Football and forlorn hope: an ethno-graphic exploration of the sporting utopias presented by FIFA and a South African local football association

by

Shawn Douglas Forde

B.A., The University of British Columbia, 2003
B.Ed. The University of British Columbia, 2004
MA, The University of British Columbia, 2013

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
in
THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE AND POSTDOCTORAL STUDIES
(Kinesiology)

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
(Vancouver)

December, 2019

© Shawn Douglas Forde, 2019
The following individuals certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies for acceptance, the dissertation entitled:

**Football and forlorn hope: an ethno-**graphic** exploration of the sporting utopias presented by FIFA and a South African local football association**

submitted by Shawn Douglas Forde in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Kinesiology

**Examining Committee:**

Brian Wilson, School of Kinesiology, The University of British Columbia (UBC) Supervisor

Stacy Pigg, Sociology & Anthropology, Simon Fraser University Supervisory Committee Member

Robert VanWynsbergh, Department of Educational Studies, UBC Supervisory Committee Member

George Belliveau, Language & Literacy Education, UBC University Examiner

Moss Norman, School of Kinesiology, UBC University Examiner

**Additional Committee Members:**

Peter Alegi, Department of History, Michigan State University External Examiner
Abstract

Numerous governments, non-government organizations, corporations, social movements and various other individuals and community organizations mobilize in, around, and through sport to achieve social change. These groups have been a feature of research relating to what is often called the sport for development and peace (SDP) sector, industry, or movement. This dissertation began with an interest in comparing how the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) through its Football for Hope Movement and how the Unemployed People’s Movement, a social movement in South Africa, through a local soccer association, connect the idea of hope to soccer, and position sport as a tool for building a better world. While in South Africa, my research became focused on the nostalgia that former soccer players held for their time playing soccer in the 1970s and 1980s. Methodologically, I employ a form of arts-based ethnography. I utilized sketching, drawing, and comics as part of my research process to collect, analyze, and reflect on my ethnographic data. Some of these images are presented throughout the dissertation.

I argue that the hope and better world that FIFA promotes through its Football for Hope Movement is essentially the maintenance of the status quo. The difference being that through sport more people can succeed in the current system—improve themselves, compete, and accumulate wealth. That being said, aspects of FIFA’s Football for Hope Movement, including decision-making processes, and understandings of joy, friendship, and mutual support illustrated potentially alternative visions of the future. These alternatives were also present in my historical research on soccer in South Africa.

A detailed exploration of the historical role that soccer played in social and political life, of a particular township, during apartheid shows how soccer challenged, reinforced, and
sometimes seemingly operated outside of the apartheid system. My main argument is that soccer, and soccer spaces were amorphous, used for social and political purposes, imagined as conservative, progressive, and radical spaces; and, set up to attend to community crime and violence, yet also sites of violence. In this way, a social history of soccer upsets the simplified notions of hope put forward by FIFA.
Lay Summary

Sport is often viewed as being able to offer hope, and as a tool to help build a better world. This dissertation analyzes how notions of hope and utopia are constructed within particular sporting contexts. Research took place in Brazil, during the football World Cup, to examine work that the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) was doing as part of their Football for Hope movement. Following this, research was conducted in a township in South Africa to examine how local football clubs were historically and are currently mobilizing football for political and social change. These two cases served as the basis for discussing how understandings of sport, development, and social change are shaped by particular ideologies, and how these ideologies may limit, or expand, the way that people imagine the future.
Preface

This dissertation is the original and independent work of the author, Shawn Douglas Forde. The fieldwork reported throughout the dissertation was conducted under Ethics Certificate H16-01540 of the University of British Columbia’s Behavioural Research Ethics Board, and UFS-HSD2016/1382 of the University of Free State, Faculty of the Humanities Research Ethics Committee.

Material from Chapter Four has been included in the publication, Forde, S. D., & Kota, A. (2016). Football as a terrain of hope and struggle: beginning a dialogue on social change, hope and building a better world through sport. Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health, 8(5), 444-455.

This was an article that I coauthored with Ayanda Kota, a community organizer and activist in South Africa. The article was based on our conversations around sport. We both contributed writing, but I was primarily responsible for writing the article and Ayanda Kota provided edits and suggestions throughout the writing process.

All of the illustrations included in this dissertation are the original creations of the author. Some of the images have appeared in the following publication, Forde, S.D. (2019). Football and forlorn hope: An ethnographic comic concerning the Grahamstown Soccer Association from 1975 to 1985. Anthropology Southern Africa, 42(4), 316-332.
Table of Contents

Abstract ................................................................................................................................. iii
Lay Summary ............................................................................................................................. v
Preface ..................................................................................................................................... vi
Table of Contents .................................................................................................................... vii
List of Illustrations .................................................................................................................. xii
List of Abbreviations ............................................................................................................... xiv
Note on Terminology ............................................................................................................... xv
Acknowledgements ............................................................................................................... xvii

Chapter 1: Introduction ......................................................................................................... 1

1.1 Sport for Development and Peace: A Brief History of Myth Making ....................... 10
  1.1.1 Building a better world through football: FIFA’s Football for Hope movement..... 16
1.2 Situating the Dissertation ............................................................................................... 21
  1.2.1 An outline of the chapters ...................................................................................... 23
1.3 A Note on Images ........................................................................................................... 27

Chapter 2: Theory and Literature: Sport for the ‘Good Society’ ..................................... 29

2.1 Sport for Development and Peace ............................................................................... 29
  2.1.1 Mainstream sport for development and peace..................................................... 30
  2.1.2 Alternatives to SDP ............................................................................................. 32
  2.1.3 Neoliberalism and SDP ....................................................................................... 35
  2.1.4 Beyond critiques of neoliberal SDP...................................................................... 38
2.2 Social Movements ........................................................................................................... 41
2.2.1 Social movements and anarchism ................................................................. 42
2.2.2 Social movements and prefigurative politics ............................................... 44
2.2.3 South African social movements: Democracy, mutual aid and Ubuntu ............ 46
2.2.4 Emancipatory charity and problematic justice ............................................. 51
2.3 Hope and Utopia .............................................................................................. 55
  2.3.1 Utopia ...................................................................................................... 57
  2.3.2 Utopia, freedom and human flourishing .................................................... 61

Chapter 3: Methodology: EthnoGRAPHIC Considerations .................................... 66
  3.1 A Walking, Sitting, Waiting, Drawing, Soccer Playing Ethnography .............. 70
  3.1.1 Sitting as ethnography ............................................................................. 73
  3.1.2 Drawing as ethnography ......................................................................... 77
  3.1.3 Drawing and soccer as ethnography ........................................................ 79
  3.1.4 Comics as ethnography .......................................................................... 84
  3.2 Conclusion .................................................................................................... 87

Chapter 4: FIFA’s Football for Hope: Neoliberal Hope and Glimpses of Utopia ........ 88
  4.1 Introduction .................................................................................................. 88
  4.2 Soccer and the Globalization of Hope, Exclusion, and Indifference ................. 96
  4.3 The Football For Hope ‘Movement’ .............................................................. 99
  4.4 Utopian Spaces .......................................................................................... 101
  4.4.1 Utopia, hope, and colonial spaces ............................................................ 102
  4.5 Football for Hope Centres: Productive Oases of Opportunity ....................... 105
  4.5.1 Alternative visions of sport and hope: Joy, togetherness, and struggle ......... 109
  4.6 Football for Hope Festivals: More than a Game, or More of the Same? ........ 114
4.6.1 Football3 as an example of utopian soccer .................................................. 115
4.7 FIFA’s Better World ......................................................................................... 118
4.8 Alternative Understandings of Football for Hope ........................................... 121
4.9 Conclusion .................................................................................................. 122

Interlude: History of Grahamstown and Sport in South Africa ............................ 130
Grahamstown from 1812 .................................................................................... 131
Grahamstown in the 1970s and 1980s ................................................................. 132
Sport and Liberation .......................................................................................... 137
Sport, Peace, and Violence ................................................................................. 139
Conclusion ......................................................................................................... 143

Chapter 5: GRASA: Expressing Hope as Struggle, Discipline, and Violence ...... 146
5.1 Introduction .................................................................................................. 148
5.1.1 Studying GRASA: Methods and approach ............................................... 155
5.1.1.1 Contributions ....................................................................................... 157
5.1.2 Sporting nostalgia .................................................................................... 158
5.1.3 Nostalgia as utopian thought .................................................................. 161
5.2 The Origins of GRASA: Soccer as Violence and Crime Prevention ............... 168
5.3 GRASA and Shifting Understandings of, and Engagements with, Politics ...... 178
5.3.1 Soccer and precarious politics: Geographical and temporal influences on involvement ........................................................................................................ 187
5.4 GRASA and Shifting Understandings of Discipline ....................................... 189
5.4.1 Vandalism, violence, and vigilantes: Diverging paths to a better world .... 194
5.4.2 Nostalgia for soccer and discipline: Lessons for sport-for-good .................. 203
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5.5 The end of GRASA: Paths to a Better World Closing off</td>
<td>207</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6 Conclusion</td>
<td>211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 6: GRASA: Memories of Camaraderie and Visions of Utopia</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1 Introduction</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1.1 GRASA’s community role: The study and approach</td>
<td>228</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2 GRASA and the Civics Movement: Nostalgia for Aspects of Community Life</td>
<td>230</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.1 Utopian surplus within the civics movement</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2.2 Community, discipline, and mutual aid</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3 Soccer and Challenging Social Relations of Apartheid</td>
<td>238</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.4 Community Development and Mutual Aid: The Multiple Functions of Funerals</td>
<td>246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.5 Conclusion</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 7: Nostalgia and Impossible Hope</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1 Soccer and Forlorn Hope</td>
<td>255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2 Conclusion</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 8: Conclusion</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.1 Sport for Development and Peace</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2 South African Sport History</td>
<td>272</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.3 Beyond Sport</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.4 Methodological Insights</td>
<td>274</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.5 More Paths to Follow</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.6 Final Thoughts</td>
<td>281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendices</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix</td>
<td>Title</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>--------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix A</td>
<td>Sample of Comics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix B</td>
<td>Sample of Gesture Drawings and Sketches</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix C</td>
<td>Sample of Field Sketches: Locations and Settings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendix D</td>
<td>Sample of Field Sketches: Thumbnail Comics</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
List of Illustrations

Illustration 1. Egazini (The Place of Blood), Page 1/3. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde..............1
Illustration 2. Egazini (The Place of Blood), Page 2/3. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde..............2
Illustration 4. Soccer as an Expression of Love and Hope. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde............20
Illustration 5. The Incredible Ethnographer. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde.........................66
Illustration 6. Gestures, Page 1/2. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde..................................81
Illustration 7. Gestures Page 2/2. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde...................................82
Illustration 8. Map of Grahamstown. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde...............................130
Illustration 9. Makanaskop Tavern, Page 1/2. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde...................146
Illustration 10. Makanaskop Tavern, Page 2/2. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde..................147
Illustration 11. Soccer, pessimism, and nostalgia. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde...........149
Illustration 12. The Origins of GRASA, Page 1/3. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde...........168
Illustration 15. Soccer and Politics, Page 1/2. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde...............178
Illustration 17. United Teenagers. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde..............................181
Illustration 21. Soccer and Violence, Page 1/2. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde...............196
Illustration 22. Soccer and Violence, Page 2/2. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde...............197
Illustration 23. New Town City. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde.................................206
Illustration 24. The End of GRASA, Page 1/2. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde..........................210
Illustration 25. The End of GRASA, Page 2/2. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde..........................211
Illustration 26. Foley's and Dlephu, Page 1/2. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde .......................218
Illustration 27. Foley's and Dlephu, Page 2/2. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde .......................219
Illustration 32. Wiseman, Page 5/6. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde .....................................226
Illustration 33. Wiseman, Page 6/6. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde .....................................227
Illustration 34. New Year's Cup. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde ..........................................258
Illustration 35. JD Dlephu, Then and Now. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde .........................260
Illustration 36. The Gift. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde .....................................................283
Illustration 37. Holding the Ball. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde ..........................................283
Illustration 388 - Still Holding the Ball. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde ..............................283

xiii
### List of Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Full Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ANC</td>
<td>African National Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BCM</td>
<td>Black Consciousness Movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PAC</td>
<td>Pan African Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FFH</td>
<td>Football for Hope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FIFA</td>
<td>Fédération Internationale de Football Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEAR</td>
<td>Growth, Employment and Redistribution</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GRASA</td>
<td>Grahamstown Soccer Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GU</td>
<td>Grahamstown United</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IOC</td>
<td>International Olympic Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KWASBO</td>
<td>Kwazakele Soccer Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MARU</td>
<td>Makana Rhini United</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MST</td>
<td>Movement Sem Terre (Landless People’s Movement)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MYSA</td>
<td>Mathare Youth Sports Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-government Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSC</td>
<td>National Sport Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PEBCO</td>
<td>Port Elizabeth Civic Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SACOS</td>
<td>South African Council on Sport</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAFA</td>
<td>South Africa Football Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SANROC</td>
<td>South Africa Non-Racial Olympic Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SASF</td>
<td>South Africa Soccer Federation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SDP</td>
<td>Sport for Development and Peace</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFW</td>
<td>Streetfootballworld</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UPM</td>
<td>Unemployed People’s Movement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Note on Terminology

Terminology is deployed throughout this dissertation that requires some context. The National Party of South Africa, through their apartheid system classified South Africans into four racial groups: African, Coloured, White, and Asian or Indian. At different times, the term ‘Black’ has taken on different meanings—through the Black Consciousness Movement and the subsequent mass democratic movements, Black was sometimes used as an inclusive term, referring to all groups discriminated against based on apartheid policy: Africans, Coloureds, and Asian and Indians. The bulk of this dissertation is based on research that occurred in Makhanda (Grahamstown) and in speaking with former soccer players from the 1970s and 1980s the term Black was predominantly used to describe the black African population of Makhanda. At times, the apartheid regime used the terms Native and Bantu to refer to the African population. I use these terms when they appear in historical documents or when used by people I interviewed.

Townships, sometimes referred to as locations, were urban areas designated for non-whites. The research for this dissertation primarily occurred in a black/African township in Grahamstown—sometimes referred to as Grahamstown East, and sometimes I refer to specific locations such as Fingo Village, Tantyi, Hlalani, or Joza, that are located within the township. At times, I also refer to a coloured township in Grahamstown.

In terms of sport during the 1970s and 1980s, the terms multinational and nonracial appear. The National Party, partly to appease international and domestic pressure relating to segregationist policies in sport, began promoting multinational sport, which meant that different racial groups could play against each other, but not within the same team. This policy was meant to legitimize the idea that South Africa was made up of distinctive national/racial groups. The
anti-apartheid sport movement utilized the term nonracial sport to refer to sport that took place without consideration for racial classification and segregation.

Throughout the dissertation, I shift between the use of soccer and football. In Chapter Four when discussing FIFA and the Football for Hope Movement I primarily use football. However, in South Africa the sport of ‘association football’ is commonly referred to as soccer, but both soccer and football are used.

In 2018, The South African Department of Arts and Culture proposed changing the name of Grahamstown to Makhanda. The name Grahamstown derives from Colonel John Graham. As former South African president Thabo Mbeki described in 2005, "We have a town - Grahamstown - named after him. The question must arise: why do we celebrate a butcher? This place has got a name; it's called iRhini. But, we celebrate a butcher!"\(^1\)

Throughout this dissertation, I use the name Grahamstown, as it was used in interviews and historic documents. I also use the name Makhanda in contemporary discussions of the city. Similarly, the university in Grahamstown is named after Cecil Rhodes and there have been ongoing efforts to rename the institution—particularly during the #rhodesmustfall student movement. Again, I use the name Rhodes University as it comes up in interviews and documents.

\(^1\) [https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Grahamstown-named-for-butcher-20050526](https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Grahamstown-named-for-butcher-20050526)
Acknowledgements

When I first came back to school to start a master’s degree I was not sure I would continue on and do a PhD. I thought I would finish my master’s and then leave and go find a job. After finishing a PhD, and after maybe too many years, it is difficult to imagine leaving.

I don’t think it would be genuine to say that I would not be here if I had not met or worked with particular people, but I can genuinely say that I would not be the same scholar. Beginning from day one, Dr. Wendy Frisby my master’s supervisor, has supported and guided me through the labyrinth that can sometimes be graduate school. Her own efforts to ensure that her research and teaching are grounded in genuine and caring relationships with colleagues, students, and community members, have inspired me and will always influence my work. Also from day one, Dr. Brian Wilson my PhD supervisor, has shaped my scholarship and teaching. Although he probably wouldn’t claim this or take credit in any way, the ideas and approach to research that inform this document have come about through his classes, conversations we’ve had, questions that he’s asked, and suggestions he’s made. I don’t think I could have had two better supervisors, mentors, and colleagues.

I have also been fortunate to meet and learn from a number of professors. The way that I engage with ideas, both in terms of history and theory, has been shaped by courses I have taken and conversations I’ve had with Dr. Patricia Vertinsky and Dr. Rick Gruneau. Both of my committee members, Dr. Rob VanWynsberghe and Dr. Stacy Pigg, were always there to both ask and answer questions. The members of my examining committee, Dr. George Belliveau, Dr. Moss Norman, and Dr. Peter Alegi were all scholars whose work I had engaged with previously
and who I respected greatly—this was only reiterated through the examination process. As a student interested in sport for development and peace, scholars such as Dr. Lyndsay Hayhurst, Dr. Simon Darnell, and Dr. Iain Lindsey welcomed me as a colleague into critical conversations that they were leading.

The thing I will maybe miss the most about grad school is other graduate students. I realize these relationships will continue in different ways, but grad school is unique. We all have different projects and lives that take us in different directions and towards different destinations, but the time I’ve been able to spend with colleagues has always been refreshing and reaffirming. My biggest regret of grad school is that I did not spend more time in and around the Annex. It’s fitting that I write a lot about nostalgia in my dissertation. I am sitting at my desk in the Annex writing these acknowledgements. It’s empty, but at the same time traces of my officemates Dr. Liv Yoon and Dr. Devra Waldman remain. Wherever I was going, or coming from, you made the office feel like a home. Your kindness and brilliance never failed to uplift.

My research took me to different places and often required the support and guidance of people more knowledgeable than myself. Although it did not become the focus of my research, during my short time in Brazil, Dr. Christopher Gaffney unreservedly shared his knowledge and hospitality. Also, Dr. Carolyn Prouse, Dr. Bryan Clift, and Dr. Amanda De Lisio, thank you for your time and support.

In South Africa and beyond, Dr. Tarminder Kaur has transcended the boxes I have tried to place people in (grad student, mentor, professor, colleague, friend). We met as graduate students and your intellectual curiosity and drive was always refreshing. Over the years, as colleagues and friends, we have continued to read, think, and talk to one another about this thing
called ‘sport for development,’ and that work informs this document. In South Africa, you and Christian welcomed us into your lives and your home as family. I will be forever grateful. A number of people in Grahamstown made my research possible. I had only known Prof. Paddy Donnelly for five minutes when he said Mika and I should house-sit his place for 3 months—I think that sums up his openness and generosity. The bulk of this dissertation is the result of two men, Ayanda Kota and Jeff Budaza. Their commitment to their community, their histories, and their sport is still difficult for me to fathom. I continue to be inspired by their work.

In terms of family, I suppose I have to acknowledge my brothers Ken and Chris…

Mom, maybe I said this in the acknowledgements section of my master’s thesis, but it’s worth repeating; as time goes by, I continue to realize how much I took what you did for granted. Any amount of intellectual or creative capacity I have, any work ethic I demonstrate, and any compassion and empathy I possess, is because of you.

Finally, Mika. In the appendix of this dissertation I have an image of you sleeping on a bench in the Bloemfontein bus station, after our overnight bus had arrived at 4 O’clock in the morning. It seems to be a theme in our relationship. When we first started dating, you were the reason I got back into drawing. I could not stop thinking about you and drawing became an outlet. After we were together for a month we went on a road trip through Mexico. On the way down to Mexico, because we selected the cheapest flights we could find, we ended up having to sleep in the SeaTac airport. After returning from Mexico, I drew a little comic of what I remembered. We were sleeping in a secluded alcove in SeaTac and two airport staff walk by—one remarks to the other, “that must be love.” I’m not sure what else you could call it, but whatever it is, you have never stopped supporting and encouraging me. I love you.
Chapter 1: Introduction

Illustration 1. Egazini (The Place of Blood), Page 1/3. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde
Illustration 2. Egazini (The Place of Blood), Page 2/3. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde
I meet Rocky, a union organizer, at his office on High Street. It is crowded. Documents piled on desks and posters scattered around the walls and the floor, referencing upcoming and past events, workshops, and campaigns. He says, “We played on a field in lower A Street, in the old location, it is called Egazini, which means Place of Blood. Because, that is where blood was spilt. Do you know this?”

I did, but only because of a walk I had taken when I first arrived in Makhanda (Grahamstown). Rocky was referring to the battle of Grahamstown in 1819. The battle involved an attack on an English garrison, led by Makhanda (Makana) also known as Nxele, a prophet and councilor to Chief Ndlambe. The Xhosa were repelled by English guns and artillery and it was said that the river below the barracks and the hill on the opposite side of the valley ran red with blood from the retreating Xhosa, hence the name Egazini. Following the defeat, Makhanda surrendered to the English and was imprisoned on Robben Island. He drowned while trying to escape with a number of other prisoners.

The neighborhood I stayed in when I first arrived was the site of the English barracks. The house I stayed in, according to the owner, was one of the early structures of the barracks, evidenced by its massively thick walls and foundation. Across the valley, I could see Egazini. I was likely staying in a place that the English had constructed and defended in the early 19th Century.

I learn this fairly soon after my arrival. During an afternoon while I was walking around the neighborhood I could see people playing soccer at Egazini. To get there, I walked down hilly tree-lined streets, passing by the jacaranda trees, which at that time of year were still blooming with beautiful purple flowers. Later on I learn that these trees are contested symbols and many municipalities are debating their removal. The trees are an invasive species, favored by British
colonists throughout Africa, they have extensive root systems that take up extraordinary amounts of water and prevent other vegetation from growing. A foreign invader that disrupts the local ecosystem and takes up an inordinate amount of resources—maybe a heavy handed metaphor for ethnographic research. On both sides of the street, well-kept houses are protected by an assortment of guard dogs, as well as bricked, spiked, electrified, and barb-wired enclosures. The place we are staying in is one of the only houses in the neighborhood without a security fence. I reach the bottom of a hill and the view opens up to a small valley. The township is located on the hills on the other side of the valley. On my right is the Fort England Psychiatric Hospital—comprising buildings that were also part the original East Barracks. Turning right and following the road that borders the hospital I walk for a bit until I find some donkey paths that go down into the valley and then up to the other side. I emerge at the grass field and there are a few young men kicking a soccer ball. They seem surprised to see me walking up from the valley, but allow me to join them for a bit. I ask the regular questions, are they part of a team, what clubs do they support, where are they from? We are finishing up and I ask them if this field has a name. They say it is called Egazini. Standing on the field, looking across the valley I can see Fort England and the neighborhood where I am staying. They point out the toposcope and a garden that was recently constructed as part of a memorial. Inside the garden, there are a number of cement pillars with mosaic tile pictures and isiXhosa phrases on one side and artist inscriptions on the other. The pillar that first catches my attention has an image of Makhanda, arms spread wide like Christ being crucified, angelic wings sprouting from his back, hovering above Egazini, with skeletons strewn about the ground. Makanaskop, the hill from which the Xhosa initiated their attack, is pictured in the background. The phrase under the picture reads ‘Ukuza kuka Nxele.’ This translates as something like ‘Nxele (or Makhanda) is coming’, or ‘Makhanda will return.’
For amaXhosa the phrase has taken on a colloquial meaning, my friends tell me it is often used for humor or banter, mostly in a joking manner when referring to something that will never happen. However, it is also being taken up to represent cultural resurgence and pride (Denge, 2017). Because he had promised his people that he would never abandon them and because his body was never recovered, it was believed that Makhanda would return. Burial rights were not performed for 50 years after his death and therefore the phrase ‘Ukuza kuka Nxele’ came to represent an impossible hope. In his biography Nelson Mandela wrote about Makhanda, the fact that he fought the English was imprisoned on Robben Island, drowned while trying to escape, and still provided hope for his people. As he noted in his biography, “The memory of that loss is woven into the language of my people who speak of a ‘forlorn hope’ by the phrase ‘Ukuza kuka Nxele’” (Mandela, 1994, p. 340).

In historical narratives of the Battle of Grahamstown, Makhanda is often portrayed as a misguided religious zealot who, in claiming that the British bullets would turn into water, was responsible for the unnecessary deaths of thousands. However, in a recent public history project, Wells (2012) demonstrated that this perception mostly derived from a select few embellished colonial narratives. As described above, the Xhosa people, as well as many missionaries, held Makhanda in high regard. During apartheid, the story of Makhanda took on significant symbolic meaning in the fight for South African liberation. Political prisoners on Robben Island referred to the Island as Makana University, the soccer league organized by prisoners on the island was called the Makana Football Association, and the armed wing of the African National Congress (ANC) celebrated Makana Day, instead of Christmas, because it was believed that his attempted escape took place on December 25th.
Rocky’s reference to the Battle of Grahamstown may have also resonated because of the location of his office on High Street. Right outside of his office is a monument to Elizabeth Salt. The same day that I went to play soccer at Egazini, I had to walk into town to meet someone. We chose the large Anglican cathedral to meet and as often happened, I found myself waiting and I found myself beside the Elizabeth Salt memorial. Again, like being at Egazini, I did not know the history of Elizabeth Salt, but found myself having some time, so I sat and sketched.

I would later learn that Elizabeth Salt was an early English settler and the story goes that during the Battle of Grahamstown the English soldiers were running out of ammunition and were desperate. Elizabeth Salt was allowed to pass by Xhosa soldiers on her way to restock British soldiers, by disguising the ammunition as an infant. At various times, the monument has been defaced. Shortly before I arrived, someone had applied red paint to the monument, making it appear that blood was pouring from barrel that Elizabeth Salt carried. Essentially, in walking from Egazini to the cathedral I had followed a similar path, albeit in reverse, as the one that Elizabeth Salt undertook.

When I began this project, I did not originally plan to look into the history of soccer in Makhanda (Grahamstown). When I was playing soccer at Egazini, I was still more focused on contemporary soccer clubs and how they were mobilizing sport for social change. However, I was drawn in by the history. As I will explain in Chapter Three, I also drew my way into the history. Part of my research process involved drawing and comic art. My field notes, sketches, and thumbnail comics were often representations of my daily activities, the interactions I had with various people and places, but these images invariably evoked the past and I wandered from a study looking into the Sport for Development Peace (SDP) ‘movement’, to what could be
called a micro social history of a particular South African soccer association from the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s.

Walking from Egazini to High Street demonstrated the historic and current spatial segregation of Makhanda (Grahamstown). Walking from monument to monument, the one memorializing a Xhosa hero was poorly kept, damaged, vandalized, and degrading; the other, a memorial to an English settler was well kept and in the center of town. The Egazini memorial was only recently constructed, nearly one hundred years after the Elizabeth Salt monument was built, yet it is already in a state of ruination (Phago, 2017). The state of the monument has led some to proclaim that if Makhanda were to return he would feel betrayed (Kohly, 2018).

Although the Battle of Grahamstown, Egazini, Makhanda, and Elizabeth Salt may all seem to be irrelevant or peripheral to discussions of sport, social change and SDP, it is my argument in this dissertation that people interested in sport and social change need to attend to the everyday historical, social, cultural, and political contexts within which sport is being deployed; doing so, allows for a broadened understanding of social and political change and the role that sport could or should play.

Moreover, I argue throughout this dissertation that attending to how people and organizations imagine the past and the future through sport can provide important insights into contemporary struggles. Also, drawing out connections between sport, hope, and social change, shows how sporting spaces were and continue to be sites of struggle—both the very real social and political struggle for freedom and liberation during apartheid, as well as the struggle over meanings and understandings of the past and the future.

The purpose of this dissertation, then, is to illustrate these struggles and to explore how people connect hope to sport; the role that sport can play in social and political change; and, to
engage with how both utopian imagination and nostalgic remembering can provide powerful critiques of the status quo, as well as glimpses of transformative alternatives—of how we both think of sport and organize in and around sport. This dissertation contributes to important conversations in multiple fields and adds new insights in a number of ways. In many disciplines, utopian thinking is often derided as idealistic, or fruitless—an impossible hope. Similarly, nostalgic remembering of the past is often dismissed as dwelling on, or trying to recapture a past that never truly existed (Boym, 2001). However, as I will show throughout this dissertation, both memories and imaginations of soccer spaces are rife with visions of a world that offer alternatives to the present. My primary motivation is to engage with what has become known as the SDP ‘movement’ or industry. This may seem like a narrow focus, but as I describe below, the increasing institutionalization and popularity of SDP requires critical scrutiny, but also allows for important discussions relating to social change. With regards to SDP and South African sports history, I address a number of gaps within the literature. Numerous scholars have called for research that explores how sport is currently being, and has historically been, understood and mobilized in particular communities for the purposes of social and political change (Collison & Marchesseault, 2018; Darnell, Field, & Kidd, 2019; Darnell & Kaur, 2015; Guest, 2009). From a historical perspective, the social and political role that sport played during apartheid has been discussed at a broad level, focusing on the non-racial sports movement both within and outside of South Africa, and sporting boycotts, at national and international levels (Archer & Bouillon, 1982; Booth, 1997, 1998; Kidd, 1988; Jarvie, 1985). Additionally, studies of sport during apartheid, like many other social practices, have tended to focus on how sport contributed to the fight against apartheid (Alegi, 2010; Korr & Close, 2008; Latakomo, 2010; Merrett, 2009; Nicholson & Hickson, 2015; Sapire, 2013).
Soccer Association (GRASA) shows how sport and sporting spaces were understood and mobilized in various and sometimes contradictory ways. Methodologically, I develop a form of arts-based ethnography using drawing and comics that can add to discussions relating to researcher positionality and reflexivity, as well as to approaches to collecting, engaging with, and analyzing ethnographic data.

1.1 Sport for Development and Peace: A Brief History of Myth Making

As Gruneau (2015) noted, modern social definitions of sport arose in Europe and North America in the 19th and 20th century. Prior to this, the category of sport, as we understand it now, did not exist. Quoting Bourdieu, Gruneau made the point that sport, and how it is defined, is not neutral, but “an object of struggles, in which what is at stake is the monopolistic capacity to impose the legitimate definition of sporting practice and the legitimate functioning of sporting activity” (Bourdieu, as cited in Gruneau, 2015, p. 5). In a sense, this dissertation moves between presenting sport, development, and SDP as concepts worthy of analysis, and challenging those concepts. Throughout this document, I am concerned with how these concepts are understood and defined, and what is considered sport, development, and SDP. Yet, as Gruneau explained, drawing on the work of the historian E.H. Carr, there is a danger to deploying analytic categories, like sport or development, if they are unreflexively “treated as if they were actually existing social objects” (Gruneau, 2015, p. 4). In this sense, a critical and historical perspective is imperative to scrutinize and defamiliarize these concepts.

For the UN, sport within development interventions is defined as “all forms of physical activity that contribute to physical fitness, mental well-being and social interaction. These include: play; recreation; organized, casual or competitive sport; and indigenous sports or games” (United Nations, 2003). This is a broad enough definition to include almost any activity
as sport, but this does not necessarily translate into practice as the vast majority of SDP interventions involve soccer and other popular team-based, competitive activities (Darnell et al., 2018; Sterchele, 2015). This is not surprising; SDP is funded by, and therefore needs to promote itself in a way that appeals to, traditional sports governing bodies, corporations, governments, and media. Scholars such as Darnell et al. (2018) and Sterchele (2015) have argued that a reliance on traditional sports like soccer may be a hindrance to SDP efforts because they are often wrapped up with particular conceptions of masculinity, race, sexuality, success, and competition. However, these critiques fall into the trap of positioning an activity like soccer as a concrete, static, and actually existing object. Instead, it is important to consider how the ways that sport have been understood and positioned as a force for good, has changed over time.

In their recent history of sport-for-development and the SDP sector, Darnell et al. (2019) trace the history of sport-for-good/development back to British public school sport, as well as noting how sport was connected to colonial and imperial projects from the late 18th century onwards. Similarly, scholars have pointed out that current understandings of sport developed concomitantly with understandings of modernity (Gruneau, 2015; James, 1963/2013), and that colonial and imperial understandings of improvement, efficiency, masculinity, and discipline were often promoted through sport (Guttman, 1994; MacAlloon, 2006; Mangan, 1998). However, historians, anthropologists, and other critical scholars have emphasized that particular sports, at particular times, and in particular places may be attached to and promote particular worldviews and values, but these are not inherent to sport, and how sport is understood and mobilized is not static nor inevitable (Alegi, 2010; Alegi & Elsey, 2016; Desai, 2002; Downey, 2018; Wilson, 2012). That being said, Darnell et al. (2019) have provided a broad genealogy of what is currently defined as the SDP sector.
Sport was an integral part of the British public school system in the mid-19th century. The men that came out of this system, were schooled in the transformative potential of sport and games—the power of sport to teach discipline, to inculcate values of teamwork, and to develop masculine citizens. Sport, and the belief that the practice of sport inculcated important values, was put to these ends as sport-for-good. (Darnell et al., 2019, p. 40)

These men then went on to fill various positions within the British Empire, both domestically and as missionaries and colonial agents. For Darnell et al. (2019), the notions of sport-for-good that were established through British education and colonialism, remained foundational in the late 19th and early 20th century with the establishment of NGOs such as the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA), the Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA), the boy and girl scouts, and the formation of the Olympic Movement. Although these organizations began to deploy sport in ways that were less tied to religious or colonial imperatives, they remained wedded to notions of sport-for-good, and modernization. This changed somewhat during the post-war and cold war years, as sport operated as a tool that was meant to serve particular ideological and nationalist interests. This notion of sport-for-good continued to promote the values and ideals associated with sport from the 19th century, but also positioned sport as a tool for building national unity, diplomatic relations, and economic development. The growth of the Olympic Movement and its ongoing relationship with the UN was critical in this phase of sport-for-good (Millington & Kidd, 2018; van Luijk, 2015). These relationships played a foundational role in establishing and institutionalizing SDP as a sector, but so did broader shifts in development discourse.
In the mid-1980s, the World Bank and other important development institutions began to broaden discussions relating to development from narrow economic concerns to include notions of social development, social capital, and empowerment (Bebbington, Woolcock, Guggenheim, & Olsen, 2006). It is within this context, where development thought has broadened to consider a range of approaches that SDP has developed. It is at this point that a distinction can be made between historical understandings of sport-for-good and the current SDP sector: “SDP is a contemporary phenomenon and illustrative of but the latest incarnation of sport-for-development [good] as well as its increasing institutionalization” (Darnell et al., p. 8).

The institutionalization that these authors are referring to is largely based on attempts by SDP actors to mainstream sports-based efforts into the international development sector. Over the past 25 years this has occurred through policy and advocacy directed towards justifying a role for sport in addressing development objectives—particularly the UN Millennium Development Goals and more recently the UN Sustainable Development Goals (Beutler, 2008; Hayhurst, 2009). The development of the SDP sector can be traced through a number of important milestones. In 1994, Olympic Aid was created, primarily by Olympics athletes, as a legacy of the Lillehammer Olympics. This organization initially served as a fundraising vehicle for UNICEF. In 2000, Olympic Aid incorporated as an NGO, changed its name to Right to Play and began implementing sports-based development projects. Right to Play now claims to be reaching 2.3 million children per week with its programs around the world (Right to Play, 2019). In 2001, the then UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan appointed Adolf Ogi as the first Special Adviser on Sport for Development and Peace. In this same year the Kicking Aids Out Network was formed—beginning in Zambia, the network came to include dozens of NGOs around the globe that were mobilizing sport to address the HIV/AIDS pandemic (Mwaanga, 2010). An
organization I worked with in Lesotho, Coaching for Hope, was part of this network. The project I worked on involved delivering coach training and mentoring for local youth soccer coaches to include HIV/AIDS education and prevention information into their coaching activities. In 2005, the Sport for Development and Peace International Working Group was created, made up of representatives from NGOs, government sport ministries, and UN agencies. This same year, at the UN General Assembly, 2005 was declared the International Year of Sport and Physical Education. In the following years, the UN, in collaboration with the IOC, other sports governing bodies, national governments, corporations, and NGOs created task forces, and hosted numerous forums, roundtables, and conferences to discuss SDP. In all, these efforts have moved towards institutionalizing SDP as a distinct sector.

Because iterations of sport-for-good have always existed, it is difficult to discuss the growth of the SDP sector, or to pinpoint the last 25 years as significant. However, this growth can be tracked through the International Platform on Sport and Development, formed in 2003 with the cooperation of the Swiss Academy for Development. The Platform provides a way for organizations and individuals to connect through a website. In 2008, Kidd (2008) noted that there were 166 organizations listed on the platform. On the 10th anniversary in 2013, the Platform had 456 organizations. Currently, there are over 1000 organizations listed on the platform. On the 10th anniversary in 2013, the Platform had 456 organizations. Currently, there are over 1000. Although using the Platform as a measure of growth is limited, it does demonstrate the pull of the SDP sector, as more and more organizations and individuals seek to affiliate themselves with the institutionalized SDP sector.

2 https://www.sportanddev.org/en/organization
To understand and critically interrogate this sector, Giulianotti, Coalter, Collison, and Darnell (2019) forwarded the concept of ‘Sportland’, connected to Aidland and Peaceland developed by scholars within development studies and peace studies. As they explained:

“Sportland” is intended to encapsulate the metaphorical, separate world inhabited by SDP officials, volunteers, researchers, and consultants, with their own networks, discourses, and customs, which are anchored in the convictions (or hopes), held with varying degrees of critical reflection or fervor, that sport can contribute toward development and peace. (Giulianotti et al., 2019, p. 3)

In a similar fashion, Mwaanga and Adeosun (2019) described the SDP Temple, a particular construction of sport-for-good that is revered and worshipped. An underlying theme of this dissertation is engaging with the institutionalization of the SDP sector and how it de-historicizes and depoliticizes both sport and development (Saavedra, 2009). This is necessary because of the increasing popularity of SDP with sports activists, scholars, corporations, governments, and educational institutions (Darnell et al., 2019).

In order to engage with SDP as an institution in need of critical scrutiny, I am taking a different approach. As opposed to focusing on the institution itself, or actors that make up the institution, I am concerned with alternatives to SDP, or what has potentially been silenced or neglected within the SDP sector. As some development and anarchist scholars have pointed out, critiquing an institution can potentially lend legitimacy to that institution, resulting in reforms or appropriation of critique without fundamental change or engagement with potential alternatives, or imagined futures (Day, 2005; Escobar, 1995).

Development itself is an ambiguous term, often tied to modernization and improvement, which are themselves vague concepts (Black, 2010), but development as a concept is contested,
contradictory, and contingent (Black, 2010; Escobar, 1995). How development is defined, measured, and promoted has consequences for what types of interventions are deemed legitimate and worthy of political and economic support. As Craggs (2014) explained, “even if modernisation was always a myth, it was one that late colonial academics, policy makers, and ordinary people invested in, shaping experiences and imagined futures” (p. 39). In the same way, even if SDP is a myth and those involved in SDP are engaged in a process of myth making, this has real implications on how sport, development, and social change are understood, practiced, and supported.

Chapter Four of this dissertation concentrates on FIFA’s Football for Hope movement, which provides a glimpse into the SDP sector, and what I will later explain as ‘mainstream’ SDP. Examining FIFA’s understandings of hope and a better world also opens space for discussions relating to potential alternatives to SDP.

1.1.1 Building a better world through football: FIFA’s Football for Hope movement.

In July of 2014, I was sitting in a temporary, miniature stadium that FIFA had constructed in Caju, a favela in Rio de Janeiro. Sepp Blatter, the president of FIFA at the time steps up to a microphone and says that we are there to witness a new World Cup, one that will help to build a better world. He was not speaking about any changes to the ‘real’ World Cup. It was the opening to the Football For Hope (FFH) Festival. I first learned about FFH while I was working in Lesotho on a sports-based HIV/AIDS prevention project during 2010, the year that South Africa hosted the World Cup. It was leading up to this event that FIFA began heavily promoting what it referred to as its FFH ‘movement’. Although FIFA notes that it began contributing to various humanitarian initiatives beginning in 1995, the FFH movement was not formalized until 2005 (FIFA, 2009). This timing was significant as it was the same year that the
United Nations declared the International Year of Sport and Physical Education, seen as a key landmark in the development of the SDP movement (Darnell et al., 2019). The founding of FFH also came shortly after the World Cup was awarded to an African nation for the first time. Following from this, many of the initial FFH initiatives were based on the understanding that Africa was a place in need of development (Shehu, 2010). Over the past 14 years, FIFA has spent over $100 million USD on FFH and football-for-development related activities. The organizations that receive this money need to be legally registered NGOs, politically and religiously neutral, financially sustainable, and using football in their development activities (FIFA, 2014g). Therefore, it is noteworthy that the FFH movement, through the organizations it supports as well as the language it uses to describe its mandate, is firmly embedded in the SDP sector. It is part of the Sportland, or SDP Temple, outlined above.

The focus of this dissertation builds on Craggs’ (2014) concern with how particular understandings of development and modernization can shape our imagined futures. Efforts that can be viewed as part of the SDP sector, or that more broadly relate to notions of sport-for-good, or sport-for-development are based on particular visions of the future and of a good society. Therefore, throughout this dissertation, when I invoke the concepts of SDP and sport-for-good, I do so with a concern for how notions of ‘good’ are imagined, constructed, and mobilized.

The rhetoric used to justify SDP, which critical scholars have scrutinized, has often drawn on language relating to sport offering people hope and the potential to build better futures. This is particularly evident in South Africa, and former president Nelson Mandela’s (2000) quote, “sport can create hope where once there was only despair,” is often deployed by SDP advocates. Further, South Africa is often used as an example for how sport can create unity, or at least how sport is used by media and politicians to create narratives of unity. Primary among
these are assertions that after apartheid the national soccer and rugby teams offered symbolic value through their success at the African Cup of Nations and the Rugby World Cup (Hogland & Sundberg, 2008; Van der Merwe, 2007). Similarly, the 2010 World Cup in South Africa was described as developing both South African nationalism, as well as a renewed sense of Pan-Africanism (Alegi & Bolsman 2013; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011a). On a smaller scale in South Africa, sport is similarly held up as a vehicle for hope and social change. The Makana Football Association, named after Makhanda, organized by political prisoners on Robben Island during apartheid, is often used as an example to support claims about the role of sport in bringing conflicting groups and individuals together to accomplish shared objectives (Korr & Close 2009). Keim (2003) has also highlighted how physical education classes served a role in connecting people across racial lines after apartheid. Further, prior to, and after the World Cup, South Africa experienced incredible growth in the number of organizations involved in the SDP movement (Cornelissen, 2011). Although these groups have been variously concerned with social change, reconciliation, and development, underlying their efforts is the hopeful belief that people can actively work towards building a better world. This belief is also held by FIFA. As part of the 2010 World Cup in South Africa, FIFA committed to building 20 FFH Centres across Africa with the aim of providing spaces for community SDP organizations using soccer to address community and development issues, such as health, education, and employment. Five of these centres were constructed in South Africa and the centre in Alexandra, Johannesburg was host to the FFH Festival during the 2010 World Cup. In connection to FFH activities—which bring together SDP organizations attempting to use football to address various development issues—Sepp Blatter stated that “even in the most difficult settings, such as Afghanistan or Somalia, football can bring hope” (FIFA 2014d, Para, 2). For these reasons, South Africa and
FIFA offer examples of how sporting narratives, both of the past and the future, serve to offer hopeful imaginings of better or alternative worlds.

Critical scholars have continually challenged these positive and functionalist views of sport and have highlighted that sport as a social practice can be mobilized in a multitude of ways depending on particular social, cultural, and historic contexts (Wilson, 2012). Coalter (2013, p.5) and others have gone as far as calling this hopeful rhetoric a form of “incestuous amplification” perpetuated by sports evangelists and “self-interested conceptual entrepreneurs.” As important as this critique is, trivializing or dismissing the ways that people invest sport with hope risks losing an opportunity to engage in discussions about social change and the possible futures imagined through sport. Although Darnell et al. (2019) noted that sport-for-good has a long history, there has been surprising little attention paid to the different visions of the ‘good society’ that accompany sport.

Further, researchers have called for SDP organizations to adopt a praxis that would “challenge those institutions, practices and ideas that promote and sustain material inequalities and Western power, as well as regularly misrepresent, essentialize and ignore the voices, agency and identities of local persons” (Darnell & Hayhurst 2011, p. 185). Likewise, there has been a growing amount of work that has explored the possibilities of SDP organizations utilizing liberatory and critical forms of pedagogy, as outlined by Brazilian educator and scholar Paolo Freire (Hartmann & Kwauk 2011, Mwaanga & Adeosun, 2019; Mwaanga & Prince, 2016; Spaaij & Jeanes 2013, Spaaij, Oxford & Jeanes 2016). However, even with this decolonial, critical, and liberatory orientation, SDP scholars and practitioners have largely ignored the social and political role that sport has played in particular places and across particular times, in ways that
align with these critical perspectives (Darnell & Kaur, 2015; Harvey, Horne, Safai, Darnell, & Courchesne-O’Neil, 2014).

The original plan for my dissertation was along the lines of a comparative case study contrasting ‘mainstream’ SDP such as FIFA’s FFH, with a local football association in South Africa. I made a connection with Ayanda Kota, the former president of the Makana Local Football Association in Grahamstown, and a founding member of the Unemployed People’s Movement (UPM). I originally made contact with Ayanda because I had come across a speech he had published on the website of the Abahlali baseMjondolo—Shack Dwellers movement) (see Kota, 2012):

Illustration 4. Soccer as an Expression of Love and Hope. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde
The speech was titled ‘Soccer as an expression of love and hope’ and outlined a vision of soccer and hope that I felt was quite different from that presented by FIFA and other SDP organizations. During one conversation, Ayanda introduced me to Jeff, who has been heavily involved in soccer in Grahamstown for the past 35 years. After describing my interest in how people connect ideas of hope to soccer, Jeff started to talk about what he was currently doing with a soccer club called Makana Rhini United (MARU), and how the concepts of hope and community development resonated with his work. Like the FFH Movement and SDP in general, Jeff was concerned with similar ‘development’ issues such as education, health, substance abuse, and violence and crime. However, instead of a hope that was future oriented, or directed towards visions of a better world, Jeff’s utopia was situated in the past. He would often refer to soccer in Grahamstown during apartheid, from the mid-1970s to the mid-1980s. At the time I did not take much notice, but after arriving in Makhanda (Grahamstown) and spending more time with Jeff and other people that were involved with soccer in that time period I became more engaged with the history. Although many of the players and administrators from this period were disillusioned, felt betrayed, and actually had very little hope for the current state of soccer in South Africa and Makhanda (Grahamstown), their nostalgic reflections of soccer during apartheid held important insights into the role that sport could and should play in social and political life. It also demonstrated how understandings of sport-for-good become more complicated when situated within particular social and political contexts, where notions of the ‘good society’ are shifting and contentious.

1.2 Situating the Dissertation

In the chapters that follow, I examine FIFA’s FFH Movement as well as a local soccer association in South Africa. These two cases represent the distinction Darnell et al. (2019) made
between the SDP sector and sport-for-good. In this way, I am situating this dissertation in current scholarly conversations relating to sport and social change or sport-for-good. This may seem like a narrow focus, as SDP is arguably a subfield within disciplines like the sociology of sport or sport management, which are themselves subfields. However, my motivation for engaging with SDP is that it provides an ideal way to examine how utopian or hopeful thinking is embedded in sporting spaces past, present and future. Throughout the dissertation I demonstrate how engaging with the concepts of hope and utopia provide both a form of a critique and a way to consider alternative ways to organize in and around sport.

Throughout the dissertation, I discuss hope, utopia, space, anarchism, Ubuntu, and nostalgia. What holds these ideas together is the notion of engaging with, and struggling for, potential alternatives or visions of a ‘better world’ or the ‘good society’. Visions of these futures are often tied up with understandings of human freedom, dignity, and flourishing. Additionally, struggles for social change are often based around creating a better world, but it is also through forms of struggle that new alternatives appear. Fanon (1963, p. 178) discussed this in terms of struggles for liberation leading to new forms of humanity and that:

This new humanity, for itself and for others, inevitably defines a new humanism. This new humanism is written into the objectives and methods of the struggle. A struggle, which mobilized every level of society, which expresses the intentions and expectations of the people, and which is not afraid to rely on their support almost entirely, will invariably triumph.

Although Fanon did not identify as an anarchist, the idea that new futures, new humanisms are ‘written into the objectives and methods of the struggle’ is aligned with anarchist writing relating to direct action and the unity of means and ends. Additionally, Fanon’s interest in violence, and
the appropriation of revolutionary movements by the bourgeois, have also been points of concern for anarchist philosophers.

