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A Second Innings for Cricket? The Political Economy, Nation Building and Cricket Development Programmes in South Africa.

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A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Arts, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts

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Abstract

This dissertation analyses the contemporary trends -- the so called "second innings" -- of South African cricket. It examines the role played by the tripartist relationship between the state, cricket's administrative structures, and the private sector in the reconstruction of a national cricketing code.

The case study of cricket development programmes is viewed as a social metaphor that extends beyond the cricket boundary, and which allows for a focused analysis of the current issues that surround both the discourse and practice of "sports development". Thus the metaphor of cricket development is considered as a singular lens through which to assess the wider processes of development, "nation-building" and transformation in South African society.

Cricket development programmes have made a significant impact on the reconstruction of South African sport, but have yet to fundamentally transform the nature of South African cricket. Despite the attempts to level the playing field through development initiatives, the contemporary reality of a disparate social order continues to determine and define the codes of South African cricket.

Declaration

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university.

Katharine Johns

day of ,1995

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INTRODUCTION
AN INNINGS WITH NO BOUNDARIES

In the patois of cricket, a good innings without any boundaries is unheard of. Yet the development initiatives of South African cricket creates a significant analogy of a "second innings": an innings which knows no boundaries in its efforts to meet the ambitious objective of reconstructing South African cricket.

On any given day at a Wanderers test match, a crowd of young boys are always present. There is nothing unusual in aspirant young cricketers supporting their national cricketing heroes. However, two particular features are noticeable amongst these energetic youngsters: firstly, they are dressed in T-shirts emblazoned with the various logos of the corporate sponsored cricket development programmes. And secondly, the large majority of these boys are from local townships. To the general public it would appear that cricket has become a game which these boys have embraced.

The presence of these young and eager participants of the cricket development programmes at the Wanderers Oval bears testament to the transformation of South African sport. They offer us an inroad into the analysis of the changing nature of South African cricket, and the numerous initiatives -- both in the public and private sectors -- that have been undertaken with the aim of reconstructing the sport's organisational and administrative structures.

Sport is an integral part of South African society, and cricket is no exception. Yet, just as the face of South African

society has been dramatically transformed, so too has the nature of South African sport. Undoubtedly cricket has surpassed any other South African sporting code in grassroots development.

It is the purpose of this project to analyse the "second innings" of South African cricket -- and its cricket development programmes -- in the wider initiative of the reconstruction of South African sport. The investigation offers firstly, an analysis of the role played by the tripartist relationship between the state, cricket administrative structures and the private sector in the reconstruction of a national sporting code. Secondly, through this institutional analysis of cricket development's political economy, the investigation questions the role played by cricket development programmes in the redefinition of the codes, values and cultural expressions of the game.

The project aims to understand the political and economic agendas of both the state and non-governmental sporting administration bodies, as well as an analysis of the financial contribution of the private sector in cricket development initiatives. We may then understand the deliberately and consciously articulated rationale and motives of these actors in their contribution to the changing nature of South African cricket.

An understanding of sport as the creator of political resources, as an agent of political socialisation, as the link between sport and nationalism, and its ability to raise political consciousness (Allison,1986:13-15) offers fundamental insight into the close relationship between sport and the politics of nationalism in South Africa. Inherent in this research objective

is the extent to which sport in South African remains a political institution. Through an analysis of the historical and contemporary contexts of South African sport and cricket, the study aims to determine the extent to which the historical legacy of apartheid-controlled sport has been transcended in the attempt to reconstruct South African cricket.

Further, the emphasis on a qualitative methodological approach allows for a focused analysis of the current issues that surround both the discourse and practice of "sports development". The rhetoric of sports development -- in developing a national sporting culture -- highlights the potential of reconstructed sport to foster a common national identity. If we are to understand the dynamics of "nation-building", then a study such as this one offers some analytical insight into the complex array of social relations, constraints and opportunities that may face the state in the fostering of national unity. Further, the project aims to uncover the extent of a shared political commitment of national sports reconstruction between the state and its affiliate, the National Sports Council (NSC) and the United Cricket Board of South Africa (UCBSA). Do the goals of the UCBSA, its cricket development programmes, and the formation of a national cricket team that is both racially representative and internationally competitive, mirror the goals of the state in its attempt to create racially representative sporting institutions?

In other words, by asking to whom cricket development is aimed, and by whom it is orchestrated, we are able to assess the underlying motives of cricket development's political economy in the fostering of a popular sporting culture. Through the

consideration of the conscious and deliberate attempt to construct a popular cricketing culture, we may question the rhetoric of national unity that may be developed through the auspices of sports development -- and its possible outcomes. Is cricket development an attempt to romanticise the game of cricket so that it takes on the popularity best associated with Indian and West Indian cricket cultures? Or alternatively, will the articulation of a national cricketing culture provide the cement which bonds only a new non-racial elite?

The vision of administrative unification and developmental opportunities in cricket have had widespread corporate financial sponsorship and support. Arguably, without the significant levels of private sector involvement in, and their patronage of, development programmes the goals of both local and national cricketing bodies would remain visionary ideals.

The role of the private sector in the sponsorship of cricket development programmes raises interesting questions about the nexus of financial constraint. The massive sums of money donated to development initiatives conveniently locates cricket in a competitive advertising market. Is the sponsorship of cricket development merely an apparatus of public relations -- akin to the marketing and promotion of professional cricket? This project uncovers the true motives for the involvement of the private sector in the political economy of cricket development programmes. In essence, their considerable financial contribution underlies a position of fiscal power which must be weighed up against the philanthropic rhetoric of corporate social responsibility.

Through this institutional analysis of the political economy of development programmes, the second main thrust of the investigation is an assessment of the extent to which the game of cricket, its codes of conduct, values, styles of play and popular appeal have been redefined.

The analysis of cricket's cultural and social transformation -- via the discourse and practise of "development" -- and the implications thereof for the game of cricket, leads to a vital consideration of cricket as a game of "lived experience". By contemplating the political economy of cricket development, and the ideological and cultural appropriation of cricket's symbolism by the actors within that political economy, the study hopes to reveal the apparent redefinition of South African cricketing codes.

In viewing cricket as a cultural and social expression in a transformed sporting context, and the consideration of the integral redirection of these cricketing values, codes, cultural expression and even styles of play, the project provides an examination of the "results" of a deliberately orchestrated social process, that is rooted firmly in cricket's development programme. Fundamentally the question of the extent to which cricket development has ushered in a new era of South African cricket remains vague.

The sociological enquiry into sport as a complex social institution offers us an insight into the myriad of social, economic and political relations that exist both within the world of sport, and most obviously in the social context in which sporting activity must take place.

Significantly, it is the profile which sport enjoys in South African society that necessitates this sociological study of cricket development. Cricket and its development programmes operate on a public and exposed stage. Thus the wider policy initiatives of development and reconstruction are partly carried out in the public arena of sport. The study of sport -- and cricket in particular -- offers us an arena in which to assess a range of significant features related to the national policy debates -- such as resource location, organisational structures, as well as the notions of social advancement and upliftment. The analysis of cricket development, and its complex political economy, sheds some light on the internal dynamics of wider reconstruction debates.

In other words, the "theatre of the great", as sport has often been labelled, can be redefined as the "theatre of the everyday". The project's restricted focus on cricket development brings the often highly rhetorical notions of reconstruction, development, social integration and "nation-building" into an arena that is easily identifiable, given its location within the public sphere, and the vast publicity it is afforded.

Stated differently, cricket and cricket development expose the most pressing national questions and issues in an open and public way. Perhaps most significantly, the actors involved in cricket development, through the articulation of their identification with the goals of national sporting reconstruction, have consciously positioned themselves strategically in the centre of these debates. It is for this reason that cricket and cricket development programmes warrant

the investigation by this research project.

Thus, cricket development programmes may be viewed as a social metaphor that extends beyond the cricket boundary. As a case study that considers one aspect of reconstruction and development -- that happens to take place in the public arena of sport -- the metaphor of cricket development is a singular lens through which to assess the wider processes of development, "nation-building" and transformation in South African society.

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

As a social institution, sport and its social world is an inseparable part of the larger society. The development of South African sport has always been closely influenced by wider social, political and economic factors. The consideration of cricket development programmes needs to take account of the wider social forces that have not only shaped the character of cricket's political economy, but continue to do so in this period of social restructuring and economic development.

The analysis of contemporary South African sport must be viewed through a dualistic framework. On one hand is the historical political disposition of South African sport: as a social institution in which society at large is reflected, sport in South Africa was, and remains, highly politicised. The second strand of the framework is concerned with the continuation of the ideological and cultural manipulation of sport for the use of contemporary socio-political objectives. The two positions of this framework, although distinct in their suppositions, in fact overlap and crosscut one another in significant ways. It is the purpose of this project to draw together these two themes, in an attempt to show the variety of processes that are inherently located within cricket's political economy, that shape the nature of that political economy, and which lastly, have an impact on the articulation of national goals and objectives in the reconstruction of South African sport.

A third section detailing the growing financial support and investment in sport and sports development initiatives,

illustrates the capacity of the corporate sector to play a role in the construction of new sporting, cultural and national identities.

I. The Politicisation of South African Sport

In the first strand of the dualistic framework, understanding the politicised nature of South African sport entails a historical assessment of apartheid sport, the implications of sport segregation in the contemporary context of sporting unity, the political notions of "democracy" in sporting structures, as well as the organisational bureaucracy of sport as a socio-political institution. This theme of politicised sport is also considered in the discussion of the relationship between sport and nation-building.

A Political History of South African Sport

While the history of white sport in South Africa is well documented, the same cannot be said for the diverse and rich heritage of black sporting organisation. Black sporting history has no real documentation, and stimulated by the racial segregation and discrimination under apartheid, there is a widely held belief that blacks have no real sports history (Odendaal,1988:194). However, these myths have no empirical basis. South African sport, as played by both blacks and whites, has always been significantly influenced by wider political and socio-economic factors. As a result, "black" sport was afforded an inferior position in the bureaucracy of apartheid-controlled and sport -- thus perpetuating the myth of little or no sporting

activity in black communities.

Socially and economically, the separate and unequal development of black and white sport was closely associated with the apartheid system as a whole. Archer and Bouillon argue that an "intimate relation [existed] between sport and apartheid, sport and discrimination, oppression and racial exploitation in their most political forms" (Archer & Bouillon,1982:11). Apartheid was not only responsible for the development of unequal and separate sport, the system also determined the social and economic environment which conditioned the sporting arena:

> By...curtailing black access to education, urban residence, employment, wealth [and] travel... the Nationalist government necessarily stunted the natural development of sport and dealt a crippling blow to the attempts of black players to improve their standards of play and organisation
> (Archer & Bouillon,1982:43)

Sport failed to serve as a social integrating mechanism because of the political, ideological and spatial forces promoting separatism and segregation.

The historical evidence shows that South African sport does not ascribe to the "myth of [political] autonomy" that is conventionally associated with the apolitical status of sporting institutions and activities (Allison,1986:17). The myth of sport's political autonomy posits the notion of sport being separate from society, and as a social institution, sport transcends politics and social conflict (Allison,1993:5). The most common form of this idea of sporting autonomy is articulated in the indictment of sporting boycotts: that is, sport should not be used as a form of social and political ostracism, and that sportsmen and women should be allowed to pursue sporting careers

without regard for politics (ibid). Yet South African sport has always been, and remains as much, a highly politicised domain. To what extent that politicised nature remains apparent today is a source of speculation in this research project -- Allison's notion of apoliticism is an important variable in the consideration of the clearly politically motivated involvement of the state and administrative structures in sporting reconstruction.

Richard Lapchick identifies three fundamental political components of racially segregated sport in South Africa. Firstly, sport in South Africa has been subject to the influence of apartheid legislation, playing an integral and supportive function of the apartheid system where several distinct phases of the extension of a separatist ideology into sport are recognisable (Lapchick,1975:17). Secondly, South Africa was the recipient of more domestic and international pressure than other nations that used sport for political purposes, because the underlying basis of segregated sport in South Africa was not ideological but racial (Lapchick,1975:xxv). And lastly, the political character of sport made the South African government more susceptible to international and domestic pressure: "when non-whites...[and] other nations refused to compete within the framework of apartheid sport...South Africans viewed it as a rejection of their political system" (Lapchick,1975:xxv).

Politics decided on a racial basis the scope of sporting relations, and relegated black sportsmen to inferior facilities and opportunities (Hain,1971:86). Significantly, it was cricket and the Basil D'Olivera affair that set the stage for militant

opposition to sports apartheid, and resulted in South Africa's eventual isolation in international sport (Lapchick,1975:202; Guelke,1986:131; Cashmore,1990:164). International sporting links were with "white South Africa". Therefore it was white South Africa that the campaign for non-racial sport sought to isolate (Hain,1971:84). As Trevor Huddleston observed, sport was South Africa's Achille's heel (Cashmore,19 :165). The sports boycott, as part of the comprehensive disinvestment and sanctions against South Africa, shook white morale and increased the sense of international isolation and unacceptability of apartheid policy (Sanctions Report,1989:13). It took international sporting isolation -- and its formal articulation and institutionalisation through the Gleneagles Agreement of 1977, and the Stop the Seventies Tour campaign - for South African sportsmen and sports administrators to consider the development of multi-racial sport. It is at this point that we are able to witness the groundless claims of sporting autonomy: The myth of sporting political autonomy is contested by such specific and practical forms that "demonstrate that sport could be used to cause political pain, and that the recipients of sporting pressure were affected" (Allison,1993:6).

Thus the South African case poses interesting questions about the role of sport as a catalyst for social and political change. Specifically the question is: to what extent was the ideology of apartheid rendered untenable by the sporting boycott of South Africa? Allison argues that the sporting boycott -- and sport itself -- played a direct part in the alteration of the apartheid government's official doctrine on race and sport

(Allison,1993:3).

We also need to understand the contribution of organised resistance to apartheid sport -- and its various actors -- in the context of contemporary policy initiatives that aim to address the legacies of sporting inequality. Sport has, at times, contributed to unique popular nationalist and political struggles (Jarvie,1993:78). The South African Council on Sport (SACOS) promoted the sports boycott with the slogan: "No normal sport in an abnormal society" (Sanctions Rep. :,1989:61). SACOS and its affiliates perpetuated the nationalist struggle of black South Africans through the arena of sport.

A Socio-historical Account of South African Cricket

The historical analysis of South African cricket is fundamental in understanding the emergent political economy of contemporary cricket development programmes.

Cricket has been played by black people in regions throughout South Africa, and the nature of the game has been shaped by developments in South Africa's political history. The development of early twentieth century black cricket had followed that of white cricket in many ways -- from the introduction of the game into schools, the formation of clubs, leagues and inter-provincial competitions, and the establishment of a national controlling body (Odendaal,1988:211). But with the development of formal segregation, and the institutionalisation of apartheid, a massive divergence was to emerge between the two codes of cricket. White cricket became synonymous with "establishment" cricket. Black cricket, particularly in the Eastern Cape, was

still played and had formal organisational administration. Yet it was not recognised as an official code by the South African sporting authorities. The white cricketing establishment had an uncomfortable relationship with black cricketing organisations -- acknowledging their existence, but being denied any form of formal contact between the racially defined structures.

The history of South African cricket illustrates the contradictions between the ideologies of sport and segregation:

> On the one hand [cricket] epitomised *fair play* and the ideals of the black elite; on the other they entrenched white racial and class attitudes and domination (Odendaal,1988:203)

South African cricket has been marked by these tensions between the game's culture of fair play and apartheid doctrine. It is the initiatives of cricket development programmes that aim to redress these tensions. The purpose of this study is thus an examination of this "democratisation" of South African cricket.

The Reconstruction and Democratisation of South African Sport

Social differentiation is a paramount concern for sociologists. When that social differentiation is manifested in sporting forms and practices, the democratisation of sport assumes a socio-cultural significance.

A fundamental question is whether the political economy of cricket development is a true reflection of the "democratisation" of sport that mirrors the wider processes of democratisation in South African society. Thus a further issue is one of what *development* and *democratisation* of sport entails: notions of social upliftment and social welfare are commonplace in the

rhetoric of sponsors and controlling bodies alike. Their use of sport as a promoter of community ties, acculturation and structural assimilation has a strong ideological appeal of being able to unite disparate groups through the "popularization of the mobility myth, and the raticnalised, articulate vision of saving children through team sports" (Reiss,1989:7). Are such social and cultural trends that aim to address the institutionalised inequalities of society (Talamini & Page,1973:25) evident in the rhetoric of state, administrative and corporate actors in the political economy of cricket development and their promotion of national sporting codes? More importantly, and of some concern in South Africa given the historical dominance of the white middle class in all social arenas, the democratisation of sport often assumes the status of a

> middle class levelling...involving the cultural dominance of middle class values, attitudes and sentiments (Talamini & Page,1973:25)

The South African case is unusual -- even unique -- since sport became an "object of civil struggle in the name of social justice", involving not just sportsmen and women, but the entire population (Archer & Bouillon,1982:302).

The extent to which "social justice" and the democratisation of South African cricket is apparent in the development of a new national cricketing code, arguably reflects the tension that exists in the wider debates of reconstruction and transformation in contemporary South Africa today. For it is the cultural appropriation by different sections of the population -- and the political manipulation of the cultural symbolism of the game -- that has located South African cricket in the wider context of

national reconstruction and "nation-building" debates.

II. The political and ideological appropriation of sport

The second broad theme that runs through most of the literature is reflected in Ellis Cashmore's consideration of sport as a latently political issue and John Hargreaves's analysis of the political appropriation of sporting culture for ideological objectives. Cashmore's position allows for a theoretical understanding of sport as an ideological theme in the political arena (Cashmore,1990:159), while Hargreaves provides an empirical analysis of the actual political and ideological manipulation of sport, its symbols and its culture.

The relationship between the state and the cultural reproduction of sport is the basis of Hargreaves's argument. The state may intervene in the cultural and ideological reproduction of sport by repressive means, by patronising popular forms of sport, or by incorporating sport into a social welfare provision programme (Hargreaves,1986(a):243). Any analysis of the political economy of cricket development programmes must include the increasing trend of South African political elites patronising popular sports: As the "theatre of the great", sport and sporting culture is open to state appropriation and incorporation into a political ritual designed to promote social and political integration (Hargreaves,1986(a):243). Further, the public domain of sport, the centrality of government agencies in cricket development programmes, and the articulation of state programmed intervention is arguably a reflection of how sport may form part of social welfare provision that transcends the "theatre of the

great", reinforcing cricket's ability to alter the "theatre of the everyday". Sport has generally fallen outside of the formal processes of social welfare decision making and resource allocation, but is beginning to be recognised as a key asset in the quest for wider socio-economic growth and development (Allison,1986:23). The South African context of sport's propinquity in the objectives of social transformation and economic restructuring is an illustration of the political viability of sport in the service of socio-economic growth and development. Thus sport, as a major component of popular culture, with its roots in civil society, and its political significance, is a fundamental arena in which the state intrudes (Hargreaves,1986(a):243).

Sport, as a cultural process, is implicated in the systematic production and reproduction of systems of meaning. Further, the cultural characteristics of sport reflect the more inclusive culture of that larger society (Talamini & Page, 1973:35). We have already seen how the ideology of segregation permeated sporting relations and sports culture during the apartheid era. In other words, sport is dependent on, and imitative of, the social context (Allison,1986:12). Theoretically, this idea implies that sport is an adaptive mechanism viz a viz social conditions, social change, and the wider socio-economic environment. It can be argued that in the social and political context of democratic transition, the face of South African sport has come to reflect these changes, as well as play an integral role in the consolidation of democratic transition.

