TRANSFORMATIONAL-INFRASTRUCTURE KEYS TO EQUALITY AND INCLUSIVITY IN SPORTS: POLICY TRAJECTORY IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICAN SPORTS

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ABSTRACT

The extent and effectiveness of transformation in two South African sports and how policy implementation changed the sporting landscape and quality of sport development post-1994 was examined. A mixed-methods approach for data collection and analysis in four South African provinces was adopted. Purposive sampling and random selection of 743 respondents occurred for qualitative and quantitative surveys issued concurrently to solicit data. The findings showed little improvement and minimal advancement in sports development in the townships, due mainly to infrastructural challenges among other mitigating factors against inclusive growth since 1994. About 98% of the stakeholders interviewed alluded to the lack of management, budgetary allocation from government, corporate funding models and support systems affecting the state of infrastructural development in previously disadvantaged communities and the poor state of facilities inherited from the past. Consequently, little or no interest has been shown by community members in prioritising sport. An economy scale of preference over multipurpose usage of facilities should be determined, which has blocked and stunted development of other games, while hostile takeovers of some communities' sports' infrastructures were among multiple factors reported negatively in the survey. The study recommended public-private policy networking and partnership for infrastructural development that is inclusive.

Keywords: *Inclusion; Philosophical concept of sport; Policy implementation; Social concept of sport; Sport-transformation; Structured infrastructure diversity.*

INTRODUCTION

Background

The nation of South Africa emerged more than twenty years ago from over 300 years of brutal racial segregation and discrimination against people of colour by the white Apartheid regime. That marked the beginning of an epoch of the post-1994 transformation journey. When referring to discrimination, it entails treating people in general differently because of specific characteristics, such as race, colour, gender or sexual orientations (Government of South Africa Constitution, 1996). It results in the impairment of equality of opportunity and treatment of vulnerable and oppressed, or minority groups. In other words, where the element of

discrimination is found, it is most probable that inequalities will be reinforced, which restricts the ability of a human being to attain the expected goals and aspirations at all levels of endeavours, either personally or professionally (Sen, 2016).

The effects of inequality suppress social skills and mental cognitions from developing to their optimal capacity (Sen, 1976; Crisp & Turner, 2011). It deprives recognition and acknowledgement of merits and awards about work (Louw, 2004). Unfair discrimination demoralises, humiliates, takes away self-worth of individuals and groups to render them powerless and frustrated as reported in most cases (Charalambous, 2015; Nambo, 2016).

According to the International Labour Organisation (IOL, 1958:online) convention under the United Nations agency on labour-related matters discrimination is defined as "any distinction, exclusion or preference made based on race, colour, sex, religion, political affiliation, national extraction or social origin, which has the effect of nullifying or impairing equality of opportunity or treatment or occupation". Historically, the black majority were denied privileges by their oppressor, particularly the right to develop their sporting potential were restricted (Bendick, 1996; Nambo, 2016). Among them, was the deliberate exclusion of infrastructural facilities for sports in the geographical areas of black communities. Instead, most of the facilities were sited within the exclusively white suburbs for the minority's use only. It has been argued that causes of exclusion were mitigated by a myriad of factors, such as urbanisation, religion, ethnicity, gender, culture, race, disability, class, rank and age classification, among others (Daya, 2014; Farndale *et al*., 2015; Frith, 2016; O'Mara & Richter, 2016; Appiah *et al*., 2018).

Black athletes were left without any infrastructure for sports for many years (SAHOL, 2017). Alluding to the injustices of the past, the current democratic regime took up the challenge to redress and transform the structural imbalances created, mainly to advance inclusive sports development for the benefit of those who were previously-disadvantaged and excluded (SRSA, 2012; Bolsmann, 2014). The Government developed a guiding document known as the National Development Plan (NDP) to direct the affairs of government in all spheres, including sports, to be able to aspire with other great sporting nations. This was hinged on the new sport transformation policy of post-1994 (Chalip & Green, 1996; SRSA, 2012).

The system in its current state has not been able to address the issues of infrastructural facilities in the townships adequately as part of the intervention to redress past inequality (Nambo, 2016). The study explores stakeholders' perceptions of policy implementation in football and rugby, to understand the extent of developmental policy interventions. Mainly, it will ascertain perceptions of whether infrastructural development addressed inequality and racial discrimination in sport, as intended and provided for in the policy.

Context and literature

Racial discrimination affects millions of different workers around the world, ranging from black people and ethnic minorities to indigenous people, nationals of foreign origin and migrant workers (Tomei, 2003). In most instances, according to Tomei (2003) and Appiah *et al*. (2018), those affected by racial and ethnic discrimination are poor people in Sub-Saharan Africa. Centuries of unequal treatment in all spheres of life, combined with persistent and deep ethnic socio-economic inequalities (Allen-Collinson *et al*., 2005), explain their low educational and occupational attainments (Appiah *et al*., 2018). In turn, their lower achievements made them vulnerable to racial stereotyping, while social-demographic segregation would perpetuate ethnic/racial inequalities and reinforce perceptions of "inferiority" or "resentment" (Allen-

Collinson *et al*., 2005). Racism is a vice that pervades all contemporary cultures of the world (Allen-Collinson *et al*., 2005) with no exception in sports, which should not be tolerated in any form, but to rather appreciate diversities and recognise differences instead (Leaman & Carrington, 1985; Allen-Collinson *et al*., 2005; Ferdman & Deane, 2014).