1.2.1 An outline of the chapters

In Chapter Two, I outline the theory and literature that underpins this research and situate this dissertation in a conversation with previous writing that has been concerned with social change and sport. I begin the chapter with a discussion of SDP and make the argument that critiques of SDP, although important, have failed to consider or engage with alternatives to SDP. To frame this argument I draw on scholars such as Ernst Bloch and Frantz Fanon to discuss hope, utopia, freedom, and human flourishing. Within SDP, and studies of sport more broadly, these concepts and scholars have received little or no attention. Connecting sport to understandings of development is nothing new. From Greco-Roman understandings of physical culture and sport, to the muscular Christianity of the 19th century, people have always attempted to connect particular values and virtues to sport, and have always held particular views on the role of sport in social and political change (Gruneau, 2017; MacAlloon, 2008). Although 2005 is often viewed as a seminal year for SDP because of the UN declaration proclaiming the International Year of Sport and Physical Education, recent histories of the United Nations’ mobilization of sport have demonstrated that as long as the UN has been around, sport has been incorporated, often uncritically, into its development activities (Millington, 2015; Van Luijk, 2015). That being said, although the SDP movement is not necessarily new in what it is trying to achieve, the degree to which it is shaping and institutionalizing understandings of sport, development, and social change is worthy of consideration (Darnell et al., 2019; McSweeney, Kikulis, Thibault, Hayhurst, Van Ingen, 2019; Webb & Richelieu, 2016). The argument I develop in Chapter Two is that understandings of social change within what I call the
‘mainstream’ SDP movement need to be critically examined and more effort needs to be made to engage with what could be described as alternatives to SDP, or efforts that epitomize sport-for-good, but do not identify with or connect to the SDP sector. The literature and theory in this chapter engages specifically with SDP and more broadly with understandings of social change. The common thread throughout the chapter is how efforts aiming to achieve social change through sport are underpinned by hopeful visions of a better world—utopian thinking.

In Chapter Three, I present my methodology. My research was ethnographic, and included interviews, participant observation, as well as archival and document analysis. Additionally, building on recent interventions in research methodology, I utilized arts-based ethnography, particularly drawing and graphic narrative (i.e. comic or sequential art) in field notes and data collection, as well as analysis and presentation. My approach to research was meant to be open, flexible, and wandering, but this process can be difficult to represent. Putting text or images on the page inherently involves a desire to capture and represent a memory, a person, an event, or a process. The methodology I employ is unique for studies of sport and SDP and it contributes to conversations in disciplines such as anthropology, sociology, and education that employ ethnographic methods. Ethnography, as I described above, is a methodology that allowed for wandering—through space, through ideas, and through time. I will describe how ethnography, and the methods I employed, opened the possibility of following unknown paths. These methods included various forms of engagement and observation that are rarely discussed in methodological literature related to the fields referred to above, such as walking, sitting, sport, and drawing. As I argue, these methods allowed for processes of observation and reflection, and a different approach for understanding how various groups pin their hopes to sport.
Chapters Four, Five, Six, and Seven are somewhat representative of three different eras: future, past, and present. However, as Malkki (2001) pointed out, “discourses of the past and discourses of the future feed off of one another; indeed, they are often only different chapters of the same narrative story, informing and justifying one another” (p. 328). Similarly, the four substantive chapters I present, while drawing on slightly different theory and literature, are part of the same story. Chapter Four is concerned with how FIFA’s visions of the future are presented through their FFH movement. Chapter Five and Six looks at the historical example of the Grahamstown Soccer Association (GRASA) in South Africa and how nostalgic understandings of soccer in the 1970s and 1980s, during apartheid in South Africa, operate in similar ways to utopian thinking in terms of identifying alternatives. Chapter Seven provides a short postscript to discuss what soccer currently looks like in Makhanda (Grahamstown).

Chapter Four offers an analysis of FIFA’s FFH movement with a particular focus on the 20 Centres for 2010 Campaign, and the FFH Festivals held in Alexandra, Johannesburg in 2010 and Caju, Rio de Janeiro in 2014. The analysis is based on documents produced relating to the FFH centres, as well as observations made during the FFH Festival held in Caju during the 2014 World Cup in Brazil. The main argument that I present in the chapter is that the type of hope that FIFA promotes and their imagined future is one that is essentially closed off and based on the current status quo. In this sense, my arguments are aligned with a great deal of critical scholarship on SDP. However, I will also argue that within the FFH movement there are glimpses, or traces, of potentially transformative alternatives.

Engaging with the FFH movement and analyzing how FIFA and SDP organizations conceptualize hope and social change is important. However, to understand how people pin their hopes to sport, and imagine sporting spaces as places of hope requires a methodological
approach that can engage with people’s everyday lived experiences within these spaces and can listen to their perspectives on how social and spatial practices can contribute to social change, or the creation of a better world. For that reason, Chapters Five and Six are based on an ethnographic study of soccer in a small town in the Eastern Cape of South Africa.

Although the work that went into Chapters Five and Six began as ethnography, an historical examination of GRASA became the focus. This is not to say that historical analyses and ethnography are in some ways mutually exclusive. In some ways, these chapters are motivated by Darnell and Kaur’s (2015, p. 8) call for research relating to SDP to be historically grounded. A detailed exploration of the historical role that soccer and GRASA played in social and political life during the waning years of apartheid shows how soccer challenged, reinforced, and sometimes seemingly operated outside of the apartheid system. The main argument presented in Chapters Five and Six is that soccer, and soccer spaces were amorphous, used for social and political purposes, imagined as conservative, progressive, and radical spaces; and, set up to attend to community crime and violence, yet also sites of violence. In this way, a social history of GRASA upsets the simplified notions of hope and social change put forward by SDP campaigns like the FFH movement. However, despite this muddled history, all of the soccer players and administrators of this era that I spoke with had fond and nostalgic feelings, and multiple aspects of GRASA have carried on in terms of the ways that community soccer clubs attempt to address issues facing their communities. The chapters are divided by a subtle distinction. Chapter Five outlines players’ understandings of politics, social change, and the strategies and tactics they employed in their daily lives and through soccer. Chapter Six focuses on what can be described as the utopian surplus or utopian traces that were part of soccer and community life. That is, Chapter Six engages with nostalgic memories that former players had of
community life, social practices, and soccer, that prefigured or exemplified potentially alternative worlds.

Chapter Seven serves as brief postscript. In many ways, GRASA, as well as current clubs speak about hope and soccer in similar ways to FIFA and SDP organizations. However, the work that these clubs do, and the visions they have for the future, differs from more mainstream understandings of SDP and these differences can provide potential lessons for those interested in sport and social change. The clubs that I spent time with are not tapped into the SDP sector, but a discussion of these clubs including, their formation, their approaches to mobilizing sport for social change, and how they are derived from a particular historical and political context, offers insight into the role that sport can play in social and political change.

Chapter Eight, the conclusion to the dissertation, is primarily concerned with illustrating how findings from this dissertation build on SDP, South African sports history, and broader disciplines such as sociology, education, and anthropology. Further, I discuss the methodological contributions of the dissertation and outline some shortcomings and potential paths forward.

1.3 A Note on Images

As described above, I utilized drawing, sketching, and the construction of comics as part of my research process. Throughout this dissertation, but primarily in Chapters Five and Six, I insert some of these images to serve multiple purposes. I include short comics, as well as sketches and drawings, sometimes as representations of field notes and sometimes as what might be called ethnographic interludes or vignettes. The images and comics I include can be viewed as research ‘products’, examined and critiqued by readers for their own merits whether that be evocative or representational, but my intention is to include them as a way to help illustrate a process, whereby text and image were created through an iterative dialogue. Sometimes, I further
elaborate on these comics in writing, but importantly, I moved back and forth between drawing and writing, each informed by the other. The images are also meant to serve as ‘departures’ for the reader—opportunities to both reflect on the substantive topic under discussion, but also potentially allow the reader to wander down alternative paths relating to the research and research methodology.
Chapter 2: Theory and Literature: Sport for the ‘good society’

The purpose of this chapter is to offer background literature relating to how organizations mobilize in and around sport for the purposes of social change and to establish a framework for engaging with what could be described as ‘alternatives’ to SDP. I begin by explaining what I am referring to when I use term ‘mainstream’ SDP, and present an argument for the consideration of alternatives. In this way, I am essentially presenting the idea of sport-for-good as a struggle over the meanings of ‘sport’ and ‘good’. As Bourdieu stated in 1978:

Sport, like any other practice is an object of struggles between the fractions of the dominant class and also between social classes ... the social definition of sport is an object of struggles ... in which what is at stake inter alia is the monopolistic capacity to impose the legitimate definition of sporting practice and the legitimate functioning of sporting activity. (As cited in Gruneau, 2006, p. 561)

It is important to recognize that the increasing institutionalization of the SDP sector is related to a struggle over the meanings of sport, and understandings of how sport fits into society. However, in this chapter I argue that the concepts of hope and utopia can be used to go beyond critiques of how sport is understood and mobilized, and engage with the actually existing alternatives to, or gaps within, dominant understandings and practices.

2.1 Sport for Development and Peace

Although SDP should not be viewed as a new endeavor, over the last 15 years it has become increasingly institutionalized, with ongoing attempts to establish SDP as mainstream development practice (Darnell et al., 2019). This is epitomized by the UN (2015) formally recognizing the role that sport can play in achieving the previous Millennium Development Goals and their recently created Sustainable Development Goals:
Sport is also an important enabler of sustainable development. We recognize the growing contribution of sport to the realization of development and peace in its promotion of tolerance and respect and the contributions it makes to the empowerment of women and of young people, individuals and communities as well as to health, education and social inclusion objectives (2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development A/RES/70/1, paragraph 37).

Because of these efforts, discussions around sport and social change have become synonymous with the mainstream SDP sector and alternative understandings of sport, development, and social change are often neglected (Forde, Waldman, Hayhurst, & Frisby, 2016). As Darnell et al. (2019) argued:

Current SDP efforts are a contemporary moment in the long narrative of interventions undertaken in the guise of sport-for-good. Such an argument is grounded in the contention that framing sport as universal in the context of development and peace efforts largely serves to overshadow the fact that there have been (and continue to be) multiple notions of what sport is and what sport means socially and politically. It is important to recognize that different approaches to sport advantage or benefit different groups of people in different ways. (p. 10)

This chapter builds on this distinction between the mainstream SDP sector and what might be called alternatives to SDP.

2.1.1 **Mainstream sport for development and peace.**

Distinguishing between a ‘mainstream’ and its ‘alternatives’ is always fraught with difficulties, but I use the term mainstream to mostly denote the increasingly institutionalized field of SDP, in which organizations, often NGOs, compete for support and resources from
international development agencies, granting agencies, corporations, sports organizations, governments, and individual donors. Additionally, in the process of entering into this competition for resources, organizations typically align their objectives and understandings of development with other mainstream development institutions such as the United Nations and their sustainable development goals.

What is often lacking in the mainstream understanding of SDP, and within the critiques of SDP, is a consideration of grass-roots or community-based programmes that mobilize sport for similar purposes, but lack the access or desire to connect with broader international development aid networks and chains (Giampiccoli & Nauright, 2017). Further, sports-based social movements, or more radical NGOs, that strive for social and political change are often left out of discussions relating to SDP (Giulianotti, 2011; Sanders, 2016). In a recent examination of a soccer club in rural South Africa, Giampiccoli and Nauright (2017) argued that very few “studies have engaged with communities where sport is played beyond official programming that has been externally introduced” (p. 6). Along similar lines, for their research in two communities in Zambia, Lindsey and Grattan (2011) advocated for a decentred approach that foregrounded local experiences to argue that broad critiques of SDP sometimes overlook the ways that sport is being mobilized to address issues identified by the community. In a sense, both Lindsey and Grattan (2012) and Giampiccoli and Nauright (2017) were arguing for alternatives to SDP that were contextual and locally situated approaches to understanding how communities mobilize sport for social change. Oftentimes, these alternatives may ‘fail’, be short-lived, or not sustained. However, this is in line with social movement literature that has argued for reconsidering how movements and attempts at change become understood as successes or failures (Haiven & Khasnabish, 2014). Along these lines, one potential way of looking at the success of alternatives
is not based on whether or not the alternative becomes institutionalized or results in immediate change, but on whether the values, practices, and ideas promoted through alternatives point towards a different future, and persist over time. About alternative and radical media, Downing (2001, p. 391-392) argued that an intervention:

May fail in its most immediate objectives for many reasons, including internal ones, but
…these radical media in practice often offer a vision, either from their contents or their
making or their interaction with social movements, or all three, that bends like the willow
in a gale but does not uproot.

2.1.2 Alternatives to SDP

As noted above, there have been calls for SDP to adopt critical, participatory, decolonial, and liberatory approaches; however, the extent to which these offer alternatives to SDP is debatable. Scholars have also examined the potential of ‘alternative’ sports to offer a different SDP paradigm (Thorpe 2016; Thorpe & Rinehart, 2013). Others have argued for the possibility of moving away from structured and competitive sport, particularly soccer, in favor of physical activity-based development programmes that focus on play and unstructured activity (Sterchele, 2015). The main argument within this literature is that traditional sport, with its commercialism, as well as its emphasis on masculinity and competition can hinder efforts at social justice and social change (Darnell, Chawansky, Marchesseault, Holmes, & Hayhurst, 2018; Sterchele, 2015). However, this work does not necessarily examine how these action/alternative sport NGOs, or how moving to unstructured play, would offer a different approach to, or understanding of, development and social change.

A notable exception is research conducted by Darnell and Huish (2016) that examined the Escuela Internacional de Educación Física y Deporte (EIEFD), a project run through the
Cuban government that provides scholarships for international students, primarily from sub-Saharan Africa, to obtain degrees in physical education. For Darnell and Huish EIEFD is an example of South-South development, based on cooperation and solidarity as opposed to charity, aid, or stewardship. Although facing difficulties relating to job opportunities and differing understandings of physical education when returning home, EIEFD participants found the program meaningful and helpful for building capacity. It is a project that would not necessarily be identified as SDP or as a social movement, yet it provides important insights into the different ways that sport can be mobilized for development and social change.

I am possibly constructing a false idea of ‘mainstream’ or ‘dominant’ SDP by arguing for the consideration of ‘alternatives’ to SDP, but I am building on the work of other SDP scholars. Darnell and Millington (2018) encouraged scholars and practitioners to engage with approaches to sport and social change underpinned by justice as opposed to charity. Primarily drawing on the work of Hartmann and Kwauk (2011), they argued that there is a distinction between dominant and transformative approaches to SDP. Dominant approaches operate as a charity model, through which programmes essentially reproduce the status quo. As opposed to this, transformative approaches to SDP are based on processes of social change characterized by solidarity and collective struggle. Darnell and Millington (2018) offered social movements as an example of this potentially transformative vision of SDP because for social movements:

Unlike the dominant vision of sport for development, the goal is explicitly not to use sport to recalibrate people into existing social structures, but to position sport in ways that might challenge those structures, deconstruct them, and see new and more just ones take their place (p. 9).
In some ways, this call to learn from social movements is based on a similar progression of ideas that took place within development studies, through the work of dependency theorists, and post-development scholars (Amin, Arrighi, Frank, & Wallerstein, 1990; Escobar & Alvarez, 1992). In their history of sport-for-good and SDP, Darnell et al. (2019) briefly discussed post-development, but argued that it was ineffective, mostly reproducing critiques put forward by dependency theorists and unable to provide the alternatives to development that it desired. However, in advocating scholars to look at, and learn from, sports-based social movements, Darnell and Millington are echoing early arguments made by post-development scholars.

Post-development involved a number of critiques of development (Ziai, 2017). Primary among them was that development discourse has been underpinned by theories of economics that construct individuals as rational, self-interested, and competitive individuals. It is through access to and participation in markets that these individuals can succeed and ‘develop’. Post-development scholars also criticized development discourse for promoting forms of Eurocentric intervention that established a hierarchy between ‘developed’ and ‘undeveloped’ societies and promoted the idea that societies and people could evolve through stages because of development interventions (Escobar, 1995; Sachs, 1992). Based on these criticisms, post-development scholars did not call for improvements or reforms to development, but instead argued for its replacement by new paradigms.

Escobar (1995) observed that although development faced sustained critique throughout the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, it remained largely unchanged. The critiques of development lead to alternative forms of development, but often did not involve a sustained engagement with, or imagination of, potential alternatives to development. Critiques of development became absorbed and development discourse shifted to acknowledge notions of gender, race, sustainability, and
community-engagement, but assumptions underpinning development relating to liberalism, democracy, capitalism, modernity, industrialization, rationality, and technological innovation, remained mostly intact.

As opposed to critique being absorbed or appropriated into mainstream development, maybe resulting in smaller changes or reforms, Escobar (1992, p. 22) argued that critiques of development should “help clear the ground for a more radical collective imagining of alternative futures.” Discussions of SDP are in a similar state. Various critiques have been levelled at SDP over the last decade, but little has been done to engage with alternatives. This is particularly the case for critiques that outline how SDP aligns with neoliberal understandings of development.

2.1.3 Neoliberalism and SDP

Neoliberalism has multiple meanings, but often refers to the economic and political project that began after the Second World War through the work of Friedrich von Hayek and the Mont Pelerin Society (Harvey, 2005). It is based on liberal notions of personal freedom combined with a belief in the importance of “free-markets”. In terms of policy, it was a line of thinking that remained marginal, or as Bourdieu (1998, p. 94) noted, it was merely a “utopia of unlimited exploitation,” until the 1970s and 1980s, when Margaret Thatcher’s government in the UK and Ronald Reagan’s in the United States, followed by Tony Blair and Bill Clinton, started to downsize the public sector, challenge labor unions, and prioritize the management of inflation over addressing unemployment (Day, 2005; Hardt & Negri, 2017). These changes were connected to the increasing influence of well-funded economic think tanks as well as neoliberal economists from the University of Chicago such as Milton Friedman. It was also during this time that the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund adopted similar policies to guide
lending to developing nations and force the implementation of Structural Adjustment Plans (Day, 2005; Escobar, 1995; Hardt & Negri, 2000).

Neoliberalism can be understood variously as a class project, a hegemonic ideology, a form of governmentality, and a state program (England & Ward, 2007; Harvey, 2005; Springer, 2012). It would not be correct or productive to offer a singular definition of neoliberalism that applies across various contexts. As numerous scholars have outlined, neoliberalism manifests in a variety of ways; a number of general implications have been outlined relating to impacts of neoliberalism, but importantly not all of these apply in all contexts. These implications include, the public sector is downsized; public goods and services are privatized; and, social problems such as poverty, housing, health, and education are reframed as problems for individuals, which means that individuals are expected to be entrepreneurial, competitive, and self-sufficient in order to address these problems. Importantly, although proponents of neoliberalism often speak of the need for ‘smaller government,’ in order for these aspects of neoliberalism to manifest, the state increases its role in policing and surveilling citizens to ensure the property rights of corporations and individuals are upheld (Andrews & Silk, 2012).

There are a number of aspects of SDP that align with neoliberal understandings of development and common critiques of SDP relate to how it perpetuates neoliberal understandings of development. For example, it has been argued that SDP is operating in a context that deemphasizes the structural and contextual factors related to poverty in favour of emphasizing personal responsibility and character building (Darnell, 2010, 2012; Forde, 2014; Forde & Frisby, 2015). Furthermore, SDP is largely unregulated and privatized, and often bolsters the reduction of state involvement in favour of private sector market driven approaches to addressing social issues (Coalter, 2010; Hayhurst, 2009; Kidd, 2008). It has also been argued
that this neoliberal ideology promotes the acceptance of simple universal solutions regardless of the context (Darnell, 2010; Hayhurst, 2009), while encouraging competition between NGOs for funding and resources (Donnelly et al., 2011; Hayhurst, 2009; Hayhurst, Wilson, & Frisby, 2010; Kidd, 2008; Wilson & Hayhurst, 2009). Linkages between SDP NGOs and the private sector, which may give corporations undue power in determining what social problems are considered worthy of collective responses, have also been highlighted (Hayhurst, 2011; Hayhurst & Szto, 2016; Levermore, 2010; Gardam, Giles, & Hayhurst, 2017). Within South Africa, Burnett (2015) has outlined how SDP programmes exhibit neoliberal ideology by tending to focus on individual improvement while neglecting structural change. In this way, SDP organizations and NGOs more broadly within South Africa are seen to be complicit in maintaining unequal economic systems through their adherence to neoliberal understandings of development (Bond, 2003; Hardt & Negri, 2000; Matthews, 2017; Piot, 2010). It is important to note that not all of the critiques above apply to South Africa.

Scholars have pointed out the ways in which the economic policies adopted by the ANC after the end of apartheid were aligned with the neoliberal ideology promoted by the IMF, the World Bank, and most of South Africa’s potential trade partners. Prior to taking power, the ANC promoted policies relating to more radical forms of redistribution, but after taking power, softened these views. In 1996, the ANC adopted the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) program that because of its emphasis on increasing privatization and deregulation, and the way that GEAR deemphasized the government's role in alleviating inequalities, was largely viewed as neoliberal. However, in the early 2000s, with inequality only deepening, South African governments began spending more on social programmes and grants (Ferguson, 2010; Hart, 2014; Parnell & Robinson, 2013). In this way, the critique that SDP organizations are
filling the gaps left by a retreating state do not necessarily hold true. However, that these SDP programmes, and the South African government, still promote forms of neoliberal governmentality in terms of emphasizing the development of self-interested and responsible citizens is still appropriate (Burnett, 2015).

Ultimately, the critiques of neoliberal SDP often come back to the distinction that Darnell and Millington (2018) noted in approaches to social change that are guided by either charity or justice frameworks. These critiques are concerned with how SDP organizations are imagining a better world and the type of social change promoted. However, because these analyses are often framed as critiques of neoliberalism, a conclusion that is often reached is that the charity focused approach that SDP organizations adopt are bad, but they fall short of outlining what a justice-oriented approach would entail. Darnell and Millington (2018) go as far as suggesting sports based social movements that are based on justice, offer a transformative alternative. In a sense, this was the impetus for my dissertation—comparing approaches to sports-based social change taken by SDP organizations and social movements and in some ways scrutinizing the dichotomous framing of justice versus charity. As I explain below, this is not necessarily a helpful distinction.

2.1.4 Beyond critiques of neoliberal SDP.

For some scholars, moving beyond neoliberalism requires a cooptation of neoliberal language and discourse (Ferguson, 2010; Hardt & Negri, 2017). Analyses of development that are framed by neoliberalism have often reached the same conclusion, that “neoliberalism is bad for poor and working people, therefore we must oppose it…the rich are benefiting and the poor are getting screwed” (Ferguson, 2010, p. 166). In pointing this out, Ferguson was not disagreeing with these conclusions, but was arguing that critique has become the primary form of
progressive politics. He highlighted a number of movements that are based around opposition—examples include, anti-globalization, anti-neoliberalism, anti-capitalism, and he noted that the politics of these movements has been to stop or prevent the implementation of some abhorrent policy, or the actions of some group, which ultimately meant that success was essentially the maintenance of the status quo. Progressive political movements have stopped asking, “what do we want?” which for him would involve questions of politics and governance. The problem, he noted, drawing from Foucault’s lectures on neoliberalism, has been that the progressive left has failed to develop ‘arts of government’ that are comparable to, or able to compete with, liberal understandings of democracy and economics. In some ways, Darnell and Dao (2018) advocated for a similar approach concerning SDP in terms of shifting from critique to engaging with discussions relating to political theory and how to conduct SDP.

To develop new and effective ‘arts of government’ Ferguson noted that there needs to be an understanding of the reconfigurations in governments that have led to current political and economic contexts. Taking South Africa and neoliberalism as an example, neoliberal policies have been deployed in a variety of ways—for example, states like South Africa, Brazil, and India may be pursuing macroeconomic neoliberal policies relating to trade and regulation, but have also increased social spending. Further, using the example of a basic income grant in South Africa, Ferguson demonstrated how neoliberal discourse could be mobilized to promote pro-poor and pro-welfare policies. Arguments that a basic income grant would be more efficient, would be an investment in human capital, and would prevent dependency are all neoliberal in nature but basic or universal income is not something typically associated with neoliberal economic policy. Ferguson’s argument is that this subversion of neoliberalism is possible because of the current context of South Africa and it is unique because instead of just offering opposition to
neoliberalism it is putting forward an alternative. In some ways, this notion of appropriating neoliberal arguments for more progressive ends is how Escobar described critiques being appropriated by development discourse.

In their recent book Hardt and Negri (2017), similar to Ferguson, were interested in outlining how progressive movements can engage with neoliberalism in ways that both resist neoliberal ideology and produce alternative forms of organizing and governance. As opposed to simply using neoliberal rhetoric to make arguments for more progressive policies, Hardt and Negri (2017) argued that politics and resistance must involve contestation over language, symbols and meaning. To take on neoliberalism, Hardt and Negri (2017, p. xviii-xix) have suggested the possibility of appropriating the idea of the entrepreneur—proposing the idea of a democratic entrepreneurship of the multitude. They noted:

It may well seem incongruous for us to celebrate entrepreneurship when neoliberal ideologues prattle on ceaselessly about its virtues, advocating the creation of an entrepreneurial society, bowing down in awe to the brave capitalist risk takers, and exhorting us all, from kindergarten to retirement, to become entrepreneurs of our own lives. We know such heroic tales of capitalist entrepreneurship are just empty talk, but if you look elsewhere you will see that there is plenty of entrepreneurial activity around today...It is important to claim the concept of entrepreneurship for our own. Based on this, they argued that entrepreneurship could be shifted from an individual to a collective focus. Social movements and collective action involve risk taking and innovation; however, instead of these qualities leading to individual success and enrichment, they could lead to the creation of new forms of organizing, politics, and social movements.
What is lacking from Ferguson’s (2010) and Hardt and Negri’s (2017) respective projects is an acknowledgement of how the progressive arts of government and alternatives to neoliberalism that they seek are, or have been, present in existing social movements and anarchist scholarship.

2.2 Social Movements

Within this dissertation, I am not particularly concerned with defining what a social movement is or is not. Instead, similar to Staggenborg (2015), I want to emphasize that definitions of social movements are often determined by, or determine, particular research projects. That being said, I agree with scholars such as Darnell and Millington (2018), who argued that scholars and practitioners interested in SDP, would benefit from engaging with social movements.

Aside from Darnell and Millington (2018), within SDP scholarship there has been little engagement with sports-based social movements or engagement with social movement literature (see Chawansky, 2011; Forde & Kota, 2017; Forde et al., 2017; Giulianotti, 2011; and Wilson, Van Luijk, & Boit, 2015 for exceptions). In their review of sport and social movements, Harvey et al. (2013, p. 9) detailed how sport connected with various social movements relating to “the peace movement, feminism, the labor movement, environmentalism, and struggles for human rights.” However, they only discussed SDP insofar as to exclude it as a social movement because it did not align with their definition requiring social movements to involve some form of contestation. They make this argument because they draw from Diani’s (1992) definition of social movements as “networks of informal interactions between a plurality of individual groups, or associations, engaged in political conflict, on a basis of shared identity” (as cited by Harvey et al., 2013, p. 4, emphasis added). However, scholars such as Kidd (2008) contended that SDP is
indicative of a new social movement. Similarly, although not arguing that SDP itself is a movement, Wilson et al. (2015) suggested that the sport and peace initiative that they examined in Kenya was indicative of new social movements because it possessed the following characteristics: “fluid and diverse in its membership, varies in size and composition, operates at local, national and transnational levels through what are often loose networks of association, and it is not orientated (exclusively) around economic interests” (Wilson et al., 2015, p. 936).

Ultimately, the distinction between what is or is not a social movement, or whether SDP is itself a social movement is less central to this dissertation than asking questions about how social change is being promoted and what future world is imagined through particular interventions. For example, Chapter Four in this dissertation examines FIFA’s FFH movement, which is essentially its own self-declared social movement. This appropriation of language reiterates Escobar’s (1992) concern with how the development sector is able to co-opt critical perspectives without changing their fundamental understandings of development and social change. For that reason, it is even more important to return to Escobar’s contention that critique of development should go beyond reform and should open up a process of imagining alternatives to development, and potentially alternative futures. In terms of engaging with how groups of people go about trying to achieve social change, anarchist scholarship provides a good framework.

2.2.1 Social movements and anarchism

I came to anarchist political thinking because of how well it fits with my interest in hope and utopia, as well as its engagement with understandings of human freedom, justice, and flourishing. Throughout my graduate studies, anarchist thinking has been peripheral to my research, but as I will explain in Chapter Four, it was actually during my ethnographic fieldwork
that looked at FIFA’s SDP efforts during the World Cup in Brazil, that I came to see the utility of anarchist writing. That being said, anarchist political philosophy is diverse. My intention in this dissertation is not to provide a comprehensive overview of this literature, but to pick out key concepts and themes that relate to my concern with hope, utopia, and social change.

My main interest in anarchism is its concern with how groups voluntarily and collectively engage in processes of decision-making, and action, to both prefigure and attempt to achieve their better world. In general, anarchism advocates for forms of social organization and governance that are free of hierarchies and oppressive forms of authority (Kropotkin, 1972).

Oftentimes, anarchism is equated with chaos and disorder, but:

Anarchism does not imply the absence of organization…anarchists reject the hierarchical and authoritarian model of organization that erodes freedom and equality; but they do not reject the horizontal model of organization based on democratic decision-making, decentralization, voluntary association, and voluntary cooperation. Indeed, this form of organization is central to the anarchist vision. (Mbah & Igariwey, 2001, p. 23)

I am also interested in anarchist writing because it provides insight into the ways that people collectively organize to provide community services and development, outside of the state—to the degree that this is possible. Concerning SDP, as noted above, scholars that engage with organizations mobilizing sport for the purposes of development often fall back on arguments criticizing neoliberalism—as a result, efforts to address gaps in health or education services left by a retreating welfare state are often labelled as at best, a response to neoliberalism, and at worst, complicit with neoliberalism. The implicit argument is that the state should step in to lead and to provide support and resources for sport and development. At times, this can be a necessary argument, but it can also neglect or dismiss the various ways that communities find
solutions to the problems they are facing. An anarchist perspective shifts the focus from the state, to how groups are organizing themselves, making decisions, and what they are trying to achieve. In particular, anarchist political thought is concerned with forms of organization that do not rely on the coercive power and authority of the state. Importantly, as Mbah and Igariwey (2001, p. 19) argued, anarchists are not opposed to all forms of organization, “however, the question is what type of organization. Anarchists argue for horizontal organization based on decentralization, individual and local autonomy, social equality, and democratic decision making.” These ideals are connected to anarchists’ concerns with prefiguration—that is, the unity between means and ends, or the belief that the better world that people imagine should be prefigured in the actions used to achieve that world.

2.2.2 Social movements and prefigurative politics.

Ferguson’s critique of what he described as the ‘anti’ movements is somewhat disingenuous, as it ignores the forms of politics and organizing that guided a number of these movements. The anarchist and social movement scholars who have argued that the prefigurative politics that are part of social movements can provide lessons for progressive ‘arts of government’ (see Day, 2005; Escobar, 1992; Graeber, 2004, 2009, 2013; Haiven and Khasnabish, 2014). In compelling people interested in progressive politics to start asking “what do we want?” and to move towards questions of government, we would do well to engage with anarchist, utopian, and social movement scholars. Graeber (2004), an anthropologist, pointed out that in terms of questions relating to government and the various ways that people organize themselves, anthropologists are in a unique position to offer insight. Instead of trying to create or invent new arts of government, anthropologists are in a position to offer examples of how various societies over time have chosen to organize and govern themselves. He argued that the
role of a radical intellectual should be “to look at those who are creating viable alternatives, try to figure out what might be the larger implications of what they are (already) doing, and then offer those ideas back, not as prescriptions, but as contributions, possibilities—as gifts” (Graeber, 2013, p. 12). The alternatives that Graeber highlighted are mostly related to concepts such as direct action, democracy, and mutual aid.

Contrary to how Ferguson positioned the ‘anti’ movements, such as anti-globalization and anti-neoliberalism, as simply forms of negation or critique, Graeber (2004, 2009, 2013), through engaging with these movements, highlighted that decision making processes that were part of the Global Justice Movement, sometimes called the anti-globalization movement, and the Occupy Movement provided examples of participatory or direct democracy, that were working. From his involvement in the Global Justice Movement, as well as his anthropological knowledge, Graeber argued that direct or participatory forms of democracy are primarily concerned with consensus based decision-making processes and he outlined various mechanisms and structures that small and large groups have used to accomplish this process. His main argument is that democracy, as opposed to the way it is primarily understood now in terms of a system based on a popular vote and majority rule, should be understood as people collectively working through decision-making processes to address the needs of their communities and that examples of this could be found in the prefigurative politics of current and past social movements. SDP would benefit from similar interventions. Although Darnell and Millington (2018) advocated for engaging with sports-based social movements, they were not able to detail how these movements could provide alternatives to SDP.
2.2.3 South African social movements: Democracy, mutual aid and Ubuntu

In his discussions of social movements and democracy, Graeber (2013) does not discuss South Africa, but a number of scholars have talked about the civics movement in South Africa during the 1980s as offering alternative understandings of political and social organizing. Focusing on the two-year period from 1984 to 1986, Neocosmos (2009) explained that elements of the civics movement exemplified what Alan Badiou theorized as an ‘event’. An event is a moment, or rupture, in which what was previously impossible or taken-for-granted, enters the public sphere. As Neocosmos (2009) described it:

The event is something which points to alternatives to what is, to the possibility of something different...When events happen, they force us, for a while at least, to think of the situation differently. Popular upsurges, however brief, if they are powerful enough, force new issues on the agenda for example, they enable changes in thinking in the public sphere. (p. 282)

In the early 1980s, civic organizations and mass mobilizations that were associated with the United Democratic Front (UDF), founded in 1983, came to dominate resistance to apartheid, particularly within urban townships. The membership and aims of the organizations connected to the UDF were varied, but as Swilling (1993, p. 16) described, the civic organizations were largely operating independently of the state, political organizations, and development agencies. These organizations were grassroots structures formed to address issues within townships relating to daily life. They included forms of direct democracy, accountability, community service and mutual aid.

For Neocosmos (2009), the civics movement offered potentially new forms of popular democracy characterized by the following: politics without parties, community-based
organization and active citizenship, direct accountability of leadership, and new conceptions of nation and leadership conceived along the ideals of non-racialism. Although Neocosmos was concerned with only a two year period, the emergence of the civics movement had a longer history and developed out of African communities in South Africa always finding ways to organize and address their needs (Swilling, 1993). The community organizations that played a prominent role in the civics movement were largely based on already existing community structures; “formations such as burial societies, stokvels, certain kinds of church organisations, sports formations and certain leisure patterns all contributed to a culture that can only be described as mutual, associational and localised networking” (Swilling, 1993, p. 20). These social organizations were the result of ongoing migration, urbanization, and racial segregation within townships. In a way, they offered resistance to apartheid but at times operated outside of state hegemony.

Similar to Neocosmos (2009), anarchist scholars have highlighted how these civic organizations provided actually existing alternatives, demonstrating how people can organize socially and politically. In her research on the civics movement, Zelenova (2017) argued that civic associations, as a historical movement, are important to engage with because of the way that democracy and democratic practices were foregrounded in the civics organizing and activities. Zelenova (2017) also suggested that the democracy promoted through the civic associations has had lasting effects on how some South African social movements continue to operate with the belief that “democracy is not an abstract idea, but rather a tool and practice, which must be used by the whole community” (Zelenova, para. 50).

The civic associations promoted and facilitated solidarity within communities between various religious, cultural and sporting groups. This cooperation allowed for various forms of
mutual support within the community; Zelenova (2017) provided a number of examples including “soup kitchens, sewing collectives, community crèches, anti-crime patrols, defence unites, and people’s courts” (para. 48). It is not completely accurate to attribute these activities of mutual aid to the civic organizations, as they were also part of urban life in general in South African townships. In her anthropological study of township life in Grahamstown in the early to mid-1970s, Willsworth (1978, p. 162-163) noted that:

The Xhosa tradition of mutual aid within the village settlement which involves a traditional work party formed to help with some large task is modified in the township into a system of borrowing - of small amounts of food or other commodities; sharing - a large crop of cabbage seedlings for example; helping - minding a house or children; rallying with material and emotional support in the life crises which occur; and providing advice, friendship, companionship and a therapeutically supportive environment at times when individuals feel overwhelmed by the material and emotional difficulties which they often face.

Mutual aid is a concept that is often discussed by anarchists. Beginning with the work of Kropotkin (1972), who as a geologist and biologist, was engaging with the proliferation of writing about Social Darwinism and ideas that competition and individualism were inherent to all species, argued that cooperation and mutual aid are foundational to the evolution of species and societies. However, the mutual aid that Willsworth discussed is not related to anarchist philosophy, but to the southern African philosophy of Ubuntu. According to Koenane and Olatunji (2017, p. 275):

Ubuntu is an ethic of becoming: it promotes a certain attitude towards a relationship an individual should have in order to live harmoniously with others. As an ethic of
becoming, the Ubuntu ethic or Ubuntu conduct is a continuous process of developing morality and should be promoted.

Engaging with the civics movement and understandings of mutual aid and Ubuntu is similar to how Graeber (2004, 2009, 2013) described radical intellectual practice. It is based on examining existing examples of social organizing and change, and thinking through how the possibilities and alternatives presented through those examples can be brought into dialogue with ongoing struggles.

South Africa offers a unique context for engaging with social movements. For one, the sheer number of protests, demonstrations, and movements, have led some to dub South Africa the ‘protest capital of the world’ (Matthews, 2015, p. 4). For some social movement scholars there is a distinction between “local ad hoc protests and political pressure groups” and social movements (Harvey et al., 2013, p. 10). However, Hart (2014) has described what has occurred in South African politics and social movements as a ‘movement beyond movements’. With the election of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1994 and the implementation of what was viewed as neoliberal economic policy, the 1990s was viewed as a disappointment. As a result, a number of social movements emerged in the early 2000s and received global attention while holding protests and demonstrations at the World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002. Hart (2014) explained how these movements were short-lived and mostly dysfunctional by 2004. In their place was what Hart referred to as movements beyond movements. These were characterized not only by their form and action, often centered around service delivery protests, but also in their relation to the state in terms of contesting understandings of nationalism and liberation, and a feeling of betrayal in terms of the liberation movement not addressing the ongoing poverty and inequality in the country. In various ways these movements were also
wrapped up with understandings and expressions of populism. These movements have taken
place outside of established social movement groups or the ‘new social movements’ that
emerged in the early 2000s. Importantly, through her work with Abahlali baseMjondolo, the
Durban shack dwellers movement, Walsh (2008) made a similar argument in terms of needing to
reject framing social movements in a simple antagonistic relationship to the state. Drawing on
the work of Ferguson, she argued that,

    We must trash notions of what [Ferguson] calls vertical topographies of power, which
juxtapose state, civil society and other players in a complex hierarchy, to look more
closely at modes of operating within social movements and state structures that overlap,
re-inscribe and reconfigure relationships of power and governance (Walsh, 2008, p. 260).

Walsh (2009) accomplished this through what she called ethnography-in-motion, a research
methodology based on solidarity, reciprocity, and being open to the experiences, daily practices,
and social relations that manifest in and around social movements.

    UPM in Grahamstown sprang from this context but the reason I was interested in UPM
was more specific; UPM members mobilized community members through sport and deployed
language relating to hope, liberation, and freedom in ways that I felt would challenge dominant
understandings of SDP. However, Hart’s (2014) understandings of social movements is based on
an acknowledgement that the label of social movement is largely inadequate for the current
moment and to understand what people are doing and why they are doing requires an approach
that can engage with the various ways that movements engage with the state, based around
conceptions of citizenship, liberation, and shared histories. In that sense, instead of framing
arguments around particular definitions of social movements, it is important to engage with what
particular groups of people are doing, and how they understand social change. It is also
important to consider how modern day protests and social movements in South Africa have links to the past (Gibson, 2006, 2011; Hart, 2014; Mathews, 2017; Neocosmos, 2009; Zelanova, 2017)

2.2.4 Emancipatory charity and problematic justice

I gained an understanding for the problems with categories and labels, with distinguishing between social movements and dominant SDP organizations through my initial fieldwork in Brazil. My research began with the intention of comparing the FFH movement associated with FIFA, and social movements that actively mobilize soccer to protest the actions of FIFA. In 2013 at the beginning of my doctoral work, I was captivated by the mass protests that had occurred in Brazil in conjunction with FIFA’s Confederation Cup, which serves as a warm-up to the Men’s World Cup. During the tournament, Brazil experienced the largest protests and demonstrations it had seen in a generation (Saad-Filho, 2013). Although the protests began around increases in public transport costs, a great deal of messaging was also connected to issues around the World Cup, including forced evictions, privatization of stadia, and the need for spending on education and healthcare. From the protests, what caught my attention was an event called the Copa Popular, or the People’s Cup. It was a soccer tournament hosted as a form of protest, but as described in Rio On Watch, it was:

More than a tournament to protest forced evictions in the city of Rio de Janeiro; it was also a form of creative resistance that challenges the culture of FIFA. While the staging of the World Cup is corporate, consumer-driven, and privatized, the Popular Cup exuded a spirit of openness and democracy, giving a voice to those disenfranchised by the events themselves. (Borja & Steiker-Ginzberg, 2013)
This tournament was similar to an event hosted during the 2010 World Cup in South Africa. A number of community organizations and social movements in South Africa hosted the Poor People’s Cup, which:

In contrast to the FIFA World Cup, [was] created [as a] contra-World Cup for the poor communities by the poor communities that is not exploiting people or marginalizing people, but involving people and creating new spaces of exposure and participation.”
(Anti-Eviction Campaign, 2010, Para, 6)

These events emphasized sport as both a form of protest and as an example of a space where potential alternatives could be imagined.

There were plans to expand the Copa Popular in 2014 and host events in multiple favelas before and during the World Cup, so I had hoped that during my time in Brazil I would be able to attend these events as well as FIFA’s FFH Festival. What I learned from this initial field work was that conducting an analysis grounded in the idea that FIFA represented dominant SDP, and the Copa Popular represented transformative or alternative SDP was simplistic and actually limited a discussion of alternatives, as both events were saturated with contradictory ideologies relating to development and social change and, in the end, I felt that the event hosted by FIFA actually contained radical ideas relating to how sport could contribute to:

A transformative vision of sport for development…in which sport is connected to the pursuit of social change, and in which people are afforded the opportunity to participate in their own struggles for justice, both individually and collectively (Darnell & Millington, 2018, p. 7).

In saying this, I am being somewhat facetious. I recognize the absurdity of suggesting that FIFA offers a radical vision of social change and in Chapter Four I present a substantive critique of the
ideologies present in the FFH movement. However, recognizing that there are transformative elements of the FFH movement and potentially regressive elements within social movements is meant to demonstrate the difficulties in constructing dichotomous categories of dominant/mainstream and transformative/alternative.

The Copa Popular in Rio de Janeiro was conceived as a way to raise awareness of forced evictions and the privatization of the Maracanã stadium. In this regard it was seen as successful. The event in 2013 attracted seven international media outlets and substantial media coverage. However, in terms of creating networks or solidarity between communities facing similar issues because of the World Cup, the results were not so clear. The event itself was not that different from any normal soccer tournament and the difficulty with that was, as one organizer explained: Of course one of the problems with having a football tournament, where you have a tournament that is contested is that you create rivalries within that as well. One of the difficulties, particularly in Brazil, is depoliticizing football rivalries, while still trying to politicize football. As the organizer explained, in a way reiterating some scholars’ hesitancy with utilizing traditional sport for the purposes of development and social change (Darnell et al., 2018; Sterchele, 2015), teams competed for trophies and historic, existing, and new rivalries were manifest. Further, in trying to organize both men’s and women’s tournaments there were difficulties in trying to figure out how to make the event political for both the players and the communities:

We struggled with how to make it more explicitly political for the players and communities. For example, the first event, there was this strong misogynistic funk music coming out the whole time. We’ve got female teams playing and trying to have a positive, engaging political message, and really nasty stuff is pounding in people’s heads
the whole time. There was no discursive element about it, there was not much to inform the players about what they could do politically. (Brazil Interview 3, Aug 4, 2014)

The complexities of mobilizing soccer as a form of protest within particular social and political contexts were quite clear and the events themselves were only seen as a marginal success in terms of building solidarity. However, the way that the event was received and framed within the media was viewed as highly successful (Gaffney, 2016). As I noted before, it was through media representations of the event that I became excited about how soccer was being used as a form of protest and a potential space for the imagination of alternatives. Importantly, the Copa Popular was not planned to be a sustained project. It was an “experiment in political activism” to raise awareness about specific issues. The language and framing of this event was grounded in a justice-oriented or transformational approach. However the implementation of the event was more complicated in terms of the ideologies represented.

Similar to the Copa Popular, as I will explain in Chapter Four, the FFH movement and the FFH Festival in Brazil also presented contradictory readings. The way that the FFH movement is framed by FIFA and the media is representative of the charity-oriented, neoliberal understanding of development that have come under sustained critique (Manzo, 2012a, 2012b; Shehu, 2010). However, the implementation of the FFH festival included elements that pointed towards radically different understandings of development, soccer, and social change. As I will explain in Chapter Four, I saw elements of FFH as prefigurative.

As described above, prefigurative politics is typically associated with how social movements demonstrate a unity between the ends they are trying to achieve and the means they employ to achieve those ends (Gordon, 2018). Through a conceptual genealogy of the term, Gordon (2018) argued that the temporal framing that activists attach to prefiguration limits its
generative potential, particularly when prefiguration neglects engaging with possible futures in favor of forms of presentism, or when the means-ends unity associated with prefiguration is predetermined, in terms of imagining some revolutionary utopia. Along these lines, Gordon (2018) proposed abandoning the concept of prefigurative politics in favor of Ernst Bloch’s understandings of concrete utopia and hope. Doing so would provide guidance for movements to adopt an ethics that is generative in terms of opening up alternatives and possible futures.

2.3 Hope and Utopia

Nearly 60 years ago, Marxist philosopher Ernst Bloch stated that “sport has never been more desired, practised, planned than today, and never have more hopes been pinned on it” (Bloch, 1959/1986, p. 451-452). This is also apparent today as numerous organizations draw on this language. A quick Google search uncovers the following: Play for Hope, Kicking for Hope, Hoops for Hope, Run for Hope, Surfing for Hope, Skate for Hope, Skateboards for Hope, Coaching for Hope, Ride for Hope, Pedal for Hope, Yoga for Hope, Swim for Hope, Sail for Hope, Walk for Hope, Dance for Hope, and so on. Additionally, large transnational organizations such as the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and FIFA have developed similarly titled initiatives called Sport for Hope and Football for Hope respectively. These initiatives are buoyed by the certainty that sport provides all people with hope, as described by former IOC president Jacques Rogge:

[Sport] builds self-confidence; it defies gender stereotypes; it provides an alternative to conflict and delinquency; it improves health; it can bring hope and a sense of purpose to refugees, impoverished communities and other people in need. (United Nations, 2013, para, 8)
That various groups, some with vastly different political worldviews, pin their hopes to sport is not surprising, but then it seems odd that scholars of SDP have not engaged with the concept. As Webb (2007) noted, a potential reason why hope has received so little attention from scholars throughout the 20th century was because, on the one hand, it was deeply embedded in religious thought, and on the other hand, it was so ubiquitous that the concept had no meaning. For various reasons, hope has received more attention from philosophers, psychologists, anthropologists, and sociologists over the last 25 years, with various disciplines concerned with questions relating to what hope is, and what it means to hope (Webb, 2007). Definitions of hope vary across disciplines, but scholars have described it as:

- Emotion, a cognitive process, an existential stance, a state of being, a disposition, a state of mind, an emotion which resembles a state of mind, an instinct, impulse or intuition, a subliminal ‘sense’, a formed habit, a ‘sociohormone’, some complex, multifaceted affective-cognitive-behavioural phenomenon, or, quite simply, a mystery. (Webb, 2007, p. 67)

Ultimately, hope has been constructed in two particular ways, one as a universal or biological human trait and the other as socially constructed behaviour. Webb argued for a more nuanced position in acknowledging that forms of hoping could be understood as a nearly universal human trait with potential biological or evolutionary roots, but that the particular form hope has taken is context dependent.

In outlining the various theories of hope, Webb proposed five modes: patient and critical as modes of open-ended hope, and estimative, resolute, and utopian as modes of goal-directed hope. These modes of hope are differentiated based on a recognition that “hopes may be active or passive, patient or critical, private or collective, grounded in the evidence or resolute in spite
of it, socially conservative or socially transformative” (Webb, 2007, p. 80). Additionally, what hope means and what it means to hope is contingent on particular social, historical, political, and economic contexts. Pinning down the meaning and characteristics of hope is difficult, but a number of scholars, like Webb, have gained value from distinguishing between how different forms of hope connect with utopian thinking and social change.

Within development studies, the concept of hope has received little attention. One exception is Haro’s (2010) analysis of a document titled ‘A Better World for All’, which was created by the United Nations, the World Bank, and the IMF and set the stage for the Millennium Development Goals. Haro argued that the better world imagined through the document was closed off, promoting what she referred to as a neoliberal fraudulent hope. The critique offered by Haro was aligned with analyses of development and SDP that are concerned with neoliberalism. In contrast to fraudulent hope, Haro drew from the Zapatista movement to describe genuine hope. The Zapatistas are a revolutionary group in Mexico that formed in 1994 and govern a large autonomous area in Chiapas. They have developed forms of organizing and decision-making that relate to both indigenous forms of knowledge and anarchism, although the Zapatistas themselves do not identify as anarchist. Along similar lines, Cook (2018) built on Webb’s categorizations of hope to distinguish between utopian and non-utopian forms of hope. Distinguishing between particular modes of hope, such as genuine/utopian or fraudulent/non-utopian, is potentially simplistic, but Cook (2018) noted that it offered a useful heuristic to examine the multiple ways that hope is understood, mobilized, and to what ends it is directed.

