

Rugby, race, and rhetoric: A thematic content analysis of constructions of race in the South African newspaper media in relation to South African rugby

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ABSTRACT

This study aimed to explore the newspaper media's constructions of blackness and whiteness as contained in a set of 84 articles published by the Independent Media Group in the same month (June) over four years (2005 to 2008). The data was collected using the Independent Media Online database. Various search strings were used and the final data set was drawn from an original sample of over 50 000 articles. The final set of 84 articles was examined using a thematic content analysis of the broad trends in relation to the constructions of blackness and whiteness in relation to black players specifically. This analysis revealed negative constructions of blackness such as black players being described as weak, lazy, and inherently lacking the skills, abilities and attributes to represent South Africa at a national level. The concurrent positive portrayal of whiteness results in white players being constructed as trustworthy, capable, meritorious and above all innately capable of playing rugby at an international level. Examples of black and white exceptionalism support the earlier findings regarding blackness and whiteness but take them further by examining examples that don't fit the typical construction of race presented earlier.

DECLARATION

I declare that this research report entitled “Rugby, race, and rhetoric: A thematic content analysis of constructions of race in the South African newspaper media in relation to South African rugby” is my own, unaided work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated by means of complete references. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Arts (Research Psychology) at the University of the Witwatersrand. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university.

Signed this _____ day of _____ 2010

Chris Kriel

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

This research examines constructions of blackness and whiteness in relation to South African newspaper media identified using a thematic content analysis of 84 articles published by the South African newspaper media in June over four successive years (2005 to 2008). The findings indicate that stereotypical constructions of race still predominate the racialised discourse (re)produced by the newspaper media during this time-period. Although due to the method of investigation these findings are not generalisable to the South Africa newspaper media as a whole or to South African society in general, they still indicate worrying trends especially in terms of the possible ideological foundations which these constructions of race seem to be based on.

Considering the lack of research in the area, this project was undertaken as an exploratory study which could serve as the basis for future studies of race in relation to South African rugby. Aimed at exploring the general trends, the discussion section of this report uses specific quotations derived from the analysis of newspaper articles to unpack and deconstruct some the topics identified through the systematic and empirical analysis of textual data as being most pertinent in relation to the construction of race by the South African newspaper media in relation to South African rugby.

1.2 RATIONALE

There is perhaps no construct more centrally involved in the development of contemporary South Africa than that of race. Constructions of race and racist ideology began affecting South Africa from the earliest forms of colonial occupation of South Africa. Although constructions of race changed over time, the Apartheid government extended the forms of racial exclusion which were already a part of the society and the development of Afrikaner nationalism further entrenched the already existing hierarchical construction of the race groups in the country.

Race is thus linked to the development of virtually every system of politics and economics. This had specific implications for the development of class structures and the racially stratified distribution of poverty and privilege in the country.

Sport is affected by and reflects the social conditions in which sports are played. In South Africa, rugby was first linked to imperial ideology as the game was introduced by the British. However, during the rise of Afrikaner nationalism the game was stripped of its ideological links to imperialism as it was replaced with ideological links to Afrikaner nationalism. As a result the game became a power informal disseminator of nationalist ideology and was specifically used by the National Party at various stages both to present a sanitised version of Apartheid to the international community as well as to promote the associated ideological construction of the superiority of the Afrikaner 'race'.

In post-Apartheid South Africa, rugby has been specifically targeted as a public display of the 'rainbow' nation and was considered an important part of Nelson Mandela's strategy to unite the country following the first democratic elections. Since then the sport has often been criticised for a lack of transformation as it remains dominated by whites, especially in terms of the players who are selected to represent the country. While the racial composition of administrative positions, has changed markedly, this change has done little to affect the racial composition of national (and regional) teams.

The newspaper media are an important source of discourse in modern society because they have the power both to reflect and affect dominant opinions and racial constructions in society. Discourse naturally reflects contested social constructs and in relation to race the ways in which the media choose to (re)construct racialised events, topics, relationships and asymmetries have the potential to reveal modern forms of racism. Considering that 'traditional' forms of racism are no longer socially acceptable, modern forms of racism, especially inferential racism, are often discursive in nature.

Considering the level of racism considered socially acceptable in South Africa during Apartheid and the fact that racism always has a significant effect on intellectuals and their intellectual (re)productions, it is likely that racism will still be reflected in the newspaper media's construction of blackness and whiteness post Apartheid.

Media racism has been found in many contexts including the United States, United Kingdom, Holland, and South Africa. Although considered a significant problem in the early 1990s few studies have sought to address the topic since then.

The construction of race in post-Apartheid South Africa is also naturally affected by the processes which led to and followed after the first racially inclusive democratic elections in the country. The contemporary construction of race in South Africa is thus more complex than in the past.

Although often discussed at the level of every-day conversation few academic studies have chosen to explore racial construction in relation to South African rugby. In the field of psychology only one attempt at post-graduate level has been conducted in relation to South African rugby (see Barnes, 1999) and although interesting, did not seek to examine the media's construction of race. Attempts to examine racial constructions in relation to the South African newspaper media are also distinctly lacking (see Duncan, 2003^a).

This study is thus relatively unique because although using established methods and exploring constructs which have been discussed in relation to the field of South African psychology before, no other study has sought to examine the media's construction of race in relation to South African rugby in post-Apartheid South Africa specifically.

Examining the media's construction of race in post-Apartheid South Africa is important considering South Africa's history and this research serves as a barometer for change in terms of typical constructions of blackness and whiteness by the newspaper media with a specific focus on exploring possible sources of media racism in the country.

The relative lack of literature in the field meant that this study had to be exploratory in nature, and it is hoped that this project is able to inspire future research in the area as well as to raise the level of debate within the newspaper media which, as shall be seen, seem to rely on fairly primitive ideas regarding race and contains many common misperceptions regarding the possible effects of race on determining a player's rugby ability.

1.3 CHAPTER OUTLINE

This research report is comprised of five chapters. The current chapter provides an introduction to the study and presents the rationale for the study, as well as the outline of the ensuing chapters.

Chapter 2 presents an overview of the available literature considered relevant to the aims and purposes of this study, and is split into two parts. The first half of this chapter explores race as a social construct in relation to historical constructions of race before examining racism in general and media racism specifically. This section concludes by examining trends in researching race (and rugby) in South African psychology. The second half of this chapter examines approaches to studying sport and society before examining the emergence of white dominated sport. The effects of imperialism and Apartheid on South African sport, and rugby specifically are also discussed. The chapter discusses the demographics of international sports, and South African rugby, before concluding by highlighting some specific instances of racism in relation to post-Apartheid South African rugby.

Chapter 3 provides an explanation of the methodology employed in this research and outlines the general components of Thematic Content Analysis before outlining the procedures involved in the specific form of computer-aided analysis utilised by this project. This section concludes by exploring other forms of thematic analysis which although they do not address the specific topic of this research topic do illustrate the ways in which thematic analysis can be used to explore racial constructions in different contexts, and with different data sources.

The analysis and discussion of the findings of this research are explored in *Chapter 4* which provides an examination of the four most pertinent themes. The themes to be discussed are: Blackness, Whiteness, Black Exceptionalism and White Exceptionalism. Blackness explores constructions of blackness in relation to South African rugby in general and black players specifically. Whiteness explores constructions of white players and whiteness by the South African newspaper media. The final two themes essentially build on and develop the constructions of race presented in the first two themes by exploring exceptions to the rule.

Finally, *Chapter 5* provides a conclusion to the findings of this study, explores the limitations of this study and possible directions for further research.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 RACE

Race is described as:

A classification of human beings into different categories on the basis of their biological characteristics. There have been a variety of schemes for race classification based on physical characteristics such as skin colour, head shape, eye colour and shape, nose size and shape etc. A common classification system uses four major groups: Caucasoid, Mongoloid, Negroid and Australoid. The term was once popular in anthropology, but has now fallen into disrepute, because the idea of racial classification has become associated with racism - the claim that there is hierarchy of races. The idea of race categories also appears to be unscientific, since humans are able to mate across all 'races' and have done so throughout history, creating an enormous variety of human genetic inheritance. In addition the defining characteristics of 'race' do not appear in all members of each so-called race, but merely occur with some degree of statistical frequency. If the defining characteristic of each 'race' does not appear in all members of each 'race' then the whole definition is clearly inadequate (Drislane & Parkinson, 2010, p.1).

Defining race in a way that encompasses all its varieties in the South African context remains a difficult, if not an impossible task. Although race has questionable foundations its' usage by various groups and individuals has served both to establish and entrench the 'race' groups as distinct and homogenous categories (although they are not so) and directly resulted in a racially skewed distribution of poverty and privilege in South African society, especially in relation to preferential access to education, healthcare, employment, and so on.

It is important to understand from the outset, that race and racial differences have become important because of the social and historical processes to which they been attached, rather than because of any inherent biological or scientific utility associated with the categorisation of human beings into different sub-species (however defined). Although they were previously thought to be, race and racial characteristics, are in no way determiners of ability, potential,

or worthiness as a human being, nor do they have any particular relevance in relation to the development of intellectual, moral, or physical capacity.

As mentioned above, historical constructions of race often alluded to biological or scientific explanations for the existence of the race groups. Such explanations generally focus on perceived physionomological differences, such as skin colour, hair texture, and eye-ball shape. Modern science has proven the existence of race groups, as they were originally conceived, to be scientifically invalid (Goldsby, 1977) and that the characteristics (and methods) generally used to differentiate between 'race' groups, when examined critically are imprecise, impractical and of little, if not, no scientific utility (Stevens, Swart & Franchi, 2006)

Despite this, race as a social construct still remains fundamentally linked to the 'every-day' and 'common-sense' understandings of individuals and groups, especially in relation to the development of their sense of personal and group identity.

Importantly, historical constructions of race were inherently tied to the oppression, marginalisation and subjugation, of other racialised social groups. This is as true in many parts of the world but in South Africa, racial oppression has always taken the form of white (or European) domination, and black, suppression and subjugation.

Race is affected by many complex contextual factors and because constructions of race developed at the same time as society in general, many different versions of racial categorisation developed and as a result, race always remains a "tenuous social construct that continues to evolve with great elasticity to shape social relations, subjectivities and configurations of personhood" (Stevens, Swart, & Franchi, 2006, p. 4). In South Africa, the forms of racial categorisation created and enforced during the time-periods associated with colonialism and Apartheid have left an indelible mark on the construction of race in contemporary South Africa. Importantly, the processes associated with these time-periods have resulted in the curious 'ability' of ordinary South African's to categorise themselves and others in terms of artificially created but pervasively applied forms of racial categories. This has implications both in terms of the 'lived experience' of South Africans, as well as the development of aspects of an individual's own sense of identity at both a personal and inter-personal level.

Race is thus not only related to the structure of society but also to the development of individual aspects of identity and personality.

This discussion seeks to highlight some of the world's most infamous examples of racial categorisation, i.e. the constructions of race associated with colonialism, Nazism and Apartheid. The construction of race associated with these systems of racial categorisation were based on the economic, political and social advancement of dominant race groups (usually whites) and at the expense of dominated and otherised race groups (such as black people and Jews). They remain as exemplars of the most horrendous forms of racism in modern society, and it is important to acknowledge that most (if not all) systems of racial categorisation are, or were originally, based on racist ideology that served to justify and enable racist practices, usually for economic, political, and social gains.

A general conception of racism will be discussed before exploring media racism specifically. Trends in the exploration of race and racism in relation to South African social psychology will then be discussed in order to orientate this research within its broader context.

The second half of this discussion seeks to examine sport as a reflection on society and how sport has the potential both to reinforce but importantly also to challenge racist social formulations. In South Africa, the national rugby team was specifically linked to the National Party's conception of race and functioned not only as an informal disseminator of the ideology of Afrikaner nationalism, but also as a way of promoting both a 'sanitised' version of Apartheid to the international community and to reinforce the ideological construction of the perceived superiority of the Afrikaner 'race'. The team has also been linked to the presentation of the 'rainbow' nation in post-Apartheid South Africa and rugby (and especially the 1995 World Cup held in South Africa) was part of Nelson Mandela's strategy to unite the country.

2.1.1 COLONIALISM

Colonialism (or Modern colonialism) refers to the period of history comprising the fifteenth to the twentieth century, when people from Europe established colonies on other continents (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1991). This is distinct from the earlier colonial exploits conducted

during antiquity such as Greek, Roman and Egyptian colonialism but includes British colonialism (seventeenth to twentieth century).

Importantly, modern colonialism was motivated by the social, political, and economic aspirations of colonial powers, a fact which is reflected in the inequitable relationships established between colonial powers and the indigenous populations of the colonies (Schrire, 1992).

The perceived superiority of Europeans was part of the overall colonial ideology which provided constructions of race that served to 'justify' and 'enable' racist practices, such as the domination, control, enslavement, and subjugation of indigenous peoples in the interest of colonial exploits. In South Africa, as in many parts of the world, colonialism led to the marginalisation, exclusion, and oppression of black people by Europeans (Duncan & de la Rey, 2000). The ideological construction of European supremacy was central to the construction (and treatment) of Europeans and non-Europeans during this time and had obvious implications for early constructions of race.

While the origins of the term 'race' remain difficult to establish, it first entered the European languages, such as English and French, in the sixteenth century (Prah, 2002). Race was used, at the time, to describe the perceived differences between Europeans and the various indigenous populations 'discovered' in the early stages of colonial exploration. Such usage of the term is credited to Linneaus in the eighteenth century (Duncan & de la Rey, 2000) who described race in terms of perceived differences between American (now known as American Indian), European, African and Asian population groups.

Linneaus described 'racial' differences between these population groups as follows:

The American is reddish, choleric, erect; the European, white, sanguine, fleshy; the Asiatic, yellow, melancholic, tough; the African, black, phlegmatic, slack. The American is obstinate, content, free; the European, mobile, keen, inventive; the Asiatic cruel, splendour-loving, miserly; the African sly, lazy, indifferent. The American is covered with tattooing, he rules by habit; the European is covered with close-fitting garments and rules by law; the Asiatic is enclosed in flowing garments

and rules by opinion; the African is anointed with grease and rules by whim (in Prah, 2002, p.22).

Note the emphasis on differences in physical appearance (particularly physionomological differences), these characteristics were taken-for-granted at the time as evidence both for the existence of the race groups and as an explanation for all other forms difference between Europeans and non-Europeans.

As has already been mentioned, from a genetic perspective race is a scientifically invalid concept and skin-colour (and many other physionomologically differences) is as relevant (or indeed as irrelevant) from a genetic perspective to psychological, physical, intellectual and moral development of individuals as the genetic code which determines the size of one's small toe (Golsby, 1977).

Explaining perceived racial differences was clearly subordinate to the considerable social, political and economic, benefits associated with constructing indigenous peoples as uncivilised, uncultured, and uneducated (Prah, 2002). This allowed the imposition of colonial control to be constructed as a positive development even for the people who were colonised and indigenous peoples were often constructed as not only benefitting but as being in need of the forms of cultural, religious, physical, intellectual and moral 'advancement' offered by colonial powers (Magubane, 1996).

Inherent to the discourse of racial difference at the time, was the belief that the European 'race' was the epitome of cultural, moral, intellectual and physical development (Duncan & de la Rey, 2000). Europeans assumed that perceived differences in culture, morality, intelligence and physicality, were a function of, and indeed the result of, racial differences. This time-period thus provides an early example of an ideological construction of race which not only emphasised the goals, aims, and aspirations of Europeans but also served to establish an artificial, socially constructed, racial hierarchy that placed Europeans at its' apex (Duncan & de la Rey, 2000).

This privileged social positioning in combination with the other social, political, and economic arrangements established by European colonial powers ensured that the control of resources in the colonies remained the sole domain of colonial powers. This directly resulted

in racialised groups, such as black people in Africa, being wholly excluded from deciding their own social, political and economic fate, and also often resulted in indigenous peoples being violently forced into submission by Europeans (Hart, 2002).

Colonialism established, entrenched, and reinforced some of the most persistent, long-lasting and devastating forms of racial construction in society and directly contributed to the oppression, domination, and exclusion of racialised groups, such as black people in South Africa (Duncan & de la Rey, 2000). In this way, the economic, political, and financial advancement of colonial powers was served at the expense of dominated racial groups throughout the world (Prah, 2002).

Colonialism was also significantly affected by the associated hegemonic domination and control which the colonial powers (and white males specifically) maintained, in other areas of colonial society. Specifically, the domination and control of the areas of knowledge production such as science, medicine and biology, led to the emergence of some of the earliest forms of what is now termed scientific racism (Dubow, 1995).

At the time, racist ideology was so firmly entrenched in the colonial construction of race that pseudo-scientific tools and measures, such as craniotomy and biased readings of emergent biological theories, such as Darwinism (especially natural selection and the survival of the fittest), were unremarkably presented and accepted as part of the growing body of 'evidence' not only for the existence of race groups, but also for the associated ideological notions of racial superiority and inferiority (Dubow, 1995).

British colonialism, which extended from the sixteenth century to the twentieth century, is of specific interest to this discussion because of the period's direct impact on South African society (Comaroff & Comaroff, 1991). Although first colonised by Dutch settlers, the domination of South African society by the British began in 1806 (Magubane, 1996). Limited independence was given to South Africa in 1910 after the Anglo-Boer war which was essentially fought over control of South Africa's resources between the British and the Boers who were essentially the community which resulted from Dutch, Flemish, German, and French Settlers (Nauright, 1997). This community later developed into the Afrikaner nation which took political control of South Africa following the 1948 elections, introduced Apartheid, and finally achieved independence from British rule in 1961 (Nauright 1997).

Importantly, the ideological constructions associated with British colonialism meant that British manners, customs, physicality, intellectualism, language, religion and morality were considered the epitome of cultural advancement at the time (Morrell, 1996; Nauright, 1996).

The effects of colonialism are still evident in contemporary African society in general, as the entrenchment of various discourses of difference based on social characteristics, such as geographical location, religion, language, and custom, laid the foundation for many violent ethnic, religious, and cultural clashes in the region – including those which occur long after the overt forms of colonial control of these countries have been removed (Stevens, Swart, & Franchi, 2006).

Also, the economic relationships established by colonial powers with other countries often remain (albeit in modified forms) a part of contemporary African societies and economies. The relationships between private and foreign companies and the control of resources by colonial powers, all of which are essentially the result of colonial practices still remain and are even described as a form of economic imperialism, referred to as neo-colonialism (Stevens, 2003). Although no longer overtly based on racist formulations, the significantly skewed distribution of privilege and poverty (based on race) which resulted in the wake of colonialism is still evident in contemporary Africa and the many years of racial oppression in the colonies did not simply disappear when social acceptance of these practices has run its course.

As already mentioned, British colonial control of South Africa entrenched the ideological constructions of race as a function of the racial ‘superiority’ of whites over all other race groups (Duncan, 2003^b). However it is also important to point out that it is the rejection of British colonial ideology and control in South African society, that laid the foundation for the emergence of Afrikaner nationalism which had specific implications for constructions of race in general and by the National Party specifically (Grundlingh, 1996).

The rejection of British culture, custom and practice, was at the heart of the Afrikaner quest for independence from British colonial rule (Grundlingh, 1996). However, important ideological components associated with imperialism remained during Apartheid, such as the social acceptance of overtly and explicitly racist ideology and practice as well as the retention

of certain British cultural practices, such as, the retention of British sports in South Africa (Nauright, 1997).

In many British colonies, sport was one of very few areas of social interaction in which the colonies could compete and achieve some measure of equality with Britain (Nauright, 1997). British sport was thus central to the construction of national identity, masculinity and pride, in white settler communities, such as Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, that were distinct from their identity as an extension of British colonial power and control (Morrell, 1996).

The decolonisation process, although motivated in part by the significant depletion of economic resources of European countries following World War II, was also motivated by the rejection of colonial and Nazi racial ideology and practice to be discussed next.

2.1.2 NAZISM

The end of World War II and the establishment of the United Nations, amongst other developments, resulted in the rejection of the forms of racism and racial ideology that accompanied Nazism (and colonialism) (Kruger & Murray, 2003). The decolonisation process, in combination with the rejection of Nazi ideology and practices represented a significant shift in the perception and treatment of racism in society (Stevens, Swart, & Franchi, 2006). Crucially for the purposes of this discussion, it is unlikely that the forms of rejection and critique levelled at the National Party by the international community would have occurred at all, had Apartheid occurred at a historical juncture which preceded the rejection of colonial and Nazi racial ideology and practice.

The construction of Aryans and non-Aryans (including primarily the Jewish community but also various other 'race' groups and religious communities) in Nazi Germany is of interest to this discussion, because it illustrates the artificiality of systems of racial categorisation (Goldsby, 1997).

The Nazi government also focussed on biological justifications for the existence of the race groups and based much of their ideology and practice on the notion of the 'purity' of the Aryan 'race' group and the associated quest to keep Aryan blood 'pure'. As noted by Prah

(2002) “the idea of a ‘pure race’ is pure fiction or better yet unadulterated poppycock” (p. 27).

It should be noted, that while this discussion argues that all forms of racialisation are in essence artificial (especially those which are related to racial domination, oppression, and the related notions of racial superiority and inferiority), in most contexts constructions of race navigate the perceived binaries of blackness and whiteness (Duncan, van Niekerk, de la Rey, & Seedat, 2001). However, in this example, the categories which defined Aryans and non-Aryans were applied to two groups that would in most contexts both be considered white (Goldsby, 1977).

Although essentially the Nazi construction of race was defined in terms of Aryans and non-Aryans, it is in the construction of the Jewish ‘race’ that its most infamous examples of racism were exhibited. Under the Reich Citizenship Laws, a Jewish person was defined as:

“Anyone who descended from at least three grandparents who were racially fully Jews. A Jew is also one who descended from two full Jewish parents if (a) he belonged to the Jewish religious community at the time this law was issued or he joined the community later; (b) he was married to a Jewish person at the time this law was issued or married one subsequently; (c) he is the offspring from marriage with a Jew contracted after the law for the protection of German Blood and German Honour became effective; (d) he is offspring of an extramarital relationship with a Jew and was born out of wedlock” (Goldsby, 1977, pp. 6-7).

Reliance on a biological version of the race groups meant that, like colonial constructions of race, the existence of race groups, as defined by the Reich Citizen Laws, was largely taken-for-granted as a function of biology. Again like in the period associated with colonialism, the forms of scientific racism which developed were based more on ideology, and the hegemonic domination and control of society of areas of knowledge production, than on empirical enquiry. While they provided ‘evidence’ for the existence of the race groups as defined above (and the associated notions of racial superiority and inferiority), the Jewish (and Aryan) race group, as defined above, was never the result of any biological, scientific, or medical ‘facts’ (Dubow, 1995).

The reliance on scientific racism in the above definition is obvious as it assumes that the Nazi government had the ability to reliably and accurately differentiate between Aryans and non-Aryans (using genetic characteristics but based on a specific artificially constructed racial hierarchy). As mentioned earlier, such notions are now known to be completely false (Goldsby, 1977), and perhaps due to the difficulty associated with attempting to distinguish 'Jewishness' using biological characteristics, the above definition specifically includes cultural and social characteristics such as the community in which one lives, the person who one chooses to marry or have children with, and the status of one's parents in society, in order to be operationalised particular instances and processes of racialisation (Goldsby, 1977; Seekings, 2008).

Jewishness is not a biological characteristic and although it has come to represent a socially constructed 'race', in essence, Jewishness refers to a particular set of religious beliefs. Thus the group potentially includes any human who chooses to follow Judaism. Having Jewish parents or grandparents merely means that they follow Judaism, or are a part of the Jewish community. The biological heredity of characteristics associated with one's parents and grandparents is no different for Jews as any other set of human beings and as has already been mentioned, heredity does not predetermine an individual's capacity or potential.

As stated earlier, it was the rejection of Nazi racial ideology and practice, in combination with the growing momentum of the decolonisation process following World War II, which led to the worldwide shift in the construction of racism as no longer socially acceptable. However, due in part to the fluid, ever-changing and elastic, nature of racism, as certain forms of racism were identified and abolished others, such as Apartheid in South Africa, and slavery in the United States emerged (Duncan, 2003^a; Duncan & De la Rey, 2000). This illustrates that racism can take many forms and is always uniquely affected by the context in which it occurs.

2.1.3 APARTHEID

The focus of this discussion now turns to Apartheid which, as shall be seen, although based on similar ideological foundations to colonialism (and Nazism), was significantly affected by the unique context elements of South African society (Stevens, Swart, & Franchi, 2006).

The term 'Apartheid' refers to the system of racial categorisation associated with the time-period between 1948 and 1994 in South Africa when political control of the country was determined by the National Party (Lipton, 1986). This time-period was heavily and pervasively affected by the emergence of Afrikaner nationalism which led to significant forms of hegemonic domination of South African society by the Afrikaner 'race' (Jarive & Reid, 1997).

The term was first coined following the National Party's rise to power in the 1948 general elections, and refers to segregation or 'apartness' in the Afrikaans language (Nauright, 1996). The 1948 elections (as with all previous elections in South Africa) were racially exclusive and the voting pattern that emerged reflected the 65% majority which Afrikaners enjoyed over the other 35% of the rest of the white population that was comprised of English, Jewish, Greek, Portuguese and other white minorities (Nauright, 1997).

As discussed earlier, race was already a central component of the South African social, political, and economic landscape due to the influences of colonialism (especially British colonialism); and Apartheid was built in many ways on existing racist legislation, institutions, and practices (Hart, 2002). However, the National Party went much further in the formalisation, expansion, and development of specific racial categories which enabled racial segregation and the radical expressions of a form of ideology that placed the goals, purposes and endeavours of the white population (specifically the white Afrikaner community) as being the most important, and ahead of the concerns of any other race group (Nauright, 1997).

The official Apartheid definition of the South African race groups was as follows:

A white person is one who in appearance is, or who is generally accepted as, a white person, but does not include a person who, although in appearance obviously a white person is generally accepted as a Coloured person. A native is a person who is in fact or is generally accepted as a member of any aboriginal race or tribe in Africa. A Coloured person is a person who is not a white person or a native (Seekings, 2008, p. 1).

The definition of race during Apartheid also included a fourth category referred to as the Indian population, and South African society was thereby divided into the following four racial categories: white, coloured, Indian and African (Seekings, 2008). Many other divisions of South African social groups existed but for the purposes of this discussion these four racial categories are most pertinent.