A tranche of studies has explored the nature and extent to which racism has become more prevalent in sports. Generally, the bulk of attention has been directed at racism among professional soccer clubs (Leaman & Carrington, 1985; CRE, 2006; Bradbury, 2013; Cleland & Cashmore, 2016), while other studies have cited racism at the grassroots, especially among the players and even coaches (Houlihan, 1997; Houlihan, 2000; Alegi, 2007; Hay-Thomas, & Bendick, 2013; Oliver & Lusted, 2015). On the part of the government, there is a presumption that sport promotes integration and social inclusion (EPG, 2014). Hence, the perceived role of games as unifiers was observed by Leaman and Carrington (1985) during the early 1980s. This issue is once again on the agenda of governments worldwide, as policymakers struggle with broader issues of racism, discrimination, social exclusion and inequalities (UN-SDP, 1998; Beutler, 2008; Dudfield & Dingwall-Smith, 2016).

The South Africa Government's primary objective is to address racism and social discrimination (SRSA, 2012). The White Paper on Sports and Recreation recommends that all sporting codes in the country must open up for transformation in sports and create an equal playing field for all. It called for the use of a quota system to accommodate previously disadvantaged people of colour to be recruited and allowed to participate and compete without discrimination (SRSA, 2012; EPG, 2014).

The White Paper was created to monitor and evaluate the transformation process and targets given to the various sporting codes to be achieved. A further aim was to create an inclusive society and empower previously disadvantaged South Africans to participate in all sectors of the economy and to build a cohesive nation (CRE, 2006). The Constitution of South Africa (Government of South Africa Constitution, 1996) and the South African Department of Labour Act (SADL, 2004) were enacted to achieve inclusivity and demographic representation. In essence, it was referring to diversity instead of discrimination. The meaning of inclusivity in the context of transformation and social agenda is considered broadly as affirmative action against racial discrimination and towards racial diversity or inclusion.

Affirmative action is considered a strategy for the inclusion and assimilation of minorities and women into the mainstream economy (SADL, 2004). It could be as a result of one or more of factors, such as legal, moral and social requirements (Gelb & Webster, 1996). The concept "affirmation action" historically grew out of the assumptions that the corporate sector was dominated by men and women in the majority group and the minorities' rights had been excluded from the mainstream governance because of ethnic, racial and sexual orientations and prejudices (Ferdman & Deane, 2014:12). In the same manner, the underlying principle of the South African version of affirmative action, is to address this social injustice and provide for an equal playing field for all.

In this regard, the concept of inclusion allows and encourages stakeholders to consider and address multiple dimensions of diversity simultaneously. Inclusion recognises the various ways in which people are different, mainly based on socially and culturally meaningful categories (Ferdman & Deane, 2014:12). The authors alluded that exclusion is a process involving a systematic pattern of intergroup inequality and discrimination, while at the same time it facilitates approaches that view group categories as coexisting among people. On the other hand, inclusion means focusing on individuals as representatives of only one group at a time and one identity at a time and acknowledges individual differences within a group (Ferdman &

Deane, 2014:10). Therefore, inclusion hinges on multiplicity and integration, in the context of empowerment and equality. An inclusion policy allows and encourages us to learn about, acknowledge and honour group-based differences. At the same time, it reminds us to treat each person as unique and recognise that every identity group incorporates a great deal of diversity in itself (Ferdman, 1995; Ferdman & Gallegos, 2001).

The concept of a stakeholder underpins the theory that suggests that the final product of any organisation should reflect the interests of all stakeholders and not only those of its owners. Stakeholders are people who interact directly with each other in the running of the organisation or a system internally or externally, directly or indirectly (Miragaia *et al*., 2014; Miragaia *et al*., 2015). According to Parmar *et al*. (2010), it is probable for any organisation to have different configurations of ideologies and interests fused. It is likely to find individuals or groups sharing similarities and dissimilarities of objectives and interests within an organisational setting, which describes a diversity-led organisation.

In this study, they are identified as government, associated federations, club owners and managers, players and technical crews, fans and community, media and sponsors. Clarkson (1995) presented stakeholders in two categories, namely, primary stakeholders and secondary stakeholders. The current article focuses on the key stakeholders with strategic management approaches in dealing with infrastructural challenges in the selected sports. The study used an excerpt of qualitative data relating to infrastructures, to explain the stakeholders' role in the attainment of the transformation policy meant to eliminate social exclusion and inequality in sport.

Furthermore, Parmar *et al*. (2010) stated that the organisation/club should ascertain whether there are conflicts of interests among the various stakeholders, while simultaneously seeking solutions to solve them and for all stakeholders to obtain their respective objectives (Parmar *et al*., 2010; Walters, 2011). Other scholars argued that for non-profit organisations, like sports clubs, to achieve corporate goals, their stakeholders must align their differences and expectations. They must accommodate all segments of their groups. After that, an organisation's policies level of effectiveness, can increase with successful implementation, premised on corporate and good governance to achieve implemented policy objectives and long-term goals for the organisation holistically (Abzug & Galaskiewicz, 2001; Balser & McClusky, 2005; Brown, 2005; Herman & Renz, 2008; Studer & Von Schnurbein, 2012).

To the best of the researcher's knowledge, there have been little or no previous attempts to provide an overview of the needs and objectives of diverse organisational stakeholder groups in the South African sports context, concerning corporate governance for the attainment of transformation policy objectives and goals (Ospina *et al*., 2002; Alegi, 2007; Parkard, 2010; Hardina, 2011; Bolsmann, 2014; Charalambous, 2015). Providing an overview, provided insight into how sport stakeholders in South Africa managed their transformation processes. It explored how selected sports (soccer and rugby) administered diverse policy issues on transformation and aligned them to the goals of achieving inclusivity and equality.