Andre Odendaal's work on the social integration of black South Africans into white Victorian society provides an empirical analysis of sport's dependency on the social context. His work also provides an interesting parallel between the relationship between sport and culture, and allows us to view the contemporary objectives of sporting integration and reconstruction as a manifestation of sport's adaptive mechanisms. He shows how cricket and its related social activities, during the late nineteenth century in the Cape, provided a social training ground for black participation in a new society (Odendaal,1988:201).

Odendaal's work reflects the development of sport in South Africa in the nineteenth century as a microcosm of the developing colonial society and social structures. He illustrates this reflection by examining the organisational structures that were developed at the institutional level, the value systems that became entrenched in sport, and the role of sport in African class formation (Odendaal,1988:173). Thus an examination of the social mechanisms operating in this nineteenth century articulation of a sporting culture, may be contrasted with that of the emergence of a "new" society in 1994.

A distinction may thus be made between a structuralist argument and a culturalist one. By implying that the cultural manifestations of cricket may be viewed as the products of the socially shaped, lived experience of different subjects, we view sports culture through a culturalist lens: as a practice which relates interactively with economic and political processes (Bennet et al 1981:10-12). Such a culturalist position emphasises the role of human agency, in the response of subjects to the

conditions of their social existence, "creatively fashioning experienced social relationships into diverse and structured patterns of living, thinking and feeling" (ibid). In other words, the culturalist paradigm posits a view of human agency as the mediator between the conditions of cultural practice and its eventual translation or outcome. The socially shaped lived experience of those who play cricket informs their cultural appropriation of the symbolism of the game. The culture of cricket becomes the objectification of that lived experience.

In contrast is the position of structuralism: the culture and ideology of cricket would be posited as the structures which mould and condition the forms of human symbolic exchange (Bennett et al,1981:11). The structuralist position highlights the autonomy of cultural and ideological manifestations from economic, social and political relationships. In other words, it is the symbolic culture of cricket that determines the "lived experience" of playing the game: the cultural ideology of the game, its norms, values and social associations are the "structures" which determine or produce the experience of playing cricket.

This distinction between culturalism and structuralism is fundamental in the consideration of the development of the game of cricket. More importantly, we need to consider the ideological and cultural project which informs the initiatives and objectives of nation-building. Is the attempt to create a new national cricketing identity formed on the basis of creating a new culture around the game, based on the diversity of cultural exchange between, and the different "lived experiences", of previously

segregated players? In other words will a new nationalist cricket culture emerge from the remnants of the social reality of apartheid cricket? Or is the venture of cricket development, merely the articulation of the old cultural forms of cricket imposed on the newly created national identity?

Sport remains an integral part of the process of cultural and political assimilation and mobilisation (Odendaal,1988:196). As Odendaal illustrates, sport -- and particularly cricket -- served an explicitly political function for the black elite:

> By enthusiastically playing the most gentlemanly and Victorian games, they intended to demonstrate their ability to adopt and assimilate European culture and behave like gentleman -- and by extension to show their fitness to be accepted as full citizens in Cape society (Odendaal,1988:200)

Yet it was not just the game that qualified this aspiring black petty bourgeoisie to distance itself from the African masses, the social activities associated with cricket provided the new black elite with a "social training ground for participation in the new society" (Odendaal,1988:201).

Further, Richard Cashman's argument implies that the political function of cricket for an emerging black elite rests in the cultural appropriation of the game. He suggests that the relationship between the proselytiser and the subjects of proselytisation is complex and often changes:

> Those who do not hold power in the administration of games can develop alternative values which not only challenge the official morality of a game, but can become part of a **redefined** hegemony [my emphasis] (Cashman,1988:271)

The proselytisation of cricket by the white cricketing establishment -- as evidenced in its development initiatives --

creates complex problems around the issues of the management and control of the game. Cashman's argument would appear to suggest that the true transformation of South African cricket has to emerge "from below". In other words, the objects of establishment cricket's proselytisation -- black cricketers -- can help to create a new discourse of developing South African cricket: rather than allowing for the imposition of a new cricketing hegemony to be imposed from above, participants in cricket development programmes should actively seek to transform the game form within.

Sport and Nationalism

The role of the state and its policy initiatives in overcoming the legacy of the apartheid past understandably weighs heavily on the articulation of a national sporting culture. Sport failed to serve as a social integrating mechanism in the apartheid era because of the political, ideological and spatial forces promoting separatism. Thus the contemporary challenge for both state and local sports administrative structures, in the desire to foster a national sporting culture in the interests of "nation-building", is to overcome these obstacles and constraints of the past. The investigation of the rhetoric of *cricket development* is a means with which to consider the transition from segregated to nationally representative sport. In this sense, it is crucial to investigate sport's ability to create politically usable resources, and to consider sport as an important agent of political socialisation. It has been said that sport "is an expression of British virtues, a metaphor for American

capitalism, and at the forefront of a modernising nationalism in Africa" (Allison,1986:13). We must question the scope of contemporary cricket development initiatives in the political socialisation process of socio-economic reconstruction and development. Whether governmental intervention into the arena of sport is either a form of legislative control, or a means for the manipulation of sport for political purposes (Cashmore,1990:177) should become clear in this project's evaluation of the contemporary political economy of cricket development.

Thus, as a fundamental source of power, the cultural appropriation of sport by certain groups is able to reproduce societal power relations (Hargreaves,1986(b):9). The appropriation of the cultural symbols of sport may be used to promote the ideals of nationalism, sporting unity, and a national sporting culture (Hargreaves,1986(a):253). Whether such processes are evident in the political economy of cricket development is a fundamental aim of this research project. The contemporary expression of a national sporting culture, and the rise of sport may provide new cultural and social expressions of nationalism through choice or the invention of nationally specific sports (Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1983:300).

The complex relationship between sport and nationalism is reflected in the manner in which sport often contributes to quests for identity. Further, many of these identities are reflected in representations of nationality (Jarvie,1993:61).

Grant Jarvie's concept of identity incorporates the "subjective feelings and valuations" of a population which possesses common experiences and "many shared cultural

characteristics" [my emphasis] (Jarvie,1993:61). He argues that the forms and contexts may change, but that the quest for identity is as much a question about the present as it is about the past (ibid).

> Sport itself...both contributes to and is constitutive of...amorphous identities and expressions of nationhood...[but] it is almost impossible to distinguish exactly what identity is being reflected and what expressions of national consciousness are being symbolised or lived out (Jarvie,1990:61)

The contradictions of sporting political autonomy and sports development initiatives is reflected in the growing policy formations regarding the implementation and funding of developmental and nation-building objectives. The increase in statutory intervention and control, casts sport as an arena in which public interests need to be regulated by the state (Foster,1993:107). The regulation of sport -- and in the South African case, a nationalist sporting culture -- is instrumental in the achievement of policy objectives (ibid).

Mike Marqusee is able to illustrate the powerful influence of cricket over the English national psyche, in a way that draws out the extent to which "vicious nationalism" has perverted the supposed ideals of the game (Salaam,1995:103). His discussion of the patronage of the game by the social and political elite, cricket's development as the first modern spectator sport, its present status as a commercial commodity, and its position at the core of British identity, leads to an often scathing attack on the hypocrisy, xenophobia and corruption of the game.

A parallel may be drawn between sport and national identity in African countries at the time of independence, and that of a

developing country such as South Africa "liberated" in a new democracy. Sport and the participation in sport has been used as a mechanism through which to promote national prestige, and may be explained as a process whereby the

> the social spirit of the population [is]... connected with [an] awareness of victory over the colonizers and the striving to achieve rapidly economic and cultural independence (Calhoun,1987:160)

Donald Calhoun highlights the problems of balancing elite forms of sport -- such as cricket, given its colonial and "white" roots in South Africa -- with mass physical culture (Calhoun,1987:157). He argues that African independence and the subsequent advent of modernization and urbanisation, has tended to produce a new specialised sport elite that becomes proficient at the games of the former masters (Calhoun,1987:171). His argument may be linked to the South African example -- while not a newly independent state, certainly one in the throes of establishing a new political and social democratic order -- and raises questions about the nature of sport and nation-building in a new political order. Is it simply a question of black cricketers becoming more proficient at the game of cricket, to the extent that they form part of the initiative to create a representative national cricket side? Alternatively, will the "representativeness" of South African cricket become an organic process, relying on the game itself and the internal dynamics of the selection of better players -- whether they be white or black -- to promote the ideology of a "new nation"?

Grant Jarvie also points to the liberal historical view of sport as one of the greatest symbols of integration for many emerging African nations. He argues that victorious athletes not

only legitimised the nation within the international arena, they also incarnated a positive image of the nation (Jarvie,1993:70).

The Hobsbawm and Ranger theoretical debates concerning the invention of nationalist traditions is crucial to the theoretical framework of this project. For Hobsbawm, sport became a social force of cohesion for the newly emerging Victorian middle class, combining the invention of politics and social traditions, and providing a medium for national identification (Hobsbawm & Ranger,1983). Ranger elaborates the argument by asserting that the rise of sport provided "new expressions of nationalism through the choice or invention of nationally specific sports" (Hobsbawm & Ranger,1983:300).

Jarvie contends that sport's "privatisation of sociability" creates sporting traditions that can be as divisive as they are integrative, as oppositional as they are conservative (Jarvie,1993:73-4). He argues that the privatisation of sport, and the subsequent controlled and limited access to participation, ensures the invention of amorphous identities in different ways for different groups of people (Jarvie,1993:74). Such a position serves as a reminder of Benedict Anderson's work, who acknowledges that the quest for identity may rely on a variety of sources -- romanticism, mythology, invented tradition or real cultural artifacts. Yet fundamentally, he reminds us that all forms of identity are selective, particular, time-bound and expressive (Anderson,1991). However, Anderson does assert that sport provides a uniquely effective medium for inculcating national feelings, as it provides a form of symbolic action "which states the case for the nation itself" (Anderson,1991).

> The popular identification between athlete X, team Y or community Z has led to the suggestion that sporting struggles, and international triumphs and losses, are primary expressions of imagined communities.It is as if the imagined community or nation becomes more real on the terraces or the athletic track (Anderson,1991)

Jarvie stresses the dangers in over-emphasising the role of sport in the making of nations. However, he goes on to highlight some of the more compelling arguments for drawing the link between nation building and sporting activity. These include sport's ability to consolidate official nationalism, patriotism or racism; the reinforcement of national consciousness and cultural nationalism; and sport's provision of a safety valve for emotional nationalist energy. Further, he argues that sport has some inherent property that makes it a possible instrument of national unity and integration, particularly in emerging nations (Jarvie,1993:78). The South African example arguably presents an excellent case for the illustration of this position.

Central to the debates around nationalism is the symbolic significance of sporting heroes and role models. In the cultural and social appropriation of sport, sports stars represent "opportunity and the possibility of success... encouraging the development of...skills and heightening aspirations" (Talamini & Page,1973:21). However, in the promotion of a new national cricketing culture, the issues of representativeness emerge once again -- the available role models for aspirant cricketers, of all races, are white. Black cricketing role models have to be imported from the West Indies, India and even England.

John Hargreaves argues against the negative notions of sport providing "surrogate satisfactions for an alienated mass order"

(Hargreaves,1986(b):72). Instead he points to the ability of sport to provide a base for unity and solidarity -- sport may serve the interests of the status quo, "especially in the belief in the ultimate triumph of ability" (ibid). The efforts of the state and sports administrative bodies to articulate the ultimate triumph of a new national sporting culture is potentially a source of unity and solidarity.

Sport as a Bureaucracy

The organisational politics of development programmes raises the notion of the bureaucratisation of sport. The extent to which the bureaucratisation of sport is reflective of the bureaucratisation of other social institutions provides an indication of the myriad of political, economic and social forces that shape and constrain the organisational frameworks of society's institutions (Cashmore,1990:183). Both Cashmore and Talamini agree on the changing face of sport's official organisation -- they disagree on the source of those changes. While Talamini points to the internal logic of organisation and budgeting, Cashmore sees the sources of organisational transformation lying outside the formal sphere of sport, in the general spheres of the political institutions of the state and the economy (Cashmore,1990:184). The analysis of the political economy of cricket development programmes, and the understanding of the institutional and organisational forms of sporting administrative structures thus requires an analysis that considers both the internal operatives of funding, resource allocation and overall organisation of these development

programmes which encourages their formalisation and rationalisation (Talamini & Page,1973:33), as well as the range of wider social forces that have encouraged bureaucratisation in sporting social institutions.

Jean Marie Brohm argues that the institutional, rule-governed and highly organised structure of modern sport represents a fundamental constraint on the manifestation of sport, sporting conduct and recreation (Brohm,1978:71). However, in response both Cashmore and Talamini point to the resilience of sport in the face of increased officialdom and red tape. Just as the wider social, political and economic forces influence the bureaucratisation of sport, those broader forces have also contributed to the spontaneous and informal identification with cricketing codes, values and styles of play: in spite of bureaucratisation, sport is also strongly embedded in the popular culture of play (Talamini & Page,1973:34). In other words, South African cricket still has an informal side, and this informality is prevalent in the ethos of developing the game that extends beyond any organisational boundaries. But it is how this informality is reconciled with the bureaucratisation of cricket development programmes that allows this research project to speculate on the competing agendas of the various actors involved in the political economy of cricket development.

III. The Business of Sport

As sport increasingly becomes a marketable commodity, it is necessary to review the business strategies of marketing and sponsoring sport.

The new profit motives of sport have led to the decline of sport as a mere leisure past time. Sport is now viewed as an economic activity, with sports bodies controlling large economic resources (Foster,1993:106). Therefore, sport and sporting organisations need to be regulated and become accountable.

Sport has become commercialised, produced, packaged and sold like any other commodity on the market for mass consumption at enormous profits (Cashmore,1990:70). Caught in the web of commercial interests and profit margins, sports development has also become a commodity to be bought and sold.

In South Africa, the contemporary situation of sports sponsorship is shaped by the legacy of the past -- the inequitable distribution of public and private funding of sporting activity directly affected the density of sports facilities in black areas (Archer & Bouillon,1982:168). In overcoming this legacy, the rapidly increasing "business" of South African sports development is largely centred around the social upliftment of black sport.

Patricia Bibb and Willy Bendix suggest that the most valid reason for entering into the arena of social responsibility is that South African society is in a critical state of flux. This allows the corporate sector to assume a role of managing contemporary changes (Bibb & Bendix,1991:58). In South Africa's highly politicised society, politics cannot be divorced from business and corporate social responsibility activities. Thus corporate social responsibility must be considered against the background of the contemporary socio-political structures of the new democracy. Corporate social responsibility is "the exercise

of significant choices by business in the political economy of South Africa" (Bibb & Bendix,1991:50). By implication then, the sponsorship decisions and initiatives of the corporate sector carry political ramifications. Further, social responsibility programmes can only be considered as an effort for socio-economic and political change in the medium term. They are not a long term business strategy (ibid).

Bibb and Bendix conclude their argument by asserting that education, housing and the generation of economic activity are the three key areas in which the corporate sector can assume a socially responsible role. They argue that it is the increasing politicisation of social welfare issues -- like housing and education -- and the growing socio-economic polarisation of South Africans, that requires the channelling of corporate funds into the public sector. Thus, it is in the broader context of this new "buzz-word" of corporate social responsibility -- of which sports sponsorship is a fashionable component -- that the political economy of cricket development programmes and their link to nation-building may be examined.

For Bibb and Bendix, the concepts of corporate social responsibility are commonly confused with the sponsorship of sport. They contend that sponsorship may only be considered as a social responsibility if that sponsorship is for the "common good" (Bibb & Bendix,1991:56). Thus, the promotion of sport and sports development in the interests of creating a new national identity, through the implication of their argument, constitutes a broader corporate initiative. However, at stake is whether corporate actors in fact consider -- and promote -- their role

in the broader scheme of reconstruction and nation-building.

Corporate sponsorship may be defined as the support of a sport, sports event or sports organisation by an outside body for the mutual benefit of both parties (Wilson,1988:157). Such a definition raises interesting questions as to why certain sections of the corporate sector elected to promote and sponsor the cricket development initiatives of the United Cricket Board of South Africa (UCBSA) and its provincial affiliates. Neil Wilson's response to the motivations of corporate actors who provide social investment or sports sponsorship draws a distinction between philanthropism, and a concerted attempt to ensure a return on an investment (Wilson,1988:157).

As Wilson points out, sponsorship has become the fourth strong arm of marketing: "a critical cousin to the advertising, sales promotion and public relations departments which form the marketing mix" (Wilson,1988:159). In other words companies are beginning to realise that they can strengthen their reputation, enhance their community standing, reach their target audience, support their marketing objective and even motivate employees through the use of skilled and targeted sponsorship. In other words, sports sponsorship is no longer a philanthropic gesture. Yet the debasing of corporate social responsibility can be avoided by reaffirming the distinctions between the social responsibility budget, the advertising budget and sponsorships (Bibb & Bendix,1991:56).

Sports sponsorship fulfils three basic objectives of corporate social responsibility initiatives. Firstly, sponsorship forms an extension of the main advertising campaign. Secondly,

the initiative establishes corporate identity. And thirdly, the sponsorship consolidates name and brand awareness, ultimately leading to increased sales (Wilson,1988:160).

In what has been called the "onward march of commercialism" (Allison,1993:7), the conflict between the commercial-professional ethos of sport, and that of amateur-elite ideals, has emerged in the growing market of sport. Arguably, the advocates of the amateur-elite position would claim that the sponsorship of development programmes "debases the nobility and purity" of the sport (Allison,1993:7). Yet in contrast, those who support the increasing inroads made by business into the world of professional sport, would point to the consequences of better playing performances and improved sporting results.

Summary

The literature review has attempted to show how the historical legacy of apartheid sport has widespread implications for contemporary cricket organisation and development. The review has also highlighted the need to assess the organisational bureaucracy of cricket development programmes in the context of the political and economic considerations of the state, sports administrative structures and the private sector. Finally, the degree to which cricket may be manipulated and appropriated -- both culturally and ideologically -- is central to this project's analysis of cricket development's political economy.

Each of these thematic considerations helps to point to an understanding of the dynamics of "nation building": a nationalist venture which includes the cultural and social appropriation of

...et and its symbolism, a reliance on the organisational and bureaucratic structures of the state and cricket's administrative bodies, and which ultimately aims to redress the segregated past of apartheid sport.

CHAPTER THREE
METHODOLOGY

Given the nature and scope of the research conducted, and the extent of the subject matter, it was necessary to adopt an eclectic methodological approach that embraced the many issues at hand. The investigation of sport as a social institution in a transformed South African society, and the particular consideration of the political economy of cricket development programmes required the use of a wide range of empirical and investigatory tools in the completion of the research.

A qualitative approach

The project had a distinctly qualitative approach, with an intentional focus on the personal perceptions, attitudes, conceptual understandings and objectives of the research participants. Such qualitative methods allowed for in-depth interviewing and documentary research to substantiate the wide range of statistical information that is made publicly available by the actors involved in cricket development programmes.

Since the central research question is one that entails the subjective interpretation of nationalism, development and sporting cultural identity, qualitative research methods assumed pre-eminence with regard to the type of information that needed to be collected.

