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# Sport and social cohesion in a provincial town in South Africa: The case of a tourism project for aid and social development through football

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## Abstract

This article examines sport and social cohesion in South Africa through a case study of a project on aid and social development through tourism and football in the provincial town of Stellenbosch, in the Western Cape. The field of study includes the project that was initiated, the group that benefits from it – African footballers – and another group that believes they too were entitled to benefit – Coloured footballers. The observation scale focuses not on the content of the initiative, as the usual sociological approach would do, but on the effects of its allocation. Those effects are observed first from the viewpoint of how they contribute to heighten acceptance of the national governance principles, and then from that of the consequences of that level of acceptance. The results show that the allocation of the project has heightened acceptance of the democratic framework among African footballers, and had the opposite effect among Coloured footballers, who view it as deeply inequitable. In Stellenbosch, the project on aid and social development through tourism and football thus has been harmful to the national project of social cohesion as, far from enhancing the acceptance of the governance framework by all, it has fostered conflict. Next, our results show that allocating the project to one group has strengthened the feeling that there are fundamental differences between the two football groups, by throwing the inequality between them into relief. It has revived among each group the stereotypes inherited from apartheid, in which Coloureds are perceived as ‘racists’ and Africans as ‘primitive’, which harms the South African social cohesion project further, as such stereotypes only contribute to harden the boundaries between the different groups.

## Keywords

football and social development, race, social cohesion, South Africa, sport

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## Introduction

This article deals with sports and social cohesion in South Africa, where segregation had been in existence before 1948, but from then on until 1994 was enforced in its most forceful political expression, when the National Party was elected into government and the apartheid regime was established. The ruling White minority divided the population into four groups – Africans, Whites, Coloureds and Indians.<sup>1</sup> It introduced segregationist laws into sectors ranging from labour to housing through leisure, separating the Whites from the other groups and establishing their social and economic superiority.<sup>2</sup> From such a regime originated a system which ensured that a vast majority of individuals were excluded, and from which contemporary South Africa is still recovering, striving to redress past inequality, bring down former racial barriers and reinvent a South African ‘nation’. This article examines how an initiative aiming at development by means of sport has rekindled the racial divides between two rival football populations in a provincial town.

However, the configuration that was observed is not that of an initiative for reconciliation between different groups or within a group, as usually to be found in the literature on sports and social development. The scope is wider and includes the initiative for development through sports, and the beneficiary group as well as another group who thought they too should have been included.

Such an observation scale breaks away from the usual ones, as it examines the effects of an aid and development project beyond its area and leads to reformulation of the elements for its evaluation. The latter here relate not to the content, but to the allocation of the project and its effects on the neighbouring environment and groups. Using that observation scale, the issues on sport and social cohesion are examined not from the viewpoint of the sports activity and its mediating power, but rather that of the decision-making processes in which the aid and development project originated, as well as its potential to strengthen approval of the democratic framework.

Such an observation scale is an invitation to re-examine the place of sports in the social cohesion project in South Africa. Sports should be analysed not only as a tool to create or foster interrelations between groups, but also to strengthen their acceptance of the principles and criteria that preside over the various levels of governance in the country (Bradshaw, 2007; Chidester et al., 2003). By means of this case study, the perspective for evaluation I mean to take is as follows: Has the development-through-sport project initiated by the municipality of Stellenbosch contributed to making the football groups of the town better accept the democratic framework on which contemporary South Africa is based, thus contributing to reinforcement of social cohesion?

I believe the approach will enhance the debate on the issue of sports and social cohesion in South Africa for at least two reasons. On the one hand, few case studies based on operations in the field have examined sports and social cohesion from the point of view of the former’s efficiency in strengthening the current democratic framework.<sup>3</sup> When the latter is discussed, it is based on sports policies and the case of quotas, which are usually described as feeding tensions between the different South African groups, who think they are unfair and discriminatory in the sports

sphere, and consequently considered as of little help in strengthening acceptance of the democratic framework by South Africans (Höglund and Sundberg, 2008). On the other hand, hosting the 2010 World Cup caused all kinds of initiatives for social development through sports to spring up in South Africa (Cornelissen, 2011), launched by many different actors – the Government, municipalities, area groups as well as sponsors, and local and multinational companies. Very little has been said on the criteria through which the implementation of such operations and their acceptance by the environment and neighbouring groups were assessed. While such operations have benefited one group, they may have participated in creating or fuelling tension with other groups who feel wronged because they too are poor and were entitled to the assistance – a process that may have undone the links of social cohesion that other actors had built (Schulenkorf, 2012).

In that view, social cohesion is not so much about reducing gaps between different values or living standards as arbitrating between differences by means of a collective framework. It is also about the capacity of the latter to coordinate them, based on principles and criteria that all would accept as legitimate. Successful improvement of social relations between South Africans and strengthening the unity-in-diversity projects, as advocated by South Africa since 1994, will depend on how far they accept that collective framework and the way issues are arbitrated. Whether it heightens or reduces tensions between the groups will depend on whether it is perceived as equitable. Taking that aspect into consideration will bring an element of further understanding to capture the division between South Africans. The origin of the latter should not be sought only in the inherited social and racial gap, but also in the current governance frameworks, which strengthen and carry on the terms of the division. In other words, the distance between individuals is not only related to the representations and stereotypes established in the past; it is also due to the injustice brought about by contemporary South Africa. It thus appears that the redress measures which have been established since 1994 have had not only positive effects – they have also widened social gaps and produced reification of racial identities, impairing the achievement of cosmopolitan citizenship and reinforcing the principles of ethnic citizenship (Habib and Bentley, 2008).

In this first part of the article the provincial town of Stellenbosch and its football world will be described. I shall show how urbanization of the town and the migration inflow from other South African provinces have fed the racial divide and contributed to sustaining it as a significant border in the local football world. I shall also describe how unification of local leagues and the prospects promised by the 2010 World Cup have fuelled sports and social rivalry between the two majority football groups (the Coloured of the Cloetesville and Idas Valley areas and the Africans of the Kayamandi township), thereby heightening oppositions.

In the second part, the project for aid and development will be described. I shall first describe the urban renovation policy for Kayamandi, the township of Stellenbosch. Then I shall describe the birth of the ‘Great Stellenbosch 2010’ programme, of which the project was a part, focusing on the choices at municipality level that caused it to be allocated to Kayamandi, and emphasizing how it eventually became a tourism building dedicated to football.

