was seized upon by black school children to symbolize their deep rejection of the goals of apartheid and separate development. The 1976 uprisings had profound effects both on the future course of mass struggles and on the eventual response of the dominant class. The education struggles must be located within this broader context. Thus when exploring the education struggles of 1976 to 1986 period, one must also take into consideration the development of the progressive trade union movement and the escalation of strike activity. Popular resistance in the townships which included amongst others, rent boycotts, bus boycotts and rejection of

Community Councillors and Bantu local authorities and Management committees placed the hegemony of the ruling class in jeopardy.

The government also resorted to "reform" measures in legislation. Some of the old racist segregationist measures had been repealed such as the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, (1949) the Immorality Act, (1950) Group Areas Act (1950) and aspects of the Separate Amenities Act (1953).

It was however the new tricameral constitution which became the prize offering symbolizing the era of "reform". In 1983 it was put to a referendum for white approval only. The Blacks were excluded from it, and the so-called Coloureds and Indians who were going to be the prime beneficiaries of the new constitution, were not given the opportunity to express an opinion. The paradox was that the new constitution which was to herald "reform" and the beginning of the end of apartheid, also precipitated the most widespread revolt the country has ever known. For the majority it became increasingly obvious that the government was going to abandon key aspects of apartheid and separate development without sacrificing white domination. (20)

In its reform measures the state failed dismally. The emphasis on education of "equal quality" reinforces the idea of separate education, administered by different education departments. Resources for schools are still allocated on a segregationist basis. The channelling of pupils into technical education entrenches class inequalities in South

African society and thus the exploitative nature of black education persists. There is an emphasis on vocational training in terms of greater skills requirements demanded by the participation of blacks in industry and skilled and semi-skilled levels. It is geared specifically to the needs of the capitalist economy. In addition to reformist measures, the state has employed strategies of repression in the schools, like banning student organizations, stopping student meetings, employing SADF to control schools, detaining student leaders and progressive teachers. While such repression is able to partly contain student struggles, mass organizations have increasingly adopted a non-racial perspective, emphasizing unity within a broad-based struggle for democracy, a democracy that is not possible within an apartheid paradigm. A complete change in paradigm is necessary. The apartheid paradigm had and has serious anomalies that strike at the fundamentals of this prevailing paradigm. The pressing social need, the democratic need for political participation by all the members of the South African society has forced the apartheid paradigm to reconsider the fundamental principles of group self-determination, even the tricameral system in which some attempt was made to extend political participation to a broader sector of the South African society has proved to be riddled with anomalies for the basic principle of "group self-determination" has not been abandoned. Social needs that demand "group thinking" (i.e. race thinking) must be abandoned and since this is a fundamental principle of the

apartheid paradigm, the apartheid paradigm itself must be abandoned. Another reason for a complete change of paradigm is the length of time it takes anomalies to be removed or resist attempts to be removed. Length of time is a key issue in that in the last 40 years of entrenched apartheid (apartheid itself was, of course a social phenomenon long before the nationalist policy of 1948) no solution to the anomalies of South Africa has been found. The paradigm itself has proved to be faulty and the outcry for it to be removed completely has grown stronger and stronger every day and has resulted in the emergence of a rival democratic paradigm.

The nationalist regime is still in power, apartheid is still in force, more state repression is being mobilized than ever before, but the situation is very different to the early 1970s. The initiative no longer lies exclusively with the dominant classes, and the masses are no longer entirely on the defense.

In summary then the South African government has tried to solve problems and anomalies by implementing "reform" measures and instead of satisfying the majority, it caused widespread revolt and resistance. The apartheid paradigm is found in its biased protection of the privileges of a few at the expense of many, challengeable and the rival paradigm of democratic rights is growing stronger and stronger.

There is a determination by the majority in South Africa to bring about an end to the apartheid paradigm and institute in

its place a non-racial political order that would be accepted by the majority of people in South Africa. This is the difference between the apartheid paradigm and the rival democratic paradigm. The apartheid paradigm is accepted only by a few for the welfare of a small dominant group. The democratic paradigm by definition, is accepted by all, or the majority at least, for the welfare of all.

In conclusion of this chapter I would like to stress that much can still be said about the rise of the apartheid paradigm, but it is by no means within the scope of this dissertation to discuss this in detail. I have therefore briefly sketched the basis and limits of the apartheid paradigm, the fundamental principles on which it rests and the reasons for the emergence of the rival democratic paradigm. I shall now turn my attention to the rival democratic paradigm and attempt to discuss the basis and limits of this paradigm and the fundamental principles on which it rests.

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CHAPTER 3

THE BASIS AND LIMITS OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARADIGM AND THE
FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES ON WHICH IT RESTS.

In the previous chapter we see how the apartheid paradigm is being challenged and how it fails to come to terms with problems and anomalies. The apartheid paradigm has been, and still is under siege and we find that the rival democratic paradigm is emerging at a rapid pace.

I shall now attempt to look at the bases and limits of the democratic paradigm and the fundamental principles on which it rests and also look at a few models of democracy to see why it appeals to people. David Held (1988) in his book Models of Democracy, has made an in-depth study of the historical development of democracies. Given the scope of this thesis, I shall not be involving myself too deeply in complex debates surrounding democracy, or what the best kind or form of a democracy is. What I shall do, however, is to take out certain aspects of his models and point out key features that go into and make up a democracy and which are shared by the various democratic models.

Key features of a democracy

What constitutes a democratic paradigm then? It is striking that nearly everyone claims to be democratic, whether they are left, centre or right. But why did everybody jump onto the democratic bandwagon? Perhaps it was a move away from tyranny or dictatorship. "Democracy seems to bestow an aura

of legitimacy on modern political life. Rulers, laws, policies and decision appear justified and appropriate when they are democratic."(21). We find that trying to define a term such as democracy is a formidable challenge. It is used in a confusingly wide variety of contexts and has consequently acquired various meanings. The classical theory of democracy is the rule of the people and that the people have the right to rule. This theory has evoked many discussions and possible explanations as to what constitutes "rule", and what constitutes "people". I am not going to involve myself with the various debates surrounding this theory. Perhaps it will become clearer as my discussion progresses on the key features of a democracy. A point of interest has always been, who should rule the state? Platos answer was simple and naive. The "best" should rule. If possible the best of all, certainly not the many, the rabble.(22) This statement seemed to suggest some kind of representative democracy, but more about this later. The classical theory can be summed up as follows: "The theory of democracy based as it is on a communal vision, emphasizes participation, discussion and consensus. It is government by discussion as opposed to government by force and by discussion between the people or their chosen representatives as opposed to a hereditary clique." (23)Key features of a democracy include, equality, participation, freedom of speech and expression (fostering open discussion), accountability and the majority principle. Let's turn our attention to the first key feature of democracy, equality.

Equality

David Held says that citizens must enjoy political and economic equality in order that nobody can be master of another and all can enjoy equal freedom and independence in the process of collective development.(24) In order for human beings to realize their full potentialities and fulfill their ideals, they must be treated equally and conditions need to be created in order to achieve this. Equality can only be fully realized in a society where no class is able to dominate the lives of others or live at the expense of others. Equality in a democracy means equal status; it also suggests equal opportunity and ultimately equal rights. But equality can also have its limitations. For example, we know that schooling is not the same as education. The school is only part of the formal structure of education. Democracy seems to operate extensively in education , but can it operate as extensively in schooling? In the schooling process, do pupils and teachers have equal status? Let's say they have. Will pupils not then be able to veto certain discussions at school, or go against the wishes of their parents? If so, the question that arises is, can equality in the true democratic sense actually work here? This problem might iron itself out as democracy is further developed. The attainment of equality links logically with the next feature of democracy which is, participation.

Participation

Participation in what, I might ask? Participation in political life, participation in major decision-making and

participation in legislation, amongst others. Held, emphasizes that, "participation in political life is necessary not only for the protection of individual interests, but also for the creation of an informed committed and developing citizenry. Political involvement is essential to the highest and harmonious expression of individual capacities." (25) It is a known fact that the majority is denied the universal franchise and that political involvement is curbed and hampered by the amount of control the government has over political life in South Africa. The government might impress with its tricameral system of government and emphasize that people enjoy political equality, but in their claim to be democratic it fails dismally, because they still control, prescribe and predict in unequal measure to the other two houses of parliament.