2.3.1 Utopia

Like the concept of hope, utopia has remained a mostly marginal concept within the social sciences and humanities, but is receiving increased attention (Duncombe, 2012;
Duncombe & Lambert, 2017; Levitas, 2014; Olin-Wright, 2010; Vanreusel, 2015). Utopianism has been denigrated for various reasons over time but as Levitas (1997) outlined, these denouncements are usually based on limited definitions, focusing solely on the form, function or content of utopia. As she explained, “utopia has been misunderstood as a goal and travestied as totalitarian, but it is best regarded as a method that is both hermeneutic and constitutive” (Levitas, 2013, p. 217)

Like hope, the resurgence of utopian thought can also be understood with regards to neoliberalism and globalization. Olin Wright (2010) began his Real Utopias project in the beginning of the 1990s because he felt that following the collapse of the Soviet Union, most people in the ‘developed’ world came to accept that there were no alternatives to capitalism. His Real Utopias project was meant as an intervention in this regard by contributing to “rebuilding a sense of possibility for emancipatory social change by investigating the feasibility of radically different kinds of institutions and social relations” (Olin Wright, 2010, p. 1). Through the project, Olin Wright profiled four projects, participatory budgeting in Porto Alegre, Wikipedia, the Mondragon worker-owned cooperative, and unconditional basic income. By choosing these examples, Olin Wright focused on what he felt could empirically be shown to be viable and achievable, by looking at actually existing cases. He was trying to move away from utopia as a grand vision or a blueprint for a perfect society and instead wanted to present practical and pragmatic utopias. For Levitas (2013), Olin Wright and other scholars that have similarly argued for real, or practical, utopias are only providing a partial and potentially conservative vision. Although Levitas sympathized with Olin Wright’s project, she argued that it was partial because utopia needs to be understood as an ongoing and reflexive method.
Levitas (2013) came to her method through engagement with Bloch’s conception of hope, as well as other utopian scholars; it is underpinned by the idea that utopia can be used as a form of inquiry or speculative sociology. Bloch’s (1986) understandings of hope was situated within what he referred to as the ‘Not-Yet.’ For Bloch, hope represented an orientation to the future, but one that was grounded in the indeterminacy and ‘Not-Yet’ of the present (Geoghegan, 1996; Hudson, 1982). Bloch’s work examined everyday instances of hope within various facets of society, including literature, architecture, cinema, music, art, and sports, as well as daily practices such as dress, jokes, travel, and day dreaming. Bloch viewed ideology as “two-sided: it contains errors, mystifications, and techniques of manipulation and domination, but it also contains a utopian residue or surplus that can be used for social critique and to advance progressive politics” (Kellner, 2010, p. 41). Within Bloch’s philosophy, all ideologies past and present include utopian surplus. Geoghegan (2007, p. 128) described Bloch’s utopian surplus as the “gold-bearing seams of hope and promise.” However, Bloch also noted that hope could be directed in different directions and he distinguished between two forms of utopia. Abstract utopia was viewed as compensatory, based on individuals’ desires, but not pointing towards a different world. Concrete utopia involved a more open, collective, and ongoing process (Levitas, 1997). A large reason why scholars interested in social change draw on Bloch is because his concrete utopia is not simply based on the content or form that a possible future would take, but is itself a process that requires a critical praxis.

The method Levitas developed is iterative and reflexive. It is meant to operate as a process of critical inquiry, constantly moving between three forms, utopia as archaeology, utopia as ontology, and utopia as architecture. Archaeology is closely related to the thoughts of Bloch outlined above and is based on processes of excavation and reconstruction. All political
positions, even though they do not explicitly claim to be, are based on “images of the good society and views of how people are and should be” (Levitas, 2013, p. 154). The task of utopian archaeology then, is to reconstruct these images through a mix of “evidence, deduction, and imagination.” The ontological mode is focused on how people are conceived and positioned within these societies, as well as how ideas such as human development, wellbeing, and flourishing are constructed. The architectural mode involves the speculative construction of alternative futures. Importantly, this is not meant to be a linear process, but instead a form of analysis that moves between these three modes.

This dissertation is particularly concerned with Levitas’ Utopia as Archaeology and Utopia as Ontology. As noted above, organizations and groups mobilizing sport for social change, from different political perspectives, present sport as a vehicle for hope and a better world. Through their activities, images, and language they present what they conceive of as the ‘good society’ and these representations inevitably contain what is believed to be necessary for human flourishing. Within research on SDP, Darnell and Dao (2017) have already proposed a similar approach. Drawing on the work of Nussbaum (2011), they argued that the Capabilities Approach offers both a political and moral foundation for SDP interventions, grounded in understandings of social and political justice. It would be an approach that “builds on the premise that a productive, ethical environment can be formed if societies are able to secure and deliver opportunities supporting people’s choices and freedoms” (Darnell and Dao, 2017, p. 26). Although they do not use the language, their argument could be considered utopian. Olin-Wright (2010) also framed his Real Utopias project around the notions of social and political justice and

---

3 See Appendix for “Building a Better World through Football?” comic, as an example of these divergent views.
Levitas’ discussion of human flourishing and freedom overlaps with the Capabilities Approach. However, both Levitas and Olin-Wright criticized the Capabilities Approach for presenting too conservative of an approach, particularly about Sen’s (1999) attachment to free-market capitalism. Although Levitas and Olin Wright are more sympathetic to Nussbaum’s understandings of capabilities, it is important to acknowledge that her approach is limited in terms of promoting a liberal-democratic nation-state as being able to secure an environment necessary for human flourishing (Robeyns, 2016). Darnell and Dao (2017) emphasized the nation-state within their discussion of the Capabilities Approach, but noted that this demonstrates how the approach is context specific, as each nation-state will have its own particular history and culture.

Although Levitas did not subscribe to the Capabilities Approach, her Utopia as Ontology was primarily concerned with how representations of the ‘good society’ allow for human flourishing, dignity, and freedom; again, these notions are connected to ideas of social and political justice. However, she returned to Bloch to develop an understanding of human flourishing that is rooted in Marxist understandings of emancipation and social change. Bloch’s vision of dignity and freedom was captured in his understanding of the “upright gait;” an embodied metaphor that represents people proudly and collectively struggling against alienation and oppression to claim and write their own histories. It is prescient of how scholars such as Frantz Fanon, Paulo Freire, and Steve Biko described liberation, freedom and dignity.

2.3.2 Utopia, freedom and human flourishing.

Fanon is not usually associated with utopian thought. In his own writing he argued against universal declarations and very much grounded his thoughts in particular struggles. However, much like the previous authors, he was deeply concerned with freedom and dignity
and throughout his writing he emphasized how people working and struggling together could create a new world: “We must shake off the great mantle of night which has enveloped us, and reach for the light. The new day which is dawning must find us determined, enlightened and resolute.” (Fanon, 1963, p. 235). Fanon did not differentiate between social and political justice, but instead, believed that dignity and freedom were partners, “The African people quickly realized that dignity and sovereignty were exact equivalents. In fact a free people living in dignity is a sovereign people. A people living in dignity is a responsible people” (p. 139).

He grew up in relative privilege, as the son of professionals in Martinique, but Fanon’s life and writings demonstrated both a “radical empathy” for the oppressed, as well as a form of “revolutionary humanism.” (Lee, 2015). Through his work in Algeria and his experience with other liberation struggles around Africa, Fanon was supportive of revolutionary struggle, but he was also deeply skeptical of the ways in which political leaders could steer movements away from the interests of the people and simply create new forms of division and segregation through fomenting economic, ethnic, and national conflict. Instead, his ideas of revolutionary humanism were developed both from his work as a psychiatrist in France and Algeria and from participating in the Algerian revolution. Even in his practice as a psychiatrist, Fanon was interested in working with patients collaboratively in order to find solutions to the problems they faced (Lee, 2015; Lewis, 2015). When speaking of liberation and revolution he argued for a collaborative process of nation building that began with the knowledge of the colonized and oppressed. Fanon’s humanism provides some guidance in terms of orienting research towards a praxis involving the building of collective consciousness and a search for solutions, based on reality but striving for utopian ideals. The critical praxis outlined by Fanon, is similar to how Freire outlined education as a practice of freedom.
As Freire (1968/2000, p. 47) described, “Freedom is not an ideal located outside of man; nor is it an idea which becomes myth. It is rather the indispensable condition for the quest of human completion.” Similarly, Fanon saw freedom as being connected to struggle, leading to the creation of a new humanity. Importantly, the new humanity, or human completion, that Freire and Fanon posited were not endpoints. Their utopianism was not based on the ultimate achievement of some ideal humanity, but instead on the necessity of an ongoing praxis. The process of engaging in struggles for freedom, developing collective understandings of the world, and acting to create a better future, was understood as prefiguring a truly free and democratic society. Although they did not identify as anarchist scholars, both Fanon and Freire talked about freedom in similar ways and their understandings of struggle and praxis are aligned with anarchist thinking.

Bloch’s (1959/1986) understanding of hope and utopia were based on similar sentiments. Bloch’s concepts of hope and the Not-Yet were based on the idea that within the present moment there are latencies and possibilities that point to alternative futures—utopian surplus. Importantly for Bloch, this did not necessarily mean striving for some predetermined utopia, but instead one that remained open. As Thompson (2013, para. 4) described, Bloch saw utopia:

not as a pre-existing programmatic state which had to be reached under wise and all-knowing leadership either of the party or the church, but as an autopoietic process driven by the labouring, creating and producing human being driven on by their material hunger as well as their dreams of overcoming that hunger. The society we ended up with would therefore be the product of the process of getting there.
For Gordon (2018), Bloch’s concrete utopia offers a better framework for movements than prefigurative politics because it is temporally generative as opposed to recursive. It is future-oriented, but open to all possible futures.

Within South Africa, the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) developed from the ideas of Fanon and Freire, amongst others. Although numerous students were influential in the formation of BCM, Steve Biko is often considered the founder of the movement, particularly because of his writing and because of his death in detention. The way that he wrote about freedom, dignity and human flourishing built on the thoughts of Fanon and Freire. For example, from the South African Student Organization (SASO) newsletter in 1972:

Freedom is the ability to define oneself with one's possibilities held back not by the power of other people over one but only by one's relationship to God and to natural surroundings…We have set out on a quest for true humanity, and somewhere on the distant horizon we can see the glittering prize. Let us march forth with courage and determination, drawing strength from our common plight and our brotherhood. In time we shall be in a position to bestow upon South Africa the greatest gift possible—a more human face.

The BCM developed in the mid to late 1960s. The banning of political organizations such as the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan African Congress (PAC) after the 1960 Sharpeville Massacre created a vacuum for anti-apartheid activism. The BCM developed within this vacuum, largely within university and church settings. Following the 1976 Soweto student uprising, and the murder of Steve Biko in 1977 while he was in detention, the South African government banned BCM and organizations affiliated to the movement. Although the importance of BCM is still debated with regards to its role in the anti-apartheid movement, the
consciousness raising that the movement emphasized resulted in a mass of politicized youth, particularly youth within African townships, that undoubtedly contributed to the liberation movement throughout the 1970s and 1980s (Nieftagodien, 2014). The consciousness raising of BCM was similar to Freire’s methods. It was based on “consensus decision making. It instilled independent thinking, self-reliance, fearlessness, and dignity” (Wilson, 2011, p. 149). As I will discuss in Chapters Five and Six, these methods heavily influenced how sport and resistance were organized within Grahamstown’s township. Other scholars have also pointed out how Fanon, Biko, and BCM continue to influence protest and social movements within South Africa (Gibson, 2006, 2011).

Levitas’ three modes of interrogation, involve a similar cyclical praxis as outlined by Fanon, Freire, and Biko. It starts with excavating the utopian elements that are contained within political ideologies and then critically interrogating the impact these utopias have, or would have, on people—then putting forward alternatives, which would also be open to the same process of critique. Ethnography, as a methodology that relies on exploration and reflexivity, offers a way to engage in Levitas’ Utopia as Method. In the following chapter I will outline how I utilized ethnographic methods in order to engage with notions of hope, utopia, freedom, and dignity.
Chapter 3: Methodology: EthnoGRAPHIC Considerations

Illustration 5. The Incredible Ethnographer. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde
Being interested in questions about soccer and hope would seem to lend itself to a straightforward study. I had intended to examine the visions of a better world that FIFA constructed through their SDP work, and put those into conversation with how sports-based social movements and community groups conceive of hope and the future. However, ethnography does funny things. As Pigg (2013, p. 133) explained, ethnographers “work in muddled simultaneity where scales, contexts, and audiences collapse into each other.” Ethnography captures you, entangles you in relationships with places, histories, and people; it frees you, compelling you to follow uncertain paths and move towards ever shifting horizons.

When I say ethnography does this, I am dangerously close to reproducing, romanticizing and valorizing a conception of the ‘field’, where researchers go somewhere out ‘there’ to do field work and then come ‘back’ to write up what they discovered. However, this is not my intention. The value of ethnography is that it allows for research that is open, reflexive and dialogic. My approach to ethnography is motivated by Behar’s (2008) argument that:

Our world now is characterized by increasing anonymity, increasing suffering, increasing uncertainty, increasing recognition of too many far-away others who cannot be helped all at once...One thing remains constant about our humanity—that we must never stop trying to tell stories of who we think we are. Just as important, we must never stop wanting to listen to each other's stories (Behar 2008, p. 542)

Again, promoting Behar’s (2008) statement could potentially be viewed as problematic. Listening to, and telling, people’s stories gives the impression of ‘giving voice to the voiceless,’ or as a form of witnessing: “Ethnography is the disciplined and deliberate witness-cum-recording of human events” (Willis & Trondman, 2000, p. 394). However, the degree to which
witnessing and recording reality is possible, or even desirable, requires attention. Positioning oneself as a witness can reaffirm forms of authority that have historically been associated with the ‘objective’ and ‘expert’ ethnographer (Angel-Anjani, 2004). Further, what is observed, recorded, and reported by ethnographers is often as much about themselves and the politics of their disciplines, as it is about the people and settings they are engaged with (Marker, 2003). These concerns are grounded in feminist and postcolonial thinking that has raised questions about subjectivity, rationalism, and truth, as well as the power relations that have historically underpinned ethnographic projects and the ‘authority’ bestowed upon ethnographic accounts of ‘other’ cultures (Clifford & Marcuse, 1986; Ferguson, 2006; Geertz, 1973; Gupta & Ferguson, 1997; Hymes, 1972; Smith, 1999). Additionally, postcolonial scholars have explained how ethnography has historically been connected to colonial projects and the continued construction and representation of an ‘Other’, as well as an extraction of and production of knowledge (Said, 1978; Smith, 1999).

Therefore, Angel-Anjani (2004) has advocated for a form of witnessing that is based on listening; emphasizing the act of listening provides the potential for a more ethical form of ethnographic engagement that is open to different understandings of the world. Reorienting ethnography around listening does not preclude the act of telling stories. Instead, it is meant to emphasize the necessity of reflexivity, acknowledging that the narratives researchers put together inevitably reflect their own thoughts, judgements, and experiences. Although ethnographies do not always claim to be about the ethnographer, I believe that this is inescapable. As I put together narratives based on the people I have spent time with and interviewed, the documents and archives I have reviewed, and the places I have been, it is invariably a story about myself as much as the people, places, and histories that fill up the narrative. In telling stories, I am not
trying to present myself as an authority on other people’s reality, but throughout my research my aim has been to listen. What I put on paper in this dissertation I hope faithfully and honestly portrays what I heard.

The settings that ethnographers work in, as Pigg (2013) noted, are indicative of our globalizing world and for Jacob Dlamini, a South African historian, it is important to acknowledge that in a global world, our histories are entangled. In a lecture Dlamini (2015b) delivered in the United States, he used this notion of entangled histories to pose important questions. Presuming that our histories are in some way entangled, he asked, what moral and ethical responsibilities do we have, as citizens of one place, “for histories that happen in other places, histories with which you are entangled, histories with which your own histories are mixed up?” Additionally, he asked, how do we deal with these entangled, global histories in ways that do not collapse local stories into some grand historical narrative? He did not provide answers to these questions, which is appropriate, because I believe the questions are meant to guide a process of research as opposed to offering any definitive answers.

Dlamini’s questions, like critiques of ethnography that push for more open, reflexive, and dialogic practices are aligned with Fanon’s (1963) conception of a new humanism based on mutual recognition. Lee (2015), in his book on the life and work of Fanon, made the case that Fanon exemplified this ethics of entanglement. Lee referred to it as radical empathy, a term which Fanon did not use, but was demonstrated through his life and writing. Growing up in Martinique to professional middle class parents allowed him access to schooling and the opportunity to travel to France. It was through experiencing racism in France, and revolution in Algeria, that Fanon demonstrated a radical empathy, which Lee defined as “a politics of recognition and solidarity with communities beyond one’s own immediate experience” (Lee,
2015, p. 191). Importantly, the practice of radical empathy is meant to go beyond notions of charity. Instead, it is based on learning, sharing, and struggling together for social and political change.

Bringing these ideas back to bear on Behar’s (2008) statement provides a more nuanced understanding of listening to, and telling stories. Attending to stories of ‘who we think we are,’ provides a way to engage with understandings of hope, social change, and utopia. Sporting spaces are as much venues for sharing stories, stories of past glories and dreams of the future, as they are for athletic competition. However, sporting stories extend beyond the field; as Bloch (1959/1986) described, we pin our hopes to sport. Sport is a social practice that is inseparable from the social and political context within which it takes place and the stories about sport that we tell and listen to have a significant influence on our cultural, political, and social lives.

Ethnography, as a methodology, allows for an engaged process of listening to and telling stories. In the remainder of this chapter I will outline my approach to ethnography. In doing so, I will discuss various forms of ethnography, but I am not taking on a particular label. Instead, I will focus on what I did and how my day-to-day activities were integral to my research process.

3.1 A Walking, Sitting, Waiting, Drawing, Soccer Playing Ethnography

The ethnography I attempted was open, reflexive and dialogic. Scholars and activists that have influenced my approach often draw on metaphors relating to walking or movement to describe processes of learning and struggle. The Zapatistas have a saying: ‘walking, we ask questions’. Similar to ideas expressed by Fanon and Freire in the previous chapter, the phrase represents a form of praxis, based around the belief that the future is not decided, but collectively built. As John Holloway pointed out: “to think of moving forward through questions rather than answers means a different sort of politics, a different sort of organization” (Sitri, 2005, para 10).
For her research with the Abahlali BaseMjondolo (Shack Dwellers) movement in Durban, South Africa, Walsh (2009) advocated for what she called ethnography-in-motion, an open, fluid, and politically situated research practice. Underlying her approach was the belief that ethnography-in-motion provided a way to genuinely engage with people’s stories, not solely focusing on how resistance occurred or was understood, but also how engaging with people’s everyday lives provided a way to gain some understanding of how global issues played out in local settings, and how everyday practices offered glimpses into the variety of ways people engaged with systems of oppression.

Walking is more than just a metaphor for a particular research praxis. As Ingold and Vergunst (2008) pointed out, ethnographers carry out much of their work on foot—working, living, and socializing with people often involves walking with them, walking to meet them, and walking through their communities. Grahamstown is a small city, but on most days I would find myself walking 15km between the town and township, to and from soccer practices and matches, sometimes with soccer players, coaches, or social movement activists, but often by myself. Ingold and Vergunst found it curious then, that even though walking can play a significant role in ethnography and will appear throughout field notes, it is rarely mentioned in methodological or substantive discussions. That being said, scholars interested in the city, culture, and place-making have theorized how walking can be understood as a methodological practice. In Ingold and Vergunst’s edited volume, Lucas (2008) drew on the notion of the flaneur, to frame his research. The flaneur, as described by poet Charles Baudelaire and taken up by Walter Benjamin, was a wanderer; somebody who was willing to physically and mentally wander the streets of Paris. For Benjamin, the flaneur was under threat from modernity, capitalism and the increasing rationalization of urban planning. However, others have taken up Benjamin’s thoughts to argue
that the flaneur offers an example of how wandering through space can be an artistic and methodological intervention; the flaneur observes spaces but can also inscribe a narrative on that space (Lucas, 2008). Benjamin’s lament for the flaneur was also based on an understanding that walking through spaces was connected to understandings of the past and feelings of loss.

Similarly, it was impossible to escape the past, while walking through Makhanda (Grahamstown), but as opposed to Benjamin, I was reminded of how Fanon (1963) described the colonial world:

A world compartmentalized, Manichaean and petrified, a world of statues: the statue of the general who led the conquest, the statue of the engineer who built the bridge. A world cocksure of itself, crushing with its stoniness the backbones of those scarred by the whip.

That is the colonial world. (p. 16)

As I described in the introductory chapter, moving from the Egazini memorial, which was in a state of ruination, to the well maintained Elizabeth Salt memorial conjured up images of historic battles, apartheid segregation, and the ongoing spatial inequalities that were evident from walking between the township and the town. As Fanon pointed out, the colonial world does not end after revolution. There are traces left over. Stoler (2008) described these traces as colonial ruination, “the fragile and durable substance and signs, the visible and visceral senses in which the effects of empire are reactivated and remain” (p. 196). Later on, as I walked through the township and spoke with former players and political activists, the streets and paths conjured images of protests, demonstrations, and confrontations with police and military. These images were provided through interviews and archival research, but having to walk through the space allowed for a process of ongoing reflection and analysis. Walking through cities and spaces offers not only a way to engage with historical narratives, but also a way to experience
contemporary social and spatial relations. In Chapter Four I explain how walking through FIFA’s FFH Festival in Caju, in Brazil, provided a way to examine how FIFA’s understandings of hope, development, and a better world were expressed through the way they organized space. Although FIFA’s FFH Movement drew on rhetoric relating to fair play, equality, inclusiveness, and openess, the festival space itself was highly securitized, segregated, and surveilled. Walking through the festival space, and noting how space was divided, and which people were welcomed in particular spaces, provided insights that differed from the language and rhetoric that FIFA promoted.

More than anything, for me, walking provided opportunities to think and reflect. It allowed for both physical and mental wandering, which are sometimes lacking in research on SDP.

3.1.1 Sitting as ethnography.

As a field of inquiry, SDP is increasingly concerned with proving its effectiveness, particularly within mainstream international development. As a result, the stories we listen to and the stories we tell are increasingly limited, almost determined before conversations actually take place. In a sense, this dissertation is an attempt to listen to and tell different stories. This form of engagement may be viewed as inefficient or unproductive, but I take guidance from Pigg (2013) who argued against this sentiment and encouraged global health researchers to, “recuperate a positive view of ‘sitting’…an ethnographic insistence on sitting, being, noticing, and reflecting stands in stark contrast to the dismissive view that ‘sitting’ and ‘thinking’ merely drag confident, useful action down into a mire of doubt and criticism” (p. 127-128). As SDP interventions are often founded by sports enthusiasts, athletes, and other people who passionately believe in the ‘power of sport’, invocations to sit, slow down, and think, are somewhat antithetical to the
action-oriented ethos of athletes. Scholars have noted the “missionary zeal” that often accompanies SDP efforts, or the evangelical nature of SDP policy rhetoric (Coalter, 2010; Kidd, 2008). For an industry that is based on movement, action, and initiative, sitting down might not be seen as a priority. However, Pigg (2013) outlined how the metaphor of sitting is necessary as a “counter to the neoliberal ethic of speed and efficiency that has become normalized, and moralized, in the ways global health activity makes things happen” (p. 128). Importantly, SDP scholars have outlined various approaches that could also be viewed as critiquing or countering neoliberal understandings of development.

Many scholars have advocated for collaborative and participatory approaches to research, particularly participatory action research (PAR) (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012; Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011; Hayhurst, Kay, & Chawansky, 2015; Nicholls, Giles, & Sethna, 2011; Spaaij, Schlenkorf, Jeunes, & Oxford, 2018; Whitley & Johnson, 2015). The seemingly collaborative nature of PAR could potentially align with Pigg’s metaphor of sitting, in terms of reorienting processes of knowledge production within development spaces. However, this largely depends on how PAR is understood. Jordan and Kapoor (2016) have outlined how understandings of PAR have over time been debated and appropriated by various actors. They caution against academics and NGOs adopting PAR without adhering to its radical and emancipatory roots. Similar to how post-development scholars detailed the ways in which development discourse would appropriate the language of critique without actually questioning or challenging underlying ideologies, Jordan and Kapoor have expressed concern with how PAR has been increasing appropriated by NGOs and the ‘neoliberal university’. Kennelly (2018) has similarly argued how PAR is easily subsumed under the “faddish claims to community engagement by contemporary postsecondary institutions” (p. 33). SDP research and practice is particularly
vulnerable to this charge, as it is focused almost entirely on institutions and NGOs that identify with the ‘mainstream’ SDP sector and universities are more than willing to promote projects that involve community research and international experiences for their students.

Contrary to this, Collison and Marchesseault (2018) have recently called for what they term participatory social interaction research (PSIR). For them, SDP research has been limited by a focus on institutions and interventions as opposed to the people involved in those interventions. As a result, they positioned PSIR as a:

Form of participatory research that centralizes, prioritizes and situates sporting interventions and development through the experiences and daily lives of participants. PSIR seeks not to change behaviour or practice but aims to gain deeper insights and understandings of local populations, culture and experiences through and beyond the participation of SDP. (Collison & Marchesseault, 2018, p. 3)

Collison and Marchesseault are essentially calling for an ethnographic or anthropological approach to SDP research that emphasizes the importance of engaging with understandings and narratives of communities, daily practices, and relationships outside of formal or mainstream SDP interventions. The type of ethnography advocated for by Collison and Marchesseault, as well as Pigg (2013), is essentially an invitation for taking your time, not being afraid of approaching research as a process of wandering. Although she did not draw on PSIR, Kaur’s (2016) ethnography examining sport-for-development/good efforts in the Western Cape that were connected to the wine industry offers a strong demonstration of the value of ethnography. Although she began with an interest in the sports-based corporate-social-responsibility initiatives of particular wine farms, Kaur (2016) was able to demonstrate how various actors expressed contradictory and contingent understandings of both development and sport. In their history of
the SDP sector, Darnell et al. (2019) pointed out that this form of research is lacking and that discussions about SDP would benefit from engaging with the social and political role that sport has historically played in particular communities at particular times.

The notion of wandering also applies to how I engaged with documents throughout my ethnographic research. In Chapter Four I discuss documents produced by FIFA relating to their FFH Movement. In Chapters Five and Six I rely on historic documents including newspapers, reports, theses, and correspondence. To say I wandered through these documents does not mean that I took a haphazard approach. Scholars have discussed Qualitative Document Analysis (QDA) or Ethnographic Content Analysis in ways that could almost be called systematic wandering. As Altheide, Coyle, DeVriese, and Schneider (2008) explained, QDA is concerned with “discovery and description, including searching for contexts, underlying meanings, patterns, and processes” (p. 128). Similar to my ethnographic approach, QDA is meant to be reflexive and recursive. In analyzing documents, I was interested in contextualizing the stories I was hearing about soccer in the 1970s and 1980s, but I was also concerned with how concepts, such as hope, utopia, and social change, were defined and promoted. In this way, sitting with the documents provided a space to gain insight into how these concepts were deployed in different settings. Document analysis also provided a way to reflect on, challenge, and broaden insights gained through observation and interviews. The specific documents I collected and analyzed will be discussed in Chapters Four, Five, and Six.

So far, I have introduced an approach to ethnography that is based on openness and reflexivity. How this process is documented and recorded is essential, yet rarely discussed in ethnographic writing. It is assumed that researchers’ field notes serve this purpose, however the process of developing and making field notes is often neglected in the finished writing of
ethnographic narratives. This is a significant omission. Adopting an approach to research that is meant to be reflexive, open, and malleable would seem to require a complementary process of recording and analyzing information and generating ethnographic text.

The process of recording reality through the production of ethnographic text raises important questions about the function of writing and the written word in describing and representing processes of social change and hope. For Bloch, the process of writing tended to constrain social thought and action. This is similar to critiques of the thick description that is the hallmark of ethnography. Ethnographic writing that is wedded to ideas of authority and objective representations of reality can potentially close off understandings of and engagement with social realities (Lather, 2009; Taussig, 2011). Bloch attempted to address this issue in his own writing by adopting a style that was heavily influenced by romanticism, mysticism, and expressionism. The Principle of Hope is therefore more of a poetic undertaking than a realist account of how hope is mobilized within society. In similar ways, forms of visual ethnography, particularly the act of drawing, can help produce a more open ethnographic text.

3.1.2 Drawing as ethnography

Through drawing, researchers can move past the desire to represent reality through text; as Taussig (2011) stated, drawing provides an antidote to the “relentless drive that makes you feel sick as the very words you write down seem to erase the reality you are writing about” (p. 13). This is not to say that drawing is a better way to represent reality. It is not compensatory; it does not help complete an account of reality, but instead, like embracing the process of getting lost, drawing offers the researcher opportunities to follow uncertain paths. The artist Paul Klee described drawing as “taking a line for a walk” (see Lucas, 2016). In this way, drawing offers a potentially different form of ‘witnessing’ that is part of ethnography. It is also aligned with
Pigg’s (2013) notion of sitting and doing. Drawing is a practice that forces the researcher/observer to slow down, to literally sit down and deeply engage with material. This could include settings, people, and stories. Often times after visiting with people, or places, I would find myself sketching portraits or landscapes. It provided time to reflect on conversations and observations, but in a way that was not simply focused on analyzing, or coding, the experiences and interactions (See Appendix 1: Field Sketches).

Maybe paradoxically, sitting down and drawing is not that different from how I described the metaphor of research as walking or wandering. Van Ingen (2016), through an arts-based research project with Shape Your Life, a boxing training and fitness programme for women who have experienced abuse, argued for researchers to embrace a process of getting lost. Borrowed from the work of Patti Lather, the notion of getting lost entails embracing the uncertainty of qualitative research and following paths that emerge through an ethical engagement with participants and communities (Van Ingen, 2016). Ideas around wandering and getting lost evoke images of walking and embodied practices that produce alternative and collective forms of knowledge. However, ‘getting lost’ can also involve reflexive intellectual practices that challenge established knowledge and practices. Being ‘lost in thought’ is similarly a form of wandering.

As opposed to understandings of ethnography based on objectively representing reality, Pink (2007) explained that visual ethnography should try to present “experiences of reality that are as loyal as possible to the context, negotiations and intersubjectivities through which the knowledge was produced” (p. 22). Drawing played a significant role in my research process. In addition to traditional field notes, which I kept in a journal throughout the day, typed up, and expanded upon each night, I also kept a daily sketch journal that would include drawings and
sketches of people, places, and objects. Sometimes this would occur as I was walking around and other times it would occur while I was at home, a café, or a tavern reflecting on previous events or thoughts.

The field notes, both written and drawn, served a similar purpose. Although ethnographers and anthropologists define field notes in multiple ways (Sanjek, 1990), for me, the purpose of writing and drawing was not to merely record my daily experiences—to capture reality. Instead, my field notes were an exercise in engaging and reflecting on my experiences and the ‘data’ I was gathering through interviews and archives. In this sense, the field notes represented both a form of data, that I continue to look back on, but these field notes were also initial attempts at analysis, generating reflective questions both for myself and for the people I interviewed.

During archival research and analyzing documents I also sketched, sometimes reproducing the grainy or blurry team pictures and other photographs that would appear in old newspapers. Although this might seem trivial, it allowed for a reflective practice that was temporally fluid. By drawing my own memories and reflections, as well as former soccer players’ stories, and the historic accounts in documents, I felt like I was drawing myself into the history, both literally and metaphorically. Sitting at Egazini and drawing people playing soccer, or the memorials to Makhanda, was a form of conversation with the past. As both Berger (2008) and Ballard (2013) have argued, the relationship between artist and subject can at times be a form of dialogic history.

3.1.3 Drawing and soccer as ethnography

Some of my early field sketches are gesture drawings of soccer players, often completing a ‘push-pass’. It is one of the simplest and most common techniques. It is the basic way to
complete a pass to a teammate. At multiple times during my dissertation research, and even before I began my graduate studies I have repeated a scenario multiple times. I travel to a new city. I walk around and I come across people playing soccer. I approach the person or the group of people, usually men. I butcher their language and ask if I can play - 我们踢足球吗 (women tizuqiu ma?) nka bapala le uena? eu jogo futebol com vocês? Siyadlala ibhola! Almost always the response is the same. The person with the ball will turn his body towards me, looks at me and smiles. Then, he opens up—he spreads his arms, opens or turns out his ankle, knee, and hip, putting his body in a vulnerable position, he completes a push pass. I receive the ball, a gift.

It seems to be an innocuous gesture and I tend to be a cynic, so I hesitate to compare the act of passing a ball to the way that Mauss (2002) developed his idea of the gift, as a way to understand the political and social organization of communities. However, more than a challenge to understandings of economics and politics, Mauss’ conception of the gift is an understanding of how people engage in social relationships based on mutual exchange, obligation, and reciprocity. Scholars have argued that the gift can also be understood as a way to engage in research practices. People you meet through research projects share stories and experiences and researchers can understand this as a hopeful invitation (Dillabough & Dillabough-Lefebvre, 2018; Miyazaki, 2004; Shukaitis & Graeber, 2007). I also hesitate to paint this idyllic picture of exchanging a soccer ball as a metaphor for ethical research practice because I am aware, more so now than earlier on in my travels, that approaching a group of men and asking, or inviting myself, to join, and having a positive experience cannot be separated from me being an able-bodied white man. That being said, the gesture drawings allowed me to think of the act of the push-pass in a different way, as a vulnerable moment and as an exchange. Further, the practices of drawing and playing soccer, like that of walking and sitting discussed above served to shift
my focus from trying to extract information and knowledge to becoming entangled—not just with a particular place or with particular people, but also with their histories and imagined futures.

Gesture drawing seems inherently contradictory. Through lines on paper you try to capture a moment of action—movement. At their best, gesture drawings seem ephemeral, yet they are permanent representations of a fleeting moment. I am not sure why I do the gesture drawings. At first, they do not add much to my field notes, but more than anything else, I return to them, more so after I interview older soccer players and spend more time doing archival research. I start seeing the gesture drawings as ghosts, traces or spirits. Even though I’m an amateur and my drawings are far from evocative I still catch glimpses of the joy and happiness that seem to permeate people’s stories, my own included, of playing soccer (for more examples see Appendix B: Sample of Gesture Drawings and Sketches).
Illustration 7. Gestures Page 2/2. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde
Taussig (2011) talked about drawing in a similar manner, and emphasized the ability for a drawing to open up new paths of discovery and understanding:

Whether looked at on their own or in the context of their surround of text, the drawings in notebooks that I have in mind seem to me to butt against realism, with its desire for completeness. The drawings come across as fragments that are suggestive of a world beyond, a world that does not have to be explicitly recorded and is in fact all the more “complete” because it cannot be completed (p. 13).

Observing and engaging with the world through the act of drawing offers something different. As Berger (2008) stated, the process of drawing operates as an intimate and immersive dialogue between the artist and the subject. It involves a constant back-and-forth. Looking at the world, putting lines on paper, trying to capture something as you draw, and as you do this you are drawn in. Importantly, we take photographs, but we make drawings (Berger, 2008; Taussig, 2011). This difference in wording emphasizes the explicit subjective nature of drawing—not to say that photography is an objective process. The fact that an artist makes a drawing also means that images drawn into field notes remain open. They can be edited, erased, modified, drawn or painted over, which represents a dialogic process. As I conducted my research, I would return to drawings, I would add, erase, and change images. The drawing is a living image with a history, “drawing leaves traces. In comparison with painting, it is difficult to obscure them, and for the most part drawing does not want them to be obscured. Anywhere one finds a series of traces, in the metaphoric sense, one has a story” (Burnstein, 2005 as cited in Gravestock, 2010). It also means that drawings allow for a continued engagement or dialogue with the past. Further, the intensive act of trying to reproduce a scene allows you to remember it more clearly (Causey, 2016). I would argue that this does not mean that drawing allows you to understand or remember
reality in a more accurate way, but that it does provide a deep or lasting connection. Drawings leave traces, as Gravestock explained, and these traces stay with you throughout the research process.

3.1.4 Comics as ethnography

In addition to drawing, my research process also involved a process of making comics. At first, the distinction between drawing, and drawing comics, might seem small, but I, and other scholars (Barry, 2014; Lawrence, 2017; McCloud, 1993, 2000, Sousanis, 2015; Crane-Williams, 2012), would argue that the process of putting images together in sequence and potentially adding text or other symbols to those images, offers something unique. As Pigg (2013) described, ethnographers work in muddled simultaneity and comics offer a medium that can both contribute to and represent this work. Sousanis (2015) used the comic form to argue that graphic narrative allows for knowledge to be conveyed in ways that challenge the traditionally linear and unimodal forms of text-based presentation. Sousanis’ argument is that in relying on text as the primary mode for conveying information we put constraints on what we can say about our experiences and how our experiences are taken up and understood by others. Comics, through:

The interplay of sequential and simultaneous modes offers researchers nonlinear, tangential, and multilayered possibilities for conveying complex information and a multiplicity of perspective. The comics page is a singular place where time and space are conflated, where multiple time frames and locations can exist side by side (Kuttner, Sousanis, & Weaver-Hightower, 2018, p. 401)

First, putting information gathered through the research process into a comic is an incredibly reflexive process. Creating a comic requires you to make explicit narrative choices and constantly think about how you are ‘framing’ information. In comics this is very literal, as the
process of creating comic panels actually involves framing information, choosing what to include and what to leave out, whose point-of-view to privilege, how or if you as a researcher will be included in the narrative, and so on. As Brunetti (2011, p. 49) pointed out, “A comics page reflects the way the author remembers [their] own experience of reality, the flow of time, the importance of people, places, and things.” Although I am not primarily using comics to present my ethnographic research, the sentiments offered above still hold. For my research process, comics allowed for forms of observation and analysis that remained flexible, open, and reflexive.

Although I say this, my early attempts at comics did not necessarily demonstrate this openness. Growing up reading MAD Magazine and watching the Simpsons maybe resulted in an over reliance on satire. Prior to going to Brazil and after returning, the comics I made were mostly statements based on my thoughts. They were attempts at being satirical and cynical, but did not offer much in terms of understanding, analysis, or reflexivity. I believe a reason for this was that I was mostly using comics in an attempt to make an argument. I did not rely as heavily on drawing during my research in Brazil and what I produced came across as cynical and distant (see Appendix A for comics that came out of early fieldwork). In many disciplines, comics are being used as a form of knowledge translation, as a way to present research and arguments. This often involves collaborations between researchers and artists. I believe that this is valuable for many reasons, but I also feel that working through the comics, as a solo artist/author was necessary for my research process. Lawrence (2017), a comic artist and educator, utilized the concept of le auteur complete, in his pedagogical and theoretical framework, for a study looking at the use of comics for engaging with young students’ understandings of biography and identity. For Lawrence, being the le auteur complet (engaging in all processes of comics creation, from
thumbnails, to penciling, to inking, to lettering), provides a lens into our subconscious and a way to reflect on our identities and our place in the world. In this sense, I felt comics were an ideal medium for engaging in ethnographic research.

Like any artistic or creative genre, comic art has its conventions, which can be limiting, but as a medium it is also quite open and vulnerable. In South Africa, the approach I took to using comics in my field notes and throughout the research process was meant to be generative. I did not aim to script or plan ‘complete’ comics. Brunetti (2011) argued that for the comic artist the blank page, instead of being panic or anxiety inducing should be viewed as a tool. In a very Blochian way, Brunetti saw the empty page as containing infinite possibility. The comic artist attempts to put order to this chaos by delineating panels and grids within a page. Yet, by putting pen to paper and creating images, the structure and plan are often revealed to be a veneer. In much the same way, qualitative researchers often impose their own panels and grids to make sense of the world. They collect data, develop codes, generate themes, and produce findings. Nevertheless, this can also be limiting, potentially reproducing dominant narratives. For this reason, Brunetti compelled artists to wander:

Do not marry yourself to a structure, an idea, or even an outline. Start drawing the part of the story that you feel would be the most enjoyable. You may find yourself going in an entirely different direction than originally planned, but perhaps with a clearer conception of where you eventually want to end up. Do not fear contradictions, tangents, and digressions: these are, deep down, the things you really want to write about—and likewise will be the most interesting for others to read (Brunetti, 2011, p. 67).

This takes us back to the metaphor of walking. We make the road by walking, and we create the story by drawing. This seems to go against typical ideas of research and storytelling, but in the
muddled contexts we find ourselves in it may be more appropriate. Meandering through ‘data’ creates a story or multiple stories and produces potentially new knowledge and understanding.

Throughout this dissertation I have inserted comics and images—not as a way to represent my research, although this is unavoidable, but in an attempt to illustrate a process. Along those lines, instead of presenting a set of fully developed comics pages that convey complete stories, I have included a range of work at different stages of completeness, from gesture drawings, to field sketches, to thumbnail comics, to more complete pages. These images do not represent points along a single path, or aspects of a single story. Instead they are meant to demonstrate the multiple paths that opened up to me throughout my research, the ones that I chose to follow and the ones I have passed by. In the same way that authors begin chapters or sections with quotes or ethnographic vignettes, the drawings throughout this dissertation are meant to both frame and complement my arguments and to open up the potential for alternative readings and ideas.

3.2 Conclusion

The next four chapters build on the theoretical and methodological discussions from this chapter and the previous one. Chapter Four involves an examination of FIFA’s FFH Movement and the remaining chapters are an examination of soccer in Makhanda (Grahamstown). The purpose is not necessarily to compare FIFA with grass-roots soccer in Makhanda (Grahamstown), although comparisons do occur; instead, the chapters are meant to illustrate the various and sometimes contradictory ways that hope, social change, and better worlds are imagined through sporting interventions.

4 A number of examples of this are included in the Appendices.
Chapter 4: FIFA’s Football for Hope: Neoliberal Hope and Glimpses of Utopia

4.1 Introduction.

Imagine a football World Cup with mixed gendered teams and matches that are organized through open dialogue, democratic and non-hierarchical decision making, collaborative and consensus based governance, and where winning would not solely be measured by the number of goals scored, but would also depend on teams collectively assessing how well they adhered to the spirit of the matches. On July 7, 2014, I watched Sepp Blatter, the former president of Football’s international governing body (FIFA), walk up to a microphone located at the centre of a field in the community of Caju in Rio de Janeiro for the opening ceremonies of an event organized around the principles described above, one that seemingly represented the vision outlined above and was part of building a better world through football. This would seem to be a radical departure from how FIFA has previously envisioned and administered the game. Amidst ongoing concerns relating to FIFA’s ethical and economic behaviour, Blatter stated that this new World Cup would return to the essence of the game, which for him would foreground joy and togetherness (FIFA, 2014a).

The ‘alternative’ World Cup that Sepp Blatter was promoting was more of a charity sideshow. He was not acknowledging the criticisms relating to how FIFA operates, nor was he proposing to overhaul the World Cup. Instead, he was giving the opening address for FIFA’s Football for Hope (FFH) Festival. The FFH festivals were awash in contradictions, as one would expect from an organization like FIFA. Over the last two decades FIFA has been criticized for corruption, human rights abuses, exploitation of workers, and the extraction of wealth and
resources (Cornellissen, 2010; Desai, 2010; Desai & Vahed, 2010; Gaffney, 2010, 2016; Human Rights Watch, 2012, 2017; Maharaj, Desai, & Bond, 2010; Ngonyama, 2010; Ziegler, 2018). It seems almost laughable then, that FIFA would host events during the World Cup that would promote fair play, equality, and inclusion.

Initially, my decision to examine FIFA and its FFH movement was based on the assumption that the FFH movement offered a good example of mainstream SDP. FFH was established by FIFA in 2005 and is one of their social responsibility initiatives, through which FIFA provides support to NGOs around the world that use soccer as a tool to achieve development objectives in the following focus areas: education, health, peace-building, social integration, and youth leadership (FIFA, 2014c). Although FIFA notes that it began contributing to various humanitarian initiatives beginning in 1995, players associated with a World FIFA XI All Star team were playing charity matches for UNICEF as early as 1982 (Agovino, 2014). The FFH movement was not formalized until 2005 (FIFA, 2013, 2014e.). This timing was significant as it was the same year that the United Nations declared the International Year of Sport and Physical Education. The founding of FFH also came shortly after the World Cup was awarded to an African nation for the first time. Following from this, many of the initial FFH initiatives were based on the notion that Africa was a place in need of development (Shehu 2010). In the first document describing the Football for Hope Movement, titled Make the World a Better Place, Sepp Blatter explained:

Football spreads hope. What first started in 1995 with various social and humanitarian aid programmes is now being pursued through the Football for Hope movement. In addition to the considerable resources dedicated to developing football worldwide, FIFA has set itself the target of allocating at least 0.7% of its total revenue into football-for-
development activities. This is the same percentage set by the International Conference on Financing for Development held in Monterrey in 2002, which required industrialised countries to contribute 0.7% of their GDP towards development aid – a percentage of revenues that only very few countries in the world have reached (FIFA, 2006, p. 5).

That FIFA, an international non-profit organization, is basing its funding of development projects on a target set for the amount that nation-states should budget for their foreign development assistance, is dubious. FIFA is not a sovereign nation. It is a governing body and any ‘development’ it provides is going to its own member states. However, this language is demonstrative of how FIFA viewed the FFH Movement as a development project.

For the most part, FIFA has kept its promise in terms of allocating .7% of its total revenue to FFH, but spending has actually decreased as revenues have gone up over the past 10 years. FIFA reports its finances in four year cycles, so from 2007-2010 FIFA’s revenue was reported as 4.189 billion USD and they spent 26.3 million on FFH and 14.3 million on Football for a Better World activities. From 2011-2014 FIFA took in 5.718 billion USD and spent 40 million USD on FFH related activities. FIFA has not released their financial reports for the most recent cycle from 2015-2018, but it is estimated they will have taken in more than six billion USD. The amount allocated to FFH during this time period was 27 million USD. Additionally, moving forward FIFA has discontinued the FFH program, renaming it the FIFA Foundation.

As I will argue throughout this chapter, FIFA’s understandings of hope, social change, and the future can be critiqued in multiple ways. However, framing this critique around notions of hope and utopia allows for the emergence of possible alternatives. Engaging with alternative forms of social and political organizing, as well as the idea of potentially different futures, or utopias, is common within a variety of disciplines including anthropology, sociology,
philosophy, education, psychology, and so on; however, when it comes to discussing how sport is organized and for what purposes, and how sport is mobilized for social change, there is scant discussion of possible alternatives and little engagement with the concept of utopia in sport studies (Vanreusel, 2015). This is despite the fact that sports organizations and SDP organizations constantly draw on discourses of hope, and promote the work they do as contributing to building a better world. As opposed to engaging with the possibilities that can emerge from these efforts, scholars have instead critiqued this hopeful rhetoric, primarily because there is a lack of evidence supporting the claim that sport can function as a mechanism for development and because this overly positive or hopeful view can serve to mask how sport can also be mobilized for damaging or exclusionary ends (Coalter, 2013; Wilson, 2012).

As important as these critiques are, trivializing or dismissing the ways in which people invest sport with hope risks losing an opportunity to engage in discussions about social change, the possible futures imagined through sport, and the role of sport in people’s daily lives. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter, building on the work of Bloch (1959/1986) and Levitas’ Utopia as method, is to engage with FIFA’s visions of a better world. Therefore the purpose of this chapter is not merely critique, but to also engage with potential alternatives. As Ahmed (2010, p. 163) argued, engaging with the utopian form “aims to make impossible the belief that there is no alternative.”

The research questions that guide this chapter are the following: (1) What meanings are ascribed to sport as a collective and social practice through FIFA’s documents and through the Football for Hope (FFH) Festival (2) How do documents produced by FIFA, in relation to the FFH Centres and Festival, draw on the concept of hope to frame the use of sport in social change
efforts; and (3) How are the conceptualizations of sport, social change, and hope within FIFA’s documents and activities connected to imagined and/or alternative futures?

That Blatter would identify the FFH Festival as a new World Cup, one that returns to the essence of the game, and can contribute to building a better world, might seem like empty rhetoric. While sitting and listening to Blatter, I wondered what would happen if FIFA decided to adopt the form of football promoted through FFH on a broader scale—fundamentally changing how the game was organized and played. Entertaining the idea that changing the way that football is played or organized, so that it is based around what could be viewed as radically democratic and inclusive principles, seems implausible or ridiculous. How would soccer fans react to FIFA deciding that the sport would now be mixed-gendered? That all people involved in the sport would be welcomed to participate in decision-making processes? Maybe I am skeptical, but I would imagine that most fans and players would view this as silly. However, the dismissive responses to alternatives are not necessarily a reflection of the worth or merit of the ideas, but more an indictment of the conservative appeal to the status quo. As Ahmed (2010, p. 165) pointed out “The silly or ridiculous nature of alternatives teaches us not about the nature of those alternatives but about just how threatening it can be to imagine alternatives to a system that survives by grounding itself in inevitability.” In this regard, the research questions above provide a way to critique the rhetoric of FIFA, but to also take their rhetoric seriously. What would it actually mean to build a better world through football?

To answer these questions, I focus on two aspects of the FFH Movement; the 20 Centres for 2010 Campaign that was part of the legacy of the 2010 World Cup in South Africa, and the FFH Festivals which occurred during the World Cups in South Africa and Brazil. The 20 Centers for 2010 campaign involved the construction of 20 Football for Hope Centres across 16 African
countries, with five in South Africa. FIFA provided funds for the construction of the centres and for three years of operation, with the possibility of continued funding based on audits of the organizations’ operations (FIFA, 2013). The centres were constructed between 2009 and 2014 and were all meant to include education and health care facilities, as well as a small football pitch (40m X 20m). The FFH Festival is an event that has taken place during the last two World Cups, bringing together 32 delegations of youth representing a selected number of the NGOs that FIFA supports. During the festival, these delegations participate in cultural activities, workshops and seminars relating to the use of sport for development, and conclude by participating in a football tournament.