Sampling

The Department of Sport and Recreation (DSR) and the National Sports Council (NSC) were targeted as the two primary

points of access with which to consider firstly, the state's role in the political economy of cricket development programmes, and secondly the examination of their role in the redefinition of national sporting codes. Therefore a specific and targeted sample of the officials of these two structures, who are actively engaged in sports development policy initiatives, was designed. The sample, and the subsequent interviews, were limited to those officials who were affiliated to the Gauteng departments of these state structures.

In understanding the position of the non-state administrative structures within the political economy of cricket development programmes, the development officials and administrators of both the United Cricket Board of South Africa (UCBSA) and the Transvaal Cricket Board (TCB) were targeted as key informants.

Uncovering the motives and objectives of social investment in sport -- and cricket in particular -- required "expert" interviews with the staff of the corporate social responsibility departments of the major sponsors of cricket development programmes. Thus, a targeted sample was implemented to gain access to the corporate social responsibility departments of Nedcor, PG Bison, Norwich Life, Bakers, Coca-Cola (ABI) and Willards (SA).

The sample to interview cricket players who had participated in development initiatives was of a more informal nature -- the author's knowledge and support of local cricket clubs, and the assistance of cricket playing colleagues, facilitated the negotiation of access through informal introductions.

The sampling framework of this project included twelve interviews with the officials and personnel of the three key actors: the state, non-governmental administrators and the corporate sector. Approximately seven interviews of a less formal sample comprised the investigation amongst development cricket players.

Gaining access

As envisaged at the start of this research project, there were no serious problems in gaining access to the institutions and administrational bodies around which the political economy of development programmes is structured.

Negotiating access to the developmental officials of the United Cricket Board of South Africa (UCBSA) and the Transvaal Cricket Board (TCB) was easily achieved. A formal and telephonic approach to both cricket boards elicited a series of interviews with the relevant personnel at the UCBSA and TCB's respective offices at the Wanderers Club in Johannesburg. The only constraint to meeting with these cricketing officials was suitable time, given their hectic schedules with the start of the 1995/6 cricketing season.

A similar approach of formal and telephonic introduction ensured a meeting with a representative of the Department of Sport and Recreation in the department's offices in Braamfontein. Further, by visiting their offices in Pretoria I was able to obtain a copy of the Department's Annual Report, as well as the Department's Draft White Paper on Sport and Recreation in South Africa.

Each of the corporate sponsors was approached individually. The corporate social responsibility representatives of Norwich Life and Bakers were contacted and interviewed telephonically, since their location in Cape Town and Durban respectively did not allow for a direct means of access. Those corporate actors whose sponsorship and marketing departments were located in the Gauteng region were contacted telephonically to arrange for formal, and individual, interviews.

Interviews

A single, formal questionnaire was drawn up, covering the main themes of the proposed research. The questionnaire was designed to cover the variety of issues contained within the development initiatives of the reconstruction of South African cricket, and its political economy. The questionnaire was designed around a thematic categorisation of the issues, and was composed of six parts:

Firstly, the issues of "development" generated questions which concerned the objectives and aims of development, as well as the link between sponsorship and development.

Secondly, I attempted to make a thematic connection between cricket development, cricket sponsorship and nation building. For example, participants were questioned about their personal cricketing role models and their chosen preference for supporting national sides in international competition.

Thirdly, the questionnaire aimed to highlight the relationship of sport to the objectives of the Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP). Further, the articulation of the

relationship between sport and development in the Draft White Paper on Sport and Recreation in South Africa was addressed.

In the fourth thematic categorisation, I attempted to probe both the personal and official positions on the issue of sporting merit. I wanted to know how the tensions of selecting cricketers on the merit of their performance was viewed in opposition to, or in tandem with, the issue of opportunity.

Fifth, the questionnaire attempted to reveal the contemporary trends of cricket, particularly in relation to the years of political repression, sporting segregation and inequality, and sporting isolation. For example, I deliberately posed the controversial question as to whether cricket development programmes would have been established in the late 1980s.

Lastly, the notion of cricket as a "lived experience". Questions were designed to reveal what cricket's cultural symbolism, and the values and norms associated with cricket, meant to those who played the game.

The deliberate broadness of the questionnaire allowed for a flexible approach. This comprehensive questionnaire was adapted to each interview situation, with specific focus on the issues directly applicable to the respondent being interviewed. For example, the questions around the broad themes of development, sporting reconstruction, and nation building formed the basis of the interviews with the cricket boards and the Department of Sport.

Many of the questions were leading or hypothetical in nature, as I felt that this kind of questioning would produce

more interesting insights from the research participants. For example: all the respondents were reminded of -- and asked to comment on -- the recent suggestion by the South African Rugby Football Union (SARFU) to introduce racial quotas in their Craven Week competition. Such questioning nearly always prompted an answer concerning cricket's position with regard to the introduction of racial quotas and the issues of merit selection.

Structured and formal interviews were conducted with the sample of cricket developmental "experts" -- the administrators, coaches, sports development consultants and co-ordinators -- who in their official and professional capacities within cricket administrative bodies were able to offer a particular reflection on the present state of cricket development programmes, their success in the past, and their role in the future.

Similarly, the interviews conducted with the representatives of the state and corporate sectors were also structured and formal. The interviews with cricket players were not of such a formal nature -- usually because the interview was conducted after a practise or a match. On one occasion, an interview was conducted while the respondent was fielding at fine leg!

In all the meetings with the research participants, my intentions to use a tape-recorder to record each interview were well founded. Fundamentally, the formal nature of the interviews was best facilitated by jotting down shorthand notes, so that I was able to listen to the comments of the respondents, as well as contribute to the discussion myself. In essence, the formal nature of the interviews did not create an artificial or stilted atmosphere -- rather, the discussions became quite lively! The

majority of the research participants expressed surprise at the calibre and extent of my cricketing and sporting knowledge, and in many ways this generated a more favourable response from them, particularly with regard to the establishment of further contact.

Documentary research

Extensive and detailed documentary research was a major component of the methodological framework of this project.

The Department of Sport's Draft White Paper -- "Getting the Nation to Play" -- was analysed, with particular regard to those sections highlighting the transformation of South African sport through development initiatives. A similar content analysis was carried out on the Department's Annual Report of 1994. The examination of these policy documents allowed for the analysis of the state's planned initiatives with regard to the development of sport, the attempt to foster a national sporting culture, as well as the proposed funding of these initiatives.

The documentary research also included a content analysis of the mission statements, annual progress reports, and promotional literature of the UCBSA and the TCB.

The TCB and its key corporate sponsor, Norwich Life, produce a cricket development magazine entitled Isicamtho Magents. This provided a useful -- and often entertaining -- insight into the promotional discourses of township cricket and cricket development. Further, the official newsletter of the TCB, Cover Drive, allowed a content analysis of the TCB's development initiative in the wider arena of provincial cricket to be conducted.

Similarly, the corporate social responsibility reports of the main sponsors of development programmes were to form part of this area of research. However, the investigation was limited to the promotional literature and press releases provided by these companies for the purposes of media coverage.

Documentary research was also conducted around the mass media and the wide range of "popular" literary genres that are currently available. The documentary assessment of the electronic and print media included their coverage and promotion of redefined cricketing codes, the reorientation of a national cricketing culture, and the increased publicity afforded to sporting development initiatives. Such content analysis provided the flesh on the seemingly abstract skeleton of theory. Thus, television reports and programmes, newspapers, magazines and advertisements were all examined to their fullest extent. In particular, the cricket magazines SA Cricketer and SA Cricket Action were examined with regard to their coverage of national and provincial development schemes. Their coverage of the cricket tours undertaken by the Soweto Cricket Club, and both the national under-19 and under-24 sides, provided some insight into the "results" of development initiatives.

Further, the content analysis of the advertisements of the corporate sponsors -- which highlight their financial investment in cricket development programmes -- provided an interesting insight into motivations and objectives of the corporate sector. Such documentary research also helped to determine the focus, and line of questioning, of the interviews with these respective corporate actors.

Observational studies

In understanding cricket as a game of lived experience, I felt that observational methods would provide both illustrative and personalised examples of what the game entailed. It would not be enough to understand the state of play in South African cricket through the comments and insights of office-bound administrators. While their input was certainly invaluable, the cultural symbolism of cricket, and the values and norms associated with the game, are most noticeable in the everyday environments of cricket practise, the meeting of teams on the pitches of township and suburban ovals alike, and the social interaction of players during and after the game. The diversion of cricket, irrespective of its current relation to the objectives of nation building and development, is more than a mere game of bat and ball. Within the game there exists a myriad of socially -- and in South Africa, politically -- entrenched values and associations. For the sociological purposes of understanding sport as a social and cultural institution, these "experiences" are best observed.

Observation of coaching clinics was one method employed during the course of this research. By observing the interaction between school boys, coaches and teachers, I was able to gain some insight into the internal dynamics of cricket, as a representation of wider social relations.

Observational studies were also conducted at organised cricket games between development sides and local schools. The observation of the interaction between black and white school boy cricketers -- both on the field and off -- shed some light

on the extent of racial disparities on performance, team morale, competitive sporting relations and social interaction. In essence this helped to understand the debates around racially representative sporting structures, organisations and national teams.

The observational research methods employed also extended to the occasional attendance of club cricket games. In these situations, the game and the codes of play, the interaction of racially mixed teams, and the demographic composition of the spectators were noted.

Problems and constraints

The relative ease of gaining access to the developmental officials of the cricketing boards could not be emulated when negotiating access to the key officials within the Department of Sport and the UCBSA -- time constraints and pre-planned schedules prevented meetings with the Minister of Sport, Steve Tshwete, and the Managing Director of the UCBSA, Ali Bacher.

Although access to the National Sports Council was easily achieved, I arrived at the NSC's Turffontein offices to discover the appointment I had made with Qondisa Ngwenya, the NSC's Development Manager, had been cancelled without any explanation or forewarning. Further, Ngwenya's schedule prior to the All-Africa Games, the African Nations soccer tournament, and the English cricket tour, precluded any further contact from being made. As a result, I was forced to research the NSC's position on sports development through press releases, promotional brochures, and the second hand knowledge of cricketing officials.

The proposed observation of the planning and co-ordinating meetings of local cricket administrative structures (in the attempt to understand the organisational dynamics and politics which lie behind the vision of cricket unity and the goal of national reconstruction) was not achieved. Access to these meetings was not formally denied, yet was discouraged. However, some information with regard to the content, structure and objectives of these meetings was achieved through interviewing, as well as the documentary research process.

Ethical considerations

The nature of this study did not raise major ethical problems. However, the basic tenets of conducting empirically valid and reliable research were strictly adhered to. All participation in the study was of a voluntary nature. All interviewees, informants and research participants were informed of the exact nature and scope of the study, its aims, and the author's motivation for conducting the research. Further, all the research participants were offered a copy of the research findings once the project had been completed. The rare requests for anonymity -- or "off-the-record" comments -- were respected, and as such some of the information contained within this project cannot be referenced or sourced. Participants were also assured that the findings of this study would not be used in any other capacity than that of the completion of a Master's degree.

CHAPTER FOUR
"DEVELOPMENT IN SPORT"

Sports development offers the perfect microcosm with which to consider the wider social, political and economic debates of reconstruction and transformation. The metaphor of cricket development allows us to go beyond the boundary, and into the broader narrative of contemporary South Africa. The many, and often competing, discourses of "sports development" are an inroad into the numerous issues and debates that abound in a society transforming itself. In the space of one arena -- the arena of sports development -- we are witness to affirmative action debates, the pursuit of international excellence and the endeavour for competitiveness. These discourses of sports development need to be evaluated, with reference to its articulation by each of the three actors in the political economy of cricket development programmes. This section serves as an introductory assessment of the state, cricket administration and the private sector's objectives -- including the constraints and opportunities -- in the arena of sports and cricket "development". The first section outlines the state's discourse of sports development which incorporates the advancement of sporting and recreational facilities within the wider social and political objectives of transformation and "nation-building". The second section highlights the official position of the United Cricket Board of South Africa (UCBSA). Specifically, this section details the UCBSA's objectives of cricket development and its attempt to broaden the game of cricket to under-developed communities. The last section of this chapter outlines the

growing marketability of development. It considers firstly, the growing trend of marketing " cricket development", and the game itself, in the interests of promoting a new national cricketing culture. Secondly, this section highlights the commercialisation of "sports development", and the ways in which the discourse has become a profitable commercial interest. It also considers the discourse of development in the advertising campaigns of cricket development's major sponsors.

I.The State and "Development"

Sport, with its roots in civil society, and its political significance, is a fundamental arena in which the state intrudes (Hargreaves, 1986(a):243).

The state's role in cricket development through the Department of Sport and Recreation (DSR), the National Sports Council (NSC), and the Reconstruction and Development Plan's (RDP) commitment to the development of sporting and recreational facilities and opportunities points to the necessity of analysing an otherwise neglected area of policy making and state expenditure.

The RDP states that sport and recreation should cut across all development programmes, and is an integral part of developing a healthier society. Further, the RDP calls for the mobilising of resources in both the public and private sectors to redress inequalities in the sporting arena. In other words, the new democratic government aims to work with the NSC in developing and implementing a sports policy that undertakes the co-ordination of the development initiatives of all South African sport

(ANC,1994:72-3).

The Department of Sport and Recreation

The Draft White Paper enlists the Department of Sport with a responsibility to deliver sport and recreation to the people of South Africa, and in a way that is deliberately biased in favour of the under-privileged.

The White Paper as a policy document is vague, filled with ideological and wordy rhetoric, and places little emphasis on the proposed funding of a Five Year Plan. The document argues that sport is central to the achievement of all the aspirations, policies and principles that underpin the objectives of the Government of National Unity. The DSR positions itself and South African sport as

> a unified force, ready to discharge its responsibility as a unifier, healer of wounds, creator of work opportunities, booster of national image, promoter of national health, consolidator of international ties, restorer of the culture of learning and teaching, redeemer of the so-called marginalised youth (DSR White Paper,1995:2)

The Department of Sport and Recreation aims to encourage an understanding that sport is a critical element in the value system of any society. Speaking in Parliament, Minister of Sport Steve Tshwete justified his 1994 Budget for the department:

> Whether you are talking about reconciliation and nation building...restoration of the culture of learning...job creation...or the establishment of international relations...there is absolutely no way you can...diminish the centrality of sport in addressing these matters
>
> Sport remains unsurpassed as a bridgehead that transcends racial, ethnic, linguistic, cultural and gender boundaries, precisely because of the simplicity of language with which it tackles all

these problems (The Star, 30 November 1994)

Significantly, the DSR also positions itself centrally in the project of "nation-building". The White Paper reflects this conscious positioning by stating that the re-establishment of the DSR -- separate from the Education Ministry -- is a formal acknowledgement by the government of sport's role in nation building (DSR White Paper, 1995:8).

The Department of Sport and Recreation undertook 675 development projects involving 44 000 people in 1994 (DSR Annual Report 1994). The projects, undertaken by its ten regional offices at a cost of R635 000, "aimed at mass participation and helping to develop young talent" (The Star, 16 June 1995).

The Department of Sport aims to specifically redress the racial inequalities inherent in the selection of South African national sides. Minister of Sport, Steve Tshwete has been quoted as saying that he is "finished with [having] to stick my neck out" by defending the racial composition of South African sports teams. He sounded a warning to Parliament's select committee on sport and recreation that

> Something needs to be done besides development programmes. Sometimes there is a reluctance among certain codes...to take the code to everybody in the country (The Star, 14 September 1994)

He added that the government would provide the funding for the advancement of development programmes, but would also "demand their pound of flesh". Tshwete confirmed the Department's view that the solution to the problems of racial composition in sports teams could only be found in "the expeditious programme of grassroots development" (The Star, 14 September 1994).

The DSR considers sport central to the development of interpersonal relations and ultimately nation building. Tshwete has pointed to cricket -- its management and development schemes -- as an example for other South African sporting codes to follow:

> Our cricket administrators had the vision to take sport to the people in the township where virtually no opportunities to the play the game existed. They initiated development programmes in communities which were not familiar with cricket. They launched programmes to promote cricket by involving top players who were household names on the international cricket scene. They harnessed the media to promote the cause of cricket and to establish credibility where it was lacking (SA Cricketer, January 1995)

It would appear that the DSR is content with its provision of administrative co-ordination of sports development -- allowing individual sporting codes like cricket to flesh out the "blueprint" of national sports accreditation at the grassroots level.

National Sports Council (NSC)

The National Sports Council (NSC) is a statutory body. Under the guidance of the DSR it has formulated a national sports policy and has drawn up a framework for the development of sport.

According to the official accreditation of the NSC, the organisation positions itself between civil society and the state in the aim of making sport accessible to all South Africans. The NSC claims to assume an interactive role with all sectors of society, from sports federations to community organisations, the business sector and the Government.

The variety of reading material and promotional information

provided by the National Sports Council stresses the role of sport as a "direct contributor" to the Reconstruction and Development Plan (RDP). In an advertising pull-out feature in The Star and Sowetan newspapers, NSC President Mluleki George highlighted three ways in which sport may contribute to the goals and objectives of national reconstruction and transformation.

Firstly, sport can contribute to the RDP with its nation building characteristics. George argues that sport is a vehicle for communication and mutual respect, and as a result is a great reconciler: "

> When people play together,their preconceived perceptions tend to disappear and they begin to see each other as South Africans (The Star, 30 November 1995)

Secondly, sport may contribute to national transformation by enhancing South Africa's status in the international arena. The NSC argues that by implication, an increase in international status assists the tourism industry and subsequently, international investment"

George posits employment creation as the third contribution of sport to national reconstruction and development. He argues that sport is an unconscious creator of employment.

The NSC's mission statement recognises the dual role of junior sport in providing firstly, a foundation for adult sport and secondly, contributing towards personal development. Their programme of sports development -- Protea Sport -- is a framework for developing sport in South Africa, and emphasises the need for lifelong interaction with sport.

Qondisa Ngwenya, NSC Development Manager, argues that sports development has two sides to it:

> Firstly we want to develop a strong sport culture and healthy nation. However, we also need to develop our elite teams to produce good role models who will in turn encourage people to play sport. The one feeds off the other (NSC supplement, The Star, 30 November 1994)

This view substantiates the NSC's official policy of "Duality in Development"; that is, an interactive relationship between grassroots and elite athletic development. On one hand, by promoting sport at a grassroots level an increase in the pool of participants is encouraged. But on the other hand, there must be a conscious effort to develop and prepare the country's elite sportsmen and women to compete successfully at an international level. For it is these sportsmen and women who act as role models, encouraging further participation at the grassroots level.

Despite the NSC's articulate policy, Ngwenya acknowledges that the catch comes when trying to "sell" development to sponsors:

> Development is hard to sell to business as it has long term results, as opposed to elite sport which has a high profile and immediate returns (NSC supplement, The Star 30 November 1994)

Protea Sport, according to Ngwenya, aims to make sport available to all. It also aims to ensure that young people receive competent coaching and varied sports opportunities that provide enjoyment and enhance the development of skill and confidence (The Star, Nov 30 1995).