Carol Pateman, like Held, speaks of a participatory society, " a society which fosters a sense of political efficiency, nurtures a concern for collective problems and contributes to the formation of a knowledgeable citizenry capable of taking a sustained interest in the governing process." (26) Pateman advocates as other theorists do in the same field, extensive participation in the areas other than national politics. An individual must be able to participate in associations that interest him/her and exercise the maximum amount of control over his/her life. A government is democratic if it permits and encourages democratic discussion and decision-making throughout society. But, participation also has its problems. Many people want direct participation in all major decision-

making and although it would be democratic, it is problematic when trying to apply this to large constituencies. Therefore representative democracy seems to be the ideal way of overcoming this problem. To answer the question more fully, if democracy can operate as extensively in schooling as it does in education, I shall later look at how progressive school sports bodies fit into a democratic paradigm and in doing so emphasize student participation. In order to participate an individual must have freedom of speech and expression, but not without being self-critical or endangering the very existence of a paradigm.

Freedom of speech and expression

One of the features of a democratic, political system is that it provides means for the arguing out of fundamental issues. This is the political purpose of freedom of speech. The right of the freedom of speech concerns the independence of thought and opinion in the face of power. Negotiation and room for negotiation is an important factor in a democracy. But would it be advantageous to a democracy if individuals were allowed to say what they wanted or expressed themselves in the way they wanted to! If this was so, it would open up space for the formation of elitist groups. In order to prevent this, I think that there should be a constant flow of ideas that could also be self-critical and that this could reflect how the values, norms and practices of the paradigm affect the well being of the majority of citizens. The emerging paradigm and the practices within it must be looked at critically all

the time. For example, a kind of freedom cannot be seen in a vacuum, because it serves to uphold and develop the paradigm all the time. A sportsperson cannot be allowed to enjoy a sporting activity which is counter to or even destructive of the emerging paradigm and values of the paradigm. It was out of the need to be free that this rival paradigm of democracy emerged in South Africa.

In this quest for equal participation, freedom of speech and expression, it is the individuals' right to want to have a direct say in matters concerning his life. It is his right to have a significant say in legislation and major decision-making. As pointed out earlier, it is not always possible and therefore he needs representation.

Accountability

In view of large constituencies this seems to be the least feasible feature in a democratic system. But in order for it to work it is important that the representatives are accountable to the people for their actions. Regular elections and majority rule are the structural basis for establishing the accountability of those who govern. Rulers should be accountable to the people. Just how this accountability should be structured is, of course, yet another complex issue. But what most theorists of democracies do agree on is that accountability in some form or another is a key feature of a democracy. As I have mentioned, rulers should be accountable to the people and the people should have the right and means (through the ballot box) to get rid of

them, if they fail to act in the interest of the majority of the people. This brings me to another feature of democracy, namely the majority principle.

Majority principle

Held emphasizes the majority principle when he says that "the majority principle is an effective and desirable way of protecting individuals from arbitrary government and therefore of maintaining liberty." (27) In order for majority rule to function justly and wisely, it must be circumscribed by rule of law. How can we avoid situations in which a bad ruler causes too much harm? The best solution known to us is a constitution that allows a majority vote to dismiss government. "We do not say majority rule will always be right, we do not say that it will usually be right. We say this very imperfect procedure is the best so far invented". (28) Majoritarian democracy is justified on the grounds that majority rule is an intrinsically fair procedure for making social decisions. Whether it is feasible is the question that remains. Democratic rules are fair in the same sense.

SUMMARY

In summary, from classical to contemporary theories of democracy, the key features seem to include equality, participation, freedom of speech and expression, accountability and the majority principle amongst others. I have focussed on the above features, which I think constitutes a democratic paradigm. Jack Lively summed it up as follows:

"1. That all should govern in a sense, that all should be involved in legislating, in deciding on general policy, in applying laws and governmental administration.

2. That all should be personally involved in crucial decision-making, that is to say in deciding general laws and matters of general policy.

3. That rulers should be accountable to the ruled. They should, in other words, be obliged to justify their actions to the ruled and be removable by the ruled.

4. That rulers should be accountable to the representatives of the ruled.

5. That rulers should be chosen by the ruled.

6. That rulers should be chosen by the representatives of the ruled.

7. That rulers should act in the interest of the ruled." (29)
Or as Dr Charles Simkins expressed it, "a tough road may lie ahead, but at least it represents progress away from a totally unaccepted social order. Even if it takes twenty, fifty, a hundred years to create an accepted democracy after the abolition of apartheid, this is the path we have to follow." (30)

In my attempt to point out and discuss some of the key features of a democracy and of the apartheid paradigm, I can very well agree with Kuhn when he says that the two are incompatible. It is this question of incompatibility that I now wish to address.

CHAPTER 4

WHY IS THE APARTHEID PARADIGM INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE DEMOCRATIC PARADIGM?

Kuhn stressed that the new rival paradigm would be incompatible with the old and I have mentioned that I would not claim that this incompatibility meant that negotiation was not possible between the two. I shall now try to explain why the two paradigms are however incompatible to an extent and refute the claim by the South African government that they are democratic.

I shall now be looking more closely at the fundamental principle of the apartheid paradigm which is race separation and discrimination or in more "reformed" terminology, "group" separation and, by implication, "group" discrimination and will be looking firstly as to how this principle manifests itself in the tri-cameral system and why it is incompatible with a democratic paradigm.

The South African government regarded the tri-cameral parliament as their prize offering, in which they gave the "vote" to the majority of South African citizens. But it is important to note that even though the "Coloureds" and the Indians have the vote i.e. political participation, they do not have equal political participation, for the constitution is constructed in such a way that the white house of Assembly has dominant political power. Even if there were to be an "African" chamber, thus extending the right to vote to all South African citizens, it would still not mean equal political participation. The very policy of a three or

possibly four chamber parliament is a whites only decided policy, after a whites only acceptance of it in the referendum of 1983. The "Africans" were excluded from it, the "Coloureds" and Indians who were going to be the prime beneficiaries of the New Constitution were not given the opportunity to express an opinion. (31)

A three or possibly four chamber parliament is incompatible with a democratic paradigm. A key feature of a democracy is equality. The mere fact that there are three chambers and that the majority of the citizens of South Africa do not have the vote, shows the unequal differentiation that exists. The universal franchise is what a democracy suggests and not a system whereby a minority group controls the lives of others, the majority. The political system based on racial classification is unjustified, because as earlier pointed out, it was put to referendum for white approval only. The tricameral system was never useful in any sense because it split communities and led to the most widespread revolt South Africa has ever experienced. Therefore the apartheid principle of race separation is rejected by the majority of South African citizens. (I regard the citizens of the homelands as citizens of South Africa).

Equal participation is also a key feature of a democracy and is also limited in the tri-cameral system, because citizens can only participate and have a say in their "own" chamber. The white chamber has overall say and is only accountable to that particular chamber. Accountability is another key

feature and in a democracy the rulers are accountable to the majority and the majority has the right to get rid of them, if they do not carry out the wishes of the majority. The tri-cameral system has run its course and even government supporters have come to realize this. The system is anti-democratic because it portrays separatist values that are opposed to those propagated by the adherents of a democracy. A democracy does not discriminate on grounds of race and class and this helps to show that the claim of the South African government to be democratic is questionable. Questionable because many key features of a democracy are non-existent in the apartheid paradigm, like equality, equal participation, and accountability amongst others.

The apartheid paradigm as a political system of course promotes a specific economic system. Since the apartheid paradigm is based on white or group domination one can expect this to mirror a white or class dominated economy. In the relations of production the minority (whites) are in a privileged position, because apartheid secures their jobs and positions through the Job Reservation Act. Most skilled jobs were always in the hands of whites and the majority of "Africans" had to fill most of the unskilled positions. They had to provide cheap labour in order for capitalism to survive. The apartheid paradigm ensured this unequal balance. "The history of South Africa is thus better analysed in terms of a coercive labour-repressive form of economy".(32)

The economic system is therefore a race dominated capitalism (although the apartheid paradigm underscores race capitalism, and is undemocratic, capitalism per se is not necessarily anti-democratic.)