A series of legislative processes initiated by the National Party accompanied the development of Apartheid. The fact that the National Party was able to apply racial legislation at all illustrates the level of entrenchment associated with race in South African society at the time, because racial legislation pre-supposes not only the existence of the race groups, but also the ability of the state to accurately and reliably differentiate between them (Posel, 2001).

The following pieces of race-based legislation are included because they illustrate the significant similarity between Apartheid constructions of race and those which were associated with Nazism (and colonialism), but more importantly, they illustrate the extent to which the National Party was willing to go in its quest to segregate all forms of social interaction during Apartheid:

1. The Prohibition of Mixed Marriage Act (Act 55 of 1949) prohibited marriage between race groups.
2. The Immorality Amendment Act (Act 21 of 1950) prohibited adultery, attempted adultery and extramarital sex between race groups.
3. The Population Registration Act (Act 30 of 1950) led to the establishment of a national register designed to catalogue every person in South Africa's race
4. The Group Areas Act (Act 41 of 1950) defined which areas particular race groups were allowed to live in and led to the forced removal of certain populations designated as living in the 'wrong' area.
5. The Bantu Education Act (Act 47 of 1953) segregated access to education with black people being provided with education which purported to be more suited to the nature and requirements of their social station
6. The Reservation of Separate Amenities (Act 49 of 1953) segregated access to public amenities, forms of transport, and buildings. This was designed to eliminate contact between the race groups (except in specific controlled ways which emphasised white

superiority) and stated that facilities provided for the different race groups need not be equal (Bobby-Evans, 2008).

These laws are examples of the way the National Party wholeheartedly adopted policies which presupposed their own ability to accurately, consistently, and unambiguously, differentiate between race groups – even though it was impossible to do so (Posel, 2001).

Importantly, they illustrate the pervasive forms of racial segregation associated with Apartheid, and the reliance of Apartheid's system of racial categorisation on characteristics which were more easily observable and easier to establish than biologically defined race groups. These included factors such as, the person to whom one is married, the place in which one lived and worked, and the availability and composition of social facilities at the disposal of particular social groups as being fundamentally linked to and indeed a consequence of race.

The number of people who were 'reclassified' during apartheid provides a clear example of the fallibility of Apartheid state's 'ability' to accurately differentiate between the races (Posel, 2001).

The National Party initially assumed that biological and scientific explanations could be found for the existence of the race groups (and racial difference). Attempts to define race scientifically during Apartheid were similar to those associated with colonialism and Nazism, especially in terms of their reliance on pseudo-scientific tools and explanations for a particular version of race (Dubow, 1995). Ear-lobe measurement and the pencil test are two South African examples of 'scientific' tools now known to be completely useless in terms of scientific utility, that were introduced and pervasively used during Apartheid to distinguish between different racial categories (Prah, 2002). Such spurious, fictional, and ultimately fruitless forms of scientific racism, provided by Apartheid scientists, doctors, and psychologists alike, are a clear example of the way in which ideology, especially racial ideology, can significantly affect 'empirical' enquiry.

Also, like the other forms of racial ideology based on scientific racism, when combined with significant hegemonic domination and control of society (especially in areas of knowledge production), the ideology of Afrikaner nationalism provided a version of race that placed

whites (this time the white Afrikaner specifically) at the apex of an artificial and socially constructed racial hierarchy (Jarvie 1991; Nauright, 1997). This served to further entrench, enable, extend, and justify the forms of social, economic and political privilege which resulted for the white community in general, and the Afrikaner community specifically, during Apartheid. This facilitated both the development of the social acceptance of various forms of racist practices and the forms of racist ideology that were associated with Apartheid (Duncan & de la Rey, 2000).

In the face of growing scientific evidence that denied the existence of the race groups as defined by Apartheid, as well as their significance in terms of biological, scientific, and psychological determiners of behaviour, attitudes, and abilities; the National Party adjusted its' ideology to rely more on cultural and ethnic difference than biological ones, but still used them as a 'evidence' for the existence of the race groups and as a justification for the racist practices with which they were associated (Dunca, 2003^a).

This illustrates one of the many ways in which racist ideology continues to be perpetuated even when foundational components of its associated system of justification are challenged or even proven to be wrong. While the system of justification used to justify, legitimise and enable racist practices at a particular time may change (in this case from biological, to cultural and ethnic explanations of racial difference), racist ideology and practice continue to be perpetuated.

Before concluding this short discussion of Apartheid it is worth exploring a few fundamental flaws in Apartheid's system of racial categorisation. This illustrates both the artificiality of the system and the many other possible variations which could potentially have been included or excluded in the associated construction of race (as they are in other racial contexts such as in the United States and the United Kingdom).

The system of racial classification associated with Apartheid is unlike any other, especially in terms of its unique construction of the race groups. For example, the 'Indian' population group of South Africa includes people from India, Sri-Lanka, Pakistan, and Malaysia and is thus comprised of many social groups which are considered in most contexts (especially in their countries of origin) as distinct race groups (Seekings, 2008). The countries mentioned above, especially India and Pakistan, are fierce social and political rivals in their native

region and would likely be offended by their inclusion as one 'race' group were it enforced in their native countries (Seekings, 2008).

Similarly, the genetic category 'coloured' essentially relates to 'interracial' offspring and is often defined differently in the international context where the term mixed-race is often applied to the group (Duncan, 2003^b). In the United States, the term 'coloured' has come to represent a derogatory colloquialism which refers to almost any race-group outside of the white majority in the country and includes Africans, Arabs, Indians, and Hispanics (Zack, 1993). The term has similar usage as a derogatory colloquialism in British culture (Wilson, 1984) which again describes a wide range of social groups including blacks, Arabs, and Indians.

The fact that the race groups are defined differently depending on the context, in and of itself, illustrates the artificiality associated with systems of racial classification.

The African race group, as defined by Apartheid, conflates many indigenous groups of people with diverse backgrounds influenced by a multitude of cultural, linguistic, tribal, and geographical factors. The white population group, although it is fair to say is the least contested racial category in the South African context, also lacks homogeneity in its conception and exhibits much variation within the group in terms of background, culture, heritage, and language (Dubow, 1995; Seekings, 2008).

The application of the policies associated with Apartheid led over many years to race being linked both implicitly and explicitly to class, power, and privilege in South Africa (Jarvie & Reid, 1997). The National Party was so effective in the entrenchment of race and the existence of the race groups, as defined by them, that any attempt to explore racial constructions of post-Apartheid South Africa cannot be achieved without an acknowledgement of the persistent and residual realities which have resulted from this period of prolonged racial oppression (Posel, 2001).

Importantly in South Africa, race came to be seen as the "primary determinants of other differences, the very *raison d'être* for difference across the plethora of interaction and experience" (Posel, 2001, p. 65).

The abolishment of Apartheid led to the emergence of various new racial discourses in South Africa, including rainbowism (Alexander, 2001), multi-culturalism (Stevens, 2003), and non-racialism (Stevens, Swart, & Franchi, 2006). These approaches generally attempt to move away from the racial ideologies associated with Apartheid and ‘celebrate’ the great diversity which exists within the South African population. While these discourses have and are still influencing the contemporary construction of race in post-Apartheid South Africa, they have also been criticised for deflecting attention away from the explicitly racist formulations which accompanied Apartheid, enabling the denial of racism at a societal level, especially amongst the white community (Stevens, 2003; Duncan 2003^a); and for introducing terms which due to their ideological foundations, serve to function as ‘race-by-another-name’ (Stevens, Swart, & Franchi, 2006).

Proponents of the continued use of systems of racial classification in post-Apartheid South Africa highlight the potential of using modified forms of racial classification to challenge racist formulations and claim that race must be central to any attempt to address the social inequalities which resulted from Apartheid (Seekings, 2008).

Calls to abandon all forms of racial categorisation in society cite the ideological underpinnings of these systems of racial classification as being difficult, if not impossible to eradicate, they suggest that other socio-economic classifiers could be used instead of race and accomplish largely the same goals and as a way of abandoning the racist ideology so heavily associated with systems of racial categorisation. For example, the use of socio-economic status could potentially be used to accomplish the goals of Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) without having to overtly rely on race as a construct (as BEE currently does).

Whatever the effects of these arguments it is clear that constructions of race (and the effect of Apartheid) will remain central to the development of South African society in the future for many years to come.

2.2 RACISM

Racism can be defined as “the use of race to establish and justify a social hierarchy and system of power that privileges, preferences or advances certain individuals or groups of

people usually at the expense of others. Racism is perpetuated through both interpersonal and institutional practices” (“Glossary”, 2010, p. 1).

As an ideology, racism is essentially based on the notion that human beings can be ranked hierarchically in relation to intelligence, morality, ability, and so on (Drislane & Parkinson, 2010).

The complexities associated with defining race in a particular context (as discussed above) naturally affect the definition of racism in that context. Indeed, the discourse of racism necessarily presupposes a discourse of race and is thus affected by the same factors as race in a particular context (Posel, 2001).

Vast and varied forms of racism still exist, and it is impractical, if not impossible to define racism in a way that encompasses all these complex varieties (Drislane & Parkinson, 2010). Early research on racism, especially anti-black racism, focussed on the effects of racism as a function of people of colour’s minority status in white dominated countries such as the United States and Canada, European countries such as the United Kingdom, Holland, France, and Germany, and also in former colonies such as Australia, and New Zealand (Drislane & Parkinson, 2010).

According to “Race and racism - Dilemmas of meaning: The concept of racism” (2010), an early approach to defining racism was to categorise three specific dimensions of racism, namely prejudice, discrimination, and institutionalised racism. Prejudice is defined as negative attitudes and beliefs about racialised groups, while discrimination refers to the preferential or detrimental actions taken towards racialised groups. Institutionalised racism, considers forms of racial injustice and inequality that result from the systematic allocation of privileges, rights, and resources according to race using a range of social institutions. This approach is criticised for various reasons but especially for “inflating” racism to the point where it loses its significance, and being unable to account for the effect of anti-racist movements on overarching forms of structural and institutional racism.

Another approach which developed later chose to focus racism at the level of individual injury and ignores its effects at a group and societal level (“Race and racism - Dilemmas of meaning: The concept of racism”, 2010). This approach was also criticised because it ignores

both the ever changing conception of racism and the effects of modern forms of racism at a societal level.

Not all examples of racism are as well-defined or easily identifiable as the examples presented by colonialism, Nazism, and Apartheid and it is important to note that in South Africa, racial demographics are quite different to the Northern hemisphere (as well as Australia and New Zealand). Race and racism in South Africa contains a variety of unique contextual elements and unlike in the Northern Hemisphere, in South Africa a black majority was systematically and pervasively excluded from society. Thus Euro-American approaches to racism while they may have utility in those contexts, are often wholly inappropriate in the South African context (Stevens, 2003).

The tendency is for modern forms of racism to be produced and maintained discursively and modern forms of racism are generally discursive in nature and include inferential and subliminal racism (Duncan, 2003^a). Although seldom linked to overt forms of racism, they remain equally as dangerous, if not more so, because they are less likely to be identified as racist. Modern racism may thus be allowed to insidiously (re)produce itself and this serves to support and bolster already existing racist social structures, arrangements, and ideologies in society.

Considering the vast and varied forms of racial prejudice, discrimination, and institutionalised racism that were common-place during Apartheid, few individuals could argue that they were untouched by some form of the overt, covert, implicit and implied version of Apartheid ideology (even if they rejected it at the time). Also because racist ideology always has a profound effect on intellectuals, such as the newspaper media and their intellectual (re)productions, the effects of Apartheid on contemporary constructions of race in the country are still likely to be present in the South African media (Duncan, 2003^a).

It is unlikely that all forms of racism in South Africa simply ceased to exist when Apartheid had run its course. Although it is impossible to estimate all of the effects of the unintentional (and intentional) internalisation of Apartheid ideology, especially on intellectuals in the country; as in the Northern Hemisphere, modern forms of racism can, and have been identified through the analysis of the newspaper media's (re)construction of racialised subjects, objects, topics and events.

2.2.1 THE IDEOLOGY OF RACISM

Racism can also be defined as an:

Ideology through which the domination or marginalisation of certain racialized groups by another racialized group or groups is enacted and legitimated. It is the set of ideas and discursive and material practices aimed at (re)producing and justifying systematic inequalities between racialized groups (Duncan, van Niekerk, de la Rey, & Seedat, 2001, p. 2).

Colonialism, Nazism and Apartheid provide many examples of racial marginalisation, domination and suppression using social, political, economic, and cultural means.

Through the construction of dominant groups as ‘superior’ and dominated groups as ‘inferior’, racist ideology always seeks to justify the dominant groups’ position as a consequence of their perceived racial superiority, and obfuscate racist practices through their presentation as socially acceptable (Duncan, 2003^a). Dominated racial groups are contrastingly constructed as being ‘deserving’ of both their inferior social positioning, and the racist practices that they are forced to endure (Duncan, van Niekerk, de la Rey, & Seedat, 2001).

It is important to state that the ideology of racism, however pervasive, is never static but rather remains dynamic and subject to various processes of change and re-formation (Duncan & de la Rey, 2000). The changing conception of the racist ideology is exhibited in National Party’s shift away from purely biological and scientific conceptions of race and racism, to cultural and ethnic explanations of difference, as mentioned earlier (Duncan, 2003^a). In this example, racist practices were initially ‘justified’ through a reliance on biological and scientific versions of race (Dubow, 1995). However, as these systems of justification became increasingly difficult to sustain and justify, the National Party shifted their system of justifications to include readings of ethnic and cultural difference (Duncan, 2003^a). Although semantically and cosmetically different, these justifications were still based on racist assumptions and linked to racist ideology in such a way that they achieved largely the same goals and purposes (i.e. the differential treatment of racialised groups in South Africa).

In this way, the ideology of racism continues to be perpetuated even though the system of justification for racist practices changed over time.

2.2.2 DISCOURSE AND RACISM

Discourse, loosely defined, is the expression of meaning through text and talk (van Dijk, 2000). It encompasses a wide range of social interactions and refers to the words, concepts, and ideas used to describe constructs. Ideological discourse, such as racist discourse, often reflects societal conflicts and attempts by certain groups to control society (Fredrickson, 1995). Discourse is always infused with power and often reflects the varying abilities of societal groups to effect and utilise forms of societal power and control to advance their own agenda (Duncan, 2003^a).

Exploring racial constructions using discursive analysis (such as thematic content analysis) reflects an acknowledgement of the role played by discourse in society, as well as the tendency for discourse to reflect dominant ideological constructions, especially in relation to racial ideology.

Although discourse has intended outcomes, it has unintended outcomes as well (Duncan, 2003^a). Discourse has the ability to escape the control of those who use it and thus even innocuous remarks have the potential to be racist, if for example they are based on racist premises or serve to bolster and strengthen already existing forms of racist ideology (Duncan & de la Rey, 2000).

Importantly for the discussion section of this report, this means that the intention of individuals when they engage in the act of (re)producing racialised events, places, people, social relationships and so on, while important, may be inconsequential when viewed in relation to unintended consequences of discourses that serve to bolster and (re)produce the racial inequality (Dunca, 2003^a; van Dijk, 2000).

2.3 MEDIA RACISM

Media (re)productions are a form of discourse that is centrally linked to the (re)production of racism in society, and in South Africa the media were complicit (if not actively involved in)

perpetuating the forms of racism (and racist ideology) associated with Apartheid. At the time the newspaper media was actively involved in the (re)produced stereotypical versions of race, the prejudicial representation of racialised events, the extensive and pervasive coverage of racist perspectives, as well as contributing towards the wide-scale suppression of anti-racist and marginalised group perspectives in South Africa (Duncan, 2003^a).

In post-Apartheid South Africa, media racism is more complex, and as mentioned earlier, usually takes the form of inferential racism (Duncan, 2003^a). Inferential racism, as stated above, refers to the presentation of naturalised versions of places, people, and events that are based on racist premises and propositions. This is a function of the internalisation of racist ideology to the extent that it does not require explicit articulation to be communicated (Duncan, 2003^a).

According to Duncan (2003^a), the media's role in the perpetuation and (re)production of racism and racist practices is influenced by the following characteristics:

- a. Media institutions have a wider pool of influence than other forms of discourse
- b. Media (re)productions remain in society for a long time regardless of their accuracy
- c. Media discourses are often considered more trustworthy and reliable than other sources of discourse (such as everyday conversation for example)
- d. People often justify racist beliefs using media constructions

Mass media institutions (such as the newspaper media) are amongst the most easily accessed in society and this leads to their influence extending much further than other forms of discourse, such as legal discourse, academic discourse, political discourse, and so on (van Dijk, 2000). The media constitute an increasingly pervasive aspect of our daily lives, and as a result the messages transmitted by the media are increasingly tied to 'real-world' understandings of individuals. Usually relatively few people directly experience the events, topics, subjects, and objects, which are presented to them by the media, and as a result media (re)constructions often constitute social agents' only 'experience' of them. Also, because media discourse is considered trustworthy and a reliable source of information (much more so than other forms of discourse), racist messages transmitted by the media, whether intentionally or unintentionally, affect the construction of race in society. People in modern

society often justify racist beliefs and practices on the basis of messages received from the media (van Dijk, 1987).

The media are thus involved both in the transmission of potentially destructive justifications for racial inequality, as well as in the internalisation of negative racial identities and characteristics. Although media racism was considered to be a significant problem in the early 1990s the topic has seldom been explored since then (Duncan, 2003^a).

Before concluding this discussion of media racism it is useful to explore several patterns which van Dijk (1990) identifies as possible locations for the communication of media racism. The first of which is the negative constructions of the 'other'. The otherisation of racialised groups in the media refers to the negative portrayal of one racialised group, usually people of colour, and concurrent positive portrayals of another racialised group, usually whites. For example, in many white-dominated societies such as the United States, Holland and the United Kingdom, the media have been shown to focus on stereotypical themes, topics, and ways of reporting on black people (van Dijk, 2000). Importantly, the focus and composition of such media (re)productions are distinctly negative (Duncan, 2003^a).

The denial of racism is another of the primary patterns exhibited by the media, as they consciously and unconsciously contribute to the (re)production of racism by denying the effects of racism on contemporary society (van Dijk, 2000; Duncan, 2003, Stevens, 2003). An example of this pattern is contained in the 'clean-slate argument' often advanced in societies which have experienced prolonged forms of racial oppression. The clean-slate argument essentially maintains that because the overt forms of racism which used to exist are no longer in place their effects are less significant. This means that the societal groups who were most responsible for racist practices escape blame, punishment and criticism for their past actions.

Another pattern of media racism, referred to as mitigation, is the use of 'milder' rhetorical devices when discussing the topic of race. This down-toning, or euphemistic treatment of issues that relate to race and racism results in the media constructing racialised topics, subjects and events, using terms such as bias, prejudice, tribalism, and so on, rather than using explicit racial terminology (such as the terms black, coloured, white, and Indian for example). This strategy mitigates both the impact and overall presentation of racist discourse

to the point where it loses its' impact and facilitates the perpetuation of racist practice (Duncan, 2003^a). By diluting the presentation of racist discourse, often to the point where it is virtually undetectable even when viewed from a critical discursive framework, the media thus allows modern forms of racism and racist ideology to continue to be perpetuated, even when they are unaware that they are doing so (Duncan, van Niekerk, de la Rey, & Seedat, 2001).

The final pattern to be discussed here is called 'reversal' and refers to discursive strategies which 'blame-the-victim' in relation to incidents and accusations of racism (Duncan, 2003^a). By pro-actively accusing individuals and organisations who suffer racism of being racist themselves, this strategy allows for racism to be 'explained' by the media without having to explore the actual root of racist practice and ideology. The overall result of this strategy is that instances of racism remain unidentified and unpunished. This allows racist practices to continue and further entrenches particular forms of racism as socially acceptable.

2.3 TRENDS IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICAN PSYCHOLOGY IN RELATION TO RACE

Although race has been central to South African development for more than 350 years, and directly related to the structuring of South African society, there seems to be a widespread malaise with regard to studies on 'race' and racism in contemporary South Africa. Between 1990 and 2000, less than one quarter of articles in the South African Journal of Psychology, were about race (Stevens, 2003). Of these attempts few exhibited a level of critical reflexivity which was able to adequately account for the role which South African psychology plays (and has played in the past) in the (re)production of racism in South Africa (Stevens, 2003).

During the period 2000 to 2009, while the trend in race research is growing with notable contributions from Seedat (2001), Stevens (2003), Duncan (2003^a), Bowman (2006) and others; race remains an under-researched topic in South African psychology, especially considering its relevance in the South African context. Also considering the role played by psychology during Apartheid as being complicit in the negative construction of race which accompanied the time-period, and the tremendous potential which the field has in terms of breaking down racist assumption in post-Apartheid South Africa, this lack of research in the area is intriguing considering South Africa's past.

Constructions of blackness and whiteness in relation to the newspaper media in South Africa have seldom been explored at all (see Duncan, 2003^a), while the topic of the media's construction of race in relation to South African rugby has been explored even less. Only Barnes (1999) has explored race in relation to South African rugby from a psychological perspective. However, he chose to explore interview data collected from club rugby players in Natal, using content analysis. Although this research utilised race as a construct, it did not explore racial constructions in relation to South African rugby specifically, or as a function of the South African newspaper media's construction of race. Undertaken at post-graduate level, this attempt is one of very few psychological studies relating to rugby in South Africa.

As mentioned earlier, race is already an under-researched area in relation to South African psychology (Stevens, 2003), and perhaps it is therefore not surprising that no articles in the South African Journal of Psychology (or any other psychological journal) between 1997 and 2009 have attempted to explore the South African newspaper media's construction of race in relation to South African rugby.

It should be mentioned, that Booth (1998) explored the links between political events and South African rugby but did not attempt to do so using scientific or psychologically methods (essentially he adopted a narrative approach to the topic). Similarly, Jarvie (1991), Grunlingh (1996), Morrell (1996), Jarvie and Reid (1997) and Nauright (1997), while they all provide useful and credible contributions to the field of sociology in relation to South African sport in general and rugby specifically, seldom explore the topic of media constructions of race in relation to South African rugby at anything but a superficial level. These authors do address the topic indirectly through their various explorations of the development of sport during Apartheid, and the influences of imperialism and Apartheid on South African sport, as well as through the acknowledgement of some of the many contextual elements which affect South African society and sport.

However, the approaches listed above never attempted to engage in a psychological examination of South African rugby and while some acknowledge the role of the sports media in the perpetuation of stereotypical constructions in relation to race, the focus is invariably on providing sociological explanations rather than psychological ones.

Race, and the marginalisation of racial groups in society, has been examined in relation to British rugby (Nauright & Chandler, 1996). While interesting, this research relies heavily on the notion of the black population as a minority population group, a situation which has already been discussed as being quite different to the South African context. Similarly, studies on the construction of race in relation to Maori rugby players in New Zealand; although they have revealed forms of stereotyping associated with regard to the race group in this country, as well as the unintended social consequences of the relatively high level of success associated with Maoris and New Zealand rugby, although interesting, have little relevance in the South African context (Wall, 2008).

In essence, this was part of the motivation for conducting this research, as vast potential exists to increase and expand the extant research in the field, as well as to re-orientate the debate surrounding race and racism in South African rugby by introducing the knowledge and approaches derived from the psychological perspective.

Although the lack of research in the area was disappointing (especially in terms of the collection of resources for this section of the report), it was also encouraging because the field has received so little attention thus far. The findings of this research suggest that the potential for future research in this area is vast and enticing, as will be discussed in relation to suggestions for further research (see Chapter 5).

2.4 SPORT

Sport, loosely defined, is physical activity governed by a specific set of rules or customs (Coakley, 2004). Tracing the history of society reveals that forms of physical activity which can be defined as sport are found in all known cultures and thus it is likely that sport in some form emerged with and has thus always been a part of, society. Coakley (2004) defines sport as a form of social interaction which “consist[s] of games and challenges that have been “invented” by human beings as they interact with each other” (p. 381)

2.4.1 HISTORICAL CONSTRUCTIONS OF SPORT

Sport developed as society developed and thus sport has literally “thousands of histories” (Coakley, 2004, p. 53). Importantly for the purposes of this research, the social component of

sport means that it is influenced by similar factors as other formalised social activities. As such, sport (like race and other social constructs) is heavily influenced by the time, place, and context in which it occurs (Jarvie & Reid, 1997).

Modern sports remain the most well documented, but many unique and unconventional sports are likely to have been lost in time, and history provides various obsolete forms of sports found in ancient Greek and Roman civilisations, as well as during the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and Industrial revolution (Coakley, 2004).

Sport is always affected by broader social conditions and often reflects dominant, residual, and emergent social practices. As a result, sport is always “consolidated, contested, maintained or reproduced within the context of cultural reproduction as a whole” (Jarvie, 1991, p. 179).

Racial practices are often reflected in sport, and in the United States African Americans were prohibited from playing basketball against whites until the early 1960s (Spreitzer & Snyder, 1983), while in the United Kingdom, sports such as cricket and rugby were inherently linked to class structures as the lower classes were specifically excluded from playing certain sports (such as cricket and rugby), and were encouraged to play others such as soccer (Hargreaves, 1986).

In South Africa, the Apartheid government legally prohibited black people from engaging in various forms of social interaction with whites, but importantly from competing against them in sport. Although notable exceptions to this rule can be found, such as the inclusion of Deon Keyser, a black player who represented South Africa during Apartheid (Booth, 1998); as well as the ‘concessions’ made by the Apartheid government in relation to rugby (such as allowing Maori players to be classified as honorary whites), these events were by no means the norm and in most cases represented posturing on the part of the National Party designed to present a ‘sanitised’ version of Apartheid to the outside world. Often this was done in order to circumvent the effects of sporting sanctions placed on the country which were applied with increasing severity over time (Booth, 1998).

2.4.2 APPROACHES TO STUDYING SPORT AND SOCIETY

The following approaches to studying sport are drawn from the field of sociology which, given the lack of psychological literature that addresses this topic, is useful and offered a logical way of presenting the many complex issues which relate to the study of sport as a reflection of society.

2.4.2.1 FUNCTIONALIST APPROACH

Functionalist approaches to sport and society are based on the assumption that society is organised according to specific systems which seek a natural state of balance. Actions or behaviours which disrupt the ‘natural’ order are considered dysfunctional, while those that contribute to the maintenance of social order are conversely considered functional (Coakley, 2004). Functionalist approaches are useful when attempting to determine whether sports are able to satisfy the needs of social systems (Birrell, 2003). Functionalism thus focuses on the many ways in which sport contributes to the preservation of social order (Coakley, 2004).