Specifically, there are five fundamental objectives of the NSC's Protea Sport programme. The first is to introduce the South African youth to basic, varied and quality sports activities. Secondly, the NSC aims to introduce a variety of sustainable and

quality sports programmes. The third objective of Protea Sport is to ensure the optimum use of resources, for the provision of the first two objectives. Protea Sport also aims to promote quality coaching, so that a clear sports leadership in disadvantaged communities is developed. The fifth and last objective is to enhance co-operation between sports associations, clubs, education institutions and the NSC. This particular goal will be achieved through a partnership between education departments, sports codes and local authorities. The NSC aims to act as a facilitator in this partnership forum.

The primary target group of Protea Sport are children between the ages of seven and fifteen, and the development initiative has a definite bias towards deprived and under-developed communities.

The NSC is also a founding member of The Sports Trust -- which as a joint initiative of the private sector, the Department of Sport and Recreation, the NSC, and the National Olympic Committee of South Africa (NOCSA) will grant over R7 million to sports development projects in South Africa. Initially the funds will be used to capitalise the trust, and thereafter, will be used to fund development projects. The Sports Trust is managed by a board of trustees, of which the United Cricket Board is a member.

The primary objective of the trust is to advance sport across all disciplines and at all levels. It aims to address present sporting imbalances in disadvantaged communities, while simultaneously enhancing sport in those areas which have established facilities. The Sports Trust was praised by Steve

Tshwete "as the most extensive joint effort by the private and public sector, to establish a body that will facilitate comprehensive sports development" (The Star 30 November 1995).

Thus it is clear that government intervention into sport is both a form of legislative control, and a means for the manipulation of sport for political purposes. But a tension exists between the stated goals of the DSR's sports development programme, and its actual implementation at a grassroots level. This tension exists in the discourse of promoting sport for the idealist goals of creating a healthy nation, and that of the discourse which reflects the need to promote sporting excellence in international competition. It is clear that the efforts of the DSR and the NSC are directed at the latter goal. That is, the promotion of elite sporting activity, and the support of internationally competitive South African athletes and sports teams will have positive ramifications for the former goal. The tension between these two discourses becomes obvious when a content analysis of the DSR and NSC's policy documents yields no clear link between the two. In other words, the policy framework of creating a healthy nation, where sport is accessible to all South Africans appears to be fancy rhetoric. The true aims of the DSR and the NSC are in the promotion of sporting excellence at the pinnacle of the sporting pyramid in South Africa. As a result, it can be argued that the "development" of South African sporting codes rests on a handful of select athletes and sports teams. Thus sport has been manipulated for a very specific political purpose: one that uses sport for the legitimising of the "new" South African nation, and not one that promotes

"nation-building" through sport. Instead, the rhetoric of sports development is being used to promote the ideals and aspirations of South Africa's sporting elite.

II. Cricket and "Development"

> Anybody who wants to play the game, may do so with equal opportunity
> (UCBSA Constitutional Pledge)

The discourse of development as it is articulated by the national and provincial cricketing bodies may be considered through the analysis of the UCBSA's development initiatives.

The UCBSA's Development Programme is run from a centralised Development Directorate at the UCBSA headquarters under the directorship of Khaya Majola. Majola reports to the UCBSA Executive through the managing director, Ali Bacher. The Development Directorate works together with Score Furnishers Cricket Coaching Academy, under the directorship of Hoosain Ayob. The Development Directorate and the Coaching Academy are responsible for co-ordinating all aspects of the national development programme. This includes primary and advanced coaching courses, administration courses, equipment, transport, facilities, competitions, education bursaries, international youth tours and media liaison.Majola highlighted the three biggest challenges for cricket development: Firstly, he said that there was a definite need to broaden cricket's base through development. The second, and for him the most urgent, challenge involved the redressing the imbalances of the past. And thirdly, there is a need to help development players bridge the consequent gaps through intensive coaching and affirmative action.

The UCBSA's Development Directorate has 11 regional offices, all of which are required to follow UCBSA policy. The UCBSA dispenses a strict code of conduct with regard to the development initiatives of the national body being administered amongst the smaller provincial development schemes. Ali Bacher, Managing Director of the UCBSA, is on record for saying that cricket administrators had five year's grace for their development programmes to show "tangible fruit, if they wanted cricket to survive in the next century" (The Star, 30 september 1994).

The UCBSA has also made inroads into the arena of coaching, stressing that without proper coaching and training, the nursery of young cricketers is severely limited. The UCBSA sets aside R90 000 of it s annual development budget for the purposes of coaches' training and improving coaching standards.

However, there was wide consensus amongst players, coaches and administrators that the role of coaching in South African cricket had assumed "bus driver" status. "Bus driving" means that coaches are merely the transport co-ordinators, getting teams to and from fixtures -- their lack of comprehensive cricket coaching skills inhibits true teaching of new skills and techniques.

Clive Rice, speaking at the Cricket Society of South Africa, expressed concern about the level of coaching in all sectors of the cricket establishment. He said that inadequate coaching was most noticeable in government schools -- private boys schools and the development programmes, whilst still suffering from poor coaching methods, undoubtedly had the best levels of coaching. Private boys schools have the additional benefits of being able to provide better coaching and facilities because of the

resources available to them. He added that the development programmes obviously benefited from the visits of touring international sides, as well as the promotional visits by key South African national squad players.

Rice also expressed concern about the "culture" of the game, being taught at schoolboy level. The mindset of "just hit", severely hampered the ability of players to understand the game holistically, strategies of attacking and defensive cricket, and the wider cultural symbolism of the game. Furthermore, most school boys -- both black and white -- had little knowledge of the history of the game.

The UCBSA's Development Programme offers a wide range of bursaries for those youngsters and coaches that show commitment to the game. For example, the Score Furnishers Cricket Coaching Academy (SFCCA) offers 25 higher education bursaries of R2 500 per year -- totalling R62 500 -- to teachers who are in possession of SFCCA coaching certificates. The Samancor Foundation sponsors 30 under privileged children a year: their sponsorship allows these boys to attend the best traditional cricket schools in the country, and receive the best academic education. Sir Garfield Sobers's visit to South Africa generated four cricket bursaries -- donated by private benefactors -- at a fund-raising breakfast. Each bursary totalled R30 000, to be spread over three years. A more detailed assessment of the significance of cricket bursary schemes is outlined in the following chapter.

As the umbrella organisation, which dictates the path of development programmes and initiatives to its provincial

affiliates, the UCBSA presents its own particular rhetoric of development. "Development" has been integrated with the future of South African cricket, the promotion of cricketing excellence, and the vision of ascendancy in international cricket competition.

The UCBSA Development Project has four aims. The first is to broaden the game of cricket among all South African communities. The second is to use cricket as a provider for new opportunities for the underprivileged youth. Thirdly, the UCBSA aims to provide "equal opportunities for all those who want to progress in cricket" by redressing the imbalances in coaching, facilities and equipment. Lastly, the Development Programme aims to make South Africa the "world's top cricketing nation" (UCBSA official handbook). Further, Conrad Hunte, the director of coaching at the UCBSA, expresses his vision of "development" in South African cricket:

> the development of players of colour must go hand in hand with the development of cricketers of excellence

Thus the development of South African cricket is part of the project to ensure South Africa becomes a dominant force in international cricket. This is ultimately the first goal of the UCBSA, and was reiterated by all the cricketing officials whom I interviewed. The development programme is not only considered a means in itself, but also a specific means to a very specific end. It is therefore interesting that the goal of international cricketing supremacy is listed as the fourth and last objective of the UCBSA's Development Programme. It would suggest that while the goals of developing the game and broadening the base of

cricket players in South Africa are of paramount importance to the UCBSA, the underlying objective of international competitiveness dominates the discourse of cricket development. It also suggests that the sense of urgency -- apparent in all the interviews conducted, media opinion and promotional literature -- in gaining international supremacy, assumes a far greater role in the "development" of South African cricket, rather than the development of South African cricket. To clarify this tautological reasoning, I am suggesting that the provision of equal opportunities to all aspirant cricketers, and the broadening of the base of cricket -- while forming a fundamental part of the UCBSA's vision for the future of South African cricket -- remain secondary goals to the achievement of international cricketing competitiveness. For the irony rests in the contemporary situation: no matter how much "development" is implemented at a grassroots level, South Africa's equivalent of Brian Lara will not suddenly emerge in the next six months. Instead the international competitiveness of the South African national squad will rest on the shoulders of established, competent and experienced cricketers. The reality of the situation is this: the experience required to compete successfully at a fist-class level is amongst South Africa's white cricketing establishment.

This situation of an urgent desire to create a top cricketing nation -- with an aspiring victory in next year's World Cup -- fundamentally informs the direction of cricket development in South Africa. If the UCBSA outlined its goal of creating a top cricketing nation, and clarified that goal within

a time frame, the tension between developing the game for international dominance, and that of developing the game in the true spirit of reconstruction and transformation would be less obvious -- and less of an irony.

Of course the constitutional pledge of the UCBSA, as quoted at the beginning of this section, highlights the biggest irony of all. The game of cricket was taken by the UCBSA to the townships: there is no myth of organic emergence which needs to be disputed here. However, cricket as a game played by South Africa's black youth would not have drawn the numbers it generates today if the UCBSA had not implemented its development programmes. A handful of black youths may have aspired to play the game, even practised in the streets. But their "natural" progression into the game would have been grounded in their introduction to cricket by their fathers and grandfathers. Thus the natural progression of cricket as is constantly emphasised by the UCBSA, must be considered alongside the deliberate and conscious effort of the UCBSA to introduce the game to black youths -- in essence, an artificial creation of a cricket culture has produced a myth of that culture having always existed. I am not suggesting that a cricket culture has never existed amongst certain black communities in South Africa. Rather, I am suggesting that the cult of development has produced a mass-based cricket culture, and has tended to mythologise that cricket culture, allowing the white cricketing establishment to believe it always existed, and it is though their efforts that is has been brought to the surface once again. Further, the goal of creating a top cricketing nation has mobilised itself around this

myth or cult of developing the South African cricket culture.

In reality, that cricket culture means different things to different people -- the game as a "lived experience" has not generated a neatly packaged symbol of South African cricket. Instead the cultural and social expression of cricket informs the nature of the game. It is not the other way around. The game -- as it has been "developed", marketed and pushed by the UCBSA -- has not informed or created a national cricketing culture.

III. Marketing "Development"

This section is divided into four parts. The first considers the marketing drive of the cricket's administrative bodies, in their efforts to promote national cricket, a new national cricketing culture, as well as the initiatives of development. The second highlights the use of sponsorship of development programmes as a corporate marketing and advertising tool. The third section considers the way in which the discourse of "sports development" has become a profitable and commercially viable market, and uses the growing trend in sports development education as an example. The last section is a consideration of the television coverage afforded to international, national and provincial cricket. There is a distinct need to consider the audience that such television coverage reaches, for it points to the discrepancies of the discourses of "cricket for a new nation".

The UCBSA campaign

In September of 1995 the UCBSA announced a marketing drive

to enhance the national appeal of cricket. An advertising budget of R2,25 million has been created, and the agency Hunt Lascaris has been retained as the official marketing consultant of the UCBSA. The aim is to transform the game into a "product" -- to promote the sport and the national team, and to project the future of South African cricket. Ali Bacher hopes that the project will make cricket the premier national sport in South Africa:

> When Michael Slater reached a century on his Test debut, he kissed the Australian emblem on his cap and only then did he wave to the crowd. That's the passion I want in our cricket (Bayley, SACA:November 1995)

The project is the first major campaign by a sporting code in South Africa, and is to remain separate from the sponsor-linked campaigns for individual events or series. Television coverage of the promotion appropriates R1,5 million of that budget, with radio and print promotions costing R250 000 each. The UCBSA insists that a percentage of the revenue accrued by this marketing campaign -- the sale of "official supplier" products, and increased gate takings -- will be allocated to the Board's development programme.

Paul Bannister, group marketing director of Hunt Lascaris wants to create a "product" that will make every South African child want to play cricket (Sunday Times, 3 September 1995). He points out that the UCBSA's goal of a million spectators at the 1995/6 English series is a tangible and short term goal, as well as "a holistic dream of what cricket can become" (Bayley, South African Cricket Action:November 1995). He cites the examples of other South African sports:

> Many other sports come with baggage. Soccer, for example comes with its black, working class image, rugby with its white label. Cricket seems to have escaped that. Its better positioned -- and there's the [marketing] gap (Bayley, SACA:November 1995)

The "marketing gap" is envisaged as an initiative to enhance and support the efforts of cricket's major sponsors. Bacher hopes that the ultimate objective of positioning cricket as the sport which brings all South Africans together is achieved (Bayley, SACA:November 1995).

However, the irony appears to have escaped the advertising executives of Hunt Lascaris. Cricket has **not** escaped the labelling which categorises other South African sports. Further, it is precisely because cricket **does** slot into a particular social and political niche that gives the game the contemporary marketability that Hunt Lascaris and the UCBSA claim they will build a campaign on.

The marketing jargon of "positioning" cricket is even laughable. Where is cricket going to position itself? On an adjacent billboard that advertises Sunlight soap on a dusty township street? The key issue here is that cricket already assumes a certain position in South African society, and any marketing campaign which aims to extend cricket to all South Africans will merely perpetuate the socio-economic position of cricket. Cricket **does** come with a set of baggage -- albeit its own and peculiar set of baggage. And by claiming that cricket is better positioned than other South African sports because it has managed to escape the labelling of class and racial attributes, reiterates the elitist position of cricket as a bastion of white and middle class values.

Significantly, the focus of the campaign is the promotion of Tests and provincial tour matches -- and not the popular one-day game. The rationale for this focus is one that hopes to reintroduce the South African cricket watching public to the "traditional" four or five day game. Yet the exposure of the "traditional game" to the black youth of South Africa is problematic. "Traditional" to whom? "Traditional" in what sense? Certainly, the format and content of a five day test match is traditional in the notion that cricket has always been played like that. Perhaps the word traditional should be replaced with the word "historical". But the traditions of white flannels, lunch in the club house, the notions of fair play and gentlemanly conduct remain entrenched in the "new" South African cricket culture.

By not focusing the marketing campaign on the colourful day-night games or one day internationals, the UCBSA is manipulating and steering the new South African cricket culture into a particular domain. Arguably, there is a world-wide trend for the promotion of the faster and more entertaining one day game. Consequently the four and five day games, given the lengthy nature of the game that does not always declare a winner, have lost their popular appeal and spectator support. However, the UCBSA appears to be determined to re-introduce the culture of the test match to South African cricket.

Sponsorship as a Marketing objective

The print advertisements of the major sponsors of cricket development programmes makes for an interesting analysis of the objectives behind the sponsorship of cricket development.

Permanent Bank -- the sponsors of the under-13 Perm Lazer Cricket Week -- draws a clear link between the achievements of South Africa's current top international players, their sponsorship of South African cricket development, and the benefits of banking with their institution.

Perm's print advertisement illustrates the use of Perm's saving facilities by Allan Donald, Hansie Cronje, Brian McMillan and Fanie De Villiers in their high school days. The advertisement stresses their common choice of banking institution, claiming it was mirrored by a shared talent for cricket. The copy of the advertisement states:

> Through our 23 year old sponsorship of cricket, we were pleased to be in a position to highlight that potential. To nurture and grow yesterday's green young sportsmen to the green and gold gladiators of the pitch you see before you today

The link between banking and cricket is made with the paragraph that says:

> At Permanent Bank, we believe talent is a lot like money. You can't leave it and hope that it'll grow by itself. But if you spend enough time nurturing it, the rewards are like those of the people on the scoreboard above. [*the advertisement has a picture of an electronic scoreboard with the batting figures of the South African national side*] All of whom grew through one of our development programmes

The copy concludes with a cricket analogy:

> Because, if there's one thing we like seeing more than promising youngsters opening accounts; it's opening the batting

There is a clear articulation of the "new" South African cricket culture -- the link between the "green and gold" colours of the national team and their status as "gladiators" reflects the primary objective of the cricketing establishment. That is, the desire for international cricketing supremacy has been harnessed by the advertising executives of the Permanent Bank: the vision of the UCBSA to make South Africa the top cricketing nation in the world is insinuated in the sponsors of cricket development.

Ironically, the advertisement's reference to the participation of national squad players -- as school boys -- in Perm's development programme is misleading. Firstly, Perm's sponsorship is limited to an annual cricket week that facilitates inter-provincial competition. It is not a development programme itself. Rather, it is a highly competitive event that reflects the "results" of proper development programmes. Secondly, players like Allan Donald and Brian McMillan participated in such cricket competitions, based on their selection in provincial sides through school competition. They did not attend Perm's cricket week under the auspices of development programmes.

By contrast Bakers advertising campaign stressing their involvement in cricket development is low key. A single black and white advertisement showing boys of all races in various activities related to the Bakers Mini Cricket programme, is offset by the slogan "Giving children a sporting chance". However their advertising for cricket development is most noticeable on the boundary billboards at all the major cricket grounds. Further, Barry Fowler from Bakers's head office in Durban pointed

out that the famous Bakers Mini Cricket T-shirt was an advertising end in itself.

Coca Cola's sponsorship is noteworthy for its financing of the Coca Cola Nuffield Week. The value of the sponsorship has reached R2,5 million. As a result, the SA Schools XI that is traditionally chosen at the completion of the Nuffield Week is now to be known as the Coca Cola SA under-19 XI.

When interviewing Dewald van Breda -- Sponsorships Manager of National Beverage Services -- he was clear about the primary objective of the campaign. He said the company was proud to sponsor the traditional game of cricket, and particularly the "new" game that has emerged through the advent of development. He added that the sponsorship allowed the company to be on the "cutting edge", in the middle of the "breeding ground" for young cricketers.

Coca Cola has a novel campaign at the Wanderers cricket ground. In the south east corner of the stadium is a huge billboard in the shape of a Coke bottle. It has markings in thousands of rands -- denoting the amount of money that has been donated by Coca Cola to development initiatives -- and at the end of 1995 the "bottle" was two thirds full. The idea behind this scheme, according to van Breda, is to remind the cricket-watching public of Coke's initiatives in, and support for, development. He also commented that the "reminding" of Coke's role is apparent on the T-shirts worn by drinks vendors at the Wanderers ground. A Coke costs R2.50 -- and for every Coke purchased, fifty cents is donated to the UCBSA's development scheme. This message is emblazoned on the vendors' T-shirts. Van Breda was hesitant to

comment on whether the public purchased more Coke because they felt "socially responsible" in assisting the sponsorship of cricket development. However he did say:

> The bottom line on a hot afternoon at the ground is that people get thirsty. They drink Coke, because they want to...maybe they do feel good that they are doing something for cricket development

It seems that Coca-Cola, while offering some support of the UCBSA's development programme, is more interested in selling their product to thirsty cricket fans.

Norwich Life's sponsorship of the Transvaal Cricket Board's development programme features prominently in their print advertising campaign. A red cricket ball dominates the page, with the slogan "Building Teams and Dreams" followed by copy that illustrates their commitment to cricket development. For example:

> Norwich Life has an on-going commitment to community development especially through sport which we believe is a strong unifying force in our changing society...There's a wealth of untapped talent out there and we're especially concerned about the disadvantaged youth. Without support they may never have the chance to fulfil their dreams

The link between development sponsorship and Norwich's assurance policy scheme is drawn by the advertising copy:

> After all, it's only when you have a dream, that you can build a winning team. At Norwich Life we apply our winning team to fulfil your life assurance dreams

Yet Norwich Life also has a novel way of advertising their sponsorship campaign. At the end of 1994 two Alexandra artists were commissioned by the company to paint a mural on a wall that faces the playing area on the south west side of the Wanderers Cricket Ground. The mural depicts the growth and vision of the

TCB's development programme from the rural areas to the urban townships. The final scene of the mural shows young boys playing for South Africa at the Wanderers. Of course, the Norwich Life logo is on prominent display in several of the "scenes"!