This minority race dominated economic system is also incompatible with the democratic paradigm because with the development of capitalism and the increase of its labour needs, schools have become the principal focus of the unequal labour reproduction process and have come increasingly to be the preserve of the state.(33) Education was also geared to ensure a reserve army of layabouts to serve the needs of capitalism. "Apartheid was the mask and Bantu Education was the best means for reproducing labour in the form they desired."(34) This race dominated capitalism is therefore undemocratic and incompatible with the democratic paradigm.

The government found it necessary to control education and in 1953, they gained full control over black education when the Bantu Education Act was introduced. As Andre Du Toit puts it, "Education is one of the basic modes through which a society is reproduced or transformed. The educational process shapes the citizens of tomorrow; it inculcates existing norms and values or generates and moulds different norms and values instead; it entrenches social divisions and hierarchies or breaks these down; it may be the means for perpetuating privilege or an avenue for equal opportunity and advancement"(35) Education in the democratic paradigm is incompatible with education in the apartheid paradigm as

mentioned above because in South Africa, education has served essentially undemocratic purposes and it has been specifically designed to ensure that the majority of the citizens of South Africa not be educated as to become the citizens of tomorrow; the very structures of the educational system embodies and entrenches existing values and social divisions.

Education in the democratic paradigm is also incompatible with education in the apartheid paradigm, because democratic education in South Africa means that the structures and substances of education are increasingly geared to the needs and interests of "the people". A more democratic education in South Africa would also mean an expanding realm for educational innovation and diversity free from political interference of political rulers.

Besides the Bantu Education Act (1953) that was passed, the other social laws that were passed were also totally incompatible with the democratic paradigm.

Laws that are incompatible with a democratic paradigm

To entrench the apartheid system further a barrage of laws was passed. I shall now look at a few of these laws and attempt to discuss why they are incompatible with the democratic paradigm.

"The Group Areas Act (1950) established the conditions according to which different racial groups were assigned to separate dwelling zones, finally expunged once and for all

the rights of African s to own roperty in urban areas, and accorded powers of expulsion and resettlement to the authorities"(36) .This law also indirectly affected the playing and organization of sport.

This law, regarded as one of the pillars of apartheid has brought much pain to many people whose welfare the State claims to have at heart. It is undemocratic because it separates and divides people. Families and friends were uprooted at the expense of a white minority that wanted to protect their own political and economic power. It denied people the right to choose where they wanted to live. This law also prohibited freedom of movement and curtailed freedom of association. This is completely undemocratic, because in a democracy freedom of speech, association, movement and expression are prerequisites.

Another law that is completely undemocratic is the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act (1953) which imposed racial segregation in stadiums and public places. This law also prohibited freedom of movement. Many places, and I should add the best "public" places (entertainment, beaches, hotels), were reserved for whites. Blacks could not make use of any of these. In a democracy people have space to move and are not denied access to public places.

"The Urban Areas Act (1923, 1930, consolidated 1940 and subsequently amended) reserved sporting (and other social facilities) for exclusive use by one racial group was also undemocratic." (37) Again in a democracy public facilities

are available to whoever wishes to make use of them. No one is denied access to any public facility and no public facility is reserved for the exclusive use of a sector of the citizenry.

"The Liquor Amendment Act (1963, after the Act of 1923) forbade whites, Indians and "Coloureds" to consume alcoholic drink with Africans except on premises they owned and effectively prevented people and sportspersons, of different races from drinking and mixing together socially, for example after matches. "(38) Again, race separation was entrenched and social mixing was denied the people. Again this apartheid practice is totally undemocratic and incompatible with the democratic paradigm. "These laws reinforced white privilege, extended Government authority and reduced the rights of blacks and opposition groups of all kinds."(39) All these "fundamental" laws and others that I have not mentioned or discussed, indirectly affected the playing and organization of sport. (More about this later)

Prompted by internal and external pressures the government resorted to all kinds of reform measures. To counter moves by the Mass Democratic Movement, to break down artificial barriers and work towards the dismantling of apartheid the government relaxed certain laws such as the Liquor Act, parts of the Group Areas Act , Separate Amenities Act and the Native Urban Area Act. Although there were changes, these changes all occurred within the apartheid paradigm. The regime might have abandoned important aspects of apartheid and

separate development, but they were not going to sacrifice white domination. These changes that the South African government regarded as being "democratic", more than anything else demonstrated that those in control of the State were prepared to adjust, "soften" and sophisticate the entrenchment of white minority domination, but not get rid of it. With these "reforms" the realization has crystallized that the South African State is prepared to "negotiate", "broaden democracy", dismantle Apartheid," but only on its terms." (40)

Apartheid and Democracy are incompatible, because although those who dominate in South Africa, are prepared to adjust the group (or race) separation - and so group (or race) domination, they are not prepared to abolish it. On the other hand those who oppose domination demand the abolition of race separation before accepting the validity or legitimacy of reform.

The overwhelming response to the government's reform measures has been dismissed as a "sham", "cosmetic", "too little, too late." Fundamental changes can only be brought about if there is a complete change of paradigm, Changes within the apartheid paradigm are not seen as far - reaching or meaningful by adherents of a democracy.

In summary, democracy and apartheid are incompatible but not to the extreme that there is no room for negotiation. The present system of the South African Government can never be democratic because in its discourse it lacks the key features

of a democracy. In the apartheid paradigm, there are factors that make the achievement of a full democracy conceptually impossible. The minority racially dominated economic system, the maintenance of central control at the expense of the majority of people, the opposition of the paradigm to accept all South African citizens as equals in the competition for political power and lack of accountability, go against the grain of a democracy.

I spoke of negotiation, but the only way conflicts can be fought out is, if a political framework is constructed in which this can take place. This is the demand of our times and Kuhn has shown how the transition from one paradigm to another is a lengthy and often conflict-ridden process. As more and more public space is given to the emerging rival paradigm, the more and more the shift will lean towards it, with a few "die-hards" clinging to the old and rapidly disreputable paradigm. The current political system has to change to admit all South Africans to active citizenship, the franchise and fair equality of opportunity in the economic sphere. Although it is extremely difficult to pinpoint the details of the democratic paradigm in South Africa, it is emerging and it is in the process of developing. There is a great pressing social need for a change in paradigm. Anomalies and problems in the apartheid paradigm have created the paradigm shift and there is an ever-increasing move towards a democracy. To have an undivided, non-racial society is the ideal of a democracy.

The ideal according to Dr. Charles Simkins would be "to fuse together people of different traditions into one nation. It has to be done politically and economically and that is challenge enough". (41) This incompatibility between the apartheid paradigm and democratic paradigm will become more apparent when I give a short historical overview of Apartheid Sport in South Africa and more so when I discuss apartheid School Sport. I shall now attempt to give a short historical overview of Apartheid Sport in South Africa.



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CHAPTER 5

A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF APARTHEID SPORT IN SOUTH AFRICA.

From the out set, I want to stress that it is not within the scope of this chapter to give an indepth expose of apartheid sport in South Africa.

In a brief historical view of apartheid sport in South Africa I shall look at how sport links up with the political system and the socio-economic conditions of apartheid, before looking at how resistance to state sport policies brought about various reforms i.e. (from racial to multiracial and then to non-racial). I shall also show how the changes in sport reflect the broader changes that are part of a paradigm shift.

As indicated before, apartheid is a system of racial domination and separation that consists of an elaborate system of laws. The separation of white and black races is a key issue. In 1948 government domestic policy was directed at enforcing race separation in every conceivable sphere. This most definitely included sport, social and economic organization, in residential patterns and in the political organization of the state. Race was therefore the bedrock of the policy of apartheid and sport had to accord with the policy of separate development.