There are a number of limitations to this approach as the view that systems will naturally reject elements that do not add to ‘order’ and ‘efficiency’ means that the approach tends to exaggerate the positive and ‘organising’ effects of sport while ignoring the negative and unintended outcomes of sport (Jarvie & Reid, 1997). Also, the theory assumes that the needs of all individuals and groups within a particular society are the same (Coakley, 2004). This ignores the reality that sport will always benefit certain groups more than others and that dominant groups will always want to keep systems the same, as it benefits them the most.

Finally, and most importantly for the purposes of this research, the functionalist approach fails to recognise that sport is a social construct which is both contested and defined by the members and interests of societal groups. Functionalist approaches to sport in South Africa were thus criticised for being “historically inaccurate, generalist [and] deterministic” (Jarvie & Reid, 1997, p. 212).

2.4.2.2 CONFLICT APPROACH

Conflict theory and the associated approaches to studying the relationship between sport and society, propose that social order is a function of the varying abilities of societal groups to utilise resources in order to coerce and manipulate others to accept their world view (Coakley, 2004). Considered an updated version of Marxist theory, conflict theory focuses on the effects of ruling class ideology and capitalism in explaining power dynamics and the control of sport (and society) (Jarvie & Reid, 1997). Such approaches thus focus on identifying and exploring the root of economic forms of power and how they are utilised to effect dominant views in society (Coakley, 2004); and developed in part as a reaction to the forms of criticism of Marxist approaches, specifically for being Eurocentric, ignoring the existence of ‘modern slavery’, and the many ways in which labour was organised according to race (Jarvie & Reid, 1997).

Conflict theory focuses on the ways in which sport is used by powerful social groups to promote attitudes and relationships that enable them to maintain their power and privilege in society (Eitzen, 1988). Unlike functionalist theory, conflict theory focuses attention on the unequal distribution of resources in society and how such forms of unequal distribution are perpetuated and (re)produced (Coakley, 2004).

The theory thus acknowledges negative consequences of sport and the need for change within sport and society, but is criticised for assuming that social life is driven solely by economic factors, and that dominated social groups were ‘destined’ to be exploited and remain forever powerless and alienated from society (Jarvie & Reid, 1997). The expressed focus on financial and economic factors however, means that conflict approaches risk ignoring the effects of characteristics such as gender, race, age, sexual orientation, and so on, which are fundamental components of the organisation of social life (Coakley, 1994).

Finally, conflict theory is criticised for ignoring that even in a market economy, sport can be a means of empowering people both at a personal and group level (Jarvie & Reid, 1997).

2.4.2.3 CRITICAL APPROACH

Critical theory focuses on the ways in which power is effected in society. By examining where power comes from, how it works in relation to societal groups and individuals, as well as how power shifts over time, critical theory focuses on political involvement in sport and seeks to examine why sports have taken certain forms as opposed to others, and why sport is organised in the way it is in relation to families, groups, communities, and societies (Coakley, 2004).

The flexibility of critical approaches to sport and society increases its utility as a method of social research. However this kind of approach often results in difficulty, or impossibility when attempting to identify whether sports are merely (re)producing dominant forms of social relations in society, or are the site for resistance and transformation away from such forms of domination (Coakley, 2004). Critical approaches often result in the emergence of a number of equally compelling discourses, which although they may be accurate or interesting, do not produce any real ‘answers’ as to how power is effected through sport.

2.4.2.4 SYMBOLIC INTERACTIONISM

Symbolic interactionism assumes that human behaviour involves sets of choices based on the meanings and definitions which are associated with the situations created when people interact in society (Blumer, 1986). This approach defines social agents in terms of their understanding and anticipation of the effects which their behaviour will have on themselves, the people around them, and the social world in which they live (Coakley, 2004). The theory is concerned with how people define themselves and give meaning to their social worlds.

This assumes that meaning itself, because it is a social construction, is associated with particular sets of signifiers (or symbols), and that human beings are thus defined in terms of their ability to make choices, rather than merely responding to the social conditions. The symbolic interactionist approach examines the ways in which people develop meaning and identity in relation to sport, and sporting participation, as well as how these considerations relate to their associated behaviours and social relationships (Coakley, 1994).

This approach allows research to be conducted in terms of sport's effect on meaning, identity, and the forms of social interaction which result from these individual characteristics (Blumer, 1986). A consequence of the heavy focus on individual representations of meaning and interaction is that the ways in which these processes are related to society in general can be (and often are) ignored when using this approach (Coakley, 1994).

The major criticism of symbolic interactionism as a means for the analysis of sport in society is that it does not take into account that decisions and processes may not be the result of rational problem-solving and decision-making. The structural forms of inequality in sport and society are thus difficult, if not impossible, to access using this approach (Coakley, 2004).

2.4.3 SPORT AND RACE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Before discussing the emergence of white-dominated sport in South Africa and the specific effects which colonialism and Apartheid had on sport in the country, it is worth noting a few general characteristics, as noted by Jarvie and Reid (1997), which have relevance to constructions of race and sport in the South African context:

1. Sport helps to consolidate patriotism, nationalism and racism
2. Sport is a possible instrument for integration and race relations
3. Sport was central to colonialism and imperialism
4. Sport has contributed to political mobilisation and the struggle for equity by black people
5. Sport has produced stereotypes and prejudices which unfairly discriminate against black players
6. Sport is a display of prowess, masculinity, and identity

The issues which surround South African sport in general and rugby specifically are influenced by these characteristics and it is important to keep these in mind throughout the rest of this discussion.

South African rugby during Apartheid was used by the National Party to consolidate patriotism, promote nationalism, and justify racist social practices amongst whites (Booth, 1998; Jarvie & Reid, 1997). In post-Apartheid South Africa rugby has been linked to attempts

to ‘unify’ the country and claimed by some to be part of Nelson Mandela’s plan to ‘win over the Afrikaner nation’ (Carlin, 2008). South African rugby was closely tied to ideological constructions related to imperialism (the game was inherited from the British) but was later linked to Afrikaner ideology (Grundlingh, 1996). Rugby was also the focus for many varied forms of protests both within South Africa’s borders and internationally (Booth, 1998).

Resistance to the forms of control associated with the National Party during Apartheid resulted in the establishment of various organisations that protested segregated sports both inside South Africa’s borders and internationally (Booth, 1998). Beginning with the non-racial table tennis board established in the 1940s, the South African Sports Association (SASA) in the 1950s, and the South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (San-ROC) in the 1960s, are all examples of organisations who protested Apartheid sports policies (Jarvie, 1991). The South African Council of Sports (SACOS) in the 1970s and the formation of the National Sports Congress (NSC) in the 1980s are further examples (Jarvie, 1991).

2.4.3.1 THE EMERGENCE OF WHITE DOMINATED SPORT IN SOCIETY

Modern sports emerged in Britain in the middle of the nineteenth century, at a time when the effects of the British white-male hegemony on society, as well as, British dominance as a world power, were at their pinnacle (Stoddart, 1988). The British Navy, through control of trade routes and establishment of various outposts and colonies, enabled British sports to be spread throughout the world but especially in the white settler communities throughout the British Empire (Booth, 1998). As a result, cricket, horse-racing, soccer and rugby appeared throughout South America, Africa, India, and Australasia and by the 1860s South African settlers and many English-speaking white schools were playing British sports (Nauright, 1997). Cricket and rugby specifically, were the sports seen as most effective in instilling the values and culture associated with the British elite. These sports “most closely tied white imperial societies together and captured the imagination of colonial settler societies” (Nauright, 1997, p. 25)

Importantly, sport was also linked to a burgeoning sense of independent national identity within the colonies (Jarvie & Reid, 1997). Cultural matters (including sport) at the time still relied on British authorities and institutions (the International Rugby board and International Cricket board remain based in the United Kingdom to this day). However, by the early

twentieth century, sport represented one of the few ways that colonial settlers could gain a measure of equality and even dominance over the 'homeland' (Britain) (Nauright, 1997). Although based on many of the same cultural iconographies as the British sense of national identity, the national identity of settler communities was also uniquely defined by the specific contextual elements of the culture (and sporting performances) of specific settler communities, as well as the demographics of the local populations associated with particular colonies (Nauright, 1997).

While a small percentage of the African population was exposed to sports, like other forms of cultural 'advancement' offered by imperialism, sport emphasised the British ethos which was always exclusionary and relied on racial constructions that assumed the superiority, in all matters cultural, moral, and even genetic, of the British 'race'. This had obvious implications for the treatment of black people in relation to sport in South Africa (Nauright, 1997).

The characteristics associated with the development of sport in South Africa mirror that of many other English-speaking societies, including Britain, but especially in other British colonies such as Australia and New Zealand (Hargreaves, 1986). However, the extent to which racial segregation was applied and enforced in South Africa far eclipsed that of other former colonies. In Australia, segregation was enforced in sport but it was not enforced in the same way or to anywhere near the same extent as South Africa. Contrastingly, in New Zealand, Maoris played regularly in the provincial and national competitions – except when touring South Africa (Morrell, 1996).

Sporting policies in South Africa were similar to those of the United States where blacks were excluded from most sports until 1967 (Spreitzer & Snyder, 1983). In the West Indies black players were excluded from playing cricket and although gradually included in participation, no black player captained the side until 1960, often with the captain playing as the only white player in the team (Beckles & Stoddart, 1995).

In South Africa, the effects of the racial segregation of sport were central to the development of "a geography of exclusion and division, [and] it became a central factor in the emergence of divergent sporting cultures amongst the spatially divided groups" (Nauright, 1997, p. 24)

2.4.3.2 WHITE DOMINATED CRICKET IN SOUTH AFRICA

While rugby remains the focus of this research project, it is also useful to briefly explore some of the exclusionary practices associated with cricket in South Africa because cricket is an even earlier example of the forms of elitism and racism common to both colonial and Apartheid South African sport (Jarvie, 1991; Nauright, 1997; Booth, 1998).

Racial exclusion was so firmly entrenched in South African society that the South African Cricket Association (SACA), established in 1890, that the organisation had no need to include overt racial barriers within its constitution (Nauright, 1997). Social customs reflected society at the time and the inclusion of white teams from other colonies (such as Rhodesia) was prioritised over the inclusion of blacks (and Afrikaners) in South African cricket (Nauright, 1997).

The cricket fixtures established between South Africa and England served to entrench links in the sport to British culture, customs, and practice; and was used throughout the colonies, as the ‘spectacle of cricket’ was considered part of an overall effort to dazzle and bewilder ‘local populations’ with grand exhibitions of British culture (Nauright, 1997). This was an important part of the overall construction of whiteness within settler communities at the time as being culturally ‘superior’ to the large local populations (consistently and pervasively constructed as, uncivilized, different, and inferior) and was an elemental component of imperial ideology (Morrell, 1996; Nauright & Chandler, 1996).

Cricket provided an opportunity for whites to “appropriate and dispense English culture as the measure of social acceptability [which] gave English-speaking whites, and those they chose to include, a real sense of cultural and moral power and superiority” (Nauright, 1997, p. 26). Cricket was also considered the epitome of “British culture, morality, manners and racism which served to alienate Afrikaners as well as most blacks” (Nauright, 1997, p. 26).

Cricket found little traction in the Afrikaans community (although there were a few notable Afrikaners involved in the game) until the late 1940s, and the game remained largely dominated by English-speaking whites (Booth, 1998). As shall be discussed further later, the ideological links established between cricket and ‘Britishness’ as well as the effects of the Anglo Boer War (1899-1902) on the Afrikaner community influenced the entrenchment of

rugby, as opposed to cricket, as the national game of the Afrikaner community (Nauright, 1997).

From 1948 onwards, the National Party helped cricket to function as a “totem of white national unity” (Nauright, 1997, p. 27), and the game was seen as strengthening links between English- and Afrikaans-speaking whites in the country. Cricket experienced significant softening of the ideological links between the sport and British culture, but never achieved the same status, especially in the Afrikaner community, as rugby during Apartheid (Nauright, 1997).

2.4.3.3 WHITE DOMINATED RUGBY IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.4.3.3.1 IMPERIAL INFLUENCES ON SOUTH AFRICAN RUGBY

Rugby (sometimes referred to as rugby football) emerged at approximately the same time as cricket in South Africa, and although it followed a similar developmental path, its entrenchment in the Afrikaans community was much more significant (Nauright, 1997).

Like cricket, rugby was closely tied to notions of British “civilization, culture and imperial power” (Nauright, 1997, p. 39) and began in South Africa as a feature of private school and old boy based “cliques”. As in cricket, British attitudes towards Afrikaners in rugby were “not much removed from those of black Africans” (Nauright, 1997, p. 39) and Afrikaners were excluded from the game for many years (although by no means to the extent that black people were excluded).

In 1889, the South African Rugby Board was founded and international tours by British teams were regular occurrences by the 1890s (Booth, 1998). Importantly, the beliefs, notions, and practices associated with imperialism were emphasised by these tours and were influential in the promotion and consolidation of ideological (and physical) ties which existed between the white communities of South Africa and England (Morrell, 1996).

The newspaper media discussed these tours in great detail and were also specifically involved in generating public interest in them (Nauright, 1997). This highlights the relationship the dual relationship played by the media as both a source of information, and a way of

influencing public opinion through sport. This indicates that the newspaper media had already recognised the influence of sport, if nothing else, as a way of generating news and selling newspapers. In the 1890s rugby was already being used as a political tool as well. For example, rugby tours were considered a good way to deflect attention away from the political strife which ultimately resulted in the Anglo-Boer War (Nauright, 1997).

By the 1903 tour of England, the South African rugby team had already begun to dominate encounters with British teams; and after winning this series, their first, remained unbeaten (by all teams) until 1956 (Booth, 1998). South Africa's rugby successes pre-dated similar successes in cricket, and rugby successes significantly influenced the entrenchment of rugby as South Africa's 'national' sport (for whites) (Booth, 1998).

The 1906-7 tour, occurring only four years after the resolution of the Anglo-Boer war, encompassed many of the tensions between Afrikaners and the British (Nauright, 1997). Led by captain Paul Roos, the team introduced an innovative style of rugby with formerly unseen tactics, and is credited with introducing the 3-4-1 scrum formation used today (Nauright, 1997). The South African national team communicated exclusively in Afrikaans so that their signals could not be interpreted by the British side (Nauright, 1997).

The influence of the media is again evident as the name 'Springboks' was chosen by the South African players largely to avoid other possible nick-names which they suspected the British newspaper media may have invented for them (Nauright, 1997; Booth, 1998).

After World War I, the number of Afrikaners playing rugby dramatically increased due to various factors, and the broader imperial influences on the game began to be replaced in the 1930s due to the growing popularity of the game amongst the Afrikaner population and the development of Afrikaner nationalism (Nauright, 1997).

2.4.3.3.2 APARTHEID INFLUENCES ON SOUTH AFRICAN RUGBY

South Africa rugby was pervasively, thoroughly, and significantly affected by Apartheid and the emergence of Afrikaner nationalism in the country (Booth, 1998; Jarvie & Reid, 1997). While some of the effects of Apartheid on the constructions of race in South Africa in general

have already been discussed, it is important to review the specific relationship which developed between Afrikaner nationalism and South African rugby.

This discussion thus explores the ways in which rugby was linked to the forms of racial segregation and constructions of perceived white superiority that were associated with the ideals and ideology of Afrikaner nationalism.

Between 1930 and 1940, an influential time in South African politics in relation to the rise of Afrikaner nationalism, rugby was placed on par with other Afrikaner cultural, religious, and social traditions. Rugby thus came to represent “a cluster of cultural symbols closely associated with resurgent Afrikanerdom” (Grundlingh, 1996, p. 182).

Various factors contributed to this process such as the establishment of Stellenbosch University, the first Afrikaans-only University in the country, and the urbanisation of many Afrikaners (especially the youth) at the time (Nauright, 1997).

Stellenbosch University represented a triumph for the Afrikaner community and rugby was considered a productive way for Afrikaner youths to expel excess energy. The university spawned a particularly strong subculture in which players were both admired and adored. Importantly, rugby came to represent the epitome of the expression of Afrikaner maleness and led to enthusiasm for rugby being linked with a robust form of patriotism (Grundlingh, 1996). Also because the university trained many teachers and priests (predikants), who not only began including rugby as part of their subsequent religious and educational teachings, but also facilitated the spread of the game in Afrikaner communities throughout South Africa (Booth, 1998).

The development of rugby within the Afrikaner community occurred at the same time as other developments in South Africa such as the large-scale urbanisation of many Afrikaner males who moved to cities and towns and found comfort in the familiarity of playing and watching their favourite sport in unfamiliar surroundings (Grundlingh, 1996).

The effects of Afrikaner nationalism on South African rugby were the result of a complex series of social, political, and economic factors, but according to Grundlingh (1996) they operated in terms the following ideological building blocks: 1. The promotion of a common

past; 2. The promotion of a common religion; and 3. The establishment of a distinct and authentic Afrikaner culture.

Discussing the wider influences of Afrikaner nationalism are beyond the scope of this project, but it is important to understand that rugby was by no means the only part of South African culture to be linked to or affected by Afrikaner nationalism. For example, a complex set of cultural and economic organisations were set up to ‘fight’ against the forces of the dominant British institutions. This process included the establishment of Volkskas bank as an alternative to Barclays bank; Sanlam as an alternative to Old Mutual; and Voortrekkers as an alternative to Boy Scouts (Grundlingh, 1996).

The ideology of Afrikaner nationalism also involved an overt rejection of British culture, ideology, and practice (Grundlingh, 1996) and rugby was thus stripped of its association with imperial ideology, which was replaced with the ideology of Afrikaner nationalism (Jarvie, 1991). The qualities associated with a rugby player (i.e. the rugged expression of masculine prowess) also fit well with the “physical, psychological and ideological needs of nationalist Afrikaners” (Grundlingh, 1996, p. 186).

The symbols, characteristics, and identities associated with rugby were modified in such a way that they fit the Afrikaner quest for independence from colonial rule, and while the British continued to view the game as a way of fostering good relations between nations (and promoting British superiority), Afrikaners began to view the game in strictly nationalistic and ethnic terms as “the playing fields bequeathed by the Empire [became] the symbolic sites of post-imperial struggles – for power, for identity, for the style of self-determination” (Grundlingh, 1996, p. 187).

In the Afrikaner community, “support for the Springboks was on the same continuum as membership of the National Party and formed part of a symbolic battle against British cultural, economic, and political power” (Grundlingh, 1996, pp. 187-188). Rugby thus provided the Afrikaans community with a forum to rebel against the British, and fierce rivalries between English and Afrikaans schools and clubs in South Africa reflected this contest (Booth, 1998).

During Apartheid, national rugby matches were considered so important that players received death threats after losing two games to the British Lions in 1974 (Grundlingh, 1996). These threats were no doubt the result of public perception that the team had brought the national game into disrepute, and embarrassed the nation, by losing to the British.

Rugby remained an amateur sport until the early 1990s and playing top-level rugby in the 1940s meant that one needed a comfortable salary or another source of income to be successful (Grundlingh, 1996). The structure of society in South Africa, linked to a kind of Afrikaner empowerment, was highly effective in developing the Afrikaner middle class in the 1940s (Lipton, 1986). Also, as Afrikaans educational institutions continued to grow with rugby as their main winter sport, the sport continued to grow within the Afrikaans community (Booth, 1998).

White schools, through funding provided by the National Party, were able to afford the significant resource requirements of rugby; while other schools struggled to provide such facilities without governmental support, and often ended up playing soccer as there are fewer resource requirements (Grundlingh, 1996). It was this inequitable distribution of resources that was primarily responsible for the emergence of the perception that soccer was the ‘black man’s game’ and further entrenched rugby as the ‘white man’s game’ in the country (Keech, 2002).

The level of success which the National Party was able to achieve in linking the national rugby team to fundamental elements of nationalist ideology, propaganda and rhetoric, was due, in part, to the tendency for the sport to attract conservatism (in personality and politics) (Nauright & Chandler, 1996).

Conservative personalities tend to seek to “reinforce values like respect for perceived tradition, rules and authority, integral to the nationalist movement” (Grundlingh, 1996, p. 190). South Africa rugby’s link to conservative personalities, political leanings, ideological views, and social practices, meant that the sport was fertile ground for the establishment and perpetuation of the particular forms of racism associated with Apartheid and Afrikaner nationalism.

The momentum of the Afrikaner nationalism movement was influenced by international tours especially in relation to promoting Afrikaner nationalism to the world (Jarvie, 1991). The Apartheid government used such tours both to present a 'sanitised' version of itself to the international community, but also to attempt to present a public display of the perceived superiority of the Afrikaner 'race' to the rest of the world. Success against Britain (and other colonies) was specifically influential in this process (Grundlingh, 1996).

The utility of national sporting teams as an ideological symbol is that even the least political or publicly minded individuals can identify with the national team as being part of their shared community – and even derive pleasure from their success (Hargreaves, 1986). Although at the time this was applied to rugby in relation to the white community of South Africa only, the point holds true today and as described by Grundlingh (1996, p. 191) "The imagined community of millions seems more real as a team of 11 named people. The individual, even the one who only cheers becomes a symbol of his nation himself."

For the National Party, rugby was a powerful, informal disseminator of nationalist sentiment, and a source of identification within the Afrikaans community (Booth, 1998). This aided the entrenchment of "nationalist politics and rugby as an integral element of Afrikaner popular culture" (Grundlingh, 1996, p. 191) and importantly served to established the game as a distinct reflection of the South African social landscape.

The many ways in which rugby was a strong national symbol highly entrenched in South African culture are illustrated by consequences for rugby of the decision by South Africa to aid Britain in World War II (Nauright, 1997). At the time, the British were still seen by many in the Afrikaner community as an enemy whom they fought against relatively recently in the Anglo-Boer War. As a result, they felt no compulsion to aid Britain in their endeavours and in some cases were distinctly against the idea of helping the British. This issue was reflected in rugby as many clubs chose to rebel against the established league (who was predominantly English and pro-war) and form their own rugby union. The divisions amongst the clubs and unions was noteworthy as "Rugby divided along pro-war and anti-war lines and the schism had a rough English- and Afrikaans- speaking correlate" (Grundlingh, 1996, p. 192).

By 1945, the clubs and leagues had reformed and while there were many examples of individual Afrikaners who excelled at the sport, administration and other areas of the game

remained largely in the control of the English-speaking population. Thus the National Party set about on a process of the Afrikanerisation of the game in South Africa. This process was only completed in the 1960s when Afrikaners gained control of rugby in the Transvaal (they already maintained control of the other provinces). This process was an important political move because “for Afrikaners: unless they had full control of the various bodies involved in rugby, they would be unable to influence the wider social and political dimensions of the sport in South Africa” (Grundlingh, 1996, p. 193).

Another example of the importance of rugby to the Afrikaner Nationalist movement is the links between the sport and the Broederbond. The Broederbond was a group of ‘elite’ Afrikaners who worked to promote the interests of the Afrikaans community (Black & Nauright, 1998). The Broederbond was considered to have significant influence over the provincial rugby unions. By the late 1960s most administrative posts were dominated by Afrikaners, and although the Broederbond and its membership remained largely secretive, their influence on South African rugby cannot be denied (Grundlingh, 1996).

2.4.3.4 BLACK RUGBY IN SOUTH AFRICA

Black rugby can be traced back as far as the 1800s in South Africa (Nauright, 1997; Barnes, 1999). However, the facilities available to black communities were never equivalent to those of whites in the country (Booth, 1998).

The National Party’s official policy regarding sport during Apartheid was separate development for the separate race groups. However, this translated in rugby (as in many other aspects of South African society) to the vast majority of resources being consistently and pervasively assigned to the white community (Lipton, 1986; Keech, 2002).

The following quote illustrates the difference in resources between race groups during Apartheid:

Mono Badela, a well-known figure in Eastern Cape black rugby circles highlighted these: Talk South African rugby, and the images which spring to mind are fairly obvious. Sweaty white men in green jerseys. Springbok badges on their chests. Titanic battles on the plush green grass of Ellis Park, Loftus Versfeldt or Newlands.

Currie Cup fever, tours to Australia, France and England ... The pictures are vivid and clear ... but there is another side to South African rugby – the game played in the dusty townships of New Brighton, Mdantsane, Kwazakhele en Qwidi. There, the images are of dilapidated stadiums which look more like cross-country courses than playing fields. Scenes of African and coloured working class people, scrumming down on a dusty stony surface, car headlights illuminating a cold winter's night (Grundlingh, 1996, p. 195).

Sporting policies in post-Apartheid South Africa, like other forms of racialised redress (such as Black Economic Empowerment), are often criticised as being cosmetic, ideological, and peripheral to the lives of the majority of South Africans (Jarvie & Reid, 1997). Although there has always been a strong rugby tradition in black communities in the Eastern and Western Cape; in other parts of the country, as mentioned earlier, black schools still primarily focus on soccer often due to a lack of resources when compared with formerly whites-only schools (which generally play rugby).

2.4.3.5 DEMOGRAPHICS OF INTERNATIONAL SPORT

In countries such as France, England, and the United States, black people are overrepresented in sporting teams in general, and in rugby teams specifically, even despite challenging social conditions which exist for them in these countries (Jarvie & Reid, 1997).

In the United States, black players are and have for some time been overrepresented in sports such as basketball, football and boxing, although they remain underrepresented in swimming, tennis, golf, and ice-hockey (Snyder & Spreitzer, 1983). The integration of black people into these previously whites-only sports began in the 1960s and resulted in a number of noteworthy occurrences which are relevant for (and similar to) the problems associated with racial integration in South African sport.

Firstly, black athletes were subject to a higher level of scrutiny, conversation, questioning and gossip when compared with white athletes at the time (Spreitzer & Snyder, 1983). Secondly, black athletes were seen to be located on the periphery of the many forms of informal interaction with team mates and were often excluded from in-group humour and interaction. The locker-room rhetoric was also said to be specifically guarded in the presence of black

players as topics of an offensive nature (especially racial ones) were specifically avoided (Spreitzer & Snyder, 1983). Thirdly, black players suffered subtle forms of discrimination such as the view that white players were more versatile and could fulfil a greater range of roles than black players (Snyder & Spreitzer, 1983).

Whether or not these findings are applicable to the South African context is debatable. South Africa, due to years of institutionalised racial oppression has many added layers of complexity in relation to race. Perhaps the most striking difference between observations derived from the United States, is that in the South African context it is the black majority (as opposed to the black minority in the United States) who have been excluded from sport. The black majority remains vastly underrepresented (to be discussed below) in South African rugby but the treatment of black players as foreign, alien, and distinctly outside of the established in-group, as evidenced by the findings of this research, seems to mirror the situations and contexts of the early integration of American sport.