Hugh Whiley, Norwich's assistant general manager for advertising and promotions, claimed the motivation behind the commissioning was a decided effort of the company to move away from traditional stadium advertising into something more creative and artistic.

Significantly, Norwich's sponsorship of the Transvaal Cricket Development Programme happened by accident. Imtiaz Patel related the story of how Norwich approached the TCB, interested in sponsoring the drinks cart that provides refreshments to players on the field during drinks intervals. Since Avis already held the contract to sponsor the drinks cart, Norwich was asked if they were interested in sponsoring the cash-strapped and newly established cricket development programme in the Transvaal. The result says Patel has been a "long and dedicated sponsorship -- for which we are extremely grateful".

Education for "Development"

The world of sports development has also become a profitable and marketable educational arena. A number of educational opportunities and courses exist for the training and preparation of future sports development practitioners. Educational institutions market their courses by highlighting South Africa's re-entry into international sport. Sports Management and Sports Development are considered one of the country's "major growth

industries.. offering an intriguing career path" (Damelin advert).

Allenby Campus offers a one year diploma for aspirant sports administrators and managers. The diploma covers a wide range of related topics, including Sports Medicine, Sports Management and Sports Psychology. A component of the course covers the area of sports development, which includes classes on sponsorship, ethics and organisational dynamics of sports bodies. Damelin Management School offers a similar four month programme -- primarily focused on Sports Management. An assessment of their course material showed that sports development did not form part of their comprehensive training in fields like Player and Team Management, Sponsorship, Sport law and Sports Administration. The only concession to sports development made in this course seems to be a course component based on the "understanding of the structure and policy of South African sport at a national level" (Damelin brochure).

The London Business and Management School (LBMS), through the auspices of Boston City Campus, offers a Sports Management Diploma.

> Budding sports administrators make themselves highly desirable as employees in sports-related fields such as sports development and education, sports psychology, personal fitness training, promotions and sponsorship and sports administration (LBMS advert)

The facilitator of the LBMS diploma, Stan Matthews, acknowledges that the field of sports management is extremely diverse. He argues that the field can be narrowed down to three main streams: Sports science -- which includes the technical areas of medicine, nutrition, and psychology; Management, which

includes marketing, sponsorship and other business principles; and Sports Development.

Interestingly, two components of the course -- Sociology of Sport, and Sports Development -- are in-depth training grounds on issues such as sport and socialisation, sport and South African history, sports and community development, and the politics of sport.

Last year, 98 LBMS Sports Management Diplomas were awarded. Significantly, the National Sports Council (NSC) recognises this diploma course as a viable training ground for future sports administrators, and all NSC officials are required to take the course. NSC executives are also involved in lecturing and co-ordination of the course.

We may conclude that the arena of "sports development" has become a viable commercial interest for the educational sector. Further, there appears to be some recognition of "sports development" as a potential employment provider.

Television coverage: M-Net and SuperSport vs the SABC

The SABC and the UCBSA have established a contractual agreement whereby the national broadcaster carries all international games, test matches and one day series.

Ali Bacher has reiterated that every South African cricket supporter has the right to see the national team in action. He has also stressed the significance of local broadcasters screening South African cricket -- both domestic and international -- "to protect the interests of the local viewer" and to "determine the destiny of televised matches in which South

African teams participate in South Africa" (Sunday Times, 10 September 1995). This follows in the wake of the Rupert Murdoch takeover of South African rugby, and consequent televising of games.

In a new initiative, M-Net will be screening domestic cricket games in the 1995/96 season. -- the Castle Cup series and the complete Benson & Hedges Nite Series. The General Manager of SuperSport, Russell MacMillan says:

> We have a sporting audience who count cricket as one of their most popular sports... We believe that SuperSport's coverage will be revolutionary and will highlight the game of cricket as it should be
> (SA Cricketer, October 1995).

The analysis of the coverage of national and international cricket matches is paramount when considering the viewership of cricket on television. Arguably, the transmission of international games on the national broadcaster widens the net of potential cricket viewers. In contrast, the transmission of provincial games, and the popular day-night games on a pay-station such as M-Net limits viewership to a select section of the population. Through the analysis of television coverage, the reality of contemporary South Africa begins to emerge. The viewing of cricket matches is limited to those sections of the population that have television sets. Arguably, the SABC's coverage of South Africa's international games is more accessible than that of M-Net's coverage of provincial games. The link between creating a new national cricketing culture and the national broadcaster may appear to be obscure. But, in allowing for the large proportion of the South Africa public to view international games, both the UCBSA and the SABC are party to the

attempt to construct a new and imagined national cricketing code.

But by limiting public viewing access to provincial games and day-night matches to the affluent sections of South African society -- who can afford the subscription fees of the M-Net channel -- the UCBSA has marginalised a vital component of South African cricket. Provincial cricket is the necessary progression to national cricket, and has a host of young stars that could be the potential international stars of the future. Arguably, the UCBSA's decision to split television coverage between the two stations is motivated by screening rights and the revenues it accrues for the cricket organisation. But the irony of such a decision may not be clear to the UCBSA: it has effectively hampered the development of South African cricket, by restricting the following and support for provincial sides to an affluent few. The inroads made by development programmes would be boosted if young boys were able to identify with, and learn from, the emergent -- and sometimes black, as in the case of Eastern Province's Masikazana -- provincial cricketers.

CHAPTER FIVE
THE SECOND INNINGS

After the analysis of the discourses of development in the previous chapter, a more indepth consideration of the development programmes themselves forms the basis of this chapter.

First, the national development programme under the auspices of the United Cricket Board of South Africa (UCBSA) is outlined. The discussion includes an examination of the Bakers Mini Cricket Programme and the establishment of the National Plascon Cricket Academy. Both the Bakers programme and the Academy point to a particular articulation of cricket development, and neatly illustrate the twin objectives of the UCBSA. On one hand, the base of cricket is broadened by the introduction of the game through Bakers' programme in the townships. The directives of the Plascon Cricket Academy highlights the UCBSA's second objective of attaining international supremacy and national cricketing excellence -- in essence the Academy is a cricket nursery for a select group of talented young cricketers.

The second section of this chapter outlines the development programmes of the Transvaal Cricket Board (TCB). The discussion includes a focused assessment of the Soweto and Alexandra Cricket Clubs, whose organisational structures and development initiatives fall under the general administration of the TCB.

The final section is an examination of the "results" of national cricket development. The international cricket tours of the under-19 and under-24 sides are an indication of the UCBSA's attempt to promote youth cricket, in the aim of reaching international excellence. The inclusion of black "development"

players in both touring parties is also an indication of the apparent success of the development programmes.

I. The United Cricket Board's Development Programme

South African cricket returned into the international cricketing arena on the promise that in the foreseeable future, the face of South African cricket would be different.

The United Cricket Board of South Africa (UCBSA) heralds its development programme as one of the most successful stories in the history of South African sport.

> It has earned the respect of all communities in South Africa as well as the international community; it has promoted greater contact and understanding between divided peoples, and it bodes well for the long-term future of South African cricket. Young players from disadvantaged communities are playing cricket today as a direct result of coaching programmes, facility upgrading programmes and other initiatives under the banner of the development programme (UCBSA promotional brochure, in conjunction with Benson & Hedges)

Yet, the reality is somewhat different. The efforts of the UCBSA are indeed commendable, yet the "national" development programme is based and conducted around a select few. That is not to say that the UCBSA and its development programme reaches only a handful of enthusiastic youngsters in South African townships. The programme has arguably been productive in the promotion of cricket in the townships -- in 1995 there were 7 000 cricketers playing in South African townships, compared to the 500 who started when the UCBSA first introduced its concept of cricket development in 1984.

Rather, the UCBSA directs a programme that reaches young boys that are able to attend development programmes run by the

UCBSA's provincial affiliates. For example, the development programmes run by the Eastern Province Cricket Board can only reach those boys who live in Port Elizabeth's townships. The development initiatives are not extended to reach boys who live in remote rural areas, and subsequently, the "national" development of cricket cannot be construed as successful. However, the UCBSA acknowledges such flaws in its development programmes, stressing that funds, resources, and the lack of volunteers inhibit its developmental efforts. It is significant that while the UCBSA is prepared to acknowledge these problems, they are played down to a considerable extent. Interestingly these issues, when they became part of the interviews or discussions with cricketing officials, were played down and my attention was diverted to the success of the Transvaal and Border development programmes. It would appear that these two provinces are the most successful -- in the opinion of the UCBSA -- in the development of cricket and the initiation of a township cricket culture. I felt that the success rate of the Border and Transvaal development programmes was measured by the UCBSA by the number of development players from these provinces that were selected for age-group international tours.

The irony is clear. Transvaal's "success" could also be attributed to the considerable financial support given to the TCB by its sponsors Norwich Life. It could also be credited to the proximity of the TCB's offices to the UCBSA's, engendering a range of back-up support and administrative assistance.
Further, the success of the TCB's development programme could also be ascribed to simple demographics -- Gauteng's townships

are vast and located in urban areas. Alexandra is often posited as one of the most successful arenas of cricket development: the development of an Alexandra Cricket Club, the construction of a cricket oval in the township's East Bank section, and the home of development stars like Jacob Malao and Walter Masemola are repeatedly cited as "proof". The significance of the location of both the UCBSA and the TCB's offices at the Wanderers Cricket Ground in Illovo, Sandton which is only five kilometres from the township of Alexandra is lost on the pundits of Transvaal's success story.

Further, the historical significance of the cricket nursery of the Eastern Cape has already been highlighted in the literature section. Cricket is not an alien game to the black youth of the Eastern Cape, nor has the UCBSA had to create an artificial base of aspirant young cricketers. It already exists. The objective of proselytising the game of cricket in the Eastern Cape is unfounded -- rather, the development initiatives in this region are "successful" for they have been met with an enthusiasm "from below". The broad base of cricket players already exists, and the development programmes have "successfully" been able to nurture the cricketing talent of the region.

The offices of the UCBSA are impressive. Located at the magnificent Wanderers Club, they are spacious and elegant.
On the number of occasions that I visited the UCBSA's offices, reconstruction and remodelling of the offices was taking place. According to Khaya Majola, Development Director of the UCBSA, the UCBSA's offices had simply become too small, and renovations were required to ensure that adequate facilities continued the work

of the board. More than one joke was told, in the course of my various meetings with Majola and his development team, about the separation -- by a temporary retaining wall -- of blacks and whites working for the UCBSA. More jokes ensued about the "reconstruction" of the UCBSA along the lines of the reconstruction of South African society.

The UCBSA funds its development scheme from a variety of sources. One such source is the revenue generated by international matches. Benson & Hedges -- one of the biggest sponsors of national and provincial cricket, alongside Castle Lager (South African Breweries) -- is therefore a "hidden donor" in the development programme. Ten percent of gate takings at Benson & Hedges domestic cricket series is channelled into the development of cricket in disadvantaged areas. Through their sponsorship of international games, the UCBSA is able to donate five percent of gate takings to the development programme. Further, an additional fifteen percent of gate takings at Benson & Hedges international series is donated towards "the establishment of cost effective multipurpose sports facilities in disadvantaged areas" (Benson & Hedges promotional brochure). The gate-takings of the 1994/5 season's Test and one-day internationals totalled R10,7 million (The Star, 23 February 1995). To the uninformed the idea of channelling gate-takings into development programmes is commendable. However, those who have attended test matches at the Wanderers Ground are well aware of the price of tickets. Seats in the grandstands range from R30 to R50. Season ticket packages can cost up to R1 000! The expense of attending provincial and international cricket games excludes

certain sections of the population. Thus, the UCBSA is funding a considerable part of its development programme through the financial support by a select affluent and middle class sector.

The British government has also been instrumental in the donation of money and equipment. R100 000 was donated for the building of the Alexandra cricket oval, and on average a total of R50 000 has been donated to the UCBSA annually. The continuation of British support is assured by the personal instigation of John Major, who has taken a keen interest in the cricket development programme since his visit to the Alex Oval in September of 1994.

The UCBSA has also initiated a project to increase the number of cricket grounds around the country. In October 1995, the UCBSA announced it was to build 50 cricket grounds in under-privileged areas (The Star, 2 October 1995). R500 000 has been allocated for this project, which will be managed by the UCBSA's Khaya Majola. This financial allocation is over and above the ongoing programme that the UCBSA conducts with the National Sports Council to provide multi-purpose sports facilities in under-privileged areas.

One such sports facility to have benefited from this UCBSA initiative is the Elkah Stadium in Rockville, Soweto. The project aimed to make the Elkah Stadium into a major sports and administrative complex, and included the laying of grass on four existing soccer fields, the upgrading of the existing cricket oval, the laying out of an artificial cricket pitch imported from Britain, and the building of a clubhouse. As a result, the Soweto Cricket Oval at Elkah is the most impressive cricket facility in

any of the South African townships.

The UCBSA also has a national bursary scheme through which the outstanding talents of development programmes are either assisted at their own township school, or are placed at traditional cricketing schools, such as St. Johns, Parktown and KES. The aim of the bursary scheme is to enhance both cricket skills and general education. But there are significant implications for the unspoken aim here. The traditional cricketing schools undoubtedly combine the correct training with superior coaching and cricket facilities, as well as the provision of superior education. But the social order that is reflected in the "tradition" of these schools reflects the perpetuation of the articulation of the dominant discourse of cricket development. It would appear that the aim of the bursary schemes is not only to allow for development of cricket skills, but also an introduction to the culture and symbolism of cricket as it is reflected in the traditional game favoured by the cricket establishment. Fundamentally, the argument is this: a bursary to St. Johns or KES catapults a promising young black cricketer into the social world of the white cricket order, with the hope that these young cricketers appropriate and adopt the symbolism and culture of play that manifests itself in these schools. Rather than allowing the "new" culture of cricket to develop and emerge from below, it seems as if there is a concerted effort to dictate the terms of this new cricketing culture from above. Thus, the true development of cricket appears to be cosmetic: the creation of new forms of cricketing identity, and the articulation of new styles of play -- based on the

township game -- are a constructed myth. The development of cricket is merely a sidestep, not a radical transformation of the game. The old styles of play, values and codes of play attributed to the traditional -- and white -- game of cricket are still very much in evidence, if a bursary scheme like the UCBSA's continues to exist.

Bakers Mini Cricket

With the marketing slogan "Giving children a sporting chance", the Bakers Mini Cricket Programme has been the stalwart of the UCBSA's development programme. Initiated in 1983 by Ali Bacher, the objective was to encourage the growth and development of cricket of children under ten years of age. Bakers Mini cricket aims to introduce a fun version of the game of cricket to young boys. Bakers Mini Cricket is considered the first step in the introduction to, and development of the game among township youth. Bacher has called Bakers Mini Cricket the "cornerstone" of the Development Programme (official Bakers Mini Cricket Handbook).

In the official Bakers Biscuits Mini Cricket Handbook, Bacher writes:

> Before unity, Bakers Mini Cricket was able to cross all barriers and the UCBSA Development Programme became the spearhead that ultimately led to South Africa's readmittance to international cricket

Bakers Mini Cricket is a modified form of cricket using soft balls, smaller bats, a reduced number of players and a modified version of the rules. Mini cricket is modelled on the West Indian "calypso cricket" or beach cricket. It is specifically designed

to be an easy and fun way for teachers and children to learn the basics of the game. The keywords in Mini Cricket are *participation* and *enjoyment* (Bakers Mini Cricket official handbook).

Bakers also provides the sponsorship for the training of coaches in the programme -- at present there are over 15 000 qualified coaches in the country.

There is only one word to describe a Bakers Mini Cricket session on a Saturday morning: frantic. Frantic in the sense that the activities of over-excited and noisy nine year olds, make the cricket field look like a red and white blur! No amount of shouting from coaches could reduce the noise level, the pranks and the laughing.

When interviewing the coaches of Bakers Mini Cricket -- many of whom are women school teachers or university students -- I was told things like:

> Because of cricket we have made these children aware of their importance to society
>
> I coach because I want to show whites that blacks can play just as well as the West Indians...I'd like to contribute to black upliftment

Interviewing the young participants in Mini Cricket took a little more patience! Asked why they played cricket, or came to Saturday morning Mini Cricket, responses varied from

> I play cricket because I think it is a good game and an exciting game
>
> Cricket is a fun sport. It doesn't have apartheid
>
> We make friends with other boys
>
> I want to be a professional cricketer and play like...[the name of West Indian Richie Richardson temporarily escaped him]

My dad said I must

In June 1995, Bakers announced the continuation of its sponsorship -- to the value of R5 million, spread over three years. Bakers' sponsorship is officially acknowledged by the National Sports Council (NSC) as the largest private sector sponsorship for grassroots sports development in South Africa.

Bakers is insistent that its sponsorship remains one merely of donation -- their only stipulation for a return on its investment are the well known T-shirts emblazoned with their red and white logo. Through interviewing I was able to discover that Bakers has a policy of providing the resources for the UCBSA's cricket development programme, and does not have a contractual sponsorship that may dictate terms and conditions to the UCBSA.

It would appear then that the vision of developing South African cricket is entirely in the hands of the cricket boards, and the administrational structures. The role played by the corporate sector in the development of a national cricketing culture is purely financial. As such, corporate actors like Bakers -- while they play a significant role in the funding of cricket development -- are not included in the development of a new national symbolism if South African cricket.

The philosophy behind Bakers Mini Cricket was explained by the managing director of Associated Biscuits, Cliff Sampson:

> If South Africans can play together, they can work together

The rhetoric is questionable. Certainly, South Africans can play together -- in the artificial constructs of development programmes and under the banner of new national sporting codes.

The reality of contemporary South Africa paints a different picture altogether. The image of a level playing field, where all the cricketers on it are equal, is not mirrored in the social world of the workplace. Those cricketers return home after the game to vastly different socio-economic circumstances. They do not meet each other in the workplace. Furthermore, they do not meet each other in schools or in social activities. Again, the discourse reflects a myth: that is, a myth that a sports field or cricket oval mirrors the social reality. Indeed it does allow for some contemplation of the debates of reconstruction and transformation which faces the South African nation today. But it cannot be viewed as the perfect microcosm with which to assess the day-to-day lives of ordinary South Africans.

The discourse of playing and working together is heady, and undoubtedly there are many who believe in it. It certainly allows for catchy advertising slogans, and the rationale for corporate sponsorship of sports development. It makes people feel good, and allows them to ignore the real realities of crime, unemployment, national discord and poverty. The rhetoric should be changed to one that reflects and facilitates the act of "playing together" as a means of becoming aware of one other. The rhetoric should not be one that immediately posits black and white cricketers as equals who are exposed to equal opportunities off the cricket field.

Bakers were also responsible for bringing the West Indian batsman Brain Lara to South Africa. His visit coincided with a benefit match for Allan Donald, but it is estimated that the cost of his week long promotional coaching tour was R150 000.

However, all involved in that promotional venture agreed that the response from young cricketers in the development programmes was remarkable. Words like "inspirational" and "role-model" were not uncommon in the variety of responses I got when probing the motivational dynamics of such a venture.