In the third part, the interviews with the group of African footballers and that of Coloured footballers on the topic of how legitimate the project for aid and development was, will bring to light why each group accepts or rejects the principles and criteria that led to implementation of the operation, and on the other hand, how perception of that framework for mediation has influenced the social representations that each group has attributed to the other. The analysis will be a means to show how, in the case of this initiative, the way differences are processed has reinforced negative stereotypes between two rival groups, rather than reduced them.

### *Methodology*

Our case study is supported by several sets of data. One results from participatory observations made during five two-week visits to Stellenbosch, in April 2008 and May 2009, in June 2010 (during the World Cup), in September 2010 and in 2011. During those visits, I visited the tourism building in the township several times, and could see what tourist attraction based on football was offered, with a view to contributing to development in Kayamandi. The second set of data includes research into archives on how the 'Kayamandi Economic and Tourism Corridor' (KETC), the tourism building, was started, and on the idea of using football as a tourism support to help the township. I collected articles from the press and written documents from the following: the newspaper published by the municipality of Stellenbosch, the *Stellenbosch Newsletter*; the *Eikestad News*, the local newspaper; the *Cape Times*, the regional newspaper; as well as the Internet. I also met with a municipal officer who explained to me the place of the initiative within the 'Great Stellenbosch 2010' programme in the run-up to the World Cup, as well as the chairman of the Stellenbosch Local Football Association (SLFA). The third set of data includes 18 interviews conducted with African and Coloured footballers in the town. The nine interviews with African footballers include four interviews with the Mighty 5 Star club (two players and two officials), three with the Mighty Peace (two players and one official) and two interviews with United Colors (one player and one official).<sup>4</sup> The nine interviews with Coloured footballers include two interviews with the Newtons club (one player and one official), two with the Spes Bona club (one player and one official), two with the Jamestowns Club (one player and one official), two with the Idas Valley Homestay (one player and one official) and one interview with an official from the Sparkling Star.<sup>5</sup> In addition, I have to say that all those footballers were male, aged 22–25 for players, and 35–45 as far as club officers were concerned.

In all 18 semi-structured interviews, which I conducted one-to-one, footballers were asked about how far they agreed with the tourism project for aid and development through football, which is hosted by KETC and aimed at benefiting the population of the township. The views thus collected were processed in two stages. Firstly, they were used to bring to light the governance principles symbolized by the project in the eyes of the actors, and to identify the arguments for which the latter either reject or accept them. Subsequently, they were used to understand what feelings were fed by their opposition in each group, and how those feelings revived some stereotypes inherited from apartheid.

## *The football world in Stellenbosch<sup>6</sup>*

### 1- Stellenbosch, a football town despite appearances

Stellenbosch, 70 kilometres from Cape Town, at the heart of the wine region of Boland, is a town with a 140,000 population, 55% of whom are Coloured, 24% are African, 21% White and under 1% Asian (Zietsman, 2007). Although Stellenbosch is usually identified as a rugby and cricket town, as those sports have been in practice at the University since 1875 and 1866 respectively, football also has a long-standing history in the town. In our survey, that the oldest club, the Spes Bona – a Coloured club – was created in 1929 shows that football has long been practised in the town.

Nowadays football is played in a unified league that includes the three major groups of the South African populations – the White, the Coloured and the Africans. Football, which used to be played separately in the apartheid regime, then in three co-existing municipal leagues after 1994, has been played under the aegis of the SLFA, which is accredited to the South African Football Association (SAFA), since 2006. In 2009, 42 clubs were registered, although not all the clubs in the town are members. The SLFA includes 6000 licensed players, which according to the Chairman meant that football is by far the most popular sport in Stellenbosch, far ahead of rugby or any other sport played in the town. The only sports institution that has more licensed players than the SLFA is the University of Stellenbosch, with its many different sports sections.

Of the 42 clubs that make up SLFA, two thirds come from the Coloured areas of the town, one third from the African township and one club from the White area. That the majority are Coloured clubs shows how popular football is and the depth of its roots among the members of that group; in Stellenbosch football is the sport that has the largest number of players and has been played longest in an official framework. According to the chairman of the SLFA, this makes Coloured players feel that it goes as a matter of course that their group is the one which should represent football in Stellenbosch. Why there are so few African member clubs in the SFLA can be accounted for, firstly because their football history is quite recent in the town, as it only started in 1972 – as is the case with the Mighty 5 Star, the oldest of the African clubs, as our survey showed. Another reason is that African clubs find it difficult to become structured in any sustainable way, or to conform to SLFA regulations. I have shown elsewhere (Cubizolles, 2010a) that not all African clubs think of themselves as sports firms, at least not in the way a federation would mean it.<sup>7</sup> Such shortcomings result in African township footballers in Stellenbosch feeling that they are not being recognized as they should be, considering their passion for the sport (Cubizolles, 2010a). Lastly, of the 42 clubs who are members of the SLFA, only one represents the White population in Stellenbosch, which in our opinion shows how little interest they take in football at the moment. Nevertheless, they are quite present in the football world through a powerful institution, the University, and its Maties club.<sup>8</sup>

### 2- A football world still racially divided

In Stellenbosch the practice of football is still organized along racial divides. To fight them the SLFA has taken up ‘colour blind’ management of its associative life since 2006,

and conducted prevention actions on a regular basis, particularly for young people, to stave off the resulting oppositions. However, such division still persists, which in my view can be accounted for through two major elements: (1) the persistence of separated urban territories; (2) increasing numbers of Africans migrating to Stellenbosch.

Spatial partition, which still exists, is fuelling race divisions inasmuch as it makes them visible on the urban scene, symbolizing the differences in living conditions, thus creating a problematic social hierarchy, on the one hand, and on the other hand it reflects the different social networks, prompting individuals primarily to define themselves based on those territories and on their identities; in other words, there is always on an apartheid pattern in which space and 'race' are associated and merged (Gervais-Lambony, 2001). In daily life in the clubs, many examples are to be found, related to that spatial partition and the race criterion that is highlighted because of it. For instance, the majority of players and clubs belong to the same area as that of their residence. Underlying this is a common idea about the identity of a territory or the way it should be represented, which also means a common idea about the identity of the racial group who live there and how it should be represented. Although there is increased mobility and the link between the group of residents and the club that traditionally symbolizes them is not as close as it used to be (Cubizolles, 2011a), few footballers join clubs outside their area of residence. However, mobility does exist, as each club includes in its pennant team one or two players who come from a different urban area. However, there are not enough such players to renew the identity of the hosting clubs and thus to dismantle or change existing territory and race borders. Clubs and players still use territories and the race label attached to them to identify themselves as well as other football groups, thereby perpetuating in the minds of ordinary people urban partitions, race divides and the oppositions between them.