Another important observation derived from the findings of Snyder and Spreitzer (1983) is referred to as stacking. In American football, and baseball, black players were found to be vastly underrepresented in positions considered most important in terms of strategic play-making ability and responsibility such as quarter-back and pitcher as well as in areas of leadership such as captaincy (Spreitzer & Snyder, 1983). This mirrors the situation currently evident in South African rugby where certain positions, i.e. those positions considered most important such as fly-half and captain, are almost exclusively given to white players while positions considered less important, such as, wing, are generally the domain of black players.

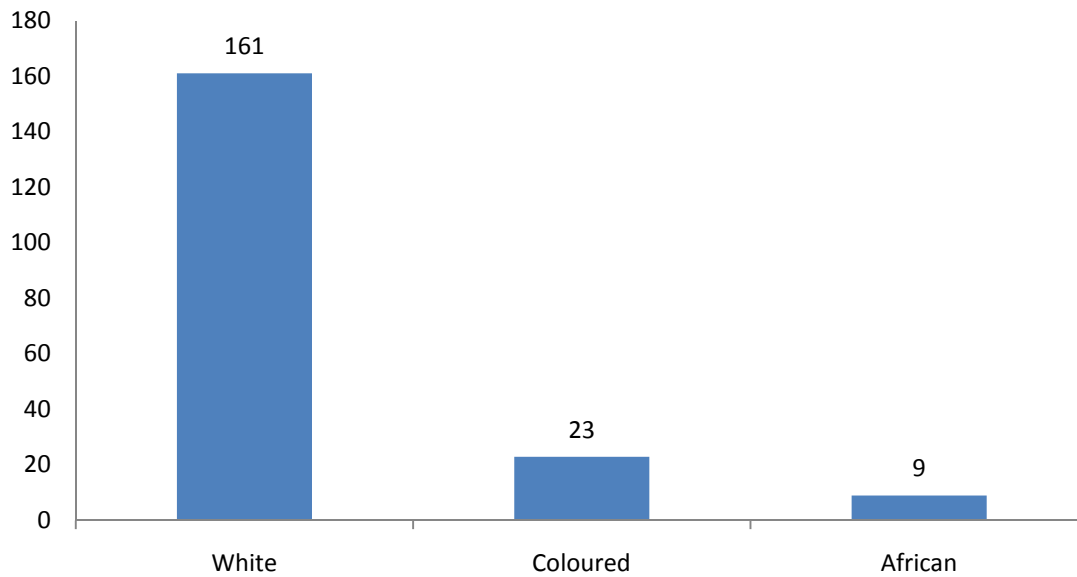
A possible explanation for the over-representation of black players in American sports is that their opportunities in other areas of society are limited (Spreitzer & Snyder, 1983). While sports retains the potential for various forms of black success as a public form of social, political, and economic leveller for black people in America, it remains a possible source of frustration for many black youths (Cashmore, 2002). Compelling arguments exist which detail the pursuit of sport in favour of all other endeavours as potentially resulting in the skills and abilities required to integrate into society being lacking. African Americans already represent a marginalised group and are thus already more likely to be affected by crime, drug-abuse, alcoholism, and many other social ills, and frustrated sporting ambitions could add to the already established feeling of exclusion from society (Cashmore, 2002).

In South Africa, sport does not represent the only way for black people to be successful in the new democratic state, and while whites still control the majority of the resources, initiatives such as Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and Employment Equity have resulted in the emergence of a burgeoning black middle class and notable black individuals who now have access to every conceivable level of wealth, power, and social currency. Perhaps this is a possible explanation for the lack of transformation in rugby? While the efforts thus far have encouraged a growing number of black players in the country, perhaps the slow pace of transformation is the result of the potential for black South Africans to pursue other interests rather than playing rugby, which may involve enduring significant problems, trials, and tribulations associated with being a black rugby player in South Africa.

2.4.3.6 DEMOGRAPHICS OF SOUTH AFRICAN RUGBY

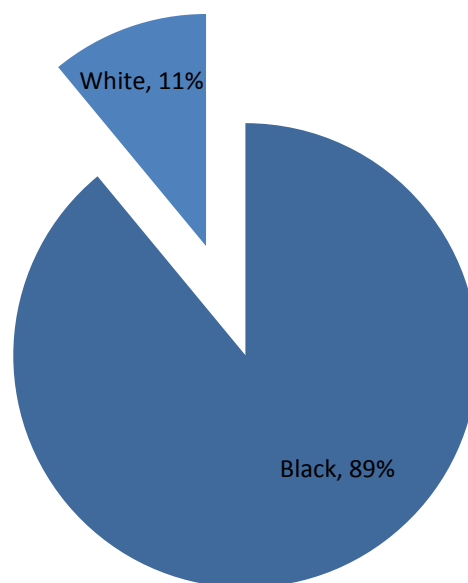
As stated above, in South African rugby black players remain wholly underrepresented. As displayed below in Graph 2.1, of the 193 players chosen to represent South Africa in post-Apartheid South Africa below, 161 were white (83.4%) and 32 were black (16.5% - 23 coloured (11.9%) and 9 African (4.6 %)) (Keohane, 2007^b).

The distinct lack of black rugby players at a national level remains a contentious issue in South Africa. This topic seems to transcend South African society as it is discussed in everyday conversation, the newspaper, television and internet media, as well as in Parliament. Between 1992 and 2007 the demographics of the South African rugby team were as follows:



Graph 2.1 demographics of South African rugby (Keohane, 2007^a)

The composition of the South African rugby team remains a topic of debate, with good reason, as Graph 2.2 illustrates the population of South Africa. Comparing these figures to the national population reveals that while the black population comprises approximately 89% of the national population (Graph 2.2) they comprise less than 30% of the national rugby team (Kriel, 2007).



Graph 2.2: Demographics of the South African population (Kriel, 2007)

Post-Apartheid attempts to address the disparity between the racial demographics of the population and those of the national rugby team, as well as attempts to integrate the previously racially segregated rugby leagues began in the early 1990s with the 'quota' system (Keohane, 2004). The quota system prescribed a minimum number of two black rugby players required (especially at an international level), although following various revisions of the quota system meant that this number was increased to five black players by the South African Rugby Union before the system was replaced in 2004 by the Transformation Charter (Basson, 2008).

There were many inherent problems associated with the quota system including the assertion by black players that the label 'quota' player implied inferiority, and that this label was difficult to escape even in the face of the obvious merit and ability of players such as Breyton Paulse who represented South Africa more than 50 times in tests but was never able to shake his association with the quota system (Keohane, 2004). White coaches were also accused at the time of purposefully misinterpreting the intention of the system, and thus seeking only ever to fulfil the minimum quota rather than embrace the intention of increasing black representation at national level in South African rugby (Keohane, 2004).

Complicated problems also arose with, for example, the substitution of black players which produced a conundrum for coaches as to whether it was necessary to perform 'like-for-like' racial substitutions. It was unclear whether a quota player still retained this label after playing international rugby. Coaches may thus have been 'satisfied' picking the minimum number of black players (of proven international quality), and thus failing to interpret the intention of the system to produce more black talent, not fulfil the minimum required number of black players.

During this time South African rugby teams seldom exceeded the minimum requirement for black participation, and often did not achieve even the most modest racial targets (Keohane, 2004). The South African team which won the 1995 World Cup had only one black player in the team while the 2007 World Cup winning side had only two black players in the side.

The Transformation Charter shifted the focus away from prescribed quotas and replaced the term 'quota' with the term 'target', which although similar in conception, was chosen to

represent guidelines and moved away from the forms of deterministic racial thinking associated with the quota system (Basson, 2008). The Transformation Charter uses a scorecard-based system intended to promote a broad-based approach to improving rugby in underdeveloped communities through the provision of, and, access to, rugby facilities, especially in the form of rugby grounds, coaches, and facilities.

The Transformation Charter, however, has also had limited effects on the racial composition of the national rugby side which remains predominantly white.

2.4.4 PARTICULAR INSTANCES OF RACISM IN SOUTH AFRICAN RUGBY

Although they are not the focus of this research, it is worth exploring a few notable instances of racism in relation to rugby in post-Apartheid South Africa.

During the 1995 World Cup Chester Williams was racially abused by James Small although this was not revealed until much later (Keohane, 2002). In 1997, the coach of the national rugby team, Andre Markgraaff, was forced to resign from his position as national coach following recordings of him making racist remarks being released by the media (van der Westhuizen, Quital, & Rich, 2008). In 1998, Toks Van De Linde was sent home from a tour of New Zealand for making racist remarks (“Toks retires”, 2002). In 2004, perhaps the most infamous of racial incidents post-Apartheid occurred when Geo Cronje refused to share a shower with teammate Quentin Davids because he is black (Keohane, 2004).

In 2004, Robbie Fleck was accused, while playing in England, of uttering racial slurs in a brawl with a British soccer player (“Collymore ‘threw first punch’ while Fleck denies slur”, 2004). In 2006, an official complaint was lodged against members of the public at the Newlands Rugby Ground for allegedly shouting racist remarks during a Springbok rugby game (Ajam, 2008).

In the same year, two black referees went on strike, claiming that they were being discriminated against in terms of the match fixtures to which they were assigned. They also claimed that black referees are not given the same opportunities as white referees, and are chosen more often than their white counterparts to fulfil the role of linesman or as the television match official rather than that of referee (van der Westhuyzen, 2005).

2.5 CONCLUSION

This literature review has served to introduce the constructs of race and sport as they relate to the South African context. The ever-changing construction of race in society was explored in terms of its relationship to colonialism, Nazism, and Apartheid. Racism in general, and media racism specifically, were explored in order to consolidate the discussion of historical constructions of race, but also to establish the newspaper media's role in relation to the (re)production of racism, as well as to introduce the role played by discourse and ideology in relation to racism.

The emergence of white dominated sport in South Africa was explored in relation to South African cricket and rugby which were both heavily influenced by the constructions of imperial ideology. As discussed, rugby became more heavily entrenched in the Afrikaner community than cricket, and the specific ways in which the National Party used the rugby team as an informal disseminator of Afrikaner ideology and as a public forum for the expression of perceived Afrikaner superiority.

By exploring race as a social construct, and the ways in which South African rugby was linked to ideological constructions associated with Apartheid and imperialism, it is hoped that this discussion was able to emphasise the potential which exploring the media's racial constructions in relation to South African rugby could have for the advancement of the field of South African social psychology.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This research project seeks to examine the broad thematic trends associated with the construction of race presented in a set of 84 articles published by the South African newspaper media in relation to South African rugby over four years (2005 to 2008). Using thematic content analysis, facilitated by a computer-aided framework, this research identified specific content analytic units (in the form of quotations) that could be used to facilitate a deeper discussion of constructions of blackness and whiteness.

This research follows an atheoretical approach and utilises elements of the discursive traditions usually associated with thematic content analysis and discourse analysis.

3.2 RESEARCH AIMS

The aims of this study were to:

1. Identify and explore the thematic trends associated with the newspaper media's constructions of race in relation to South African rugby.
2. Explore constructions of blackness and whiteness in relation to black players in South African rugby, and explore the possible consequences thereof.
3. Explore constructions of black and white exceptionalism.

3.3 RESEARCH SAMPLE

3.3.1 TIMEFRAME

The dataset includes articles published by the Independent Media Group (to be discussed later) in the month of June between 2005 and 2008. June was chosen because it is in the middle of the rugby season in the Southern Hemisphere and it was hoped that discussions of race at this time would be well developed. Also, because the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Sport meets in June, this time is often associated with comments and

statements by the Committee about the racial composition of the South African rugby side. The media's (re)construction of these comments and the reaction of the media to such comments significantly affect the dominant discourses regarding blackness and whiteness.

Expanding the dataset to include four years was intended to widen the scope of the data set and ensure that residual and sporadic themes were not ignored.

3.3.2 NEWSPAPERS SAMPLED

The data set was collected using the Independent Media Online Database. Permission for which was obtained by the researcher from IOL under certain conditions. The Independent Media Online database comprises articles published in the following newspapers: Cape Argus, Cape Times, Daily News, Isolezwe, Mercury, Motoring, Personal Finance, Post, Pretoria News, Star, Sunday Independent, Sunday Tribune, and The Independent on Saturday.

These sources already exist in the public domain and although permission was sought and granted to use the articles it should be noted that this form of data does not pose the same ethical dilemma as, for example, focus groups or one-on-one interviews.

As discussed in the limitations section of this report, only English papers were included in the final data collection. Although this may potentially have introduced an Anglocised bias to the findings of this research, any such result was unavoidable considering the author's limited knowledge of Afrikaans as well as the positioning of this research as an English academic production.

An early discovery was the close association between many of these newspapers. Due to these associations, articles often appeared in similar or identical forms in various newspapers, often on the same day, but sometimes up to a week subsequent to the original publishing date. Such articles were referenced according to their first appearance only and duplicates were deleted from the final data set.

3.3.3 SAMPLING PROCEDURE

Sampling newspaper articles involves a high level of critical judgement on the part of the researcher, as sampling too little data risks emphasising issues that may not be important in the overall context of the construct, while oversampling may result in false-positives as exceedingly large datasets in qualitative research mean that almost any argument can be supported (Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 2005).

For example, in the data-set presented as June 2007, due to its proximity to World Cup 2007 and the fact that the South African team won this title, this significantly increased both the level of interest in rugby generally in the country, which led to an increase in the number of articles about rugby published by the newspaper media at the time. It should be noted however, that most were celebratory (re)constructions of events and topics which seldom addressed the topic of race, and never addressed the topic critically. This revelation influenced the decision to examine multiple years.

The explicit aim of this research was to examine constructions of race by the South African newspaper media and thus the following procedures were followed in order create a manageable data-set of 84 articles refined using various criteria.

The original search string used to generate this dataset included any articles containing the term rugby, the term race, or any combination thereof. The result was a dataset which contained over 50 000 articles published by The Independent Media Online database (IOL) between January 2005 and November 2008. These results were thus filtered to include only articles written in June of each year. Practical considerations were also immediately evident, such as the potential meanings of race meant the term was applied to other sports such as athletics or swimming races; and non-sporting usages such as the 'race' to be president. This discovery also led to the understanding that constructions of blackness and whiteness are seldom overtly expressed by the media. Race is more often discussed in terms of inferential, subliminal and euphemistic terms than overly racial ones.

The original search was thus modified to include various search terms such as 'rugby' and 'black'; 'rugby' and 'white'; 'rugby' and 'Springboks'; 'rugby' and 'development'; 'rugby'

and ‘racism’; ‘rugby’ and ‘transformation’; ‘rugby’ and ‘culture’; and ‘rugby’ and ‘ideology’. These terms resulted in similar data sets but contained individual variation as well.

The decision was thus taken to include all of the above search terms at the initial stage of data collection. The articles were then filtered by first reading all the articles contained in all of the above search strings, and finally by actually deciding whether to include articles based on the purposes of this research.

Although an intuitive process, this process of filtering was undertaken with great attention to detail and while many of the same articles appeared in the various searches, the final decision to use all of the above search strings (and combinations thereof), and to individually approve articles for inclusion in the data set, was considered the most reliable and consistent way of establishing the final data set. Although time consuming, this was considered the most convenient, reliable, and useful way of defining the data set. This process also significantly aided in orientating the research within the overall discussion of race in South African rugby in general.

Once populated, the data set was examined in terms of its relevance to the topic at hand. This process was significantly aided through the use of computer-aided research, but also emphasised the role of the researcher, as any attempt to explore meaning contained in discourse invariably involves semantic analysis which is quite distinct from the computer-aided processes described above.

Various ‘judgement’ calls were required during the research process but as recommended by Mayring (2000) any issues were noted and incorporated into the research process to ensure that rules were consistently applied throughout the dataset.

At this stage, articles which contained no explicit or implied reference to race were excluded, as well as references to race in other contexts such as the United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand, which although interesting, were beyond the scope of this research project.

The final data set included articles which contained explicit, implied, or any other kind of reference to ‘race’ in relation to South African rugby in the month of June on four successive

years between 2005 and 2008. Filtering the dataset and making systematic judgement calls resulted in the final set of 84 articles.

3.4 RESEARCH METHOD

Before exploring the practical components of Thematic Content Analysis utilised by this project it is useful to explore the history of quantitative and qualitative content analysis as both procedures were used at different stages of this research. The generation of themes for analysis is discussed in relation to inductive and deductive category development before the utility of computer-aided research and the procedures followed using *Atlas.ti* are discussed. Finally other projects using Thematic Content Analysis in the South African context will be explored.

3.4.1 HISTORY OF CONTENT ANALYSIS (QUANTITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS)

The term content analysis is often used inconsistently and when used generically refers to any method used in the analysis of content. However, as in this research project, content analysis also refers to a specific technique with defined parameters that enables the exploration of complex concepts and the efficient and systematic analysis of large data sources. While there are many forms of content analysis, the theoretical foundations of quantitative content analysis were established by Lazarsfeld and Lasswell during the 1920s and 1930s, and it was during this time that the first textbook on quantitative content analysis was published (Berelson, 1952).

The use of quantitative content analysis gained momentum during World War II. This momentum coincided with the emergence of various new forms of mass media which could be explored using content analysis (such as television). Society was considered to be highly susceptible to messages contained in the mass media and this, in combination with attempts to study propaganda, provided further impetus for early research in the area. By the 1960s the approach was used primarily in disciplines such as linguistics, psychology, sociology, history, and the arts. Holsti (1969) defined content analysis as “any technique for making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying specified characteristics of messages” (p. 14) while Krippendorff (1980) defines it as “a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context” (p. 2). These definitions show the

heavy focus of early approaches on a method that produced replicable quantification of manifest content in text and talk.

Due to the flexibility of the approach, content analysis has taken many forms and has been used across a wide spectrum of the social and human sciences. The technique is, however, especially well-suited to the analysis of communication as well as cultural studies, and hence this is where it has found the most application. Quantitative content analysis has been used to examine a number of research areas such as news and current affairs, advertisements, cartoons, talk shows, music videos, pictures, and magazines, to name a few (Mayring, 2000).

Quantitative content analysis was increasingly criticised for various reasons, the most important of which was that the approach focuses on manifest content effectively ignoring latent content and context. Latent content is critical to any form of communication, as it is the latent content that both the communicator and the receiver of communication use to construct meaning. According to Manning & Cullum-Swam (1998), “Apart from methodological problems associated with any quantitative techniques (sampling, generalization, validity, especially external validity, and reliability), content analysis has been unable to capture the context within which a written text has meaning” (p. 248).

Concentrating on manifest content often involved the quantification of salient units of text into groups, categories, or codes (Berelson, 1956). This process is still useful in qualitative content analysis, and the units of measurement chosen depend largely on the purposes of the research. Some studies choose to focus on keywords while others focus on phrases, sentences, paragraphs, and even whole texts. Quantitative analysis is similar to qualitative content analysis in terms of the focus on semantic units and also the systematic, rigorous, and thorough approach to researching content required by both techniques (Mayring, 2000). However, the approaches differ in regard to the way that the results are interpreted. While quantitative studies focus on manifest content (and thus tend to oversimplify aspects related to meaning and context), qualitative studies allow for an extra layer of interpretation which transcends pure statistical analysis, and seeks to examine the latent content contained within the data (Mayring, 2000).

3.4.2 QUALITATIVE CONTENT ANALYSIS

Qualitative approaches explicitly seek to access both manifest and latent content contained within various forms of communications (Mayring, 2000). Qualitative content analysis thus bridges the gap between the qualitative and quantitative paradigms. Qualitative content analysis allows a body of qualitative data to be submitted to both quantitative and qualitative analysis. The method has thus been adjusted, with much success, to many different models of communication; and the emergence of computer applications has greatly aided this process (Mayring, 2000). The qualitative application of content analysis has been applied to various forms of communication including interviews, discourses, videos, paintings, newspaper articles and other documents (and forms of discourse) (Mayring, 2000).

Qualitative approaches to content analysis allow inferences about texts to be made (Weber, 1985). The researcher is thus able to describe “procedures of systematic text analysis, which try to preserve the strengths of content analysis in communication science (theory reference, step models, model of communication, category ledged [sic], criteria of validity and reliability) to develop quantitative procedures (inductive category development, summarizing, context analysis, deductive category analysis) which are methodologically controlled” (Mayring, 2000, p. 8).

Thematic content analysis involves two distinct stages, referred to as encoding and decoding (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). While the former refers to the conclusions drawn from the manifest content, the latter refers to inferences drawn from the latent content. As can be seen in this research, thematic content analysis remains flexible and often the processes of encoding and decoding provide the main impetus for the research, as it is at this stage that real discoveries about the text begin to be made.

Mayring (2000) outlines four basic principles he believes influence the application of thematic content analysis. These principles apply directly to this research project. The first principle relates to how to fit the data into a model of communication. At this stage, the researcher must decide upon which part or parts of the communication inferences will be made about. This naturally depends on the purposes of the research, but inferences can be made about the communicator, for example, with regard to their feelings and experiences, or to the effect of the message contained within the text.

For the purposes of this research, the context of the textual production and the socio-cultural background of the text are specifically relevant. It is for this reason that the literature review includes various important contextual elements regarding South African rugby.

The second principle of content analysis relates to the definition of the rules used in the analysis. As will be discussed, certain themes were informed by knowledge of the available literature in the area, but themes were allowed to emerge from the text rather than imposed on them.

Emergent themes were used to categorise the material into “content analytic units” which were analysed to form a conclusion. A decision was made early in the development of this project that key words would not be used in this study, and the majority of content analytic units were manually coded quotations including sentences, phrases, and paragraphs. Considering the focus of this research on latent content, it was felt that it is important to include contextual information about the content analytic units. Thus, while a word in isolation may be misinterpreted, it is much less likely to be so when it is included with the rest of the sentence, paragraph, or article (all of which are conveniently provided by *Atlas.ti*).

The third principle of content analysis relates to the interpretation of the content analytic units with reference to the original research questions. This process involves constantly revisiting the themes chosen for their salience to the discussion, and making whatever adjustments are required to the thematic categories. In this research project various revisions occurred and, as is common practice, themes were eliminated, subsumed, or collapsed under other themes during this process.

The final principle of content analysis is that of validity and reliability. This is especially important in qualitative content analysis as a researcher’s own subject positioning may influence their results. For this reason the analysis and conclusions made must always be triangulated with other studies in the field, and coding must also be tested using inter-coder reliability.

This research tested for inter-coder reliability on 10% of the overall data set both at the half-way stage and at the end of the research process. The inter-rater reliability co-efficient of 0.96 was achieved which was within acceptable limits

This research was designed as a project for one person, and thus there were not multiple coders who worked on the project. Thus, a volunteer from the field of education was chosen to help determine the reliability of the themes generated by this research.

3.4.3 DEFINING THEMES USING THEMATIC CONTENT ANALYSIS

3.4.3.1 INDUCTIVE CATEGORY DEVELOPMENT

Inductive category development essentially involves allowing the thematic categories derived to emerge from the text. When using inductive category development, as in this research project, themes should match, as closely as possible, the material from which they emerge. The starting point for any inductive category development is always the research question in combination with a preliminary reading of the text. Each of the inductive themes, as well as the levels of abstraction for each, are included in the definition of each theme (which are defined explicitly) at this point. These themes are under constant revision, as are their definition and level of abstraction. Old categories may be collapsed or combined as more appropriate themes emerge (Mayring, 2000).

It is recommended that after 50% of the analysis these themes are revisited and tested using inter-coder reliability. The analysis is then completed and subjected to a new reliability test. At this stage one is able to make conclusions about the findings of the analysis, and able to conduct any quantitative analysis such as frequency counts if required (Mayring, 2000).

3.4.3.2 DEDUCTIVE CATEGORY DEVELOPMENT

Deductive category developments works using predefined themes for analysis, based on theoretical element of that which would be expected to be found in a particular corpus of text.

The application of the category to the text, an inherently qualitative process, means that deductive category development may still be used in qualitative research. The themes are also

generated using the research question as a starting point, but this time theoretical considerations are used to define the various aspects of analysis. Themes are defined and particular examples are given as to what should fit in a particular category. As with inductively developed themes, deductively developed themes are also constantly revised to ensure appropriateness and reliability tests are done both during and after the analysis (Mayring, 2000).

3.5 COMPUTER-AIDED THEMATIC CONTENT ANALYSIS

As mentioned earlier, this research leaned heavily on various ‘new’ computer-aided designs and techniques for thematic content analysis. The use of *Atlas.ti*, a programme which has been used by many theorists in various fields including psychology, was adopted for this project.

The strength of computer assisted thematic content analysis is that it automates various processes such as cataloguing of primary documents, organising of codes and code descriptions, and the use of memos which both leave a research audit, as well as aid in noting qualitative findings and moments of inspiration. Also *Atlas.ti* allows the researcher to organise and catalogue all data in one comprehensive and efficient manner.

Mastering this technique required a high level of computer proficiency, as evidenced by the process required to get the articles from the IOL server into *Atlas.ti*. Articles were downloaded as files and renamed using specific naming conventions which included the name, date, and title of the newspaper article. These files were then converted from HTML to Acrobat PDF format using *PDFcreator* and finally converted to Rich Text Format and imported into *Atlas.ti* which handled the organisation of the articles and facilitated the subsequent analysis.

Atlas.ti also allows documents to be organised in various ways, including macro structural arrangements which defined document ‘families’, and was used to organise the documents according to source and by year of the articles. As the themes were derived, *Atlas.ti* was also useful in generating macro-themes which resulted in the final four themes of analysis.

Virtually every aspect of the content analytic process (including interpretation) was greatly aided by the use of *Atlas.ti*.

Importantly, this programme aids in the presentation of results. Various forms of output allow the researcher to examine specific aspects of the textual data. One can filter outputs using documents, quotations, memos, and super-codes. In this way, one is able to, for example, output all quotations in a specific document that relate to a specific code. This process would involve significantly more time were it done manually. Considering that not all hunches regarding code formations will be correct, computer-aided content analysis saves countless hours of fruitless work by providing data manipulation at the click of a mouse button. *Atlas.ti* allows codes to be dynamically linked to quotations and documents in such a way that facilitates the quick and easy navigation of complex sets of data.