Bakers and the UCBSA have also recently introduced a cricket programme for girls. Surveys have shown that interest among women in South Africa is phenomenal, and on the increase. Conrad Hunte has stressed that women not only want to watch the game, but they are also showing interest in playing it too. He has helped to devise a national strategy where girls from the age of eight and up can learn to play the game.

Significantly, many respondents pointed to the Bakers programme as a mitigating factor in South Africa's readmittance into the International Cricket Council (ICC). There seemed to be an (over) emphasis of the role played by the children participating in the programme, in beginning the process for unification of South African cricket. Whilst most administrators, coaches, players and observers noted that development programmes like Bakers Mini Cricket were instrumental in the changing face of South African cricket, only one interviewee interjected with

> Which came first? Isolation or development? The answer should tell you exactly what the motivations was behind establishing programmes like Bakers

Bakers Mini Cricket was not the miracle that transformed South African cricket, and which consequently facilitated South Africa's readmittance to the ICC. Arguably, to some developmental cricketing officials Bakers has assumed the myth of single handedly converting the nature of the South African game. While

the proselytisation of South African cricket cannot be attributed only to the efforts of the Bakers Mini Cricket programme, we must acknowledge that the cult or "miracle" of cricket development -- as it was spearheaded by the Bakers programme in the early 1980s -- was a concerted effort to cosmetically transform the game.

Plascon Cricket Academy

In what has been described as a "boot camp" for the chosen few, the Plascon Cricket Academy is designed to bolster the cricketing developmental initiatives of the United Cricket Board (UCBSA). As an extension of the regional Plascon academies that are held annually, "The Academy" is considered the last stepping stone between school boy cricket and the wider domain of a professional cricketing career. Clive Rice feels that the purpose of the Academy is to "heighten and hasten" the progress of young cricketers, as well as to increase the focus and specialisation of the sport.

The Plascon Cricket Academy is only the second full time cricketing academy in the world -- the now world famous Australian Academy, that produced the likes of Shane Warne and Mark Taylor, is the other.

For each of the next three years, 24 young cricketers from around the country will be invited to the Academy. The cricketing fraternity widely acknowledged that a nucleus from which to select a national team needed to be sustained by a wider reserve pool of players who could take their place in international cricket. The training and preparation of this new "pool" of cricketers is to take place at the Academy. However, selection

for a place at the Academy is -- as with anything in the cricketing world -- controversial. Nominations are put forward by regional cricket academy directors, as well as provincial selectors. Invitees to the Academy are also drawn from selection during the Coca-Cola Nuffield Weeks, held annually around the country. However, the composition of provincial Nuffield competition is of established boys schools and the cricket establishment. A handful of development sides may participate in the bigger provincial competitions, but at present they are the exception rather than the rule. Khaya Majola, the UCBSA's Director of Development is responsible for nominating players who have emerged through the development ranks.

The UCBSA aims to include at least twelve players from provincial development programmes in each year's intake. The selection of academy invitees provides "tangible evidence of the UCBSA's twin commitment to striving for excellence at the highest level of the game, while developing the game in the less-privileged areas of South Africa". Such was the rhetoric that appeared time and time again in the cricket media, was quoted at length and repeatedly, and was stated by a variety of UCBSA officials, managers and administrators.

The UCBSA has argued that the development programme has reached a plateau and

> we need to have concentrated attention focused on those young players who need to bridge the gap between development and first-class cricket (Bacher quoted in The Star 23 September 1994)

However, this year's intake included only six development players. Through interviewing it never became clear why the initial aim of having twelve development players was not

achieved. Some respondents offered the opinion that the development programmes had not reached their full potential and as a result had not yet produced twelve players of the calibre required for admittance to the academy. Others were less diplomatic, stressing the UCBSA's goal of international cricketing excellence as the reason. It was felt that the UCBSA could hide behind the rhetoric of promoting and developing South African cricket to a level guaranteed to produce international competitive supremacy, because it allowed the cricket establishment to maintain white dominance of the game. It was clear that some officials were tired of the double standards of the cricketing establishment: the claims of developing the game were fundamental in enhancing South African cricket's image abroad, but the reality was the issue of South African cricket winning international competition as fast as possible. Black or development cricketers had little part in this.

Arguably, the tension between the two opinions about the black intake of the Plascon Academy, reflect the wider tensions in the debates of national reconstruction and transformation.

Under the management and guidance of Clive Rice, the Academy was described as providing a model for all South African sport. The Academy is funded entirely by Plascon's sponsorship, operating without direct government funding. Minister of Sport Steve Tshwete was quoted in the press as saying:

> this is what all South African sporting codes should be striving towards..this shows what can be done by administrations which have a clear vision of where they're going
> (The Star, 13 May 1995)

The Plascon sponsorship is for R1 million for the first

three years. Plascon has sponsored specialised coaching courses for the UCBSA in recent years, but the sponsorship of the Academy marks "the most generous and important sponsorship...and is pivotal in taking our cricket into a new and professional era" (Bacher,The Star 23 September 1995).

The impressive facility built at the Rand Afrikanse Universiteit (RAU) consists of lecture rooms, housing facilities for the players, existent cricket facilities, and four newly constructed indoor nets. Highly specialised video equipment -- donated by Panasonic, and worth R150 000 -- allowed critical examination of styles of play, batting technique and bowling action.

The twenty four players that are hand picked and invited to attend the five-month long academy are given concentrated tuition in all aspects of the game -- physical, technical and psychological. The aim of the academy is to bridge the gap between schools cricket and the more demanding game of first class provincial and international cricket.

Clive Rice and Mark O'Donnell -- the coaches and facilitators of the academy -- were the guest speakers at a meeting of the Cricket Association of South Africa which I attended in September of this year. Their talk on the aims, objectives and achievements of the academy was more illuminating for what was not said, rather than for what was. They explained the format of the academy, and the day-to-day routines. They also elaborated on the vast array of skills that young cricketers had to learn in order to cope with the increasing professionalisation of the game. For example, players were given classes ranging from

television interviewing techniques, public speaking, sponsorship, improving eye-vision, baseball throwing techniques, as well as umpiring and scoring. Though never stated overtly, the explanations around the need for improving umpiring and scoring skills implied that development players needed to grasp the game holistically. Apparently their conception of play was "blinkered" to the point that their comprehension of certain umpiring decisions is limited.

The press lauded Lulama Masikazana and Walter Masemola of the Academy, predicting their rise to the top of the cricketing world. Interestingly, Rice's talk made no mention of the future cricketing careers of these "development boys" -- his focus was on the enhanced performance of Lance Klusener and Neil McKenzie of the Academy's white intake. Masikazana and Masemola were spoken about, but only as illustrations of the Academy's other benefits, namely the learning of the art of making after-dinner speeches! Masikazana and Masemola are apparently competent after-dinner speakers, thanks to the Toastmaster's training they received as part of the Academy's education. Rice declared that his programme was a success if players like Masemola had learnt nothing else but how to speak in public, and overcome his fear of public speaking.

Further, all of the Academy's bright prospects on the horizon of South African cricket -- in Rice's opinion -- were the white and already established provincial players. Interestingly, his offer of who in the Academy would "make it internationally" did not include any of the "development stars".

It became clear that the Academy is more like a cricket factory for the stars of the future -- Rice made it clear that the Academy players "eat, sleep, talk and play cricket". He went on to say that players, coaches and administrators alike were aware of the what has been left unsaid: that is, the Academy was one of the main cogs in the making of South Africa into the world's top cricketing nation.

No matter what the press, UCBSA advocates or the players themselves might say, the Plascon Cricket Academy smacks of an elitist breeding ground, grooming the gentlemen and players that will represent South Africa in the future. Our international cricketers do need to learn the techniques and skills required to produce peak performances -- and granted, these are things that can be taught at places like cricket academies. But entrenching the culture and values of the game as they have existed in the past inhibits the UCBSA's discourse of development. For the "development" of South African cricket cannot be construed as successful if the social hierarchical order of the white middle class cricketing establishment is perpetuated in cricket's classroom of the Academy. Again, it is clear that "development" is a secondary aim to the primary goal of achieving international excellence.

II. The Transvaal Cricket Board's Development Programme

Under the auspices of the national development programme, the TCB's development wing -- under the directorship of Imtiaz Patel -- runs its own and separately sponsored programme.

In smaller offices than the UCBSA, the TCB and its

development wing are also located at the Wanderers Stadium. Most noticeable at the TCB's offices was a huge plaque honouring Indian and black cricketers of the past, who would have been selected for Transvaal had it not been for the apartheid laws that prevented them from doing so. The offices are also filled with photographs of development activities, visiting international stars like Brian Lara and Imran Khan and their coaching at development clinics, as well as promotional posters and framed advertisements of sponsors Norwich Life.

Norwich Life is the key sponsor for the TCB's development initiatives. Their "Building Teams and Dreams" slogan is resplendent in almost every corner of the TCB's offices. Norwich Life provides an annual R500 000 sponsorship, and is acknowledged as the biggest regional or provincial development sponsor in the country. The sponsorship helps the TCB develop cricketing talent on a broad base, and simultaneously afford new opportunities to hundreds of youngsters in under-privileged areas. The sponsorship is used to provide coaching, transport, clothing and equipment.

Patel describes his job as visionary -- it is a job which he feels must be conducted on the cricket field, and in the townships.

> You can't run a development programme from an office

Patel stresses that the aim of the TCB Development Programme is to produce five black Transvaal A players within five years. He also hopes that in the same time span, at least one player that makes national selection will emerge from the TCB's development ranks.

> If these players make it...it will act as a

> catalyst and hopefully bring an avalanche of blacks into the game

It is worrying that Patel is prepared to wait for the inclusion of black Transvaal cricketers in the national side to generate increased interest in the game. There exists a strong possibility for the emergence of a vicious cycle: the "avalanche" of black cricket is dependent on the creation of a black national cricketing role model. However, that cricketer cannot be produced until the base of black cricket has been sufficiently broadened.

The TCB's secondary goal is to create better facilities, and bring development cricket closer to mainstream cricket. Patel is particularly concerned with the "development" label, and maintains the sooner the label is dropped, the better for all cricketers concerned.

> Development implies to the white guys that these are second-rate players...to the black players that attitude is internalised, and they perceive of themselves as second-rate. Sadly, this is not true -- but once labelled, always labelled....

Patel also expressed his concern with the cricketing establishment's tendency to continue with the labelling of development players. He added

> Why can't we just call them cricketers? Why do we have to distinguish between *development* players and those players who have had better opportunities. Sure, there are discrepancies regarding levels of play, but ultimately they are all young men who play cricket

The TCB is also instrumental in introducing psychological development into its development programmes. The Board's initiative to sharpen its development players through sports psychology is a first for South African development programmes, and has gained international recognition. The TCB has employed

sports psychologist Dr. Andre Roux to instill the correct mental attitudes amongst players. Researching the low confidence levels found amongst development players, and subsequent poor performance, Roux noticed

> talented players were tending to freeze when they were asked to play matches away from the townships at venues like the Wanderers. It was obvious there was a lack of self-belief rather than technical ability when they were playing outside of their comfort zone among more privileged cricketers (The Star, 23 September 1994)

The purpose of the project was therefore to teach the basics of mental training and bolster self confidence.

The psychological training has also included cross-culture exercises involving black and white boys. Roux stresses that such exercises prove to township boys that they really are not that different at all. In other word, the psychological training has helped to instill attitudes of "performance perception" based on skill, aptitude and talent, rather than educational levels and living conditions.

Yet, aptitude, skill and talent are all influenced by the socio-economic parameters such as education and living conditions. Psychological training might make mature and competent cricketers out of black players -- but to argue that this psychological training eliminates social discrepancies is narrow-minded and evasive. No matter how much psychological counselling is provided, the diverse social and economic worlds of these cricketers do not make them equal. In reality they are very different from one another.

The TCB also employed the services of two Kenyan cricketers in the 1994 season. Steve Tikolo and Martin Suji spent the season

playing in the Premier League, and assisting with coaching in the development programme. Norwich Life made the extended visit by the two Kenyans possible. The significance of black -- albeit not South African -- cricketers in the development programme was highlighted by Patel:

> The kids related to these guys in a way I had never seen before. It was obvious that their role...the African connection is crucial in our development programme

Patel stresses the importance of expanding the game and drawing spectators from the townships through the creation of role models. While there is a definite problem for black cricketers in finding local role models to emulate, the importation of Kenyan or West Indian cricketers is problematic. The identification of black youngsters with cricketers of the same race bodes well for the continuation of cricket playing in the townships. But, their hero-worship of black cricketers who are not South African does not bode well for the future of the South African game. The construction of a new national cricketing culture is going to be dependent on the expression of South African styles of play, as well as the appropriation of South African cultural cricket symbols. If role model identification is directed elsewhere then the future of South African cricket looks bleak.

The TCB has also introduced extensive measures to overcome the problems of poor coaching. In July 1995, the TCB invested in a ten week coaching clinic. The rationale behind the clinic was officially stated as an effort to

> combat the falling standards in Gauteng's cricketing schools and ensure the future of Transvaal cricket (The Star, 19 July 1995)

The clinic, under the management of Transvaal coach, Jimmy Cook, was designed to empower coaches in the isolation and nurturing the raw talent found in the region and "ensure it gets the due care and attention needed to provide for Transvaal's future". The programme was launched to ensure that school boys who showed cricketing promise would be recognised by properly trained coaches, and then passed on to the TCB for more extensive and expert training.

The Wanderers-Alexandra merger

The Wanderers Cricket Ground is arguably one of the most impressive stadiums in the world. Alongside the "Bull-ring" are lush and opulent cricket facilities, expertly maintained for the use by members of the Wanderers Cricket Club. The fields are shaded by jacaranda trees and benches provide seating for spectators who wish to revel in a session on a lazy Sunday afternoon. A number of nets are located behind the fields -- always filled with aspirant young cricketers honing their skills. Most noticeable from any vantage point at one of these cricket pitches is the impressive Wanderers club-house -- its cool terrace the only respite from the harsh summer sun. This is a world of old colonialism -- despite the numerous protestations denying such status -- reflected in the decor of mahogany staircases, oil paintings and leather armchairs.

Just ten kilometres away, lies the Alexandra Cricket Oval. The East Bank Oval nestles in a dale, surrounded by the township's East Bank section. Standing on the field, one has a good view of the rest of the township: the emerald green grass

of the pitch is juxtaposed with the shanty towns of Alexandra.

> A smack over the bowler's head would land the ball in a neat suburban street called Springbok Crescent. But a fierce pull over midwicket would send it bouncing into a rough-and-tumble shanty town of tin shacks and open refuse heaps (The Telegraph, 2 December 1993)

There is no real club-house to speak of, only a few practise nets, and trees around the Oval -- like the rest of Alexandra -- are scarce. The oval itself is built on an old rubbish dump. The Alexandra Cricket Oval was built through the sponsorship of the UCBSA, the Alex All Sports Congress, Murray & Roberts, Norwich Life, and the British government.

Worlds apart. But under the guidance of the TCB, and with the full support of the UCBSA, the Wanderers Cricket Club has adopted the Alexandra Cricket Club in order to assist Alexandra players with development aid. The two clubs have formally merged in the hope that Alexandra's players will benefit from the facilities, expertise and experience available at the Wanderers. The TCB hopes that the merger of the two clubs will serve as a model for the integration and development of all sports throughout the world. The idea behind the programme is to ensure that development players get used to practising with, playing alongside, learning from and benefitting from the experience, facilities and financial resources of the established clubs and players in order to ease their path into the various mainstream cricket leagues.

The Wanderers Club currently plays its fixtures in the Transvaal Premier League. In contrast, the inclusion of Alexandra teams into Transvaal leagues has been slow. Thus the merger also aims to assist development players -- who have learnt and played

their cricket under the banner of UCBSA and TCB cricket development programmes -- allowing them to practise and play alongside cricketers in the Transvaal Premier League.

Patel noted that such an initiative allowed Alexandra players to get the attention they require to attain the required standard for Premier League teams. He told me that the goal of making future Transvaal players out of development players could not be achieved unless players first benefit from playing in the leagues. But the question of standards remains a thorny issue. The standards of the Alexandra cricket club clearly made them ineligible for the club's inclusion in the Transvaal Premier League. To "attain the **required** standard" [my emphasis] for the Premier League, the Alexandra Cricket Club had to amalgamate with the Wanderers club. The unspoken rationale is clear: Wanderers's standards are considered to be the bench-mark for struggling development teams and clubs to copy. The assumption that Wanderers has **better** standards need not be elaborated.

The Alexandra Club realised the need to link themselves with a reasonably wealthy and established club in order to survive. Although the UCBSA development programme has boosted cricket in Alexandra, the club's cricket initiatives are hindered by the lack of sufficient funds. The general consensus amongst the players that were interviewed was that white clubs like the Wanderers were in the best position to help the development programme reach its full potential.

One player commented:

> Not all of us are going to be the next Jonty Rhodes. I enjoy playing cricket, and I plan to play club cricket for many years. At least now I can play against good sides...and on great

fields

The merger also hopes to overcome one of the major problems inherent in the development programme -- the creation of a "cricket culture" amongst development players and teams. Patel explains

> Development players are experiencing problems with transport, social problems, difficulties with self esteem and fitting in with the more established white players from the prestigious and wealthy clubs throughout Johannesburg

The distinctions between rich and poor, black and white are clearly obvious in the vast differences between the two clubs. Yet Patel sees the Alex-Wanderers merger as the solution to such problems. Further, Wanderers has placed key officials from the Alexandra Cricket Club on the Wanderers steering committee to learn the necessary administrative skills.

In an interview with The Star, Patel pointed out some of the problems facing development players in the creation of a new cricket culture:

> The development players are very reserved as a result of the almost insurmountable pressures they are exposed to in the townships. It is very difficult for them to arrive at the Wanderers and perform, or even gather up the nerves to appear at all. Communication is the key, and that is why the merger is largely in the hands of a number of experts, who are able to identify and solve these social problems (**Looking North Supplement**, The Star, 30 August 1995)

One wonders to what degree "experts" can harness the necessary communication skills that are required to overcome the pressures facing black cricketers. Arguably communication is a key, but fancy rhetoric and words are not going to transform the discrepancies of performance overnight. Communication will

certainly allow for a better mental preparedness of black cricketers -- so that their performance on the field improves. Is the focus on "communication" then an attempt to promote performance, to the benefit of the club? It appears that "communication" augmented by psychological experts does not address the real problems -- that is problems of educational disadvantages, poverty, crime-ridden townships, and poor living conditions.

Dr. Andre Roux is one of these "experts", and has been instrumental in the clubs' integration. He has devised a model for multi-cultural integration in sports clubs in South Africa, based on the example of the Alex-Wanderers merger. His model is based on three stages of integration: The pre-integration phase or the preparation process; the phase of formal entry or the integration process; and the phase of post entry or the competence phase Roux,1995). He argues that the self-imposed perceptions of black players of their own inadequacy and inexperience hinders integration. These perceptions are the result of social and home environments in the townships, poor educational opportunities, an achievement and motivational drive that is different to white players (based on the first two factors), separate residential circumstances that inhibit social interchange with white counterparts (Roux,1995:2-3).