In Stellenbosch, besides the usual oppositions inherited from apartheid, the other event that fuels race divides is the increasing numbers of Africans who have settled there. They have the highest rate of annual demographic increase in the municipality. It was an estimated +9.3% a year in 2007 (Zietsman, 2007) and up to 13.78% a year in 2012 (Stellenbosch Municipality, 2012: 8) by municipality estimates. Africans from the Eastern Cape come to the Western Cape Province to find a job, but also because social services – housing, schools, health services, etc. – are generally thought to be better quality (Wetzel et al., 2006). The majority of the Coloured and White population of the Western Cape consider the influx as a threat to the prevailing identity and political order<sup>9</sup> (Cornelissen and Horstmeier, 2002: 68). As a result of the perceived threat, the Coloured and White long-standing Stellenbosch residents usually have an attitude of fear and rejection with regard to the increasing migrant population. They fear that the place may turn into an African town. Racial divides now appear as a rift between long-established residents and newcomers. Such an attitude is also to be found in the football world, in which Kayamandi and its African residents are usually given the meaner places. While they are undoubtedly recognized as quality footballers, they are not quite so recognized as a sports group that can well represent Stellenbosch. Because of their status as newcomers, as a group they are considered minor or inadequate representatives of the town. For example, during the championship, the SLFA usually has to intercede with the sports committees in those areas that have fields not being used, as they refuse to lend them to African clubs who cannot play at home, when both the township fields are in use.



Last, as I have shown elsewhere, in Stellenbosch the preparations for the World Cup widened the racial gap between the African and Coloured football groups, which was deepened by the restructuring of local leagues launched in 2005 (Cubizolles, 2010b) and the promotion of football in the run-up to the great tournament (Cubizolles, 2012).

The reorganization of local and regional leagues by the SAFA heightened the competitive pressure between the two communities, which used to play in three separate leagues, that is, the Stellenbosch Football Union for the Coloured clubs of the suburban districts of the town and the University club; the Winelands Football Association for the Coloured and African clubs from the outlying and rural areas round Stellenbosch; and the Kayamandi Football Association for the African clubs of Kayamandi, the township. After those were unified, the communities found themselves in a situation of direct sport rivalry. On the one hand, the African and Coloured clubs, who were compelled to coexist within a new institution, each asserted their identity as defined by their own district, turning their belonging to a group into a major point of distinction and, in the process, a major point of tension. I have shown elsewhere (Cubizolles, 2010a) how refereeing mistakes or hostility among players were usually interpreted as due to that difference. For a Coloured, if an African referee fails to blow his whistle for a foul by an African player on a Coloured one, it would necessarily be due to the referee being an African. Likewise, for an African, rough play on the part of a Coloured player against an African one would necessarily be due to the player being Coloured. On the other hand, bringing the clubs together meant that more clubs were pursuing the same sport objectives, although the number of positions they were competing for had not increased proportionately. The resulting concentration emphasized the differences about the means that each community could use to reach their aims. In such a difficult competition, each has stood as a victim of the 'other' (Cubizolles, 2010b). For Africans, the White and Coloured communities, by refusing to lend them their football fields, a survival from the apartheid regime, were using an outdated privilege. For Coloureds, the African community has failed to conform to the engagement rules established by the SLFA: for example, some clubs usually cheated on the age of their players so as to win youth tournaments. In doing so, they were using preferential treatment, a sign of the favouritism that they currently benefit from. Unification, for which many clubs were not prepared, as the SLFA chairman says, far from bridging the racial gap between the African and Coloured football groups, contributed to widening it in the period 2006–2010.

The strong rivalry between the African and Coloured football groups in the town can also be accounted for through the prospects of assistance related to the 2010 World Cup, which was widely advertised as a solidarity tournament that would benefit the development of the nation and the continent. This caused South Africans to have all kinds of dreams and hopes and expectations (Tomlinson et al., 2009). The hopes were at individual level, with one third of South Africans thinking that they would get a job thanks to the great tournament (Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), 2008), but also at collective level: for instance, some people wished infrastructure to be built in their district (Pillay and Bass, 2009), others that their identity, which had been depreciated during apartheid, would be valued, and that placing football in the forefront would strengthen its position in the world of South African sports (Alegi, 2006). Such expectations also fuelled the question as to who would benefit from the promise (Baines, 2010). In



Stellenbosch, in the football circles, the question failed to get any answer, which caused the clubs and football groups to compete on the field of racial identities. This strengthened the idea that the latter would play a significant role. The SLFA chairman explained the reasons for that. As in the post-1994 redress promises, those made just before the 2010 World Cup were addressed to the Black population, thus implying that the Africans, Coloureds and Indians that made it up during apartheid would be given equal treatment. However, in those days equality, such as it had been announced, did not come true – the Coloureds and Indians were gradually excluded from the post-1994 redress policies, based on a criterion of racial identity, which generated acute tension between the three communities (Habib and Bentley, 2008).

### *Helping and developing Kayamandi by means of tourism and football*

At Kayamandi, the football-based tourism aid and development project can be considered atypical in the way it was conducted. I shall describe the two major phases – how the ‘Great Stellenbosch 2010’ municipal programme, of which the project is part, was first designed, the different phases of urban development in the township and the political governance in Stellenbosch, which led decision-makers to choose tourism and football as the most appropriate instruments to help Kayamandi develop in a sustainable way.

#### 1- The ‘Great Stellenbosch 2010’ municipal programme

For a tourism-oriented town such as Stellenbosch, the 2010 World Cup seemed an event not to be missed (Cubizolles, 2011b). In that respect, the ‘Great Stellenbosch 2010’ programme was aimed at preparing the town, so that it could take advantage of the various opportunities offered by the great tournament. One component was concerned with tourism and involved the town authorities and the private sector. The latter, through the ‘Great Stellenbosch 2010’ programme, was expected to position Stellenbosch as an attractive place, related to the World Cup in different respects. The idea was to promote the tourism potential present in Stellenbosch by means of attractive communication, and ‘sell’ it to foreign fans visiting the Western Cape Province. The second component of the programme was social. It was meant to benefit the residents in Stellenbosch. Led by the municipality, it was considered part of the heritage policy,<sup>10</sup> which the Government had integrated into the preparation of the great tournament. The key ideas were presented in March 2008 in an article entitled ‘2010 Soccer World Cup, How will the Greater Stellenbosch benefit?’ published in the municipal newspaper, the *Stellenbosch Newsletter*. The municipality viewed it as an additional opportunity to promote the social development of the town and its communities. It was expected to leave a ‘hard legacy’, which would generate infrastructure, training, jobs and tourism activities, as well as a ‘soft legacy’, which would initiate increased social cohesion and remove the racial and economic exclusion of apartheid. Through those commitments, the municipality of Stellenbosch was also joining the national trend in using the 2010 World Cup to pursue the objectives of urban and social development that had been identified as national imperatives

since 1996, as well as the Growth, Employment and Reconstruction strategy (Pillay and Bass, 2009).