The examination of the FFH Centres and Festival are based on an analysis of documents, websites, and promotional materials developed by FIFA and StreetFootballWorld (SFW), the NGO that operates as a consulting partner on FIFA’s FFH Movement. SFW operates as a network of international NGOs that use soccer for the purposes of development. The delegations that take part in the FFH Festival and run the FFH Centres are NGOs connected with SFW. These documents included FIFA’s annual activity and financial reports, reports relating to their social responsibility activities such as the FFH Movement, the FFH Centres, and the FFH Festivals, press reports and announcements relating to FFH. The website and documents produced by the architecture firm responsible for building the FFH Centres, Architecture for Humanity were also examined.

Relying on organizational texts, like FIFA’s reports and promotional materials, has methodological limitations. The documents and reports relating to FFH are produced for particular reasons and can be taken up, resisted, and read in a multitude of ways. However, Smith (2001, p. 160) has outlined how organizations utilize texts to “mediate, regulate and authorize
people’s activities… Texts and documents make possible the appearance of the same set of words, numbers or images in multiple local sites, however differently they may be read and taken up. ” She further argued that it is not enough to simply examine texts when conducting ethnographies of organizations, but that attending to how organizations attempt to define concepts and social relations, and institutionalize their work, through text is vital to extend ethnographic understandings. A close reading of FIFA documents is also in line with Bloch’s (1986) understandings of ideology.

Bloch (1959/1986) argued that ideology critique is limiting when it merely devolves into identifying aspects of bourgeoisie society as mystifying, dominating, or promoting false consciousness. Instead, Bloch was concerned with how all ideologies contain utopian potential that anticipates alternative futures. For example, with regards to advertising, Bloch (1959/1986, p. 344) highlighted the process of mystification by stating that “advertising makes magic out of the commodity, even out of the most incidental commodity, a magic in which each and every thing will be solved if only we buy it.” However, his understanding of ideology was that in addition to identifying aspects of advertising that were mystifying, it was also necessary to engage with how advertising, by drawing on affectively powerful sentiments like love, family, home, fraternity, and so on, are able to effectively both demonstrate and anticipate alternatives. Similarly, Bloch (1959/1986) differed from many Marxist philosophers of his time, namely those of the Frankfurt School, because of his arguments relating to the rise of fascism in Germany. As Kellner (2010, p. 41) pointed out,

Indeed, Bloch believes that part of the reasons why the Left was defeated by the Right in Weimar Germany is because the Left tended to focus simply on criticism, on negative
denunciations of capitalism and the bourgeoisie, whereas fascism provided a positive vision and attractive alternatives to masses desperately searching for something better. Kellner’s (2010) argument echoes the one provided in Chapter Two in terms of the effects of criticism and negation, particularly around neoliberalism. Therefore, the rationale for focusing on FIFA’s documents and promotional materials is not solely to critique FIFA’s ideology, or point out how FIFA is promoting particular (i.e. neoliberal and colonial) understandings of development. Instead, the purpose is to demonstrate that within FIFA’s ideology there are multiple visions of hope and alternative futures.

To complement the analysis of documents, observations were conducted during the 2014 FFH Festival in Caju, Rio de Janeiro. These observations took place over the week long public festival. I attended the festival each day, made an effort to explore and map the festival facility in terms of how space was organized, I took note of who was attending, how spectators and community members negotiated the space, and I also engaged in informal conversations with spectators, organizers, coaches, and participants. In the spirit of QDA described in Chapter Three, these observations and field notes provided important context for engaging with FIFA’s written documents relating to the FFH Movement.

Both the Centres and the Festivals are unique in terms of their planning and spatial arrangements. For that reason, I will also draw on literature in this chapter relating to space, power, and social change. However, based on the literature outlined in Chapter Two, my primary interest in this chapter is engaging with the representations and understandings of hope and utopia expressed through FIFA’s work.
4.2 Soccer and the Globalization of Hope, Exclusion, and Indifference.

We want change in our lives, in our neighbourhoods, in our everyday reality. We want a change which can affect the entire world, since global interdependence calls for global answers to local problems. The globalization of hope, a hope which springs up from peoples and takes root among the poor, must replace the globalization of exclusion and indifference! (Pope Francis, cited by Time, 2014)

The idea of soccer as a global force for hope and a tool for building a better world is prominent within the language of FIFA. Discussing FFH in the lead up to the 2010 World Cup in South Africa, Sepp Blatter, the former president of FIFA, argued that FFH serves as an:

Unique opportunity for organisations using football as a tool for social development in every part of the world to interact with each other and to showcase their programmes on football's biggest stage. We look forward to welcoming them to South Africa and experiencing together how football is contributing to building a better future. (FIFA, 2009b)

Through FFH, FIFA has supported 170 organizations from 78 different countries (FIFA, 2018). Their partner SFW often brings these organizations together for national, regional, and international forums. Through the FFH movement FIFA is seemingly addressing Pope Francis’ concern for global solutions to local problems by gathering organizations trying to address issues they face in their local communities into a global network. Pope Francis offered a distinction between a globalization of hope and a globalization of exclusion and indifference. Although these are not the only forms that globalization can take, like Bloch’s (1959/1986) understandings of concrete and abstract utopias, they provide an interesting entry for thinking through FIFA and its FFH movement, by placing an emphasis on how FIFA is understanding notions of hope and imagining a better world.
FIFA as an organization and FFH more specifically have been critiqued for supporting and promoting neoliberal understandings of development and governance (Manzo, 2012; Shehu, 2010); potentially spreading the globalization of exclusion discussed by Pope Francis. Although very little has been written about FFH, two studies have emphasized how FFH potentially reproduces neoliberal ideologies. Shehu (2010), through a critical discourse analysis of the 20 Centres for 2010 initiative, argued that the idea behind these centres reinforced neoliberal and colonial ideologies in ways that “maximize private goods at the expense of public ones...due to several reasons, including paternalism, rent-seeking by local football organizations; a narrow focus on one sport, and dominance of masculine perspectives” (p. 151). In a study comparing approaches to development between two different development projects, one of which was FFH, Manzo (2012) found that the emphasis upon entrepreneurship within FFH related to neoliberal development thinking. As discussed in Chapter Two, as important as these critiques of neoliberalism are, they sometimes neglect to explore how possibilities and alternatives may emerge from FFH.

As Ferguson (2010), Hardt and Negri (2017), and other scholars have pointed out, critical analyses of neoliberal development, based on either political-economic perspectives, or perspectives based on ideas of governmentality, have been limited to critiques and have neglected to engage with forms of politics and organizing that would offer alternatives to neoliberalism. In this way, a critique of FFH along neoliberal lines is important, but it is also possible to examine FFH for the potential alternatives it offers, to take seriously the utopian surplus that Bloch maintained was always part of everyday life and contained in all ideologies.

A number of scholars have described SDP work as a form of evangelism, comparing it to missionary work or to the early promotion of sport in colonial settings through ideas of
‘muscular Christianity’ (Coalter, 2013; Giulianotti, 2004; Kidd, 2008). Drawing on a quote from Pope Francis may seem to secure the link between religious missionary work and SDP, but I do not believe that this needs to be construed as negative. The FFH movement and SDP in general, offer a different example of the globalizing potential of sport, which in important ways, contrasts with events such as the World Cup and Olympics. The basis of the FFH movement is to connect groups from around the world who are mobilizing football and sport as a way to address problems within their communities. Who is in a position to identify these problems, how they are addressed, and the degree to which SDP is dominated by NGOs from the Global North are critical questions, but arguably the underlying motivation and structure of FFH offers an alternative vision of global sport from the Olympics and World Cup, which despite the rhetoric of bringing the world together through sport, are still bounded by understandings of, and the need to foster competition between, nation-states. For Sklair (2002), who distinguished between global, transnational, and inter-national interactions as part of globalization, these ‘global’ sports mega-events would be better described as inter-national.

As an illustrative example, in February of 1996, South Africa managed to win the Africa Cup of Nations—the continent’s football championship. This happened just two years after Nelson Mandela was elected as the first democratic president after the end of apartheid. Mark Williams, a player on the South African team, has often recounted an encounter with Mandela prior to the final match.

Williams describes his conversation with Nelson Mandela, who had become South Africa’s first democratic president two years earlier. “He hugged me,” Williams says, “then looked me in the eye and said, ‘Today we are going to war. Whatever happens, remember, the whole nation is behind you.’” (Bloomfield, 2010, p. 265)
The success of the football team came a year after South Africa hosted, and won, the Rugby World Cup. These two events have often been highlighted as being integral to rebuilding the nation after apartheid (Hoglund & Sundberg, 2008). Further, the World Cup hosted in South Africa in 2010 was also promoted as uniting the nation. As Alegi and Bolsmann noted (2013, p. 8), one of the main themes of the World Cup was “its capacity to articulate a more inclusive South African nationalism.” However, these positive narratives of sport’s utility in reconciliation or nation building efforts should be regarded cautiously, and Mandela’s use of the metaphor of war should be concerning. In the years after apartheid and leading up to the World Cup in South Africa and continuing until this day there have been a number of disturbing xenophobic attacks, targeting African immigrants working in South Africa (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2011b). In many ways, this is indicative of how Fanon (1963) discussed the ways in which nationalism could be mobilized by political leaders as a way to secure ideas of the nation through fear of the Other—essentially reproducing the spatial segregation and dehumanization of colonialism.

This may be the first paper to present the words of Sepp Blatter in a positive light, while also casting suspicion on the words of Nelson Mandela, but this is intentional. It demonstrates the need for theories that can account for the multitude of contradictions inherent in people’s visions of the ‘good society’ (Levitas, 2013). In different ways, the World Cup and the FFH movement demonstrated how the sport of football can be mobilized, adopted, or appropriated, in sometimes contradictory ways, to achieve their desired objectives.

4.3 The Football For Hope ‘Movement’.

In the lead up to the 2010 World Cup in South Africa, Sepp Blatter, the former president of FIFA, declared that “our mission is not solely to develop the game and touch the world - it is our duty to make a positive contribution to the creation of a better future” (FIFA, 2009a). The
notion that FIFA would take a leading role in promoting development and building a better world would seem absurd to many scholars and activists. As noted above, over the last two decades there has been writing and reporting on FIFA, as an organization, that has described its corrupt and exploitative practices and the way that it has used soccer to enrich a small number of sport and business elite (Jennings, 2006, 2016; Sudgen & Tomlinson, 1998; Tomlinson, 2014). Additionally, since the initiation of the FFH Movement, the FIFA 2010 World Cup in South Africa, and subsequent events in Brazil, Russia, and Qatar have been criticized for a variety of reasons including: human rights abuses, exploitative labor practices, dispossessing people’s land and homes, increased surveillance and policing of racial, economic, and ethnic minorities, and profiting largely from the investment of public funds (Desai 2010; Gaffney, 2010; Human Rights Watch, 2012, 2017; Maharaj, Desai, & Bond, 2010; Zeigler, 2018).

In this context, the FFH movement and the 20 Centres for 2010 campaign can be viewed as a reaction to these criticisms. During the 2013 Confederations Cup in Brazil, a FIFA tournament held one year prior to the World Cup, massive protests occurred. The protests themselves began in response to a transit fare increase, but were motivated by a number of issues, including the hosting of the World Cup in 2014 and the Olympics in 2016. At the time of the protests in 2013, FIFA and SFW were hosting a FFH forum, which involved a gathering of NGOs involved in the FFH Movement. Frederico Addiechi, the head of FIFA’s Corporate Social Responsibility, instead of acknowledging any role that FIFA played in the issues being protested, argued that, “Especially in the context of what is happening in Brazil at the moment, there is a need for football to be used as a force for good.” (Streetfootballworld, 2014). As protests and criticisms of FIFA continued throughout 2013 and 2014, Addeichi and others at FIFA would
often try to mobilize FFH as a way to deflect criticism. Further, FIFA also cites the success of 20 Centres for 2010 Campaign as an example of the positive legacy of the 2010 World Cup:

The FIFA Football for Hope 20 Centres for 2010 initiative was considered a success on many levels. As a result of the campaign, the centres have been able to improve education and health services for over 70,000 young people in disadvantaged areas across 16 countries in Africa (FIFA, 2013).

Because FIFA appears to be mobilizing FFH and the 20 Centres for 2010 as a way to deflect criticism, it is necessary to examine how these initiatives are presented and implemented. In order to accomplish this, a review of literature relating to space, utopias, and colonialism is necessary.

4.4 Utopian Spaces

Similar to abstract utopias, Lefebvre’s (1991) theorizations on space included the concept of abstract spaces—the grids, plans, and structures that scaffold, commodify, and homogenize life under capitalism. As Wilson (2013) argued, the concept of abstract space is not taken up by many scholars who engage with Lefebvre’s work, maybe because Lefebvre did not fully develop his thinking around the concept in his book The Production of Space. However, Wilson (2013) argued that through understanding how Lefebvre focused on Marx’s concepts of alienation and abstract labour, the concept of abstract space can be grasped more fully.

In order to understand the production of space, Lefebvre offered a triad involving spatial practices, representations of space, and representational space. This triad provided a way to understand social and spatial transformation through examining the social practices involved in the production of space (spatial practice), how space is perceived (representations of space), and how space is lived (representational space). Importantly, and similar to Bloch’s abstract utopia,
abstract space is closed off in terms of spatial practices and representations of space that reduce life and social relations to capitalist understandings of production, exchange, and value. As well, aligning with Bloch, Lefebvre emphasized that the production of abstract space is never complete; spaces will always contain historic elements and contradictions, which means that their reproduction will always be contested. This gets to the core of Lefebvre focus on space as a site of struggle which involves domination and alienation, as well as the possibility for alternatives and ‘disalienation’ (Wilson, 2013).

### 4.4.1 Utopia, hope, and colonial spaces.

For Fanon (1963, 1967), like Lefebvre, social change can occur through remaking spatial relations; decolonization can occur through the appropriation of space. Abstract space is never complete; there are always gaps and contradictions that could illuminate different ways forward. Lefebvre looked to events such as the Paris Commune in 1871 and the student protests of 1968, as well groups such as the Dadaists and the Situationists, to demonstrate how power and social relations could be challenged through people’s engagement and use of space. Importantly for Fanon, the reconfiguration of society, both spatially and socially, was an ongoing project and one that is not necessarily guaranteed through a struggle for liberation. Much of his writing within Wretched of the Earth seems prescient as he warned against the national bourgeoisie that come to power after liberation. From his experience with the Algerian revolution and other liberation struggles he warned of forms of populism and nationalism that can gain traction within liberation movements and curtail the potential for radical change—replacing one oppressive, segregationist, and exploitative regime with another.

He warned against politicians and elites that memorialize the symbols of liberation struggle, but remain disconnected from the masses. His critique of the urban elite that rise to
power through national liberation movements and how they attempt to develop the country is still relevant today. As he noted

They make no effort to reach out to the masses. They do not place their theoretical knowledge at the service of the people, but instead try to regiment the masses according to a pre-determined schema. Consequently, they parachute into the villages inexperienced or unknown leaders from the capital who, empowered by the central authorities, endeavor to manage the douar or the village like a company committee. (Fanon, 1963, p. 68)

This critique that Fanon provided, of outside experts parachuting in to manage development processes, was a common critique of early efforts at using sport for development purposes.

Neither Bloch nor Lefebvre concerned themselves, at least in their writings, with colonial settings. However, Lefebvre did speak about the colonization of everyday life and Kipfer (2007) has argued that there are links between Fanon and Lefebvre. For Lefebvre, colonization could be understood as not merely “a historical era of territorial expansion but more generally as the role of the political authority in reproducing relations of production and domination through the territorial organization of relationships of centre and periphery” (Kipfer, 2007, p. 718). Further, Kipfer explained that Fanon’s description of colonial spaces as products of colonial planners and administrators attempting to segregate, surveil, exploit, and homogenize colonized communities, was akin to Lefebvre’s concept of abstract space.

This conception of abstract and colonial spaces could be applied to sport in South Africa. Writing about the history of sporting spaces in Pietermaritzburg, Merrett (2009) alluded to Lefebvre’s notion of the production of space, in noting that sporting spaces reflect social relations and may serve to maintain authority and the status quo, but that these spaces also
contain the symbolic and ideological potential to resist or revolutionize social and political relations.

Sporting spaces that are set up with the intention of developing communities or addressing social issues within communities, are similar to Fanon’s observation, in that they may primarily serve the interest of political and business elite, by labelling, managing, surveilling, and controlling particular communities. Often times, SDP organizations will identify and promote their facilities as safe spaces in a way that suggests the reconfiguration of spatial and social relations that Lefebvre and Fanon discussed. However, as Park, Davidson, and Shields (2011) noted, “taking over, reclaiming, or rewriting actual spaces into hopeful places,” a process they term utopian territorialisation, demonstrates elements of colonialism. Based on his work with a community centre in Edmonton targeting marginalized youth, Buffan (2011) argued that this utopian territorialisation produced a form of hope that has its roots in colonial notions of modernity and that constructing places of hope within ‘hopeless’ urban spaces can serve as a form of inclusion for marginalized populations, but one which requires them to leave their ‘uncivilized habits’ at the door, while still providing no guarantees of full inclusion within society.

Sporting spaces and narratives relating to sport and social change are therefore contested terrain with people interested in SDP often engaged in a struggle over the narrative of these spaces and initiatives. This tension often involves the promoters of SDP arguing that participating in sport can instill values, teach life skills, and empower individuals, as well as develop and foster unity within communities; in contrast, SDP critics and scholars often argue that the way this takes place in SDP often reproduces the status quo by emphasizing values and skills seen as beneficial in contexts dominated by liberal and capitalist ideologies. For Freire
(1968/2000) these narratives can sometimes result from people with divergent political beliefs having predetermined views of the world and searching out information and narratives that confirm their perspectives. People work hard to reproduce their truths and in the process negate the freedom and truth of the “men and women who struggle to build the future, running the risks involved in this very construction” (p. 38). Similarly, Fanon saw freedom as being connected to struggle, leading to the creation of a new humanity.

Contrary to Fanon who was more concerned with revolutionary struggle, Bloch and Lefebvre saw these events, moments, flashes, alternatives, occurring in everyday life. Bringing together Bloch, Fanon and Lefebvre allows for an analysis that does not simply point out the enabling and constraining facets of space, but provides a way to think through how hope is constructed, defined, and promoted in different ways, and for different purposes, through relations between people, space, objects, and ideas. The FFH movement, particularly the FFH Festivals in South Africa and Brazil, and the 20 Centres for 2010 spaces throughout Africa, present a particular understanding of soccer, hope, and utopia. Instead of simply critiquing the ideology that underpins FIFAs work, Bloch, Fanon, and Lefebvre would compel us to look at the spaces themselves and attend to examples of potential resistance, as well as possible alternatives taking shape and being practiced. This is also at the heart of Levitas’ (2013) Utopia as Method.

4.5 Football for Hope Centres: Productive Oases of Opportunity

From FIFA’s (2013) final report on the 20 Centres for 2010 Campaign, it is apparent that the centres were primarily described as oases in spaces of hopelessness. For example a counsellor at one FFH Centre is quoted as saying,
Before the Football for Hope Centre was here, I would see kids mainly hanging out on the streets. But since it was built, there haven’t been so many kids loitering around. The centre is a place where they can go and learn about being healthy and safe. (p. 4)

Along similar lines, the coach at the centre in Khayelitsha Township in Cape Town, South Africa noted that “if it wasn’t for the centre, a lot of these kids wouldn’t have anything to do. They would be on the street. We know what they would be doing…but instead they are here” (p. 41).

Furthermore, the manager at another centre in South Africa stated that “the Football for Hope Centre has brought many opportunities to the community and surrounding areas, and the activities that are implemented at the centre enable people to access quality health and educational services” (ibid, p. 43). In these cases, hope represented escape from a dangerous community to a place that offers education and opportunities, an oasis. As the manager from the centre in Burundi noted, “The centre and its football pitch is an oasis of protection for these children and young people who are confronted with poverty, violence and stigmatisation” (p. 13).

Primarily, the FFH centres are planned around creating productive and responsible citizens. Each centre is meant to have a field, as well as education and public health facilities that allow the SDP NGOs that run the centres to offer their programmes. Most of these programmes focus on teaching life skills, developing self-esteem or empowerment, and improving knowledge relating to health risks. As the Programme Manager in Cameroon stated, “Through the Football for Hope Centre, FIFA has provided the children and young people of our community a place where they can get together to learn life skills that they will keep for their entire adult lives” (p. 15). Staff and volunteers at other centres also emphasized the ability of community members to learn life skills through their participation in the centre’s programmes. Along similar lines,
activities at the centres were positioned as good uses of time or useful for the participants, as opposed to what happens outside of the centres. Participating in activities at the centre means that youth will not be involved in drugs, alcohol, crime, or sex.

Noted within the 20 Centres for 2010 Final Report (FIFA, 2013) was that the centres were developed, constructed, and operated based on community needs and community identified problems, emphasizing participatory and collaborative forms of development. However, the plans for the FFH centres, developed by an architectural firm called Architecture for Humanity, are all relatively the same. As noted above, the centres are required to have a miniature pitch flanked by education, health, and administration buildings (Walter, 2014). Importantly, construction of the centre and the programmes implemented at the centre are based on consultation with the SDP NGO that will run the centre, not necessarily with the community as a whole (FIFA, 2013; Walter, 2014). This speaks to Shehu’s (2010) concerns that the FFH Centres are effectively taking public space and placing it in the care of NGOs. Carving out space in this way is also indicative of how Buffan (2011) described inner city community centres in Edmonton; constructing places of hope, or oases, within ‘hopeless’ urban spaces is based on understandings of development steeped in discourses of colonialism and modernization and primarily requires assimilation on the part of participants.

Not surprisingly, critical media and research relating to the legacy of the 2010 World Cup and the FFH centres has questioned how accessible the centres are for the communities in which they are located. Similar to the multi-million dollar stadiums constructed for the World Cup with public money and then closed off and only accessible to most people through their televisions, the FFH centres constructed with FIFA funds do not necessarily become a legacy of the World
Wardenburg, van den Bergh and van Eekeren (2015) provided an analysis of the legacy of the 2010 FFH Festival and centre, which was hosted in the Alexandra Township in Johannesburg. Through a narrative ethnographic approach, the authors described how residents of the community believed that the actual festival had a positive impact in terms of shifting perceptions of the township, but they also noted that the festival was disruptive in terms of forcing local volunteers to compete against each other for some of the limited available volunteer and employment opportunities at the festival. Additionally, similar to the festival in Rio de Janeiro, the FFH festival in Alexandra was conducted inside of a temporary stadium. After the festival, the stadium was taken down and the field remained, but it was left as a temporary site until the actual FFH centre would be constructed in 2013. When the researchers arrived in Alexandra in 2011, one year after the World Cup, they found that the field was rarely used. Children would be playing soccer on the street outside the field, while the gates were locked. The reason was that residents needed permission to use the field; this permission needed to be obtained from a municipal office in another part of Johannesburg that was not easily accessible. Community members felt that the permanent FFH centre would also face accessibility issues, as the planned location was in a remote part of the township where it may not be safe or easy for children to travel.

The issue of access has also been raised by journalism looking into the legacy of the 2010 World Cup and the FFH centres (Qwayi, 2016; Windmann, 2013). Although the vast number of media stories relating to FFH and SDP interventions, similar to charity or development journalism in general, are positive (Bunce, 2016; Tiessen, 2011), I am selectively drawing on
these two stories because of the potential issues they raise. These media stories also discussed concerns relating to FIFA and the FFH centres not supporting local soccer clubs. The issue is that the centres are managed by and belong to SDP NGOs that are implementing soccer-based health and education programmes and are not necessarily interested in developing local soccer. Although this misunderstanding may not be the fault of FIFA or the SDP organization in charge of the centre, if the community does not understand the purpose of FFH and the centre, it does raise questions about how FIFA and their affiliated SDP organizations consult with communities in which they operate.

The way that these centres carve out spaces to provide opportunities and develop productive individuals illustrates Park et al.’s (2011) notion of utopian territorialisation. The FFH centres are enclosing spaces with the justification that surrounding areas are dangerous, violent, unproductive, and hopeless. Hope is offered inside the gates. However, as the concerns relating to access point out, and echoing what numerous scholars have found regarding sports-based programming targeting ‘at-risk’ youth, the centres are arguably offering a form social control and assimilation—compelling youth to separate themselves from their communities, learn life skills, develop personal responsibility, and make themselves competitive (Coakley, 2002; Forde, 2014, 2015; Hartmann, 2016; Spaaij, 2009, 2011).

4.5.1 Alternative visions of sport and hope: Joy, togetherness, and struggle

Although most language and images within the 20 Centres for 2010 Final Report (FIFA 2013) presented the centres as places of development, education, and opportunity, there are alternatives. For example, a volunteer at the Tarrafal centre observes that “this centre is giving the young people of Tarrafal so much joy and happiness, but most importantly, it occupies their free time with something useful, precious and rewarding” (p. 17). Although the volunteer used
language that relates to the rest of the document in terms of distracting youth, or removing them from dangerous situations, happiness and joy are introduced as important outcomes. Along similar lines, a coach and peer educator at one of the centres is quoted as saying that “children are always playing on the football pitch and seeing a smile on a child’s face makes me also feel good about myself” (p. 4). And lastly, a girl participating in programs at the Kalebuka centre says that “we have found a place where we could go to play and have fun, close to home, and are making a lot of new friends” (p. 19).

The idea that sport can serve as a source of joy and escape for people facing difficulty is often neglected by SDP scholars, although it is discussed by historians of sport (Alegi, 2000; Alegi & Elsey, 2016). The reason for this neglect is likely twofold. Research on SDP has predominantly focused on monitoring and evaluation (M&E). SDP practitioners and scholars have tried to frame the impacts of programmes in terms of measurable concepts like self-esteem, behaviour change, knowledge acquisition, empowerment, resilience, and so on (Darnell et al., 2019). Arguably, in the rush to provide evidence or proof relating to the outcomes of projects, SDP scholars have adopted a very narrow understanding of impact (Jeanes & Lindsey, 2014; Nicholls et al., 2011). Secondly, this narrow focus on impact means that an understanding of the ways in which SDP participants engage, understand, resist, and negotiate with programmes and project, within the contexts of their own lives, is often lacking (Collison & Marchesseault, 2018; Guest, 2009). In order to remedy this shortcoming, as mentioned in Chapter Three, Collison and Marchesseault (2018) have advocated for what they call participatory social interactionist research (PSIR), which is essentially ethnographically driven research that engages with SDP participants not only in the context of the SDP programmes and projects, but in the context of their daily lives. This call for PSIR is important in the context of SDP, but SDP scholars would
also benefit from engaging with literature on youth and cultural studies, which have often adopted interactionist perspectives and have shown how even within structured and organized settings, such as schools and youth centres, youth engage in a myriad of practices ranging from acquiescence to resistance, through which particular values and ways of being are developed, expressed, and normalized (Willis, 1978/2017).

Wilson and White (2003) demonstrated the benefit of this approach in their examination of a youth recreation centre in Ontario. In many ways, the centre could be viewed as a space for SDP in terms of targeting ‘at-risk’ youth for empowerment. The centre, located in a ‘violent’ neighborhood could also be viewed as engaging in a process of utopian territorialisation, as outlined in Chapter Two that would require participants to assimilate. However, through their ethnography, Wilson and White demonstrated that the ways in which youth engaged with the space and with each other could not simply be described as assimilationist or empowering—at least in the way understood by the youth centre. They noted that:

Clearly, by “giving” them the freedom and responsibility to spend time in a relatively unstructured environment, the leaders at the center have made successful efforts to empower these youth. In turn, the youth have colonized this social space and have established an “unofficial” peer culture that maintains order and relative “peace” within the center—a culture that, for many youth, contrasts their lived experiences outside of the center in this relatively violent inner-city setting. (Wilson & White, 2003, p. 171)

Although Wilson and White do not touch on notions of freedom and liberation, their analysis is in line with much of the literature outlined in Chapter Two. On a broad level, Fanon, Freire, and Bloch put forward related ideas about human freedom and liberation—that in particular moments and in particular places people work and struggle together to create their own world. Although
not always lasting and not always perfect, it is through this struggle that glimpses of better and alternative worlds become apparent.

This rhetoric, that sport can provide a space for imagining a better world, is a form of rhetoric that is often criticized. In terms of development—joy, happiness, and escape are not necessarily measurable or appropriate outcomes. However, taking this rhetoric seriously can be beneficial in terms of rethinking how sporting spaces connect with hope. As Ayanda Kota, a South African activist described:

Soccer, in the shacks of Grahamstown, seems to be the only alternative to drugs and alcohol. Similarly, when I was growing up football was all we had, to forget about hunger, frustrations, anger, injustices, resentment and so on. Soccer allowed us to hope, to dream and to live, in a society full of the despair and brokenness borne from the injustices of apartheid. However, we believe that these dreams are under threat from the commodification of the game. From business elite benefiting from the construction of stadiums during the World Cup to NGOs using sport to attract funding for health and education projects, football is increasingly becoming a commodity that is traded, and as such, those with minimal resources lose out. (Forde & Kota, 2016, p. 448)

Kota astutely pointed out that sporting spaces can operate as a form of escape and a space for hope and dreams, but that these spaces can also be closed off - echoing Bloch (1959/1986) and Lefebvre’s (1991) concerns with abstract utopias and spaces. In focusing on outcomes relating to personal responsibility such as life skills, self-esteem, and resilience, the type of hope envisioned by FIFA, similar to how Haro (2010) discussed the better world imagined by the UN, World Bank, and IMF, is already determined. For FIFA, hope and utopia are essentially conflated with
the development of marginalized peoples and communities. Although these programs may benefit participants, Kota argued that:

> Aside from the benefits that this may provide, this is a heartless form of action. As Frantz Fanon puts it, any society that pushes people to desperation is no society, it’s a society to be replaced. Society that shuts the hopes and dreams of her people is no society, it’s a society to be replaced. This programme is not emancipatory, but it is done because it pays salaries (Forde & Kota, 2016, p. 450).

Instead, soccer spaces can offer hope when they bring people together to experience joy, love and happiness; when people are allowed to dream without constraints and struggle together.

Those interested in building a better world through football need to see football as another terrain of struggle against injustices meted out against us by the corrupt and the greedy. It’s a terrain where we can dream, we can hope, we can laugh together and we can cry together as full human beings against a society that threatens our humanity (Forde & Kota, 2016, p. 453)

The vision of the future offered through FIFA’s language and imagery is essentially a continuation of the status quo and is indicative of how Bloch described abstract utopia, or how Haro (2009) described fraudulent hope. Hope, development, and a better future are understood as individuals being able to improve themselves, compete and succeed, but that this occurs without broader social or political change. This is further demonstrated through the FFH festivals, but like the language surrounding the FFH Centres, there are also alternatives present within the festivals.
4.6 Football for Hope Festivals: More than a Game, or More of the Same?

Official FFH festivals were hosted during the World Cups in South Africa and Brazil – in 2010 and 2014 respectively. Another FIFA street football festival was hosted in 2006 at the World Cup in Germany by Streetfootballworld (SFW), an SDP network that worked with FIFA for the 2010 and 2014 festivals as consultants. For 2018, FFH was rebranded as the FIFA Football Foundation, but a festival was still hosted in Russia.

The 2014 FFH festival involved 32 different delegations – essentially SDP NGOs using football to achieve various development objectives – from 27 different countries. The delegations, each of which receives support from FIFA’s FFH program, came together in Rio de Janeiro for two weeks. The first week involved cultural activities and knowledge sharing workshops and the second week had the teams competing in a football tournament (FIFA 2014e, 2014f, 2014g).

The tournament involved a modified form of soccer called Football3, developed by SFW. In the tournament, the teams were mixed-gendered, there were no referees, and the rules were collaboratively established. Before the games, players from both teams would meet with a mediator to discuss and finalize the rules that they would follow for the match. This could result in minor rule changes, like how to restart the game when the ball leaves the pitch; for example, some games were played with kick-ins and some with throw-ins. It could also lead to more substantial changes to how the games were run. Additionally, for all of the matches, players decided on three ‘fair play’ rules. These might have included applauding for the other team when they scored or played well, helping opponents up when they were fouled, and so on. During the games, the players were responsible for enforcing the rules and resolving any conflicts that occurred. It was also noted that the number of goals scored did not solely determine the winner,
as after the games, the players met with the mediators and discussed what happened during the
game and awarded points based on the fair play rules that were established. The Football3
methodology has been discussed in terms of its efficacy as a development intervention (Gannett,
Kaufman, Clark, & Mcgarvey, 2014; Trajo, Norman, Jaccoud, 2018). However, this
methodology can also be viewed as utopian in the way that it suggests an alternative mode of
organizing sport.

4.6.1 Football3 as an example of utopian soccer

Given FIFA’s dubious ethical reputation, it would seem surprising that aspects of the
festival spoke to the potential for football to be used to generate solidarity and to raise awareness
of ongoing injustices and oppression faced by various communities around the world. Along
these lines, a generous reading of the FFH festival could be that it provided a space for sharing
ideals relating to radical social change. For some, this prefigurative process could be seen as
hopeful and utopian. Players and teams were not recognized for how competitive or successful
they were, but for how they interacted and supported each other. Furthermore, the matches
themselves involved a system where the players were responsible for collectively producing and
safeguarding the process. This allowed for various possibilities, such as in the game between
Kick4Life from Lesotho and Fundación de las Américas para el Desarrollo from Ecuador where
the players decided that instead of playing against each other they would mix their teams and
play together.

The Football3 method used in the festival explicitly opposed notions of self-interest and
measuring success in market-based, comparative, and competitive ways. Social order throughout
the tournament was apparently maintained through dialogue and consensus rather than
individuals or teams pursuing their own interests. However, in a recent study of the FFH Festival
that occurred in South Africa in 2010, Gannett et al. (2014) noted that as a result of the competitive tournament atmosphere, some participants felt that teams were not adhering to the spirit of festival and instead were finding ways to abuse the system. For example, it was noted that in some post-match discussions if a team did not receive any fair play points then they would decide not to give any either. In order to address some of these issues, future iterations of the festival, such as the one that took place during the 2016 European Championship, included mixing teams—so that there was less emphasis on particular nationalities or delegations (Trajo et al., 2018). The Football3 method was also representative of how sport could be organized in non-hierarchical ways. The players were involved in, and ultimately responsible for, decisions relating to the game. Although each delegation brought coaches, during pre-match and post-match discussions, as well as during the match itself coaches were not allowed to provide any guidance or direction.

Shehu (2010) argued that the focus on entrepreneurialism within FFH is indicative of its neoliberal underpinnings. However, following from Bloch (1959/1986) and Hardt and Negri (2017), how entrepreneurialism is understood, particularly through Football3, could be contested. As opposed to an entrepreneurship that focuses on individual success and competition, the consensus-based, horizontal, and collective decision-making potentially offers a form of entrepreneurialism that is more aligned with Hardt and Negri’s (2017) notion of democratic entrepreneurialism of the multitude. The forms of organization demonstrated through the Football3 methodology were reminiscent of how social movement and anarchist scholars have discussed prefigurative politics. The festival demonstrated understandings of fairness, equality, and politics, not based on ideals but on practices embedded in non-hierarchical forms of organizing. To say these practices are prefigurative is to argue that they are not merely a means
to an end (i.e. the development of ‘at-risk’, ‘disadvantaged’, or ‘vulnerable’ youth), but that the practices themselves exemplify a better world, in themselves. Similar to how scholars have discussed the civics movement in South Africa (Neocosmos, 2009; Zelenova, 2017), or forms of direct democracy arising out of social movement and liberation struggles (Fanon, 1967; Graeber, 2013), the form of organizing that the soccer matches played during the FFH Festival hinted at a different world.

In pointing out the ways that Football3 provides a space to think about interesting alternatives to traditional forms of sport and social organizing I am not trying to bolster FIFA’s case for creating a better future. FIFA would not likely support these changes on a broader level, or in a venue other than the one created for the FFH festival. Most people involved in soccer or high level sport would laugh at the possibility of creating structures based on horizontal and consensus based decision making, as sport is often exemplified by various hierarchies. However, as Ahmed (2010) pointed out, if we react to this idea with scorn or derision, it is because our imagination for alternatives has been stunted. In fact, there have been clubs that have demonstrated these participatory and democratic ideals and fans that have challenged the clubs they support to both address important political and social issues, and to demonstrate more open forms of governance (Downie, 2018; Numerato, 2018).

Therefore, if it is possible for sports clubs to demonstrate alternative structures of government, structures that could have a broader reach, it is important to engage with FIFA’s vision and how FIFA is conceiving of hope, and positioning people within their vision of a better world. How are ideas such as human development, wellbeing, and flourishing presented? The actual FFH festival provided an interesting lens to view the way that FIFA conceives of hope, through the spatial arrangements of the FFH festival.
4.7 FIFA’s Better World

The vision presented by FIFA, through the FFH festival, is largely conservative. It does not present an alternative vision, but is instead interested in promoting the idea that if individuals are given opportunities to develop they can be successful in the current system. FFH is targeted at ‘underprivileged’ and the ‘marginalized’ communities that need to be inculcated with values relating to fair play, discipline, and hard work. For example, at the closing ceremony Cafu, a former Brazilian national team player noted that:

Today, here, they have an opportunity to change their lives for the future. Football for Hope is an initiative that can help change the lives of the kids who come from underprivileged communities. It creates opportunities for them and the participants must embrace them (FIFA 2014c).

Similarly, at the opening of the facility Jerome Valcke, the former Secretary General of FIFA, stated:

FIFA doesn’t just organise football tournaments. We’re investing significantly in helping a number of organisations and programs around the globe, in order to make the world a better place to live. Football really can help. At FIFA we are committed to social development, and support a large number of organisations all over the world (FIFA 2014a).

However, from the festival itself, it would appear that FIFA’s vision of making the world a ‘better place’ is not much different from current conditions in much of the world. This was summed up on the second day of the festival, prior to the games beginning, when the song “Billionaire” blared from the speakers. The opening lyrics of which are: “I wanna be a billionaire so fricking bad / Buy all of the things I never had / Uh, I wanna be on the cover of Forbes
magazine / Smiling next to Oprah and the Queen.” Former players such as Ronaldo and Cafu attended the festival to share how football had taught them many lessons and allowed them to overcome poverty. As Ronaldo stated, “everybody knows how football transformed my life. It was a very important part of my childhood, gave me hope for the future, and taught me values such as discipline and fair play” (FIFA 2014a). Following from this, FIFA’s vision of a ‘better’ world involved individuals improving themselves and becoming more successful—epitomizing the compensatory nature of what Bloch (1959/1986) referred to as abstract utopia. The way that space was organized, arranged, and controlled at the festival also speaks to FIFA’s better world.

In his opening remarks for the FFH Festival, Sepp Blatter stated that Caju, the community in which the festival was hosted, was the 13th World Cup venue (FIFA 2014b). Overall, this was a fairly accurate statement. The event utilized a pre-existing athletic facility, but installed a temporary stadium that in many ways mimicked the spatial arrangements of the actual World Cup venues. For example, upon entering the venue, visitors had to put their bags through an x-ray machine and walk through a metal detector – at which point they would be told they could not bring bottled water into the venue because they would have to purchase food and drink inside.

Before attempting to find a seat for the opening ceremony I walked by the Sony, VISA and Hyundai activity booths, as well as the Coca-Cola food stalls. After finding my way to the main field where the opening ceremony was taking place I tried to climb a stairway to a section of seats only to have a steward whistle at me and tell me I couldn’t go that way because I didn’t have the appropriate credentials. This was a recurring theme during the four days of the festival, where, as a spectator without the appropriate badge of belonging hanging around my neck, spaces were regulated and segregated.
Upon sitting down to watch the opening ceremony, two things stood out. At one end of the field, behind one of the goals was a giant TV screen, which just like in the actual World Cup venues would simultaneously broadcast the action on the pitch. FIFA’s corporate sponsors were prominently displayed under the big screen. Behind the goal opposite the big screen was a glassed off ‘hospitality’ section overlooking the field. For the opening ceremony this area was filled with people, very important people, including Sepp Blatter and other FIFA executives. After the opening ceremony and the first match concluded, the area was mostly empty for the duration of the tournament except for the workers responsible for security and catering, and the occasional dignitary stopping in for a few minutes to watch the participants demonstrate their ability to play fair and get along with each other. In many ways, the separation of space at the festival mimicked the World Cup itself with certain people having access to certain spaces, while others were excluded and policed.

Other aspects relating to the spatial arrangement of the festival were interesting and could be explored more. For example, the securitization of the event and the policing of spectators mirrored what was taking place on a larger scale for the official World Cup. The notion that this level of security was required for a minor public festival demonstrated the hypocrisy of FIFA in claiming that football can build a better world through fair play and collective action while at the same time taking it as common sense that dangerous areas and dangerous people needed to be controlled and surveilled. Furthermore, the ubiquitous presence of corporate activity booths and food stalls, including a Hyundai booth where spectators could have their photos taken and receive a free water bottle, a Sony booth that involved a photography exhibition, a Visa themed life-sized board game, and food stalls to sell Coca-Cola products, raised questions about the
degree to which the festival and SDP in general serve as vehicles for corporations to penetrate new consumer markets (Gruneau, 2015).

Similar to the security of the event and the prominence of corporations, the blatant obliviousness that FIFA demonstrated by including a VIP section in a venue hosting an event that purported to be addressing social inequalities was striking. More subtly, the glassed off hospitality area overlooking the field of play served as a viewing area where privileged spectators had the opportunity to cast their gaze on participants practicing fair play, decision-making skills, and cooperation.

4.8 Alternative Understandings of Football for Hope.

The imagined future presented through the FFH festival and the FFH centres was one that was arguably motivated by fear as opposed to hope. The securitization and segregation of space, as well as the targeting of particular groups as at-risk, vulnerable, and in need of learning values of fair play, hard work, and cooperation, demonstrated that the future imagined through the FFH movement is closed off and is essentially a reproduction of the current status quo. If the FFH movement was more connected to feelings of fear than hope, it is important to ask if there are alternatives to this vision. As Bloch (1959/1986) said,

Now that the creators of fear have been dealt with, a feeling that suits us better is overdue. It is a question of learning hope...Hope, superior to fear, is neither passive like the latter, nor locked into nothingness. The emotion of hope goes out of itself, makes people broad instead of confining them. (p. 3)

Bloch’s writings on utopia and hope do offer a slightly different lens. Bloch believed that within every ideology there are traces, fragments, or utopian surplus that contradicts that ideology or provides an alternative vision for the future. In attending the FFH festival, as I noted above, there
were many aspects of the event and of the Football3 methodology that I felt offered interesting alternatives to the way that sport is thought about and organized. Again, it is worth mentioning that in pointing out aspects of Football3 that I believe contradict, or present alternatives to, traditional sport and the way that FIFA operates I am not arguing that FIFA or the organizations involved in FFH are striving for these alternatives. In many ways, it could be argued that what I saw as utopian surplus, were elements that in fact served to make what FIFA does palatable, or to mystify the ideology that underpins their work.

4.9 Conclusion

Currently, the fate of FFH and the FFH centres is in flux. The construction of the centres, six in South African and 14 across Africa, has been completed. These centres, over the past 10 years, have been operated by independent NGOs. For example, in South Africa three centres are operated by two prominent SDP organizations, Grassroots Soccer and Whizzkids United, and three centres are operated by more traditional development NGOs, two by Lovelife, a South African health promotion organization, and one by the South African Red Cross. These organizations are responsible for operating the centres, but have received support and funding through both FIFA’s FFH programme support and through the 2010 World Cup Legacy Trust. In March of 2018 FIFA rebranded FFH and its social responsibility programmes under the banner of the FIFA Foundation. This new arm of FIFA still supports SDP (football for development) organizations, but has also taken on a number of other priorities, such as disaster relief, and a specific focus on girls’ football in the Middle East (FIFA, 2019a). From the latest financial reports, the overall funding that the FIFA Foundation will receive is similar to prior budgets that included FFH (FIFA, 2019b), but it is not clear if the inclusion of these new initiatives will result in the organizations running the FFH Centres receiving less support. Further, every year, the
NGOs responsible for the FFH Centres in South Africa, and across the continent, have been able to apply to the FIFA World Cup Legacy Trust, a legacy fund that was created through the 2010 World Cup. However, this fund is down to R53 million, from the original investment of R450m (Strydom, 2019). In this respect, the funding for the NGOs running the FFH Centres would seem to be at risk. However, over the last couple of years other networks of funding have also developed.

Streetfootballworld, the NGO that has consulted on FFH since its inception and serves as a global network of NGOs using football for development, in partnership with Juan Mata, a well-known Spanish professional footballer, announced the Commongoal project. This project encourages people, particularly those involved in the football industry, to donate 1 per cent of their salaries to a common fund that then disperses money to organizations implementing football for development programmes (Commongoal, 2019). Importantly, the NGOs supported by FIFA’s FFH movement were the same NGOs that were part of the Streetfootballworld network and the NGOs receiving support through the new Commongoal project are also part of Streetfootballworld, and will likely be the same prominent NGOs that received FFH Centres. In this sense, the sustainability of the centres is likely, but this also speaks to concerns that Darnell et al. (2019) and others have in terms of how the institutionalization of SDP may narrow understandings of development and social change. This was evidenced through how hope was constructed through various aspects of the FFH movement.

The hope that FIFA promoted through its FFH movement is akin to Haro’s (2011) description of the neoliberal fraudulent hope that is prominent within development discourse. The better world FIFA envisions is essentially the maintenance of the status quo. The only difference being that through sport more people can succeed in the current system—improve
themselves, compete, and accumulate wealth. These spaces of ‘development’ can also be exclusionary, premised on the conditional inclusion of particular individuals who are willing to enter, assimilate, and compete (Buffan, 2011).

FFH sets itself up as an oasis, offering opportunities to those wishing to escape hopelessness, but this oasis is what Bloch (1959/1986) would refer to as abstract utopia, or Lefebvre (1974) would call abstract space. The possibilities for success and social change are predetermined—closed off. Change is limited to individuals improving themselves and becoming successful through their ability to compete; this is the utopia of neoliberalism that Bourdieu (1998) warned against. The hope that FIFA promotes is derived from a model of development that is concerned with charity (Darnell & Millington, 2018). That being said, critiquing the neoliberal ideology that underpins FIFA’s visions of utopia and hope falls into the same trap described by Ferguson (2010). It comes to the same inevitable conclusion; we need to oppose neoliberalism because it is bad for the poor, continues to benefit the rich, and exacerbates inequalities. However, the FFH centres and the FFH festival contain elements that Bloch (1959/1986) would refer to as utopian surplus. These elements present potential alternatives to FIFA’s understandings of hope and their utopian visions. They offer a version of hope that is embedded in collective struggles and concerned with justice.

Throughout the 20 Centres for 2010 documents and the FFH festivals there are glimpses of sport, politics, and social organization that run counter to the vision put forward by FIFA. These glimpses offer examples of the ‘progressive arts of governance’ that answer Ferguson’s call for a research praxis that moves beyond critiques of neoliberalism to questions of: what should we do and what do we want? Although they were not as common as statements relating to individual development, empowerment, and improvement, the 20 Centres for 2010 documents
contained a number of quotes from participants, staff, and community members that spoke to the
ability of soccer and the centres to create joy and happiness through connecting people and
communities.

The use of Football3 at the FFH festival also introduced a number of interesting
alternatives to dominant understandings of sport and social change. The festivals in Alexandra
and Caju occurred in what Lefebvre (1991) might call abstract space. These spaces were
illustrative of FIFA’s utopia. Planned and constructed by FIFA, they were securitized and
corporatized. Spaces were segregated, surveilled, and policed. Corporations provided
entertainment and sustenance. However, the way that football was mobilized during the festival
complicates the vision put forward by FIFA. The matches during the festival involved horizontal,
collective, and consensus based decision making. There were no referees and although teams had
coaches, it was up to the players to make decisions about rules, officiating, and the terms of
declaring victors. Within the matches themselves, the teams were mixed-gendered and despite
teams being there to represent specific NGOs from particular countries, at times the players
decided to do away with these affiliations and just play matches by mixing both teams together.
Even though these aspects of Football3 offer a potential response to Ferguson’s questions of
what should we do and what do we want, it is important to note that Football3 is not an
experiment in alternative forms of sport, politics, and governance. It is a targeted intervention,
focusing on populations that are identified as deficient, deviant, or in need of development—
populations that need to develop life skills, decision making, and fair play. It is a methodology
that FIFA and SFW are not promoting as an alternative to how football is currently organized
and played. And, although the World Cups in 2010 and 2014 were rife with acts of corruption,
exploitation, repression and human rights abuses it has never been suggested that members and
executives of FIFA submit a team to the FFH Festival so that they may learn decision making skills and fair play.

The contradictory representations of hope and utopia that emerged from FIFA’s documents and materials are indicative of Bloch’s (1959/1986) understandings of ideology and these representations also prompt thinking about how people organize themselves and sport in attempts to achieve social change. Bringing FIFA’s FFH movement into conversation with the meanings and understandings of sport from other people and groups interested in social change can therefore be productive. Looking at how sport fits into the lives of community members and how those community members engage with sporting programmes and sporting spaces can illuminate gaps and alternatives (Collison & Marchesseault, 2016; Wilson & White, 2003).

Thinking about these alternatives and gaps lead me to Grahamstown in South Africa. I became interested in social movements, as well as other groups, that were connecting hope and sport, but with potentially different imaginations of the future. For example, during the 2010 World Cup the Anti-Eviction Campaign, a social movement group based in Cape Town, organized a Poor People’s World Cup, which they described as a “contra-World Cup for the poor communities by the poor communities that is not exploiting people or marginalizing people, but involving people and creating new spaces of exposure and participation” (Anti-Eviction Campaign 2010).