Processes inherent in *Atlas.ti* means it fits well with qualitative content analysis as it allows formerly manual procedures to be accomplished more quickly and establishes a definable audit trail. Sections of text are selected with the mouse and then either associated with an existing code or codes, or used to define new ones. Also, using the programme was a constant reminder of the systematic and procedural complexities necessary in order to produce a thematic content analysis of the quality required in the academic context. Although the interpretive phase still involved many hours of thought and interpretation, *Atlas.ti* facilitated this process by keeping track not only of all the data in isolation, but also in reference to its overall context. The checking and rechecking of assumptions and conclusions is also greatly facilitated by the use of computer-aided analysis such as *Atlas.ti*.

3.6 GOOD QUALITATIVE PRACTICE

Kelly (1990) proposes that good qualitative research will take cognisance of certain generic considerations and thus encourages that researcher and researchers:

1. Remain at all times close to the data when labelling phenomena;
2. Seek alternative, rival, and disconfirmative explanations of findings;
3. Take into account the researcher's impact on the context of the study; and
4. Always consider several rival possibilities or explanations alive (p. 429).

These considerations were considered in terms of this research project and were integrated at every stage of the research.

A further technique utilised in the field of social research is triangulation which has come to be defined as the use of multiple perspectives in order to check one's perspective. Forms of triangulation include data, investigator, and theory triangulation (Guba & Lincoln, 1989).

Data triangulation refers to the consultation of different data sources and is designed to orientate data through comparison with other sources. Data triangulation is accomplished by the examination of different mediums. Although different mediums were not consulted, for the purposes of this research project, the principle of data triangulation was influential in the decision to consult multiple newspaper sources, as well as the definition of the data-set to include multiple years.

Investigator triangulation refers to the process orientating a researcher's inherent subject positioning and often involves using different researchers examining the same data. In essence, this process is already a component of thematic content analysis because as discussed, Inter-rater reliability involves subjecting the dataset to the same processes by at least two individuals.

Theory triangulation refers to the use of multiple methods to study a single problem. As can be seen from the literature review section of this research, many theories and perspectives were considered in relation to the current study. The perspectives associated with Marxism, Feminism, Systems theory, Conflict Theory, and Critical Theory; as well as methodological approaches such as Discourse Analysis, Narrative Analysis, and, of course, thematic content analysis, were all considered in relation to this project. In addition, perspectives which were considered relevant regarding the analysis of race in relation to South African rugby were also included regardless of their 'disciplinary allegiances'. This is a common practice in the field of social psychology which, due to the inherent similarities between it and the associated fields of sociology and anthropology, meant that many sociological and anthropological perspectives were relevant to this project specifically.

Although the characteristics that define generalisability and transferability are often impossible to pursue in qualitative research, thematic content analysis, through its positioning

as a technique which bridges the gap between qualitative and quantitative paradigms, provides certain inherent appeals to generalisability and transferability by adopting, at least at a methodological level, a process which can be easily replicated.

Finally, the principles of generalisability and transferability, in relation to qualitative research, are reflected in this project as it attempts to provide an accurate description of the research process, an explanation of the arguments for different research methods, and a detailed description of the research situation and context.

Thompson's depth hermeneutics is often provided as a general methodological framework for Discourse Analysis, but its utility in relation to thematic content analysis was of paramount importance. Thompson (1990) emphasises three distinct phases of analysis.

The first is called socio-historical analysis. The approach thus emphasises the socio-historical context of discourse. In relation to this study the socio-historical context of race, sport, and specifically South African rugby is informed by the preceding literature review as well as supplemental readings which could not be included due to the constraints of this project.

The second phase of depth-hermeneutics analysis aims to identify structural features of the data and society. This is often the stage at which critical approaches to discourse are introduced. Such approaches often emphasise the need to effect change in society and although this project is not specifically attempting to change society, it is hoped that the findings in the discussion section inspire further research in the area, and that it raises the level of debate regarding race in relation to South African rugby in general.

An understanding of this phase of depth hermeneutics informed a specific focus on attempting to find possible locations for the perpetuation of racism and racist ideology, especially in relation to forms of subliminal, discursive, and inferential racism via the newspaper media's constructions of race in relation to South African rugby.

The third phase of depth-hermeneutics, called the interpretation/re-interpretation phase, acknowledges the role of the researcher as being involved in various stages and processes of interpretation and reinterpretation (at the same time) which is of specific relevance in areas of knowledge production (Thompson, 1990).

This stage of (re)interpretation thus allows an acknowledgment that this research is a social construction, as are the newspaper articles interpreted, and all forms of discourse in society. Sport, psychology, and race are all affected by societal processes which are reflected in their individual social constructions.

This project will thus necessarily be affected by (and reflective of) many forms of domination and oppression, and factors such as the social, economic, and political dominance of various groups in South African society.

Reliance on social constructionism is central to this research project in terms of its conception and composition. This phase of depth-hermeneutics reminded the researcher at all times to critically engage with emergent themes as well as with the data-sources themselves, rather than just accepting the inherent truth of observations.

It was also influential as the nature of thematic content analysis involves various stages of, often time-consuming interpretation and re-interpretations of both manifest and latent content as thematic trends are allowed to emerge from many analyses of the same data.

3.7 Examples of other South African research using Thematic Content Analysis

The method and theory associated with thematic content analysis means that its applications are varied, and although there are relatively few examples of thematic analysis in the South African context it is still worth highlighting the following examples:

De la Rey and Owens (1998) conducted a thematic analysis using testimony transcripts and interviews with key players in relation to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in order to explore the therapeutic value of the testimony method and explore the links between individual healing and national reconciliation. Durheim and Dixon (2001) examined the forms of racial rhetoric and exclusion associated with Apartheid through the examination of 400 newspaper articles published between 1982 and 1995 which related to segregated beaches in South Africa. Stevens (2003) conducted a thematic analysis of the trends and patterns in publications of articles in the South African journal of psychology between 1990 and 2000 in order to explore and illustrate the relative lack of attention exhibited by the field

in relation to the critical study of race and racial constructions in academia. Brandt, Dawes, Africa, and Swartz (2004) conducted a thematic analysis of psychologists' reports in child custody hearings. This was done in order to discuss implications for child rights and establish the need for report writing in the psychological profession to accommodate the needs of the legal-judicial context.

CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This exploratory analysis revealed four specific themes considered most relevant for this discussion. The themes blackness and whiteness were defined as containing any overt, implicit, or implied reference to race. The analysis of these two themes revealed stereotypical constructions of blackness and silences on whiteness. The findings presented in the first two themes informed the subsequent analysis of black exceptionalism and white exceptionalism. The content of these themes was essentially already contained in the earlier findings but was analysed because of its uniqueness.

It should be stated from that outset, that while this research utilises the discourse of race this is by no means an admission that race is the result of anything other than social processes which have in the past been used to categorise society according to a specific set of racial characteristics which usually rely on nothing more than physionomological differences despite the fact that they are often claimed to be based on science. An inherent contradiction in research which utilises the terms and constructs associated with racialised discourse is that it runs the risk of unintentionally (re)producing racist social constructions even when overly, explicitly and ideologically opposed to the assumptions, beliefs and practices associated with racism and racist ideology.

The use of racialised discourse remains unavoidable in this context however as the specific constructs under discussion have no other way of being described.

It should be noted, that while great pains were taken in this research to try and decide on a way of defining race that avoided the potential pitfalls mentioned above, ordinary South Africans seem to exhibit no problem with engaging with the topic of race, often unremarkably moving in and out of racialised categories (Duncan, 2003^b). At some level social agents seem to even derive pride and satisfaction from their conception of their own racial designation and all racialised groups in South Africa seem to exhibit unique cultural beliefs, practices and traditions which are linked to their own sense of individual and group identity.

Race for the purposes of this research is thus loosely defined as a social construct operationalised through discourse, and (re)constructed by human beings, as they interact in society, and attempt to define meanings based on the combination of their accumulated experiences and individual contexts. Acknowledging historical influences on the construction of race in South Africa serves to add to the ever increasingly complex set of divergent influences that combine, overlap, and even oppose each other, as attempts are made to define and redefine contested social constructs, such as race, in contemporary South Africa. Importantly, the effects of ideological assumptions, beliefs, and practices (even if they are flawed or blatantly wrong) accumulated by South Africans of all race groups over time cannot be overemphasised (for a more in depth discussion of these concepts see the literature review section of this report).

A thematic content analysis using a systematic and empirical analysis of themes, articles, and individual quotations (the textual units of analysis in this project) was considered the most logical course of action considering the lack of research in the area and the best way of exploring this topic in relation to its context within the broader field of South African social psychology. The subsequent discussion uses specific examples of the semantic techniques and strategies employed by the newspaper media in order to explore constructions of blackness and whiteness contained within the data set.

4.2 QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS AND BROAD THEMATIC TRENDS

The 84 articles analysed by this study were examined numerous times throughout the various stages of analysis. A preliminary stage of this analysis comprised a quantitative analysis of the broad themes contained within the data set. This was done both to establish the availability of racialised content within the data set and to establish the suitability of the data source for the forms of analysis which followed.

This preliminary stage of analysis resulted in the emergence of the following set of inductive themes:

Code	Theme
GOV	Specific references to government

LEG	Legal discourse – contracts, salaries, overseas players
MED	Medical discourse – injuries, discourse of medicine
POL	Politics; international politics, sanctions, internal politics (internal to SARU and internal to South Africa)
PROV	Provincial rugby
PUB	Rugby public
RACE	Racialised discourse
REP	Representative
SAI	South African icons, jersey, banner, flag (old and new)
SAM	Merit
SAR	Results – points, scores, tries, etc.
SPA	References to South African rugby administration including SARU and SA Rugby public limited
SPAC	References to assistant coach
SPAT	Patronage – sons of Springboks
SPC	<i>Springbok</i> coaches (including ex coaches)
SPEX	Ex- <i>Springbok</i> players
SPM	References to the South African media
SPP	<i>Springbok</i> players
SPS	Spirit of the game
SPT	<i>Springbok</i> tradition
SPvO	Comparisons between <i>Springboks</i> and other teams
TRANS	Transformation
AGE	Age group rugby including Under-21, Under-19, and school level rugby
WC07	World Cup 2007
WC95	World Cup 1995
HEG	White male hegemony
SP(c)	<i>Springbok</i> captains

Table 4.1 Themes generated in preliminary stages of the quantitative analysis

As can be seen, many of these categories were functional rather than descriptive and this reflects the researcher's aim of establishing the existence of data for analysis and suitability of any such content for the purpose of subsequent analysis.

This stage of analysis shows the flexibility of thematic content analysis as a method, because it illustrates how the same set of data to be analysed for different purposes and have different results. While the subsequent stages of the analysis were specifically aimed at honing in on racialised discourse, because this stage of analysis was aimed only at establishing the overall composition of the data it allowed functional categories to be applied to the data.

This stage of analysis proved exceedingly useful as these categories, once defined, were used as a platform for the analysis of other categories and findings. They also served as a convenient way to double-check both assumptions and whether an analysis had been thoroughly conducted. For example, the final themes which emerged related to blackness and whiteness. All forms of racialised discourse should be within the functional category RACE (see table 4.1 above). Thus when looking at a particular article using computer aided thematic content analysis in relation to blackness, for example, one could always check the functional category RACE to see if all instances of racialised discourse in relation to blackness have been correctly identified.

The above themes were thus used as the foundation for the identification of overt, implicit, and implied racial constructions with a specific focus on constructions of blackness and whiteness. Using *Atlas.ti*, the above themes were used to quickly and systematically test and interrogate the findings derived through the analysis.

Please note, that a full list of articles which comprise the data set as output by *Atlas.ti* is available in Appendix A.

4.3 CONSTRUCTIONS OF BLACKNESS

4.3.1 DEFINING BLACKNESS

The term black refers for the purposes of this discussion, unless otherwise specified, to all people historically not labelled as white and thus includes the race groups formerly categorised as Indian, coloured, and African by the Apartheid government.

This usage was influenced by both practical and ideological considerations. Practically this usage allowed consistency to be maintained throughout the discussion and facilitated a logical presentation of findings. The ideological consideration contained within this usage was influenced by the Black Consciousness movement which utilised the term in ways which consider its unifying potential and are in direct opposition to the divisive and racist system of racialisation that accompanied terms of racial construction during Apartheid (Stevens, 2003). This usage is also in line with the Employment Equity Act (Act 55 of 1998) which defines previously disadvantaged groups as being the races formerly known as African, coloured, and Indian.

It is worth noting that the use of the term 'black' throughout the data set remains inconsistent at best, and can be seen at various times (often in the same article or quotation) to mean Africans only, African and coloured people only, or all race groups except whites. This inconsistency of the application of terms associated with blackness is exemplified when the term 'black' is even applied to the construction of a particular white player (discussed further in relation to white exceptionalism).

4.3.2 FINDINGS IN RELATION TO BLACKNESS

This discussion will first explore some general observations in relation to the construction of blackness as presented in the set of 84 articles analysed by this research. Quotations drawn from this data set will then be explored in order to highlight and examine some of the more specific semantic strategies and patterns which emerged.

The results of this analysis indicate that a number of primitive, ill-informed, and counter-productive ideas about race still seem to exist within the South African rugby media.

Stereotypical racial constructions exhibited by the data set in relation to blackness included the tendency to pair black players with various negative characteristics such as failure, dishonestly, and weakness of character.

Ultimately the group as a whole are constructed as lacking the physical, mental, and psychological characteristics required to play rugby. This kind of racial stereotyping is not significantly removed from the historical constructions of race presented earlier in this report in relation to colonialism, Nazism, and Apartheid as the media's construction of black players, administrators, coaches and referees alike, consistently position these groups as being foreign, alien, unwanted and unneeded, within the rugby establishment.

Efforts to promote black players, such as the quota system, Transformation Charter, and high performance squad specifically are used by the media to construct the group as undeserving of what is constructed as a form of political patronage that requires 'tremendous concessions' on the part of the (white) rugby establishment if they are to succeed. Future and past strategies which attempt to address the racial disparities in South African rugby are proactively and retrospectively denied as having little utility and as being unfairly discriminatory toward white players. Inherent to this discussion is the assertion that white players are and always will be significantly superior to black players. The argument goes further and constructs South African rugby as only existing because of whites and that without them South African rugby teams would necessarily deteriorate as would the attendance at rugby matches.

The constructions of blackness, as presented below, illustrate the tendency for the newspaper media to construct groups of players as being defined by their 'homogeneity' as a group. Such racial homogeneity is then linked to specific outcomes such as the ability to play rugby. This seems to be an extension of a biological conception of race and the race groups, which although considered false (especially in the social sciences) may still be operational at a covert level within the media's construction of race in relation to South African rugby.

While this may be a function of popular misconceptions regarding race in the country, it is still important in the context of the constructions of blackness and whiteness presented below. For example, the assertion that a black coach will pick black players, and a white coach will pick white players, makes many assumptions which are hard to justify when one considers

that race groups are social constructs, not biological, physical, or psychological determiners for behaviours, abilities and practices.

This discussion will now explore these themes more closely using quotations which were considered to have overt, implicit or implied references to blackness within the data set and begins with the following quotations:

The quota system has always been controversial. Those who argue against it are not necessarily contending that black players will weaken the side. The concern may be that black players should not be allowed to slip into comfort zones [P9:Q14] (Nell, 2005).

When Lions coach Eugene Eloff dropped coloured Springbok scrumhalf Ricky Januarie and refused to pick black African Boks Sephaka and Tyibilika nothing was done about it. Eloff, in his defence, argued the players had failed the system and said the duo were either unfit or not good enough, despite being given every opportunity [P52:Q15] (Keohane, 2007^a)

Two black props - Gurthro Steenkamp (Bulls) and Lawrence Sephaka (Cats) - were picked for Springbok duty in spite of hardly featuring in the Super 12 [P9:Q17] (Nell, 2005).

In the above quotation (P9:Q14¹) black players are constructed as lazy and weak. The 'inferiority' associated with the construction of black players in this quotation is so well entrenched that it is taken-for-granted. The semantic use of the word 'necessarily' in this context clearly implies that while black players *may not* weaken the side, they *probably will* (while any random group of white players would not?).

¹ The following convention was followed when identifying quotations and articles in this research: 'P' refers to the Primary document from which a quotation is derived, while 'Q' refers to the number of the quotation in relation to other quotations (of the same theme) in that document. P1:Q1 thus refers to the first quotation in a particular theme (for example, Blackness) in the first primary document. A full list of primary documents is provided in Appendix A.

Referencing the quota system although it was no longer a part of South African rugby when the article was published (the quota system was replaced by the Transformation Charter in 2004), seems to indicate that the strategy is being used to challenge future strategies which may aim to promote black players. The quota system is conveniently constructed as being 'controversial' and seems to be held on some level as responsible for the lack of transformation in South African rugby. Blaming the quota system seems unfair in this context as the lack of transformation is more likely the result of the systematic and wide-scale exclusion of the black population from resources, such as sporting facilities which were (and still are) taken for granted by the white population, than the result of a system specifically designed to aid black players (even if such conception was fatally flawed). Furthermore, the consistent construction of the quota system as having negative outcomes for whites is also questionable considering the significant majority which white players still enjoy in terms of selection.

The reference to the quota system presents a negative construction of blackness by linking black players to a system which is perceived not only as ill-conceived and unfair but ultimately as a strategy that has failed. The extension of this argument is that attempts to address the anomalous situation regarding the overrepresentation of whites in team selection in South African rugby are ultimately doomed to fail, the implication being that race based selection policies or strategies which promote the inclusion of black players shouldn't be attempted at all. A situation which would likely result in the perpetuation of the dominance by whites and the exclusion of blacks in the game.

Blackness is thus doubly linked to a negative construction of black failure in relation to the quota system because it is not only through its construction as a form of 'racial redress' which has failed, but also through the construction of black players themselves as being responsible for their own failure to progress, despite efforts designed to promote the group. This constructs black players as the recipients of 'unreasonable' and 'exorbitant' benefit because of their race and concurrently presents the South African Rugby Union's plans as maliciously intended to exclude whites from their favourite sport.

The construction of two pseudo-homogenous race groups who differ inherently in their ability to play rugby is an example of the way in which the media, intentionally or

unintentionally, construct black players as an otherised group and marginalise them because of their minority status within the overall composition of South African rugby teams.

The entrenchment of perceived black inferiority is evidenced by the fact that the negative assertions discussed thus far are only the precursor to the author's actual assertion which is also distinctly negative, i.e. that black players are liable to fall into 'comfort zones' should they feel that their place in the side is guaranteed (by their race). This hypothetical guarantee of selection is constructed as the result of an undesirable and ultimately 'reverse racist' approach to South African rugby that seeks the promotion of black rugby players at the expense of white rugby players – despite black players' 'inferiority'.

It is worth noting a few of the more obvious logical inconsistencies in this statement. First, it is unclear that there is a 'comfort zone' which any player – even experienced white players – could realistically fall into, considering the competitive nature of the sport, especially at international level. Also, it is unclear why black players specifically (as opposed to any other group of players) would exhibit such disregard for something which would logically be important to them, not only as a source of pride and motivation, but also in terms of the obvious financial benefits. Furthermore, one must consider why this author would construct black players as being more likely to fall into a comfort zone than white players (given that we know race groups are not a determiner of rugby ability)?

Secondly, considering the size of the black population compared to the very few positions which have been made available to black players (even under the quota system), it is highly unlikely that competition for the few places guaranteed by race under a hypothetical system of race-based selection would be less fierce. Indeed, one of the greatest criticisms of the quota system was that coaches (specifically white coaches) only ever attempted to fulfil the minimum required quota. The unintended consequence of this was that even fewer places were made available to black players and their utility as players (and human beings) was considered only in terms of their function as fulfilling quota requirements rather than their potential as rugby players.

This reference to 'comfort zones' may stem from the racial constructions of black people as lazy and unmotivated. Such constructions were typical during colonialism and Apartheid and

were integral to the functioning of both systems of justification for the oppression of black people in society.

The next quotation (P9:Q17) shows that black players are always undermined. The presentation of the two black players who made the national squad is immediately undermined by the statement that these players 'hardly featured' in the Super 12. This implies that they are not worthy of selection for the national squad and that the only reason they have been chosen is because of their race. In this way blackness is again linked to weakness, failure and a lack of ability.

Quotation 15 (P52) above, again constructs black players as being physically 'unfit' and 'not good enough' and blames them for 'failing' the system. It is interesting to note that blackness is never constructed as a source (or even as a potential source) of ability, skill, or pride within the South African rugby establishment and black rugby players are specifically otherised by this construction.

South Africa's age group teams have been representative many times before, but somehow black players are still struggling to make it through to senior teams [P9:Q12] (Nell, 2005).

The next quotation (P9:Q12) shows a further example of black players being constructed as being responsible for their own inability to progress in South African rugby. The author references the fact that teams at 'age-group teams' (most likely a reference to under-19 and under-21 World Cup winning teams) show significantly higher levels of black representation. The success of these teams is then curiously linked to black players' 'struggle' to 'make it through to senior teams'. Although this may be a reference to systematic problems within the construction of South African rugby in relation to black players, the way in which the author has chosen to phrase this assertion clearly seems to imply that black players may be at fault and it is them who should be blamed for a lack of transformation. This thus serves to absolve whites and especially white players from the forms of privilege which result from their position as a clear majority in the sport.

The Southern and Eastern Cape, however, whose bid emphasised the importance of Super 14 rugby coming to a region boasting 43% of the black players of South Africa,

will again stress transformation and development as compelling reasons for being awarded the fifth franchise [P1:Q11] (Granger, 2005)

We all know that the Eastern Cape is the region that is the heart of black rugby in this country [P107:Q6] (Venter, 2008)

Sporting facilities at schools in black areas are still virtually non-existent and, while they are improving rapidly, facilities in townships still have a long way to go in terms of fields, formal coaching and other facilities to take talent up to the speed of a national team [P69:Q4] (“Let Jake get on with it”, 2007)

These three quotations illustrate yet another negative construction of blackness and the inferiority of black rugby players presents the group as being helpless and in need of the forms of development which white players, teams, and coaches already have or receive.

The context of this quotation is indicated by the title of the article (“Bid to oust Cats from the Super 14”), as ‘awarding’ the Southern Spears a Super 14 franchise, would mean that an established rugby franchise (the Johannesburg based Cats) would lose theirs. The former Transvaal region (represented at this time by the Cats, now renamed the lions) has always been an influential part of the provincial competitions associated with Apartheid sport. As discussed earlier, the Transvaal Rugby Union was the last to come under the full control of the Afrikaners and control of this region was considered highly important in terms of the overall control of South African rugby. Contrastingly the Eastern Cape has always been associated with black rugby (despite the white teams which represented the union in racially exclusive provincial competitions).

The Super 14 franchise which was supposed to be given to the Southern Spears (Eastern Cape, Border, and South Western Districts) but was awarded instead to the Free State – a traditional Afrikaner stronghold dominated by farmers who were intimately involved in the institutions and practices associated with Apartheid – following a complicated set of legal, accounting and administrative battles.

The quotation (P1:Q11) provides ‘transformation’ and ‘development’ as ‘compelling reasons’ for being awarded the franchise. The use of these terms seems to stem from reluctance on the

part of the author to address the racial implications of these statements directly and indicates another form of negative stereotyping in relation to blackness through the construction of black regions and black players as lacking the requisite resources to play rugby.

There are a number of issues raised by this quotation. First, the statement begins with the assertion that a great number of black rugby players come from this region. The province thus could thus easily have been constructed as the area with greatest potential to produce black rugby talent. Instead, a lack of development is emphasised and constructed as an inevitable consequence of the complicated set of socio-economic, geographical, and social circumstances that affect the region. The complexity of these issues is then used to support the notion that the most ‘logical’ solution would be to continue support for a region which already has the developmental, socio-economic, and infrastructural requirements to support a Super-14 franchise. In this way, an attempt to uplift a province significantly affected by the inequitable distribution of resources during Apartheid is pre-emptively dismissed, despite the fact that the Johannesburg-based team produces far fewer black rugby players although the province is second most populated (Kriel, 2007).

Inherent to this discourse is the implication that in order for the Eastern Cape to be ‘worthy’ and ‘capable’ of successfully hosting a Super 14 franchise the region will require a significant transfer of (white) experience, skills, and expertise. Hence, the less developed region will need to rely on the more developed, experienced, and better resourced provinces, if it is ever to compete at the same level as the traditional (white) rugby regions. In this way, the region of South Africa with the most black players, unequivocally considered as the most in need of development, is constructed as wholly unworthy of the privileges which the teams and regions associated with traditional Afrikaner strongholds, naturally ‘deserve’.

The next quotation (P107:Q6) is another reference to the Eastern Cape as the ‘home of black rugby’. The article from which the quote is derived, specifically highlights the South African Rugby Unions ‘poor judgment’ in relation to the Eastern Cape as it states that they should have hired a white Afrikaner coach to ‘sort out the region’ (Gert Smal). This again indicates that black regions are constructed as having no other option but to rely on white expertise if they are to progress as regions or as individual players.

Q4 (P69) introduces a construction of blackness which includes sporting facilities as ‘non-existent’ and although ‘improving rapidly’, are still constructed as vastly inferior to white facilities. A lack of facilities is then quoted as a possible explanation for a lack of black representation at national level. This constructs black rugby as if it did not exist during Apartheid. Black rugby has a strong tradition (especially in the Eastern and Western Cape) and although the author is correct in identifying differential distributions of sporting facilities that resulted during Apartheid, the logical objection to this construction is that considering the previously whites only facilities should in essence have been ‘integrated’ for more than 15 years, this disparity cannot be defined solely in terms of the areas which lack facilities. There must be other factors which are at play because as noted by a previous quotation (P9:Q12), South Africa’s age-group teams are already significantly more representative than the national team, and thus the lack of facilities at an age-group level must surely be less significant? This construction also ignores the significant economic advances made by the black population during this period which would naturally be reflected in both the increase in black facilities and the increased practice of sending black children (especially children who are good at rugby) to formerly white public and private education facilities.

The strategy employed here seems to be a form of semantic deflection which diverts attention away from the lack of black rugby players and focuses the discussion on the distribution of resources which although important will take many years to address. Again this would benefit white players the most as it effectively supports the notion that the continued exclusion of black players from South African rugby will continue until the facilities which they have at their disposal are improved to the same level as those of whites.

Two stereotypical constructions of blackness are discussed here as the “wait-and-see” versus the “results-now” approach to the increasing the level of participation of black rugby at a national level in South Africa.