In January 2009 the social component of the 'Great Stellenbosch 2010' programme was officially presented in the *Eikestad News*, the town newspaper, under the headline 'Town's 2010 Strategy'. It had been developed by the new municipal team, the African National Congress (ANC) and its leader Patrick Swartz, who had taken over from the Democratic Alliance represented by L Maree in April 2008 (Cape Times, 2008). Three major points were included: make Stellenbosch a host town for a team during the tournament; set up large-sized screens in the different areas of the town; and leave a legacy that would remain after the great tournament was over. In the last point, particular mention was made of the Kayamandi township and the KETC. The building, as a tourist attraction, was expected to help turn the Black area into 'the main centre of football focus for the community during 2010'. With a view to this, according to the article, football-based initiatives would be taken, including using the building in the near future to host a town museum that would both retrace the history of the sport in the town and honour the heroic careers of certain local footballers.

For the town authorities to combine tourism with social action, thereby helping a community, was in conformity with the Government policy. In a framework document entitled '2010 Soccer World Cup Tourism Organisation Plan' (DEAT, 2005), the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) encouraged using tourism to create a lasting social legacy. Tourism was identified as generating jobs, growth and equality (DEAT, 2005: 5), particularly if it is rooted in communities, as recommended in the White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism published in 1996 (DEAT, 1996), so that the latter may achieve sustainable development (Hughes, 2007: 273). From the viewpoint of governance, the tourism project thus smoothly fitted into the social component of the 'Great Stellenbosch' programme, as in several respects it was in conformity with national recommendations.

## 2- Urban development in the township and political governance

However, the idea of endowing Kayamandi with a tourism product that would help the area develop had emerged well before the period when preparations for the World Cup began. The township, through the KETC, had been given one such project, but it was never implemented, as proved by the fact that the building had remained empty ever since it was built.

The project consisting of creating a tourism product in the township can be retraced back to the Kayamandi Urban Renewal programme (KUR), a local branch of the Integrated Human Settlement Programme that was launched about 1997 (Dennis Moss Partnership (DMP), 2008a: 28). Building the KETC was decided upon as part of the urban renovation plan for the township, which included buying land to expand the area, increasing the number of houses and creating sports facilities. By incorporating a tourist site into the layout of the township, the KUR was conforming to the guidelines propounded in the White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism published in 1996 (DEAT, 1996). As mentioned above, the document identified tourism as a priority for national economic development and the Government's growth project (Growth,

Employment and Redistribution Strategy). Tourism also had to be rooted within communities. The KETC was built in strict conformity with the DEAT guidelines. In the KUR programme, the KETC was presented as a tourism structure that would contribute to the economic development of the area and help the residents live there in stability and dignity (DMP, 2008b: 22). The construction, which began in 2005, was declared finished by the builders in 2006, and in a 2007 report the town authorities declared that it had been 95% completed (Stellenbosch Municipality, 2007: 25).

At that date, only the issue of which private partners would be given the contracts remained to be solved, as it seemed that the question of the contents had been decided upon. In that respect, the partners were expected to play a social role, just like the KETC. In the editorial of the October/November 2007 issue of the *Architect and Builder* journal, which featured six pages on the KETC, the editorialist explained in the introduction what the project consisted of. She first recalled how 'Nelson Mandela's visit to Kayamandi in 1990 introduced a new era and brought a message of hope, reconciliation and a sense of purpose to a town that had lost its way', and that 'it was against this backdrop that the Kayamandi Tourism Center was conceived and built' (2007: 10); then she proceeded to explain that the KETC was intended to serve as 'a catalyst for social change and racial tolerance as well as a centre that will promote cultural expression and economic development within Kayamandi' (2007: 44). The 2008 catalogue of builder Dennis Moss Partnership gave additional details on the content intended for the building and the activities through which social change would be initiated. The KETC was described as follows: 'The centre will comprise an anti-apartheid museum, amphitheatre, restaurant, internet café as well as formal and informal kiosks [...]' (DMP, 2008a: 29). However, in March 2008, as indicated in the article entitled 'Status of the Kayamandi Tourism Precinct' (Stellenbosch Newsletter, 2008: 3), due to lack of private partners and feasible projects, the town authorities postponed the opening of the KETC, leaving pending the tourism project for aid and social development that they had pledged to establish in the township.

Incorporating the KETC into the 'Great Stellenbosch 2010' programme was an opportunity to put new life into the building and the aid and development tourism project that backed it up. To this end, the new municipal team added a strong football feature to it. Mr Gerald, the officer in charge of the Sport & Recreation department in the municipality of Stellenbosch, explained the intention in these words:

We hope that Kayamandi and football will be promoted through the 'Great Stellenbosch 2010' programme. Thanks to the 2010 World Cup football may help developing the area. Creating a tourism product based on football is a good tool, a good showcase. It will make the KETC and the area accessible to all, it will open the township up, contribute to its development and help people discover its culture. (Interview Stellenbosch, May 2009)

The town authorities' political intent was thus clearly expressed, as presented on the Welcome page of the 'Great Stellenbosch 2010' website, where the new ANC mayor strongly expressed his wish to use the World Cup to promote football and help the township and its population. He said that in the Boland townships the sport had been in practice since the 19th century, and that every day he helped those who lived in difficult circumstances. He hoped that 2010 would help football be restored in its true place in the

cultural history of the town and the region, on the one hand, and that the economic and social benefits that the town would derive from it would mostly benefit the most underprivileged groups, thus continuing to help them out, by giving them the opportunity to achieve sustainable development.

Accordingly, the KETC was officially opened on 31 October 2008 by P Swartz, the new mayor, although the building remained empty, with no activity going on. The ANC municipal team then began to publicly identify the KETC as the trustee of the football culture in Stellenbosch and an aid and development tool for Kayamandi. Besides the previously announced project of creating a museum (Eikestad News, 2009: 9), a ceremony was organized to present a legend of South African football, Doctor Khumalo, on 15 September 2009. The aim of the visit was 'to help popularise the Great Stellenbosch 2010 effort by encouraging youth and coaches to engage in football in a constructive manner', but also, as mayor P Swartz did, remind people through the KETC that thanks to the 2010 event 'our kids are no longer exposed to inequalities' (Stellenbosch Newsletter, 2009: 1).