PURPOSE OF RESEACH

Given the above reasons, it was expedient for the researchers to explore the empirical gaps in research to understand and analyse the government's policy expectations regarding sports federations. The implications of policy implementation practices or strategies and their impact on end-users are fundamentally essential to examine. Also, more insight would be gained into the interest of the possible conflict between stakeholders' motives to prescribe certain practices

and their actual effects on end-user stakeholders. The research explored the work of Ferdman *et al*. (2010), who proposed that diversity should not be seen as a protagonist of group/team performance. It should instead be viewed as a moderator of relationships in group dynamics. It approaches differences through the mechanism of consultation and collaboration to achieve better outcomes. The study premised on the involvement of selected sport stakeholders with diversified views and interests on transformation policies implementation to understand rugby and football infrastructural states and challenges in South Africa.

METHODOLOGY

The current study used a mixed-methods approach to determine the congruency of the transformation policy formulation and implementation in South Africa, its extent and implications. The adopted instruments, interviews and a survey questionnaire, minimised biases and provided a review from both types of data. They indicated gaps in implementation and areas of weaknesses that could be explored to formulate a better policy framework.

Sample

The study population of stakeholders included officials of the Departments of Sport and Recreation, sports federations, club-owners, coaches, players and fans who are directly involved in policymaking and implementation. Those affected by policies were selected at local, provincial, regional and national levels for both the quantitative and qualitative data sections. Stakeholders were randomly selected from national office bearers and end-user stakeholders (players and fans) in four (4) provinces, namely, Gauteng-, North-West, Northern Cape and Eastern Cape Province. The selected sports were football and rugby sporting codes, represented by various structures of the South African Football Association (SAFA) and the South African Rugby Union (SARU) respectively. The research sample size aimed to achieve statistical power at a 95% confidence level with a margin of error of 5% (p-value set at 0.05).

Research design

For the quantitative section of the study, a total of 720 respondents participated in the quantitative survey. Two hundred and forty (240) football players, 240 rugby players, 120 football fans and 120 rugby fans, were selected using purposive sampling techniques from the four provinces (Table 1 for demographic profiles and sample distribution).

Table 1. **SELECTED STAKEHOLDERS FOR PARTICIPATION**

Province	Qualitative section						Quantitative section				
	SH	Gvt	SARU	SAFA	RC	FC	R/F	F/F	RP	F/P	Total
Gauteng	7	1	2	2	1	1	60	60	30	30	187
North-West	6	2	1	1	1	1	60	60	30	30	185
Northern Cape	5	1	1	1	1	1	60	60	30	30	185
Eastern Cape	5	1	1	1	1	1	60	60	30	30	185
Total	23	5	5	5	4	4	240	240	120	120	720

SH=Stakeholders Gvt=Government RC=Rugby Club FC=Football Club
R/F=Rugby Fan F/F=Football Fan R/P=Rugby Player F/P=Football Fan

For the purpose of the qualitative section of the study, reported in this article, a sample of 23 strategic stakeholders was selected purposively for the qualitative interviews, five (5) of whom represented both rugby and football administrators and coaches/managers in each of the selected provinces. One of each represented the national federations and unions, and one constituted government structure at the national level, regulating a sport for demographic distribution and representation of participants.

Analysis of data

The study used SPSS software to analyse the quantitative data. The study used the Nvivo software application to transcribe and analyse the data into themes and subthemes. The current article focused on the qualitative data to explain the role that infrastructure played in advancing equality and social inclusion in South African selected sports. The trustworthiness of the results was ensured through triangulation at the level of analysis.

Ethical clearance

Ethical clearance was obtained from the University of Fort Hare's Research Ethics Committee (Certificate LY0011SDODO1) and all protocols were observed to ensure the anonymity and confidentiality of the participants. The study sought the informed consent of all participants; furthermore, their right to opt-out of the study at any time was guaranteed.

RESULTS

Demographics

The results showed an under representation of participants according to both gender and racial distributions in the study. The gender ratio showed more male to female representation. The proportional representation in both the topmost level of the managerial echelon and at the lowest level of football and rugby, revealed that there is no female team manager, club owner and chairperson participating. There was only one female among the 23 stakeholders participating, which represented only 4.4% of the population sample surveyed.

With regard to the racial representation in the sample, Table 2 indicates that four (4) black managers sitting in government positions represented 80% of the top management level in football, while one (1) white participant was in the SAFA structures at the senior management level (20%). Inversely in rugby (SARU), 80% of respondents at the top management level were white, while 20% of the participants were coloured, with no black person represented in the sample. However, at the lower level, 2 out of 5 participants were black representing 40%. One (1) out of 5 (20%) was coloured and 2 out of 5 were white. They participated in the interview survey of sport stakeholders.

The selected federations, football and rugby, have different programmes put in place to advance sport in the townships, where the majority of blacks reside. In virtually all the provincial rugby unions' structures, there was a working policy enshrined to set up developmental hubs in catchment areas where talent had been identified. Although it reported a growing demand for rugby in the previously disadvantaged communities, community members were not participating. This seemed to create challenges for the unions in terms of budgetary issues to fund most of the performance centres across all the identified areas. The few performance centres were strategically located close to semi-urban regions and in the metropolitan cities to accommodate the talented players.