For Roux the key to successful integration of clubs like Alex and the Wanderers is multi-cultural development through diversity training and management. Further, valuing and managing diversity requires cultural transformation:

> It requires people -- especially those of the dominant culture -- to let go of their assumptions

> about the rightness of their own values and customary ways of doing things and to become receptive to the other cultures (Roux,1995:2)

Cultural transformation and the management of diversity obliges players and sports clubs to examine and modify their responses in order to accommodate each other. Roux continues by stipulating that the initial goal of sports integration should be

> to educate the sporting community to appreciate the diversity of cultures in its midst and to heighten awareness of the need for better communication (Roux,1995:2)

Thus the rhetoric of "sports development" has become permeated with the fashionable terminology of "diversity management". If it is only in this sense, cricket development may be considered a lens through which to analyse South African society. Just as the workplace, governmental forums and educational institutions are using the discourses of diversity management, so too is the world of sport.

The chairman of the Wanderers Cricket Club reminded the audience at the club's AGM that

> cricket is not just about scoring runs. We need to instill a culture of cricket. This includes the importance of efficiently running a cricket club through which the culture of cricket can thrive. In this way players can be initiated into the game.
>
> We can no longer afford to remain a white bastion. We cannot just hope that the development programme produces suitable players on its own. We need to bring black players into the fold of mainstream cricket...if they remain outside the sphere of formal leagues, we are not going to achieve anything.
>
> White and black players have to get used to each other and learn from each other

The Wanderers Cricket Club, and its sponsor Xerox are

footing the bill for this integration of the two clubs. Almost sixty percent of the total sponsorship will go towards this end.

There is a decided air of paternalism in this gesture of merging the two clubs. Some would point to the philanthropic gesture of the Wanderers, citing the provision of resources, facilities and skills as an act of goodwill. Others, including the author, feel that the merger is more than mere charity. It places the Alexandra Cricket Club in a dependent and subservient position. It has meant the imposition of white codes of conduct and standards of play on the club's black cricketers. And while it has required an adjustment in the mindset of black and white cricketers alike, it is the black bowler or batsman from Alexandra who has found himself in an unfamiliar and alien environment.

Soweto Cricket Club

The Elkah Stadium in Rockville, Soweto is the home of the Soweto Cricket Club. It is a multi-purpose sports facility, a cricket ground comprising a main oval -- with an Astro Turf wicket -- and several smaller fields surrounding it which are shared by soccer and cricket activities. The facility was constructed with funds from the gate takings of international tours to South Africa, and marks cricket's initial contribution to the reconstruction and development of Soweto.

By the end of the 1994/5 cricket season, Elkah had hosted 235 games -- most of which were matches between development teams under the banner of sponsors Norwich Life.

The cricket oval was officially opened with a match against

the touring New Zealand side and a Transvaal Invitational side in December 1994. The game was the first international cricket game to be played in Soweto. The Transvaal side fielded six black players, three of which -- Walter Masemola, Geoffrey Toyana and Jacob Malao -- are heralded as the "development stars" of the UCBSA's development programme. The day was, according to the many anecdotes reported to me in the course of interviewing, exciting and festive. The arrival of Deputy President Thabo Mbeki in the middle of the game, brought play to a stand still and the drum majorettes back onto the field. No one seemed to mind the disruption. The association between Elkah and the Wanderers is remote -- the carnival atmosphere at Elkah is unlikely to be experienced at the staid and tranquil Wanderers Club.

Cricket at Elkah is thriving. A visit to the ground opened my eyes to the enthusiasm of young cricketers, who were all practising in the newly erected nets. Watching the visiting Barbados U19 XI play at the ground, I was struck by the support of the local community. Parents and families had turned out to watch the game, competitive food and drink vending was clearly evident and music over loudspeakers.

A black parent sitting next to me, in casual conversation remarked

> there is definitely a cricket culture in Soweto ...but the building of Elkah means there is a place to come to. My sons at least can come here to practise...they are proud of the fields and the nets. When other schools come to play at least there are now toilets and a tuckshop...it's not embarrassing any more.
>
> And now we don't have to drive far distances. As a parent that was a major headache!

The Soweto Cricket Club (SCC) became the first South African

black cricket club to undertake an overseas tour. Their venture was well recorded in the South African media -- the club and its players appeared twice on The Star's front page, and much was made about the "Peace, Justice and Harmony" of the tour. The "peace, justice and harmony" catchphrase was derived from the names of three of the SCC's players: Peace and Justice Nkutha and Harmony Ntshinga, all of whom took up cricket as twelve-year olds, when the game was introduced to the township in 1986.

A handful of the players included in the side were the "development stars" of the UCBSA's development programme -- both Jacob Malao and Walter Masemola were members of the touring party. Many of the others players had participated in formal development programmes, and had continued their cricketing past time under the auspices of the SCC. Sixteen of the seventeen tourists came up through the development programme.

Of the players that I was able to interview, the general feeling was that the tour had been a success, helping to promote the game amongst the township's youth, creating new role models for young Soweto cricketers, as well as boosting confidence amongst the players. Harmony Nkutha, probably the most eloquent, observed that

> there's a real buzz from cricket in the townships, and it's getting stronger and stronger
>
> I may have a black skin, but I am a person and somebody out there thinks I'm worth something. Its given a lot of pride, confidence, individuality and a lot of self respect. Our self esteem has really gone up

It is not surprising then that the SCC's touring party became celebrities and household names in England, being feted

by the press, being given extensive coverage on the SKY network, and even being harassed for autographs. The SCC played a parliamentarian team, captained by Peter Hain -- the once stern advocate of isolating the South African cricket establishment. Members of parliament were amongst the autograph hunters!

Some R250 000 in sponsorship was raised for the tour, and many of the players experienced the comforts of playing in adequate cricketing gear for the first time. One couldn't help but notice the team kitted out in resplendent scarlet blazers emblazoned with the SCC's logo.

Edward Cebekulu, the SCC's chairman, and development official at the Transvaal Cricket Board (TCB) commented that the cricket culture in Soweto was growing daily. Harmony Nkutha reiterated the point by saying that the Soweto community had also derived something out of the tour. He laughingly said that SCC players had become role models and recognised identities.

III. Cricket tours

A number of cricket tours have taken place in the cricket seasons of 1994 and 1995. They are most noteworthy for their inclusion of several development players, and for the renewal of public awareness of the objectives of cricket development in promoting new forms of national cricket identities.

Further, cricketing personalities like Jackie McGlew have gone on record as saying that the selection of development players has shown that the development programmes have "enlarged considerably the pool of young players, auguring well for the future of South African cricket" (The Star 11 April 1995).

Undoubtedly this is the case. But it is worth asking whether the broadening of the base of cricket in South Africa -- the enlarging of the pool of talent -- will in fact create a new South African game. For several cricket officials pointed out that provincial and national selection still rested in the hands of those who represent the "old" -- meaning racism and provincial favouritism -- values of the cricket establishment. It became clear that the development initiatives of provincial cricket boards can take a player up to a point where he is worth considering for inclusion in that province's "A" side. Yet contrary to the comments made by McGlew, an official at the UCBSA stressed that the provincial selection of promising development players is hampered by these "old style" attitudes. Rather than players "falling through the cracks" -- in other words giving up the game of cricket -- it is a case of players hitting a "glass ceiling". The tension between the two has been cited, by officials who wished to remain anonymous, as the reason for the small number of black players who play in the top cricket leagues.

Affirmative action is definitely not a principle adhered to by the UCBSA -- they constantly posit their position on the selection of cricketers by merit and performance. This is certainly clear in the examples that follow, given the outstanding performances by development players on recent international tours. But whether this augurs well for the future of South African cricket -- in the words of McGlew -- remains to be seen. For the future of South African cricket rests in the hands of the cricket boards, and the selection committees: they

alone will change the racial composition of provincial sides, and eventually that of the national side.

South African U19 XI to England

Labelled by the cricket media as a talented, yet misguided team, the under-19 tour of England was not as successful as was hoped. Of the eight fixtures played, the under-19 team drew one match, won two, and lost the rest. Captain [redacted] McKenzie's batting performance was considered poor -- and most UCBSA development officials took great delight in pointing out that it was development players that produced the best batting and bowling figures throughout the tour.

The team comprised five Afrikaans speakers and four private-school educated English speakers. Six players in South Africa's under-19 team touring England came through the development programmes of the UCBSA. Krish Mackerdhuj, the UCBSA president, offered these remarks on the inclusion of UCB development players in the side:

> The fact that almost half of the touring party are products of the UCBSA's vast development programme...and when one considers that the programme is only a few years old, it must be considered a sporting miracle
> (The Star, 11 April 1995)

All the officials and administrators of the UCBSA and the TCB who were interviewed agreed that the one area of success for this tour was the performance of development players. There was a general consensus that these development players -- Linda Zondi, Makhaya Ntini, Walter Masemola, Tulani Ngxoweni, Ahmed Omar, and Ashwell Prins -- had proven that they were more than mere token selections by virtue of the results which they managed

to produce on the field.

One of the more promising players to emerge from this tour was the eighteen year old Border fast bowler Makhaya Ntini. Having only played cricket for three years, Ntuni was quoted in the South African press as saying all he wanted to do with his life was to play cricket. He also reflected on the days of struggling to get a game of cricket together with the boys of his village near King Williams Town (The Star, 29 July 1995).

Tulani Ngxoweni, a left arm spin bowler from Zwelitsha, also had a successful tour -- taking fifteen wickets in seven games. Many a comment was passed that his good form caused more than one headache for sports journalists and announcers in their attempts to spell or pronounce his name! Ngxoweni has only been playing cricket for five years.

Ashwell Prins learnt to play his cricket in the streets because the game was not played in his school. He is a product of the Eastern Province development programme, and is rated as one of the likely contenders to assume the role of the first black cricketer to achieve his national colours. In fact, he was the leading run scorer -- scoring two centuries -- on this tour, overtaking the expectations placed on Neil McKenzie's batting form.

More importantly was the ability of this tour to produce role models for aspirant township cricketers. Morgan Pillay, the tour's manager said that the cricket development programmes could be surpassed by one thing -- role models:

> Six guys on that tour came from our development programme and we wanted them to do particularly well...because they could inspire an entire future generation of test cricketers

Clive Rice attributes the poor performance of this side to the lack of quality coaching at schools, and a deficient cricket culture amongst the players. As has already been pointed out in the previous chapter, the lack of quality coaching has hampered the true potential of the development programmes. Officials like Rice constantly pointed to the discrepancies in performance amongst players and attributed poor performances to inadequate coaching.

However, if this is really the case,then the example of the under-19 tour represents something of an enigma. For it was the development players of the side that produced the best scores. The players who had emerged form the traditional cricket nurseries of private boys' schools -- where the levels of coaching and facilities are infinitely better than that of the township coaching facilities in development programmes -- were the players whose performances was considered poor.

South African U24 XI to Sri Lanka

Although this tour was planned as a learning experience, neither the United Cricket Board (UCBSA) nor the squad management were able to deny the historic importance of the tour and its results. The side returned with a 1-0 Test series win, and a shared one day series.

Eleven members of the touring party already play in the "A" sections of provincial cricket -- all of them are white.

Four black cricketers were included in the U24 touring party: Lulama Masikazana, Roger Telemachus, Ross Veenstra and Finlay Brooker.

The primary purpose of this tour however appeared not to be an occasion where an integrated South African side took on similarly matched opponents on the Indian sub-continent. It was clear, judging by comments made to the press, that the purpose of the tour was to gauge the success of young South African cricketers on Sri Lankan wickets, and make an analysis of playing conditions for future South African tours to the region during the 1996 World Cup. A case of national primacy was strongly evident. Again, the UCBSA's objective of creating a national cricketing side of international supremacy rode on the coat-tails of a young side that was supposed to reflect the "success" -- by the inclusion of four black players -- of the UCBSA's development objectives.

Interestingly, and in comparison with the under-19 tour, only four black players were selected for this tour. One wonders how many of the six black players selected for the tour of England will still be playing cricket at a first class level when they reach the under-24 age group. The selection of only four "development" players for the Sri Lankan tour could be construed as a reflection of the comments made to me by key cricketing officials, and which are outlined at the beginning of this section. The selection process ensures that the "glass ceiling" of performance and opportunity restricts the number of black faces in a provincial team or international touring side.

Barbados U19 XI to South Africa

Sir Garfield Sobers, one of the West Indies' most prominent cricketers, brought a school-boy tour from Barbados in August of

1995, to play a series of ten matches in Gauteng and Mpumalanga. The Barbados side met a variety of South African sides. Two of their matches were played at the Elkah Stadium in Soweto, one against a Soweto XI, and the other against an invitational U19 Transvaal XI. Other matches included games against boys schools sides such as St. Stithians and St. Johns.

The response received at Elkah was enormous. When interviewing the manager of the Barbados side, I was struck by his unanticipated support by black township youngsters. He said it was both "inspiring and bloody marvellous" to see young boys in the crowd displaying such enthusiasm and support for the Soweto team. He expressed surprise at the defeat of his team at the hands of the Soweto XI, but added that the support from the stands was a definite advantage for the home side.

The response to the team at St. Stithians, while a welcome one, was less resonant. Attendance at the game by Saints boys was considerable -- their conversation was peppered with expletives when their team performed badly. But interestingly, it was also composed of comparisons between the great West Indian bowlers and our own Allan Donald and Fanie De Villiers.

Ali Bacher was quoted as saying that the tour was important since it broke the trend of most South African school boy sides meeting touring parties from Australia and England. He commented that the vibrant cricket culture of the West Indies -- and Barbados in particular -- could play a crucial a role in the education of South African school boy cricketers (Sunday Times, 27 August 1995).

CONCLUSIONS

The concluding chapter of this project draws together the empirical data, the theoretical considerations of the sociology of sport and the analysis of contemporary cricket development in South Africa.

The variety and magnitude of the research has generated an array of sociological conclusions. To facilitate an easier comprehension of the numerous issues at hand, this section of the project is comprised of three parts. The first is a discussion of the redefinition of a South African cricket culture, and points to the creation of a "cult" of cricket development. The degree to which cricket has been manipulated and appropriated -- both culturally and ideologically -- is central to this project's analysis of cricket development programmes.

The second section highlights the project of "nation-building", and the role of cricket development in the construction of a new national sporting identity.

The third and last section details the complex relationship between sport and the market, and highlights the role played by the corporate sector in the initiatives of cricket development.

Each of these sections serve a separate commentary on the state of contemporary cricket development programmes. However, it is necessary to link together each of these three sections. Only then can a holistic comprehension of the reconstruction of South African cricket be fully understood and appreciated.

That holistic understanding illustrates that cricket development programmes have made a significant impact on the reconstruction of South African sport, but have yet to

fundamentally transform the nature of South African cricket. Despite the attempts to level the playing field through development initiatives, the contemporary reality of a disparate social order continues to determine and define the codes of South African cricket.

I. Beyond the Boundary: the redefinition of a cricket culture

> The word *cricket* conjures up images of gentle skill punctuated by dynamic brilliance, of the village green and white flannels with the sun shining down lazily, of timelessness, and above all, dignity. The...phrase *it's not cricket* indicates that it is fairmindedness, a broad approach, and tolerance that have come to be synonymous with the game (Hain,1971:74)

The redefinition of South African cricket has produced two competing hegemonies. Firstly, the game has been redefined by an emergent "cult" of development. In this sense, cricket development programmes have ushered in a new era of South African cricket, transforming the racial demographics of the game, and broadening the base of cricket. But the redefinition of South African cricket is inhibited by the second emergent hegemony: the myths of white cricket's cultural symbolism have remained imbedded in the "new" game. In essence, cricket development's discourse of racial equality and fairmindedness is blocked by the emergence of a new discourse that perpetuates the values of the cricketing elite.

In the attempt to construct a new cricket culture, that is non-racial, representative and drawing on the tenets of gentlemanly conduct that are associated with the game's values, the perpetuation of the "development myth" masks the real

processes at work. Arguably, "development" may transform the game -- and it must be acknowledged that in some ways it has done so already -- but the simple cosmetic changes brought about by development programmes do not reflect a true motivation to revolutionise the game. I am not arguing that the development initiatives of the United Cricket Board of South Africa (UCBSA) are **purely** cosmetic, for there have been some significant instances of real progress. Rather, I am arguing that there is a tendency to **view** "development" as cosmetic, and to do so has dire consequences. The simple attachment of the label "development player" on any hopeful and talented young black cricketer helps to perpetuate the myth of the evangelical powers of the game's development programmes.

The myth is ominous, for it allows for a mindset of dispensing the game to the "masses" to set in. The myth implies that those who administer and facilitate the development programmes are providing a handout to the underprivileged cricketers of South Africa. More importantly, that "handout" is permeated with an attitude that positions the cricketing establishment as the cricketing authority of South Africa -- an authority which knows the **real** values of play and which understands the true cultural symbolism of the game.

The cult of modern day cricket, which is in fact **not** associated with the village green, but instead with urban society, commerce and political patronage (Marqusee,1995:54), has allowed for a cult of development to emerge in the South African cricketing establishment. While there is no denying the significant inroads which the UCBSA has made in the upliftment

and upgrading of facilities, one wonders about the initial motives of promoting the game in the townships.

There is undoubtedly a two fold dilemma here. A tension exists between the democratisation of cricket and the advancement of white cricket's international aspirations. The intention to promote cricket, in the interests of harnessing a new national cricketing identity that would eventually produce black South African cricketers appears to be cricket development's secondary goal. The initial objective of reconstructing South African cricket masked the more primary -- and paternalistic -- purpose of "window dressing" South African cricket with black development schemes to promote white South African cricket's appeal for reinstatement in the International Cricket Council (ICC). Today, now that South Africa has been readmitted to the ICC, the primary objective of the UCBSA is to promote the national team's international preeminence.

The implication here then is that development cricket is abnormal -- which of course, it is. As part of the proselytisation process of converting black youngsters to cricket, development programmes are a constructed and invented "tradition" of contemporary South African cricket. In the last fifteen years, the evangelical cult of cricket development has overtaken the initial motivations for their conception. The rationale to introduce young black school boys to the game still exists. However, the cult has now assumed the urgency and primacy of having to produce a black cricketer worthy of national selection. The "invented tradition" has in fact recreated itself: the evidence would suggest that the development programmes have

become so much a part of South African cricket, that they are no longer considered the "attachment" to the establishment. However, as entwined as "development" may appear to be with the existing cricket establishment organisational structures, the distinction between the two still prevails.

The diversion of cricket, irrespective of its current relation to the objectives of nation-building and development, is more than a mere game of bat and ball. Within the game there exists a myriad of socially -- and in South Africa, politically -- entrenched values and associations. It is these values and associations which have blocked any real democratisation or redefinition of the game.

The image of a level playing field within a hierarchy, is the image illustrated by Mike Marqusee. For him the symbols of cricket and the English village green conventionally represent social harmony. Sociologically, they also represent a social hierarchy (Marqusee,1995:29). Certainly, a similar image can be bestowed on South African cricket. The tranquility of the cricket oval, the gentle skill of bowlers and batsmen, and the timelessness of the contest could all point to a "social harmony". While the cricket pitch may reflect social harmony, the social relations off the field reflect the perpetuation of a distinct social hierarchy. It is a social hierarchy that is carefully constructed, not organically reproduced. The disparities between black and white players are both an indication of the past, as well as the present. The realities of the legacy of apartheid dictate the diverse socio-economic circumstances between black and white players.