The finishing touches were put to the work of identification when the KETC leaflet, in which the dual character of the tourism project was highlighted, was published early in 2010 (Facebook, 2010). Here the tourism activity on offer was presented as related to football, and the KETC 'has endorsement from the 2010 role-players as an official site and as such will be the hub of tourist activity in and out Stellenbosch' (Facebook, 2010). Among such activities were TV broadcasts of matches on large-sized screens, a craft market, an African restaurant, hosting an international team during the tournament, and providing services and products when the competition was in full swing. Next, the team emphasized the social dimension of the tourism project as related to football. The KETC was thus described as 'an initiative of Stellenbosch Municipality toward job and wealth creation and revitalisation of the local Kayamandi community' (Facebook, 2010).

Thus it was that at the end of a long process in which various, not always concerted, choices were made, the tourism project on aid and development in the township by means of football was set up and identified as an initiative solely dedicated to Kayamandi and its residents.

## **The tourism project for aid and development through football widening the gap between African and Coloured footballers**

As explained above, the tourism project for aid and development through football dedicated to Kayamandi residents was the result of two political trends: at national level, the policy aimed at reconstruction of the country, seizing the opportunity offered by the World Cup; and at municipal level, the trend that consisted of assisting one particular community by means of tourism and football. In a first step the views collected on the legitimacy of the project hosted by the KETC give the measure of the gap between how the African and the Coloured football groups accept the framework that presided over those choices. In the second step such differences give an understanding of the contradictory feelings that the latter feeds among footballers from both groups, and how those

feelings are at the root of the revival of the negative representations that each group has about the other, and that are thriving on past stereotypes.

### 1- African footballers accepting fair principles and decision criteria

On the whole, African footballers look favourably on the tourism project for aid and development through football implemented in Kayamandi. Although not all interviewees explicitly used the word 'justice', the prevailing tone is satisfaction. In Stellenbosch, their group, their area and their commitment to football were valued at last. Two categories emerged, each laying emphasis on a governance principle that African footballers felt was basically fair, and that was materialized by the project.

The first principle is observance of a legitimate right – to be recognized in Stellenbosch as an important football group of the town and the nation, thereby gaining the consideration and the assistance attached to such a position.

Observance of that right would mean first that their excellence at football should be recognized. An African footballer said:

To me, there is nothing unfair about Kayamandi being selected to host this building. We Africans are the best at football. We are not the fastest ones, for we don't have speed. But as far as that round ball is concerned, we are good; we are even excellent at handling it. It runs in our veins, we feed on football. The Whites are good at rugby and cricket, I can't deny that. The Coloureds are good at running, they are fast. But we are very good at football, at dribbles, at shibobos. That sport is really ours. It's written in our fates. The best teams of the town come from our area, so it's right for the building to be here. (Interview Stellenbosch, May 2009)

The observance of their right also means that the significance of football in their history at national level should be recognized, as an African footballer explained:

Those who say we do not deserve this building are racists. Soccer has always been a pillar of the African community. Soccer is a symbol for our community as rugby is for the White community. The building reflects the passion for soccer amongst Africans in the country: no-one is robbed with this building. (Interview Stellenbosch, May 2009)

Such recognition should logically place them as the primary beneficiaries of the promises made concerning the World Cup. An African footballer said:

I think this initiative is fair. The government promised to help us and claimed that this World Cup was that of Africa. There is no inconsistency whatsoever if football helps the poorest. This building is part of such promises. Thanks to its presence, our clubs will be able at last to find sponsors. (Interview Stellenbosch, April 2008)

The second principle materialized by the project, and which seems fundamentally fair to African footballers, is that social justice should be implemented to redress former wrongs, and help bridge the economic, social and urban gaps inherited from apartheid.

For African footballers, allocating the aid and development project to Kayamandi is viewed as a redress measure from which the township was likely to derive various forms

of benefit, depending on how the difficulties inherited from apartheid are assessed. The project was first viewed as a means to restore balance about political choices, which had long been unfavourable to Kayamandi. As a footballer said concerning the project and the building that hosts it:

I don't mean to say that it's unfair or they are excluded, because it would have been just as unfair if the building had been located at Cloetesville or Idas Valley. And we shouldn't feel guilty about it; it's right as it is and that is that, there's nothing more to be said. They just have to accept it, as Kayamandi accepted in the past not to have any sports facilities, while they had. So I wouldn't say that Stellenbosch football conveys an unfair or discriminating image if it is only represented by Africans. (Interview Stellenbosch, May 2009)

Secondly, allocating the project to Kayamandi was perceived as a means to help rehabilitate the image of Africans, which in the past had been viewed as including such negative features as dangerousness and deprivation (Guillaume, 1999). For example, one footballer said concerning the building that hosts the project:

This building will be good for the image of the township. There are already more and more tourists coming into the district, there are even some who also live here. With this building for soccer, foreigners will no longer see the township as unsafe, they will want to come, and they will want to discover our culture inside this beautiful building. That's good, it gives a better image of what we are. (Interview Stellenbosch, April 2008)

Thirdly, the project was expected to boost Kayamandi's economic activity, which as in all townships across the country, had been smothered by the apartheid regime, who feared that it might be used by emancipation movements to draw resources from (Beavon and Rogerson, 1990). For example, one footballer said, concerning the building and the project:

For me, this building is exactly what Kayamandi needed to develop. Here, there are already many small businesses that are starting. For soccer clubs, such a building is an opportunity to have a good visibility, to meet people, to get them involved in our projects, and to gain credibility. With all due respect to other communities and other clubs, we will be able to move forward, we will be able to catch up a little, to make up for our economic gap. I hope our club will be present in this building; we are one of the best in Stellenbosch. (Interview Stellenbosch, April 2008)

Fourthly, the project was expected to help urban development in Kayamandi, as all South African townships had suffered from lack of urban equipment, due to the apartheid regime deliberately refraining from any town planning, with a view to keeping them dependent on White towns (Gervais-Lambony, 2004). As a footballer said concerning the project and the hosting building:

This building is a good thing for us. Before, when we wanted to sell handicraft to tourists, we had to go downtown, to catch a taxi. Now we will be able to do it in Kayamandi. If there are soccer offices, we'll also be able to solve problems without having to travel to other districts. It will be better for the clubs of the township. (Interview Stellenbosch, May 2009)

In the eyes of African footballers, the project for aid and development through tourism and football does strengthen their support to the democratic framework. They view the initiative as one instance of concrete materialization of two principles that post-apartheid South Africa had pledged to implement – observance and recognition of their rights, and redress measures to remedy past exclusion.