What lead me to Makhanda (Grahamstown) specifically was mostly the writing and work of one man, Ayanda Kota. I made contact with Ayanda after reading his presidential address to the Makana Local Football Association. In his address he proclaimed that townships are:

associated with drugs and gangsterism. [They are] the dumping places that are used to turn poor people into waste and rubbish in a racist and capitalist society. But look what
has come out of such places! Look what has come out of these places because of love and hope! Look how these boys have flourished because of the love and sacrifice of their families, because of local football clubs and their own will to make something of their lives! (Kota, 2012)

In a similar vein, a club that Ayanda was involved with, the Makana Pillars Football Club co-wrote a poem with a professor at Rhodes University. The club eloquently describe the role of football in their community:

Soccer brings with it the structures of hope. It opens us up to new possibilities. We have to train for a tomorrow, for a possible victory...Because soccer brings hope it also brings meaning. We are the caretakers of soccer, of something that matters. We bring meaning to township life. The hurricane of poverty cannot destroy us. To play soccer is to rebel. It’s an act of defiance against the given, a struggle against the horror expressed in the eyes of our parents (Makana Pillars & Tabensky 2014).

Although FIFA also uses language around soccer bringing hope and joy, their documents emphasized individualism and success, but neglected the potential that comes about simply from having spaces where community members can connect, play, laugh, and dream. As Ayanda explained, what was involved in the clubs and what was lost when some of the clubs disappeared:

We were so comfortable together, we shared jokes, we knew each other very well. We shared dreams. We shared literally everything. It was such a comfortable space to all of us as youngsters. From different areas, and I mean, other than school, all our time we chased that ball. We were together…when the club collapsed, I mean we pursued different directions, it meant that we were on our own. We had to face the harsh realities
of our community. You were on your own. You had for once to face your demons, you had to face the harsh realities of our communities of our families. We had to confront oppression and injustices on our own (Ayanda).

This sentiment is similar to how Wilson and White (2003) and other scholars interested in youth studies and youth cultures have demonstrated how youth find ways to organize themselves, make decisions, and develop shared values. Back to Bloch (1959/1986) and Fanon (1963), it is within these spaces that alternative understandings of sport, social change, and the future can and do emerge.

The FFH festivals reflected the various ways that people pin their hopes to sport. Coakley (2002), instead of the concept of hope, referred to the way that different groups dream through sport and he argued that people interested in sport need to promote dreams that offer alternatives to the “social control and deficit-reduction dream or the social opportunity and privilege-promotion dream.” Although he was referring to sports programmes that target inner-city communities for the purposes of crime and violence reduction, his notion of alternative dreams is similar to the arguments I have made relating to the potential offered through a utopian reading of FFH. For Coakley,

Alternative dreams would include dreams informed by a quest for community development rather than by a quest only for individual achievement, and dreams based on concerns for justice rather than on concerns only about individual freedom and choice. They would also include dreams that visualize young people growing into political and cultural change agents, not just young people who are aspiring stock brokers and bank presidents. They would be dreams in which progress is defined in terms of maximizing
the public good, not maximizing only individual and corporate bottom lines (Coakley, 2002, p. 17)

Importantly, these alternative hopes and dreams are not limited to abstract, utopian imaginings of the future, but are already occurring through current and past mobilizations of sport for social change. The following chapters that focus on GRASA are attempts to engage with two such examples.
Interlude: History of Grahamstown and Sport in South Africa

Illustration 8. Map of Grahamstown. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde
Grahamstown from 1812

Grahamstown was established in 1812 as a military garrison for the British. Immediately following this, local African groups began to settle around the town. Hunt (1958) has pointed out that the settlement of black Africans around the garrison concerned the British colonists. Part of the reason for this was ongoing frontier wars between the British and the Xhosa. To address this concern, in the early 1840s municipal officials began discussing the possibility of establishing a location for Africans. This occurred in 1848 with the planned establishment of two African locations. Importantly, this process was representative of how colonialism in South Africa often depended on spatial segregation to maintain social control and to define citizenship (O’Halloran, 2018). The establishment of one of these locations, Fingo Village, was unique, in that it provided 320 freehold title deeds to Africans, giving them ownership of the land. The deeds were available to people identified as Mfengu (Fingo), a group of Africans that had assisted the colonists in the Frontier Wars. In 1870, 360 leasehold plots were created to form the Tantyi location and this was followed by the founding of New Town in 1927 and Xolani in 1938. Establishing these locations did not abet the ongoing problems of overcrowding, with more and more Africans settling around the town. The Makanaskop, or Joza, location began construction in 1957 and relieved some of the pressure, but housing was still an ongoing concern for black South Africans and following this no new official housing was introduced until 1982, with the addition of Joza extensions (Manona, 1988; Moller, 2001).

Although freehold deeds were provided to Fingo residents, at numerous times since its founding it faced potential rezoning or demolishing. For example, Davenport (1980) outlined a number of cases: in 1957, with the idea of creating a buffer between white and African areas, there were plans to demolish a section of Fingo. In 1967 there was a plan to rezone Fingo Village.
as a white area. This continued after the 1970 Group Areas Act, through which Fingo was designated a coloured location, and then partly Indian. With the establishment of the Bantustans there were also ongoing efforts to relocate the residents of Fingo to areas outside of Grahamstown. Each time these plans came up for discussion, community mobilizations, protests and resistance were able to halt their implementation. Importantly, like many areas in the Eastern Cape, throughout its history, Grahamstown has been a vibrant site of political organizing and community action.

**Grahamstown in the 1970s and 1980s**

The following two chapters are based on a 10 year period from 1975 to 1985, a period that in some ways was bookended by two events often identified as significant within the liberation struggle. These are the State of Emergency in 1985 and the student uprisings of 1976.

On July 21 1985, P.W. Botha, the president of South Africa, declared a State of Emergency. The previous year, on the night of October 6, the South African Defence Force entered Joza Township in Grahamstown. The following day, the military entered Soweto and started to occupy a number of townships around South Africa, but particularly within the Eastern Cape (Evans & Phillips, 1988). The military occupation and subsequent State of Emergency was attempting to quell increasing resistance within townships. The resistance, largely led by youth and community organizations, targeted people in townships working with the apartheid state, town councillors, police officers, and people seen as collaborators. Political actions also included various boycotts, the establishment of parallel community structures for policing, justice, and social services. The aims of such actions were to make the townships ungovernable (Adler & Steinberg, 2000).
The November issue of the Grahamstown Voice for 1985 epitomized this span of time. It included a story on its first page of a Hippo driving through Fingo Village, firing tear gas. The last page of the paper included a profile of United Teenagers, a soccer club that was founded in Fingo in 1975 by students involved in school protests and politics (Grahamstown Voice (GV), Nov, 1985). In some ways, the unrest within townships in the early 1980s and leading up the State of Emergency in 1985 was the result of youth, like those from United Teenagers, resisting attempts by the South African government to institute various reforms.

Following the Soweto uprising of 1976 the South African government began instituting what could be called a series of reforms. As a way to maintain white minority control, the government was building on what it had referred to as separate development. This began with legislation such as the 1913 Land Act and the 1923 Native Urban Areas Act, which essentially set out reserves within South Africa for Africans. However, it was following the National Party taking power in 1948 that a number of laws were passed in line with their policy of apartheid, meaning separateness. The Bantu Self-Government Act of 1959 created Bantu homelands or Bantustans. The Bantustans separated Africans into particular ethnic groupings including the Xhosa, Zulu, Tswana, Southern Sotho, Northern Sotho, Venda, Ndebele, Swati, and Tsonga. This was an attempt by the National Party to prevent national, unified, political organizing by Africans, while also maintaining control over and restricting the movement of its cheap labor force. Each Bantustan would be run as an independent nation, albeit one that was still beholden to the South African state. In the Eastern Cape, Ciskei and Transkei were set up as homelands for isiXhosa speaking people. Because the homelands could not encompass all Africans, for example Fingo Village, the National Party also changed the way the municipalities would be governed.
In the 1970s, community councils were established that became responsible for collecting revenue and providing services. Prior to this, townships were governed by the white municipal councils where they were located. The 1977 Community Councils Act and the 1982 Black Local Authorities Act were, like the Bantustans, attempts to establish local governing structures within the township. Through this legislation, Africans could vote for representatives on these community councils, but could still not vote in national elections. This was further cemented in 1983 with the establishment of a new tricameral constitution, which would give political seats to Indians and Coloureds, but none to Africans. The shifting of authority from the white South African government to local black authorities also served the government in terms of dividing communities and pitting local residents against the town councillors that were often labelled as collaborators.

The United Democratic Front (UDF) was formed in early 1983 in response to these developments. It launched nationally in August to coincide with, and oppose, this new constitution. The UDF was a coalition of trade unions, student, civil, religious, and community organizations. Although the UDF was a national umbrella for a broad range of organizations, it was largely youth and community organizations that resisted attempts by the South African government to establish puppet councils within townships. Boycotts were regularly organized in different spheres of social life; there were school boycotts by students, as well as boycotts of municipal elections, retail outlets, and services relating to transport and housing. Further, town councillors, police officers, and others viewed as collaborating with the South African government were targeted, often violently. In their place, civic organizations, street and area committees, and other community organizations established parallel structures that addressed the needs of community members. Although the government had been making strides to institute
political ‘reforms’, these efforts were accelerated due to massive student unrest in the mid-1970s, culminating with the Soweto Uprising of 1976.

The Soweto Uprising of 1976 is often viewed as a turning point in the liberation struggle. The uprising involved students protesting the imposition of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction within schools and although the Soweto Uprising is held up as a seminal event, there was ongoing unrest in township schools throughout South Africa during the early 1970s. For example, from 1974 onwards, students in Grahamstown engaged in numerous protests, demonstrations, and negotiations to try and improve conditions within schools in the townships. For Nieftagodien (2014), the June 16, 1976 uprising is often mentioned as a key event in the liberation struggle, but this narrative often glosses over the various political movements and efforts leading to the uprising. Nieftagodien argued that instead of focusing on 1976, scholars should attend to the reconfiguration of politics that occurred in 1969 with the formation of the South African Student Organization (SASO) and the striking of migrant dock workers in Durban. Building from these events, through SASO, Black Consciousness became the motivating ideology for student resistance and the strikes by the dockworkers lead to larger trade union strikes in 1973. At this same time, the exiled ANC and PAC were becoming increasingly marginalized and less influential within the country. Nieftagodien viewed these events as forming the bedrock of township politics and resistance, through youth, labor, and civic organizations. As described in the previous chapter, Black Consciousness and the BCM were grounded in the liberatory praxis of scholars such as Freire and Fanon. Originating in universities and then spreading to high schools, the BCM served to conscientize and politicize township youth throughout South Africa. Importantly, the student uprising that resulted from the establishment of BCM, the trade union movement, and the sidelined of the exiled ANC, cannot
be separated from the political repression that occurred in the 1960s following the Sharpeville Massacre.

For some, the 1960s were considered a time of decreased political activity, resulting in the phrase, the silent-sixties (Friedmen, 2017). The Sharpeville Massacre of March 1960 involved 69 people being killed during a large demonstration against pass laws. Laws had been in place in various forms, from the 18th Century, that aimed to restrict the movement of Africans, Indians, and Coloureds. Following the 1948 election of the National Party and the implementation of their apartheid programme, legislation came into effect that required Africans over the age of 16 to carry pass books. These books were essentially internal passports that served as a form of influx control to restrict the movement of Africans. Following Sharpeville, massive protests and demonstrations led to a government crackdown and the banning of the ANC and the PAC.

For the remainder of the 1960s, there was little organizing from these large national black political organizations. However, Freidmen (2017) argued that the 1960s lay the groundwork for the political activities of the 1970s. First, the growth of the South African economy in the 1960s, mostly through the exploitation of cheap black labor, meant that there was an increasing need for a skilled work force and the population of white South Africans was not sufficient to meet this demand. For Friedmen, this meant that skilled black workers gained more bargaining power and agency. Further, he noted that the BCM began at the end of the 1960s. The main point of this timeline is to highlight that the significant political events that are often highlighted in narratives of the South African liberation movement did not arise spontaneously and were not necessarily planned or implemented solely through the ANC or other liberation parties. Instead, they have detailed and varied histories, often involving multiple forms and actions.
The history of sport and liberation in South Africa is similarly punctuated by significant events and organizations, but is also complex and multifaceted. As noted in previous chapters, South Africa is often held up as an example of how sport and politics come together and how sport can be used for social and political change. When these claims are made, it is often in reference to the international sporting boycotts during apartheid, as well as the way that Nelson Mandela mobilized sport after taking power. There are also numerous accounts of how sporting organizations and associations resisted apartheid (Couzens, 1983; Korr & Close, 2009; Merrett, 2009; Nicholson & Hickson, 2015).

There has also been a great deal of writing on the non-racial sport movement and the role of the South Africa Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC) outside of South Africa and the South Africa Council on Sport (SACOS) within the country. SANROC was formed in 1963 with the intention of getting South Africa banned from the Olympic movement. In 1965, because of pressure placed on its members such as Dennis Brutus, SANROC began operating in exile to petition international organizations and sporting bodies, as well as other countries, to sever sporting ties with South Africa as long as apartheid was maintained (Booth, 1998). As SANROC exerted international pressure through campaigning and the sporting boycotts, the formation of SACOS began to shift perceptions of sport within South Africa.

In response to international pressure, including the banning of South Africa from international competition, and the cancellation of prominent international sporting tours within South Africa, the National Party instituted a ‘multinational’ sports policy in 1971 that allowed for mixed competition. This policy was alongside broader legislation, including the formation of the homelands, or Bantustans, that was described above. As Merrett (2004, 2005) has described,
this shift in sporting policy was based on the National Party’s position that South Africa was made up of a number of distinct nations. At first, this policy of multinational sport only applied in competitions in which significant numbers of foreigners were involved, but as Merrett (2005) explained, the National Party continued to offer concessions throughout the 1970s making multinational sport a policy for all of adult sport in 1976.

Although the National Party was making concessions in order to ease international pressures, the policies were implemented inconsistently at the local level (Merrett, 2004, 2005, 2009; Nicholson & Hickson, 2015). Also, apartheid laws that governed other spheres of life inevitably affected sporting opportunities. Therefore, the local response to these policies was mixed. Some sports administrators from different communities worked with the National Party to institute multinational sport. However, SACOS took a more radical and non-collaborationist stance, exemplified by their slogan that there should be “no normal sport in an abnormal society.” Based on this, SACOS essentially became the sporting wing of the Unity Movement within South Africa. Over time this stance created difficulties for SACOS, particularly around their double-standards resolution, which prevented SACOS members from engaging with any apartheid structures, and their declaration that SACOS affiliated clubs and associations should not apply for permits to participate in their sport (Booth, 1998; Merrett, 2005). In situations where townships often lacked the sporting resources and infrastructure for athletes, this extreme position often made it seem like SACOS was not sensitive to the various sporting contexts throughout South Africa. For example, the April issue of Grahamstown Voice in 1983 provided an exposé detailing the stark contrast between sporting infrastructure within the township and the sporting facilities of Rhodes University, and the misappropriation of funds by the town council (GV, Apr 1983). However, based on SACOS resolutions, GRASA and other affiliated sporting
associations would not make use of Rhodes facilities. That being said, in various townships around South Africa, including Grahamstown, SACOS affiliated sports associations developed strong grass-roots club structures in situations with little resources, infrastructure, and often while facing political and social repression. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, because of the hardline stance that SACOS took and because it did not explicitly align itself to the ANC, a new sporting body called the National Sport Council (NSC) was developed. The NSC became the ANC’s sporting arm, which over time lead to the marginalization of SACOS (Merrett, 2004).

Importantly, in terms of sport and politics in South Africa, Booth (1998, p. 10) pointed out that “while contemporary thought tends to reify and idealize sport as a practice that transcends racism, South African history offers a sober reminder that sport is a political project inextricably tied to nationalism.” Equally, from the earliest use of sport as part of colonial and civilizing missions, to the use of sport to ‘benefit’ a growing migrant workforce in mines and factories, to the use of sport as a development tool aligned with agencies like the United Nations, and finally to the use of sporting mega-events, it could also be argued that South African history offers a sober reminder of how sport is inextricably linked to particular understandings of development, colonialism, and violence.

**Sport, Peace, and Violence**

During apartheid, as well as currently in post conflict settings or in spaces of ongoing conflict and crime, soccer clubs are often established based on the belief that soccer can be used to prevent youth from engaging in crime and violence, or that sport in general has the ability to foster peace—hence the ‘P’ in SDP. However, as the example of MG Pirates demonstrates, the relationship between soccer and violence is much more complex. Another well-known South African example is the Mandela United Football Club, the subject of a special hearing during the
Truth and Reconciliation Commission (South Africa TRC, 1997). Mandela United was connected to Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, the partner of Nelson Mandela. The club served as bodyguards for Winnie Mandela in the 1980s and the TRC hearing was relating to the death of 14-year-old Stompie Seipei. It was alleged that Mandela and her club believed Stompie was working with the security police and as a result tortured and killed him (Hassim, 2018).

Importantly, this violence was directed against the South African state, but was also directed against other political factions and suspected collaborators within the township. This in no way is meant to excuse or lighten the physical and structural violence that was part of the apartheid system. As Beinart (1992) has pointed out, “government-linked forces were the most consistent initiators and agents of collective violence” (p. 463). Fanon’s arguments relating to the prevalence of violence in colonial settings are also of relevance. For Fanon (1963, p. 42), in colonial contexts, both criminal and political violence have roots in colonization. In terms of liberation struggles, he argued that:

The colonist has always shown [the colonized] the path they should follow to liberation.

The argument chosen by the colonized was conveyed to them by the colonist, and by an ironic twist of fate it is now the colonized who state that it is the colonizer who only understand the language of force.

From his work as a psychiatrist during the Algerian Revolution, Fanon was also concerned with how criminality was understood. Amongst French psychiatrists of the time, it was believed that Algerians and other North Africans were inherently violent, and predisposed to crime. Fanon argued against this view, insisting instead that colonization fractures social connections and networks, it isolates people as individuals, and therefore it should not be a surprise when people turn to crime for their survival. As he noted:
Exposed to daily incitement to murder resulting from famine, eviction from his room for unpaid rent, a mother’s withered breast, children who are nothing but skin and bone, the closure of a worksite and the jobless who hang around the foreman like crows, the colonized subject comes to see his fellow man as a relentless enemy. (Fanon, 1963, p. 231)

The complexity of violence within South African townships during apartheid was also exemplified in the writing of Siphiwo Mahala, a writer who grew up in Grahamstown in the 1980s. In his short story Bhontsi’s Toe, Mahala (2011) tells the story of a group of young boys living in the Joza township of Grahamstown during the State of Emergency in the mid-1980s, during which time the military was occupying the township. The boys are all 11 years old and Bhontsi’s is a year older, but they say he is essentially a man, orphaned at a young age he had to drop out of school to find work. He has a ‘magic’ big toe that allows him to kick a soccer ball with incredible force. The story revolved around an afternoon, shortly after the State of Emergency was instituted. The boys are playing soccer one afternoon; Bhontsi is not able to play because he is making some money by running errands for the soldiers and the police. His sister always works for and socializes with the occupying soldiers. Part way through the match the soldiers arrive on the field. The boys are frightened, but the soldiers just ask if they can join the game. They play until it starts to rain and the soldiers leave. The boys spend the rest of the afternoon shooting rocks at birds with their slings and hanging around an abandoned car. On the way home, they come across a burnt body, they recognize Bhontsi’s magic toe. He had been necklaced, the punishment for collaborating with the apartheid state, meted out by community members—comrades that were part of the liberation movement. The story of Bhontsi is
paralleled in Cherry’s (2010, p. 406) description of how collaborators were dealt with in
townships during the early 1980s:

In other cases, those suspected of collaborating with the enemy were burned with tyres, the
notorious ‘necklace’ method which was used as a warning to others not to think of
collaborating. While the amatshaka would have been considered ‘legitimate targets’ by
MK\(^5\), there were also civilians attacked and killed by youth as ‘collaborators’, sometimes
for as little as being the girlfriend of a policeman, or distributing government welfare
parcels. The overwhelming majority of victims of amabutho were black residents of the
same townships.

The story of Bhontsi’s Toe and the examples of violence against suspected collaborators
is meant to show that township histories during apartheid cannot simply be framed in terms of
struggle and resistance. Further, how communities experienced and understood violence during
this period, particularly in the Eastern Cape, was multifaceted and complex (Beinart, 1992;
Cherry, 2000; Lanegran, 1996; Swilling, 1993; Tetelman, 1997). I went to Makhanda
(Grahamstown) with an interest in how hope is connected to sport and the role that sport plays in
social and political change and I could have produced a fairly straightforward narrative of how
soccer in Makhanda (Grahamstown) served as a form of resistance against apartheid. The stories
I heard confirmed my interest. In multiple ways, GRASA was intimately concerned with
community development and resisting apartheid. However, it is hard to disentangle the nostalgia
and fondness that players had for soccer during the 1970s and 1980s, with the context within
which players lived their day-to-day lives. In addition, as Dlamini (2009) argued, if we want to

\(^5\) MK refers to Umkhonto we Sizwe, the armed wing of the ANC.
reckon with liberation struggles, and processes of social and political change, it is necessary to go beyond the narratives that dominate after the revolution, and instead dwell on the complicated and contradictory narratives of everyday life.

**Conclusion**

It was soccer, social movements, and notions of hope and utopia that originally brought me to Makhanda (Grahamstown). I was interested in soccer clubs that were connected to the Unemployed People’s Movement (UPM) that had grown out of the excitement and hope that came along with the 2010 FIFA World Cup. This is not to say that UPM was founded as a result of the World Cup, or supported the World Cup. As a movement, UPM was founded in 2009 in response to high unemployment in Makhanda (Grahamstown) and a lack of response from the local government. However, with the World Cup occurring in 2010 and UPM members already using their connections to local soccer to organize and recruit, the 2010 World Cup provided an opportunity. The hope and passion that came along with the event allowed UPM to mobilize and UPMs first Chairperson, Ayanda Kota, was elected as president of the Makana Local Football Association.

I arrived in Makhanda (Grahamstown) and I started spending time with the clubs, joining training sessions, attending matches and social functions, hanging out at taverns talking about soccer. However, aside from a couple of keen managers and administrators from different clubs, I rarely came across people that were interested in discussing what the future could look like and how soccer could contribute to that future. That is not to say that those people do not exist in Grahamstown; instead, it was more that I was caught up in discussions about soccer in the 1970s and 1980s, an era when soccer was spoken about as both a weapon in the revolution and as a tool in building communities. This was a time in which it was said that players were more disciplined
and committed, the standard of play was higher, thousands of community members attended matches, and the soccer clubs were active and engaged community hubs.

I went to Makhanda (Grahamstown) with an interest in the role that sport plays in social and political change, so it is not surprising I became interested in the history of soccer. As I pored over archives, newspapers, and spoke with older players, I became enthralled with how soccer was mobilized within the liberation struggle and was used as a form of resistance. At first, for me, these conversations were exciting, but I was mostly engaged in the same type of social history that Sapire (2013) and Dlamini (2009) have critiqued. Instead of histories that focus on struggle and liberation, social histories embedded in people’s everyday lives and practices can offer insight into the ways that people are affected by, and affect, political and social change. Walsh (2008) has similarly highlighted how valorizing social movements and monolithic understandings of ‘the Poor’ can hinder community movements and the development of radical politics.

Following Dlamini (2009), Chapter Five and Six attempts to move beyond a simple narrative of soccer as a form of resistance, and to show how the everyday practices associated with the sport “fed into people’s imaginings of a better world” (Dlamini, 2009, p. 159). These imaginings can offer important insights for understanding the role that sport plays in social and political life.

Providing a broad historical overview is difficult, as the way that communities engaged with apartheid played out differently depending on the context. The following two chapters, through focusing on a specific sporting association within a specific township, will demonstrate the complexities and contradictions borne from the apartheid system. Further, histories of both
South African liberation and South African sport have tended to take a broader focus, sometimes neglecting particular locations and the day-to-day lives of people in those locations.

It is often stated that SDP, or using sport-for-good, is not a new endeavor. Further, scholars have called for those interested in SDP to historically situate and contextualize their work (Darnell & Kaur, 2015). However, bringing historical cases involving sport and social change into conversation with current understandings of SDP rarely occurs. As I will show in Chapters Five, Six, and Seven, GRASA, in the way that it operated, and the type of community development and social change it pursued in the 1970s and 1980s, provides an example of an alternative to SDP.

The clubs involved in GRASA and the association itself viewed community development as an essential part of their mandate. Contrary to mainstream SDP organizations, GRASA did not view its members as targets or beneficiaries, but as active participants in community service and development. The members of GRASA would develop and benefit through their service to their clubs and the community. Importantly, this did not involve GRASA viewing community members as in need of development or as targeted beneficiaries, but it was based on reciprocity. Members of GRASA would help in the community in a variety of ways and this would be reciprocated by community members supporting the clubs through donations, fundraising, or spectating matches. Importantly, these understandings of community, solidarity, and mutual aid also manifested in more complex ways in terms of the use of violence for both political and policing purposes.
Chapter 5: GRASA: Expressing Hope as Struggle, Discipline, and Violence

Illustration 9. Makanaskop Tavern, Page 1/2. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde

APRIL 30TH 2017

It was odd that we stopped outside of Makanaskop. It was a typical Sunday. I spent most of the morning at Jio Nghu watching soccer. Social movement activists from MST from Brazil were visiting UPM. Agenda invited me to meet them and then we all go to Mandisa’s Tavern in Fringo. After a drink, Jeff lends me his truck to take the MST members to their place in Jozina. We return to Mandisa’s and then Jeff and I head back to his place in Jozina. We take an odd route and I’m not sure why. We stop outside the Makanaskop Tavern and Bottle Store. We sit in silence for a couple minutes.
Over there. That is where it happened.

Where the guy from Santos FC was killed.

Late on 29 April, Sowabo Vosani, a respected soccer player, was found stabbed to death behind a popular drinking spot opposite Ot Vellern and Samuel Nkhe’s Primary School (Grocott’s Mail Newspaper).
5.1 Introduction

After a few months in Makhanda (Grahamstown), I was not sure what I could do with the information I was gathering. I arrived with an interest in how people connected the concept of hope with soccer, but I felt like I was mostly encountering hopelessness. Oftentimes, while I was meeting and spending time with older players, they would point out recent acts of crime and violence, and the ill discipline of current youth. Although not always relating to the soccer community, I still often found these moments of silence jarring. We would be driving, walking, or standing around particular locations and players would seamlessly move from reminiscing about soccer, to current acts of violence, and then back to soccer, politics, and violence in the 1970s and 1980s. I told Jeff, mostly in jest, that it seemed like I was talking to a bunch of older men that were essentially shaking their fist at the younger generation. Every former player would repeat the refrain, ‘We were hard working, committed, and disciplined. Not these kids today’. There was talk about players not caring about their clubs, players drinking and spending too much time in shebeens/taverns, and that the lack of respect shown for soccer carried over to behaviours in the community.

Jeff chuckled at my interpretation. He agreed, but he also said that maybe instead of dwelling on how the guys were pessimistic about the present and the future it would be worthwhile to focus on how the guys I spoke with were very fond of their time playing soccer in the 1970s and 1980s—that their nostalgia pointed towards something that was missing, or something that had generated feelings of hope at a particular time. He pointed out that whenever he introduced me to former players and we discussed the research project that you could see their eyes light up; you could see their joy. As it turned out, Jeff was correct. I carried on meeting with
and speaking to older players, and they were all excited to talk about, and nostalgic for, their
time playing soccer in the 1970s and 1980s, but this nostalgia was always mixed with criticisms.

Illustration 11. Soccer, pessimism, and nostalgia. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde
I began the dissertation with Rocky’s reference to Egazini and the warrior/prophet Makhanda, to allude to how GRASA and clubs involved in the association were actively engaged in the struggle to end apartheid. It is not surprising that I would make this rhetorical choice; a great deal of historical research on soccer in South Africa has detailed how the sport was connected to efforts by black South Africans to establish their identity and challenge an oppressive system (Alegi, 2010, 2010b; Archer & Bouillon, 1982; Couzens, 1983; Korr & Close, 2008; Latakomo, 2010; Nauright, 1997). However, this research has two shortcomings. It is primarily focused on Johannesburg, Durban, and Cape Town, with little written about soccer in smaller cities, particularly in the Eastern Cape, an area that is often associated with political resistance to apartheid. Furthermore, there is an overall scarcity of narratives concerned with how soccer fit into township life and the variety of ways it was used to engage with apartheid.

This connection between sport and resistance in previous literature on soccer in South Africa is not surprising. As Sapire (2013) has noted, historians have found ways to connect nearly every aspect of township life to anti-apartheid struggles. For social historians interested in township life, “resistance provided a dominating and organising theme; if sport, music and gangs captured historians’ imagination, these were nonetheless often implicated in resistance or rejection of white hegemony” (p. 192). A potential reason for this, as pointed out by Dlamini (2015), is that after the end of apartheid, people would often connect their own stories, their own actions, to the struggle, thereby neglecting narratives from their past that might be considered acts of collaboration or complicity with the South African government. He quoted former ANC member Mzwakhe Ndlela as saying that:

Even those who were apolitical or reactionary started to identify themselves with the progressive forces. And so did some of those who had openly worked for the apartheid
state. Everyone seemed to have a story to tell, placing themselves on the side of those who fought for freedom. (Dlamini, 2015a, p. 53)

Narratives that provide homogenous understandings of township life under apartheid and simply view township resistance as contributing to a broader, unified liberation movement can potentially hinder discussions relating to the political and social possibilities, limitations, and contradictions that were immanent in sport and the political and social movements of the time.

With this background, and unfortunately, there is a gap in literature on sport in South Africa, especially in the Eastern Cape, in terms of examining the multiple ways that soccer players and soccer spaces operated during apartheid, in particular townships. For example, there is ample literature relating to how sport and sporting spaces were used by the National Party to further its apartheid agenda of segregation and important discussions have also taken place in terms of exploring how resistance to apartheid through sport was not a uniform process, often contingent on particular local and political contexts (Alegi, 2010; Booth, 1997, 2016; Desai, 2002a, 2016; Merrett, 2009), but there are few histories that show how township sporting spaces allowed for various responses, particularly from men and boys, to apartheid—from resistance, to collaboration, to escapism.

Alegi (2010) provides a notable exception in his historical examination of soccer within African social life in South Africa, particularly his chapter on soccer in Orlando, Soweto (see also Alegi, 2000). He explained that soccer served as a way to mobilize community members and as a form of escapism. He also noted a number of social aspects of clubs in Soweto that share similarities with the clubs in Grahamstown. For example, in describing the early days of Orlando Pirates, Alegi highlighted the importance of the club in terms of forming a burial society, as well insurance schemes:
“The burial society was the foremost example of Pirate’s social awareness and civic responsibility. It cemented the community of interests of sporting club and township society...The establishment of a players’ fund highlighted the centrality of solidarity and reciprocity to the club’s existence” (Alegi, 2010, p. 70).

As will be clear throughout this chapter and the next, the place of funerals, as well as mutual aid and solidarity, were key to soccer in Grahamstown. Importantly, as Alegi (2010) and others point out, the way that soccer fit into community and political life did not emerge from nowhere. Instead, the way that soccer was organized and understood, represented traditional beliefs and structures, combined with ever-shifting ideas relating to politics, democracy, and freedom.

Although my history of soccer in Grahamstown effectively begins in the 1970s, sport and traditional games were always used for similar purposes (Beinart, 1991, 1992; Bonner, 1993). As Alegi detailed, drawing on McAllister and Deliwe’s (1996) investigation of youth organization in rural Transkei, the passion for and structure around soccer in the 1970s in the Eastern Cape, particularly in terms of instilling understandings of masculinity, and reinforcing territorial allegiances, had as its antecedents, traditional Xhosa stick fighting. What this literature demonstrates is that soccer in African communities in South Africa was integrated into social life in ways that reflected traditional values around masculinity, reciprocity, and solidarity, while offering a variety of ways through which young men developed and expressed forms of masculinity, and through which these young men understood and engaged with politics.

Although not directly related to sport, Dlamini’s (2015a) biography of the infamous askari, Glory Lefoshile Sedibe, also known as Comrade September, is also informative in this context as it raised questions about collaboration and complicity within the apartheid system. The askari were former ANC members that either voluntarily, or through capture and torture,
switched sides and became informers, collaborators, and counterinsurgents with the South African security police. There are examples throughout the book of how sport was used by askari and other collaborators to assist the apartheid government. Askari would use the soccer clubs to maintain their cover within communities, recruit new agents, or to offer excuses to travel, which allowed them to conduct various operations.

These counter-narratives are also told through South Africa’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). For example, there is an account of a soccer club called MG Pirates from Sanderton who in exchange for the promise of a vehicle and team kit became informers on UDF and other anti-apartheid activists within their communities. UDF members petrol bombed their bus and a number of players were injured and killed because of this suspected collaboration (South Africa TRC, 2000). Further, within the UDF, it was acknowledged that sporting clubs could be part of the liberation struggle, or that they could equally assist apartheid. For example, from Isizwe the UDF newsletter:

> Of course we do affirm, and we shall continue to affirm the need for working class leadership on all fronts of the struggle. To call for progressive initiative from traders, for instance, is not a call for them to lead our struggle. But nor do we think it healthy if traders, taxi-owners, black business people, sports clubs, etc. are treated in an unstructured or even opportunistic way. All these groups must be won over politically - otherwise some may even become a recruiting base for the vigilante death squads, or for apartheid's local authority structures (United Democratic Front, 1987, p. 12).

Therefore, examining the narratives relating to a specific sporting association, namely GRASA, can show both how resistance played out on a daily basis and how the daily practices associated with soccer are themselves important to consider in terms of thinking through how
young men engaged with apartheid and social change. This chapter is an attempt to do this by
telling the story of GRASA—how it was founded and how it operated. Specifically, I will show
how, on the one hand, the original aims were to address and counter the violence and
gangsterism that young men were participating in within the community, and on the other hand,
from 1975 to 1985, it was intricately linked to political and social violence that occurred in the
township. At the same time, and as will be evident in this chapter, but emphasized in the next,
GRASA was also established with the aim of community development. This chapter is primarily
about how players’ understandings of hope were expressed through descriptions of struggle and
resistance. In a way, the purpose of Chapter Five is to examine how understandings of hope and
social change were manifest through different actions—different attempts to build a better world.
Players were nostalgic for their involvement in resistance, struggle, and politics in the 1970s and
1980s, but this involvement took on various forms.

The forlorn or impossible hope that is expressed through the phrase ‘Ukuza kuka Nxele’
offers some insight into the ways that former GRASA players understood hope and social
change. Like for Fanon and Bloch, hope and social change were inseparable from ongoing
struggles and critical consciousness, across a variety of social practices. Hope was not
necessarily connected to a concrete future, but was associated with what Bloch referred to as the
Not-Yet—a struggle over understandings and expressions of the alternatives that are immanent,
or latent, within the present. With that in mind, this chapter aims to address two central research
questions: How did members of GRASA understand, and engage with, politics and social
change, and what roles did soccer play in political organizing and resistance?
5.1.1 Studying GRASA: Methods and approach

Answering these questions required both an ethnographic as well as historic approach. As described in Chapter Three, my ethnography was very much a journey. I began with a concern for how soccer was being mobilized for social change, but through my experiences, I came to focus on the history of GRASA, and how young men living in a black township mobilized in and around soccer. In their work on youth and surveillance in Cape Town, Dillabough and Dillabough-Lefebvre (2018) had a similar experience. Through engaging with archival material in Cape Town and through meeting former Umkhonto weSizwe freedom fighters, their ethnographic research relating to surveillance became an oral history project. Drawing on Ricoeur, they referred to this as a ‘detour’. Much as I described in Chapter Three, a detour represents a process of departure, of taking unexpected paths, of getting lost. As well, although you may be heading towards your original destination, a detour requires you to change course and view that destination from a different perspective. My detour began when Jeff mentioned GRASA and soccer in Grahamstown during the 1970s and 1980s. It continued as I spoke with former players and spent time in Cory Library at Rhodes University.

Within Cory Library, I spent time going through old newspapers. These included Grahamstown’s city newspaper Grocott’s Mail, which is the oldest independent newspaper in South Africa. However, in terms of reporting on issues faced by township residents in the 1970s and 1980s, Grocott’s Mail was often silent. Although the sports section of Grocott’s Mail would sometimes report fixtures and results for GRASA, the political side of sport in the township was never discussed and the bulk of soccer reporting was related to the Grahamstown Football Association (GRAFA), the white soccer association. To address this silence, I spent time going through student newspapers. These included Inquiry, Rhodeo, Oppidan, and Grahamstown Voice.
(Ilizwi LaseRhini). In particular, the Grahamstown Voice proved to be a rich source of information relating to GRASA and sport in Grahamstown. Started in the early 1970s, the Grahamstown Voice, a collaboration between journalism students and township residents, was an example of the type of alternative media being produced in the 1970s that aimed to report on issues faced by township residents (Emdon, 1998; Adhikari, 2000). The Grahamstown Voice was banned in 1985 during the State of Emergency and only started publishing issues again in the early 1990s. This was one of the reasons why the focus of Chapters Five and Six end around 1985.

Cory Library also housed city-planning documents relating to recreation facilities in the township, and reports, papers, and dissertations produced for various faculties and institutes at the university. I was also able to visit the Liberation Movement Archives at the University of Fort Hare, and the Historical Papers research archive at the University of Witswatersrand. In both of these locations, I was primarily interested in documents relating to SACOS and the non-racial sports movement. Overall, I approached the documents the same way as described in Chapter Three and Four. I explored the documents with a specific focus on hope, utopia, and social change, as well as for the purposes of gaining an understanding of the broader context of sport in South Africa, during the 1970s and 1980s.

I spent a substantial amount of time in these various libraries, but the primary data for this chapter and Chapter Six were gathered through interviews, observations, and conversations. My approach for the next two chapters shares similarities with social history projects that rely on oral history. As Rosaldo (1980) described it, “Doing oral history involves telling stories about stories people tell about themselves” (p. 89). Importantly, Rosaldo’s turn of phrase emphasized how oral history is about the co-construction of narratives. In a similar way, Dillabough and Dillabough-Lefebvre (2018) described oral history “as a productive detour for ethnographic
research and as a gift to the ethnographer” (p. 52). The gift that they refer to is similar to what was described in Chapter Three. It is an invitation into a reciprocal relationship.

5.1.1.1 Contributions. This chapter offers a unique contribution to multiple scholarly disciplines. In terms of South African history in general, and South African sporting history in particular, the chapter offers a different approach to engaging with the role of sport in townships during apartheid. Motivated by the work of Dlamini (2009, 2015a), this chapter presents a history that attempts to avoid collapsing the stories of GRASA members into dominant liberation narratives that simply present sport as a tool of resistance against apartheid. Instead, by showing how soccer developed, was organized, operated on a day-to-day basis, and fit into broader social and political life, I attempt to demonstrate the multitude of ways that young men’s hopes were pinned to soccer. On top of this, there is a lack of writing on the history of soccer in the Eastern Cape. This chapter is also a response to calls in the SDP literature to historicize and contextualize the role that sport has played in social change efforts (Darnell & Kaur, 2015; Darnell et al., 2019).

This chapter begins with a review of literature, establishing links between hope, nostalgia, and utopia. The literature helps to understand how players’ nostalgia for soccer in the 1970s and 1980s was entangled with the struggle for liberation. Importantly, this struggle for liberation was not homogenous; soccer and GRASA opened a number of paths for players and community members to traverse. Following this, I provide an overview of GRASA, including its formation and its original aims—aims that included both social and political objectives (depending on who was speaking). Next, I outline how different clubs and players understood and engaged in politics and political activism. Importantly, politics were experienced and expressed in different ways. This observation seems banal, but it moves beyond narratives of
South African sport that simply cast sporting associations and athletes as political actors resisting apartheid. This included how former players understood the connection between soccer and politics. While all players recognized that soccer spaces were used for political purposes, not all players engaged in activism, with some simply wanting to play soccer for the joy, happiness, and escape it provided. Although these feelings are not often associated with political involvement and activism, in Chapter Six, I will take up how they express potential utopian surplus, relating to community service and mutual aid that were part of GRASA.

Throughout Chapters Five and Six I often return to the most prominent theme that came up in my discussions with former players was discipline. This was not a conception of discipline solely based on understandings of conservative obedience, but instead, as one former player put it, their discipline was developed through, and informed by, the struggle. Discipline was connected to political organizing and involvement, but it was also tied into examples of violence and community vigilantism.

5.1.2 Sporting nostalgia

Language that former players and administrators used was in many ways similar to the language used by those working in mainstream SDP. The motivations and beliefs of the various clubs and players differed, but all subscribed to the notion that sport could offer hope and contribute to development, what Darnell et al. (2019) described as the broader understanding of sport-for-good. Examining how members of GRASA understood hope, social change, and better worlds opens up alternatives to current representations of SDP.

Recognizing the nostalgia that former soccer players hold for their past sporting experiences is not unique. In his historical look at the social and political role of soccer for
African communities in South Africa, Alegi (2010) observed a similar phenomenon. In the appendix outlining the academic sources he drew from, Alegi noted:

A recurring theme emerged from virtually every interview used in this book. In recalling the physical prowess, vigour, and popularity of days long gone, former players constructed romantic memories of the apartheid era. The men appeared nostalgic in remembering the ‘good old days’ of their youth. The darkest days of oppression were often remembered as personalised highlight reels of football memories, (Alegi, 2010, p. 160)

In the lead up to the 2010 World Cup in South Africa, Dlamini (2010) and Latakomo (2010), two journalists, also pondered the prevalence of nostalgia for this golden era; an era in which players and clubs were resilient in the face of multiple obstacles and when the South African government both suppressed and supported soccer in black communities, depending on its own political aims. Sporting nostalgia in South Africa has also been a feature of writing relating to how white South Africans drew on narratives of past rugby glory to, “retreat into nostalgic recollections and reconstructions of a happier past time when their world was more stable and organised” (Nauright, 1997, p. 167)\(^6\). That white South Africans, at a time of uncertainty and fear, felt nostalgia for a previous more stable era is somewhat expected. However, it is harder to explain why black South Africans, over twenty years after apartheid has ended, are nostalgic for an era that was not ordered in their favor and is often written about as being a time of fear and uncertainty. For black South Africans this era is largely written about as ‘doom and gloom’—

---

\(^6\) See also Crapanzon (1985) for a discussion on nostalgia and white South Africans.
requiring resistance, protest, and a mass liberation movement to overthrow an oppressive system (Dlamini, 2009).

It is difficult to engage with these nostalgic narratives because they can easily be mobilized or appropriated for political purposes, essentially for apartheid apologists to criticize the current government and to argue that apartheid was not that bad. This is not unique to South Africa. In Canada, the recent Truth and Reconciliation Commission that focused on the experiences of indigenous peoples within the residential school system involved a process of collecting testimony from survivors. Some of these testimonies included positive recollections of sport within the residential school setting. Similar to South Africa, these positive narratives are often mobilized to try to deflect from the impact of residential schools and colonialism and to minimize or derail discussions relating to reconciliation (Habkirk & Forsyth, 2016).

In his book Native Nostalgia, Dlamini (2009) confronted similar questions relating to nostalgic narratives of township life during apartheid. The book was motivated by episodes within the popular media, often during election times, where reporters would find a black South African that would say life was better during apartheid. That is not to say that this is a manufactured media narrative; researchers in South African townships, including myself, have often been confronted with research participants that claim life was better under apartheid (Reed, 2016). Through his own work as a journalist, and growing up in the township of Katlehong, Dlamini was often confronted with nostalgic and fond memories, including his own, of life under apartheid. For him this presented a conundrum:

What does it mean for a black South African to remember life under apartheid with fondness? What does it mean to say that black life under apartheid was not all doom and gloom and that there was a lot of which black South Africans could be, and indeed were,
proud? Only lazy thinkers would take these questions to mean support for apartheid. They do not. Apartheid was without virtue. To understand the question of what it means for a black South African to remember his life under apartheid with fondness is to appreciate that the freedom of black South Africans did not come courtesy of a liberation movement. (p. 13)

Narratives of overcoming apartheid have produced a dominant version of the struggle that flattens the actual experiences of people’s day-to-day lives in townships throughout apartheid. For Dlamini, nostalgia for life under apartheid was based on the aspects of social life that actually made the struggle possible, things like discipline, social networks, and solidarity. Nostalgic thinking, therefore, is not an endorsement of the apartheid system, but can operate as a form of critical inquiry by illuminating the aspects of daily life that alluded to and prefigured the possibilities of alternative and better worlds.

5.1.3 Nostalgia as utopian thought

The idea that nostalgia can open up potential alternatives is aligned with critical and utopian scholars who are concerned with how imaginings of the future and past connect with understandings of political and social change. These connections provide a crucial backdrop to this chapter that is ultimately about how men’s memories of the 1970s and 1980s are connected to visions of a better world, and the forms of struggle and the paths followed in the pursuit of this better place.

For many, the promise of the concept of utopia is contained within the ambiguity of the term itself and how it has been utilized in politics and literature. In Thomas More’s Utopia, a piece of work that is often referred to as the first work of utopian fiction, utopia is presented as the ‘good’ place, in line with the Greek eu-topos, but the ambiguity around whether More
intended the work to be satirical means that it can also be read as ou-topos, or no place (Duncombe, 2012). That utopia represents thinking about or striving for a place that does not exist can be viewed pejoratively in terms of daydreams and distraction, or as dangerous, in terms of totalitarian planning (Olin Wright, 2010; Vanreusel, 2015). However, understanding utopia as a place that does not exist can also be productive. Utopia, for Bloch (1959/1986), was not some idealized future, but was itself contained in the present and involved an ongoing process of struggle and discovery. Bloch’s conception of utopia was, as Thompson (2016, p. 442) explained, “not a programmatic one laid down in any blueprint but was processual and autopoietic: it would emerge out of the process of its own becoming.” Further, Bloch’s idea of utopia was not confined to the future. In reviewing Bloch’s work, Kellner (2010, p. 40) described how Bloch understood that:

The past—what has been—contains both the sufferings, tragedies and failures of humanity—what to avoid and to redeem—and its unrealized hopes and potentials—which could have been and can yet be. For Bloch, history is a repository of possibilities that are living options for future action, therefore what could have been can still be. The present moment is thus constituted in part by latency and tendency: the unrealized potentialities that are latent in the present, and the signs and foreshadowings that indicate the tendency of the direction and movement of the present into the future.

The repository of possibilities, or unrealized hopes and potentials, of the past could also be described as nostalgia.

Nostalgia can be understood as a longing for a non-existent place. The origins of the term are from nostos: return home, and algia: longing, pain or ache. It was developed as a medical term, used to diagnose soldiers in the 17th Century that were homesick (Boym, 2001). Because it
is a longing for a place that no longer exists, or never existed, nostalgia is a form of utopian thought, albeit directed towards the past instead of the future. Therefore, similar to utopia, nostalgia is often dismissed as a misguided desire to return to a place that never actually existed. Importantly though, imagined futures are similar to memories or imaginations of the past, in that they are influenced by the contexts and experiences that shape people’s lives. It is this contextual nature of utopian and nostalgic thinking that allow them to operate as useful forms of critical thought (Malkki, 2001).

For Boym (2001), similar to concepts outlined by Bloch and Lefebvre, there is a distinction between forms of nostalgic thinking. Like the concepts of abstract utopia and space, restorative nostalgia is often closed off, much like how Nauright (1997) discussed the nostalgia expressed by some white South Africans nearing the end of apartheid, it is based on fears of progress and change, it is a form of conservatism, a desire to return to or maintain a particular order—a desire to reconstruct the past. Reflective nostalgia on the other hand, which guided Dlamini (2009) in his writing on township life during apartheid, “does not pretend to rebuild the mythical place called home” but instead recognized that “…the past opens up a multitude of potentialities, nonteleological possibilities of historical development” (Boym, 2001, p. 50).

To say that the nostalgia expressed by all black South Africans is akin to Boym’s (2001) notion of reflective nostalgia is not correct. Reed (2016), through anthropological work in South Africa, also came across nostalgia for apartheid. However, she found that in Mhlontolo Municipality, a rural mountainous area in the Eastern Cape, nostalgic narratives were primarily expressions of concern over the increased liberalism brought about through democracy, and the perceived loss of cultural autonomy. As Reed (p. 104) observed:
While many of the younger generation embraced the liberal rights discourse of the current era, older residents frequently complained to me that these rights have eroded Xhosa mechanisms of social control and cohesion and thus are threatening normative cultural reproduction.

Mhlontolo was a different context than Katlehong, where Dlamini grew up, or the townships in Grahamstown where my research took place. Mhlontolo is located within what was the Transkei homeland. From the 1940s onwards, the South African government began establishing what were called Homelands, or Bantustans. Reserves or ‘homelands’ were nominally present before any official apartheid legislation, with colonizers always trying to demarcate spaces for local African populations (Beinart, 2012). Nevertheless, in terms of legislation, what became the homelands had their origins in the 1913 Native Land Act and the 1936 Native Trust and Land Bill. It was after the National Party took power in 1948 and began implementing apartheid policies that the reserves became homelands. The purpose of the homelands was political and economic (Lodge, 1983). Reserves in South Africa had always served an economic function in terms of controlling and maintaining a cheap labor force. Politically, legislation designated the homelands as independent states within South Africa, taking away South African citizenship from black South Africans. Those living in settlements around urban areas that had been established by people migrating and looking for work were relocated back to their designated homeland, based on their ethnic identification. Legislation also shifted administration of the homelands, as well as townships located in urban areas, from the South African government to local authorities who still essentially reported to the South African government. Although there was significant resistance to apartheid and the development of the Homelands, within both townships and the Homelands themselves, the narratives that Reed (2016) recorded were
nostalgic for how the homeland system allowed for cultural autonomy, stability, and control. In some ways, these nostalgic expressions also relate to the ways that Ubuntu is sometimes mobilized as a form of restorative nostalgia.