The wait-and-see approach (similar to the argument presented in P69:Q4) deflects racial argumentation away from the problems associated with the national rugby side by focussing on other areas of South African rugby development, especially those which are already more representative. The success of representative teams at international sevens, and age-group levels are two examples. Rather than emphasising the need for a more representative national rugby team, these successes are presented as the result of development programmes put in

place by the rugby establishment and are thus provided as evidence that black players always need further development – as exhibited by age-group and sevens rugby – before they are able to compete with white players. Adopting a ‘wait-and-see’ approach to the disparity between black and white players assumes that it will naturally disappear over time. The logic of this argument thus implies that there is no need to make any significant changes to the South African rugby establishment, an assertion which naturally benefits white players as is evidenced by the significant majority which white players maintain within the current system. This is the position is often adopted by the media in debates regarding transformation.

The results-now approach, a position typically associated with governmental officials who call for a more representative national rugby side ‘now’ and criticise the slow pace associated with racial transformation in South African rugby. This approach contends that there is no reason why the national rugby side should not already comprise of a majority of black players considering the demographics of the country. Such sentiments are much maligned and often ridiculed and described using terms of condescension and dismay by the newspaper media. Greater black representation at a national level (and the marginalisation of black players and perspectives), is thus constructed as being unimportant, unnecessary, and an ultimately futile endeavour motivated by political aspirations not ‘rugby’ ones.

Last week, soon after the announcement of the Castle Lager sponsorship for a high performance squad aimed at fast-tracking black players for the 2007 World Cup, White and Rob Fleming, sponsorship manager of SAB, received hate mail for their role in the project [P3: Q11] (Granger, 2005b).

The most vitriolic was sent from a Jvrensburg with an AOL address and reads: "What the f*** is the matter with you? You want to put black players in the team because of their colour. How do you think that f***ing team will do if there are 10 black players and they play against Australia and New Zealand. It will be a f***ing scandal for SA rugby, we will lose by so much. How would you feel if they put someone in your place because of his skin colour but you knew you were better qualified. That's how those players feel when a quota player is selected over them, because his colour is right. F*** that, you're a c**t. You f***ing English c**t. You're just as much of a know-all (jy's net so deur die p***) as the bloody Pommies. F*** you!" [P3:Q12] (Granger, 2005b).

The next two quotations (P3:Q11 and P3:Q12) provide further examples of the negative stereotyping of black players as well as a construction of the 'rugby public' as being distinctly opposed to efforts designed to 'improve' black players.

It should be noted, that even though the high performance squad is likely to have been conceived as a positive development, the existence of this squad at all inherently indicates a negative construction of blackness. 'Separate development' was an integral part of the justification system associated with Apartheid sport and viewed in this light the high performance squad could be argued as functioning to separate black players from the white players. This is a dangerous trend to follow as it constructs black players as being both essentially different from players of other race groups and again portrays the group as being in need of further development if they are to achieve the same levels of success as white players. Also it constructs black players as necessarily having to rely on white expertise and maintains the assertion that 'fast-tracking' is the only way in which black players (who are naturally inferior) would be able to justify their selection in the World Cup 2007 squad.

It should be noted that P3:Q12 was initially considered inappropriate for inclusion in this discussion because essentially it is not a media (re)construction. This quotation (re)constructs the sentiments expressed by a specific member of the public. The inclusion of the person's name implies that he could be an Afrikaner, while the 'AOL' (America Online) email address may mean indicate that this person lives overseas probably in the United States.

However, upon further reflection, a number of considerations justified the quotation's inclusion. First, further consideration revealed that it is unclear that this statement warranted inclusion in the article itself by the author of this article. Why was this statement, as opposed to any other (for example positive responses to the high performance squad) specifically chosen to reconstruct the public's views? It is possible that the inclusion of this statement was not motivated by the need to present public perceptions, but rather because it is an opinion that echo the sentiments of the author himself but allows him to be semantically distanced from overtly articulating these statements? Therefore, the inclusion of this statement in the article, as well as the ways in which the quotation is introduced, discussed, and used by the author to introduce racist elements to this discussion but still distancing himself from them was considered as justification for its' inclusion here.

The particular statements made by this member of the public are also interesting in terms of the construction of blackness, as it directly introduces a number of elements that seem to be on some level a result of the perpetuation of the ideology of Afrikaner nationalism (indicating that these kinds of ideological construction are still present in society although it is impossible to estimate their pervasiveness).

This response is described as being sent to Jake White and Rob Fleming in the form of 'hate-mail' subsequent to the establishment of the High Performance Squad. Although in essence the statements contained in this quotation is thus directed at these two men specifically, it is clear that this is not the only area of South African rugby development which this member of the public is unhappy about.

Although it is not the mandate or stated purpose of the High Performance Squad to do so, the comment begins by claiming that black players are only in the national team because of their 'colour'. The notion that black players are selected for reasons other than 'rugby' reasons has already been discussed but is evident again here.

Black players are presented as being both distinctly outside of the rugby establishment and as homogenously lacking the potential to play rugby at a national level for South Africa. Further, it states that a side comprised of ten black players (which incidentally would still not be representative of the demographic of South Africa) would necessarily 'lose by so much[sic]' against the teams of Australia and New Zealand.

This references the established traditions between white settler-communities during colonialism (and Apartheid) and continue by asserting that a loss to either of these two nations by a team comprised of mostly black players would be a 'scandal' for South African rugby. Post-Apartheid teams have recorded record losses against both of these teams since readmission with majority white teams. Such instances are presumably written-off as a result of the quality of Australian and New Zealand teams rather than having any possible relation to the whiteness of the South African team. Yet if a team which was more representative of South African demographics, i.e. a team that comprised a black majority, achieved similar such results it would be a 'scandal'.

It also provides another assertion which is common in nations that have experienced prolonged forms of racial oppression, i.e. that black people are not 'qualified' to hold certain positions in society. This may be a consequence of the Apartheid's construction of blackness as uncivilised, uncultured, and 'stupid'. Black people were specifically and routinely excluded from South African civilisation and culture, by whites, but especially from the forms of education which whites received at the time. It seems logical therefore that this construction of blackness as being 'uneducated' still remains in South African society.

This quotation again references the quota system as if it is a central feature to the development of black rugby although it had already been replaced by the Transformation Charter. Importantly, neither the quota system (because it had already been abandoned) nor the High Performance Squad (although designed essentially to help black players) has any real consequences for the selection of the national team. The statement however implies that both the quota system and the High Performance Squad indicate a desire to elevate black players above 'their station' and is distinctly similar to ideological construction of blackness which accompanied Apartheid.

Finally, the statement introduces a number of forms of anti-British sentiment which were similar to and were at the core of Afrikaner nationalism, as a rejection of British culture, customs, and practice was an essential part of the National Party's strategy. It also indicates an existing resentment towards the British knowledge ('know-all') commonly associated with the rise of Afrikaner nationalism.

He may not be good enough for the Sharks but Solly Tyibilika will be asked to do Schalk Burger's job in the Tri-Nations [P30:Q1] (Nell, 2006).

The composition of White's squad means he will be able to select just seven black players in his 22-man squad to honour the transformation pledge he had originally made to a technical committee [P8:Q7] (Granger, 2005).

The next quotation (P30:Q1) includes another reference to black inferiority. Solly Tyibilika (a black player) is introduced as 'not good enough' for his Super 14 team but despite this 'fact' was included in the National squad. This introduction constructs the player as being wholly inappropriate for selection at a national level. The statement continues by proclaiming

that Tyibilika will be doing 'Schalk Burger's job' in the Tri-Nations. This 'job' is constructed as belonging to Burger, a white player whose father, Schalk Burger Senior, also played national rugby but did so during Apartheid (reference, ???). The domain of the national rugby side is thereby constructed as belonging to whites and constructs this form of privilege as a result of the superiority of white players.

Again this is strikingly similar to the construction of Apartheid, this time in relation to the constructions of societal privilege as a consequence of race during this time-period. Although no longer overtly linked to racist assumptions, the ideological elements of racial superiority and inferiority still seem to be active (pervasively so) within the South African newspaper media's constructions of race and may be the result of the internalisation of racist ideology by the media.

The final quotation listed above (P8:Q17) states the national coach will only be able to pick seven black players which ill 'honour' the 'transformation pledge' he made to the selection committee. This shows how black players are always constructed as being picked for reasons other than their ability to play rugby. It emphasises how few black players are available by stating that 'just seven black players' will be selected. Further it constructs the selection of these players as being the result of a commitment to select a particular number of black players in each squad rather than noting that some (if not all) of the black players who are chosen deserve selection because of their rugby ability not because of their race.

Essentially this quotation reveals that the black player group is portrayed as being particularly sparse and also that the selection of black players is done only to fulfil transformation requirements not because of their ability to play rugby.

I share the impatience with the slow progress of black sportspeople in our provincial and national teams. But if we follow the dogmatic route and crack the big State whip, we will kill the game itself. If we forced coach Jake White to pick eight black players for the upcoming Rugby World Cup, for instance, our team could end up among the minnows. Our promising young players will look at playing overseas and making big bucks, our rugby stadiums will be empty and rugby will decline to a high school sport [P43:Q6] ("Give us less debate, more pragmatism", 2007)

The next quotation (P43:Q6) illustrates an example of mitigation and the denial of racism. The author begins by stating that he shares the 'impatience' of 'black sportspeople'. This assertion seems designed to pre-emptively deny any racist connotations which result from the rest of the article and constructs the author as being 'on-their-side' (this still portrays black players as a groups which is outside of the rugby establishment).

The next few statements seem contrary to this assertion however as the 'State' is then portrayed as 'dogmatic' and likely to 'crack the big State whip'. This constructs the (black) government as having a dogmatic presence in South African rugby, although it is unclear why this should be so because other than releasing press statements about rugby the state is not directly involved in running South African rugby or selecting national players. Also, it portrays black people as being spiteful, vindictive, and reactionary and constructs government intervention in the sport as being equivalent to a slave-master cracking his whip. This is clearly untrue as any form of intervention in South African rugby would require various stages of negotiation and perhaps even require rewriting the constitution of South African Rugby Union.

The statement also claims that state intervention would 'kill the game' in South Africa and that if eight black players are chosen to represent South Africa it would end up amongst the 'minnows' in the 2007 World Cup. Black players are thereby constructed as inferior to white players while white players are constructed as essential for success at competitions such as the World Cup.

The quotation continues by introducing a construction of blackness in which eight black players being chosen to represent South Africa would result in promising (white) 'youngsters' emigrating to earn 'big bucks' and South African rugby stadiums without white players, as being unsupported and 'empty'. This implies that without white players (and white 'rugby public') South African rugby would literally cease to exist. The assertion that no one would be interested in predominantly black rugby is quite strange as the author seems to ignore black members of the South African rugby public who are unlikely to be offended by higher black representation. This seems to indicate that the author considers the predominantly white crowds that watch predominantly white teams as most important in terms of South African rugby.

Call it the Springbok blackline because when Jake White confirms his run-on XV to play Samoa, only two of the seven backline players will be white [P45:Q1] (Keohane, 2007^b).

White will make Springbok history in announcing a team in which numbers 9, 11, 12, 13 and 14 are not white [P45:Q2] (Keohane, 2007^b).

The Bok coach will rest the core of the starting team that hammered England in the two-Test series win, ensuring Waylon Murray and Luke Watson Test debuts in the process, Samoa, in the Boks World Cup pool, will not offer much resistance after being beaten by the Junior All Blacks and Australia 'A' in recent weeks [P45:Q3] (Keohane, 2007^b).

The final three quotations (P45:Q1, 2 and 3) relate to an article titled '*Jake goes for Bok blackline*'. The most glaringly obvious feature of this article is the use of the racialised term 'blackline'. At no other point in the data set is such a direct colloquial racial reference made and although this may be the result of the media's tendency to sensationalise issues related to race and the racial composition of the South African rugby side, it also exposes an inherent rejection of the issues which relate to black progression in South African rugby.

It is important to note, that only five of the seven backline players described in this article are black (this ratio is still not representative of South African demographics). This reliance on a racialised description of the backline colloquialises, satirises, and ultimately undermines what could be easily be seen as a significant 'triumph' for the post-Apartheid strategies to increase black representation at a national level.

The article continues by explaining that opposition team, Samoa, 'will not offer much resistance' thereby downplaying any possible achievement which could be associated with success in this match by the black players. In effect, this is saying that even if the black players are successful against Samoa they won't be considered better or even equal to the white players whom they have replaced.

These findings illustrate various forms of otherisation of black players and the mitigation of black pursuits in relation to South African rugby. This is combined with a significant

underrepresentation of the black perspective both in terms of the overall composition of the South African newspaper media who report on rugby, as well as a lack of the use black experts and expertise when reporting on rugby, and indicates that many fundamental components of the destructive and counter-productive constructions of blackness similar to Apartheid and colonial constructions of race, are still present and actively contribute to the media's (re)production of racialised topics, events, and subjects in contemporary South Africa.

It is likely therefore that the media are still whether intentionally or unintentionally (re)producing racism, the perpetuation of racist social structures, and most importantly the marginalisation and otherisation of black rugby players in South African rugby.

4.4 CONSTRUCTIONS OF WHITENESS

4.4.1 DEFINING WHITENESS

The term 'white' refers to the social group formerly defined as white by the Apartheid government. It is interesting to note that unlike blackness, the constructions of whiteness contained in the data set exhibits little inconsistency either in terms of its application of the term or seemingly in the associated understandings of whiteness exhibited by the South African newspaper media.

While the initial stages of this research project seemed to indicate that whiteness would not be able to be discussed by this project, as there are very few references which refer overtly to whiteness and white players, silence on the issue of whiteness often proves as revealing as the overt racial constructions of blackness (perhaps even more so).

Considering that articles which explore whiteness were not specifically excluded from the data set (indeed any exploration of whiteness would definitely have been included based on the rules of inclusion for blackness and whiteness as explicit, implicit or implied racialised discourse), this 'lack' of evidence was surprising especially considering that readings of the text showed clear implications for the construction of whiteness. It was however noted that because constructions of blackness revealed so much, in terms of the associated constructions of whiteness, this discussion of whiteness could be derived from both silences on the issue of

whiteness as well as logical deduction based on the construction of blackness presented thus far.

It is worth noting that silence on the issue of whiteness is not unique to this project. As noted by Jaynes (2008, p. 104), although “‘silences’ cannot be corroborated by textual evidence in the form of extracts” and examining silence is “an eminently subjective undertaking”, it is still exceedingly important. Crenshaw (1997, p. 260) posits that “[s]ilence is active, not passive; it may be interpreted” and in relation to the data set presented, silence on the topic of whiteness has symbolic impact and is not just the absence of text relating to whiteness. Thus silences, because they can be ideological, can be considered to be communicating whiteness, especially in contexts which place whiteness as the accepted norm (such as South African rugby) (Crenshaw, 1997).

As noted by Jaynes (2008, p. 106), the discourse of whiteness is seldom utilised by white people and is used more often by “people of colour”. She posits that this is a result of white people’s reluctance to engage in processes which result in their own racialisation. This assertion has important implications for this discussion, because the ideological construction of whiteness as “the absence of race” (Jaynes, 2008, p. 106) could explain why the topic is seldom explored overtly by the media (and society in general)?

As noted by Williams (1999), “in a world of normative whiteness” whiteness is defined as the “absence of colour” (p. 392) and the construction of whiteness contained within the data set presented, seems to clearly place whiteness as the assumed norm.

The positivity associated with whiteness is often overwhelming, as are the associated overwhelmingly negative constructions of blackness. These constructions are inherently tied together, as the construction of one racialised group often provides the platform for the construction of the ‘other’. It should be noted, that as stated earlier in the literature review section of this report, otherisation through the positive construction of one or more racialised groups and the concurrent negative construction of another racial group or groups is one of the primary forms of media racism.

4.4.2 FINDINGS IN RELATION TO WHITENESS

As discussed earlier, white players vastly outnumber black players in South African rugby, especially at national level where white players outnumber black players 3 to 1, despite comprising less than 10% of the overall population.

The data set reveals that the selection of white players is constructed as entirely uncontroversial and whenever black players are discussed negatively the subtext is always the positive presentation of whiteness (and white players). This construction of whiteness seems to emphasise the positive presentation of white players and may be masking a deeper ideological construction of perceived white superiority.

Analysing the data revealed that white players are often constructed as a humble, powerless, minority whose innate rugby ability secures their contemporary dominance of the game despite the efforts of certain groups' (particularly 'government's') plans to undermine white players by seeking to promote black players who are not of the same quality or calibre.

Transformation and development are two examples of frequently mentioned arguments that invariably seem to construct black players as inferior and white players as superior. Merit is constructed as a characteristic diametrically opposed to transformation and development. These categories seem to be semantic placeholders for the discussion of race as merit is often portrayed as an inevitable consequence of whiteness while transformation and development are constructed as the only characteristics associated with blackness. In other words, the data constructs a situation in which white players are selected 'on merit' while black players are only selected because of their association with transformation and development, not their skills as a rugby player.

Black players are also constructed using terms such as political pressure while white players, with the exception of Luke Watson, are never constructed this way. Media (re)constructions also refer to the need to select black players on merit. This introduces the construction of black players as never having deserved selection up until this point.

The many arguments which seem to provide a justification of the current exclusion of black players from the national rugby side, include a lack of facilities, the need for development in

black areas and the 'long-term' goals of transformation. These are reflections of society and may be central to the constructions of racial difference in contemporary South Africa. They also present an argument which deflects attention away from the current situations in South African rugby by referring to social inequalities which will take many years to address.

The construction of whiteness assumes that white players innately contain the abilities, skill, and physical attributes which are tied to the ideal construction of a rugby player. This is similar to the constructions of whiteness associated with the National Party's construction of the ideal rugby player and indeed the construction of the ideal Afrikaner nationalist.

In my opinion, the best 22 should always be selected, even if they are all white. And Jake should have the final say on his match 22 as it's his neck on the chopping block [P7:Q7] (Parker-Fairways, 2005).

Sharks coach Dick Muir picked what he believed was the best match 22 and the only consistent black African representation was in the form of a Zimbabwean prop ineligible to play for South Africa. Black African winger Odwa Ndungane was dropped for the last six matches. Again there was not a noise from the black, coloured or white leadership of Saru or those politicians who delight in knocking the national coach every June [P52:Q15] (Keohane, 2007^a).

Now tell me where Bok coach Jake White is supposed to find black African players to take to the World Cup? Tell me how White can justify selections of black African players in his World Cup 30 when not one of the country's premier regional coaches could pick more than one black African player on average this season? [P52:Q18] (Keohane, 2007^a)

The first quotation (P7:Q7) constructs the national rugby team as not being chosen fairly and uses the phrase 'even if they are white' to illustrate the notion that the best 22 rugby players will always contain white players, perhaps even 22 white players.

The second quotation (P52:Q15) constructs a similar situation in which the 'best' team is always consistently white. Although essentially maintaining that black players are inferior the implication for whiteness is that white players are always available and better than black

players. It also introduces the notion that the ‘leadership’ ‘delight’ in criticising the national coach for a lack of transformation but does not punish other South African coaches in the same way. The ‘only black African’ is quickly described as being ‘Zimbabwean’ which shows that black South Africans are actually unrepresented in this team.

The final quotation above (P52:Q18) introduces a number of questions which provide a good illustration of the construction of white players in the data set. It asks where the national coach is supposed to find black African players to ‘take to the World Cup’ and constructs the coach as being in a difficult position if he is to try and ‘justify’ the selection of black players.

Running silently in this discourse is the assumption of whiteness as the norm. Presumably the coach would have little trouble picking white players or attempting to justify their selection. The assertion that regional team could not ‘pick more than one’ black player consistently in their squad implies that every other player chosen was white. Given the assumption that coaches are attempting to select the best possible side in every fixture, this portrays white players as the ‘best’ available.

The above quotation illustrates the assertion that wherever construction of blackness are being explored by the South African media there is always a silent but powerful discourse of whiteness.

Rugby, particularly, has been perceived as a sport that has been slow to take up the challenge of taking the sport to grassroots levels, finding raw talent and nurturing it to its fullest extent. It is seen as falling back on the products of the old white schools who have been drilled by expert coaches and then passed on to largely white sporting clubs for further development [P69:Q6] (“Let Jake get on with it”, 2007).

The implications of this, for the overall construction of whiteness are exceedingly important as there are few other direct references to whiteness in the data set. Firstly, whiteness is considered in relation to ‘old white schools’ and it is clear that white schools are considered the epitome of education institutions in South Africa. Secondly, the quotations states that white schools receive ‘expert coaching’ which implies that white children receive better coaching than black children and that this is one of the reasons that black players do not

progress to national level. The final direct reference to whiteness refers ‘largely white sporting clubs’.

These three elements of the construction of whiteness are a distinct reflection on the effects which Apartheid had on South African society. This is a stereotypical presentation of the South African context that emphasises the superiority of white sporting clubs, schools, and institutions.

Although stereotypical this construction of whiteness is inherently positive and the statements which are introduced are not seen as controversial or undesirable but rather as the norm within South African rugby.

Leading coaches Eugene Eloff and Peter de Villiers say provincial coaches have to start trusting black players to ensure players of colour make it to the top of South African rugby [P64:Q1] (Mohammed, 2007).

Eloff and De Villiers believe the problem lies with provincial coaches who don't give black players enough game time [P64:Q6] (Mohammed, 2007).

Eloff says white coaches tend to play it safe when it comes to bleeding black players [P64:Q8] (Mohammed, 2007).

It is unfortunate that the topic of trust in relation to black players is only discussed overly by one article in the data set. However, this article and the three quotations listed above still exhibit certain components of racialised reasoning which deserve attention. The article relies on an interview with two black coaches, Eugene Eloff and Peter de Villiers, which although it adds to the uniqueness of the article (because black sources are seldom consulted) also adds a level of abstraction in terms of the media professional's (re)construction of racialised topics which dilutes the expressed purpose of considering the South African newspaper media's construction of race (i.e. the purpose of this research). However, when the observations about trust are considered in relation to other aspects of this research such as the tendency to equate merit with whiteness and blackness with transformation and development they become even more powerful.

As discussed earlier, throughout history, blackness has been specifically linked to characteristics which defined blacks as untrustworthy, foreign, and fundamentally different to whites. The associated ideological constructions of whiteness, presents whites as the epitome of culture, morality, and intelligence.

Although the article express the view that white coaches need to trust black players this implies that the accepted view amongst white coaches is that they do not trust black players. Note the ease with which whiteness and blackness are almost haphazardly assigned as social signifiers which construct white coaches as being essentially homogenous and of the same viewpoint (i.e. as having a 'justified' mistrust of black players) and likewise constructs all black players – even those which white coaches are already selecting – as a homogenous group who lack the trust of white coaches.

Trust, like merit, is a concept which is crucially linked to players' worthiness as human beings and a lack of trust implies that black players lack fundamental components of the constructed 'ideal' human being. The implication for the construction of white players is that they do not lack the fundamental characteristics necessary to engender trust in white coaches. Thus in the above quotation, blackness and whiteness are constructed as characteristics which can and are being used to gauge players' suitability for selection.

The quote goes further than constructing black players as essentially lacking the necessary characteristics required in order inspire trust from white coaches because this construction is then provided as a possible explanation for black player's inability to 'make it to the top'. Blackness is thus paired both with a lack of trust and failure on the part of black players to progress through the system. The lack of trust in relation to white coaches is constructed as a 'logical' reason for the lack of black representation at national level.

In the above quotation (P64:Q1), note the inconsistent use of the terms associated with race namely 'black players' and 'players of colour'. The double reference to race seems designed to further emphasise race as the central concept to be discussed but also may indicate that the newspaper journalist is attempting to present politically correct (re)constructions of racialised themes and contexts.

While the intention of the article may be to encourage white coaches to choose black players this terminology reveals yet another example of the negative, stereotypical and contrived construction of blackness which predominates this data set.

An important implication for the construction of whiteness is that white players are constructed as inherently trustworthy. This relies heavily on the notion that both groups of players are essentially homogenous and that differences between the groups can be explained using racial reasoning. The quotations presented above could easily have focussed on height, weight, build, or rugby ability, as possible justifications for the inclusion of black players, but instead choose to focus on the relationship between race and trust.

The next quotation (P64:Q8), constructs the selection of white players as a 'safe' option and therefore that picking black players is a risk. Although the comments are again most likely designed to encourage white coaches to pick black players, inherent in this discourse of blackness is the construction of black players as being associated with a set of unknowable and inherent characteristics that result in them being portrayed as untrustworthy, justifiably causing suspicion, and inherently unacceptable for selection.

This is very similar to justifications associated with scientific racism (explored in the literature review) which construct blackness (and whiteness) as a consequence of biological predetermination and then use this to justify forms of social predetermination.

The 'risk' associated with selecting black players is that they will weaken the rugby side because they are different to white players and specifically are not considered as reliable and trustworthy as white players.

The conservative and sensible option for coaches is thus to select white players. There seems to be such widespread acceptance of this notion that it is not portrayed as overly problematic, even by black coaches who are actively opposing these practices.

White players are constructed as being associated with feelings of comfort and reliability while selecting black players is constructed as a risk that most (white, sensible, and knowledgeable) coaches are not willing to take. This rationalisation for not picking black

players thus relies on the portrayal of black players not only as untrustworthy and unreliable, but as inherently so.

White coaches are portrayed as inherently capable of team selection and as always striving to pick players on 'merit' because they want their team to win. The consequence of this positive portrayal of white expertise is that it adds to the justifications related to not selecting black players.

4.5 BLACK EXCEPTIONALISM: BRYAN HABANA

On a surface level the examples of exceptionalism to be explored were intriguing and seemed to dilute the earlier findings of this research. However, at a more conceptual level, exceptions-that-prove-the-rule can provide important findings in relation to the typical construction of race. Their rarity and uniqueness allow them to be viewed in isolation and thus atypical constructions of race add weight to typical racial constructions. Also, if these constructions of race were more prevalent and could justifiably be argued as being the normative form of racial construction, they would most likely, considering the approach of this research have been the focus of this research project rather than being rare and unique.

This discussion will utilize the following quotations:

Yet, while it is a melodious fact that Derrick Hougaard is the darling of Loftus, its real blue-eyed boy is Bryan Habana. Why, is simple; he is a fabulous world-class rugby player with a fine winning attitude. The people just adore him. When he returned to the field last week after being yellow-carded in the Test, they cheered him as if he had scored a try [P93:Q5] ("You'll know it when it comes", 2007).

"(Bryan) Habana is the best play-maker and is good at stealing, but he is injured and we are not going to get another like him in the world so we have to look for a more classical wing," he [Stofile] said [P34:Q14] (Webb, 2006).