## 2- Coloured footballers rejecting unfair principles and decision criteria

On the whole the views expressed by Coloured footballers disagree with the tourism project for aid and development through football initiated in Kayamandi. Although not all interviewees explicitly used the word ‘injustice’, the prevailing tone was critical and emphasized the iniquity of which their football group is a victim. It makes them feel as though their group, area, and sport and social history were ignored in Stellenbosch. Just as among African footballers, the views of Coloured footballers fall into two categories. However, although both groups emphasize how the project materializes a governance principle, in the eyes of the Coloured footballers that principle is fundamentally unfair.

The first principle is denial of a legitimate right – the right to be recognized in Stellenbosch first as a significant football group, with a greater number of players than any other group, and which played a primary role in the football history of the town, and as a group that also faces serious social problems, also inherited from apartheid.

Allocating the project to Kayamandi thus materialized denial of their football history in the town, which was unfairly forgotten, as a Coloured footballer said:

I think this initiative denies the essential part of soccer in Stellenbosch. Here soccer has been played for a very long time by the Coloured, the Coloured who developed this game in town. We have a club, Spes Bona, dating back to 1929. And this building will send another message to tourists, it will not tell the truth. It is a denial of our football history. (Interview Stellenbosch, April 2008)

The project also materializes denial of the number of Coloured footballers in Stellenbosch, although they are the majority of players in the town. A Coloured footballer said:

The municipality supports the Africans and African teams. But in Stellenbosch they are not the larger group playing soccer. There are more Coloured clubs than African clubs; there are more Coloured players than African players. If we were in a true democracy, this building would show our commitment to this sport, our passion. I think it’s unfair. (Interview Stellenbosch, April 2008)

Lastly, allocating the project to Kayamandi also materialized denial of their excellent football play, as a Coloured footballer said:

A message is delivered by this building, it will say that Africans are better football players than Coloured! This is not true, we have good teams, teams that regularly play a leading role in the region and produce very good players for the PSL. But obviously, it does not count! (Interview Stellenbosch, May 2009)



Moreover, Coloured footballers feel not only that they are not given due consideration from a sport point of view in Stellenbosch, but also that their living conditions in the town are ignored. In their eyes, allocating the aid and development project to Kayamandi reflects lack of interest in their social difficulties. A Coloured footballer put it in these words:

You are quite right, some parts of the Cloeteville area are just as poor as Kayamandi. But you see, the difference is that the international community and the foreign tourists all pay more attention to poverty in the townships than in the coloured areas. Townships are a symbol here; tourists want to see the shacks, the way the Black live; it's a folklore image of South Africa. They don't want to see where the Coloureds live. (Interview Stellenbosch, April 2008)

Lastly, in the eyes of Coloured footballers the allocation of the aid and development project is a denial of the pledges made before the World Cup. This strengthens the sense that they are being excluded, based on an unfair criterion – race. As a Coloured footballer said:

I think it's wrong. They can't give a building to one part of the town, or to one area, just based on race, and neglect other people. In my opinion it's completely wrong. The others too fought for freedom in this country; the others too are fighting against poverty. What image do they want to give? The other areas, the other communities too have the same needs; they too have a right to development. They built this building to show that we are all equal, to show that football is equally shared, and yet they gave it to one area only. (Interview Stellenbosch, May 2009)

The second principle materialized by the project, and which seems fundamentally unfair to Coloured footballers, is the preferential policy in favour of Africans. It is viewed as continuing race-based inequality and strengthening the race criterion, as fuelling hostility between Africans and Coloureds, and as bringing disrepute on the competence of the municipality.

A primary effect of the preferential policy in favour of Africans is that it extends race inequality; according to a Coloured footballer:

The location of this building in Kayamandi is a perfect example of politics in South Africa, everything for Africans. You see, here there are poor districts, districts that need to be developed such as Idas Valley or Cloeteville, but as people are not Africans, nothing is done. In Stellenbosch nowadays, the majority is ANC; it means that all projects are for Kayamandi. With this building dedicated to soccer, they will also have a stadium and a swimming pool. For us, nothing has been done since 1994. (Interview Stellenbosch, April 2008)

A second effect of the preferential policy is that it fuels racism and maintains racial divides in Stellenbosch. A Coloured footballer put it thus:

The building will bring about jealousy and bitterness among the communities. It fosters racism, as we said previously; some will say that the Africans have been privileged compared with the Coloureds. People here will be still more divided! Because those who get the privilege will think that they are stronger and better than we are, though it's not true. Nobody is better than anybody else. The project highlights only one community. To me, it's very unfair; everybody should have an opportunity to benefit from 2010. (Interview Stellenbosch, May 2009)

A third effect of the preferential policy is that it fails to transform the Kayamandi township, as a Coloured footballer explained:

They can give a tourism building, a football stadium, a swimming pool to Kayamandi, it's not going to change anything. Within a short time these facilities will be degraded. The inhabitants of the township will not succeed in keeping these facilities in order, there are too many problems in this area. (Interview Stellenbosch, April 2008)

A fourth effect of the policy is that it brings disrepute on the elected authorities of the Stellenbosch municipality, as well as on Government authorities. One Coloured footballer said:

The municipality has a bias for Kayamandi. It made a big mistake by allocating Kayamandi this building dedicated to tourism and football. Nobody will go there. Who would take one's children, one's car in such a dangerous place? I understand that this could boost the township, but I think it will not work. They should have put this building downtown, everyone could have gone there, and that would have developed football for everyone, not just one community. The municipality has taken a short-sighted decision, it acted out of prejudice. (Interview Stellenbosch, April 2008)

For Coloured footballers, the project for aid and development through tourism and football reflects badly on the democratic framework. It undermines their support to the principles of post-apartheid South Africa, for which the project stands as material denial, illustrating as it does non-observance of their rights, and enforcement of preferential measures that maintain, or even intensify, past exclusion.