Matolino and Kwindingwi (2013) argued that Ubuntu is inherently conservative, fosters conformity and emphasizes the importance of connection to family and close social ties, which can be mobilized to exclude others. Politicians and other leaders often deploy Ubuntu based on fears of change and a longing for conservative understandings of culture and politics. When there is news of crime or some other social disturbance, there will be calls for a return to the values of Ubuntu. Additionally, Golan (1991) highlighted how politicians and community leaders have mobilized Ubuntu to encourage particular forms of nationalism that encourage a fear of the other. The utility of Ubuntu has been debated within South African philosophy. For example, in response to Matolino and Kwindingwi, Koenane and Olatunji (2017) argued that the authors misrepresent the philosophy. For them, Ubuntu is an ethic of becoming, which is constantly developing and Matolino and Kwindingwi, in their critique are attempting to freeze it in time, present it as static or a return to the past, and argue that it is irredeemable.

In addition to the social and cultural aspects of apartheid that Mhlontolo residents expressed nostalgia for, Reed (2016) also highlighted how understandings of democracy and freedom were central to people’s concerns. As noted before, the liberalism that came along with democracy was viewed as contradictory to how people understood freedom in terms of culture and politics. Reed (2016) explained this as people viewing the post-apartheid government as a failure. Similarly, Hart (2008, 2014), drawing on Fanon, Lefebvre, and Gramsci, has theorized how understandings of liberation and nationalism, and feelings of betrayal have influenced the ongoing spate of social movements, protests, demonstrations, and other forms of organizing that
have occurred in South Africa since the early 2000s. Although these protests could be seen as a response to neoliberal policies, Hart (2008) argued that this would be an incomplete analysis, as these movements have been formed around understandings of nationalism and liberation, and a sense of betrayal that has developed since the end of apartheid. In some ways, the pessimism and disillusionment I encountered in Makhanda (Grahamstown) was tied into this sense of betrayal. Older players were nostalgic for the struggles they were involved with, but also angry about the current state of their communities.

Fanon did not write about nostalgia, but his discussions on forms of nationalism and populism that can take hold during and after struggles for liberation has a lot in common with Boym’s restorative nostalgia. Fanon (1963) warned of how liberation leaders that become political leaders can mobilize narratives of the past to pacify or mystify the people of the country:

Years after independence, incapable of offering the people anything of substance, incapable of actually opening up their future, of launching the people into the task of nation building and hence their own development, the leader can be heard churning out the history of independence and recalling the united front of the liberation struggle (p. 114).

What is shared across these perspectives, even if they are not directly talking about nostalgia, is how memories and narratives of the past manifest in the present, and that people’s visions of utopia and how to achieve a better world are intimately entangled with experiences and understandings of the past (Boym, 2001; Malkki, 2009). The players I spoke with from GRASA were nostalgic for soccer in the 1970s and 1980s and focusing on that nostalgia provides a way to engage with the hoped for, and imagined, better worlds that players
constructed, and the paths that they tried to follow to achieve those utopias. The remainder of this chapter outlines the origins of GRASA and how politics were expressed through soccer. Utilizing nostalgia as a framework provides a way to engage with this history that does not present the townships in Grahamstown in a monolithic way, nor the experiences of residents in the township as homogenous (Coetzee & Wood, 2009; Dlamini, 2009; Sapire, 2013).
5.2 The Origins of GRASA: Soccer as Violence and Crime Prevention

Illustration 12. The Origins of GRASA, Page 1/3. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde
The other side of the township and this side used to fight in what is now Hatlani, but then there were no houses. One Sunday after church I went there and there a lot of people were fighting with sticks and knives and knobkernies, but youth were there watching and dancing—while people were killed.

These faction fights were also discussed in a 1983 paper for the Institute of Social and Economic Research at Rhodes University in Grahamstown.

On Oct 22/23 youth from Tantyi's location and Fingo village “squared off” against each other in the veld above the locations armed with axes, bayonets, knives, iron bars, and staves. The conflict largely involving the Tosib or Hoodum elements.

The unrest of that September and October, while illustrative of ghetto life also suggests that the individual locations serve as one means of identity among the youth. (August 1983)
I was worried—not about these old people fighting—but about the youngsters. So I wanted to see if I could get them together.

I bought a whistle and balls. I taught them how to play soccer—thats where it started.

1970

They were ages 12 to 20.

I trained them for 3 years.

After 3 years, in 1973, I formed a club, Early Birds, as the first club. That time we only had 3 clubs. But from Early Birds more clubs formed. In 1975 we had 6 clubs and we formed the Graabkontin Soccer Association.

By 1977 soccer was seen as more popular than rugby and it continued to grow. This created a problem in terms of playing fields.
The association was originally formed in order to address crime and violence within the township. In the 1985 *Directory of Welfare, Religious and Service Organizations, Social and Sporting Clubs and other Societies and Councils in Grahamstown*, the aims and objectives of GRASA were listed as: “1. Motivating and encouraging Grahamstown youth to participate in soccer activities, and 2. To eradicate vandalism and thuggerism” (Henderson, 1980). Victor Monaheng, a police officer originally from Lesotho, is considered the founding father of soccer in the African township of Grahamstown and was bestowed the honor of being the lifetime president of GRASA. He was transferred to Grahamstown from Port Elizabeth in 1967 to work as a police officer with the Railway Police. While staying in Port Elizabeth, he was part of the PE Express Soccer Club, but upon arriving in Grahamstown could not find any organized soccer, only rugby. Throughout the Eastern Cape, rugby was a popular sport in black communities beginning in the late 19th Century–largely because of prominent missionary schools in the region (Nauright, 1996; Odendaal, 1995; Fingo Revolutionaries Sisonke Movement, 2007). After introducing myself and mentioning that I had lived for a year in Lesotho, Monaheng laughed and asked me if I had seen any rugby while I was in Lesotho. Explaining why he started a soccer club, he said, “I’m a soccer player. I’ve been a soccer player all my life, but when I got transferred here I couldn’t find any soccer, it was only rugby, but unfortunately I couldn’t watch rugby. I didn’t even know the rules.”

Soccer was played in Grahamstown’s African township in the 1940s and 1950s and there were plans by the Joint Council of Europeans and Africans to construct a sporting facility on

7 The joint councils were originally formed in the 1920s and over time had various names. Their intention was to address racial tension within South African and were inspired by two Americans and their experiences with joint councils in the American south. Archives pertaining to discussions about the sports centre can be found in the Wits...
Raglan Road in the early 1950s, but people I spoke with had no recollection of official soccer clubs in this time period and soccer stopped being played in the late 1950s (Manona, 1988). In the 1960s, the Anglican Church in the colored township began organizing soccer and created a club called Proteas—a club that at later times competed in the township through GRASA as well as in the ‘white’ part of town with the Grahamstown Football Association (GRAFA) (Dennis). Regardless, the club that Monaheng established in 1970, Early Birds, is commonly accepted as the first club in the township (Dennis; Ntshiba). In this way, soccer came quite late to the township in Grahamstown compared to other provinces and cities in South Africa (Alegi, 2010; Couzens, 1983; Latakgomo, 2010). Monaheng himself played soccer with groups at the Anglican Church after arriving in Grahamstown; however, he did not think to establish an official soccer club until he witnessed the faction fighting that was occurring in the township.

But what lead me to think of youngsters playing soccer, you know, there was the faction fights in Grahamstown. That side of the township and this side of the township used to fight. The place is called Hlalani now, but there were no houses then, only mountain and they used to meet there. One Sunday after church I went there to see what was happening, there was a lot of noise, I thought phew, a lot of people were fighting. Fighting with sticks and knives and knobkerries and dangerous weapons, but youth were dancing, dancing a lot, while people are being killed. I saw three killed on that Sunday afternoon. But most of them were injured. Now, my point is that I was worried. not about these old people fighting, but about the youngsters, so I started to think they’ve got nothing to do, so I wanted to see if I can get them together to occupy the Sunday afternoon, the Friday
afternoon, or during the week and Saturday afternoon, doing something. And I started to form a club, a soccer club. (Monaheng)

The fighting reportedly began because of a conflict between two young men from different locations within the township, Fingo and Tantyi. During this time, locations in the township served as a means of identity and therefore conflict among the youth (Nyquist, 1983). In other cities and townships soccer sometimes exacerbated the spatial divisions created through apartheid, (Alegi, 2010; Cubizolles, 2011), but in Grahamstown, the territorial allegiances, and faction fighting between areas of the township were not dissimilar from rural Xhosa youth organizations, through which boys and young men engaged in organized stick/cudgel fighting (Glaser, 1998; Mager, 1998; Mayer & Mayer, 1970). Manona (1988), in his dissertation that examined the increasing migration of black South Africans from white owned farms to the city of Grahamstown from the 1950s through the 1980s, explained that the stick fighting and faction fights were connected to tensions between tradition and modernism:

The city also included people who were not too anxious to be ‘modern’, some of them having spent their formative years on the farms. They gave the community a rural touch…Occasionally, boys became involved in faction fights between the older neighborhoods, Fingo Village and Tantyi. Stick fighting among boys was popular, especially those not attending school. (p. 308)

In saying this, I am not implying that violence within the townships in the 1970s and 1980s was related to particular aspects of Xhosa culture or tradition. As Beinart (1992) explained, historians need to be wary of perpetuating simplistic explanations for violence that are rooted in racist conceptions of culture. However, as Manona (1988) demonstrated, the increasing migration of people from rural areas into Grahamstown’s townships created tensions. In some ways, the
introduction of soccer in the 1970s was viewed as a way to divert young men from these forms of violence into more respectable pursuits. Soccer in this sense was viewed as a vehicle for promoting respectability and particular notions of progress (Magubane, 1963)

Monaheng and others associated with GRASA saw soccer as a way to address violence and faction fighting. Aside from soccer, there were few opportunities for youth from the various locations to meet one another. Simphiwe, a player from Early Birds noted:

Because I was born in the township, in Fingo, then to me there was nothing that connects me with Joza and then we believed that those boys from Joza were naughty. The people from Joza are bad, the guys from Fingo are not, so there was that gap of understanding between the locations. (Simphiwe)

Following the formation of Early Birds, a number of clubs were established. The earliest clubs included Young Tigers, in the Tantyi area, and XI Attackers in Joza. Players from these three clubs then began to break off and establish more clubs. Often based around where the players were staying. For example, Charles, one of the founding players with Fingo Stars described the formation of the team in 1982:

So we broke out from Early Birds and we formed our club. So the reason we broke up was this thing. It's a 'street challenge'. So in our street there are a lot of guys playing sport, so there are people from the upper side and the down side, so we were challenging each other. So we found, no, we can build our own team and form our own team and it's where our club started. When we formed our club we were trying to be so strategic because most of us were unemployed and others were students so we didn't have means to buy the football kit and other stuff. There were a few people who were working so we said no we are going to use these guys. There was also the guy from Fingo Bottle store,
so when we were in the meeting when we formed the club, we put names forward and we decided which name do we have to go from. He convinced us, no, we must be the Fingo Stars because it could be advantageous for us to get a sponsor from the Fingo Bottle Store. So because most of us were unemployed, as I have said to you before, we took that name up and we used it as our club, that is Fingo Stars. So the club was established in 1982 in June and the Fingo Bottle Store sponsored us with T-shirts. (Charles)

The illustrated map in the Interlude section between Chapters Four and Five (Illustration 8), outlines the lineage of some of the clubs in Fingo, Tantyi, and Joza. Although many players spoke about GRASA bringing these regions together, there was still tension. For example, in 1984 some of the teams in Tantyi formed a breakaway association called the Tantyi Soccer Association (GV, Sept, 1984b).

An interesting aspect of soccer in the 1970s and 1980s, as demonstrated by Charles’ story, is the link between alcohol and the sport. A number of GRASA trophies were sponsored by alcohol companies such as Autumn Harvest and Witzenburg (GV, Oct, 1981). As noted above, beer halls were also sponsors or supporters. This continues today with South African Breweries (SAB) being a major sponsor of professional and amateur soccer in South Africa, and the wine industry also heavily invested in sport-for-good (Kaur, 2016). As Mager (2005) highlighted, it was in fact the sponsorships of SAB that helped develop sporting codes such as boxing and soccer in black communities. That being said, GRASA players viewed soccer as a way to discourage youth from using alcohol and drugs. Many former players contrasted the behaviours of current players with those of their generation, emphasizing a loss of discipline. They bemoaned the fact that many clubs have stopped operating, both because of the behavior of
current players, as well as structural issues in terms of club members moving apart from one another and clubs losing their connection to particular locations within the township.

For some players, current levels of crime, alcohol, substance abuse, and community violence would be resolved if clubs returned to the ways they operated in the 1970s. As one player from Juventus stated:

If the football clubs can become the same again, tsotsis will be eliminated. When you are involved in a bigger sporting code you happen to know each other, but when you are not involved in one camp you happen not to know each other. As a result if you go to other areas you can become a stranger, so there is the possibility you can become attacked.

(Ngoqo)

The formation of Early Birds and GRASA illustrates how historians of soccer in South Africa have noted that the establishment of clubs was often tied to demonstrations of respectability and social mobility within townships (Alegi, 2010; Nauright, 1997; Magubane, 1963).

In terms of understandings of sport-for-good, the sentiments expressed above might seem similar to the multitude of current day SDP programmes that use sport for the purposes of preventing violence. For example, Amandla Edufootball a SDP organization that started in the Khayelitsha township of Cape Town and has now expanded to Gugulethu, also in Cape Town, as well as to Johannesburg, tries to use soccer to address crime. A rationale that they provide on their website is that:

Far too many young people leave school each day and enter unsafe, violent neighbourhoods and homes with no adult supervision. These young people are at high risk of destructive, anti-social behaviour – substance abuse, risky sexual behaviour and
involvement in gangs – that threatens their future and often leaves them trapped in a cycle of poverty (Amandla, 2018)

There is an important difference between GRASA and these NGOs. As mentioned in relation to the FFH Centres in Chapter Four, sports-based violence prevention programmes often focus on developing safe spaces for individuals that allow them to escape their communities. The programmes are often based on the belief that separating the individual from the community and developing, or fixing, some aspect of their character, will solve problems relating to crime and violence. This approach has been critiqued for not considering the contexts within which violence occurs, having limited conceptions of violence and who commits violence, and operating more as a form of social control (Buffan, 2011; Coakley, 2002; Hartmann, 2016; Spaaij, 2009, 2011). For the players from GRASA, soccer could be used to prevent crime and particular forms of violence, not by separating players from the community, but through the reciprocal and mutual support that developed when players developed connections to their community. Similarly, the discipline that players referred to was not limited to individual character or restraint, but was based on the commitment that players had to their clubs and the service that they offered their community (See Chapter Six).

The formation of clubs in GRASA demonstrated the multitude of ways that players had to negotiate geographic, political, social, and economic contexts in order to deliver and participate in sport. As will be described below, the way that violence prevention and respectability operated within GRASA challenges straightforward assumptions relating to the mobilization of sport-for-good. To understand how this occurred requires an engagement with the social, political, and historic context of soccer and Grahamstown.
5.3 GRASA and Shifting Understandings of, and Engagements with, Politics

Numerous players emphasized how soccer was an inherently political activity during the 1970s and 1980s. At a time when explicitly political organizations and associations were banned by the government, sporting clubs provided a space where young people could still gather. Some of the clubs were formed by youth who were simultaneously involved in political organizing and education relating to the burgeoning student movements in the early and mid-1970s. These same youth became executive members with GRASA and other non-racial sporting bodies. The following sections outline how political involvement varied both within and between clubs, and how players negotiated the purpose and aims of GRASA with their political involvement across time and geographic location.
It is disingenuous to claim that GRASA, or its particular clubs, were political in any sort of homogenous way, or to claim that a particular club’s politics was representative of all club members. For example, the October issue of the Grahamstown Voice newspaper included an article titled *Young Tigers Fight for SA Sport*. The article described how Young Tigers, as:

One of the oldest sports clubs in Grahamstown, are used to winning. Their football side has won nearly every trophy in the GRASA football league. With over 200 members, the Young Tigers is one of the biggest sports clubs in Grahamstown. It has given birth to other clubs like the Crusaders and Pioneers. But Mr. Zotwana who has been president of the club since it started says that Tigers are fighting for a much greater victory than those it has had on the football field. For Tigers is a member of Sacos as are all the clubs playing for GRASA. And SACOS is using sport to fight for a better South Africa. The South
African Council on Sport’s motto is ‘you cannot play normal sport in an abnormal society’. They mean by this that you cannot play sport with those who support the Apartheid system and the poverty which this causes. SACOS is fighting for a society which will be non-racial, democratic and where the wealth of the country will be shared by all. (GV, Oct 1980)

However, in speaking with a former player from Young Tigers, he emphasized that politics was not for everyone. He said “yeah, the team was always talking about politics, but I was not involved because I hate to talk politics. I was there to play soccer, I hate politics. Even today” (Sisa).

With this political heterogeneity in mind, most players associated with GRASA still identified United Teenagers (U18s) as a team that was established explicitly for political purposes. They were formed by a group of politicized students at Nathaneal Nyaluza, along with an ANC activist who had been imprisoned on Robben Island (GV, Nov 1984). This dynamic was somewhat common during this period. Activists that had been involved with the ANC and PAC in the 1960s and were arrested, detained, or sent to Robben Island, came back to communities where they were viewed with suspicion by their peers, or identified as troublemakers. Even so, they found ways to engage in politics and the burgeoning youth movements like BCM, particularly through sport (Moloi, 2012; Suttner, 2008). Their reason for forming the team was for political purposes and the club was an extension of the student politics and protests that were occurring at Nyaluza (Ntshiba).
What they call the Soweto Uprising, 1976. Soweto Uprising, we started that here in 1975 because there came a policy at Nyaluza to say all subjects were to be done in Afrikaans. We said this can’t be. We engaged the school management. They said nothing could be done.

So, we marched in 1975 from Nathaniel Nyaluza to the Education District Board in town. That march was met with brutal repression. And you see, the leadership of those actions were the ones that formed United Teenagers. Soccer was a motive to mobilize and organize the masses.
Some players even joined United Teenagers for explicitly political reasons. One former player explained to Auf der Hyde (Forthcoming):

For me it was politics. That was more important. You could say I was not even flexible to play soccer. I knew that was something that I must involve myself in if I wanted to be involved in politics. I was not good. I was just a kicker and a runner. I played as a number five. A centre-back. It was my job to clear the ball. That’s all. But I knew that after the match there was going to be a team talk. That is where we are going to hear what action we must take. For me football was a transport to get to politics.

However, even within United Teenagers there was not a unified understanding of politics and a number of players split off and formed Fraser Chiefs in order to gain sponsorship from a white-owned furniture shop.

Players from Early Birds were also actively involved in politics at the time, but because Monaheng was a police officer, they could not bring political discussions to the team. Instead, they had to find more covert ways to organize:

We used to go there, at the field there, sit amongst the crowds there, and hold a meeting. But eh, funny enough in the evening we'd be detained and the security police would tell us, ‘You can hold a meeting. But, holding that meeting, we will know what you were saying, what someone else was saying, what that one was saying, what that one was saying. You will be detained and one of your guys is ours.’ That baffled us. We didn't know who was this. I can't recall now, but we were baffled by this thing. How does this leak to those guys? Heh, so we used to organize meetings like that. We didn't politicize Grahamstown soccer meetings for that same reason because we knew. (Sticks)
Players acknowledged that there were informers in soccer spaces making political organizing and education difficult. In acknowledging this, players would allude to the practice of necklacing, placing a tire over a suspected collaborator or impimpi and setting them on fire: “You will notice that among yourself there will be people talking about what had been discussed to the system [police], we called them impimpis. That's why you had your tire; people were like that you know” (Rocky). For this reason, Monaheng and the Early Bird players were in a precarious situation.

Targeting town councilors, police officers, and anyone thought to be collaborating with the apartheid government became common throughout townships in South Africa during 1980s, as the community organizations involved with the UDF worked to make the townships ‘ungovernable’ (Adler & Steinberg, 2000). This violence could have easily been directed at Monaheng, as there were examples of soccer players being involved in riots and demonstrations that resulted in the deaths of police officers or other township residents perceived to be working with the apartheid government (See also Inquiry, 1980). As Coetzee and Wood (2009, p. 104) noted:

Much of the popular anger was directed against representatives of the authorities within the townships, most notably black town councilors. This was in line with the ANC’s stated position of targeting black town councilors, police force members, and others who had collaborated with the apartheid government.

Similarly, on March 6, 1983 the brother of a police officer was beaten to death on Egazini in Fingo Village (South Africa TRC, p. 24). However, players connected to GRASA were able to prevent any violence against their president. Players who had been involved in targeting other
town councilors and police officers were able to negotiate the safety of Monaheng. He relayed the following story:

Illustration 17. Soccer Saved my Life, Page 1/3. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde
But I must say that really, what helped me to survive until now was soccer and church. I was saved by soccer and the church.

One of my players came to me and told me the story.

No! Not our president, he is not an informer or a sell-out.

If we kill that man we will be killing our soccer, our sport, in Grahamstown.

But one day my house was petrol bombed, with 2 petrol bombs. I was out at a church meeting in East London.

My wife phoned me and said we had 3 petrol bombs in our house and van, but I was surprised because all 3 of them didn't explode.
The actions of young men and boys engaging in violence, vandalism, and intimidation challenged notions of respectability within the township (Coetzee & Wood, 2009). In speaking with Auf der Hyde (Forthcoming), a former GRASA soccer player and activist recounted a similar experience that demonstrated the complex links between an association founded to prevent violence, and the political context of the time:

We were involved in lots of campaigns. Some of the things we regret doing. Remember the system at the time. When they saw that the revolution was growing they had to have the so-called isiBhonda guarding the houses of the counsellors which were not elected by us. So these people were burnt with their houses and sometimes the children. So yes, we
were party to that. I remember one time we were playing a soccer match at Foley’s ground and we received a report that there was a guy...So all of us, after the game, we all went there. We took them out of their houses and ironed them. We burnt them.

However, these actions were directly related to how GRASA members understood the role of soccer within the community, and the discipline and commitment of players. The political actions and forms of vigilantism that soccer players engaged in were not seen as contrary to the broad notion of sport-for-good (Darnell et al., 2019). Instead, these forms of direct action were viewed as benefitting the community, both by filling gaps in governance and service created by the apartheid state, and by providing space to resist an oppressive system—not only through imagining alternatives, but also by putting those alternatives into practice. In many ways, this epitomizes how Fanon (1963, 1967), Freire (1968/2000), and Bloch (1959/1986) discussed struggle, dignity, hope, freedom, justice and liberation.

5.3.1 Soccer and precarious politics: Geographical and temporal influences on involvement

As noted in the previous section, the way that players engaged with politics varied both between and within clubs in GRASA. Additionally, players’ political involvement was also dependent on where they were geographically located at particular times. In the 1970s and 1980s, a number of players had to leave Grahamstown to finish their schooling. While they were away, they mostly kept their ‘heads down’ to avoid attention from the government and complete their studies. Starting with the student boycotts and protests in the mid-1970s many players would face detention and interrogation, requiring some of them to leave Grahamstown. Similarly, although players were able to travel to different cities for soccer matches with
GRASA, or KWASBO, they had to take care in how they engaged in politics because they found themselves in unfamiliar contexts. As one of the players from Early Birds described:

So we were working on the ground for the ANC, we went to all the conferences. We were working through sport, to promote whatever the ANC said we must do. Yeah, we attended meetings almost everywhere - Joburg, Cape Town. I was with guys here at Rhodes - mainly in the Albany non-racial sports board and a few guys from rugby. The other guys were...I don't know, I would say they were scared, they would get detained. But we were in and out of these prisons, for those 14 day detentions. But we get on with it, whenever we went to any meeting whether in Cape town or here, we used to conceal pamphlets and all that material to give to people so that they can know what's going on in the country, but we focused mainly on playing soccer (Sticks).

This was similar for players that found themselves in Grahamstown from elsewhere. For example, a number of players recounted local teams recruiting or using players from Port Elizabeth and other cities. One such player was Qaqawuli Godolozi. He played for a team called LDA for a short period and then Early Birds. In 1985 along with two other Port Elizabeth activists, collectively known as the PEBCO 3, he was assassinated by the security police. PEBCO was the Port Elizabeth Black Civic Organization, founded like other civic organizations in townships in the late 1970s and early 1980s to address community needs and protest apartheid policies. Although he was incredibly politically active in Port Elizabeth, one player from Early Birds recounted that while in Grahamstown he was mostly quiet:

I knew about Godolozi's political involvement afterwards. If he was involved before I didn't know. Because when we were here, Godolozi would never discuss anything or engage in discussion or anything about politics. Funny enough, he was in the Craddock 4
or Craddock what, and Godolozi was in Grahamstown for a long time, no he was in the PEBCO 3, but I said, eh we were busy here, I suppose he didn't want to get involved, like we did in the Transkei, we didn't want to mess up there where you are far away from home and all that. I suppose he was like that as well. (Sticks)

That being said, players who knew Godolozi in Port Elizabeth, through their involvement in KWASBO and SASF, acknowledged how active he was within Port Elizabeth politics:

hmmm, he was not a good player, haha, but...yeah, he was an average player, yeah that's correct he was an average player. But Godolozi in discussion! Eh, in discussions, sometimes when we were discussing something you would say 'hey, this gentleman’, even me, I said, eh, uh uh he is getting us away from this sport now, what is he taking us to, but we had to follow (King).

How players were able to engage with politics in different ways depending on the context they found themselves in was facilitated by the development of civic organizations that were not always based on concrete leadership and organizational structures. These structures will be discussed further in Chapter Six. Additionally, players’ involvement in politics and the actions they chose to affect change were often connected to understandings of discipline.

5.4 GRASA and Shifting Understandings of Discipline

The previous sections outlined how players’ engagement in political struggles, including activities relating to political violence and vandalism, were negotiated alongside the founding aims of GRASA, the broader social and political climate, as well as their own particular contexts relating to the team they played for and the city they were living in at particular times. In this way, players followed a number of different pathways and strategies to try and create their better world. What was shared between these contrasting pathways was a belief that discipline was
fundamental to both soccer and political involvement. In sporting contexts, discipline is often constructed along conservative lines, in terms of obedience, self-control, and deferral to authority. This aligns with how scholars of sport in South Africa have noted that township sporting organizations provided black South Africans, particularly those with political, social, or economic ambitions, a pathway to notoriety and respectability (Alegi, 2010; Magubane, 1963; Nyquist, 1983). As Magubane (1963) explained:

The constitutional position in the country is such that it provides educated Africans with no scope for participation in Government, whether central or local. The sporting organizations and other such voluntary associations under complete African control, provide one of the few fields “within which emancipation is possible”. Within these organizations the African intellectual gains recognition and wields some kind of power (p. 22)

However, for many of the youth involved in GRASA, their discipline was informed by the political struggle, the BCM, and student movements of the early and mid-1970s. This section outlines how the formation of GRASA, coinciding with these politics, precipitated forms of discipline that challenged notions of respectability, violence, and the status quo.

Around the same time that GRASA was established in 1975, black students in Grahamstown began mobilizing against conditions in their schools. Numerous players emphasized that the year before the Soweto Uprising in 1976, students at Nathaniel Nyaluza High School in Grahamstown were actively engaged in protests, boycotts, and an attempted march into town that was brutally stopped by the police:

There was a big march, which was conducted by students from Nathaniel Nyaluza high school to the Education District Board in town. That was 1975. And that march was met
brutally and they were dispersed by the police services then. Before, in actual fact, getting inside the town, you see, before getting inside the town. You see, that leadership then in Nathanial Nyaluza were the ones that established the U18s [United Teenagers Soccer Club], you see, those are the youth that established U18s by then. (Ntshiba)

The march in 1975 was actually after nearly a year of protests, boycotts, and negotiations at Nyaluza.

Importantly, the student protests at Nyaluza included a large number of students, not simply athletes and not just the boys and young men that would go on to establish GRASA. In recounting one of the big marches that the students had organized, Sticks remembered carrying a placard, a protest banner, with a prominent female student activist. Because this dissertation focuses on the experiences of soccer players, and soccer in South Africa has been and still continues to be a masculinized activity (Alegi, 2010; Pelak, 2010), the role of women in the townships during this period is mostly absent from this document, relegated to allusions such as the one above, or reference to soccer clubs in GRASA forming netball teams for girls in the community. Cherry (2007) has argued that this is common in literature on township politics and community life in this period. She explained that “most academics and journalists have used ‘gender-blind categories’ to describe township protest: terms such as ‘the people’, ‘youth’, ‘community’, ‘residents’ and ‘masses’” (p. 282). Throughout this document, I fall into this trap, and it is important to keep in mind that the hope and nostalgia I am discussing are from the perspectives of the men and boys that were playing soccer. However, while they were doing this, women and girls played prominent roles in the community associations, social clubs, and political organizations that made soccer possible (Cherry, 2007). Although leadership within civic organizations in the 1980s were primarily made up of men, Cherry (2007) explained that
women, women’s committees, and women’s organizations played significant roles in organizing campaigns, protests, and boycotts. As she stated:

The nature of civic organizations, focused as it was on the household and the concerns of township residents – housing and living conditions, rent and service charges, electricity and sewerage provision – was inherently of concern to women, especially older women who were responsible for households and bore the burden of poor service provision (Cherry, 2007, p. 287).

Further, Cherry (2007) explained that much of the ‘domestic’ responsibilities for maintaining a well-functioning organization and political movement, such as catering, fundraising, and producing goods, were taken up by women and girls. Therefore, when I discuss the utopian nostalgia that former soccer players held for this period in terms of the political and social role that soccer held, it is important to recognize that this would not have been possible without the social and political labour of women and girls.

On May 20th in 1974 students “decided to conduct an orderly all-night protest on the school’s rugby field” (Willsworth, 1978, p. 386). Incidentally, Nyaluza’s sporting field is Egazini. This resulted in the manager of the Bantu Affairs Administration Board (BAAB) calling for a meeting, but the students refused, worried that those involved in the meeting would be singled out and punished; they submitted their concerns and demands to the school board. These included the removal of a circuit inspector, reinstatement of a previous principal, addressing concerns with conditions of classrooms, modes of discipline, and behaviour of teachers, as well as a request for the purchase of sporting equipment (Willsworth, 1978). Students were suspended but continued to attend classes until the regional director of Bantu Education from Cape Town arrived. After meeting with the students, he concluded that most students were under the
influence of a small number of agitators and called in the police to evict the students (Willsworth, 1978). As the quote above states, the government responded to these student-led protests with detentions and violent repression. In terms of being disciplined by the struggle, many students who were not politicized before these events became politically involved after seeing and experiencing the reaction to peaceful student protest (Coetzee & Wood, 2009).

In labelling the protesting students agitators, the regional director was echoing broader concerns that many of the protesting students and soccer players were aligned with the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM). This placed numerous students under increased scrutiny from the police and the special branch (GV, Aug 1983; King, Sticks, Ntshiba, Rocky), but this did not prevent these players from continuing to play and organize soccer. Sticks, a player from Early Birds explained the results of the original march in 1975:

Then the police came from Raglan Road and they stopped us before we got to Raglan Road and we were arrested. We were kept at the prison here. We got sentenced and we were sentenced to lashes, I think I got six lashes. That was heavy, yo. When we got out, then it was the detentions. Fort Brown, I stayed there I think 14 days, Seven Fountains 14 days, Alicedale 14 days, Riebeck East, all these towns, small towns. We used to be sent away so that you should not mingle with the people. Because the head of the security police here, he used to say we were poison. We are poisoning. But all the time we're, we were playing soccer at the same time. So I was playing for the school. I was playing for Early Birds. I was also playing for Grahamstown soccer. (Sticks)

These political actions taken by the students did not see immediate results, but participating in the political protests and activism, as well as the soccer clubs, gave youth opportunities to gain valuable skills and develop the discipline and commitment that they would later look back on.
nostalgically. In many ways, the fond feelings for soccer during this time were based on sentiments that could be associated with Fanon, Biko, Freire, and Bloch’s understandings of freedom, dignity, and flourishing. Soccer was one of the few spaces in which young men could organize, both politically and socially. As Fanon (1963) and Freire (1968/2000) discussed, understandings of human freedom and flourishing develop through collective struggles and it is often through these struggle that people find ways to collectively organize and make decisions. Although the joy and happiness that players associated with soccer is sometimes dismissed by scholars of SDP, these feelings cannot be separated from how Biko and Fanon considered the dignity and shared understandings of humanity necessary for political education and social change.

The different clubs, and the association itself, developed their own forms of organization, governance, and community development. The nostalgia players had for GRASA was not merely related to bygone sporting days, but to the active role that they, as boys and young men, were able to play within the association, and the active role that soccer had within the community. Importantly, as noted above, not all of the teams chose, or were able, to engage in politics in the same manner. Some teams were explicitly political in their founding, others more covert, and some tried to avoid politics. Additionally, how students engaged in political life shifted over time.

5.4.1 Vandalism, violence, and vigilantes: Diverging paths to a better world

From the previous sections, an important insight from GRASA is that sporting spaces can hold multiple and contradictory understandings of politics, violence, and discipline, and can therefore be used as a means to achieve divergent ends, or divergent understandings of the ‘good society’ (Levitas, 2014). On the face of it, this is not a novel insight, as sociologists,
anthropologists, and historians of sport have always emphasized that sport, as a social practice, has no inherently universal qualities. Instead, what sport does is often based on the context within which it is organized (Wilson, 2012). Further, as noted above, Fanon (1963) described how violence in colonial and postcolonial contexts is intricately linked to notions of dignity and freedom. Examining the context that could produce a soccer association founded on the principles of preventing violence and at the same time contained clubs and players that decided to use violence for political and social ends, can prove instructive for people interested in sport-for-good. In the section below, I do just this.

Players and administrators of GRASA believed that soccer could teach young men discipline and character, and that it could distract youth from crime and gangsterism. However the discipline developed through soccer, which was connected to understandings of community and service, could not be separated from the social and political context of the time that resulted in forms of violence that were seen as necessary for promoting justice, achieving freedom and for maintaining order within the township.
Before we practice we talk politics. Sitting around like this, it wasn’t easy because if the police get you with more than 4 or 5 you are in trouble. So the club helped in terms of discussing politics.

But when was that year, 85? 86? Out of the blue they were disturbing our matches with their casspirs (hippos) right on the field. Provoking us for no reason. It was bad (Charles, Fingo Stars)

When there was bannings we utilized the training session now because we have to go to training. But the police will be going around in their hippos. We will be talking politics, we see the hippo and just start to kick the ball. When they leave we go back to talking politics (Rocky, United Teenagers)
These Mongrels and Mafia, they would even watch our soccer. They would be at the field with their beer and swords (bays Hshiba).

I used to go with them, street by street, hunting these Mongrels. They had pangas, spades, huge daggers.

Even people that were talking outside of Early Birds, you can hear what they say — "so, you boys are with the impipi?" But we knew that Monaheng was not impipi (stixx, Early Birds)

We go with our vaseline, our irons, hot irons. We’ll remove their tattoos as a warning.

"There were impipi, informers. That’s why you had your face."
Players did not directly discuss the links between violence, resistance, and soccer a great deal; however, offhand comments or brief allusions to current and past violence, as well as my own readings and experiences in the township, took on increased prominence within my drawings, sketches, and comics. In discussing violence, there is a risk that I am sensationalizing a small aspect of my research, potentially reproducing the notion of townships as violent spaces—a discourse that was often used to justify the apartheid system, and a discourse that is often used by governments and SDP organizations around the world to police, surveil, and pacify certain communities, sometimes through the use of sport (Hartmann, 2016). However, violence within the community was contextual and could not be separated from other forms of organizing and direct action that provided social support, mutual aid, and solidarity for community members.

The student protests starting in 1974 escalated to acts of vandalism against school facilities. In 1978, multiple schools incurred thousands of dollars of damage from fires and stoning. Willsworth (1979), who was conducting her fieldwork during this time, argued that this vandalism, as well as an increase in petty theft within the township was possibly the result of prior passive and democratic protests not achieving any results:

It can be suggested that this epidemic of petty theft, mainly by young blacks, is not only a response to the growing pressures of poverty, but that it might be a spread of covert rebellion from the logical target of the schools to all symbols of white power (including wealth and property), as well as anger and frustration at a system which appears to be contemptuous of the community's values: of respect for the person, patience in dealing with protagonists in conflict, the seeking of reasonable solutions to problems, reluctance to apportion blame etc. (Willsworth, 1979, p. 398)
Around this same time, the township also experienced an increase in petty crime and violence through the emergence of two gangs, the Mafia and the Mongrels. The gangs were primarily made up of youth who had recently been released from prison and the Mongrels, who originated in District 6 in Cape Town, did most of their recruiting in prisons (Rhodeo, Oct 18, 1982). In response to this increase in crime and violence, community members began to form a community-policing force—a vigilante group.

In November 1979, a group of elderly residents met to address the increasing amounts of vandalism and petty crime (GV, Oct 1979). As a response, they decided to form a vigilante group known as the Peacemakers. The Peacemakers, made up of mostly older male township residents, were initially supported by the community. This changed as the vigilante group began to indiscriminately harass and physically assault community members (GV, June 1980).

Additionally, as school protests and boycotts continued, the Peacemakers with the support of the Community Council began to clash with students, often deploying physical force to break up protests and coerce students to end boycotts and return to school. The Community Councils were created in 1977 to replace the Urban Bantu Councils. They were designed to shift governance and administration in the townships from white bureaucrats to black town councilors. Within Grahamstown like in other townships, there was strong resistance to the Community Council. These conflicts culminated in 1981 with a member of the Peacemakers being stoned to death by students. Following this, a number of Peacemakers joined the police reservists, which confirmed for many community members that they were collaborators with the apartheid government. With the loss of community support the Peacemakers disbanded in 1982 (Manona, 1988).

Although the Peacemakers lost the support of the community through their actions, the impetus behind their founding was representative of the tension and generational divide that
many of the student activists experienced. A number of the players that were political activists told stories of how their parents were weary of their political involvement. This was congruent with previous research on school boycotts taking place in Grahamstown. The generational divide was often driven by youth believing that the conservatism of their parents hindered political change. This is illustrated by an activist quoted in Coetzee and Wood (2009, p. 105):

> Even me, I was discouraged at some point by my parents to be part of the struggle. At that time people were hopeless. Honestly speaking, each and every parent was concerned about his or her son or daughter, so therefore we were persuaded to distance ourselves from these things. As you know, the youth has got its own historical role or mission to accomplish.

Dlamini (2009) noted that this dissatisfaction can partly be attributed to teenage hubris, not fully understanding or respecting the political actions of previous generations and he drew on Fanon to argue that “it is the prerogative of youth in each political era to think that the struggle began with them, that previous generations have been a failure” (Dlamini, 2009, p. 90). In some ways, soccer served to exacerbate this generational divide. Similar to how Tetelman (1998) described soccer clubs in Cradock in the Eastern Cape in the 1970s, the soccer clubs in Grahamstown began to pull youth away from rugby, an activity that was long established and often provided ways for older men to exert some forms of social control over youth. As opposed to rugby, the soccer clubs were largely youth driven and gave young men a space to socialize and organize with their peers, without the direct authority of older generations.

The Peacemakers failed to deal with the gangs in the township, and the Mongrels and the Mafia continued to operate unopposed until the formation of another vigilante group in 1982, called the Comrades. This group was primarily made up of young soccer players, mostly from
New Town City, but also other clubs in Fingo, such as United Teenagers. The main purpose of the group was to rid the township of the Mongrel and Mafia gangs. As one Comrade noted “The white man’s justice has been seemingly ineffective in protecting people of the township from relentless gangsters. The creation of the Comrades is a reaction to that failure” (GV, Oct 1982a).

The Comrades often resorted to violent means to accomplish their objectives:

They hunted down their opponents and forced them to sever their gang affiliations. After catching a victim, they would first assault him severely and then smear Vaseline on his tattoos before burning them with an iron bar which would be heated over a primus stove.

(Manona, 1988, p. 323)

Although they were deploying violent methods, the Comrades were well supported by the community. In her writings on the street and area committees in KwaZakele township in Port Elizabeth, Cherry (2000, p. 100) noted that residents of townships during this time could “distinguish between political violence and criminal violence. They generally appreciated the ability of the committees to control the latter - often more effectively than the police had ever been able to do.” This would seem to apply in Grahamstown, as my interviews with former players, as well as newspapers and other documents from that time stated that the Comrades were supported within the community.

For example, the student newspaper Rhodeo published a story on the gang conflict in the townships and explained that:

There has been an upsurge in community spirit in opposition to gangs such as the Mongrels and the Mafia who have dominated criminal activity in the past. This was shown by the brutal killing of two Mongrel members last month in ‘J’ Street. The bodies
were said to have been badly mutilated with pitch forks, spades, stones, and knives. The community claims responsibility. There have been no arrests (Rhodeo, Oct 1982).

In speaking with a former gang member, the Rhodeo article recollected a story that confirmed Manona’s (1988) account above:

One day I met three members of the Comrades gang. They persuaded me, peacefully, to remove my tattoo. They took me to their house, smoothed Vaseline on the tattoo. They then held a large knife in a fire for a while and burned my tattoo with it.

This understanding of violence and the social and political role of sport is often neglected by SDP practitioners and researchers; more commonly, with regards to addressing violence and crime, sport is positioned as a distraction, a form of social control, or a method of inculcating values and character traits (Coakley, 2002; Hartmann, 2016; Spaaij, 2009, 2011). The soccer players that were part of the student protests and the vigilante group known as the Comrades were precursors to the community-based forms of direct action that dominated townships in the 1980s. As Lodge and Nasson (1991, p. 135) noted, it was these efforts that “were the most challenging to the state's moral authority. More than any other feature of the insurrectionary movement, people's justice testified to the movement's ideological complexity and to the extent to which it was shaped from below.”

Soccer matches themselves were also sites of frequent violence. Players would nostalgically remember particularly aggressive and violent soccer battles they played and the fights that would erupt. However, these matches were fondly remembered and it was always emphasized that these fights would remain on the field. As one player pointed out, there was also always the potential for violence to break out on the sidelines because of social tensions within the community:
Say you had a fight with someone last night, at a party or something. Then maybe you see that somebody in the field, like standing on the line, watching the game. The collision will come. But the teams will stop and will go and stop all that because we wanted everybody to watch the match. (Wiseman)

Although players in Grahamstown did not discuss it, violence in soccer spaces throughout South Africa during this time was sometimes the result of conflicts over gambling, or the regional affiliation of the clubs (Alegi, 2009; Cubizolles, 2011). That being said, the former soccer players in Grahamstown understood soccer violence, much like political violence, as separate from, and potentially preventing, criminal violence.

The political and community actions that players engaged in would seem to contradict GRASA’s founding ethos of addressing violence within the community. Student protesters, including soccer players, vandalized school buildings and facilities, and later the homes of town councilors and police officers; the Comrades engaged in violence as a way to curb the influence of criminal gangs in their community. Importantly, these actions were viewed as necessary, the Comrades were supported within the community, and the desire to serve the community was directly related to the way that players nostalgically remembered the discipline and commitment developed through soccer.

5.4.2 Nostalgia for soccer and discipline: Lessons for sport-for-good

The previous sections demonstrated that young men’s understandings of sport-for-good, the notion that sport could lead to a better world, in the 1970s and 1980s was dependent on how players and clubs negotiated the shifting political and social context. Discipline and violence, two concepts that are invariably invoked by sport-for-good organizations, had various meanings which influenced how players engaged in political struggles and attempted to achieve a better
world. This section discusses how these insights can be informative for ongoing sport-for-good efforts.

Whenever conversations moved towards discussing differences between current soccer players and the players from the 1970s and 80s, former GRASA players would invariably bring up the concept of discipline and today’s players lack thereof. This was mostly relating to what was perceived as an increased amount of alcohol and drug use amongst youth. Multiple players would mention the fact that if you go to a tavern on Friday night you will undoubtedly see players drinking and dancing until the early hours of the morning when they have a match the next day. As Mame, a former player and administrator with Royals United explained:

Yeah we struggle now with discipline that’s the problem. More especially drinking. Yo, we struggle. Because now you find that players nowadays sit in the tavern until about 2 or 3 o’clock, but there’s a game the next day. That’s why some older players like me and other guys who used to be involved stopped. Because you cannot go as a coach and say where are your players, and you see them getting to the field half drunk. Sometimes the team is short, you come there, you start the game with 8 players, 9 players, it doesn't show any discipline (Mame).

I could understand this feeling. The day before I spoke with Mame, I was at Dlephu watching matches and a team showed up with seven players, the minimum required for the match not to be forfeited, and instead of bottles of water were carrying boxes of wine. It is important to note that the players from the 1970s and 80s that I spoke with mentioned that this kind of behaviour did happen during their time, but they would often point out other clubs that would tolerate drinking and smoking, emphasizing that their team was disciplined. Even still, every former player I
spoke with emphasized the discipline of the era and a number of players connected this discipline to both the political struggles of the time, as well as desires to serve the community.

Talking about a nostalgia for discipline that was informed by political struggles moves the discussion away from how SDP organizations often talk about sports-based programmes addressing crime and violence (i.e. in terms of character traits, life skills, or behaviour that individuals can learn and practice). Players from GRASA referred to discipline within a particular social and political context. In many ways, it reiterated the way that scholars such as Fanon (1963) and Freire (1968/2000) have discussed the consciousness raising that occurs through political struggles, and how anarchist and social movement scholars have discussed how alternative forms of organizing and politics are prefigured through community life and struggles (Graeber, 2012; Neocosmos, 2009; Zelenova, 2017). This could potentially reorient SDP rhetoric. The GRASA players involved in political struggle spoke of players learning discipline, character, values, and life skills through sport, in similar ways to current day SDP organizations. However, in SDP this language often presents particular populations as deficient and needing development—reinforcing ideologies promoting individual responsibility and competitiveness, self-interest, and risk avoidance (Darnell, 2011; Forde, 2014, 2015; Hayhurst, 2014). For the GRASA players, the learning of these traits and the development of individuals could not be separated from community development, political participation, and collective freedom.

The student uprisings in 1974 involved students that were part of, and became politicized through, the BCM. GRASA began to expand rapidly in the early 1980s, with more clubs being established. These new clubs represented a slightly different political composition. Players who had grown up in the BCM and had belonged to the original clubs often established them. For a variety of reasons, the players decided to split from their original clubs and form new teams.
These new teams were often formed based on geographical location, but their ranks were filled with younger players who may not have been involved in the earlier student protests, but were now coming of age during the civics movement. New Town City is a prime example of this. Formed in 1982 by players who began with Early Birds, the club served as a means for politically educating youth:
In our meetings it was not only that we were talking about football, they were also talking about the political climate that was taking place at the time. Yeah, that’s when we were made aware of people like Steve Biko, Mandela and them. It was during those meetings.

(Jeff)

The political education through soccer was not confined to physical spaces. The sports section in the Grahamstown Voice also utilized its platform for political education. In addition to articles on the non-racial sports movement, the newspaper article also published articles on the broader struggles of sportspeople. For example, an article in 1980, in the May edition profiled a player for Kaizer Chiefs, Shaka Ngcobo. The article noted that although he was a star player he was not actually able to live or buy a house in the city that he played, because of apartheid (GV, May, 1980). As explained above, it was club members from New Town City, as well as other clubs in Fingo, that formed the Comrades. After the Mongrels and Mafia ceased operating, crime in the township, although not completely eliminated, dissipated enough that the tactics of the Comrades were no longer required. A number of the youth involved with the Comrades, including the soccer players, shifted their attention to the ongoing student and community politics and protest. This political involvement was facilitated by an older generation of players that were involved in BCM and the student movements throughout the 1970s, but it was also enabled by the understandings of community engendered through GRASA and the civics movement.

5.5 The end of GRASA: Paths to a Better World Closing off

As noted in previous sections, the nostalgia that players felt for soccer in the 1970s and 1980s was often expressed alongside feelings of betrayal, or a sense that the possibilities and potential of that time did not come to pass. Some of the reasons that the paths that seemed to open up during the 1970s and 1980s did not lead to change are described below.
It was sometimes hard to reconcile the stories of GRASA and the self-described discipline, commitment, and sacrifice of the players, with the current disillusionment or pessimism around soccer and politics. For all of the players, the current state of soccer and community life in the township was connected to current youth lacking the discipline and values of the previous generation. However, a number of players also discussed various other factors that contributed to what they saw as the degradation of sporting and community life.

Teams that were once formed from players often residing on the same street or within the same neighborhood started to be pulled apart. The youth that had formed the teams moved on to pursue education in other cities, sometimes to avoid detention and sometimes to simply further their education and professional aspirations. Further, fractures within teams occurred as players moved to different areas because of both forced removals, as well as later on when houses and land were granted as part of dispensation.

The increasing commercialization of soccer throughout the 1980s and 90s was also seen to have caused a shift in values amongst the players. Whereas before, because of apartheid structures, there was little to no hope of players in Grahamstown turning soccer into a career. Therefore, soccer was primarily viewed as an integral part of community and social life. The older players I spoke to believed that as more and more opportunities arose to make money through soccer, the values around the sport shifted from a community to an individual focus. Alongside the increasing professionalization and commercialization of soccer was also the development of national televised broadcasts and corporate sponsorships. The increasing availability of televised matches meant that more community members were spending their Saturdays and Sundays at the taverns watching the professional matches and not at Foley’s or JD Dlephu watching the GRASA fixtures. Cubizolles (2011), in his history of a small club in
Western Cape, Mighty 5 Stars, noted this same pattern in terms of clubs losing their geographical and community foundations after the end of apartheid.