Table **2.   DEMOGRAPHIC FEATURES OF STAKEHOLDER PARTICIPANTS**

Stake-holders	Age range	Marital status	Gender	Race	Years service	Qualification	Position
NAGO1	40-45	M	Female	B	20	Honours	Deputy Director
GAGO1	30-35	M	Male	B	10	Honours	Asst. Director
NWGO1	40-55	M	Female	B	37	Honours	Asst. Director
NCGO1	40-50	M	Male	B	25	Diploma	Asst. Director
ECGO1	30-35	M	Male	C	10	Diploma	Senior Manager
NARO2	45-55	M	Male	W	30	PhD	CEO
GARO2	30-40	M	Male	W	15	Honours	General Manager
NWRO2	50-60	M	Male	W	35	Diploma	General Manager
NCRO2	45-50	M	Male	W	20	Diploma	Director Sport Dev
ECRO2	40-50	M	Male	C	25	PQ	Deputy President
NAFO 3	40-50	M	Male	W	20	PQ	Technical Director
GARO 3	50-65	M	Male	B	40	Diploma	President
NWFO3	40-50	M	Male	B	25	Diploma	President
NCFO3	40-50	M	Male	B	30	Bachelors	President
ECRO3	40-50	M	Male	B	30	Bachelors	Provincial Secretary
GAFO4	30-40	M	Male	B	20	Diploma	Club Chairperson
GARO 5	30-40	M	Male	B	10	Bachelor	Team Manager
NWFO4	45-50	M	Male	B	25	Matric	Club Chairperson
NWRO5	30-35	M	Male	W	15	Bachelor	Director of Rugby
NCFCO4	35-45	M	Male	C	25	Bachelor	Club Chairperson
NCRC5	40-50	M	Male	C	20	PQ	Chairperson
ECFC4	35-45	M	Male	B	20	Honours	Chairperson
ECRO5	35-45	M	Male	B	22	Diploma	Chairperson

B=Black   C=Coloured   W=White   I=Indians   M=Married   PQ=Professional Qualification National

NGO1=National government official 1
GGO1=Gauteng government official 1
NWGO1=North-West government official 1
NCGO1=Northern Cape government official 1
ECGO1=Eastern Cape government official 1
NRO2=National Rugby official 2
GRO2=Gauteng Rugby official 2
NWRO2=North-West Rugby official 2
NCRO2=Northern Cape Rugby official 2
NFO3=National Football official 3
GFO3=Gauteng Football official 3

NWFO3=North-West Football official 3
NCFO3=Northern Cape Football official 3
ECFO3 Eastern Cape Football official 3
GFCO4=Gauteng Football Club official 4
GRCO5=Gauteng Rugby Club official 5
NWFCO4=North-West Football Club official 4
NWRCO5=North-West Rugby Club official 5
NCFCO4=Northern Cape Football Club official 4
NCRCO5=Northern Cape Rugby Club official 5
ECFCO5=Eastern Cape Football Club official 5
ECRCO5=Eastern Cape Rugby Club official 5

Social and environmental issues

Social and environmental issues have to do with how the spatial location of the demographics population affects their developmental ability and disadvantage grass root sport due to unfair advantage caused by geographical location. A stakeholder from one of the provinces said;

> Our transformation and development are not up to scratch but this is the challenge we are having and the political part is that South Africa is in an abnormal situation. We've got the

very, very!! Poor and the middle and the very, very!! Rich and so where are the very, very rich concentrated, they are all in Gauteng so … laughter. (GAPFO 3)

However, the perception mainly among the previously disadvantaged communities was that "only the privileged schools were and are benefitting from the facilities and types of equipment built during the apartheid era, while their communities are not" (NCPFC 2). On one hand, other schools have been left in ruins without any structural upgrading or development. The two federations were confronted with the issue of accommodation to house players from rural areas and the townships, who were unable to access developmental facilities close to their natural habitat. Most of the funding had been geared towards schools with boarding facilities that had a limited capacity, in terms of intake, as well as cost (GAPRO 2; NWPGO 3). As such it attracts players to migrate to the province in search of better opportunities and to take advantage of the vast facilities of high standard located in the province. TSGAPFO has this to say relating to environmental factors: "Obviously, people are moving into areas where players can have opportunities. When people move into Gauteng, we take that as Gauteng people and we have to say they are ours". Figure 1 shows the overview of stakeholders and their views on social and environmental issues.
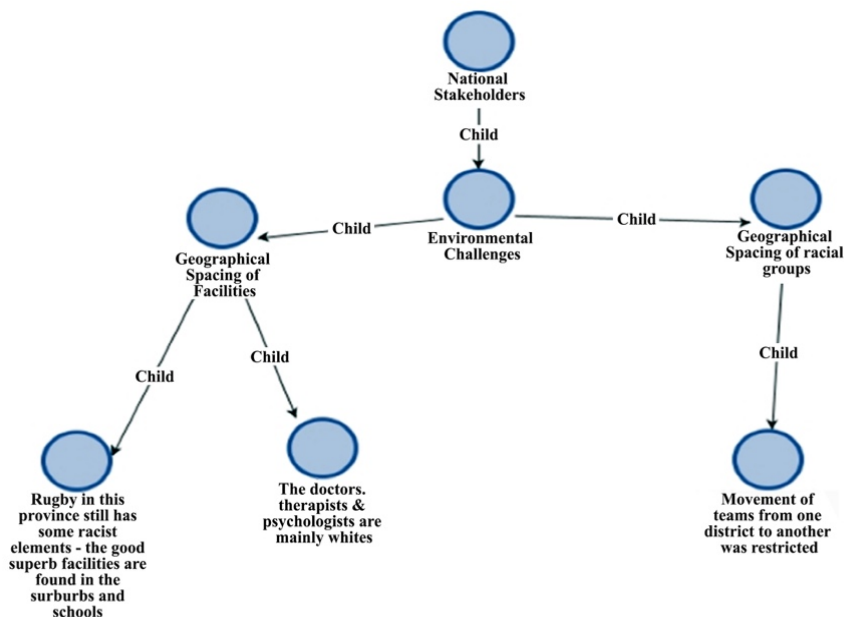

Figure 1. **STAKEHOLDER VIEWS ON SOCIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES**

The perception mainly among the previously disadvantaged communities was that only the privileged schools were and are benefiting from the facilities and types of equipment built during the apartheid era, while their communities' schools have been left in ruins without any structural upgrading or development. "It appears that the structures of apartheid have not been dismantled" (GAPRCO). From the point of view of the federations, the issues of facilities are the sole responsibility of government at the municipal and provincial levels, whilst the

federations are only the custodians of the sport. The federations have international bodies they have to report to in terms of governance and regulations.