The various apartheid laws have forced people to participate in segregated sport. There is no doubt that sport is inextricably linked to politics and I shall develop my claim

that sport in isolation cannot bring about significant changes because it has to go hand in hand with meaningful change on political, socio-economic and educational levels.

To ensure that the different race groups were kept separate, whites and "non-whites" had to organize their sporting activities separately. No inter-racial competitions within South Africa were allowed and the mixing of races in teams had to be avoided.

In 1963, the minister of Interior, Jan de Klerk, clarified the government's sport policy: "South African custom is, that within the boundaries of the Republic of South Africa, whites and non-whites exercise their sport separately and this custom must be adhered to ... participation of mixed teams as representatives of South Africa as a whole in world sporting tournaments or competitions cannot be approved ... whites must represent whites and non-whites must represent non-whites". (42) His speech also set out a model for relations between white and black sport bodies. Each "non-white" sport association had to develop alongside, but separate from, the white corresponding body. Visiting mixed teams from other countries were also disallowed.

In 1968 prime minister B.J.Voster would not allow the British Cricket team to tour South Africa, because Basil D'Oliviera a former coloured South African was included in the team. The tour was subsequently cancelled. At that stage most sport was strictly segregated by custom or legislation. It is important

to note that entrenched sport separation led to separated sports practices that were perhaps not directly governed by law. I stressed earlier how institutions shape practices or customs.

Amongst other pieces of legislation, the Native (Urban Areas) Act, the Group Areas Act and the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act, forced sporting separation. It was the Nationalist Government policy which supported apartheid in all its forms including those which were practised in sport. The Group Areas Act divided South Africa into areas of occupancy and residency according to race. The Native (Urban Areas) Act decreed that urban areas lay in the residential zones allocated for whites and that African dwellers were to reside in locations. The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act restricted the different race groups in the use of separate amenities as allocated by the authority or persons in charge of public premises or vehicles. All these laws facilitated the entrenchment of an apartheid system in sport making informal and unofficial sport contact between white and blacks difficult. Moreover it was a system that was to the advantage of a white minority. There was no freedom of movement and participation was restricted especially by the Separate Amenities Act. A fine example of how these laws affected sport is the case of a South African born Indian golfer named, Papwa Sewgolum. After having won the the Dutch Golf Championship twice, he was allowed to participate in the Natal Open Golf Championship in 1963 because of his international recognition.

He won the event, but was unable to receive the prize in the Royal Golf clubhouse, because apartheid laws made it illegal for a classified Indian to make use of the amenities allocated for whites only. He received his prize outside in the pouring rain. It was events like these that intensified opposition to the segregated sports policies of South Africa.

In 1963 and 1964, after much confrontation, the government restated its policy - participation in international competition by mixed teams representing South Africa could under no circumstances be approved. Senator Jan de Klerk also said, on the 26 and 27 June 1964, "I wish to emphasize once again that the government, in accordance with its policy of separate development, is sympathetic towards and is prepared to assist white and non-white sports associations, but not if it is their aim to force the Republic to abandon its declared policy, or if their actions will result in deviating from the South African custom that white and non-white organize their sporting activities in whatever sphere, separately". (43).

Separation was entrenched not only on a political level, but also on the socio-economic level. Sport as an institution has strong social value orientations and "one of the universally accepted functions of sport is to promote goodwill, fellowship and understanding among men." (44) Because of the policy of apartheid, this is not possible in South Africa, well, certainly not among "men" (sic) of different colour. Socio-economic structures underscored by apartheid affect the lives of all South Africans (sportsmen

and sportswomen included) in such a way that the disparity between black and white economic status is vast. Davenport sums it up as follows: "Such a big prosperity gap developed over the years between the blacks and whites of South Africa, that some scholars argued in the 1960s that the policies of successive South African governments were inspired rather by economic than racial ideology." (45) As a result of this we find that public funds for sport are disproportionately allocated amongst the different race groups by the government and local authorities. This is one of the main reasons for there being a distinct lack of facilities for blacks. The lack of adequate facilities inhibited black participation in sport. The discriminatory nature of the apartheid system is clearly visible here. Because the vast majority of the means of production are owned by whites, they are the ones who control and dictate how and where funds will be allocated in order to promote sport. Disproportionate vast amounts were thus spent on promoting white sport. It is clear that moral and political views cannot be divorced from sport, because sport does not occur in a vacuum but it is an integral part of life.

Growing resistance and certain reform measures

The entrenchment of structural separation between the races in South Africa on political and socio-economic levels did not go unnoticed - and it did not escape the attention of the international sports community. Action was taken against South Africa and the withdrawal of South Africa's invitation to take part in the 1964 Olympic Games signalled the start of

the growing international boycotts of South African sport. As Trevor Huddleston put it, "it may well be that South Africa will soon find herself isolated in its political thinking from the world of both East and West ..." (46)

Up until 1970 white sportspersons made no attempt to apologise for the exclusion of blacks from "national" teams. Resistance was opposed by the apparatus of South Africa's police state and black sports officials were issued with banning orders, imprisoned and harassed by the security forces.

Internal and external pressures were building up and black sports bodies showed much more opposition to government sports policies. For example, they demanded recognition in terms of equality with other (white) sportspersons and this threatened the power of the white federations. In 1958 , the South African Sports Association was formed with the backing of a majority of African sportsmen and women from various sports codes. Whether its aims were for full integration or a non-racial basis or merely participation within the framework of segregation in national sport is debatable. But one thing remains for sure and that is, that opposition to the government's existing segregationist structures was growing stronger and stronger.

Protest action of the non-racial sports organizations (more about this later) attracted the attention of the international sports community to those sports associations

which practised apartheid in sport. South Africa was slowly but surely being isolated from international sport as the anti-apartheid campaign gained more support.

1970 proved to be a catastrophe and ultimately a turning point for white South African sport. South Africa was expelled virtually from all major competitions and the apartheid rulers faced a crisis. Sports - starved whites looked to their government for an initiative. It became apparent that the growing resistance initiated some reform measures by the government.

On the 22 April 1971, Prime Minister John Voster announced his new multinational sports policy. The conceptual basis of the policy was that South Africa was a "multi-national" rather than a "multi-racial" society. What then the difference between the two concepts?

Multi-racialism and multi-nationalism

Multi-national, in essence, meant that the different racial groups in South Africa, Whites, Africans, "Coloureds", Indians, would be allowed to compete against each other as four separate "nations" within the boundaries of the country, but only in major national events such as the South African Games. In 1976 after the Soweto riots, Dr. Piet Koornhof (Minister of sport and recreation) extended multi-nationalism to club and provincial levels. However this policy ensured that clubs would be organised on racially exclusive lines and "in a series of contradictory assertions, he let it be understood, that clubs would not be

permitted to allow mixed membership or mixed teams, but that no legislation would be passed to enforce the rule...". (47) It was clear that this policy merely entrenched the policy of separate development and ensured that the whites maintained overall control. Later, however, not to be discredited abroad for their multi-national policy, the government allowed clubs multi-racial membership, but this move went hand-in-hand with a permit system. The government also realized that mixed teams were necessary for international sporting ties and by allowing black members to hold executive positions, the official sport establishment could claim to be "multi-racial". The government therefore shifted from "multi-nationalism" to "multi-racialism" as it suited their needs. By claiming to be multi-racial they in fact claimed that clubs and provincial teams, can now play, with and against each other and not as previously stated, only against each other as separate "nations". It was expedient for the South African government to adopt this policy because it provided the government room to manoeuvre between its various irreconcilable commitments. But it also revealed the government's hypocrisy to legislate against mixed sport. Instead, sport was vigorously controlled through pass law legislation and the permit system. The permit system gave the government power to suffocate all mixed sport of which it disapproved and to promote "multi-national" or "multi-racial" sport which conformed to their policy.