3- The effects of those differences over the representations that the groups of African and Coloured footballers have of one another

In the eyes of African footballers, the principles of the governance framework that led to implementation of the tourism project for aid and development through football, in Kayamandi, were observance of a right and a redress policy; inversely, for Coloured footballers, those principles were denial of their group and a preferential policy. The difference in interpretation results in very different feelings that each group has about the governance framework and the way it arbitrates differences. Whereas African footballers feel supported by it, and have a feeling that it reinforces their status as a legitimate group in Stellenbosch, Coloured footballers feel victimized by it, as the choices it makes concerning differences are made at their expense, blotting them out from the football world in the town as well as from the history of the municipality. Those two kinds of feelings were clearly illustrated in the views collected.

For African footballers, the tourism project for aid and development through football is considered a proof of attention on the part of the town authorities, who recognize at last their football excellence and the difficulties that their clubs and their group at large meet with. They put it very clearly when they said: 'We Africans are the best [...]. It runs in our veins, we feed on football [...] so it's right for the building to be here' or 'There is

no inconsistency whatsoever if football helps the poorest' (Interview Stellenbosch, May 2009, April 2008).

Inversely, among Coloured footballers the project is perceived as a way of rejecting them, as they are not recognized as having the right to benefit from it, although they too have a claim to it, and even a more legitimate one in the town, as one of them said: '[...] the Coloureds developed the game in the town. We have a club, Spes Bona, dating back to 1929 [...]. It is a denial of our football history' (Interview Stellenbosch, April 2008). Moreover, their areas too are faced with equally serious poverty issues that football and tourism could tackle: '[...] some parts of the Cloetesville area are just as poor as Kayamandi' (Interview Stellenbosch, April 2008).

The governance framework for the project, and the decision-making principles that in each group's views preside over it, thus place African footballers as full members and beneficiaries, and Coloured ones as discriminated against. This, on the scale of the town's football world, is the same feeling as the one experienced on a national scale by the group, who usually feels excluded, as a Coloured footballer put it: '[...] the moment people are not Africans, nothing is done...' (Interview Stellenbosch, April 2008). Indeed, public policies are sometimes damaging to Coloured footballers (Cornelissen and Horstmeier, 2002).<sup>11</sup>

Because of the two postures that it establishes, the governance framework encourages each group to take on different, antagonistic attitudes. On the one hand, the feeling among Coloured footballers about the project, that they are discriminated against, makes them question and openly criticize it. In the words of a Coloured footballer: 'The municipality has a bias for Kayamandi. It made a big mistake in allocating Kayamandi that building ...' (Interview Stellenbosch, April 2008).

On the other hand, the feeling that African footballers have about the project, that they have a right to it, prompts them to support it and defend its legitimacy, as an African footballer said: 'I think this initiative is fair. The government promised to help us. This building is part of such promises...' (Interview Stellenbosch, April 2008).

Thus, it is that those opposite attitudes fuel negative representations of the other group among each group, widening the gap between them in the process. For Coloured footballers, who feel discriminated against, as one of them put it: 'The municipality has taken a short-sighted decision, it acted out of prejudice' (Interview Stellenbosch, April 2008), while the African footballers' discourse in favour of the project reinforces the feeling that they remorselessly take advantage of the governance framework and increase inequality, as another Coloured footballer put it: 'The project highlights only one community. To me, it's very unfair!' (Interview Stellenbosch, May 2009).

African footballers thus appear as a privileged group who take dishonest advantage of the system, since they refuse to recognize that it openly favours them or that it is unfair. For Coloured footballers, the project symbolizes non-observance of a pact for democratic equality, as one of them remarked: '[...] the others too are fighting against poverty. [...] The other areas, the other communities too have the same needs; they too have a right to development' (Interview Stellenbosch, May 2009), despite the promise that the World Cup would be for all South Africans, and despite their past commitment against apartheid. As Coloured footballers put it: '[...] it's very unfair; everybody should have

an opportunity to benefit from 2010' and '[...] The others too fought for freedom in this country' (Interview Stellenbosch, May 2009).

For African footballers, who feel legitimate, as proved by this declaration from one of them: '[...] no-one is robbed with this building!' (Interview Stellenbosch, May 2009), the Coloured footballers' critical discourse against the project reinforces the feeling that the latter are against the governance framework, and consequently against the values and principles of justice of the new democracy. An African footballer said: '[...] this building is exactly what Kayamandi needed to develop [...] With all due respect to other communities and other clubs...' (Interview Stellenbosch, April 2008).

Coloured footballers thus appear as 'conservatives' who reject the current democratic pact, since by failing to recognize the need for redress measures in favour of Africans, they indirectly minimize the violence from which they suffered in the past and the inhumanity of apartheid order. For African footballers, the different treatment symbolized by the project thus awakens no compassion for Coloured footballers, as these words show: '[...] there's nothing more to be said. They just have to accept it, as Kayamandi accepted in the past' (Interview Stellenbosch, May 2009), as they are regarded as a reactionary group who implicitly approve of the old system.

From the views collected, it appears that those crossed, negative representations contribute to promoting the race criterion. Both groups regularly point to it as the criterion that eventually is at the origin of the equality pact getting broken (each group considering that the other has used it in an illicit way). Among Coloured footballers, race is pointed to as a criterion for social injustice – always at the origin of privilege and exclusion, as a Coloured footballer put it: 'I think it's wrong. They can't give a building to one part of the town, or to one area, just based on race, and neglect other people. In my opinion it's completely wrong' (Interview Stellenbosch, May 2009), as illustrated by their getting barred from participating in the project, which was allotted to Africans. Race is an asset that Africans take advantage of to get public aid, hence the impression among Coloureds that they are not given the chance to compete on equal terms, as one Coloured footballer said: '[...] the Africans have been privileged compared with the Coloureds' (Interview Stellenbosch, May 2009), and that they are discriminated against by the governance framework, as another Coloured footballer said: 'The location of that building in Kayamandi is a perfect example of politics in South Africa, everything is for Africans' (Interview Stellenbosch, April 2008).

Among African footballers, race is felt to be a criterion for race hierarchy – in which they are forever given a 'primitive' status, as one Coloured footballer said: 'Nobody will go there. Who would take one's children or one's car to such a dangerous place?' (Interview Stellenbosch, April 2008), which unjustly disqualifies them. Although the project was allocated through a democratically established governance framework, another group thought that the project was not legitimate, due to their ethnic difference, as one Coloured footballer suggested: 'Within a short time these facilities will be degraded. The inhabitants of the township will not succeed in keeping these facilities in order' (Interview Stellenbosch, April 2008). Race is thus perceived as the only criterion for any human consideration, which Coloureds use to discredit Africans, hence their impression that they are victims of racism. As one African footballer said: 'Those who say we do not deserve this building are racists' (Interview Stellenbosch, May 2009).