But at the same time, the social hierarchy has also been "constructed" by the cricketing establishment's attempt to safeguard the middle-class virtues and values of the game. The democratisation of South African cricket has assumed the status of a "middle class levelling...involving the cultural dominance of middle class values, attitudes and sentiments" (Talamini & Page,1973:25). Thus, the cultural appropriation of cricket by certain groups -- to promote those middle-class values, attitudes and sentiments -- has reproduced the inherent power relations (Hargreaves,1986(b):9) of South African society. In effect, the cricketing establishment, represented by the UCBSA, has perpetuated the social inequalities between cricketers, by appropriating the white and middle class values, symbolism and culture of cricket. The perpetuation of an established social hierarchy is still very much in evidence, despite the evangelical proselytising by the disciples of cricket development.

The mythology of South African cricket -- talented youngsters resplendent in white flannels playing on the magnificent ovals of the Wanderers or Newlands grounds -- belongs to this specific social order, and by implication, a specific social hierarchy. The township youth who play cricket have no part in this cultural symbolism, being taught only the rudimentary techniques of the game. Thus it is a social hierarchy that continues to exclude them.

Cricket development has indeed altered the nature of the game -- but it has yet to offer a model for the fundamental transformation of the racial status quo of South African sport. The parallel between eighteenth century English cricket, and the

emergence of new South African codes of play is undeniable. Marqusee's account of "gentlemen versus players" in the eighteenth century is uncannily applicable to the assessment of the achievement of developmental objectives in South Africa in the 1990s. Cricket, in both examples, ensured that the dominant class's control of the game persisted. Development programmes have separated development players from non-development players, in effect drawing a distinction between gentlemen and players, along racial lines. Arguably, the objective to bring cricket to the black disadvantaged has ensured that the "player" is currently categorised as black, whilst the continuation of "traditional" cricket at private schools has maintained the distinction of "gentleman" as white. While it must be remembered that some of the development officials interviewed alluded to the unfortunate distinction and categorisation of the "development" label, the reality is that the label has stuck.

As a result, the dominant class of white school boys have come into contact with a cross-section of black cricketers who are deemed good enough to be selected for a development side. More interestingly, as in the case of eighteenth century England, is that this contact is made in a circumscribed social space -- the cricket field (Marqusee,1995:46). Further, the label of "development" has allowed white school boys, their coaches and administrators to participate in the development objectives of the UCBSA and the TCB -- by playing against development sides -- but without having to jeopardise their social standing. The game, while in progress, may blur social divisions: the rhetoric of the cricket boards would have us believe that this is the case.

However, the social distinctions of contemporary South Africa, based on the class formation that has resulted from black disenfranchisement, are preserved off the field.

The redefinition of South African cricket has the potential to incorporate the "lived experience" of the township game into new codes of conduct, values and styles of play. However, the research found that while the potential existed for the construction of a new hegemony of cricket culture "from below", the hegemony of white middle class values remain entrenched in the game, and its cultural symbolism. The symbols of the cricket -- the dress, the green ovals and supposed unobtrusive complexity of the game -- operate in two separate fields, alongside one another, occasionally brushing with each other: developmental cricket and non-developmental cricket. The tendency of coaches and white players to label non-developmental cricket as "normal" cricket or "traditional "cricket points to the perpetuation of these old attitudes, that are grounded in the social hierarchy of white and middle-class values.

The notion of blurred social boundaries, with the unification of individuals from different social strata on the cricket field -- the notion of sport being a great "leveller" -- is arguably unfounded when analysing the contemporary trends of cricket development programmes in the South African sporting context.

The redefinition of South African cricket has not been one of massive proportions: the game, and its values appear to have remained untainted, the conduct of players and the cultural values entrenched in the game of gentlemen have remained

untouched. Rather, the redefinition of cricket's cultural code has been in the arena of national identification.

II. Building a Nation through Sport

Through the analysis of the discourses and practises of "sports development", as they are presented by national sporting administrative structures and macro-sport organisations, the case study of cricket development programmes offers one way through which to analyse the processes of "nation-building". In other words, the transformation on the cricket field, and the processes of reconstruction in the public arena of sport, provide a lens through which to assess the wider processes of transformation, "nation-building" and development in South African society. The myth of the political autonomy is challenged by the politicisation of cricket development programmes for nation-building purposes. The myth of the cricket game -- as a "gentle drama played out on an eternal village green...a realm beyond history and politics" (Marqusee,1994:5) -- is countered by the political manipulation of the game, and its cultural and ideological discourse, for nationalist goals and the reconstruction of a national cricketing code.

Sport remains a political institution. The analysis of the historical and contemporary contexts of South African sport -- and in particular, cricket -- has shown the extent to which the historical legacy of apartheid controlled sport and segregated sporting institutions has been transcended in the attempt to reconstruct South African sport. Implicit in this reconstruction of South African sport is the notion that, through sport, a new

national identity may be created.

If we are to understand the dynamics of "nation-building" then a study such as this one offers some analytical insight into the complex array of social relations, constraints, and opportunities that face the state in the fostering of national unity. By extension is the consideration of the conscious and deliberate attempt to construct a popular sporting culture as a potential promoter of national unity.

In understanding sport's link with nationalism, we need to analyse sport as the creator of political resources, as an agent of political socialisation, and its ability to raise political consciousness (Allison,1986:13-15). Cricket has offered a viable political resource for both the Department of Sport and Recreation (DSR), as well as the ANC-led government. Steve Tshwete's comments and praise for the development of cricket as a role model for other sporting codes to follow, is arguably an example of the mobilisation of political discourse around the singular example of cricket. Further, the presence and attendance of politicians such as President Mandela and deputy presidents Mbeki and de Klerk at international games, or at promotional developmental functions, highlights the political use of a viable example of grassroots development that has won the approval and fully fledged support of mainstream political organisations.

Other examples such as the sight of the new South African flag at cricket grounds, and the naming of the Mandela Trophy -- in the series against Pakistan and Sri Lanka in 1994/5 -- point to the clever manipulation of cricket, and its vision of reconstruction and development on the field, and in the conduct

of play, by political agents, seeking to capitalise on the success of cricket in the promotion of a new national identity.

As the "theatre of the great", sport and sporting culture is open to state appropriation and incorporation into a political ritual designed to promote social and political integration (Hargreaves,1986(a):243). Further, the public domain of sport and the articulation of state programmed intervention is arguably a reflection of how sport may form part of social welfare provision that transcends the "theatre of the great", reinforcing cricket's ability to alter the "theatre of the every day". The analysis of the relationship between cricket development and "nation-building" is rooted firmly within the Reconstruction and Development Plan's (RDP) articulated goal of developing South Africa's human potential via the vehicle of a national sports development programme.

In many ways the development objectives of the UCBSA of developing a national cricket team -- and culture -- that is internationally competitive do mirror the objectives of the DSR in its attempt to create racially representative sporting institutions. But that is where the similarity in goals and objectives ends. It is the achievement factor which sets the UCBSA apart from the DSR -- cricket has achieved its goals, the DSR through lack of funds and bureaucratic obstacles has not.

Arguably, the extent to which cricket development programmes fit into the DSR's "blueprint" of policy directives, legislation and funding is limited. It would appear that the initiatives of the cricket boards have surpassed the DSR's initial attempts to broaden participation in development objectives: in fact, it

could be argued that cricket has out-stripped the parameters of official sports development doctrine, and is considered by the state as a role model on which to emulate other sporting developmental initiatives.

Further, I would argue that the development of a new national cricketing identity has not been achieved by the DSR. Instead, the state has offered limited logistical support, and political patronage to the initiatives of the UCBSA and its provincial affiliates. The construction of a new national cricketing identity has been through the efforts of the development programmes, the deliberate marketing of the game and its culture, and the success of the national cricket team.

Independence or political democratisation in African states has historically produced a new specialised elite that becomes proficient at the games of the former masters (Calhoun,1987:171). Thus the issue of nationalism is inextricably bound to the issue of newly emerging elites in a society transforming itself. The articulation of a new national cricket culture appears to be the cement which bonds a new non-racial elite.

Sport provides new expressions of nationalism through the choice or invention of nationally specific sports (Hobsbawm & Ranger,1983). Thus the "invented tradition" of South Africa's new cricketing nationalism is arguably an attempt to unite white and black cricketers, and may be correlated with the emergence of the invented tradition or myth of eighteenth century English cricket: "The challenge of political democracy forced the rulers to find new ways of cementing national unity around existing institutions" (Marqusee,1995:56-7).

The current trends within the South African cricket structures are not unlike the "crisis of credibility" which emerged within the English cricket establishment, with regard to the "Englishness" of black cricketers in the national side. However the South African "crisis of credibility" rests not on the inclusion of black cricketers in our national side, but rather, their exclusion. The South African cricket crisis of credibility is also one of representativeness, however South African cricket is saddled with a problem of merit selection as opposed to any affirmative action that may be taken to create a representational national side. But as black cricketers become more proficient at the game, to what extent do they form part of the initiative to create a representative national cricket side?

Will the "representativeness" of South African cricket become an organic process, relying on the game itself and the internal dynamics of the selection of better players -- whether they be white or black -- to promote the ideology of a "new" nation?

It can be argued that the construction of a new cr[illegible]ing national identity is inhibited by the "old regime attitudes" highlighted by Krish Makerdhuj. The attempt to create a new national cricketing identity is not informed by the attempt to create a new culture around the game. Nor is it based on the diversity of cultural exchange between, and the different "lived experiences" of previously segregated players. The UCBSA may have constructed a platform for the meaningful upliftment and development of the game in townships around South Africa, but it is the mindset of provincial selectors that ultimately may impede

the seeds of cricket development from being brought to fruit. The reconstruction of nationalism -- based around a new culture of non-racial and representative cricket -- rests in two key areas. One is the minds of youngsters who play the game, and who accept the route to national excellence and cricketing prestige begins in the honouring of codes of play both on and off the field. The other, is the imposition of a nationalist testament by sports administrators and politicians -- in effect, the construction is masterminded from above. However, against the efforts of the UCBSA, and the rhetoric of "nation-building" as is articulated in the DSR's White Paper and the mission statement of the NSC, are the group of provincial selectors who block the natural progression of emerging black cricketers into the ranks of provincial competition, deeming their style and technique inadequate and limited. Thus, the creation of a nationalist identity from above must be viewed as a construction that remains firmly rooted in the hands of those who control the game -- both financially, and bureaucratically. They are the guardians of the national identity, who define that identity at their convenience.

This seems to be the fundamental problem in the development programmes orchestrated by the UCBSA. Although a time frame of roughly five years seems to be accepted as the time it will take to produce a black cricketer worthy of selection for the national side, there is undoubtedly individual discrepancy over the issue. In other words, there seems to be no general consensus of the time frame that should produce this black cricketer -- every one has their own opinion on the matter. Arguably, the objectives of the UCBSA are prevalent throughout the various provincial

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affiliates of the cricket establishment. Yet there appears to be no real national programme of "development". The UCBSA has masterminded the project, organised the major financial assistance for the project, has stipulated the desired goals and objectives of the programme for all provincial affiliates to follow, and runs the operation through the Development Directive of the UCBSA at their Wanderers offices. It would appear that this is where the unified front regarding the initiatives and long term goals of cricket development would end. Each and every province is then running its own separately sponsored development programmes -- with some provinces doing a better job than others.

Understandably, the UCBSA has conveyed its concern about the current range of disparities between provincial cricketing authorities and administrative structures, and has warned against the possibility of having to resort to "strong arm" tactics to ensure all provincial affiliates of the Development Directive are striving towards the same visionary goals of the UCBSA.

But this merely points to the officials of the UCBSA as the "official guardians" of a new national cricketing culture: it is **their** vision of what South African cricket should involve that is helping to transform the cultural and ideological nationalisms of cricket. The vision of nationalism then is constructed around the ideologies of not only who should be entitled to represent South Africa, but also -- and perhaps more importantly -- what South Africa is, and to whom it belongs (Marqusee,1995:20).

The game of cricket may arguably be viewed as one way of understanding the broader picture of South African transformation. Just as England's failure at the 1993 Ashes

echo d larger arguments over the plight of the nation (Marqusee,1995:11), the success of both cricket development initiatives and the performance of the national cricket team may be considered as the bench-marks of a renewed nationalist sentiment and optimism.

The consideration of each of the three variants of the discourse of "development" in chapter four, points towards the concluding analysis of this project: that is, the articulation of a new ideology of development is a part of the territory of a nation undergoing major social and political transformation. However, the discourse of development has been reconstructed to become a new dominant discourse, that still fails to reach those it aims to assist. In essence then, the discourse remains just that: a discourse with very little chance of being translated into an ideology. The efforts of the state and cricket's administrative bodies to articulate the ultimate triumph of a new national sporting culture, is potentially a source of unity and solidarity. In reality however, it is also a potential source for the establishment for a new myth of equality: that is, the notion of a level playing field that masks a new hierarchical order,

The evangelism of cricket development is reflected in the rhetoric of "playing together, working together". The reality is somewhat different. "Playing together" does not provide the cement to build a nation. A "new" and invented nationalist cricket culture has not emerged from the remnants of the social reality of apartheid-controlled cricket. The social order of apartheid remains, and determines the cultural and ideological "baggage" brought onto the cricket field.

Thus, the findings point to an unfortunate situation: the "democratisation" of South African cricket is incomplete. Instead the venture of cricket development is merely an articulation of the old cultural forms of cricket, imposed on a newly created national identity.

III. The Market Economy of Cricket Development

Cricket's encounter with the market and modernity has produced interesting conclusions. Caught in the web of commercial interests and profit margins, cricket development has become a commodity to be bought and sold.

Thus the analysis of the financial contribution and involvement of the private sector in cricket development initiatives allows for an understanding of the corporate sector's contribution to the changing nature of South African cricket. While corporate social responsibility must be considered against the backdrop of the contemporary socio-political structures of the new democracy (Bibb & Bendix,1991), the role of the private sector in the projects of sports development remains one of mere sponsorship. The private sector does not actively engage in the formulation of a new cricketing culture, nor a national sporting identity. By providing the necessary funding for cricket development programmes, the private sector has not determined or conditioned the state of contemporary South African cricket in any significant manner.

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The role of the private sector in the sponsorship of cricket development programmes raises interesting questions about the issue of financial constraint. The massive sums of money donated

to development initiatives, conveniently places cricket in a competitive advertising market. The considerable financial contribution by the private sector underlies a position of fiscal power that needs to be weighed up against the philanthropic rhetoric of corporate social investment.

The supposed philanthropist motivations of corporate sponsorship are questionable. The evidence of marketing campaigns the advertisements, and the comments from key personnel in the corporate social responsibility departments of the major sponsors, would suggest that the categorisation of "corporate social responsibility" is purely one of marketing, public relations and promotional advertising. In the South African corporate sponsorship of sports development -- in the interests of promoting a new national identity around the articulation of a new sporting culture -- one cannot draw a simple distinction between philanthropic investment and an attempt to ensure a return on an investment (Wilson,1988). Arguably, the desire to promote the ideals of nation-building, through the upliftment of sport, is merely a philanthropic facade -- a facade which hides the real objectives of a highly publicised marketing campaign guaranteed to produce a return on a social investment.

The basic objectives of corporate social responsibility are the consolidation of name and brand awareness, and the establishment of corporate identity (Wilson,1988). In essence then, the rhetoric of "sports development", and the goal of nation building are an advertising executive's dream. These powerful concepts and emotionally-valued phrases of "sports development" help to create the corporate image of social

responsibility and political consciousness. We can understand the sponsorship by the breweries and cigarette companies in this regard -- their sponsorship drives are based on their marketing objectives of reaching a beer drinking, cigarette smoking, cricket watching public. But the sponsorship of cricket development programmes by companies such as Plascon (paint) and Norwich Life (personal life assurance) raises interesting questions as to who these companies are hoping to reach in the social sponsorship responsibilities. Arguably, the investment in cricket development programmes forms an advertising platform that allows these companies to market their corporate identity through the fashionable rhetoric of "sports development".

For some the crass and onward march of commercialism -- the "sale of...cricket's soul" (Marqusee,1995:15) to the highest bidder -- is symbolised by the sponsor's logos painted on the outfield. For others, the success of the cricket development programmes -- and the emergent host of young black stars from its ranks -- is the symbolisation of an effective and well executed corporate social responsibility strategy. The link between financial assistance and the reconstruction of South African cricket is made purely through the marketing arena: there is no overt stipulation of a marketing objective that assists in the reconstruction of South African society. That is written between the lines -- in the advertisements, corporate social responsibility reports and public relations campaigns -- and may possibly reflect the continued conservatism of South African business with regard to their outright political support for national reconstruction objectives.

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The growing conflict between the commercial-professional ethos of sport, and that of the amateur-elite ideals, has not only emerged in the context of the growing market of sport (Allison,1993:7), but arguably in the context of South African cricket, and its development programmes, too. The common perceptions of money corrupting a noble past time, where the standards of technique, sportsmanship, loyalty and patriotism are in decline (Marqusee,1995:27-8), is arguably countered by the South African example of cricket development programmes. For the evidence has shown that, although the international and provincial game may have bowed to the pressures of commercialism and endorsements, it is through the financial assistance of corporate sponsorship that the game -- and all its values, codes of play, and symbolism -- has been reproduced in the sporting contexts of black townships. The "noble past time" label may be dropped in favour of a more fashionable and politically correct jargon of "development", but players, officials and administrators alike all pointed to the renewed interest, optimism and faith in the game. This is hardly a game that has been "corrupted"!

The exploitation and legitimisation of sports market possibilities that warrants the sponsorship of sports development -- rather than mere sporting competition -- is a continuation of the professional ethos that has crept into the sporting arena. Put differently, the continuation of an amateur based game for the gentlemen elite is improbable -- and now impractical. Without sponsorship of development programmes, the professional standing and performance of a new South African cricket culture could not

be improved. Without the financial assistance of the private sector, the game cannot develop and grow in an ever increasing world of sports commercialisation.

While the market economy of cricket development reflects the exercise of significant choices by business in the political economy of South Africa, those "significant choices" do not uphold the ideals of democratisation and nation building. Arguably, they are significant **business** choices that reflect the corporate sector's marketing and profit ambitions.

IV. A Second Innings Declared

As the creature of an age of transition, cricket development programmes still have a foot in both the past and the present. The danger is that the commendable vision of reconstructing South African cricket -- and the air of "political correctness" which surrounds it -- is caught between the new and the old. As the two pull in opposite directions, the future of South African cricket remains uncertain. It would appear that the future of South African cricket will look a lot like the past. The uncertainty rests in the number of black faces that will represent the majority of South Africans at both provincial and international levels. It is indeed ironic that the white cricketing establishment has weathered social and political transformation, becoming the apologists for sporting segregation, but at the same time, has retained its position of power.

Cricket development is at present in a cul-de-sac. It may be regarded as a cosmetic, public relations exercise which "rubber-stamps" and honours cricket's activities both within and

outside the development arena. Further, for many township cricketers, development has sidestepped the real issues at hand, and has not led to a radical transformation of the game. Through the discourses of cricket development, the UCBSA is riding on existent social practices, rather than changing the contemporary status quo. The venture of cricket development is merely an articulation of the old cultural forms of cricket, imposed on a newly created national identity.

Cricket development programmes have made a significant impact on the reconstruction of South African sport, but have yet to fundamentally transform the nature of South African cricket. Despite the attempts to level the playing field through development initiatives, the contemporary reality of a disparate social order continues to determine and define the codes of South African cricket.

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