Another cause for some former players’ sense of betrayal was the reorganization of sport following apartheid. As apartheid was ending, and due to pressure brought about through the sporting boycotts, various sporting bodies in South Africa began meeting to discuss unification. Although SACOS, as the non-racial sporting body within South Africa, was often considered the sporting side of the liberation struggle, it was never explicitly or publically aligned politically with the ANC. As a result, as apartheid was ending a National Sports Council (NSC) was formed. As Desai (2016) noted:

In its everyday operations, the NSC was just as political as SACOS. The difference was that the NSC was prepared to act at the behest of the ANC…The NSC was an important weapon in the marginalisation of SACOS, which was less willing to negotiate the end of the sports boycott and take direction from the ANC (p. 74)

Scholars have noted that SACOS’s idealism relating to non-collaboration, as well as its lack of support in black communities, sidelined the organization during unity talks (Booth, 1998; Desai, 2016; Farred, 1997). Sports officials and the ANC were eager to end the sporting boycotts and rejoin international sport; SACOS was not interested in negotiating or collaborating with political parties or other sporting bodies that did not share their ideals. As a result, the NSC became the sporting arm of the ANC. This process was mirrored in other facets of South African society. When the ANC was unbanned and apartheid was ending, the political and civic organizations within the country that had been leading the liberation movement were no longer seen as necessary and essentially became depoliticized (Desai, 2016; Lanergan, 1997; Seekings, 1996; Swilling, 1993).
In terms of sport, this meant that the community and grassroots structures that had developed during apartheid were now sidelined in favor of national top-down sporting structures. Whereas before, the organization of the clubs and GRASA were bottom-up and democratic, following the unification of the sporting bodies and the formation of the South African Football Association (SAFA) in 1991, policies became top-down and uniform. In a rush to return to international sport, the formation of national sporting bodies essentially prioritized elite sport, while sidelining the community structures and clubs that had developed during apartheid and through the work of SACOS.

Illustration 23. The End of GRASA, Page 1/2. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde
5.6 Conclusion

In providing a narrative of how and why GRASA formed and operated, this chapter demonstrated the role that soccer played in political organizing and resistance by young men, as well as the various ways that players understood and engaged with politics and social change. Soccer and soccer spaces were sites of contestation, where understandings and applications of politics, discipline, democracy, and violence were constantly negotiated. As discussed in Chapters Two and Four, dominant, mainstream, or institutionalized understandings of sport-for-good (i.e. SDP) often follow a charity-oriented approach to sport and development. GRASA provides an alternative example, its clubs were striving for both social and political change and their approach required players to engage with understandings of hope, freedom, and justice.
Similar to how Hardt and Negri (2017) advocated for the appropriation of the neoliberal conception of ‘the entrepreneur’, the case of GRASA raises questions about taken-for-granted concepts within SDP. Instead of asking questions about the ability of sport, or sport-for-good interventions, to impart life skills, discipline, and values, we can ask questions about the imagined future that those skills are directed towards. For former GRASA players, the idea that sport could impart life skills and discipline was unquestioned. However, those life skills were directed towards actions, and imagined futures, that diverged greatly from the conceptualizations of mainstream SDP organizations and sporting bodies such as FIFA.

The political actions taken by the students did not see immediate results, but participating in the political protests and activism, as well as the soccer clubs, gave youth opportunities to gain valuable skills and develop forms of discipline and commitment. The students involved in these protests were key members of the founding teams of GRASA. For them, soccer was simply an extension of their other political activities. The soccer clubs provided convenient spaces for discussing and organizing politics. However, instead of soccer simply being mobilized to address violence, it is important to understand that numerous paths emerged from GRASA in terms of how players chose to engage in politics and achieve social change through soccer. These paths were entangled in, sometimes violent, political and social relations, yet players remained nostalgic for the important role that soccer played within community and political life.

For many members of GRASA, participating in soccer, like any other social practice, could not be separated from the political climate of the time. Therefore, the clubs and players did not shy away from involving themselves in political matters and oftentimes utilized soccer spaces for political education, organizing, and mobilizing. Clubs developed their own forms of organization and governance, including some that strived to be horizontal, democratic, and
accountable (Graeber, 2013; Mbah & Igariwey, 2002). That being said, this intense entangling of sport, politics, and social life makes for a more complicated understanding of sport-for-good, and the role of sport in social and political change. Although the clubs and the association were formed with the aim of addressing crime and violence within their communities, the political and social context of the time resulted in clubs and players adopting vigilantism, as well as vandalism and political violence, as strategies of resistance and community service. This challenges the dominant narratives of sport-for-good and the role that sport played in resisting apartheid.

The involvement of clubs and players in acts of vigilantism and political violence needs to be considered alongside the forms of community organizing of the time. Throughout South Africa in the 1980s, township resident associations, or civic associations, began to address the needs of their communities. Through grassroots structures involving street committees and area committees, township residents were able to voice concerns and participate in decision-making processes relating to community services and development. Soccer in Grahamstown operated along similar lines, where clubs representing particular streets were used as forums for discussing community issues. Those clubs then fed into a larger association to make these issues known to the wider community. The vigilante group known as the Comrades was formed from soccer clubs because the local government was doing nothing to address an increase in crime and violence within the community. It was a response from soccer players, as well as other youth, to an issue causing concern for the broader community. The concern for the public good that spawned the Comrades was the same concern that motivated acts of community service and development and it is the same concern that motivates current day efforts at using sport for community transformation. The next chapter will focus on aspects of community life in more
detail, which in many ways could be considered utopian—that is, actually existing alternatives that demonstrated the potential of a better world.
Chapter 6: GRASA: Memories of Camaraderie and Visions of Utopia

6.1 Introduction

The outline of JD Dlephu stadium, containing two football pitches and surrounded by a large cinder block wall, sits like one of the pentagonal patches that make up a soccer ball, discarded on the northeast of the city of Grahamstown in the township of Joza. Traveling northeast on Ncame Street the stadium wall is on the left, separated from the road by a strip of grass, strewn with small amounts of litter and often occupied by grazing cows or donkeys. On the right are a number of small well-kept homes. From Ncame Street, you can turn left onto Vellum Street and if you are on foot, you can squeeze yourself through the northeastern gate that is located at the top most point of the pentagon. In a car, you need to continue on a little further until you reach a gate at the Northern corner of the complex, as it is usually the only gate open to vehicles of the three possible entrances. A view of the two pitches opens below and to your left. Entering through this gate gives an elevated view of the complex. A narrow strip of grass extends from the gate and runs the length of the near pitch, to the right is the stadium wall and to the left is a set of cement seats that descend to field level. The wooden framing for grandstands is located at the cement seats at the midway point of the pitch and behind these grandstands are a couple of small change rooms constructed from red brick.

Dlephu started out as a venue for rugby and only became used for football in the mid-1980s when executives from GRASA negotiated for the space to be used for matches. Sporting and recreation facilities in townships were nominally under the control of the Community Councils at this time, so Monaheng had to apply to the council to use the stadium for soccer. These negotiations took place because of the increasing popularity of soccer in the townships.
around Grahamstown. Up until the early 1970s in Grahamstown, rugby, cricket, and boxing were the primary sports that black South Africans participated in, with some rugby clubs dating back to the late 19th Century (Odendaal, 2003; Nongogo & Toriola, 2014). The first black soccer teams were not established until the early 1970s, with Early Birds the first club being formed in 1970 and then in 1975 six clubs came together to form GRASA.

Importantly, as noted in the previous chapter concerning Alegi’s (2010) historical work, the emergence of soccer clubs in the 1970s did not necessarily mean that notions of sport-for-good emerged from nowhere. Sports such as soccer were introduced to South Africa in the latter part of the 19th century and began to be taught through mission schools (Alegi, 2000; Odendaal, 2003); these schools also introduced rugby, which was keenly adopted by numerous black South African communities in the Eastern Cape (Odendaal, 2003). Many of the GRASA players and administrators had been involved with rugby prior to establishing soccer clubs in the 1970s. The Lovedale Missionary Institute, located in Alice in the Eastern Cape, was a prominent school, opening in the middle of the 19th century and educating numerous prominent African political figures including Steve Biko, Chris Hani, and others. Sport at Lovedale, including rugby and soccer, played a significant role in the education of students (Odendaal, 2003). As described in Chapter One, colonial missionaries who had come out of the British public school system utilized sport and notions of muscular Christianity within their work. At Lovedale, rugby was seen as a way to instill discipline and develop character. Biko was a rugby player, his brother as well, and although he only attended Lovedale for a short time, it is possible to see how the political climate of the time, allowed notions of discipline and muscular Christianity to be mobilized in politically radical ways. I am not arguing that his attendance at Lovedale, and his participation in rugby, directly influenced his thinking around Black Consciousness, but as
C.L.R. James would describe it, these ideas relating to sport, discipline, spirituality, democracy, and freedom were all stewing together at the same time. Further, prior to rugby being introduced, traditional games in the Eastern Cape, like stick fighting, provided structures grounded in cultural and political contexts that contributed to the development and organization of soccer in the 1970s (Alegi, 2010). That is to say, prior to and concomitant with soccer and rugby, there were examples of physical culture that also provided ways for young men to develop forms of masculinity and politics.

Although rugby played a prominent role in township life in Grahamstown, when soccer was established in the early 1970s it grew incredibly quickly and within ten years the association went from six clubs to over 20, with each club sometimes having three or more squads (A’s, B’s, and C’s). Fairly soon after clubs became established, soccer overtook rugby in terms of participation, but the number of facilities did not increase alongside this growth in popularity, with Foley’s Ground the only field available for soccer, until GRASA negotiated for the use of Dlephu in 1985 (GV, 1977; GV, May, 1979a; GV, Sept, 1979a; GV, May, 1985; GV, Oct, 1985). This lack of facilities continues today, with Dlephu now being the only facility in the township used for soccer matches, while the municipality has put tenders out for the rejuvenation of Foley’s for the past four years.
All the fields were occupied by rugby.
Now, I went to the meeting of this
Urban Bantu Council which controlled
all the fields in the township.
Luckily they gave me Foley's
Ground on K Street. We started small
but soon...

Foley's Ground was full to
capacity, full! From 10 o'clock in
the morning we would have Under-
B's and U17's. Then the first
teams at 4 o'clock. And we had
netball alongside the soccer, so
everyone was there. Full!
As we gained more clubs they also
gave us Dlephu Stadium and for
big games, phew, shawn true full.

I was a little surprised

to hear this. Foley's
has not been used for
years - waiting for
renovations

I spend most weekends at
JD Dlephu Stadium.
The energy and crowds that
Mampheng remembers are hard
for me to imagine.

Illustration 25. Foley's and Dlephu, Page 1/2. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde
Most days I’m at Dlephu there are few spectators. Usually just the teams playing.

At times it almost feels like a ruin—The site of these epic sporting and political struggles. This feeling is enhanced when I speak with guys that played in the 70s and 80s.

When we came to the stadium as youngsters we didn’t know if we would see a soccer match, or a funeral, or a political rally, or an execution.

Giesa was formed in 1975. The teams within Giesa were largely made up of students. In 1975 these students also engaged in protests and school boycotts—a year before the more well-known 1976 Soweto Uprisings.

Over the next 10 years these student-athlete activists would continue to participate in and lead various community and political struggles.
The cover of the Grahamstown Voice for April 1983 places images of a ‘Township Field’ and ‘Rhodes University Field’ side-by-side (GV, Apr 1983). The field at Rhodes is well kept, the grass appears to be lush, and it is not being used. The image of the field in the township presents a soccer match, seemingly halted as cows are herded off a pitch that is a patchy mix of dried grass, rocks, and dirt. The purpose of the 1983 cover story is to highlight the poor condition of sporting facilities in the township and the possible misappropriation of funds meant for improvements by the Community Council. Arguably, in terms of the contrast between facilities, not much has changed in the 30 years since the article was published.

JD Dlephu Stadium is seemingly in a process of ruination. The grandstands covering a portion of the cement seats have been stripped down to just their wooden struts, the change rooms behind these grandstands are made of red brick walls that need repair. The field itself, like the one pictured in the 1983 article, is an uneven and patchy surface. The cinderblock wall encircling the field, once covered in colorful murals, is now chipped and fading. It is not just the material structures that are seen to be decaying; the soccer ‘culture’ is also described as dying. Even though there are more clubs and players engaged in soccer in Grahamstown than in the past, the place of the sport in the community seems to be diminishing. However, the nostalgia expressed by former GRASA players, as well as attempts made by current day clubs offer glimpses of hope. As Kellner (2010, p. 40) stated, drawing on Bloch’s philosophies, “history is a repository of possibilities that are living options for future action.” For current day efforts at sport-for-good, GRASA represents this repository of possibilities.

As numerous players and activists reminded me during my time in Grahamstown, politics was inseparable, not just from soccer, but from all facets of daily life during apartheid. That being said, a great deal of nostalgia that players expressed for this time period was not limited to
involvement in the political struggle of the time, but was instead directed towards particular aspects of community life that prefigured a better world, aspects of community life that made both soccer and particular forms of politics possible. This differs from Chapter Five in a subtle yet important way. Chapter Five was concerned with understandings of politics, and responses, forms of struggle, strategies and tactics that were employed to achieve social change—focusing especially on actions and organizing directed towards struggle and a future framed by liberation. This chapter presents examples of what could be called actually existing utopia, aspects of day-to-day life that themselves exemplified a better world, or what was thought to be a better world.

As described in Chapter Five, to say that some players were political and others were not would be disingenuous. The stories that most players told were muddled, often jumping between anecdotes of the joy and freedom that they experienced through soccer, the politics and violence that was present during that era, and the current state of the community. The afternoon I spent with Wiseman from Crusaders was the most illustrative of this. He had invited me over for tea at his place in Tantyi. We spoke for a couple of hours about GRASA and Crusaders and then he offered to drive me around to houses and places that were significant to the team at that time. We stopped by a house on T Street where the team kept their kit and where it was laundered after matches. On the way to M Street and Foley’s Ground, we pass a tavern and Wiseman mentions that the previous weekend a young man staying at his place was stabbed on the street. We get to M Street and stop outside the house where the team would camp before matches, hold meetings, and then march to the field. Wiseman’s story constantly moved between the nostalgia and joy he felt for soccer, the struggle of the time, both political and economic, and current day problems and social issues. After the day with Wiseman, I completed a number of sketches.
His story epitomized how players' experiences of soccer were entangled with struggles for freedom and feelings of joy.

We were good, but people wanted entertainment there was a closeness between teams. It would make people happy. I remember, like my shorts, I would cut it at the joint under my legs.

And sometimes I would tuck my underwear between my bum, like a G-string, so when I ran past people the shorts flap up and all they see is my bum. Oh, we had fun.
These policemen they were shooting people here, chasing people, taking people out of their house. The hippos were in the streets, on the field, shooting people. For a while the team expired. People left.

We thought no man, we should fight back. We will climb on the roof, we will take the corrugated iron, we will fold it; you will heat one end of a rod, then bend it and stick it through.
"I was the one who would always sing to bring the spirit of the team up. On the way to the field you hear me shouting, calling, singing. The people watching, our fans, would all stand up and join."

"If we're going to play Tigers, the whole of Grahamstown is going to be there. The church reverend, when we play will put his gown on and walk in front. We walk like this to the field and back home after."
"You make it stand like a shield and while he's shooting you, you will hold it and the bullet doesn't get through. You can throw stones, or you'll have a petrol bomb."

Did you see George?? We will run up here to Port Alfred, we will run for 13 hours. If we have a bakkie we will load in the back with tires. Big tractor tires and regular ones.

“The whole week were at the sea, we’re running on the sand, pulling the tires, building our speed. You’ll start with the empty tire, but as you run it fills with damp sand.”
If we've got somebody that's died, 
Crusaders will take responsibility 
for doing everything, like cleaning 
the yard, preparing the house, 
painting…

In those days, if you happen to 
be killed by police there were 
restrictions, but because that boy 
was a soccer player they could 
not restrict it because that 
was a soccer player and most 
of the guys were soccer players 
so it was an open funeral” (Ngogo)
Wiseman’s experiences of soccer and politics in Grahamstown demonstrate how a narrative of soccer as a space for politics and as a form of resistance is incomplete. The nostalgia that players had for their time playing soccer, and the joy they experienced in soccer spaces, was discussed in ways that extended beyond politics and resistance. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to engage with former players’ utopian memories of soccer and daily life and to address the following question: What aspects of community and political life made soccer possible, joyous, and memorable, and how do these aspects of community life represent what Bloch referred to as utopian surplus.

6.1.1 GRASA’s community role: The study and approach

Similar to Chapter Five, this chapter is based on ethnographic and historic research. The historic context makes apparent how the nostalgia for GRASA, the hopes, possibilities and potential that were contained in soccer in the 1970s and 1980s have survived, but is often connected to feelings of betrayal. As explained in the previous chapter, Bloch’s understanding of hope and utopia recognized that “history is a repository of possibilities that are living options for future action” (Kellner, 2010, p. 40). This chapter examines these historical possibilities, not just as possibilities, but as actually existing examples that prefigured a different world.

Sport is often presented as a way to develop responsible citizens. From NGOs that mobilize sport for development purposes, to educators, politicians, church groups, community organizers and coaches, sporting spaces are represented as places where youth can avoid potentially harmful social ills and develop values relating to discipline, hard work, and fairness (Hartmann, 2016; Spaaïj, 2009, 2011). This was also seemingly the case with GRASA, which had as its founding aims to one, develop men’s football in Grahamstown, and two, to prevent
drunkenness and ‘thuggerism’ among young men. Going further back, these representations of sporting spaces were also championed by colonial administrators and educators who adhered to notions of muscular Christianity; for them, sport was a positive way to socialize youth (MacAloon, 2006). Recent efforts by international NGOs to use sport in development interventions have also been connected to early colonial and missionary efforts (Kidd, 2008, 2013) and have been criticized for operating in ways that assume that sport offers a way to teach universal (i.e. Western) values (Giulianotti, 2004).

Including an historical perspective can potentially move the discussion beyond the sometimes-simplified promotion, or critique of sport. For example, from the last chapter, members of GRASA discussed the ways in which soccer could help to develop responsible community members by instilling discipline, commitment, and hard work in youth—values that are often associated with conservative, or even neoliberal, understandings of sport. However, in the 1970s and 1980s these values were intricately tied to political activism, as well as forms of direct action including vandalism and vigilantism. Importantly, these forms of direct action also involved the formation of community service organizations and local political structures that put into practice particular utopian visions. This was particularly evident in descriptions of how soccer was intricately woven into social and political life, not simply a social practice that prepared youth to succeed in life. Soccer spaces such as Foley’s, Egazini, and JD Dlephu served as spaces for funerals, for political discussions, education and organizing, for the dissemination of political material, and for protests and demonstrations. Importantly, these spaces served both as spaces for dreaming of, and reaching towards, a better world (as discussed in Chapter Five), but they also operated as utopian spaces in their own right. Soccer spaces provided examples of mutual aid, Ubuntu, and social relations that epitomized a better world. In terms of nostalgia, this
is what many of the players longed for. This was also evidenced when discussions turned towards the current day state of soccer and community, former GRASA players primarily expressed feelings of betrayal, and the sense that soccer and community were in a state of decay.

In describing the aspects of community life that represented what could be called actually existing utopias this chapter begins with a brief overview of the civics movement, as a way to provide context for the period and to present an argument about how aspects of the civics movement can be read as utopian. Following this, I return to the notion of discipline. As discussed in Chapter Five, the concept of discipline featured heavily in players’ stories of politics, resistance, and violence. However, in this chapter, I will demonstrate how discipline was also discussed with regard to community service, mutual aid, and forms of direct action. These aspects of community life also provided the means for challenging some of the social relations that underpinned apartheid. This will be discussed with relation to Phoenix FC, a short-lived club that was affiliated to GRASA, made up of students from the local university. Following this, the chapter concludes by outlining how apartheid social relations were also challenged through GRASA’s understandings of community development and mutual aid.

6.2 GRASA and the Civics Movement: Nostalgia for Aspects of Community Life

Chapter Five outlined the actions of the Comrades, a vigilante group composed of soccer players and other youth in Grahamstown in the early 1980s, but the term comrade came to take on a different meaning in subsequent years both within Grahamstown and across South Africa. A comrade was someone associated with the UDF, the civics movement and the numerous political and protest actions occurring throughout townships in the early 1980s. These actions were directed at township authorities such as police, town councilors, army, or any other representative of the state. As noted above, the political actions of comrades during this time also
involved forms of violence directed at those working for the government or suspected of collaborating with police and the security branch. Importantly, as described in the previous chapter, the actions of these young male comrades were often only possible because of the work that women and girls were also engaged in. As Cherry (2007) explained,

The 1980s saw young males taking control of public space, while women were expected to provide shelter and guard their private space…Women would cook for the ‘comrades’, provide safe houses for those in hiding, give relief to those fleeing from tear gas, and look after the small children so as to ‘free up’ the youth for more active campaign. Women were outraged at the often arbitrary violence perpetrated against the youth, and played a critical role in expressing this outrage, organizing funerals, running advice offices and crises centres, raising funds and taking food and clothes to detainees (p. 291).

By 1983, township resistance was heavily influenced by the ideas and practices of the civics movement that began in the late 1970s. The civic organizations were residents’ associations that aimed to address the issues and concerns of community members (Bundy, 2000). They often operated in opposition to the township Community Councils that were seen as puppets of the apartheid state. Within Grahamstown, the anger directed towards the Community Councils, and the alternative community structures that emerged to challenge these bodies was well documented (GV, Oct, 1982a, b; GV, Jun, 1983; GV, Oct, 1983a; GV, Dec, 1983; GV, Apr, 1985c). The structure of the civics movement was based on practices popularized by Matthew Goniwe, a teacher and community activist from the Eastern Cape. Goniwe promoted methods of community organization that were decentralized and participatory—the degree to which this occurred in townships across South Africa obviously varied (Cherry, 2010; Lanegran, 1996; Mayekiso, 1993; Swilling, 1993). Before being assassinated along with Fort Calata, Sparrow
Mkhonto, and Sicelo Mhlauli, collectively known as the Cradock Four, Goniwe had visited Grahamstown and delivered speeches at JD Dlephu Stadium (King).

6.2.1 Utopian surplus within the civics movement

Although the UDF was the national face of the civics movement, it had varying levels of influence on grassroots organizations. For example, all of the former players I spoke with noted that they were aligned or participated in actions associated with the UDF, however most decisions relating to political action took place at the local level, through street committees and community structures such as the soccer clubs. As Lodge and Nasson (1991, p. 76, as cited in Neocosmos, 2009, p. 302) explained:

Indeed, by mid-1985 it was becoming clear that the UDF leadership was unable to exert effective control over developments despite its popularity: The momentum for action came from the bottom levels of the organisation and from its youngest members. It was children who built the roadblocks, children who led the crowds to the administrative buildings, children who delegated spokespersons, and children who in 1984 told the older folk that things would be different, that people would not run away as they had in 1960

Like GRASA, the civics associations were largely geographically based. In townships, each street would form a street committee, which would then connect with other streets to form area committees. These area committees would elect executives and connect to the broader civic organizations and the UDF. As well as challenging the community councils, alternative community structures developed to fill the void of service delivery, community policing, and organizing (Cherry, 2000; Zelanova, 2017)

Although information and directives about campaigns, boycotts, protests, and other actions could be communicated from the civic organizations down to the street committees, in
many townships, including Grahamstown, the street committees remained largely autonomous (Coetzee & Wood, 2009). One of the many reasons for this form of organizing was to make politics part of everyday life, including sport, which would make state repression that much harder (Bundy, 2000; Cherry, 2000). As one player from United Teenagers recounted to Auf der Hyde (Forthcoming):

Remember, people were scattered around. They would tell us what's happening in their surroundings. We had these street committees and they would report what was happening in their area, that report was needed. How safe it was there, what is happening there. Whatever we spoke about at that particular meeting is what determined what action was going to be taken.

However, long before the street committees of the civics movement, social and political organizing in the townships of Grahamstown took this form. The youth taking part in these political actions were the same youth that were engaging in forms of direct action to offer mutual aid and security to community members. These actions and structures were what Fanon (1963, 1967) was excited about in terms of the prefigurative potential demonstrated within struggles for freedom.

6.2.2 Community, discipline, and mutual aid

In outlining the civics movement above, I am not arguing that there was a causal or linear relationship in terms of soccer directly influencing political organizing, or the politics of the time directly influencing how soccer was organized. Instead, I am making a similar argument as CLR James (1963/2013), when he discussed the co-occurrence of the formation of organized sport in Western Europe in the middle of the 19th Century, alongside the emergence of movements for democracy and liberty. As he noted, the same people may not have been involved in both
movements, but they were swimming in the same waters, they were “stirred at the same time.” (James, 1963/2013, p. 153). Therefore, in this section, I outline how examples of sport and community organizing at the time of the civics movement show how community members and athletes were entangled in attempts to develop both their sport and their communities in democratic ways.

The organization of GRASA and the soccer clubs predated, but very much resembled, the street and area committees described above. Many clubs drew their membership from particular streets and club meetings became de facto community meetings, spaces to discuss team matters and broader community concerns. Meetings would involve players, but also their parents, siblings, and other community members. A number of the clubs also formed netball teams to provide sporting opportunities for young girls (GV, June 1983; Ngoqo). Similar to the politics of the civics movement, clubs in GRASA were also concerned with questions of participatory democracy and governance and players were often nostalgic for the discipline and commitment required to successfully operate the clubs and association in the face of financial and political difficulties (GV, Oct 1981).

Clubs would train from Monday to Thursday and would often ‘camp’ together the night before matches on Saturdays or Sundays. Simphiwe, a player from Early Birds, laughed when describing having to spend the night with the team:

And those were the bad days because you had plus/minus twenty players and you were sleeping in one small room, but you knew that you were leaving your bed, your comfort to come and sleep with other guys. But it was nice. It was nice because we were united.

(Simphiwe)
Although conversations about camping with their team and training with their team often focused on the hardship, players described these experiences as joyful. In this way, more than providing a space for political organizing and education, soccer provided spaces for the expression of joy and happiness and the nostalgia for these experiences is important to engage. Similar to the comic above that relayed Wiseman’s experiences, Simphiwe’s comment illustrates that the joyful nostalgia players had was connected to the sacrifice, discipline, commitment and camaraderie that was part of soccer. Further, the service, support, and mutual aid provided by soccer were viewed as utopian aspects of life that enabled, albeit temporarily, spaces of joy and happiness. Further in line with Bloch, Fanon, and Freire, the happiness and joy expressed through soccer, and their connection to discipline, commitment, and sacrifice, demonstrate how through collective struggle people express their dignity, and strive for freedom by hoping for, and enacting, better or alternative worlds.

Commitment and discipline were also discussed in relation to the administration of the clubs and the decision making and governance structures adopted. As Rocky noted, theirs was a discipline informed by the cause, learned through the struggle, and this influenced the organization of their soccer (Rocky). GRASA would hold their executive committee meetings on Tuesday to communicate information to the clubs. The club executives would generally meet on Wednesdays and then the general club meetings would take place on Thursdays. On top of this, clubs often faced financial difficulties and would have to organize fundraisers such as selling oranges, hosting dances, or organizing beauty contests (GV, Oct 1981).

Club meetings took on different forms, depending on the structure of the clubs. Some clubs adopted open and democratic processes for decision making, similar to the street committees described in the civics movement. Sometimes this would even include voting on
player selection for matches, as many clubs lacked managers and decisions relating to all aspects of the team were reached collectively (Charles, Simphiwe). Other clubs had presidents or managers that operated more as dictators, not allowing players to have input into the organization of the team (Sisa).

Participating in GRASA provided youth the skills to organize and then mobilize around various campaigns, but their involvement in politics influenced, and was influenced by, how they organized and implemented soccer. This was emphasized to me by many soccer players who somewhat exasperated with my questions about the connection between soccer and politics and the relationship between soccer clubs and political organizations, campaigns, and protests, would try to reiterate to me that everything was political. You could not say that soccer was informing the politics of the time, or that the politics of the time were informing the soccer, they were completely entangled. In this way, soccer often exemplified what anarchist thinkers refer to as direct action. Although direct action is often referenced with regards to political action, protest, violence, or vandalism—sometimes this is referred to as the propaganda of the deed (Mbah & Igariwey, 2001). However, direct action can also refer to how communities of people will collectively organize and build structures to address their needs. Soccer was an example of this and was organized in ways that reflected, and prefigured, the world and community that players wanted to inhabit.

Importantly, the organization of clubs was not strictly an outcome of the political context; players emphasized that clubs were organized based on the social and community role that needed to be filled. In fact, the fondest recollections that players had were often based on the connection that clubs had to the community. Players related stories of camping together before match days and walking through the township as a team and having supporters walk and sing
along. They talked about having hundreds and sometimes thousands of fans attend matches at Foley’s Ground, and about attending church on Sunday morning and having the church priest first implore everyone to attend the matches and then leading the teams and congregation to the field. This level of support was also noted in a number of newspaper articles (GV, May, 1979b; GV, Sept, 1979b; GV, Apr, 1981; GV, May, 1984; GV, Sept, 1984a). Similar to how Alegi (2010) described how the formation of supporters clubs in Johannesburg in the 1960s operated like mutual aid societies, players from GRASA provided examples of mutual aid. These included helping families dealing with the death of a family member, which could involve raising money for funeral costs, or cleaning and painting the house where the service would be held, or speaking at the service; raising money for school fees or providing uniforms and shoes for students; assisting elderly community members with gardening and household work, and; providing food and meals to community members. For some clubs, this assistance and community connection continued even after players had left Grahamstown or had stopped playing:

To players now, community is non-existent. It doesn’t exist anymore. They don’t assist. I remember then, New Town City, every December those who were working outside of Grahamstown would come back and then we’ll go and buy veggies, meat and stuff and we’ll call the entire neighborhood to come and enjoy. We’ll have a match between the old players and the young players and then after that we’ll go and sit down, we’ll hear speeches from one old man of the area and then one of our senior administrators and then we sit and chat and yeah, that’s where we used to believe that we get our blessings, that’s where we get blessings. But today’s players they’ve stopped it. They’ve stopped it. They don’t see a need. They don’t see a need. (Jeff).
These mutual aid activities did not emerge solely out of the civics movement, but were part of a long history of township political and social organizing (Neocosmos, 2009; Willsworth, 1978; Zelanova, 2017).

This assistance extended beyond the clubs, and in the same way that street committees would connect to area committees, the clubs would connect with GRASA, which could open opportunities for the clubs to support one another. This support most frequently occurred for funerals, which offered the most prominent example of how sport, politics, and community service were intricately connected, but the structure of GRASA and the clubs involved also demonstrated a unique form of political networking.

6.3 Soccer and Challenging Social Relations of Apartheid

Although GRASA was formed in 1975 and players from various clubs were politicized through the student uprisings and the soccer clubs themselves, the association did not affiliate with the nonracial sports movement until students at Rhodes University in Grahamstown established a club in 1979 and joined GRASA (GV, Sept, 1979c). Following this, GRASA became embedded in the nonracial sports movement within South Africa. Many of the players I spoke with repeated the slogan of SACOS, ‘No Normal Sport in an Abnormal Society’ when discussing the politics of GRASA. From the early 1970s through the 1980s SACOS played a significant role in building links between community sport and anti-apartheid politics. Importantly, as Booth (1998) pointed out, different communities engaged with SACOS politics in a variety of ways and soccer clubs in African townships oftentimes found themselves having to negotiate between SACOS’s hardline stances on not engaging with the apartheid state, and their desire to access facilities and resources. Additionally, the role of local university students in linking GRASA to SACOS provides a unique example of political networking. Students such as
Alan Zinn, Peter Auf der Hyde, Ihron Rensberg, and Ashwin Desai, played a significant role in GRASA, both as players and administrators. The involvement of university students within GRASA showed how soccer in Grahamstown provided what Booth (2016) described as a blindspot, allowing for racial encounters and entanglements that produced forms of political and social change that are often neglected in historical narratives of race in South Africa.

At first, this participation came about in 1979 with the formation of Phoenix Football Club and its affiliation to GRASA. Phoenix FC was formed from students at Rhodes University who were part of the Phoenix Cultural Society and the Black Student Movement. Rhodes University, historically a white institution, did not offer much space for progressive politics. Both of these groups offered forums for African, Indian, and Coloured students to discuss the politics of the day. Phoenix FC was a result of students within these groups wanting to play sport, but not wanting to participate in racial/segregationist sport offered through the university or the city’s primarily white soccer association, the Grahamstown Football Association (GRAFA). Ashwin Desai, a professor at the University of Johannesburg, was a player for Phoenix FC and then later joined United Teenagers. As he explained:

So Black students created a unity for themselves, in order to, I expect, offset this very naked racism and so, I think, it was the beginning of some kind of idea of politics. But really me, personally, I wanted to play sport. I loved sport, I wanted to play soccer and so on, and there was a decision not to use the campus sports fields and play for the campus teams and so we went to play in the townships and so we came - I expect we became integrated in the townships, not out of consent but being forced there, but once we went to play, you know, it became part of our lives. (Desai, 2002b)
Articles in the student newspapers at the time also outlined the rationale for establishing Phoenix FC and affiliating with GRASA:

Phoenix FC offers an alternative to people who believe in the principle of non-racialism and want to apply this to the sports field. Phoenix is affiliated to SACOS, the only true non-racial sporting body in South Africa...“Then there is the question of the Grahamstown Football Association. Although the GFA does not apply for permits nor belong to any racial body, we would be applying double standards if we were to play there. In the GFA league there are players that participate in racist sport. The idea of playing against a Springbok (Surely the height of racialism in sport) does not appeal to us. (Rhodeo, May 1981)

The formation of Phoenix was largely a result of students arriving at Rhodes who were involved in the South Africa Council on Sport (SACOS), which was a national non-racial sports body established in 1973. For example, Alan Zinn who completed a degree at the University of Cape Town and was part of SACOS when they formed a branch in the Western Cape, came to Grahamstown in 1979 to complete a couple of courses to qualify as a teacher. Zinn arrived at Rhodes University at the same time that students in Adamson House, the black residence, were debating what kind of sport should be played. Being aligned with SACOS and its community-based politics, Zinn and others encouraged students to form Phoenix and affiliate to GRASA and play in the township (Ngoqo, Peter, Alan). The players I spoke with from Phoenix described how this was not an easy decision. At the time, in order to be a member in SACOS you had to abide by its statutes and resolutions, which forbade SACOS members from utilizing segregated facilities, or any facility that required different racial groups to obtain permits. Effectively, this meant that the members of Phoenix would not use any of the sports facilities at Rhodes
University, including the only swimming pool in town, or frequent segregated businesses, which included many of the pubs, restaurants, and the cinema (Peter). Additionally, in 1977 SACOS adopted its Double Standards Resolution, which stated that:

Any person, whether…a player, administrator, or a spectator, committed to the nonracial principle in sport, shall not participate in, nor be associated with, any code of sport which practises, perpetuates or condones, racialism or multiculturalism (Booth, 1998, p. 15).

This meant that the players associated to GRASA could not join other sports clubs at Rhodes or within Grahamstown, if those clubs were not also abiding by the non-racial standards of SACOS. Peter auf der Hyde, the goalkeeper for Phoenix, and later on for New Town City and XI Attackers, explained what this sacrifice meant:

To play in GRASA there was a lot of sacrifices. For instance we weren't allowed to go to movies, we weren't allowed to go to the pubs, we weren't allowed to go to hotels. We weren't allowed to do anything like that. I wasn't allowed to use the swimming pool in Grahamstown, so I would have to drive to PE to play water polo. I mean being in Grahamstown, you know what a small place it was; for me, it was. I don't know if the word tough is right, but for me, because at least, the black players who played in GRASA, from the university, and I mean I hate to differentiate, but in this case we need to differentiate, because it was mainly Indian and colored players. Okay, Phoenix consisted almost entirely of colored and Indian players and I think I was the only white player and I think there was only a handful of black players in there. But you know, socially they kind of had their own parties and whatever, so they had a social life, but I kind of didn’t fit in, in a way. Which is why, which is why I think you had [white] players, who identified as liberal, you know they were probably a little bit in their head.
ANC even if they didn't do anything, but so they played for GRAFA, maybe because they weren't prepared to go the extra, the extra mile. The fields were shitty, etcetera, etcetera (Peter).

In addition to encouraging the formation of Phoenix and providing an opportunity for university students to join GRASA and engage with other teams from the township, Zinn as well as another player Ihron Rensburg both had connections in Port Elizabeth and facilitated the affiliation of GRASA with the Kwazakele Soccer Board (KWASBO) in Port Elizabeth and to SACOS as well as the non-racial national soccer federation, the South African Soccer Federation (SASF). Later on, in Grahamstown, a sports body called the Albany Non-racial Sports Board was formed. A number of players from GRASA contributed to the creation of this board and sat as executives (GV, Mar, 1983; Alan; King, Sticks). The Albany non-racial sports board was affiliated to SACOS, sending members to its meetings, and in turn, GRASA affiliated itself to this board. Phoenix only lasted a couple of seasons, as players that started the club would graduate and move on to other cities. However, a couple of players continued playing within GRASA by joining some of the more established clubs.

These levels of organization were somewhat similar to the street and area committees that featured prominently in township political mobilization during the 1980s. Additionally, the connections between Rhodes’ students, GRASA, KWASBO, and SACOS provided young activists opportunities to build coalitions, travel, and collaborate with other activists from across the country. This was not necessarily the case with all SACOS affiliates and GRASA seemed to be a rare case. Because Grahamstown is a relatively small town and the African and coloured townships run into one another, as well as with the involvement of university students, GRASA
was a diverse association and it served a purpose within the community in terms of connecting various groups. As Desai remembered:

The sport issue was crucial. By boycotting the university teams, it forced us into the townships. The Phoenix Football Club (PFC) affiliated to the township league. Every weekend we would make our way to Foley’s field in Joza Location. The ground would be packed. Everybody wanted to beat the university team. (Desai, 2005, p. 219)

As auf der Hyde noted, it also served a political purpose:

So we were overtly political I mean, we saw ourselves as political. We used GRASA because it was the only organization that was allowed, that was not banned, so we kind of fulfilled a vacuum that needed to be filled. You know, I spoke at funerals, we produced newsletters and pamphlets. I remember we called for a boycott of the Grahamstown Arts festival once, which caused huge, huge problems with the white left, so there all that kind of bits (Peter).

The banning of organizations happened on a regular basis, but particularly in 1985, prior to and during, the State of Emergency (GV, Apr, 1985a, b, c, d).

This collaboration across racial and geographic lines was not the case across all of South Africa. SACOS was often accused of being dominated by Indian and Colored activists and not doing enough work to build sporting structures in African townships (Booth, 1998). As well, some of the resolutions of SACOS were not seen as reasonable by some communities. Because SACOS did not have the resources to build sporting infrastructure in townships, black South Africans felt it was unfair for SACOS to expect them to choose between not participating in sport, or utilizing extremely substandard facilities, and using facilities that violated SACOS’s resolutions. As Booth (1998, p. 151) described:
SACOS didn’t have the resources to provide nonracial facilities, especially in African townships, and many blacks rejected SACOS’s charge that playing in apartheid structures was tantamount to supporting apartheid. And, moreover, by SACOS’s own admission, apartheid penetrated every aspect of life.

This was true in Grahamstown as well, with not all of the clubs in GRASA initially supporting SACOS and non-racial sport. For example, in 1982 the Grahamstown Voice reported that a stumbling block in terms of promoting non-racial sport was that in the:

- Grahamstown Soccer Association is the few officials who do not want anything to do with non-racialism and do anything in their power to discredit non-racialism and the people who uphold non-racial principles in the executive. This of course, they do in private. In the meeting they can be seen only in their rejection of GRASA membership with KWASBO. They neglect the serious cases of people who apply double standards if such a case comes before a disciplinary committee (the executive) one can hear from their vague arguments and flimsy excuses that they are not interested. Much remains to be done in non-racial sport locally. (GV, Oct 1982b)

However, in speaking with former players and administrators, it seemed like this resistance to non-racial sport was short-lived, as every player I spoke with felt that early on their team was aligned with the principles of SACOS. Further, the actions of the university students to join GRASA was respected and appreciated. Players from Early Birds, Juventus, United Teenagers, and XI Attackers that were involved in the executive of GRASA, as well as the Albany non-racial sports board, and SACOS, acknowledged that the Phoenix team, being a mix of Whites, Coloureds, Indians, and Africans set an example for non-racial sport and put work in to connect and collaborate with young leaders in the township. Players also recognized the extra
scrutiny that Indian, White, and Colored players would receive for playing matches at Foley’s Ground. For example, a number of players I spoke with would laugh when remembering Peter auf der Hyde, the only white person that played in GRASA for an extended period of time, being arrested nearly every weekend for entering the township without a permit. Peter himself recalled how he, along with his scooter, would be thrown into a police van and taken away to jail quite often, but it was clear that this endeared him to the community and that people respected his politics, as well as his goalkeeping (Peter, Ngoqo, King). These incidents often facilitated further protest actions within the township. As one activist explained to auf der Hyde (Forthcoming):

I remember we used to have a lot of fights when you were being arrested. There would be turmoil in the location. We wouldn't sleep for that night. We would burn one tyre in this corner and they (the security forces) would all go there. That is how stupid they were and at the time we were busy destroying some houses in a different place.

Although Phoenix FC and many of the players that started the club and moved on to other clubs in the township were explicitly political in their reasons for affiliating to GRASA and SACOS, as explained in Chapter Five, other clubs and players had to find alternative ways to operate politically. That being said, Phoenix FC played an important symbolic role in terms of operating as an actually existing alternative to apartheid ideology. As Levitas (2014) outlined, any form of utopian thinking needs to consider how social relations are constructed and reproduced through imagined futures. Phoenix FC offered an alternative to apartheid in terms of directly challenging its understandings of social relations. Along these lines, all of the players I spoke with also emphasized how understandings of community life and the various forms of community service and development that were embedded in GRASA, also challenged apartheid assumptions of social relations.
6.4 Community Development and Mutual Aid: The Multiple Functions of Funerals

In the 1970s and 1980s, most of the clubs in GRASA engaged in a variety of activities that were aimed at serving or developing the community. These activities were usually proposed, discussed, and planned during regular weekly club meetings. In the same way that the civic associations allowed for public participation in decision making structures aiming to address community concerns, GRASA meetings provided a means for players and clubs to raise issues within their communities that needed to be addressed. As Monaheng described:

It was at our meetings. We would usually have official meetings on Mondays, and then a meeting with all the clubs. Now, during our first official meeting somebody suggested that we are all related people, we are all related. If I've got somebody who died, please report to GRASA and GRASA must do something about that…People appreciate that very much because at least there's something, although there is not a lot of money, but at least the appreciation that they care about our son, care about our fathers, our mothers, our sisters, or families (Monaheng).

Multiple players also discussed the role that clubs played in aiding bereaving families:

Okay, yeah, let’s say, some player has died, or players. We used to collect some funding, you know, we go to that house, to that member’s house, and then we select a day and we go there and we donate what we have collected from our players. Then on the day of the funeral we went there with our full uniform, we go there and we surround the coffin just to give him an honor, you know from the club. Yeah just to honour him and then we have a speaker then to talk about this player while he was playing with the club. (King)

This support was somewhat limited because many of the clubs were primarily formed of students and financial resources were always limited. However, even when clubs were not able to offer
financial support they would provide their time and labour for the family to prepare for and host the funeral services.

In the sense where there are funerals, you see. Where there are funerals they go and assist the family with regard to the house. If there needs to be taking away weeds, cleaning, painting and all that, you see, putting the tent. They go there and assist that family.

(Ntshiba)

Importantly, funerals at this time, particularly during the state of emergency, were political spaces. Protests, marches, and speeches would often accompany a funeral, particularly for youth that were killed by the police or security branch. However, the involvement in funerals, particularly by members of clubs and GRASA was significant:

I think that's part of each clubs culture because I mean, people are supporting one another, if you are a player or a member, especially a player. Even if it's a member of the club or executive, if there's a member of the family that passes away, we go there, we help with some work, some painting and get some donations, and give to the family. But now if it's a player that has passed we do some things different. If it's a player who passed away there's more we have to do. Like we have to provide a speaker form the club, we must have a donation, we must go there, maybe a prayer service sometime during the week before the funeral, then we have to do some work and help the family. Then on the day of the funeral we ask the family, we must be the pall bearers of the coffin. If the family agrees then maybe we start from the church and we carry the coffin to the, to the hearse, then maybe at the graveyard the family will take over, or maybe we do everything as a club, but it differs. But if it's a family member, or a father of the club it differs. We do somethings differently. It depends who passed away in the family, but we are more
involved when it is a player, we go as far as asking the association to suspend the fixtures that weekend. We write a letter to the association to ask to suspend our games that weekend. (Mame)

These funerals could often lead to further repression and deaths. At times, community members were prohibited from attending funerals, or permission had to be applied for, if it was suspected that the event would become political. In some ways, soccer was able to operate as an exception. At a time when it was difficult for groups of people to gather, events connected to GRASA allowed a space for the politically active players to organize. In 1985 when the civics organizations connected to the UDF were banned, it was GRASA and the soccer clubs that were still allowed to meet, even though they shared a number of members. As a player from Early Birds explained:

It was difficult, as everything, but you know because it would be, many of them were no longer attending schools, because there was a period when there was no school at all, so the best way to organize was to go the playing fields, go to the meeting. It was the way of spreading what was happening around South Africa. So it played a very important role (Simphiwe).

A further example of how soccer became a complicated political space was provided by a funeral in 1985 for Tamsanqa Steven a young player from Juventus FC held at JD Dlephu Stadium. Tamsanqa was killed by police during protests in April of 1985 (South Africa TRC, 2002, p. 269). The protests, part of ongoing unrest, began to grow in August of 1984. Initially, they were school-based grievances, but began to be directed at black municipal police officers, town councilors, as well as any property or vehicles connected to the apartheid state. Although
he was killed during a protest, his funeral was allowed to be public. As Ngoqo, a former player of Juventus FC explained:

In those days, if you happen to be killed by police there were restrictions, but because that boy was the soccer player, most of the people that were to bury him were soccer players, it was better than somebody that is not a player, because the sport was not banned. There was a chance given to a player of sport, as compared to someone. For example, another guy was not a player, but he loved Juventus, but at his funeral, more or less the same time, people were restricted, but that one, they could not restrict it because that was a soccer player and most of the guys, they were soccer players, therefore it was an open funeral (Ngoqo).

The open funeral for Tamansqa Steven drew thousands of mourners, speeches from various political organizations, as well as a speech by another Juventus player, who used the opportunity to promote non-racial sport and urge GRASA to become united—around this same time there was a breakaway association that had formed and was not adhering to the tenets of non-racial sport (GV Sept 1984b). Unfortunately, during this funeral, another soccer player, from Mary Waters, Aliston ‘Bully’ Kohl, was killed by police. During the funeral for Tamansqa Steven, police said that two hundred youth separated from the procession and began stoning a police officer’s house. Despite the fact that a number of community members provided affidavits stating that the students were not armed with stones or other weapons, Allister and another student were killed and a number were detained for participating in an illegal gathering (GV, May 1985).

As will be explained in Chapter Seven, this desire to serve the community and aid bereaving families is still an integral part of how clubs feel that they can contribute to the
community. In addition, the way that soccer, through the cases of funerals and mutual aid, were intricately connected to community life and networks exemplified the utopian surplus that was expressed through players’ nostalgia. Although financial resources remain a constraint today, players involved in GRASA noted that the efforts they put into serving the community were reciprocated by community members trying to help address the financial difficulties that clubs faced:

But here in Grahamstown specifically, sport was totally amateur. There was nothing. Nothing of money. No money involved, so it was difficult just to fundraise for a club to buy soccer jerseys. Most clubs had plain white t-shirts, dyed, or bought a different color, red or green or yellow. Just plain colors. Until you could manage to, I mean it’s, it's a funny story to think you could buy a soccer kit for R120, a soccer set for R120, but still it was difficult to fundraise that money. One thing I also need to mention. Soccer was, most of the soccer clubs had senior people, when I say senior people it was fathers of players and so on, who were the presidents of the clubs. Yeah, non-playing members, because the players concentrated on playing and those people used to organize fundraising efforts with committees, the ladies on the committees and so forth, to get soccer kit. But that was all for the sake of the children to be involved in sport. That was the positive spin of our sport. And I mean it was well attended. Although we didn't charge, I mean it was entertainment for the community (Dennis).

That being said, financial difficulties did limit what clubs could accomplish. As Gobsa, a player from Pioneers described:

Our team would assist the old-age home. Yeah, we did manage to take food over to the old-age and cook for them, yes and feeding them. We've got that program for only 2
years, because we needed sponsor to assist. Because of the money, at that time we were students (Gobsa).
The example provided by Gobsa, although not long lasting, does provide an illustration of how clubs engaged in community service activities beyond assisting with funerals. Clubs would also fundraise and donate material so that youth in the club could attend school. Players from both New Town City and Crusaders explained how they would raise money to make sure nobody was missing school. For Wiseman from Crusaders this was an important aspect of the club particularly because his schooling, along with that of some of his teammates, was interrupted in the late 1970s because of ongoing school protests and boycotts:

We were already out of school some of us at that time. We couldn't start to go to school at that time because I can say that there were some other things that hold us out, it was because of the collisions, because of these shootings, the schools were damaged, so we couldn't really go to school at that time. Unluckily I was also one of these people, I didn't actually get along with school because while I was studying bad things started at that time. Schools were burnt down and I couldn't go further, but we still took care of the community. We would know the houses, knowing who is short and how can we help and how can we tackle that and who is responsible for everything for the house. We will also put something with that person so that, even if this house has got old people and some, some small boys which don't go to school, we will put money together to help buy shoes or things like that and we will help them go to school (Wiseman).