## Conclusion

The observation scale, by focusing not on the content of the initiative, as the usual sociological approach would do, but on the effects of its allocation over the neighbouring environment, leads one to examine them from a broader perspective, which includes other groups and interests. In order to assess the social consequences of its implementation, a necessary indicator then consists of examining the impact of the project from the viewpoint of the relations between the project beneficiary group and another group who think that they too were entitled to benefit from it.

That observation scale thus tends to show, on the one hand, that the group targeted by an aid and development project is never so isolated that the action has no incidence over the groups in the socially close neighbourhood. The remark seems all the more appropriate when the tool for social action is sport, which may stir reactions among neighbouring groups, and change the links between groups, if only because such neighbouring groups share the same sport discipline and the latter is at the heart of sport rivalry or intensifies social competition.

That observation scale, on the other hand, tends to reveal the impact of the project on aid and social development through sport over acceptance of governance frameworks and the social cohesion they warrant. Because neighbouring groups deem it unfair, the allocation of the project discredits the governance framework, as the allocation serves to divide people over the subject rather than strengthen acceptance of it, decreasing social cohesion in the process. In this case, putting a sport label on the operation failed to reduce sensitiveness and criticism towards the governance framework, or to ease the feeling of injustice. The idea is belied that sport is a separate tool for social action, with a natural capacity to achieve good, that it fosters consensus or agreement, and consequently that it is less likely to cause discontent or social prejudice. The results of this survey show that the division brought about by the governance framework directly fuels opposition between the two major football groups and impacts on mutual representations among the groups, who are each entrenched in antagonistic moral postures (Africans as legitimate beneficiaries; Coloureds as discriminated against) in view of the way the project was allocated.

In our case study it is those postures, born of diverging views on the governance framework, which exacerbate the feeling of 'ontological' difference that each group harbours towards the other. It is through the stereotypes from the past that the force of the feeling is reactivated and brought up to date. They are mobilized because they put that idea of relentless difference in equally violent words – among Africans, that Coloureds are racists, and among Coloureds, that Africans are 'primitive'. The project for aid and social development through tourism and football has widened the gap between the two major football groups of the town and thus done just the opposite of dimming social borders, as is usually expected of this kind of initiative, whether directly or not.

Lastly, the observation scale tends to show the limits of a project for aid and social development through tourism and sport when it is set up based on previous initiatives with the same social development objective, while neither tourism, sport, social development, the relationship between them or how they apply in the local context were thoroughly considered by governmental authorities who use them. In this case, the interrelation

between tourism, sport and social development was considered both as it would affect foreign visitors during the 2010 World Cup and as it relates to the national political project (in terms of 'heritage' and urban and social development), as well as to the local political project (that of the new ANC municipal team). Inversely, social rivalry was neglected in the interrelation, both as it existed in the local football world and as it was likely to spring from unreserved use of football, based on an ideal definition of it rather than its actual relation to the town. The shortcoming highlights one more point – a certain lack of knowledge about the social problems (their origin, process and mechanism) that the project was expected to address, using tourism, sport and social development as though they were panaceas, never suspecting that they would aggravate some of those problems instead of solving them.

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### Notes

1. The term 'Coloured' was formalized by the apartheid regime, referring mainly to people in the Western Cape. It designates those who did not fit in the other categories: some were descended from the indigenous Khoi and San who inhabited the Western Cape before the arrival of either white or African people; others descend from 'Malay' slaves, brought from Indonesia and elsewhere by Dutch colonists; others are descendents of relationships between white and African people. 'Indians' refers to people who were brought to or came to South Africa from the Indian subcontinent and were sometimes classified as 'Asiatic' (Seeking and Natrass, 2005: ix).
2. From the 1950s, the South African government passed a series of new laws aimed at compartmentalizing society and reducing liberties among the 'non-Whites', particularly Africans. For example, the *Population Registration Act*, which defined the racial groups, and the *Group Areas Act*, by which the different communities were allotted areas for their residence, were passed in 1950, and the *Reservation of Separate Amenities Act*, by which separate access, services or spaces in public places were established, was passed in 1953 (Fauvelle-Aymar, 2006).
3. By 'democratic framework' is meant not only a set of rules and laws, of systems and decision-making procedures, but also a spirit, a democratic culture that facilitates management of *dis-sensus* in a constructive way (Pélabay, 2003).
4. All three African clubs are residents of Kayamandi. The Mighty 5 Star and Mighty Peace usually play leading roles in the regional championship, the SAB League. United Colors is a smaller club that plays at town championship level, in the category just below the SAB League.
5. The 5 Coloured clubs do not all reside in the same area of the town. Spes Bona and Sparkling Star are in Cloeteville, Idas Valley Homestay and Newtons are at Idas Valley, and Jamestown is at Jamestown. Cloeteville, Idas Valley and Jamestown are three Coloured districts near Stellenbosch. Among those five clubs, Jamestown, Idas Valley Homestay and Newtons were also playing in the SAB League at the time of our survey.
6. This part is based on the various surveys on football in Stellenbosch that I have published, that is, Cubizolles S (2010a, 2010b, 2011a, 2011b, 2012). Unlike in previous publications, here I will focus on the way sport is used in the framework of a project on aid and development by

- means of tourism and football, and how it heightens social tension and slows down the top-down national building process.
7. I have mentioned some clubs that are not registered by the SLFA, and whose main sport activity consists of playing in occasional tournaments. Their teams compete for prize money, which may be cash or in kind (such as a lamb). They do not take part in the collective life – they do not play in championships, nor do they join any institution in charge of football management in a given area.
  8. In the course of my survey I interviewed two representatives of the Stellenbosch University football club about how legitimate they think the project is. They did not feel involved in the initiative, nor did they have any marked feelings about it, only indifference, due to the University of Stellenbosch building up its own tourism football-based programme for the 2010 World Cup.
  9. This was echoed in the ‘Save the Cape’ or ‘Keep the Cape’ slogan that the New National Party adopted for its campaign in 1999.
  10. South Africa set for the World Cup three political objectives that were encompassed in the term ‘heritage’. The first one, named the African Legacy Programme, was about aid to the continent; the second and the third had a national scope, and focused on economic and social development, as well as social justice (Cornelissen, 2011).
  11. In their article entitled ‘The social and political construction of identities in the new South Africa: an analysis of the Western Cape Province’, S Cornelissen and S Horstmeier (2002: 68) remarked that ‘The policy of affirmative action adopted by the national government was seen as a further threat. Interviewees argued that the “coloured” population of the Western Cape felt themselves increasingly marginalized or disadvantaged by this policy’.

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