The survey also elicited data from the stakeholders to understand the current state of infrastructure in post-apartheid South Africa. It showed a lack of the necessary infrastructures in the selected public schools, particularly in the townships. Very few places were found to be hosting piloted projects. Neither did they have high-performance hubs provided for them. Instead, improvised facilities were made available to assist with sporting activities. Cases of overcrowding or over-usage were identified as challenges. The Department of Sport and Recreation South Africa needs to support the existing infrastructures within the hubs, but seems to be doing that only to a limited extent, due to funding challenges (See federations developmental programmes based on infrastructures capacity in Figure 2.)
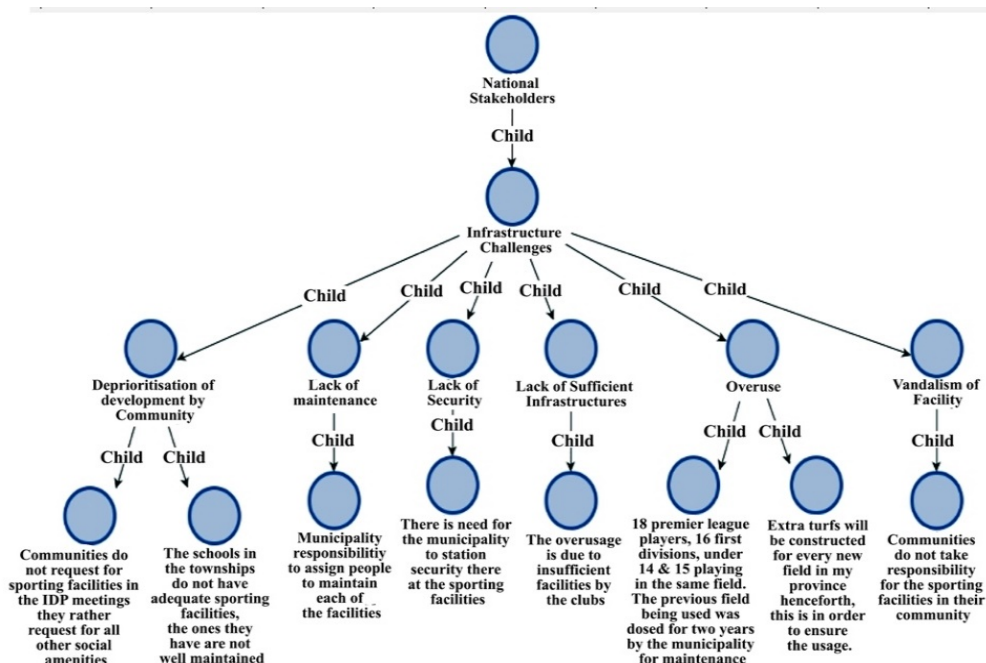

Figure 2.   **MODEL SHOWS INFRASTRUCTURAL CHALLENGES EXPERIENCED BY SOME MEMBERS OF NATIONAL STAKEHOLDERS**

Developmental interventions

Other developmental interventions include, but are not limited to, coaching clinics, school talent development programmes, scholarships for talented players' schemes, club funding in the townships and setting up of structured leagues. Also, competitive opportunities are among the identified policies the rugby unions have in place in all the selected provinces to actualise transformation. Priority and budgetary constraints seem to slow down the level of developmental interventions across the provinces as stated by one of the government officials:

Number two, we are still have to redress of the disadvantages of the past, which is why we are speaking of roads, water, electricity and housing. If people have mentioned these things you will agree if they say we want sporting coding it will be number 5 or 7 then the budget is finished, if not we won't arrive here, basically that is that. And I think, that these are realities facing us. (NWPGO)

Management and governance issues

Similarly, the interviews showed that the football federation across the board was more closely linked to the townships than rugby. The reason given alluded to the fact that football was the only sport most of the black communities embraced during the pre-1994 era. Participants stated that it does not require much space to play the sport and the rules are simple and applicable to them. However, the football federation expressed challenges in their survey responses, mainly due to an overwhelming love for the game and the numerical growth of participants over the years. The poor infrastructure created more problems for soccer than any other sports in terms of accommodating the increased numbers of players and fans wanting to attend matches in the townships.

The effect of racial segregation in the past and the economic challenges of the black community still harm the sport. Very little or no development was provided by the past regime for the development of infrastructures for football in the townships. So, the circumstances post-1994 forced the football federation to enter into a bilateral agreement with other sporting codes, like rugby, that has access to facilities, to share infrastructures with them. The federation officials claimed that they had confronted challenges with the clubs' management teams because of the exponential growth in emerging clubs lurking for spaces in the various league divisions. It exacerbated and complicated the state of limited infrastructures in the suburbs, whilst the lack of facilities in the townships posed an even more significant challenge, far greater than the sharing with other sports.

Beyond the challenges of limited infrastructures, the facilities did not have adequate turnaround time to revamp damaged and infrastructural decay due to each federation having different league structures and seasons. The problems kept recurring from one season to the next, while the situation worsened as time passed.

When we talk about Vision 2022, which talks about having a pool of players, so facilities construction is something that one would be very happy if it could be addressed from the government perspectives. Because as we are speaking now, it is a government responsibility. (TSGAPFO1)

Issues relating to corporate social responsibility at grassroots levels

The survey also revealed that the football federation is deeply involved with the communities at grassroots' level. Through the establishment of local football authorities within the proximity of the local community, the federation enhanced the competitive level and facilitated scouting for talent at the grassroots level.