In terms of black players available, White will be quick to point out that Bryan ... [is] injured [P58:Q6]

These quotations raise a number of assertions which will be contextualized through the discussion of Habana's background and argued as contributing to the construction of the player by the newspaper media in a distinct and unique way which more closely approximates the general construction of whiteness exhibited earlier in this research and is uniquely atypical within the general construction of blackness.

The next quotation (P34:Q14) introduces another highly positive description of Bryan Habana and is drawn from an unusual source. Although direct quotations were avoided in this research, as they run the risk of presenting the perspective of the particular speaker rather than that of the media, the following direct quotation was still considered relevant for the following reasons. Firstly, the 'black perspective' is often ignored by the newspaper media and black sources are seldom cited. This quotation however directly quotes Sports Minister, Rev. Makhenkesi Stofile. This quotation is thus both rare and unique. Also although it is difficult to argue intention it is unlikely that this statement would have been included in the article had it not served to bolster or reinforce the author's discourse regarding Habana.

In order to contextualize the construction of Bryan Habana, a black player who has represented South Africa at national level many times and with great distinction it is important to consider the following four aspects of Habana's background: Firstly, Bryan Habana is particularly light-skinned and would be considered to be from the coloured population group. Second, he attended an exclusive and predominantly white private school in Johannesburg before attending a similar tertiary institution. Thirdly, Habana is particularly religious. Fourth, Habana is married to a white Afrikaans woman.

It is important to understand that these characteristics would be unremarkable were Habana a white player and that few black players attended an exclusive and predominantly white private school and university, before marrying a white Afrikaans Christian woman. Nor would it be unusual to find a white player who received widespread acceptance within the South African rugby establishment because of his ability to play rugby.

Afrikaner nationalism specifically linked elemental components of its racial ideology to rugby, religion, educational institutions, and language. These areas were an important part of the overall strategy by the National Party to segregate all forms of social interaction during Apartheid. Crucially, and importantly for this discussion these are areas in which Habana

seems to possess the necessary ‘credentials’ and thus is a possible location for his acquired ‘whiteness’ especially when contrasting his background with the that of other black players.

Perhaps the acceptance which Habana has received from the rugby establishment is due to his enculturation in that community. His exposure to and acceptance of, the institutions, characteristics, and attributes generally associated with the ideal construction of whiteness may have facilitated this acceptance within the community.

With that in mind, the first quotation (P93:Q5) will now be explored more closely. Although it satirises the notion, the reference to biological characteristics associated with the construction of the ‘blue-eyed boy’ smacks of the most dangerous forms of racialisation in society and even at its most conservative reading is still clearly indicative of the overall construction of whiteness as dominant within the context of South African rugby.

The characteristics associated with Habana in this quotation are not in the typical mould for other black players in this research. The characteristics associated with Habana in this quotation are particularly psychological, intellectual, and social. Habana is constructed as having a winning ‘attitude’, as a ‘world-class player’, and importantly that people ‘adore’ him. He notes that even transgressions such as receiving a yellow card are easily forgiven in relation to Habana. These are not characteristics which can be learnt and appeal to Habana’s construction as a person, not only as a rugby player.

While Habana is constructed as easily ‘fitting’ in with the rugby establishment black players are generally criticised, especially for their ‘attitude’ and their inability to integrate into the South African rugby establishment (for example the construction of Solly Tyibilika mentioned earlier in this discussion).

The over-emphasis on the positive construction of Habana may be a reflection of and indeed the result of the inherent discourse of perceived black inferiority. Positive constructions of Habana may thus be necessary in order to constantly justify his social positioning *despite* the typical construction of blackness.

The author’s comparison between Habana and Derrick Hougaard is of particular interest because Hougaard is in many ways the epitome of a white, male, Afrikaans rugby player

typically associated with the traditionally conservative part of the white South African community of Pretoria. The former Northern Transvaal was the only province to vote against racial integration in the 1992 referendum and is the region in which both players play provincially. Rugby is specifically important to the culture of the Afrikaner community in this region and it is in essence this fact which the author is highlighting. Habana is popular in this conservative region of South Africa which remains dominated by whites.

However this comparison remains questionable. First, although seemingly meant as a compliment to Habana, it is unclear why such a comparison would in fact be a compliment at all (to Habana)? Hougaard has limited international experience while Habana has won the world player of the year award and is considered to be a player of exceptional quality and experience that has proven himself many times at international level. Secondly, on a purely practical level, Habana is taller, weighs more, and is faster than Hougaard, and even though the players play different positions, Habana's career is still vastly superior in terms of games played, tries scored and virtually any measure of international rugby success.

It seems therefore that this comparison means that despite his achievements Habana is still climbing the ladder of acceptance within the community.

Importantly, while Habana plays on the wing he is seen as transcending the typical construction of a black wing as indicated by this quotation where he is compared with a white fly-half.

The wing is a position stereotypically associated with black players, a point which is much maligned within South African rugby as white coaches have in the past been accused of perpetuating the 'two-black wings' phenomenon which resulted in black players only being chosen to play on the wing. Jake White was also criticized for stacking his squad with a surplus of wings in order to meet certain racial 'requirements'. The associated contention is that wings only need to be able to run fast and are not typically required to think as much as other positions. The wings are usually the players furthest from the middle of the field and are only seldom involved in the game. Playing black players on the wing could be argued as a way of minimising their involvement in the game.

It is worth noting that Habana is considered to be an exception to this rule as well and is credited as having made the wing into a 'specialist' position with much greater importance. Habana specifically fulfils a unique roving role with a higher level of responsibility within the national rugby team as opposed to the role of a 'traditional' wing.

The fly-half position, unlike the traditional wing position, carries much responsibility and usually this player is central both to the strategy and game plan of the team as a whole. The fly-half is typically positioned in the centre of the field and is constantly involved in play. This position is also stereotypically associated with white players (such as Hougaard). At the time of writing this report, no black player has ever played fly-half for South Africa at international level, and with the exception of Earl Rose, few have represented provincial teams in this position.

As explored in the literature review section of this report, parallels can be found between constructions of race in South African rugby and sports in other countries, such as American football and basketball (Spreitzer & Snyder, 1983), and British soccer (Hargreaves, 1986). Racial stereotyping resulted in a number of anomalies within these sports. Especially during the early integration of these sports black players were seldom chosen for particular positions such as Quarter-back (a position similar to fly-half in rugby) but were also seldom chosen for extra responsibilities such as team captain. Positions such as running back (a similar position to wing requiring primarily pace) are typically fulfilled by black players. Stacking, which results in an excess of players of colour in certain positions but a lack in others, has also been observed in this context (Spreitzer & Snyder, 1983). Similarly in the the United Kingdom soccer goal-keepers (and captains) generally being white while strikers are generally black (Hargreaves, 1986).

Finally in relation to this quotation (P93:Q5), the specific reference to Loftus Versveld indicates the author's reliance on the construction of rugby as highly entrenched in the white predominantly Afrikaans rugby community of Pretoria. The author is alluding to the 'fact' that Habana due to his ability as well as the combination of his physical, social and psychological characteristics has effectively been assimilated into the white rugby establishment to the point where his acquired 'whiteness' outweighs his 'blackness' and thus justifies his presence within the group and is not seen as threatening to the status quo.

In the next quotation (P34:Q14), again the emphasis is on Habana's positive characteristics, specifically, his personality and uniqueness. Play-making ability is another example of a characteristic typically associated with white players now associated with Habana. Applied to Habana even the term 'stealing' refers to a positive and admirable characteristic of being able to acquire the ball from the opposition in unusual and creative ways rather than the typical negative construction of stealing that would generally be associated with blackness.

The claim that there is no other wing like Habana 'in the world' is further evidence of the use of superlative descriptions and the uniqueness of the constructions of race associated with the player. Habana (like white players) is always considered as deserving selection on merit and is seldom considered as a 'transformation' or 'development' player.

Emphasising that the players who may replace Habana are all clearly inferior to him, considering that most wings are black again distinguishes Habana's construction as distinct from the general construction of blackness. The construction presented here thus inherently contains a negative construction of black players (other than Habana) as being inadequate and inferior as found elsewhere in this research.

Finally, the reference to a 'classical wing' seems to function as a euphemism which obfuscates the admission that other South African wings (most of whom are black) are inferior to Habana and any possible replacements are pre-emptively constructed as being less capable than him. Habana is thus placed in a separate (elevated) category in relation to all other black players. Again the construction of Habana approximates the typical construction of whiteness because as has been seen in other parts of this discussion, like Habana, white players are often automatically considered 'better' than any possible set of black players which may exist.

The final quotation listed above (P58:Q6) illustrates that even when Habana is injured he is constantly portrayed as a player who would be in the side, were he able to play. Again this is a highly unique construction as other black players who have been picked to play are not constructed as deserving of their position, let alone deserving their continued selection as soon as they are able to take advantage of it.

4.6 WHITE EXCEPTIONALISM: LUKE WATSON

Luke Watson is selected for the Boks because, as the son of a white "struggle hero", the ANC considers him an honorary black. Meanwhile Kevin Petersen, destined to be one of the great cricketers, emigrates to England because he lacks the political credentials to be chosen here ... This is no different from the National Party's racists. They thwarted Tommy Bedford's Springbok captaincy because he was English-speaking and opposed to apartheid; they forced cricketer Basil d'Oliveira to emigrate to England by making race a selection criterion [P46:Q4] ("Olympic race quotas may prove the last straw for fans," 2007).

The plan to thrust Watson into a pioneering role as captain of a new-look Bok team has been plotted for six months. The black leadership believes Watson represents the new South Africa because of his family's apartheid struggle credentials. His father, Cheeky Watson, refused a Springbok cap in the 1970s because he refused to play in whites-only rugby. It is also felt that Watson is acceptable to white and black supporters in South Africa [P51:Q19] (Keohane & Granger, 2007).

Watson is not a black player. If he was a black player, then the need for black representation in the Bok team, which I do believe in, would make him a must for selection. White would not have a leg to stand on [P57:Q12] (Rich, 2007).

The theme of white exceptionalism will now be explored in relation to the construction of Luke Watson. The construction of this player is highly unique and it is the contention of this research project that his construction more closely approximates the construction of blackness than that of whiteness.

Watson is criticised for a lack of physicality, a characteristic which is often associated with black players and seldom, except for Watson, in relation to white players. Also he is constructed as benefitting from the forms of post-Apartheid 'privilege' based on his father's actions during Apartheid. Again this is a common construction in relation to black players who are almost always (except for Habana) constructed as being chosen not because of their rugby ability but rather because of 'transformation' and 'development'. The construction of Watson quite remarkably contains references to the player being considered 'black' and 'previously disadvantaged' although it is clear that the media do not believe that he is. Still,

no other player in the data set is described in this way and even Bryan Habana who functions as an example of black exceptionalism is never overtly or directly referenced as being white.

It should be noted that it was Ebrahim Rasool, former Premier of the Western Cape, who first stated that Watson should be considered black (Williams & Granger, 2007). Watson's father, Cheeky Watson and two other brothers refused to play rugby for the racially segregated white league preferring instead to play for the racially segregated black league (Keech, 2002). Despite strong objection (especially amongst the white community) this decision led to various outcomes which were distinctly negative for the Watson family which although interesting are beyond the scope of this project.

The specific implications for the construction of Luke Watson are however important to this discussion, as the player is constructed as a beneficiary of transformation in South African rugby and his selection for the national team as being 'politically motivated' rather than stemming from inherent rugby ability. This is distinctly similar to the construction of black players already exhibited by this research as often the justification for not picking black players is that they lack certain physical attributes. Watson is constructed as lacking the innate characteristics (usually associated with whiteness) such as physicality and as benefitting from forms of favouritism, political pressure, and unmeritorious selection policies.

The construction of Watson throughout the data set is distinctly and pervasively negative and the particular negative characteristics associated with the player are similar to the stereotypical constructions of black players in this project. This reveals the media's obvious distaste for attempts which seek to change the racial composition of the national rugby side. As shall be seen however, because Watson is white, the media feel more comfortable criticising the 'advantages' which he receives, as unfair, prejudicial and ultimately detrimental for other white players who 'deserve' selection, than they would were they describing a black player or players. This theme thus provided much insight to the overall constructions of blackness because media journalists were able to explore themes and views in relation to race, through Watson, that they would normally not discuss or perhaps may even specifically avoid because of their obvious lack of political correctness.

While the construction of Watson as black was not introduced by the media specifically – the assertion was first made by Premier of the Western Cape, Ebrahim Rasool (“Luke Watson is black”, 2007), the reaction on the part of the newspaper media seems to indicate distaste, distain and possibly even resentment, towards transformation in general. The assertion that a white player should be treated as black is portrayed as unfair and based on politics and patronage rather than ‘rugby’ criteria. These factors although they are mentioned in relation to the argument that Watson should not be considered black, indicate that at a certain level the media professionals reject these processes in general, not just this instance in which one white player is seen as benefitting from them. Watson thus functions as a placeholder for blackness which enables the criticism of racialised topics to be explored without directly accessing the racialised terms associated with the discourse of blackness.

Interestingly, the many players who have strong links to the Afrikaans rugby community and seem to experience accelerated success based on their association to the forms of patronage and privilege which effectively resulted from the privileged position of whites during Apartheid. When selected, such players are never considered as having benefitted from Apartheid. Players such as Schalk Burger, Ruan Pienaar, Johan Muller, and so on, whose fathers played rugby at a national level for South Africa during Apartheid are even celebrated in relation to following in their father’s footsteps (Keech, 2002). This is quite different to the construction of Luke Watson as effectively unfairly benefitting from his father’s actions during Apartheid and adds to the contention that his construction more closely approximates blackness than whiteness.

Examining the next quotation (P46:Q4) specifically, Watson is constructed as the son of a “‘struggle-hero’” and as being perceived by the ANC to be ‘an honorary black’. This introduces a number of important revelations. Firstly, it is clear that the author does not believe, for whatever reason, that Cheeky Watson was a ‘struggle hero’. Whether it is because Cheeky Watson is white or perhaps because he was not as directly involved in the liberation of South Africa, as say, Nelson Mandela or Oliver Tambo were, this quotation specifically downplays the contribution of Watson’s father during Apartheid. Secondly, the direct reference to the African National Congress seems to be a veiled reference to race (specifically blackness) as the political party is consistently constructed throughout the data set as being associated with the interests and goals of black South Africans specifically. It also takes further the constructions mentioned earlier which places ‘government’(i.e. the

African National Congress) as an unknowable (black) force which seeks to undermine the South African rugby establishment for political gains.

The use of the term ‘honorary black’ may be a reference to post-Apartheid attempts to integrate formerly segregated sport as being designed to marginalise white players as it is constructed as being equivalent to the National Party’s goal of segregate all forms of racial interaction in South Africa during Apartheid. This reference may also be accessing a famous example in which Maoris players from New Zealand were granted temporary ‘honorary white’ status which allowed a circumvention of Apartheid’s strictly enforced racial segregation laws and the New Zealand team to tour South Africa. Previous to this concession Maoris had been excluded from tours of South Africa out of ‘respect’ for the countries strictly controlled laws regarding interracial interaction (Nauright, 1997).

The quotation (P46:Q4) also links these statements to the United Kingdom and compares Watson to Kevin Pietersen (a white South African born cricketer who now plays for the British national cricket team). This is meant as an example of the perceived ‘double-standard’ with regard to the treatment of two white sportsmen. This statement is highly problematic as it is unclear that Kevin Pietersen (more than any other white person), experienced any fundamental disadvantage because of his race in post-Apartheid South Africa. Furthermore, considering his age it is likely that this player benefitted either directly or indirectly from racial policies associated with whiteness. Considering further both the composition of the national cricket side (still predominantly white) and the reality that Kevin Pietersen left South African cricket before he developed into the player he is today, it is just not true that the player left the country because of his race. The quotation also makes assumptions about Pietersen’s ability constructing the player as destined to be ‘one of the great cricketers’ which is a matter of opinion. Also, Pietersen’s record while playing in South Africa did not justify selection at national level, he was never considered for the national side and emigrated to the United Kingdom before his performances could be considered as justifying selection.

This quotation (P46:Q4) is based on the argument that promoting a particular white player whose father rejected the Apartheid’s system of racial segregation will result in other white sportsmen to emigrate, specifically, to England. The implication, as has been displayed elsewhere in this discussion, is that without white players South African sport (and rugby specifically) will deteriorate as it becomes dominated by black (and ‘honorary black’)

players. Curiously this argument maintains that promoting a particular white player will lead to a form of 'white-flight' in all other sporting codes, and areas of South African life, even those that are essentially disconnected from South African rugby.

This consequence of this type of construction of Luke Watson is that his legitimacy, status, and construction as a white person, is brought into question. His ability as a rugby player is also questioned, as are his father's actions during Apartheid. The player is pervasively constructed as being outside of the South African rugby establishment.

The quotation goes even further to compare the practice of choosing Luke Watson to that of 'National Party racists' when they opposed the captaincy of Tommy Bedford 'because he was English-speaking' and 'forced' Basil d'Oliveira to emigrate to the United Kingdom. D'Oliveira, designated coloured by the Apartheid government, was considered ineligible to play for the South African national cricket team because of his race but after emigrating and becoming naturalised in Britain, was selected to play for the British national cricket team against the South Africans. This produced a famous example of the way that the National Party was less willing to make concessions for cricket than for rugby. As in the case mentioned above while Maoris were granted 'honorary white' status in an attempt to subvert and avoid sporting sanctions applied to South Africa because of its racist policies, the National Party was not willing to make similar concessions for the British cricket team which included d'Oliveira in their squad.

It is certainly a wide leap to compare the racial policies and practices of Apartheid to those of the post-Apartheid government. The former considered full hegemonic control of all areas of South African sport, as an essential part of other strategies designed to segregated all aspects of South African life, while the latter, even if the accusation is true, involves inserting one white player into an already white majority team. The d'Oliveira example is equally contentious as it is unclear that Pietersen (or any white player) could possibly contend that their alleged 'persecution' in post-Apartheid South African was anywhere near the levels experienced by d'Oliveira and indeed all black people in South African during Apartheid.

The association of Watson with the racist practices of Apartheid is not justified but it does add further evidence of the construction of Watson as being closer to the construction of blackness than the construction of whiteness.

The next quotation (P51:Q4) expresses similar sentiments but takes these much further and explicitly states some of the implication detected above. Note first the tone and language used by this quotation (P51:Q19) which states that Watson will be ‘thrust into a pioneering role as captain of a new-look Bok team’. Firstly, this indicates that plans to introduce Watson to the team are ‘forced’ upon the South African rugby establishment. The quotation goes on to reference that the ‘black leadership’ (as opposed to the white establishment?) believe that Watson should be in the side because of his family’s ‘struggle credentials’. This introduces the leadership of South African rugby as being ‘black’ but importantly implies that such leadership seeks to promote their agenda in favour of that which would benefit (white) South African rugby. Once again Watson is constructed as lacking the ‘rugby’ credentials to make the side on merit (an assertion often linked to blackness elsewhere in this research).

The author overtly references Watson’s father as ‘refusing to play whites-only rugby’ which has already been explored but should be noted again as here it is presented as unremarkable other than in relation to the lack of fairness associated with Luke Watson supposedly benefitting from post-Apartheid systems of racial integration. Interestingly, Luke Watson is also constructed as being ‘acceptable to white and black supporters in South Africa’. The media professional is thus (re)constructing ‘black leadership’ as attempting to please black and white supporters although it is clear that he does not believe this to be the case. This also assumes much both about the intentions of the South African rugby leadership and the opinions of the ‘rugby public’

The next quotation (P50:Q7) describes Watson as ‘too small’ for test rugby. Physicality has often been linked to constructions of race in South Africa and specifically the negative construction of blackness in relation to the perceived forms of physically, morally, and intellectual superiority and inferiority of racialised groups during colonialism and Apartheid. Also, a lack of physicality is often cited especially in relation to other the non-selection of black players in general, such as Earl Rose.

It should be noted however that physicality is an integral part of rugby and often justifies the selection of rugby teams throughout the world and in South Africa specifically. However, there have been many examples of players who although seemingly lacking the necessary physical characteristics have been highly effective, especially in the position in which Luke

Watson plays (flank or eighth-man). Furthermore, this quotation specifically compares Watson to Solly Tyibilika, a player who could be argued to be less physical. The quotation then states that Tyibilika was a better choice because of the need to 'show' that transformation is happening in the country. Thus on one level the quotation maintains that while it is unfair to select Watson because of political reasons it is fine to select Tyibilika for political reasons.

In this way the quotation uses Watson's whiteness, which although it lacks essential characteristics of the typical construction of whiteness, such as physicality, is still used to justify his exclusion. Thus Watson is presented as being ineligible both because of his 'acquired blackness' such as that which resulted from his father's actions during Apartheid but importantly also because of his inherent whiteness. The author is unlikely to be promoting the exclusion of white players as justifiable except in relation to Watson.

As stated elsewhere in this discussion, the media have already constructed Tyibilika as doing 'Schalk Burger's job' and although Burger was injured at the time it was in fact his selection which was the ultimate motivation for Watson's exclusion. Watson's race, political connections, and father's role during Apartheid, were inconsequential to the selection of Burger although his perceived lack of physicality was considered influential.

Interestingly, Schalk Burger Senior, represented South Africa during Apartheid and unlike Cheeky Watson raised no objection to racially segregated leagues. Yet Burger is constructed as being a natural choice due to his physicality, ability, and indeed his whiteness (perhaps because he closely approximates the 'ideal' construction of whiteness associated with Apartheid?).

Also importantly the quote references 'Parliament' which is another veiled reference to race and clearly aimed at Sports Minister, Rev. Makhenkesi Stofile. This again introduces the notion that the 'black government' specifically seeks the exclusion of white players and wishes to drive them from the sport. Whether as a result of spitefulness or economic, financial, and political gains, this negative construction of blackness occurs often and seems to imply that it is a widely held belief in relation to South African rugby.

Watson being labelled as a 'divisive influence' (P50:Q7) seems to be part of the overall strategy to discredit the construction of Watson. This is a particularly biased and one-sided presentation of Watson's character because as stated elsewhere Watson may have the potential to unite black and white rugby supporters in South Africa. Essentially Watson is being constructed as a threat to the status quo, especially among the players in the current squad, many of whom directly and indirectly benefitted from Apartheid.

Finally, the quotation ends with a direct quote from Jake White, which seems intended to be the final justification for the exclusion of Watson as presented by this article. The direct quotation implies that there is a widespread misunderstanding of the purposes of transformation as it essentially maintains that Tyibilika should be chosen ahead of Watson to 'show transformation is happening'.

Firstly, if transformation were happening in South Africa then there would be no need to 'show' that it was happening. Secondly, it constructs Watson as not being a suitable signifier for transformation because he is white while the selection of a black player, Tyibilika, is conceived as fulfilling this goal. It is strange that Jake White is so vehemently opposed to choosing Watson because he is white when his 'commitment' to picking black players, in this instance, is highly suspect. While White selected more black players than any previous coach and introduced black players in every position except fly-half, even selecting Chilibojale as captain (in an exhibition game which although not an official test still represented the first time the side had ever been led by a black player). However, White was also criticised for artificially inflating the racial composition of squads in relation to black players by, for example, choosing a surplus of black players in positions associated with black players such as wing.

With regard to Watson in this example, the media's (re)construction of White's perspective is that conforming to 'political pressure' to select Watson was somehow unacceptable but the political pressure associated with choosing Tyibilika made him the best choice? Essentially, this constructs White as justifiably seeking goals which are in his opinion in the best interest of 'black rugby'. Thus White considers himself to be better positioned to decide the future of racial integration in South African rugby than the South African rugby union, the government, or any other construction of blackness and again constructs strategies associated

with the advancement of black (or 'honorary black') players as being contrary to the goal of producing a winning rugby side.

The next quotation (P57:Q12) illustrates the construction of blackness as being unfair, prejudicial, and contrary to the aims and purposes of the South African rugby team.

This statement begins by first declaring that in the 'Watson is not a black player' even though as has been argued the construction of Watson in general is more closely approximates the general construction of blackness than whiteness by the South African newspaper media.

The quotation uses familiar logic to other forms of the denial of racism utilised by the media (and other areas of South Africa) in post Apartheid South Africa as noted by Duncan (2003^a), Stevens (2003) and others, which seek to deflect attention and blame away from the inherent racism associated with Apartheid and the resulting social conditions in post-Apartheid South Africa by claiming to be pro-transformation through the direct reference to 'the need for black representation' at a national level.

Importantly, it illustrates the level of entrenchment of the differential treatment of race groups by the newspaper media as it claims that were Watson black his selection would be uncontested. Thus because Watson is white but exhibits the forms of perceived inferiority associated with blackness he is unsuitable for selection. The quotation implies therefore that were Watson black the numerous reasons given for not selecting him such as a lack of physicality and political reasons for his selection would not be a problem.

This is thus another example of the ways in which Watson because he is white, functions as a semantic place-holder which enables criticisms of race-based selection policies to be overtly discussed.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 CONCLUSIONS

The overwhelming conclusion of this research is that more research need to be done in the area if constructions of race and their implications for South African rugby are ever to be fully understood. This conclusion section serves as a summary of the most pertinent findings of this research project and these will be discussed first in relation to the construction of blackness, then constructions of whiteness before exceptionalism will be explored.

Perhaps the most interesting finding of this research is that black players are always constructed as lacking specifically the physical, mental and psychological characteristics which are considered a prerequisite for playing rugby (especially at an international level). The constant pairing of blackness with weakness and failure is an extension of this notion.

Attempts to address the anomalous situation in terms of the racially skewed distribution of players who represent South Africa (such as the Quota System and Transformation Charter) are constructed as ‘unreasonable’ forms of political privilege. These attempts are even considered a form of reverse racism designed to undermine whites.

Black players, coaches, administrators and referees are similarly constructed as foreign, alien and an unwanted intrusion in the game of rugby. This may be a function of the many years of racial constructions which placed black people as uncivilised, foreign, alien and uncultured during the colonial, Imperial and Afrikaner domination of South Africa.

These findings seem to indicate that primitive, unproductive and fatally flawed understandings of race predominate the South African newspaper media’s constructions of blackness (and whiteness). Again more research will be required before this conclusion can be wholeheartedly adopted but the mere existence of these kinds of racial constructions is both worrying and implies that swift action s necessary in order to counteract the racist ideology upon which these beliefs maybe based. For example the notion that a black coach will favour and select black players while white coaches will favour and select white players is a highly flawed contention and can only stem from incorrect ideas about the role race plays in an individuals’ ability or potential to play rugby.