The underlying principle of discrimination still remained behind a façade of reform. To accommodate the multi-racial

sports system, the government instituted a number of legislative reforms which directly and indirectly influenced sports participation. The Group Areas Act was amended to allow for the different racial groups to participate in any area and make use of facilities which before, were refused entry to them. The Black (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act was amended to allow whites access to African townships and the Liquor Act was changed to allow clubs to decide themselves whom they wished to serve. A much more substantial shift in policy occurred in September 1976. The political context in which this shift in policy occurred is significant. Serious rioting in Soweto in June 1976 and subsequent black unrest elsewhere, had shaken white self-confidence and increased white receptivity to reform in sports and other areas of policy.

Desegregating sport became the norm as the punch of the international boycott was being felt. Different races could belong to different clubs, inter-group competition would be allowed at all levels if the controlling bodies should so decide (in consultation with the minister) and each racial group could arrange its own sporting relations with other countries or sporting bodies. Teams comprising all racial groups could represent South Africa and could be awarded colours. Later in 1976 it was announced that South African teams participating in international events, would be selected on merit through racially mixed trials. All selected could play in Springbok colours or under the national flag.

Despite all this, the boycott continued. During the Commonwealth Conference in June 1977, the Gleneagles Agreement was signed, denouncing all sporting ties with South Africa, and resolving to withhold funds from sport exchanges with South Africa, to apply sanctions against bodies defying this policy, to vote for the expulsion of racialist bodies from international sports federations and to refuse to host events in which South Africa participated.

Once again South Africa tried to impress the international sports fraternity by implementing more reform measures. In 1978, national and provincial sporting bodies could obtain annual permits for people of all races to attend sporting fixtures if the owners of a particular stadium or sports amenity did not object. This was called "inter-club status". The government even appointed an inquiry into sport that was carried out by the Human Sciences Research Council. They reported in 1980, recommending freedom of association in sport, the right for all to take part, and to administer and to watch the sport of their choice. It was further recommended that there should be equality of opportunities, regardless of race, sport should be "depoliticised" as far as possible, various "obnoxious" and humiliating laws should be amended, the final decision on open school sport should be left to local bodies, and there should be equal funding of sports facilities.

The government took its time to respond to these recommendations. The fact of the matter is that these changes

or reforms all occurred within the apartheid paradigm and also did very little to impress the local and international sports fraternity. Despite the reforms, the boycott continues. The non-racial or non-government sports bodies are aware of the link between sport and politics and that changes in sport alone, i.e reforms, but not in the political system do not amount to meaningful change. The boycott is aimed at bringing about meaningful changes in the political system and this then necessarily (because of the conceptual link between sport and politics) means changes in sport as well. Until this happens the sports boycott will continue. Changes in sport will have a significant impact only if they go hand in hand with changes in the political, economic and educational spheres. To show that changes must occur on all levels , the South African Council On Sport (SACOS) summed up the situation in the catch phrase, "there can be no normal sport in an abnormal society."

Despite the claims to the contrary, apartheid is still alive in South African Sport. Changes have been brought about as a result of world and internal pressures. By South African standards, these changes have been significant, in many respects unthinkable prior to 1970, but by world standards they have been superficial. The reason for this is that the position of the oppressed majority has not changed. Political inequality still remains. The universal franchise is still denied many. Even the most fundamental change according to the South African government, the introduction of the new Tricameral form of government which gave representation to

Coloureds and Indians, is seen as "token" representation, because political hegemony is still held by the whites. Indians and Coloureds are only allowed to decide on legislation concerning their "own affairs". The new constitution is still seen by many, not as to unify the different "races", but to split them. Hence the reason for the view that these changes are merely cosmetic in terms of meaningful change.

Little headway has been made towards breaking the country's sporting isolation. There can be no compromise on contact with South Africa in the realm of sports as long as apartheid itself persists. This viewpoint has won a large measure of general acceptance at a political level in the west, reflected in Margaret Thatcher's words that Sport in South Africa cannot be completely integrated until apartheid is abandoned. The changes that have taken place have been dismissed abroad as largely cosmetic changes on the periphery of the structure of racism. "Third world" opinion tends to see sport in the overall context of apartheid and not only in the isolation of sporting norms against discrimination. The west has moved away from the notion of sporting autonomy and the concept that sport ought or even can be separated from politics. This point was dramatically underlined by the readiness of the New Zealand High Court to take into account the political context, when it granted an interim injunction in July 1985, stopping the All Blacks Rugby Tour to South Africa. Reform more widely has done little to enhance the

legitimacy of the present political system in South Africa and changes are seen as window-dressing within the apartheid shop.

South Africa resorted to these drastic reform measures in an attempt to break the stranglehold of isolation. Besides being challenged internationally, South Africa also experienced wide-spread resistance internally.

This "multi-racial" sports policy (still with a racial base) is now opposed by the adherents to the "non-racial" sports policy. "The absence of defined limits and specific constraints gave non-racial sportsmen and women, supported by international opinion, room to exploit the contradictions of the multi-racial sports policy". (49) The institutions opposed to the policy of apartheid use the term "non-racial" to define integrated sport, i.e. sport devoid of all racial restrictions and a selection system based on merit alone, i.e. racial criteria are no longer applied, whereas in "multi-racial" a mixture of races is emphasized. A complete non-racial sports structure from school level and upwards, adequate facilities for sportsmen and women regardless of race and the realization of the non-racial principle of equality at all levels, underline the non-racial sports policy.

On the 13 March 1973 the non-racial federations met to form the South African Council of Sport, (SACOS) which was to become the only authentic non-racial body in South Africa, struggling for non-racial sport both within South Africa and

outside it. At this point, I must state and emphasize that I am not unaware as to what is happening on the broader political front as regards SACOS and the newly formed National Sports Congress (NSC), but it is not in the scope of this dissertation to go into detail about the current SACOS/NSC debates and how it might affect schools and moreover school sport. I shall refer to SACOS only as it pertains to the South African Senior School Sports Association (SASSSA) and how key features of a democracy are also key non-racial principles as emphasized by SACOS. It is significant to note that two school sports associations are also affiliated to SACOS namely, The South African Primary School Sports Association (SAPSSA) and the South African Senior Schools Sports Association (SASSSA) (an association I shall discuss in more detail later) . They make a considerable contribution to the non-racial movement because they bring school children into contact with non-racial ways of thinking. Very few African schools are affiliated to these associations because of, as I mentioned earlier, the tight control the government has over Bantu Education.

Although it is not in the scope of this essay to discuss SACOS in detail, I can add that internally, SACOS and its affiliates have challenged the government's "multi-national" sports policy from its inception and is continuing to do so. SACOS emphasizes that sport has become an issue of significance. Even if sport was completely integrated and no significant changes occur politically, economically or educationally, then it would have little impact in bringing

about far-reaching, meaningful change. SACOS undoubtedly has had some international success. It opposes the interference of racial criteria in sport and it recognizes the rights of the individual to equal opportunity and equality before the law. It is for this reason that SACOS supports the international boycott of South African sport. The non-racial approach undoubtedly is gaining more and more support and the structure of South African Apartheid sport is being forced to change dramatically.

Undoubtedly, sanctions and boycotts against South Africa have been successful in the sporting arena. If boycotts are maintained, there is every prospect of an acceleration of the pace of change, in which case not only could the hope of every sportsperson rise dramatically, but the consequence could reverberate through the wider fabric of apartheid. In the words of Mr Frank Van der Horst, previous President of SACOS, "we believe that international sport with South Africa can take place only if there is a non-racial society with non-racial sport." (50)

"Certainly it is true that sport will not free South Africa from racialism, it is also true that sport cannot be played non-racially while apartheid is enforced. But if we wish seriously to support the struggle against apartheid we cannot pretend to do so by ignoring the appeals of those within South Africa who are today struggling in the most difficult circumstances for freedom, and for freedom in sport." (51)

In summary then, I have attempted to discuss the changes that have taken place within the apartheid paradigm and the responses of the internal and international communities. This chapter will help to illustrate some of the arguments that follow when I discuss apartheid school sport in much more detail, highlighting the link between sport and education.