So, our aim in our province is that we try to have as many schools and clubs involved in the sport that would open doors for those players especially from our black players…. (TWPRO3)

This explains the constraints of Rugby Unions in reaching out to the deep rural areas due to lack of infrastructures. Unions who are financially stable can afford to improvise where they can within the limited resources, if they can afford it. A stakeholder from Gauteng Rugby Unions explained their efforts as:

> A lots of the ex-model C schools in the cities are now changing. Most of them are fully black pupils and others are 80% and higher and where there are infrastructures, we actually love them. We then focus on those schools and what we also tried to do is to integrate the neighbouring schools with the good schools to have a rugby atmosphere and a rugby culture there. So, that works for us and we put a lot of energy and money into ex-model C schools to ensure that there are coaches and that there is management. (GAPRO3)

> If you go to the townships and to the rural areas you will see that it is becoming a game that is most played, the second one especially for boys or men is rugby. As I said, it is just a natural process, so what we need to do at this stage is just to enhance the process, to especially get the blacks, not only players but management and so forth into the structures of the sport. (TSNWPRO)

Most of the provincial government officials shared similar sentiments.

> In relation to that we now have got township clubs, who are struggling with the facilities and they don't have the requisite coaching. The coach is probably at level 1, most likely a volunteer, if ever it is getting anything in a stock, it is not enough to take care of his household… (GAPO2)

Football challenges

However when it comes to football, the situation is overwhelming because of infrastructure challenges as alluded to by virtually all the stakeholders interviewed in both sports, but more challenging for football:

Over 37% of youths are unemployed and sports(yes) is about youths and you can imagine how many youths would be absorbed if those facilities are available for expansion of developing, but somehow you know the associations are strained or there is constraint because of insufficient facilities. Yea, it is a huge problem because I have seen where I am staying, you have a township that is growing in term of the houses that have built, but you see a situation whereby you don't have additional sports facilities being built. You don't have and that is the very big challenge the youths are facing. Maybe the private sector can come in to help. (GPFCO 3)

A structured pyramid league was established at local, regional, provincial and national levels (Figure 3). Play-offs among the various structures were used to determine and select champions that would represent each structure in the promotional league structures in all divisions. The peak league, known as the ABSA Premiership league, was designed to give the necessary exposure to players for personal and professional development. In this way, the best of the players were scouted from all structures to represent and play for the country's national teams. Football has more comprehensive league structures in all its provinces than the rugby unions have. Rugby at national level established a super-rugby championship, for the franchised club systems under each of the 14 rugby unions that constitute the provincial structures across the official nine (9) provinces of the country. Aside from that, within each of the 14 rugby unions, there are club leagues at the various levels to accommodate the different clubs playing against each other. The former Golden Cup has been revisited to provide a platform for provincial rugby winners to compete with other provinces. From there the national winners are selected for club-based competitions.
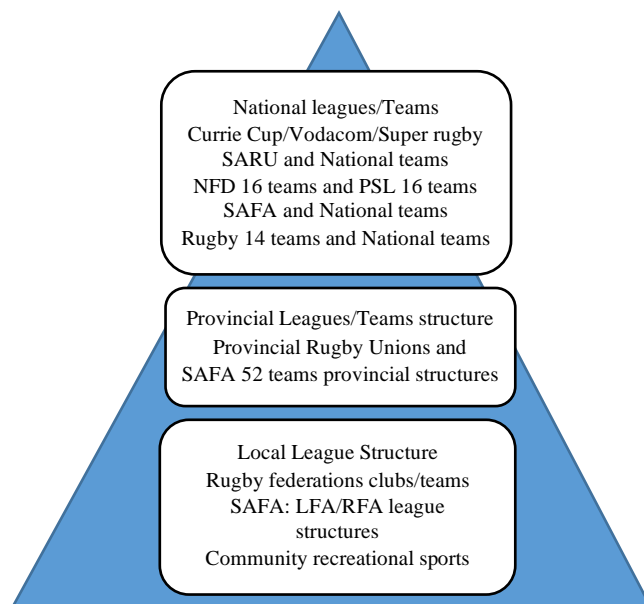
Structural limitations in selected sports

Figure 3. **FOOTBALL AND RUGBY PYRAMID STRUCTURES IN SOUTH AFRICA**

Current state of sports infrastructures and facilities

Despite policy interventions to develop football and rugby games, the townships and rural areas are confronted with an infrastructural deficit. As a result, this stalled the achievement of developmental goals and transformation targets set by the federations. What contributed to these significant infrastructural backlogs or challenges? The interviews conducted with the 23 critical stakeholders revealed the following challenges as illustrated in Figure 4.

The survey showed that many of the sporting facilities around the four provinces have been in existence before the 1994 era. However, few facilities have been built since post-1994 and those that have been built are not sufficient to cater for the growing township populations, exacerbated by infrastructural over-usage and decay due to a lack of maintenance. A participant reported as follows:

> The issue of facilities… we do have big challenges in that regard [sic] to have them. Especially in the black townships where you would like to take your major competitions. I am talking about the developmental tournament, where you would need about four or five venues in the townships. That [sic] is very difficult to get, and there are [sic] but few facilities. There are facilities [sic] in institutions of higher learning. We've got UJ, TUT, AUT. They [sic] have nice facilities, but unfortunately, they are outside the larger population. You see, they are in towns; they are in the suburbs. You see so, [sic] and one would wish we [sic] have [sic] the kind of facilities in the townships. That is the challenge we are facing. (GARCO 2)
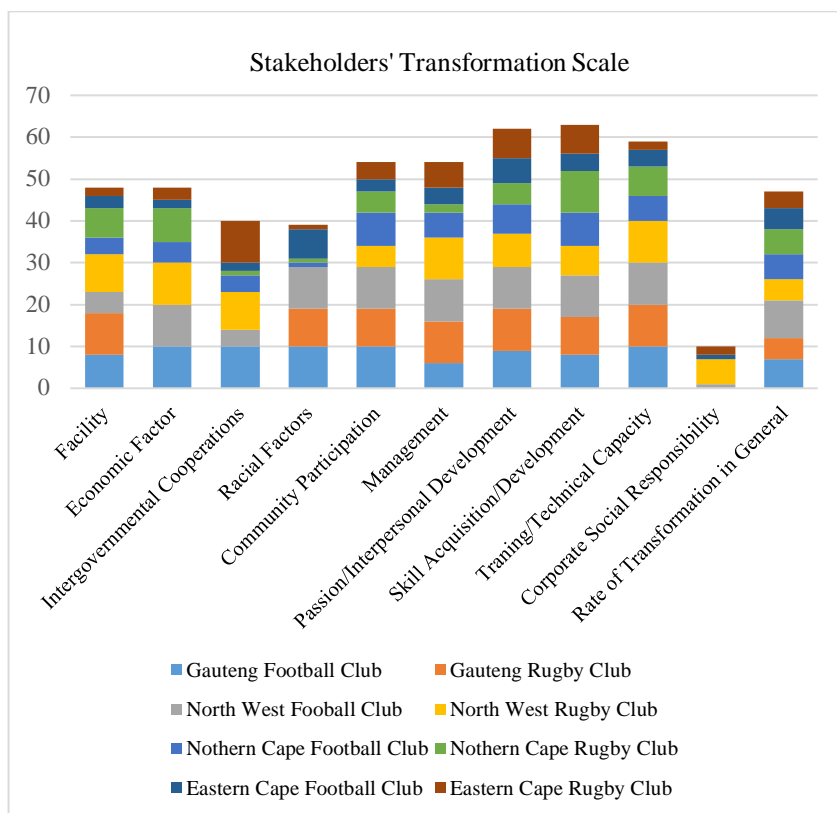
Figure 4. **FOOTBALL AND RUGBY PYRAMID STRUCTURES IN SOUTH AFRICA**

The study showed that most of the sporting facilities still maintain the apartheid geographical spread, which is situated mainly within the white suburbs. Besides, the post-apartheid lease agreement, signed for not less than 100 years, is still valid for most of these facilities. Hence, a new lease for desperately needed venues for previously disadvantaged players is a constraint, due to the pending contracts that spanned for over 100 years. This also causes, in some cases, conflict and re-emergence of the sentiment of apartheid discrimination as still being prevalent in most quarters.

Public-private partnership and intergovernmental issues

Most of the infrastructural facilities are directly under the management of local municipalities. The majority of the stakeholders interviewed alluded to the state of the infrastructure, including that municipal facilities are under-resourced with human capital, have a lack of adequate maintenance culture and a lack of effective and efficient management and coordination among the various potential users at the community club level. The reasons posited by government stakeholders interviewed was the lack of budgetary allocation for infrastructural development at the fiscal level.

> Unfortunately, we are in sport. You know sports, I mean, the sector where government most of the time [sic] allocated resources last to that sector. But the sports sector is equally important because we keep people happy and we create employment in terms of our programmes, which [sic] is also the responsibility of the government. (NWGO3)

Sport was reported as a non-priority and as being non-existent by the national government, as well as the provincial government. Sport was not included in the top list of government fiscal priorities. Those interviewed mostly alluded to the fact that the government is more concerned with social and economic priorities, mainly affecting the previously disadvantaged communities, rather than sport.

> Over 37% of youths are unemployed. Sport is about the youth, and you can imagine how many youths could be absorbed if those facilities [sic] are available for the expansion of developing talent. But somehow you know the association is strained or [sic] constrained because of these insufficient facilities. Yea [sic] it is a huge problem. I have seen situations where I am staying in the township, to be fast-growing in [sic] terms of the houses built. You can see a situation whereby you don't have additional sports [sic] facility [sic] being built to cater for the growth. You don't have, and then that is a very big challenge [sic] the youth [sic] are facing, maybe if the private sector can come in to help? (NCPFO4)

Studies have shown that nearly all the facilities have been taken over by some community members as shelters. This is due to the backlog of housing demands. The state of neglect and decay of these facilities is deplorable and unmanageable. In most instances, three (3) out of four (4) provinces are severely affected by the situation, due to a weak maintenance culture and more indigent management plans for club users.

> We are struggling for spaces to play our home matches. You can imagine that at the end of the day, if we manage to find any space, hardly any grass [sic] left [sic] would be appreciated and willing to use them. Yes, as you can see here that the whole playing ground and this piece of grass is struggling, yes, is struggling, because there is no time to recover, so it has to service the rest of the community so we can understand where the struggling is. Because the facilities are the responsibility of the Municipality, so I am from the provincial government, so it is also the local government that is in charge of [sic] facility areas, etcetera. (GAPGO2)

Geographical location of infrastructures and usability issues

Lastly, findings alluded to the geographical placing of the infrastructure, which has failed to grasp the demographic landscape of the country as a deciding factor. In all the provinces surveyed, nearly all the facilities are the ones built during the apartheid era, some of which are 50 years old or older, except for the newly constructed stadia during the 2010 FIFA World Cup when South Africa hosted the world tournament. Three of those facilities are situated in three of the provinces selected to be surveyed. The remaining province was never selected as a hosting region during the events. The geographical location created a distance challenge for the townships to access the facilities and their infrastructures. Sports people have been forced to migrate to where facilities can be found in proximity to their habitat, or be faced with the challenge of transportation and time restrictions:

> From my own experience, where you locate a facility is important. Let's say this is a residential area and you build any facility there; a soccer team is going to emerge from there. (That's true) ... But before then, there was no soccer team there. It is good to say that it is the facilities that stimulate the formation of the clubs.