Black rugby in general and black players specifically are often described as being the result of transformation and development, as opposed to merit. These terms even seem to function at points as semantic placeholders for race indicating the entrenchment of this idea in the South African newspaper media.

Black rugby, although it has always had an established tradition (especially in the Eastern and Western Cape regions) is summarily constructed as not existing during Apartheid. Although here were separate leagues and the white league received the vast majority of the resources associated with rugby it is just simply untrue that black rugby did not exist before Apartheid was abolished. This invalidates many of the assertions that black rugby will need a significant amount of time and the investment of particularly white skills and expertise in order to be successful.

Also these arguments which function to construct black rugby as lacking the necessary facilities to produce black rugby players of international quality are similarly questionable. This notion is often invalidated by author's assertions that 'age-group' rugby often produces demographically representative teams (with a black majority) that have won international age-group events such as the Under-21 and Under-19 World Cups. On the one hand this is presented as a success of the development programmes themselves but at a more conceptual level serves to deflect attention away from the current realities of South African rugby by introducing either the argument that black players need more support than white players to progress within South African rugby or alternatively that South African rugby will naturally become more representative as long-term strategies will eventually produce black players of the requisite quality to represent South Africa internationally. In the first instance, this emphasises the importance of whites in the progression of black players while in the second it indicates that nothing can be done about the current situation in South African rugby but that eventually the game will naturally reflect a greater diversity. Either way, this presents the promotion of black players as impractical, difficult and ultimately unnecessary because there are already enough white players to fulfil the available positions.

Examining the construction of white players revealed that the group is portrayed in an overwhelmingly positive manner. Also silences on the issue of whiteness seem to indicate that whiteness is the perceived norm in South African rugby. White players are summarily

introduced (except for Luke Watson) as both being innately capable of playing international rugby and as a more trustworthy and reliable group of players than blacks.

The group of white players involved in the game are also constructed as a humble group whose innate rugby ability justifies their dominance in the game despite the clandestine plans of certain groups', particularly governments' plans to undermine the game by promoting black players who do not deserve promotion based only on rugby ability.

Interestingly, while black players are often presented as benefitting from the current political distribution in South Africa, white players are never considered to have benefitted from Apartheid. Rugby players whose fathers, uncles or grandfathers played rugby for South Africa (even during Apartheid) are presented as nostalgic heroes and are considered more in terms of their results on the rugby field than their (intentional or unintentional) perpetuation of Apartheid ideology at the time.

The white rugby establishment is constructed as important, if not essential, especially in terms of the crowds who watch and support rugby. At one point the argument is made that without whites South African rugby would deteriorate to the point where South Africa loses its status as an international rugby team of high quality. The consequence of this, it is argued, would be that stadiums would be empty and essentially the system would follow a downward spiral ending with the eradication of quality rugby from the South African context.

White schools and rugby establishment are uncontroversially presented as having vastly more resources than black counterparts and this is even given as a reason for the disparity between the two groups. While this may be true the argument is seldom presented as a direct result of the racially skewed distribution of resources during Apartheid.

Exceptions-to-the-rule revealed very interesting findings as the construction of a specific black player (Bryan Habana) showed that when black players are successful there is an overemphasis on this player's abilities. This is argued by the project to be a function of the overwhelming construction of blackness as not containing the innate abilities required to play rugby. The overemphasis is thus necessary at a subliminal level to counter-act the general construction of blackness. Also in relation to Habana specifically, it is argued that his inherent blackness may be counteracted through his enculturalisation in the white community

and thus the acceptance he seems to receive is most likely the result of his acquired whiteness (rather than his inherent blackness).

Also while white players' ability is usually constructed as an inherent consequence of their race Habana's ability is never considered as resulting from his innate blackness.

With regards to white exceptionalism the contention that Luke Watson is a black player allows the media to criticize the systems associated with transformation as being unfair, prejudicial, and so on through the construction of a white player as the recipient of the perceived 'advantages' associated with black players (such as the quota system and Transformation Charter). The idea that Watson may deserve these 'advantages' due to his father's rejection of Apartheid and the choice he made not to play for the whites-only rugby establishment is summarily dismissed and are even held against Watson as reasons why he should not be selected to play for South Africa.

Although these findings seemingly dilute the overall constructions of blackness and whiteness identified in the first part of this research when considered in terms of their exceptional status they further enforce the previously identified forms of racial reasoning exhibited by the South African newspaper media.

The evidence presented by the data set seems to indicate that forms of media racism are still operational in the South African newspaper media and that patterns similar to the forms of otherisation, mitigation, reversal, and denial found in other areas of the media are found within the portion of the newspaper media who report on rugby (see Duncan, 2003^a).

The newspaper media who report on rugby are quite different from other areas of the media and perhaps they are unaware of these kinds of media racism. However, this research indicates that swift action may be required if these stereotypical racial constructions and forms of media racism are to be addressed by the group. It is unlikely that the group are actively involved in promoting racism or the constructions of race that accompanied Apartheid but the group may also have unintentionally internalised aspects of the racial ideology of Apartheid and perhaps this is what is being reflected in the findings of this research.

Also, it is unclear whether the media are cognisant enough of the effect which their reporting has on construction of race in relation to rugby specifically as well as South Africa in general. Topics which relate to race are certainly not discussed with the sensitivity which they are approached from the social sciences. The media may thus be unintentionally (re)producing racist social asymmetries and bolstering the discourse of racism in South Africa. Considering the entrenchment of the game amongst the white population (especially the white Afrikaner community) this area of the media has great potential to break down stereotypical constructions of race, especially amongst whites who would necessarily have been more affected by the negative construction of other race groups and positive portrayal of their own race group. Instead of sensationalising the topic which may be contributing to the extension of racial tensions within the sport the media has great potential to challenge racist assertions. Indeed the central role played by the media in the (re)production of racism could equally be harnessed in attempting to break down specific instances of racism as well as the ideologies which justify and enable racist practice.

5.2 LIMITATIONS

The first limitation which should be noted is that this analysis only explores the English speaking newspapers. It is thus possible that the construction of race contained within the data set presented may be affected by this and thus may represent an Anglocised perspective rather than the perspective of the media as a whole. While this was considered a limitation the researcher was not unwilling but rather unable to explore these constructs in languages which are unfamiliar.

As a study of the media another important limitation is that the findings of this research may not constitute an accurate (re)construction of the media's perspective. Also the media's perspective is likely to be significantly affected by the forms of editorial control associated with the profession and thus rather than representing media reconstructions they may reflect editorial ideology or the specific purposes and aims of the particular newspaper media.

The use of thematic content analysis was a limitation in and of itself. Although the flexibility of the approach allows for vast amounts of data to be analysed, categorised, and explored, the atheoretical approach which accompanies this project was severely limiting in the discussion section of this report. A greater level of contextual analysis may have been achieved by

committing fully to a discourse analysis although this would have required a complete re-evaluation of the composition of the data set.

This research was motivated in part by an inherent scepticism towards Euro-American psychological theory and approaches. However, the inclusion of a theoretical framework may have revealed different results, for even if the included theories were proved incorrect, this itself, would provide a good platform for the discussion of such findings. Instead this research was left wondering if this analysis could have been taken further by a theory associated with psychology?

The data set presented, as is often the case in qualitative research, could have been defined differently and although there were specific reasons for constructing the data set in the way in which it was defined by this research, the time-periods and articles explored may have been wholly out of context with the overall discussion of race in relation to South Africa rugby. Thus perhaps using a different month, or examining all articles in a specific year may have produced different results. Although it is the opinion of this researcher that this is unlikely it remains a possibility and thus a limitation on the findings of this research.

Finally, thematic content analysis assumes that examining content will reveal the true meanings of texts and textual units. As a result this technique runs the risk of ignoring the context and complexity of social (re)productions that are not evident in the text itself. Indeed this is always a risk in qualitative research and thematic content analysis through its rigour and systematically combined with contextual knowledge of the area was considered by this researcher as an adequate attempt at accounting for this phenomenon it may still be a factor.

5.3 SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

It would be interesting to submit other data sources to the same processes associated with this project. Other forms of discourse such as transcripts of focus groups and one-on-one interviews could be analysed using thematic content analysis. The researcher in this context could also control the areas of discussion. Also specific groups within South African rugby could be targeted for inclusion in these processes. A comparative analysis of the broad thematic trends in transcripts and one-on-one interviews with South African rugby coaches, players, administrators and so on, could be highly revealing.

Examining the same data set as presented in this research but from a different angle, for example comparing the constructions of different newspapers or the construction of different themes and topics at different historical vantage points may also reveal interesting result. For example, comparing constructions of race in the early 1990s in relation to South African rugby, to constructions since 2000 may be able to access the changing conceptin of race within South African society (or at least the newspaper media).

Using the findings of this research may allow an examination of different kinds of data source as well. Transcripts of live broadcasts or discussions about race on popular rugby shows may provide similar or different results to this research. Either way this would be interesting and could be attempted at undergraduate or post-graduate level.

Another data source which was avoided by this research project because of the focus on newspaper media constructions specifically, but may potentially reveal important aspects of the South African 'rugby public's' construction of race in relation to South African rugby, are the comments (as well as the articles themselves) associated with most popular rugby websites. Social agents seem to feel buoyed by the anonymity which the Internet provides and these comments (especially racist comments) are unlikely to be articulated in the same way were the authors required to express these views in other public forums (such as Parliament for example).

Should the required data become available it would be interesting to examine the effect of economic forms of power on South African rugby. Considering that whites still control most of the financial resources in South Africa (Kriel, 2007), it would be interesting to see if perhaps the white dominance in South African rugby is an effect of socio-economic conditions?

Another project may be to examine specifically the nostalgia which is associated by many whites with the 'old-days' of South African rugby as there seems to be a common misunderstanding of the social conditions which accompanied this time-period. The past cannot be remembered only in terms of rugby victories as those victories were built on the racist formulation of the Apartheid government. Considering that many whites were to various extents unaware of the most horrendous forms of racism and racial tension that

accompanied this time-period (they were indeed specifically sheltered from many events due to the National Party's effective control of the media at the time), perhaps the racist events which were associated with Apartheid need to be highlighted before the white 'rugby' public can understand their significance?

The psychological development of national identity in relation to South African rugby would also be an interesting topic to explore from a psychological perspective. Has the World Cup 2007 victory by South Africa had any effect on the construction of the team as part of South African psyche or does it still retain elements of its racist past? Was this effect greater or less than the World Cup 1995 victory? Or perhaps were both events equally ineffectual except in the white community?

The recent film *Invictus* is based on the events leading up to the World Cup 1995 and Nelson Mandela's role in uniting the nation through rugby. A discourse analysis of the book on which the film is based, or of the movie itself, may provide an interesting perspective on this type of research. The book is written by a British author and the film is directed by an American and thus it may also be interesting to examine and compare the effects of these 'international' perspectives on race with South African ones.

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Appendix A: Primary Document output from *Atlas.ti*

Primary Documents (82):

P 1: Cape Argus - Bid to oust Cats from Super 14 8.6.2005.rtf~

Source: Doc_1

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2005\Cape Argus - Bid to oust Cats from Super 14 8.6.2005.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:30 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P 2: Cape Argus - Black numbers still a Bok issue 27.6.2005.rtf~

Source: Doc_2

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2005\Cape Argus - Black numbers still a Bok issue 27.6.2005.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:31 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P 3: Cape Argus - Bok coach's threat to quit 25.6.2005.rtf~

Source: Doc_3

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2005\Cape Argus - Bok coach's threat to quit 25.6.2005.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:32 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P 4: Cape Argus - Bollas Beat - Warriors sans the violence 9.5.2005.rtf

Source: Doc_4

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2005\Cape Argus - Bollas Beat - Warriors sans the violence 9.5.2005.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:33 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P 5: Cape Argus - It's a grand sporting life - and the playing fields are levelling 20.6.2005.rtf

Source: Doc_5

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2005\Cape Argus - It's a grand sporting life - and the playing fields are levelling 20.6.2005.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:33 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P 6: Cape Argus - Just rugby - French (mani)cure needed for Springboks' putrid handling 18.6.2005.rtf

Source: Doc_6

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2005\Cape Argus - Just rugby - French (mani)cure needed for Springboks' putrid handling 18.6.2005.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:34 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P 7: Cape Argus - Let White choose his best 22 or we'll boycott 30.6.2005.rtf

Source: Doc_7

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2005\Cape Argus - Let White choose his best 22 or we'll boycott 30.6.2005.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:35 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P 8: Cape Argus - White limits black players in Oz squad 28.6.2005.rtf

Source: Doc_8

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2005\Cape Argus - White limits black players in Oz squad 28.6.2005.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:36 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P 9: Cape Times - Nell's notebook - Currie Cup and Super 14 is the real transformation challenge 28.6.2005.rtf

Source: Doc_9

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2005\Cape Times - Nell's notebook - Currie Cup and Super 14 is the real transformation challenge 28.6.2005.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:36 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P10: Cape Times - SA rugby stands by its man - Jake to stay until 2007 28.6.2005.rtf

Source: Doc_10

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2005\Cape Times - SA rugby stands by its man - Jake to stay until 2007 28.6.2005.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:37 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P11: Daily News - Interference must end 27.6.2005.rtf

Source: Doc_11

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2005\Daily News - Interference must end 27.6.2005.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:38 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P12: Daily News - Now Solly can't play for Sharks 29.6.2005.rtf

Source: Doc_12

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2005\Daily News - Now Solly can't play for Sharks 29.6.2005.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:40 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P13: Daily News - Transformation in rugby is still a joke 24.6.2005.rtf

Source: Doc_13

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2005\Daily News - Transformation in rugby is still a joke 24.6.2005.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:40 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P14: Daily News - Tyibilikas warning 8.5.2005.rtf

Source: Doc_14

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2005\Daily News - Tyibilikas warning 8.5.2005.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:41 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P16: Pretoria News - Central Unions still in Super 14 9.6.2005.rtf

Source: Doc_15

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2005\Pretoria News - Central Unions still in Super 14 9.6.2005.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:42 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P17: Pretoria News - Jake and Brian kiss and make up 29.6.2005.rtf

Source: Doc_16

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2005\Pretoria News - Jake and Brian kiss and make up 29.6.2005.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:43 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P18: Pretoria News - Jake White will stay on as Springbok coach 28.6.2005.rtf

Source: Doc_17

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2005\Pretoria News - Jake White will stay on as Springbok coach 28.6.2005.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:43 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P21: Star - Dump quotas - Paulse 30.6.2005.rtf

Source: Doc_18

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2005\Star - Dump quotas - Paulse 30.6.2005.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:44 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P22: Star - Lose the arrogance, Boks can't just turn up and win 25.6.2005.rtf

Source: Doc_19

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2005\Star - Lose the arrogance, Boks can't just turn up and win 25.6.2005.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:45 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P23: Star - Saru not calling the shots, says minister 30.6.2005.rtf

Source: Doc_20

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2005\Star - Saru not calling the shots, says minister 30.6.2005.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:46 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P25: Star - White secures his and, hopefully, SA Rugby's future 29.6.2005.rtf

Source: Doc_21

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2005\Star - White secures his and, hopefully, SA Rugby's future 29.6.2005.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:47 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P26: Sunday Tribune - Boks play Jake back on-side 26.6.2005.rtf

Source: Doc_22

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2005\Sunday Tribune - Boks play Jake back on-side 26.6.2005.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:48 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P27: Sunday Tribune - South African rugby bosses' neglect of young players is shameful 26.6.2005.rtf

Source: Doc_23

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2005\Sunday Tribune - South African rugby bosses' neglect of young players is shameful 26.6.2005.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:49 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P28: Cape Argus - How Jake has become caught between a Bok and a hard place 26.6.2006.rtf

Source: Doc_24

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2006\Cape Argus - How Jake has become caught between a Bok and a hard place 26.6.2006.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:50 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P29: Cape Argus - Wing choices - weird or wonderful 3.6.2006.rtf~

Source: Doc_25

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2006\Cape Argus - Wing choices - weird or wonderful 3.6.2006.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:51 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P30: Cape Times - Jooste Solly to start for Boks in Tri-Nations 29.6.2006.rtf

Source: Doc_26

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2006\Cape Times - Jooste Solly to start for Boks in Tri-Nations 29.6.2006.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:53 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P32: Cape Times - Ticket prices and posh private schools a worrying sign 20.6.2006.rtf

Source: Doc_27

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2006\Cape Times - Ticket prices and posh private schools a worrying sign 20.6.2006.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:53 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P33: Daily News - Give rugby a fair chance 1.6.2006.rtf

Source: Doc_28

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2006\Daily News - Give rugby a fair chance 1.6.2006.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:54 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P34: Daily News - Stofile backs Hoskins and coach 1.6.2006.rtf

Source: Doc_29

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2006\Daily News - Stofile backs Hoskins and coach 1.6.2006.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:55 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P35: Pretoria News - Hoskins' rating after 100 days 7.6.2006.rtf

Source: Doc_30

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2006\Pretoria News - Hoskins' rating after 100 days 7.6.2006.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:55 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P36: Pretoria News - Jake's chance to have his say on Cobus, the Ndungane twins, and his first two years 13.6.2006.rtf~

Source: Doc_31

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2006\Pretoria News - Jake's chance to have his say on Cobus, the Ndungane twins, and his first two years 13.6.2006.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:56 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P37: Pretoria News - Stofile defends White 1.6.2006.rtf

Source: Doc_32

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2006\Pretoria News - Stofile defends White 1.6.2006.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:57 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P38: Star - Saru boss, Springbok coach in crisis talks 28.6.2006.rtf

Source: Doc_33

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2006\Star - Saru boss, Springbok coach in crisis talks 28.6.2006.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:58 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P40: Cape Argus - Breathing space 16.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_34

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Cape Argus - Breathing space 16.6.2007.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:39:59 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P41: Cape Argus - Cardiff to showcase new SA 12.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_35

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Cape Argus - Cardiff to showcase new SA 12.6.2007.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:00 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P42: Cape Argus - De Villiers' plea to Saru - Call me 22.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_36

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Cape Argus - De Villiers' plea to Saru - Call me 22.6.2007.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:00 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P43: Cape Argus - Give us less debate, more pragmatism 28.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_37

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Cape Argus - Give us less debate, more pragmatism 28.6.2007.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:01 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P45: Cape Argus - Jake goes for Bok blackline 4.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_38

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Cape Argus - Jake goes for Bok blackline 4.6.2007.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:02 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P46: Cape Argus - Olympic race quotas may prove the last straw for fans 23.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_39

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Cape Argus - Olympic race quotas may prove the last straw for fans 23.6.2007.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:03 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P50: Cape Argus - The life and times of our latest Springbok - how he has made it to international level 8.6.2007.rtf~

Source: Doc_40

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Cape Argus - The life and times of our latest Springbok - how he has made it to international level 8.6.2007.rtf"

Source location: ditto
Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:04 AM)
Revision: n/a
State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P51: Cape Argus - The plot to crown Luke Bok captain 9.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_41
Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Cape Argus - The plot to crown Luke Bok captain 9.6.2007.rtf"
Source location: ditto
Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:04 AM)
Revision: n/a
State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P52: Cape Argus - The system that fails to transform 8.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_42
Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Cape Argus - The system that fails to transform 8.6.2007.rtf"
Source location: ditto
Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:05 AM)
Revision: n/a
State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P53: Cape Argus - Threat to 'tax' rugby unions 12.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_43
Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Cape Argus - Threat to 'tax' rugby unions 12.6.2007.rtf"
Source location: ditto
Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:06 AM)
Revision: n/a
State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P54: Cape Argus - Watson affair exposes the breach of an unwritten contract at Codesa 7.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_44
Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Cape Argus - Watson affair exposes the breach of an unwritten contract at Codesa 7.6.2007.rtf"
Source location: ditto
Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:06 AM)
Revision: n/a
State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P55: Cape Argus - White and Mbeki to meet on 'political interference' 11.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_45

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Cape Argus - White and Mbeki to meet on 'political interference' 11.6.2007.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:07 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P57: Cape Argus - Why Watson saga continues to irk me 10.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_46

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Cape Argus - Why Watson saga continues to irk me 10.6.2007.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:08 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P58: Cape Times - Bob fails to even make the bench 21.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_47

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Cape Times - Bob fails to even make the bench 21.6.2007.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:08 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P59: Cape Times - Bob is the guy, says Jooste. 25.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_48

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Cape Times - Bob is the guy, says Jooste. 25.6.2007.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:09 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P60: Cape Times - Judge transformation in games that really count 5.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_49

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Cape Times - Judge transformation in games that really count 5.6.2007.rtf"

Source location: ditto
Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:10 AM)
Revision: n/a
State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P62: Cape Times - Putting the Springbok out to pasture is no way to level the rugby playing field 28.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_50
Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Cape Times - Putting the Springbok out to pasture is no way to level the rugby playing field 28.6.2007.rtf"
Source location: ditto
Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:10 AM)
Revision: n/a
State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P64: Cape Times - Where have all the black players gone 5.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_51
Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Cape Times - Where have all the black players gone 5.6.2007.rtf"
Source location: ditto
Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:11 AM)
Revision: n/a
State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P67: Daily News - Blinded by bitterness 7.6.2007.rtf~

Source: Doc_52
Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Daily News - Blinded by bitterness 7.6.2007.rtf"
Source location: ditto
Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:12 AM)
Revision: n/a
State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P68: Daily News - Days of White sweet-talking about transformation are gone 29.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_53
Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Daily News - Days of White sweet-talking about transformation are gone 29.6.2007.rtf"
Source location: ditto
Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:13 AM)
Revision: n/a
State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P69: Daily News - Let Jake get on with it 12.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_54

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Daily News - Let Jake get on with it 12.6.2007.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:14 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P70: Daily News - Press under pressure 22.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_55

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Daily News - Press under pressure 22.6.2007.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:14 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P71: Daily News - Spring-bucks head for Europe in search of the filthy lucre 7.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_56

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Daily News - Spring-bucks head for Europe in search of the filthy lucre 7.6.2007.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:15 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P72: Daily News - The house that Jake built 18.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_57

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Daily News - The house that Jake built 18.6.2007.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:16 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P73: Daily News -White off the hook 13.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_58

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Daily News - White off the hook 13.6.2007.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:17 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P74: Pretoria News - I have lots to discuss with Mbeki - White 12.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_59

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Pretoria News - I have lots to discuss with Mbeki - White 12.6.2007.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:17 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P76: Pretoria News - Saru tackled over 'Mbeki plot to hijack rugby' 13.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_60

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Pretoria News - Saru tackled over 'Mbeki plot to hijack rugby' 13.6.2007.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:18 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P77: Pretoria News - The fight for transformation continues 6.6.2007.rtf~

Source: Doc_61

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Pretoria News - The fight for transformation continues 6.6.2007.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:19 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P82: Star - Hoskins to change constitution to speed up transformation 13.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_62

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Star - Hoskins to change constitution to speed up transformation 13.6.2007.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:19 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P83: Star - Is Saru deliberately trying to set up this Bok team for failure 28.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_63

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Star - Is Saru deliberately trying to set up this Bok team for failure 28.6.2007.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:20 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P85: Star - Parastatals are the worst for hiring blacks 22.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_64

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Star - Parastatals are the worst for hiring blacks 22.6.2007.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:21 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P88: Star - Thanks, you can keep it 12.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_65

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Star - Thanks, you can keep it 12.6.2007.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:21 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P89: Star - We are helping the few, but the many suffer 28.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_66

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Star - We are helping the few, but the many suffer 28.6.2007.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:22 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P90: Star - White in off-pitch battles 9.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_67

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Star - White in off-pitch battles 9.6.2007.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:23 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P92: Star - Whites should honour deal 5.6.2007.rtf~

Source: Doc_68

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Star - Whites should honour deal 5.6.2007.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:24 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P93: Star - You'll know it when it comes 5.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_69

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Star - You'll know it when it comes 5.6.2007.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:24 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P94: Sunday Independent - Echoes of Verwoerd in ANC race policy 17.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_70

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Sunday Independent - Echoes of Verwoerd in ANC race policy 17.6.2007.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:25 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P95: Sunday Independent - One prez to another 17.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_71

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Sunday Independent - One prez to another 17.6.2007.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:26 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P96: Sunday Independent - Why should Mbeki listen to White's pleas about perils of his job 17.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_72

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Sunday Independent - Why should Mbeki listen to White's pleas about perils of his job 17.6.2007.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:27 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P97: Sunday Tribune - Give the Boks a break 17.6.2007.rtf

Source: Doc_73

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2007\Sunday Tribune - Give the Boks a break 17.6.2007.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:27 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P100: Cape Argus - Bok flank quandary for coach 16.6.2008.rtf

Source: Doc_74

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2008\Cape Argus - Bok flank quandary for coach 16.6.2008.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:28 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P101: Cape Argus - Boks to the future 9.6.2008.rtf

Source: Doc_75

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2008\Cape Argus - Boks to the future 9.6.2008.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:29 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P102: Cape Argus - Expect a Bok shake-up 9.6.2008.rtf

Source: Doc_76

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2008\Cape Argus - Expect a Bok shake-up 9.6.2008.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:29 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P103: Cape Argus - Hoskins fights for his job 24.6.2008.rtf

Source: Doc_77

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2008\Cape Argus - Hoskins fights for his job 24.6.2008.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:30 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P104: Cape Argus - WP depth looks good asCoetzee eyes zippy start 14.6.2008.rtf

Source: Doc_78

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2008\Cape Argus - WP depth looks good asCoetzee eyes zippy start 14.6.2008.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:30 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P105: Cape Times - Coetzee aims to create his own identity 13.6.2008.rtf~

Source: Doc_79

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2008\Cape Times - Coetzee aims to create his own identity 13.6.2008.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:31 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

•no problems

P106: Cape Times - Hoskins forced to withdraw claim on Bok coach.rtf

Source: Doc_80

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2008\Cape Times - Hoskins forced to withdraw claim on Bok coach.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:32 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P107: Cape Times - Why is Gert Smal no longer involved in South African rugby 20.6.2008.rtf

Source: Doc_81

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2008\Cape Times - Why is Gert Smal no longer involved in South African rugby 20.6.2008.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:32 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems

P108: Star - 'De Villiers No 1 choice as coach' 25.6.2008.rtf

Source: Doc_82

Source reference: "I:\CK Masters (WITS)\Final data collection\June 2008\Star - 'De Villiers No 1 choice as coach' 25.6.2008.rtf"

Source location: ditto

Last accessed: ditto (2010/02/16 08:40:33 AM)

Revision: n/a

State: loaded

Problem report:

- no problems