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CHAPTER 6

THE DEVELOPMENT OF APARTHEID SCHOOL SPORT AND REFORM MEASURES
TAKEN BY THE GOVERNMENT TO COUNTER INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL
PRESSURES

In the previous chapter I attempted to give a historical overview of Apartheid Sport in South Africa. In this chapter I shall be discussing the development of Apartheid School Sport and reform measures taken by the government, to counter internal and external pressures.

As mentioned earlier, in 1948 government domestic policy in South Africa was directed at enforcing race separation in every conceivable sphere. This included sport and sport organisation. The various Apartheid laws forced people to participate in segregated sport. To ensure that the different race groups were kept separate, whites and "non-whites" had to organise their sport separately. To implement and entrench the practices of apartheid, the government found it necessary to control education. This had a direct effect on school sport. Because of strict race separation, the different education departments were responsible for school sport. The government controlled the education of the blacks who had virtually no say in how sport should be organized.

Education in the classroom and education on the field of play cannot be separated. It is important to cultivate sporting talent through the formative school years, not only for physical development, but also to develop certain values of co-operation and fairness. The white school children are in a

privileged position. They have excellent facilities and coaches and their aspirations to play international sport and represent their country can be fulfilled. On the other hand, black school children do not have the same facilities and so maximum opportunity of developing physically to international level is severely limited. Not only are physical facilities inadequate, but the availability of professional coaches and the opportunity of gaining Springbok Colours are dramatically curtailed. Moreover, to inculcate sportsmanship and fairness in the young minds of the other race groups seemed an arduous task because they had been denied too many privileges. In keeping with the national sports policy, no mixed school sport was allowed and inter-school competition between different race groups, especially black and white, was strongly avoided.

"Education has been free and compulsory for white children since 1913. Sporting equipment and facilities have also been supplied free to white government schools since the same date. In contrast African school children have had to pay for their education which moreover is not compulsory. Free compulsory education for the Coloured and Indian minorities was introduced only in 1973-74" .(52) Another contributing factor that has led to the lack of sporting facilities at black schools was the inequitable distribution of public and private funding of sporting activity.

It is understood that "education gives each individual the opportunity to develop physical abilities from the very first

school day."(53)As mentioned earlier, to develop this ability requires access to adequate facilities, coaching and encouragement and to engage in fair and equal competition in terms of education and participation. Amongst others a function of sport is to promote goodwill, fellowship and understanding among people.

However schools are forced to develop separately. In controlling the schooling of blacks, the government ensured that no mixed sport would take place, because the general idea of apartheid and separate development had to be extended to all schooling as well. The separate education departments are responsible for organising sports, just as methods of appointing teachers, policies and curricula are prescribed by the government. They also spell out which codes of sport may be played at school level and where and how they should take place. Sport is an important element of schooling and because different policies and other apartheid policies have spelt clearly how black and white should organise their separate sport, school sports of necessity conform to the same general segregated pattern.

As mentioned earlier, black schooling is the victim of massive inequalities ranging from totally inadequate financing to understaffing. The HSRC (1982) report on education provided statistical evidence, demonstrating the extent of racial discrimination in South African education. According to the HSRC's report on sport, white schools have 72,4% of the total number of sport facilities at

schools, 79,9% of all athletic tracks and ,88,6% of all cricket pitches. If one compares the total number of white pupils to black pupils in schools, the statistics make the inequality even more pronounced. Hence the recommendation by the HSRC of sharing under-utilized white facilities. It is incongruous that facilities at white schools are under utilized while black pupils have to clamour for any available field and play till late, in order to complete a week's fixtures. Pupils at these schools often have to cover great distances to other schools who are lucky enough to have a facility, even if it does not comply to essential requirements. Many promising players or athletes fail to improve any further, because of the lack of adequate facilities and professional coaching. Comparatively whites and as a result, white school children, enjoy the best facilities that are available and a disproportionate share of all funding is used to improve their facilities. Because of the unequal distributions of funds, there is widespread dissatisfaction among many disadvantaged sportspersons. (more about this later)

In summary, it is clear that the education system is a direct mirror of the whole apartheid paradigm and in controlling education the government has also ensured control over school sport. In an article in the Cape Times (17 May 1986) the government made it clear that state schools will not be integrated. According to the government it does not serve the interest of education or of the government's own reform programme. However, many have realized that separate education can never be equal. The mere fact that the government has committed itself to spending vast amounts of

money over the next ten years to bring black education up to the level of white education, shows the enormous backlog in teacher availability and training and school facilities. This inequality cannot be redressed overnight. While apartheid lasts, whites are still likely to have the best standards, schools and facilities. The government is continuing with this obstinacy of not giving in to pressures from schools and parents to have schools opened to all races. Despite its obstinacy, parent associations and especially progressive schools have shown the government that an increasing number of white South Africans disagree with school apartheid.

The election to power in 1948 of the Nationalist Party saw racial discrimination given an elaborate legal status. Legislation was executed to propagate an ideology of segregation of the races. Sport followed party policy. "The sports policy between 1900 and 1956 stressed that whites and "non-whites" organise their sports separately. Whites did not meet "non-whites" on the field of play."(54) The attitude of the dominating white minority was racial segregation in the interest of racial domination. In 1956 the state became involved in sport and secured a certain amount of control by enforcing a fixed sports policy.

On 26 June 1956, Die Burger published South Africa's first State sport policy. As cited in the HSRC Sport Report (1982) this state policy stated clearly that white and "non-whites" had to practise their sporting activities separately and these had to be organised by the separate sport bodies. Mixed

teams of white and "non-whites" were prohibited. Sport had to be practised within the boundaries of the apartheid laws of the country.(55) The Group Areas Act assumed that sport was played in clearly demarcated areas for different race groups and the Separate Amenities Act ensured that facilities were used only by the appropriate race groups for which they were reserved.

"In 1962 it was once again stressed by senator Jan de Klerk, that "whites and 'non-whites' must practise their sport separately irrespective of the level of activities. Mixed teams cannot be accepted and 'non-white' sports organisations can develop alongside white sports organisations."(56) How it was to be organised was still prescribed by the white sports body. Any future diversions of this sports policy would force the government to enforce legislation to ensure that its policy of separate development was adhered to with regards to sport and other spheres of life.

By necessity, school sport had to follow suit. We therefore find that decisions taken on sports and sports practices in the wider political context have had a direct influence on school sport. Students of other race groups were so socialized in the apartheid process, that they initially accepted this separateness in sport and education. For a 'non-white' scholar his or her ambitions and aspirations to become a top sportsperson were already stifled by a policy that hindered him or her from attaining great heights.

Gradually this knowledge led to protest and a feeling of challenging the ruling class.

Young people have played a dominating role in the political conflict in South Africa. In 1976-77 a school student uprising, mustering mass support, helped to block forever the state's road to the construction of apartheid. In 1980-81 renewed student action challenged the State and demonstrated the inadequacy of the changes the state had made in education and other areas of social policy. These events increased the pressure on the government to develop its restructuring reform programme and to apply this programme in the educational sphere, including sport and especially school sport. To add to the enforcement of reform measures the international sports fraternity also launched an international sports boycott.

In spite of losing international olympic status, the 1968 British tour being called off and the 1970 Rugby tour to England cancelled, the government restated its policy and emphasized clearly that it would not be intimidated by the demands for integrated multi-racial sport in South Africa. Although the government adopted this hardline attitude it was fully aware of the dilemma it put itself in locally , and more so internationally. Locally it restricted sportspersons from advancing and fulfilling their aspirations, increasing the already high level of frustration. Because of its racist and segregationist policies, it prevented international mixed teams from participating in South Africa.

Reforms

The first signs of reform were to follow and this would filter down to school level as well. Why reforms? Firstly South Africa wanted to get back into international competitions, and also, militant student activity prompted reform measures.