> Yes, there is, there is a very, very... what do you call it? To the extent that I have just told you that it is [sic] the formation and the availability of [sic] facilities, which stimulate the

formation of new teams. That's it, and that is something you will need to engage further. (GAPFO2)

However, most of the facilities are geographically positioned and thus determine what sporting code the community can participate in, as well as develop.

> Definitely, football [sic] is mainly played in townships and the villages, as compared to what is happening in our white communities. While the former suburbs, let me say the infrastructures there [sic] thereof will tell you there is no football pitch in most of them. Rather you will find the tennis court, rugby fields and so forth. That on its own [sic] meant that community participates in what is nearer to [sic] them; the facilities [sic] gives direction to the community on what type of code that it can participate in. (NWPFCO)

Stakeholder perceptions

The overall perceptions of many of the stakeholders interviewed showed a significant positive disposition toward infrastructural development and a negative one towards the lack of accessibility. Facility challenges rated as slightly above average and the economic factor was somewhat above average, while passion was ranked 62 out of 80 points in second place. Skills development was rated 63 out of 80 as the main priority. Technical capacity was ranked third in the order. The overall view on the impact of infrastructure on the inclusive transformation of sport showed that rugby stakeholders are more optimistic than the football stakeholders with 65%, while football optimism was rated at 57%, respectively. The North-West Province had the highest-rated transformation score of 76.4%. It was followed by Gauteng with 72.7%, Northern Cape 47.3% and Eastern Cape 40.5%. To encapsulate, post-apartheid sport transformation concerning infrastructural development in the selected provinces in South Africa, needs to be addressed.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The study findings on infrastructure affirm the already known fact of the dividends democracy brought for the majority of the South African population (Alegi, 2007; EPG Report, 2018). Communities previously disadvantaged have not fully gained an advantage, due to imbalances in the establishment of facilities within reach of these communities (Nambo, 2016; EPG, 2018). The argument from the stakeholders is mainly that centres in the government have inadequate resources to cater for the basic sporting needs of the people (Beutler, 2008; Bolsmann, 2014; World Bank, 2018). In some cases, there is no specific budget allocation for sport infrastructural development in the townships.

For the federation, the lack of facilities in the townships inhibits the rate of transformation among the previously disadvantaged communities (Alegi, 2007; Charalambous, 2015; Mbalula, 2016; Nambo, 2016). Sufficient change can provide equal playing opportunities for inclusive sports development. Eliminating the vast resources expended on transporting players who travelled away from the townships for training in well-facilitated suburbs, dislocated them from their natural habitat. There was a distinct effect on competitiveness and participation in sporting activities with other communities (Alegi, 2007; Bolsmann, 2014).

Where township facilities were found to be in use, they were in bad shape, which affected the turnout of fans. They were reluctant to watch and support their clubs. In some cases, the facilities lacked the presence of security officials, who could secure the properties and life of the fans. In most cases, the facilities had been taken over by hoodlums, who converted some of them into hideouts and notorious shelters (Alegi, 2007).

The end-users, that is, the players, seemed to have been left out of the policy engagement process or they have been neglected. Most often, players are injured due to atrocious playing pitches and the lack of proper training facilities in place to assist or prevent injuries. It was observed that the absence of rehabilitative facilities could be attributed to the high increase in injuries of players. This further affected the quality of play and the game, skills development and performance enhancement in the long run. The study showed that 80% of the stakeholders displayed dissatisfaction with the state of facilities in the affected provinces (Charalambous, 2015; Nambo, 2016; EPG Report, 2018).

For any objectives of sport transformation policies to be achieved in South Africa, there must be a paradigm shift: the community and Government need to prioritise policy toward facilitation of sports' infrastructure by focussing primarily on sporting infrastructures in the previously disadvantaged communities (Alegi, 2007). This would hopefully reduce the developmental gap between the already advantaged and underprivileged communities. The current world statistics show that South Africa is the most unequal society in the world (World Bank, 2018*)* and there is no doubt in the researchers' minds that the facilities and infrastructural pace of development have contributed to this world perspective. The private corporate initiatives and responsibility must be geared up to a higher level from the current one, whilst the Government must introduce social incentives like sporting rebates to the companies that support sport or advocate for sports levies or taxes specifically for sports development.

Achieving these transformation objectives would help integrate all racial divides, encourage mutual coexistence, tolerance and patriotism among the multicultural groups in the country (Larson, 1984; McCormack & Chalip, 1998; Chalip, 2004; Chalip, 2005). Above all, the vast majority of the youthful population affected by unemployment would be able to be actively involved in self-development and social compatibility. In turn, it would reduce social unrest and control disease prevalent among social groups (CDCP, 2001).

The stakeholder strategic management tool can be used to manage the spatial development of infrastructures to reduce juvenile delinquency and social vices in communities where facilities are sited (Walter, 2011). Subsequently, it will help to tackle drug abuse, truancy and social disorder associated with restiveness in youths. Besides infrastructural management, the tool encourages physical participation and integration plus community engagement, which sport stands to imbibe (Chalip, 2004). Lastly, the slogan of the Department of Sports and Recreations, "a playing nation is a winning nation", could become a reality when transformation policy is implemented broadly (SRSA, 2012). The study recommends an urgent spatial plan for the infrastructural development of places in high demand.

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