Evidence shows that certain changes have indeed taken place in recent years. A number of formerly all-white national competitions now admit all or some Africans, Coloureds and Indians. The Craven Week Rugby Tournament is a fine example of the government's attempts to keep school sports in line with reforms in the wider sports circle. In 1980 it was decided to allow a single "Coloured" team to participate in this, up to then, all white prestigious tournament. This was seen by many as a tactical move by the government, because it coincided with the planned British Lions Rugby tour to South Africa. This decision split the white South African Schools Rugby Association. It also prompted a boycott of the tournament by a number of white schools and was opposed by a number of white educational authorities. The paradox here is that students are allowed to play integrated sport in special events which are outside of normal school competitions, but under no circumstances are inter-school competitions allowed across the colour line! Recently in this same competition, a black team and a "mixed team", comprising whites and coloureds, were allowed to participate. As long as the general political system remains segregated, isolated instances of integrated school sports form no

significant move towards the abandonment of the apartheid paradigm.

The majority of people are still suffering under the laws of apartheid and in its quest for reform, the government has relaxed and abolished some of the apartheid laws as discussed in the previous chapter. In spite of reform the white minority still rules, dominates, prescribes and controls.

To sum up, "integrated sport in South Africa constitutes only a tiny proportion of total sporting activity at school level, and even this very limited arena is subject to continual friction due to conservative resentment." (57) What is involved is a brief encounter on a sports field after which the children concerned return to their "normal" segregated lives. Again I wish to stress that sport in isolation cannot help to bring about real and meaningful change. Real and meaningful change can only take place if there is a complete change of paradigm; a change of paradigm in which people can be in charge of their own lives, in which people can express their feelings without being prohibited to do so, in which rulers are accountable to the people and a paradigm which will develop structures in which people can freely participate in major decision-making processes or be represented when major decision making is taking place. These are some key aspects of a democracy and the South African claims to be democratic rings hollow.

The de-racialization of school sport depends on the

transformation of the school system itself. I have stressed over and over that changes on the school sport front, have to go hand in hand with changes on the educational front. The government has also realized this and educational reform has assumed a high priority.

The groundwork for an educational initiative was undertaken by the HSRC as discussed previously. It took the government two years to respond to the HSRC report. Firstly it rejected the single ministry of education in favour of the apartheid status quo. The proposal of sharing under-utilized sports amenities of white schools was also rejected by the government. As regards school sport, the HSRC's recommendation is that "the racially fragmented management structure should be replaced by a single body, the School Sports Council, which will control all school sport and establish flexible guidelines for the operation of sport." (58) The government rejected this recommendation because it felt that it contradicted government policy, which defined school sport as the "own affairs" responsibility of the various educational departments.

In the policy of the government, there is a clear distinction between normal school sports and school sports outside this arena. Normal school sport forms part of the educational programme of a school and which as a result, just like education, must be pursued separately, (except in special cases for which permission is required). Sport which does not form part of the normal school programme, include tournaments

such as Craven Week and Nuffield Week. Racially segregated school sport has been given licence to continue in the vital area of school sport.

Since its inception in 1973, the South African Council on Sport (SACOS) has been on the forefront of the campaign to establish non-racial sport. Within SACOS organised sport, priority has been given to school sport on the basis that non-racialism begins at school level. "The abnormality of South African School Sport has, if anything been re-emphasized by the 'own affairs' clauses in the new constitution". (59) South African Sport has become intensely politicized. It has become an arena of contestation and an integral part of strategies aimed at defending or transforming the status quo. (more about this is the next chapter).

In conclusion, it is clear that recent reforms have not changed the racist basis of school sport in South Africa. Although there is integrated sport at club level, this has not been the case with school sport and students have taken up the struggle to work towards eliminating the structural restraints placed on all students. In the next chapter I shall look at how progressive schools fit into a democratic paradigm.

CHAPTER 7

PROGRESSIVE SCHOOL SPORTS BODIES AND HOW THEY FIT INTO A DEMOCRATIC PARADIGM

In the previous chapter I showed that sport in South Africa is necessarily linked to the political sphere. The policies of apartheid have politicized sport and all other social activities in such a way, that sport has been turned into a fruitful terrain for political action. The education of students and pupils has gone beyond mere schooling.

In this chapter I shall attempt to answer the question of how sport practices of progressive school sports bodies fit in with a democratic paradigm. A question that might be asked here is: progressive, in what sense? An organization may be considered progressive if it works actively for the democratization of society, at democratizing its own structures, is dynamic, (i.e. promotes creative progress and programmes on an ongoing basis) promotes regular critical discussion of current events and trends and broadly is sufficiently reflective and self-critical of its own practices.

But before I discuss how the sport practices of progressive school sports bodies fit into a democratic paradigm I shall discuss the reasons why the concept of non-racialism originated in the "Coloured" schools and why it seemed as if African schools remained passive.

The concept of non-racialism

The concept of non-racialism surfaced in opposition to the

government's multi-racial sports policy. As mentioned earlier, non-racialism clearly spelt out that race was not criterion for participation.

Between 1955 and 1962, school sport was non-existent in African schools. The reason for this was that in 1953 the South African government assumed control over black (African) education. Content of syllabi, employment of teachers and admission of pupils, all matters previously over which schools themselves had a degree of autonomy in decision-making, were now subject to central authority. Between 1955 and 1976, the government successfully entrenched its sport policies and black students were now in no position to challenge the government which had a tight control over education. Most students in African schools were fighting for survival, because socio-economic conditions were appalling. The idea of fighting for a democracy was not very central concern of the majority of Africans who were too busy fighting for their daily survival.

"Coloured" students, on the other hand, had much more freedom organising sport in their schools. They had slightly better equipment and facilities than those of the 'African' schools. Teachers in "Coloured" schools had much more "freedom" in organising sport. The "Coloured" education department did not have any policy on organised sport. However, this allowed progressive teachers and pupils in "Coloured" schools to make the student and teacher population aware of certain political issues and the political principles that underlie apartheid

school sports. This was done by means of awareness programmes through which teachers and students were conscientized and politicized.

Students were constantly reminded at sport gatherings why they had to play their sport at unsuitable venues and the reasons for this were spelt out clearly. The "Coloured" students were made aware that sport was seen as part of the broader struggle for liberation. However, for the 'African' student, sport was seen as an isolated privilege.

It is interesting to note that the political struggle found fertile ground on the sports fields of "Coloured" schools, but not on 'African' schools. One of the reasons could be that 'African' and "Coloured" student struggles were seen as two separate struggles and the "Coloured" students were also unaware of the struggles of the 'African' student. Many 'Africans' saw sport as a lever to get out of the socio-economic conditions they found themselves in. As I mentioned earlier, socio-economic conditions for 'Africans' were appalling and a constant fight for survival made multi-racial sport attractive to many of them. Many 'Africans' especially the cream of players and athletes were attracted to this financially lucrative sports policy. They gained recognition and the financial incentives that were offered made it much more attractive. They saw sport as an escape route out of their dismal way of living. They thought they could raise their living standards and social status, even if only for a limited period. The non-racial sports

policy opposed this because the idea of self-gain within the apartheid structures went against the grain of democracy. Not ever having been exposed to democracy, there were very few South Africans who particularly desired it. The consciousness of most South Africans had been shaped by a racial hierarchy and capitalist inequality came to be seen as the logical tenets of South Africa's social system, ".... for there is clear evidence that white South Africa's sport and political rulers are embarking upon a limited strategy of absorbing certain black sports officials and sportmen and women, where previously they were rigidly barred from major sports opportunities." (60)

Soweto 1976 and the aftermath introduced a whole new political agenda in the history of South Africa. 'African' and "Coloured" students realized that they had a common cause and that was to get rid of apartheid and to develop the introduction of democratic practices. "Coloured" and 'African' students pledged allegiance to one another, and the political struggle was taken forward mainly by the students, because the labor movement was still in disarray. The students addressed all issues, sports, education, Group Areas Act, sexual harassment and rent, amongst others. Students in general became more conscientized and politicised. Because of no official "Coloured" school sports policy, "Coloured" students have had much more opportunity to have awareness programmes in order to politicize and conscientize fellow students and teachers and the concept of non-racialism

could be emphasised. "Africans", on the other hand, spent more time trying to survive than to develop democratic ways of living. It was not until the Soweto uprisings that "Africans" and "Coloured" students joined forces to challenge the South African regime. Schools became much more progressive with the emphasis on being committed in bringing about a democratic system. The development of progressive school sports bodies were also rapid .

The two school sports associations, the South African Senior Schools Sports Association (SASSSA) and the South African Primary Schools Sports Association (SAPSSA) make a considerable contribution to the non-racial movement. Unfortunately, very few "African" schools are affiliated to them, because of the tight control the government has on black (African) education. No "African" school sports body has been formed. In turn the two associations are affiliated to SACOS. SASSSA, being a progressive school sports body, emphasizes the principles of SACOS and before I look at how SASSSA fits into a democratic paradigm, I shall look once again at the key features of a democracy and see how democracy operates in SACOS.

Key features of a democracy and how it operates in SACOS

"The name of SACOS has nevertheless become so closely associated with the struggle for non-racial sport, both within South Africa and outside it." (61) One of the key features of a democracy is equality and it is also a key non-racial principle. In the SACOS policy on multi-nationalism, it states clearly, "we reaffirm the

resolution passed at the inaugural Conference in 1973 that merit selection is possible only if all participants in sporting events are able to compete with each other freely at all levels" (62) and the call made at the conference to sporting organisations was that they were to reject any system or scheme which did not offer equal opportunity, equal facilities, equal training and equal experience at all levels. As in a democracy, equality suggests equal opportunity, equal status and ultimately equal rights. Equality can only be fully realized in a society where no class is able to dominate the lives of others.

Economic equality of opportunity is another key feature of a democracy. The question of commercial sponsorship is and has always been a delicate political issue. It is a fact that "sponsorship is also distributed equally on racial and on political grounds. White associations receive the largest amounts, racial black federations a much smaller share, and non-racial federations, virtually no sponsorship at all."

(63) SACOS has political and sporting reasons for opposing sponsorship. SACOS believes in the fair distribution of funds and therefore states clearly, " We condemn those business organisations that sponsor and actively assist the continuation of racially orientated sports bodies and deny assistance to those bodies which stand for and campaign for the participation in sports on racial basis." (64)

Equality links logically with participation and open discussion. As mentioned earlier, SACOS believes that

participation must be fair and on an equal basis. Individuals must be able to participate in associations that interest them and in their participation they must foster the spirit of non-racialism and fair and equal opportunity.

SACOS is accountable to its affiliates and its affiliates have the right to rectify any decision taken by SACOS that might hamper the progress of non-racialism. When SACOS takes decisions on its own, it claims that it is for the whole organisation. As in a democracy, the majority principle which is an effective way of protecting individuals from arbitrary government, has an important role to play in the organization of SACOS as well. If the leaders in SACOS go against the wishes of the majority of its members, the majority vote can be implemented to dismiss them. The majority rule is a fair procedure and it is democratic, as it allows all the members to take part in major decision making (direct representation).

In summary, it is clear that many of the key features of a democracy are adhered to by SACOS and its affiliates, and therefore SACOS affiliates are governed by them. SASSSA tries its best to follow SACOS principles and therefore fits into a democratic paradigm. I shall now specifically look at how a progressive school sports body, like SASSSA fits into a democratic paradigm.

SASSSA - a progressive schools sports body

In its quest to organise sport for high school students,

SASSSA inculcates the question of equality and how it can be attained. One of the objectives of SASSSA is to continue to build true non-racial sport at school level and in the process, promote actively the struggles of the oppressed of South Africa, for a society free of exploitation and domination.

SASSSA is aware of the role that students must play in the struggle for freedom and the breaking down of artificially erected barriers. At its major sports events, especially at inter-provincial competitions, black players, officials and spectators are constantly reminded as to why they have to participate at inferior venues and with inferior facilities. They are reminded that they are still part of a diminishing apartheid paradigm and that they should support the people who are trying to bring about fundamental changes.

SASSSA also emphasizes the role of the students in the struggle by stressing how their constant opposition to the apartheid system can mitigate changes in the political structure to a more democratic system of government. " The student struggle is an integral part of the national struggle and because education, from a neo-marxist perspective is an important cornerstone of the ruling class onslaught to enslave the oppressed masses, the challenging role of the black oppressed students assume a portion of tremendous significance." (65) At black schools, many students strive to inform other students of current events in South Africa through awareness programmes. Many sports meetings are thus

characterised by the singing of protest songs and the delivery of political speeches by activists. Besides on the field of play, they conscientize others by means of song, dance and play. At workshops they perform sketches that portray police brutality and the State of Emergency. They write poems of people in detention and give readings of sections of the Freedom Charter. In song and poetry the students are given the opportunity to express their innermost feelings and are encouraged to form committees, promoting open debates and collective decision making processes. Their awareness programmes are of such a nature that even the young go home and ask relevant questions concerning events in South Africa. In doing so, many parents have become involved and many of them have come to realize that the students struggle is ultimately also their struggle. The practices of SASSSA coincide with those of democracy and many students and sportspersons in their everyday life and on the sports field strive to fulfill this commitment.

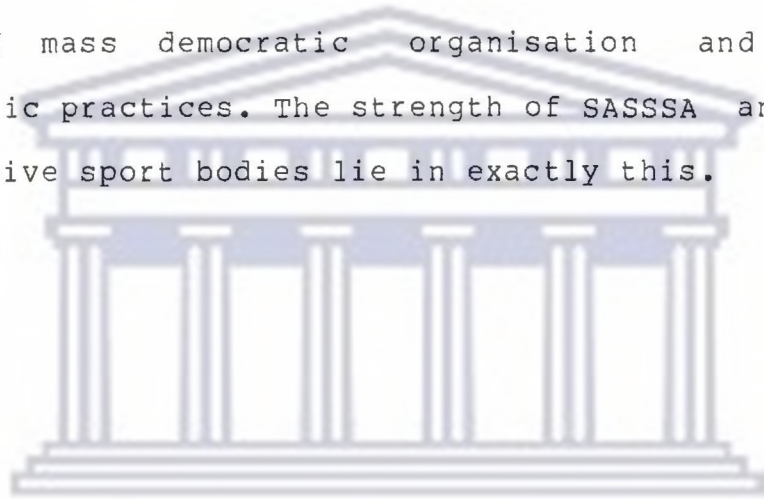
In summary, SASSSA has been established to promote non-racial sport and is opposed to all forms of discrimination on the bases of race, colour and religion. By adopting this stance, SASSSA is in stark contradiction with the apartheid paradigm, where sport policies are based on race and separate development. (Although mixed sport is allowed at club and provincial levels, it is not allowed at school level, with the exception of private schools.) SASSSA thus seems to fit into a democratic paradigm, because many features of a democracy are promoted and implemented by SASSSA in its

planning and stance against apartheid. SASSSA therefore clearly spells out that sport in South Africa is still very much segregated although adherents of the apartheid paradigm would like us to believe differently. Apologists for apartheid would insist that legal constraints against integrated sport have been removed. But the difference is, what is theoretically possible in law, and what South African society actually observes in practice. In law, integrated sport is possible and some integrated sport does take place. In practice, though, there remain many legal, social and economic constraints which clearly militate against freely integrated sport which I have discussed previously. Schools; as I have mentioned earlier must be segregated as stated by law. Consequently most organised sport fixtures at South African schools are segregated in the form of enforced apartheid. Therefore it is not possible to credibly refute the central theme of SACOS, that there can be no normal sport in an abnormal society. Neither can there be convincing talk about freedom of association, freedom of movement and other freedoms which are key features of a democracy.

According to the Kuhnian point of view, we are currently in a paradigm shift with the democratic paradigm gaining momentum and with the possibility of the overthrow of the apartheid paradigm.

Finally a comment on the current paradigm shift in South Africa. I am aware of the historical context of sport today.

It would be naive to think that non-racial criteria can be implemented without problems. Obviously there are inherited apartheid consequences that cannot be ignored, eg. the poverty question. SASSSA is also aware of this. But non-racial sport has an important contribution to make to the project of building mass democratic organisation, because sport is very close to being a mass activity in our society. A democratically structured sports organization widens the base of mass democratic organisation and strengthens democratic practices. The strength of SASSSA and all other progressive sport bodies lie in exactly this.



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