A number of players highlighted how important these forms of mutual aid were for soccer players. An example that was often provided was that the teams that engaged in these practices were able to see a number of their club members go on to further education and professional
careers in education, law, management and so on. Importantly, the nostalgia players had for this era was not solely based on sport itself, but was largely based on how sport fit into the community, and how the work that went into collectively organizing the clubs would have benefits for the players and the community. In some ways, the nostalgia for this time was often expressed alongside statements of betrayal, critique, or an acknowledgement of the shortcomings of the current social and political context.

6.5 Conclusion

To say that JD Dlephu today represents ‘soccer in ruins’ is not just to say that soccer and soccer spaces are in states of decay, but to also illicit the idea that these soccer spaces, like historical ruins, can be viewed as monuments to a previous era that still contain exemplify utopian surplus. This provides a different lens to think about the nostalgia that former GRASA members had for organizing and playing soccer during apartheid.

The feelings that I originally identified as discontent, betrayal, and pessimism that were expressed by former players and administrators can also be understood as reflective nostalgia. As Boym (2001) explained, reflective nostalgia involves a focus on the -algia, the longing or ache that is associated with memories of the past. This is opposed to desires of reconstructing the past, or returning home, a focus on the nostos—restorative nostalgia. As explained in Chapter Five, the sentiment of betrayal for some of the players was connected to nostalgia for their involvement in the struggle and in more direct and popular forms of democracy and politics. Chapter Six, on the other hand has illustrated how players’ nostalgia for soccer in the 1970s and 1980s was intimately connected to memories of community life that involved mutual aid, service, camaraderie, escape, and joy. This is not to say that these aspects of community life
were separate from politics; in fact, in many ways it was these aspects of community life that made politics possible.

As scholars like Fanon (1963) and Freire (1968/2000) have pointed out, social change occurs through people constantly, collectively, and dialogically engaging with their world. For some players, soccer provided a space for this to occur, but importantly, soccer needs to be understood as more than simply a weapon or tool that was used against apartheid. In this sense, it is reflective of how Simpson and Manitowabi (2013) have taken up Audre Lorde’s work to conceptualize decolonization and indigenous resurgence. For them, adopting or rejecting the ‘masters tools’ in order to dismantle his house is not the important question. Instead, they argued: “I am not so concerned with how we dismantle the master’s house, that is, which set of theories we use to critique colonialism; but I am very concerned with how we (re)build our own house, or our own houses.” (p. 280). In terms of soccer, the sport has a history of operating as a tool of colonialists. Introduced by missionaries in various parts of the world, it is often assumed to be underpinned by and transmit particular values. However, both Chapters Five and Six have demonstrated how through GRASA, soccer was used both as a weapon to take down the master’s house, and also as a tool that was able build new houses, new structures.

More prominent than the nostalgia for the struggle and the politics of the time were the stories of mutual aid—of helping at funerals, of helping provide food, of helping provide school supplies; and, the stories of friendship—of camping together before matches, of training on the beach, of laughing on the soccer pitch. The space that soccer provided was open, it was full of what Bloch referred to as utopian surplus and much of the nostalgia that players expressed could be understood as recognition of the Not-Yet that was inherent in the moment. Nostalgia for soccer expressed both hoped for, and actually existing examples of, players’ imagined and
alternative worlds. In this sense, soccer could be viewed as what anarchists describe as direct action. It was an attempt to put into existence, to prefigure, a better world—through a unity of means and ends (Mbah & Igariwey, 2001).

However, as I have attempted to demonstrate in the previous two chapters, to acknowledge that soccer operated as an open space, allowing for the imagination and construction of alternative worlds also requires an examination of those alternative worlds. For me, I am reminded of this each time I speak with Ayanda and think of Jeff’s work. Whether through phone, Facebook, Whatsapp, or email, Ayanda often greats me as ‘Comrade!’—Comrade Shawn. Additionally, at some point Jeff would like to write a memoir, detailing his time growing up in Grahamstown, the title that he has decided on is “We once were Comrades.” It is a better descriptor of the previous two chapters than I could hope to come up with on my own. It reminds me that the nostalgia that players felt for GRASA was largely based on this notion of camaraderie, or comradery. It is a word that encapsulates so much in this dissertation. Camaraderie represents the friendship and community that players experienced. It can also be representative of the comrades of the early and mid-1980s that were involved in township politics, resistance, and violence, operating alongside civics movement, the UDF, and the ANC. It also represents the Comrades, the vigilante community group formed of young soccer players and community members in the early 1980s to address crime and gangs in the township. Jeff’s title represents what was both contained within the moment, the hope, the discipline, the commitment, and what was lost.
Chapter 7: Nostalgia and Impossible Hope

The feelings of discontent, betrayal, and pessimism that were expressed by former GRASA members were not necessarily shared by the current generation of soccer players and administrators. Although the 1970s and 1980s were often discussed nostalgically as a golden era, there were still people actively trying to develop soccer within Grahamstown and use soccer for the purposes of community development. Although it was not a focus of this dissertation, this chapter serves as a short postscript, in terms of offering a brief overview of how current day mobilizations of sport-for-good are offering glimpses of hope. Importantly, this chapter also provides a way to discuss how these glimpses of hope are not necessarily utopian, in terms of offering visions of the future, but are instead the traces or marks left by GRASA.

7.1 Soccer and Forlorn Hope

As explained in Chapter Five, after the first couple of months in Makhanda (Grahamstown) I did not see much hope in soccer spaces. One exception was when Jeff would speak about his plans for the club he helped form called Makana Rhini United (MARU). Before arriving, I found a YouTube video of Jeff and others in 2012 speaking about the initiation of MARU and plans for developing youth soccer in Grahamstown. They talk about the World Cup in 2010 spurring this intervention and providing hope. In one shot, Jeff is standing above Foley’s Ground. The grounds are under renovation and with a confident and hopeful statement Jeff says that he expects Grahamstown to be a mecca for soccer within the next couple of years. I arrive in 2016 and leave in 2017; Foley’s Ground was still under construction, the current soccer season was months behind schedule, and there seemed to be little hope.
After visiting the Egazini Memorial and learning the phrase ‘Ukuza kuka Nxele’, which Mandela explained as a forlorn or impossible hope, I began to see soccer in Grahamstown in this manner. People have and continue to pin their hopes to soccer, yet they continue to wait. However, this is an unfair or incomplete reading of the phrase. For Mandela, and other people involved in the liberation struggle, Makhanda took on a mythical status because of the struggles that he was engaged in during his lifetime. The idea that he was coming back, does not necessarily have millenarian or utopian implications that assumed the struggle would end once Makhanda returned. Instead, the idea of a forlorn or impossible hope is an invitation to continue struggling and to recognize the hope that manages to stay alive because of struggle. It was the hope expressed by Jeff, as well as Ayanda, that originally led me to Makhanda (Grahamstown). Around the same time that Jeff was standing over Foley’s Ground, proud and hopeful for soccer in his community, Ayanda was delivering his presidential address for the MLFA:

Our mission goes beyond building and sustaining a vibrant football league in Grahamstown. Our mission includes building a Grahamstown, and Eastern Cape and a country in which every young person can flourish and grow. Football is just one part of this. I salute you all. Let us enjoy tonight, enjoy our football and strengthen ourselves for the struggles ahead (Kota, 2012).

Soccer in Grahamstown, particularly Ayanda and Jeff’s involvement in MARU and other clubs, is illustrative of this ongoing struggle, oftentimes bleak, but also punctuated with glimpses of a hopeful future, and traces of a utopian past.

One such glimpse occurred a few months after I arrived. Makhanda (Grahamstown) hosted the inaugural New Years Cup—a tournament organized by a former resident. Throughout South Africa at different times of the year, various independent soccer tournaments are held.
These tournaments are not necessarily connected to any specific league or local association. These events are often cash tournaments, reminiscent of the gambling games that are prominent in parts of South Africa, where teams compete in order to win prizes. The New Year’s Cup was significant because tournaments of this scale have not typically taken place in the Eastern Cape. There are smaller cash tournaments, but the larger ones often happen in Gauteng, KwaZulu Natal, or the Western Cape — areas that are typically associated with higher levels of soccer and competition. The New Year’s Cup was the first national level event to be held in the Eastern Cape and the winning team would receive R100,000 (about $10,000 CAD). I was away for Christmas and had not planned to return until after New Year’s, but through Facebook and Whatsapp, I learned that MARU had made it to the final. At the last minute, I jumped on an overnight bus from Cape Town, a 12-hour journey that allowed me to arrive the morning of the final.
Illustration 33. New Year's Cup. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde
Entering JD Dlephu for the final day of the tournament was like walking back into the JD Dlephu of the 1980s that people had told me about. There were thousands of fans — singing, dancing, cheering; children were running around the sidelines, sometimes playing their own games and sometimes watching the matches. People were able to drive their vehicles into Dlephu so there were cars and bakkies parked around the concrete wall that encircles the venue, with people socializing, listening to music, while leaning or sitting on their vehicle. Former players from Grahamstown, as well as legends from other cities, were recognized and were sitting under the designated tent for VIPs and dignitaries, or sitting amongst the crowd. Prior to the final match, MARU changed in the dilapidated change rooms behind the grandstands. They formed a circle and began singing; they continued to sing as they proceeded through the opening at the top of the grandstand and down the stairs. Outplayed for much of the match, MARU managed to win.

A couple of weeks after the victory, MARU had a meeting for its executives, hosted at my place, to discuss what would be done with the winnings. R100, 000 seemed like a substantial amount of money and at first I thought some of it would be channeled into Jeff’s ideas for social outreach, but throughout the meeting, it became clear that the funds will get used up quickly with just the basic costs of operating a team. Jeff himself was spending immense amounts of money on petrol, as he used his bakkie (pick-up truck) to drive around the township everyday collecting players for training and matches. In the end, aside from a beach party for player and some supporters, most of the money had to go to funding the day-to-day operations of the team.
Illustration 34. JD Dlephu, Then and Now. Copyright 2019 by S.D. Forde
A couple of months later, Jeff and I were standing in the middle of a large open field, located behind what used to be a high school; now just a skeleton with most of the red brick outer walls having collapsed, leaving just the cement pillars and floors standing. Jeff described the plans for MARU, specifically the social responsibility, or community outreach, branch of MARU. His vision included a club building consisting of two classrooms, a computer room, meeting room, recreation room, two offices, two change rooms, and a main hall. The community outreach for MARU included four components:

(1) Poverty alleviation (providing water tanks to house-holds, especially in rural areas; vegetable gardens for poor households; provision of food vouchers for soup kitchens), (2) Education (school renovations; levelling or cutting of school grounds; construction of playgrounds for primary schools; bursaries, (3) Environment (tree planting projects; cleaning river and neighborhoods), and (4) Health (HIV/AIDS programming; health and fitness programmes) (MARU, 2016).

Although his plan included a larger space and more developed sporting infrastructure, Jeff’s vision of a complex for MARU was not that different from the FFH Centres discussed in Chapter Four. However, his vision was very much based on his own experiences with GRASA and his own understandings of community service and development.

In many ways, my desire to engage with the history of GRASA was the result of spending a significant amount of time with Jeff. When I first arrived in Makhanda (Grahamstown), I began to spend time around MARU FC. I would join in training sessions, attend matches and team functions, and this often meant spending time with Jeff driving around the town. As an owner of a bakkie, Jeff was an executive with the club, but also the main source of transport, spending hundreds of Rands each week on petrol. Jeff would often explain this level
of commitment by stating that he owed a debt to soccer. In some ways, this resonated with my own feelings. As I described in Chapter Three, the act of passing a ball to someone seems innocuous, but it can also represent an invitation into relationships of obligation and reciprocity. Jeff was an example of this. He was a member of New Town City FC from a young age in the early 1980s. He grew up playing soccer through the school boycotts and protests, the street committees and violence, and the transition to democracy. He ended up playing at Rhodes University and through soccer travelling throughout Africa and other parts of the world. His current efforts with MARU FC were largely driven by the lessons he learned through GRASA. Jeff also seemed to epitomize the forlorn hope that Nelson Mandela discussed about Makhanda—a form of hope, based on an indeterminate future, but grounded in the struggles of the present.

Although they do not discuss hope, or forlorn hope, in their recent study of a small soccer club in a rural town in the Eastern Cape, Giampiccoli and Nauright (2017) discussed a similar phenomenon. They noted that the club was currently only involved in playing soccer, but when asked how soccer could contribute to developing the community, the players outlined a number of interventions—similar to what Jeff discussed relating to MARU and to the community service interventions that occurred through GRASA in the 1970s and 1980s. The players were interested in using soccer to help reduce crime in the community, build houses and bricks for community residents, and other service-oriented activities. Giampiccoli and Nauright (2017) made a link between the concern the players express for their community and the philosophy of Ubuntu. However, they also questioned why the players were passive in terms of initiating some of the activities and discussed how histories of structural and economic inequality have left rural communities with little financial resources and an expectation within the players that change or
infrastructure needs to come from an outside source. Makhanda is not considered a rural community, but still faced similar challenges in terms of implementing sport-for-good interventions, despite their wishes and intentions.

MARU was established as a legacy of the 2010 World Cup in South Africa. For Jeff, the World Cup did produce an enthusiasm for soccer and unity within the country and he believed that before and during the World Cup a “new spirit of hope and desire emerged among the youth of Grahamstown”. The establishment of MARU was meant to serve two functions. The first was to fill a need for the development of soccer in Makhanda (Grahamstown), as the city lacked a high-level club. Additionally, the founding members of MARU wanted the club to have an important social function:

It was after this gap in the proper development of the youth in Grahamstown was identified that MARU deliberately set itself out to play an active part in the quest to transform the lives of the aspiring youth in the surrounding community. The adopted methodology was to use sport, especially soccer, as a transformation tool. Grahamstown youth are not spared the challenges that are facing the youth all over the world. Unemployment, drug abuse, HIV/AIDS has reduced the youth of Grahamstown to an unacceptable level of desperation and as such has almost lost hope of becoming self-worth individuals in the future. Gangsterism and banditry are becoming fashionable by day. MARU seeks and is determined to save the youth from such behaviour through engaging the youth in sport and community-service oriented activities. (MARU, 2016)

The rationale outlined in MARU’s business plan has clear traces of the founding ethos of GRASA. MARU does not identify as a SDP organization, yet as a soccer club, they are aiming to
accomplish similar development objectives, albeit with more of a focus on community-service than personal development.

MARU was not the only club in Makhanda (Grahamstown) that was interested in sport-for-good. Clubs would be featured in the local newspapers on a number of occasions, mostly in stories that featured how the clubs were addressing issues in the township. Another club I spent substantial time with was a new club, Grahamstown United (GU), recently formed by a member of UPM. After a spate of violence in 2015 targeting immigrants from other southern African countries, as well as South Asia, members of UPM began offering soccer programs as a way to address this xenophobic violence. Building on these initial efforts, GU was established. Similar to clubs throughout Makhanda (Grahamstown), GU is concerned with levels of crime and violence and believes that soccer can play a role in addressing these issues. Additionally, because GU is the creation of social movement activists, the club also has a political mission in terms of education. This orientation is largely the result of one of the founding members of GU being able to travel to Brazil and participate in an exchange with the Landless People’s Movement (MST) in Sao Paolo.

MST invites social movement members from around the world to Sao Paolo to participate in annual workshops and courses, ranging from political theory to social movement tactics. At an informal level, this also involves soccer. MST uses soccer as a way to engage participants and form social connections. Additionally, a number of MST members are avid supporters of Corinthians, which within Brazil has a history of being a politically active club. In the early 1980s, the Brazilian player Socrates and a number of other players at Corinthians began an experiment they called Corinthians Democracy. For sport, this was a radical approach in which every member of the club had the power to engage in decision-making processes relating
to the club. The participatory democracy promoted by the club was also at odds with the political environment at the time in Brazil, with the country being ruled by a military dictatorship. The players and club members took an active role in not only the politics of the club, but also Brazil as a whole, agitating for political change and for democracy (Downey, 2017). This example provides MST with the belief that soccer can play a role in social and political change. For participants from around the world this can also be an impactful lesson. This was the case for the member of UPM who after returning from Sao Paolo decided to establish GU. In some ways, this exchange is representative of what Darnell and Huisch (2016) have described as South-South development collaborations. For them, these connections, or networks, involving organizations or social movements located in the Global South offer opportunities to potentially promote alternative forms of development and SDP.

Both MARU and GU offered traces of GRASA in a way that could be described as the continuation of utopian surplus, or latencies that are always present and pointing towards an alternative future. However, these clubs also highlighted the tensions and contradictions that have been a part of soccer in Grahamstown from the 1970s. As noted above, Jeff grew up playing with New Town City FC, a prominent club that was formed by members of Early Birds in 1982. New Town City FC still exists today and plays in the Makana Local Football Association, effectively one division below MARU FC. This is also true of some of the other former GRASA clubs such as XI Attackers, New Seekers, Santos, and more. In the lead up to, and following, the New Year’s Cup, Jeff noted that not all members of the community were supportive of MARU. As a new club, and a club that was not currently, nor historically, tied to a geographical location in the township, it was often disparaged for its success, accused of recruiting and tempting young players from all over the township to join, and responsible for
weakening other clubs in the township. As a former member, and lifetime supporter, of New Town City, Jeff was sympathetic to these concerns, but he also felt that more good could come from having a successful club in the higher divisions of South African soccer. Importantly, these concerns were not new to MARU FC, but were also part of discussions relating to GRASA in terms of the loyalty of players to their particular streets and clubs. One of the prominent players within the association, Sticks Coko, selected as GRASA Sportsperson of the year for 1983, stayed on M street. Most of the players residing in this area played for Young Tigers, but Sticks played his entire career with Early Birds. As he explained:

I didn’t like Young Tigers style of play and those guys were corrupt…because at that time I was not smoking, I was not drinking. I was not doing anything. I was just concentrating on school, sport, and politics so I wouldn’t be able to mingle with people like this. But it didn’t go down well because I was staying in M Street. Same locality. So whenever we beat them, EH, I used to struggle going home. But I said, this is a free country, They’re not going to stop me from all of that.

Other players explained similar stories in terms of unwritten rules relating to which team players could play for and where their loyalty should remain. Reiterating Sticks’ story, a former player for Young Tigers explained that the president of the club would carry a sjambok. Laughing at remembering this, he mentioned that if you left the team and the president saw you walking around the town he would sjambok you.

MARU managed to win the New Year’s Cup the following year as well, which is not completely surprising, as they are one of the stronger clubs in Makhanda (Grahamstown). In 2018, however, GU managed to win the New Year’s Cup. For me, not being there, I found this news very hard to believe. I had spent time with GU throughout 2016 and 2017 and they were a
brand new club. The manager was committed to developing the team, but they were in the lower divisions and always had fairly mediocre results. Through conversations with people in Makhanda (Grahamstown) it seemed that GU had recruited a coach and a number of players from other cities. In interviews with former GRASA players this was also a contentious issue. Members of XI Attackers and Juventus accused Early Birds of using outside players; members of Early Birds accused other teams of using outside players. These debates could be seen as the ongoing chatter and jibes that are a part of sporting communities, but it also speaks to how soccer in the 1970s and the 1980s, and continuing to now, is intimately associated with understandings of community, loyalty, and commitment.

7.2 Conclusion

Players that were involved in GRASA felt nostalgia for the role that soccer held in community and political life in the 1970s and 1980s. They had fond memories of the discipline, commitment, and camaraderie exhibited by players, the support of fans and the community, and the standard of play. Although this nostalgia came across as pessimism or hopelessness for the future, it also highlighted elements of GRASA that could be viewed as utopian and continue to motivate community members interested in mobilizing sport.

The plans that Jeff had for MARU were very much based upon his experiences as a youth in GRASA. He wants his club to have a strong social outreach that emphasizes community service. Like GRASA, this community service is rooted in ideas of Ubuntu and mutual aid and the belief that players can develop as individuals through service to their community. These ideas remain as imagined plans, visions of the future; like many clubs in the Eastern Cape, MARU struggle to secure the financial resources necessary to maintain the soccer club, let alone developing a social outreach programme that can provide community service. However, the
plans for MARU can still be instructive for SDP organizations and those interested in sport and social change. The example of MARU, as well as other soccer clubs, blurs the sometimes-arbitrary distinction in SDP between sport development and sports for development. MARU does not identify with SDP, yet they offer important perspectives on development and social change. Engaging with, listening to, learning from, and supporting community-based sporting clubs such as MARU could result in the development of alternative forms of SDP.

Beyond the pessimism and the sense of betrayal, the nostalgia that former players had conjured up better worlds. Importantly, those better worlds were not dreams of a utopia, but were a longing for a sense of community and solidarity around shared struggles. The forlorn hope that Mandela identified in the phrase Ukuza kuka Nxele, is illustrative of how better worlds are produced through collective struggles and imagination, through a recognition of humanity and a concern for dignity (Fanon, 1963; Freire, 1968/2000).
Chapter 8: Conclusion

The purpose of this dissertation was to explore how soccer has become a symbol and a vehicle for hope. I began by investigating FIFA’s Football for Hope (FFH) Movement, particularly their FFH Festival and the FFH Centres. A great deal of the language around the FFH Movement was oriented towards the future and using soccer to create a better world. Drawing from theorists concerned with utopia, space, and social change such as Ernst Bloch and Frantz Fanon, I paid particular attention to the ideologies that underpinned FIFA’s visions of a better world.

My research in South Africa was meant to offer a comparison or parallel to the work of FIFA and what could be called mainstream SDP. I connected with social movement organizers in Makhanda (Grahamstown) that were utilizing soccer for community development, but were not associated with the SDP movement. They talked about soccer in similar ways to FIFA in terms of preaching a belief in soccer’s ability to offer hope and build better worlds; however, what differed was that the visions of a better world were oriented towards the past, towards the accomplishments of the Grahamstown Soccer Association (GRASA). My analysis for this aspect of the dissertation continued to draw from Bloch and Fanon, but was also based on notions of nostalgia (Boym, 2001; Dlamini, 2009), as well as anarchist thinkers.

Although visions of a better future in Makhanda (Grahamstown) were connected to the past, there were also examples of soccer clubs that were concerned with current conditions and using soccer as a way to transform their communities. That being said, the work these clubs were doing was still rooted in the past, particularly in understandings of community organization, service, and development that had been prominent within GRASA. Working with concepts such
as mutual aid, Ubuntu, and democracy, I outlined how MARU, through its links to GRASA, could offer important lessons for people concerned with sport and social change. In this final chapter, I will outline the implications and significance of my findings for various disciplines.

8.1 Sport for Development and Peace

There have been recent calls within the literature on SDP to conduct research that historicizes the role of sport (Darnell and Taur, 2015); engages with political theory that can provide frameworks for how to conduct SDP (Darnell & Dao, 2016; Darnell & Millington, 2018); and, engages with sports participants and community members to gain an understanding of how sport is understood in particular contexts (Collison & Marchesseault, 2018; Lindsey & Grattan, 2011). This ethnographic exploration of soccer, hope, and utopia was designed to help address these gaps.

Specifically, this dissertation was largely motivated by a desire to engage with potential alternatives to mainstream SDP, particularly in the form of social movements that mobilize in and around sport. As outlined in Chapter Two, distinguishing between a mainstream and alternative may be a useful heuristic to initially examine and critique SDP, but it can also lead to unhelpful generalizations that vilify what is identified as mainstream and romanticize what is identified as alternative. Additionally, as Darnell et al. (2019) outlined, mainstream SDP, and broader understandings of sport-for-good, have a long and varied history. That being said, as numerous scholars have highlighted, the current iteration of sport-for-good, in the form of the SDP sector is worth consideration because of its increasing institutionalization and its popularity. This increasing institutionalization potentially narrows understandings of how sport may contribute to social change.
Darnell and Millington (2018) argued for the consideration of social movements to shift discussions relating to SDP away from charity-oriented frameworks, to justice-oriented ones. Similarly, other scholars have promoted other progressive and critical frameworks to broaden understandings of SDP (Darnell & Hayhurst, 2012; Hartmann & Kwauk, 2011; Hayhurst et al., 2015; Whitley & Johnson, 2015; Mwaanga & Adeosun, 2019; Mwaanga & Prince, 2016; Nicholls. et al., 2011; Spaaij & Jeanes 2013, Spaaij, et al., 2016; Spaaij, et al., 2018). What I have argued in this dissertation, and demonstrated through ethnographic work in Brazil and South Africa, is that denouncing or critiquing SDP, and promoting alternative frameworks or approaches to SDP is limited. Even within an increasingly institutionalized SDP sector, there are glimpses, or traces, of alternatives. My primary argument in Chapters Two and Four was that as opposed to categorizing forms of SDP, it is important to ask questions about how organizations or interventions are conceptualizing social change and how they imagine a better world. In a broader sense, and as Levitas (2013), would possibly frame the question, if sport is being promoted as a force for good, then as scholars we need to ask what is the ‘good,’ or how is the ‘good society’ being imagined? This approach allows for discussions that move beyond critiques of SDP. Thinking about the future we want requires a consideration of how we can reach that future.

Even though sport is saturated with language relating to hope and utopia, there have been very few analyses of how these concepts are constructed and deployed, and little engagement with scholars like Bloch, Fanon, and anarchist thinkers that connect notions of freedom, dignity, flourishing, and social change. Throughout this dissertation, I demonstrated how a focus on hope and imagined futures shifted the discussion from a critique of particular forms of SDP, or the ideologies underpinning SDP, towards a discussion of the gaps, potentials, or alternatives that are
apparent in all forms of sport-for-good interventions. This approach also influenced my historical research.

8.2 South African Sport History

Chapter Five and Six, by providing a historical look at Soccer in Grahamstown in the 1970s and 1980s addresses a number of gaps in the literature on sport in South Africa. As historians such as Sapire (2013) and Dlamini (2009) have noted, there is a need for histories of townships that go beyond grand narratives that paint townships as “doom and gloom” and township residents as “undifferentiated masses”—that is, there is a need for histories that begin to engage with the complex and multiple ways that people negotiated apartheid in their daily lives and practices.

To that end, there is a related need for South African histories of sport that go beyond simply casting sport as a tool of resistance and athletes as activists, and looks at the social and political role that sport played in daily life, in particular locations, and at particular times. To be fair, Sapire (2013, p. 198) acknowledged that Dlamini’s (2009) characterization of how historians and the broader liberation movement have documented townships and township resistance to apartheid was slightly unfair. She noted that although histories have primarily been dominated by a “resistance paradigm” there have been “attempts to understand townships as places that were appropriated, inhabited and even celebrated by inhabitants rather than simply bleak ‘zones of deprivation’.”

That being said, the historical work that forms Chapters Five and Six is not meant as a counter-narrative. Former members of GRASA spoke at length about the role of soccer in the struggle for liberation. However, framing the chapters around the concept of nostalgia brought forward the daily experiences of joy, celebration, and happiness. Attending to these nostalgic
sentiments demonstrates that soccer was not simply a tool of resistance, in service to the broader liberation movement. Instead, soccer offered multiple pathways to achieve social change and exemplified aspects of community life that were actually existing alternatives or utopias. Soccer was a form of direct action, the world that players envisioned was prefigured through the forms of organizing, community service, and democracy that GRASA developed and promoted. Players were not nostalgic for the political struggle or for the athletic competition, but for the routines, structure, dignity, discipline, commitment, support, and solidarity that were part of daily life and contributed to the success of GRASA.

8.3 Beyond Sport

In an introduction titled Taking *South African sport seriously*, to a special issue of the South African Review of Sociology, Bolsmann and Burnett (2015, p. 2) pointed out that the, “study of sport remains marginal at best within South African academia in general and in sociology in particular. This is so despite the fact that sport is a key component of popular culture.” This is also arguably true for anthropology and history (Besnier, Brownell, Carter, 2018; Dyck, 2004; Nauright, 2014; Vidacs, 2006; Walvin, 1984). Within subfields such as utopian studies, sport is also neglected, although other cultural practices such as art and music are examined for their utopian potential. In an attempt to remedy this inattention, scholars will often argue for the importance of sport, imploring academics to take it seriously—citing its popularity around the world, its economic and political impact, and the cultural role it plays in multiple contexts. I agree with the sentiments of this argument, but I am not interested in making it. I am not sure how productive it is to frame sport as a serious subject. Instead, I see value in seriously engaging with sport as a silly subject.
In positioning sport as a silly subject, I am again borrowing from Ahmed (2010). Although Ahmed was speaking about people’s tendency to dismiss alternatives as silly because of the seeming inevitability of the status quo, the message is relevant for what subjects are deemed worthy of scholarly attention and debate. Examining how hope and utopia were expressed within both FIFA and GRASA, demonstrated the potential for engaging with the alternatives presented through sport, and engaging with the nostalgia present for soccer, the joy, the happiness, and the silliness, allowed me to better understand the multiple roles and meanings that soccer held.

8.4 Methodological Insights

The methodological approach I used for this dissertation was an attempt to demonstrate how the process of drawing and comics offers a novel and potentially fruitful form of research praxis. Increasingly, comics are being used in terms of both conducting and disseminating research within various disciplines. Scholars in history, anthropology, sociology, and medicine among others are seeing value in presenting research in the form of graphic narrative.

This may seem like a fairly niche, marginal, or ‘silly’ approach to research. In addition, when suggesting that drawing and comics can offer unique forms of research praxis, many people may fall back on the refrain, ‘but, I can’t draw.’ As numerous scholars and artists have pointed out, drawing is something that as children, we often come to naturally and enjoy doing, but over time we learn, or are socialized into believing, that we are not good at it (Barry, 2014; Causey, 2016; Sousanis, 2015; Taussig, 2011). These scholars also emphasize that the value of

---

8 Examples of this include the Graphic History Collective, Graphic Medicine, Centre for Imaginative Ethnographies, University of Toronto Press’ EthnoGraphic series, the Graphic Social Sciences Network, and various journals including graphic abstracts.
drawing is not in the product, but in the process. For example, Taussig (2011), who embraced very loose, evocative, and expressive sketches in his field notes, argued that drawing is an embodied act that allows the researcher/drawer to engage with and understand the world in alternative ways. Similar to Barry (2014), he equated this process of drawing to the act of dance:

To draw is to move my hand in keeping with what I am drawing, and as the hand moves, so does the body, which tenses and keeps changing the angle of vision along with the angle of the head looking out at the scene and then back at the page. This is an extraordinary act of bodily mimesis. As in certain forms of dance, your entire body imitates not just the shape but the rhythms and proportions of time held still as the page fills with figural or abstract form. You try out a line this way on the page, then change it to another. You observe keenly. Very keenly. Like never before. This is a new eye. Like a hawk. This is the golden road to realism. But then through ineptitude or quirks in your realist armor, something else takes over. Your soul, perhaps, or the soul of whatever it is that you are drawing? (Taussig, 2011, p. 24)

For my own research, I was not particularly interested in the final product. As an amateur artist and storyteller, I was more concerned with what comics and drawing could offer me as a way to engage with and understand the world and my place in it. That being said, there is also a great deal of potential for translating research into comics—even for researchers who truly believe they cannot draw. The way that researchers engage with, and understand, their research and their data, through collaborations with artists is something that could be explored in the future. Moving forward from my dissertation I hope to produce a comic relating to GRASA that I would aim to disseminate to a wider audience.
Importantly, in calling myself an amateur artist I am not trying to be humble or dismissive of my efforts. In the sporting world, the notion of amateurism has particular connotations relating to class, race, and gender (Gruneau, 2006). However, in drawing on amateurism here, I am motivated by arguments made by Edward Said in his 1993 Reith Lectures. In the fourth lecture of the series titled *Professionals and Amateurs* Said was concerned with the state of the university and pressures that academics and intellectuals faced. These pressures included the pressures of increasing specialization, the valorization of “expertise and the cult of the certified expert,” the increasing necessity of working with power and authority in the form of government, foundations, and corporations among others, and the free marketization of higher education. Said (1993, p. 5) saw these pressures as potentially leading to the depoliticization of academics within university settings. His repost was to embrace amateurism. He noted that these pressures are:

Countered by what I shall call amateurism, the desire to be moved not by profit or reward but by love for and unquenchable interest in the larger picture, in making connections across lines and barriers, in refusing to be tied down to a specialty, in caring for ideas and values despite the restrictions of a profession.

His idea of amateurism, getting back to the roots of the word, was to follow ideas, paths, and passions, for the love of it. Doing so, he argued, allowed for different forms of knowledge production and interdisciplinary connections.

In a way, the use of comics allows for interdisciplinary connections and forms of amateurism in numerous disciplines, as researchers use comics to present research and for forms of knowledge translation (Kuttner et al., 2018). Often times this involves collaborations between researchers and artists. In terms of collaborative projects taking place in cross cultural settings,
comics and drawing provides a different way to communicate and convey information, which could allow for the participation of people not comfortable with reading, writing, or speaking English or other languages (Theron et al., 2011). In terms of presenting research, there is an incredible amount of value in terms of having to work with your research data to produce alternative narrative forms. Whether working by yourself or in collaboration with an artist, the choices you make in terms of comics, whether that be the visual elements and style, the framing, the pacing, the dialogue, what you choose to include and what you choose to leave up to the reader, all of these require you to reflect on your research and your own position as a researcher.

Drawing and comics offered me a way to engage with the settings I was in, the people I met, and the stories they told. People’s stories tend to move through time and space in non-linear ways (Greenspan & Bolkosky, 2006, Sousanis, 2015), and I believe that the use of drawing and comics within this dissertation allowed me to attend to this and “to see things differently, and to think differently” (Denzin, 2001, p. 31). Additionally, although it was not a focus of my dissertation, I believe that some of my discussions relating to the act of passing a ball could lend themselves to theories of affect (see Ahmed, 2010 on Happiness Objects). As numerous disciplines begin to engage with theories around affect and new materialism (see Clough, 2008 on the ‘affective turn’ in the humanities and social sciences) there are also increased calls for alternative forms of research practice and production. Knudsen and Stage (2015) explained an affective method as, “an innovative strategy for (1) asking research questions and formulating research agendas relating to affective processes, for (2) collecting or producing embodied data and for (3) making sense of this data in order to produce academic knowledge” (p. 1). As explained throughout this dissertation, comics address all three of these criteria. As I outlined in Chapter Three, it was not only comics that informed my research practice, but also drawing and
sketching and it aligned with the type of ethnography I was trying to conduct. The ethnography I employed was similar to how Pink (2007, p. 22) described visual ethnography, not as a more faithful representation of reality, but of a process of producing “versions of ethnographers’ experiences of reality that are as loyal as possible to the context, negotiations and intersubjectivities through which the knowledge was produced.” For Pink, this process is more than simply collecting visual data, visualizing data, or translating various forms of information and data into visual representations. Instead, visual ethnography can help researchers engage with their research settings in reflective and evocative ways that attend to the people, places, objects, and sensations.

To date, few ethnographic studies focusing on sport, or studies relating to sport-for-good, have utilized visual or arts-based methods (see Marchesseault, 2017; Van Ingen, 2016 for examples). Although I found significant value in my own approach, I am not trying to argue that it is a better approach than others, or to present it in any prescriptive way. Instead, what I would advocate, is for researchers to engage in practices that allow them to view their ‘data’ in different ways, and to think critically about these practices. As researchers and ethnographers, I believe that we all engage in various ways of understanding our subjects and the stories we are told, but we rarely discuss these practices explicitly. In some ways, Chapter Three, my walking, sitting, drawing, soccer playing ethnography was a way to begin to think through this process.

8.5 More Paths to Follow

This dissertation opens up a number of possibilities for future research. First, it was briefly mentioned in Chapter Five that the clubs involved in GRASA also established netball clubs for girls and women in their community. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, women played a significant role in township life and resistance to apartheid (Cherry, 2007). In speaking with
former GRASA members, they discussed female students and leaders that were part of the political organizing, protests, demonstrations, and marches. However, in the 1970s, 1980s, and even currently in Makhanda (Grahamstown) and South Africa more broadly, soccer and soccer spaces remain masculine (Pelak, 2010). That is not to say that women were not involved in forms of organizing and support that made GRASA possible—just that I was not able to include those stories. Similarly, although I stayed in Makhanda (Grahamstown) for nine months, and made efforts to study isiXhosa, I conducted interviews and conversations in English. This was not necessarily a problem, as the former GRASA members I spoke with were comfortable speaking in English. Many had attended university and were currently working in professional careers as lawyers, police officers, teachers, union organizers, managers, and so on. However, a researcher fluent in isiXhosa would likely produce a different story.

This dissertation has primarily focused on GRASA and clubs from Fingo, Tantyi, and Joza that made up the association. Clubs from the colored township such as Mary Waters and Proteas were mentioned, as was Phoenix from Rhodes University, and GRAFA the white soccer association in the city, however examining these different clubs, associations, and the relationships between them in Grahamstown would require an additional dissertation. That being said, as student protests continue to happen in South African universities around issues of decolonization and student fees (i.e. the #rhodesmustfall and #feesmustfall movements), looking at how students from Phoenix FC were able to collaborate with community and township residents to develop and achieve shared political objectives, would be insightful. Additionally, examining how different racial groups engaged with GRASA, soccer, and politics in Grahamstown would be beneficial.
In a recent paper, Booth (2016, p. 1874-1875) argued that “historians primarily historicize apartheid sport as narratives of racial separation, difference, domination and resistance, and that these narratives emphasize enduring structures, historical continuities, limited change and restrained agency.” In response, he posed the question, “How might historians present entanglements which run counter to the idea of enduring structures and restrained agency.” For Booth, focusing on the racial entanglements that were part of apartheid, as opposed to the common narratives of segregation and oppression, is a way to explore narratives relating to how people engaged with and challenged apartheid in various ways. The links between GRASA, Phoenix FC, and colored teams such as Mary Waters and Proteas would illuminate some of these links.

The original intention of my doctoral research was to explore what could be called alternatives to SDP. Although my conceptualization of alternatives shifted throughout my work, I still believe that research relating to sport-for-good would benefit from searching out and engaging with already existing alternatives. Research relating to SDP tends to focus on NGOs, but there are a plethora of local sports clubs from all parts of the world that are operating with the belief that sport can help build a better future for their community. As I showed with relation to GRASA and MARU, engaging with these clubs and interventions provides a way to broaden discussions relating sport, development, and social change.

For SDP organizations and those interested in how sport can contribute to social change, historical cases such as GRASA can serve as what Green (2016) referred to as ‘positive deviance’. Within sport studies, positive deviance can refer to the over-conformity of some athletes to the ‘sport ethic’; that is, striving for success, sacrifice, and accepting risks (Hughes & Coakley, 1991). However, for Green (2016), positive deviance refers to cases that can be viewed
as successful outliers, and he argued that development practitioners and researchers often neglect these examples. His argument is that within areas identified as ‘developing’, or facing problems relating to health, education, poverty, and so on, you are often able to find examples of individuals, families, organizations, and communities that are all finding ways to successfully address these issues. Engaging with, and learning from, these cases should then become the focus of development research and practice. In a way, this gets back to Shukaitis and Graeber’s (2007) idea of the radical intellectual that engages with people that have in the past, or are currently, developing, creating, and putting into practice alternative forms of organizing and politics. In this way, GRASA, with its emphasis on democracy, community service, and mutual aid, can serve as an important lesson for those interested in SDP and sport-for-good.

Methodologically, I believe that there is a lot more room to explore how comics and graphic narratives can be used in ethnographic research. As explained in Chapter Three and demonstrated in Chapter Five and Six, comics played a role in my research process in terms of collecting and analyzing data. Throughout my time in South Africa, I was able to show friends and research participants my rough drawings and some of my comics, but nothing close to a finished narrative. As other scholars have argued, comics can offer a productive way to present and disseminate research (Kuttner et al., 2017). I also believe that comics offer unique ways to engage in collaborative research and in the future plan to explore these possibilities.

8.6 Final Thoughts

What I gleaned from my dissertation project was the importance of an approach to research that emphasized listening, openness to detours, getting lost or following alternative paths, and reflection both of oneself and the broader research project. Ethnography offers such an
approach, as it requires the researcher to form relationships with people and places, to continually ask questions, and to listen and be open to the answers to those questions.

My dissertation began with the straightforward intention of comparing the way that SDP organizations connected to FIFA and social movement groups protesting FIFA were both using language relating to soccer being able to bring hope and build a better world. My dissertation concluded with a social history of a small soccer association in South Africa. Prior to my time in Makhanda (Grahamstown) I had not considered the relationship between hope, utopia, and nostalgia, but the more time I spent there and the more soccer people I spoke with, the more I realized that the nostalgia for a previous era of soccer was not dissimilar to utopian thinking. The nostalgia of the players highlighted elements of GRASA that presented alternative forms of community politics and organizing, as well as how soccer could contribute to political struggle. It was only through time spent in Makhanda (Grahamstown) that I became aware of how soccer elicited both imaginations of the future and nostalgia for the past that contained hopeful elements and visions of better worlds.

In Chapter Three I compared the act of receiving a soccer ball to receiving a gift. Similarly, Dillabough and Dillabough-Lefebvre (2018) discussed oral histories as gifts. It’s an invitation into a relationship based on reciprocity. You are expected to do something with the ball. In similar ways, the stories that people share with researchers during the research process can equally be viewed as gifts. I had an interest in forms of collaborative and participatory research, but from spending time in Makhanda (Grahamstown), most of the former players and people that helped me with the research project were more interested in sharing stories about GRASA with the expectation that their history of soccer would be recorded and shared.
In some ways, I am still holding on to the ball, merely doing some fancy tricks for attention.

I hope to return the ball at some point, in terms of producing narratives of GRASA, within which the players see themselves and their stories.
Bibliography


FIFA (2014b). Blatter: This is stadium number 13. Zurich, Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA). Available from

FIFA. (2014c). Fair play at the forefront of Football for Hope festival. Zurich, Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA). Retrieved from

FIFA (2014d). FIFA celebrates first international day of sport for development and peace. Zurich, Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA). Retrieved from


FIFA. (2014g). Football for Hope: Football’s commitment to social development. Zurich, Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA). Available from

295


Forde, S. D., & Kota, A. (2016). Football as a terrain of hope and struggle: beginning a dialogue on social change, hope and building a better world through sport. Qualitative Research in Sport, Exercise and Health, 8(5), 444-455.


*Journal of Latin American Geography, 9*(1), 7–29.


http://www.leftturn.org/%E2%80%9Cwalking-we-ask-questions%E2%80%9D-interview-john-holloway


Thompson, P. (2016). Ernst Bloch and the spirituality of Utopia, Rethinking Marxism, 28(3-4), 438-452.


http://www.disa.ukzn.ac.za/issep8710278028002001sep1987


Appendices

This dissertation represents my first attempt at using comics as a form of research. To say that it went as planned, or that I would not change anything if given the chance and time, would be incorrect. It was an incredibly valuable aspect of my research and required a considerable amount of time. This may not come across when a finished image or comics page is presented within the body of the dissertation. I have used the appendices to include a range of work. This includes some finished comics pages that I felt did not fit into the dissertation. I have also included works in progress, sketches, comic thumbnails, and other drawings. In all, when the appendices are viewed in relation to the body of the dissertation, I hope that it serves to reiterate the thoughts I presented in Chapter Three relating to drawing as a form of research and reflexivity.
Appendix A - Sample of Comics
Mr. President,
The politicians have brought these. They want the World Cup to...

Mr. President,
The corporate, business, real estate, and financial elite have brought these. They want...

Mr. President,
The international audience brought these. They want the World Cup to...

Mr. President,
The people have brought these. They want the World Cup to...

Mr. President

Mr. President

Mr. President
The matches are between organizations from around the world that use football to help develop youth.

The opening ceremony is attended by FIFA officials, Ronaldo, the former Brazil star, and Brazilian politicians.

The Festival includes 32 delegations that work with disadvantaged young people.

Football really changed my life. It was very important to me as a child. I didn't have a lot of time for formal education but the school of football taught me a lot. Make the most of this opportunity.

We have people from around the world playing a special type of football—in the spirit of fair play. It is also special that we are in a favela and they play in mixed teams: boys and girls!

After the opening ceremony, the media, politicians, and football officials leave.
BUILDING A BETTER WORLD WITH FOOTBALL?
**THE POWER OF SPORT**

**Also... Sport and the Powerful**

Sport can create hope where once there was only despair. Sport has the power to change the world. It has the power to unite people. — Nelson Mandela

In 2013 the IOC, already recognized with "Observer" status at the United Nations, submitted a resolution titled: "Building a Peaceful and Better World Through Sport and the Olympic Ideal". — Thomas Bach

"Together with political authorities, the IOC wishes to set an example for peace and solidarity in the quest for a more humane society."

"Thanks to our competitions we have managed to touch the world, and I want us to make a contribution to building a better world. I want to work for future generations." — Sepp Blatter

"Are we asking too much of sport? Sport above all is a game to be enjoyed, but this is to underestimate its governing power. Sport is the universal language. It engages and brings our world together. We must use the power of sport as an agent of social change." — Kofi Annan

"Sport speaks to something better in us. When you see this group of folks of different shades and backgrounds, and then playing as one team and playing the right way, and celebrating each other and being joys in that, that tells us a little something about what America is and what America can be." — Barack Obama

"I think it is really important for this great state of baseball to reach out to people of all walks of life to make sure the sport is inclusive." — George Bush

"It was hard to find an eloquent quote from Bush, but you get the point. Powerful people like sport and think it can be used to change the world."
THE POWER OF SPORT
OR... SPORT AGAINST THE POWERFUL

Football is not just a simple game, it is also a weapon of the revolution.

Che Guevara

Amilcar Cabral used soccer clubs and soccer spaces for political education and organizing during liberation struggles in Guinea-Bissau.

CLR James explained how movements for democracy and organized sport in the 19th century were entangled. Perhaps they were not the same people, but both groups were stirred at the same time. So there we are, all tangled up together, the old barriers breaking down, at a time of transition. In the inevitable integration into a national community, one of the most urgent needs, sport has played and will play a great role.

Paulo Freire has discussed how the empathy he developed playing football as a child, with poor children, influenced the development of his critical pedagogy.

In a feminist utopia, where gender parity is a reality, where the industry isn’t built on the backs of exploited bodies, we could finally experience the great things about sports, which could tell us very different stories about people and bodies than they do today.

Jessica Luther

If we are interested in building a better world through football then we also have to ensure that we are building a better world of football. That we are challenging the corruption and greed that have taken over the game. Football is another terrain of struggle against injustices meted out against us, because it is a terrain where we can dream, we can hope, we can laugh together, and we can cry together as full human beings.

Ananda Kote
This is not surprising. Most people who take sport seriously acknowledge that sport has no inherent value or meaning. People with divergent political ideologies and visions of the future mobilize in and around sport.

60 years ago

"Sport has never been more desired, practised, planned than today and never have more hopes been pinned on it... There is no unpolitical sport, if it is free then it is on the left, if it is blinded, then it hides itself out to the right."

— Ernst Bloch

The capitalist notion of sports is fundamentally different from that which should exist in an underdeveloped country. If sports are not incorporated into the building of the nation, if we produce national sportsmen instead of conscious individuals, then sports will quickly be ruined by professionalism and commercialism.

Both Bloch and Fanon make a distinction between sport that is "free" and sport that is captured.

This provides an interesting distinction to explore the different visions of the world and the future promoted through sport. To do this, we look at utopian visions presented by FIFA and the Zapatistas.
Utopian studies scholar Ruth Levitas has explained that all political positions/ideologies are based on understandings about the ‘Good Society.’ Examining these visions of the Good Society is an important form of critique. To accomplish this, Levitas advocates for Utopian Archaeology. This involves using evidence, deduction, and imagination to reconstruct and scrutinize how various groups imagine the ‘Good Society’—both in terms of how these groups imagine the world, and people within it.

Part of FIFA’s mission is to help build a better future using the unique power of football. The world will no longer be the world but something better.

We can’t know what FIFA or the Zapatistas believe is a better world, but the texts they produce provide some clues.

In 2005 FIFA initiated its Football for Hope (FFH) Movement. This involved the construction of FFH centres across Africa, and a FFH Festival hosted during the World Cup.

Most of the PR around FFH involves photos of smiling children in Africa and South America.

In 2005, there was correspondence between Inter Milan and the Zapatistas. A player from Inter, Javier Zanetti, was sympathetic to the Zapatistas’ subcomandante Marcos. He wrote to Inter to propose a series of matches.
Like Thomas More's Utopia, FIFA has similarly outlined little islands of hope. These football for hope centres were constructed across Africa as a legacy of the 2010 WC. The centres are often depicted as spaces of hope—oases in 'hopeless' or 'disadvantaged' communities.

Similarly, the Football for Hope Festivals were events hosted during the 2010 and 2014 World Cups. Temporary mini-stadiums were constructed in Alexandria (2010) and Caju (2014).

Blatter described the Caju facility as the 13th venue of the World Cup in 2014. FIFA's vision for utopian sporting spaces still requires policing, surveillance, and segregation.

In terms of the securitization and commercialization of space, he was correct.
In their correspondence with Inter Milan the visions of where football matches should be played differed from FIFA’s spaces.

**Walking We Ask Questions**

At first Subcommandante Marcos proposed matches in Mexico and Italy.

**Zapatista Utopia Spaces**

In Mexico he suggested they play at the 1968 Olympic Stadium to commemorate the student activists.

Following this, he thought they might play in California to raise awareness of the plight of migrants. "It is quite likely that Bush would not allow our Spring Summer Ski Masks to create a stir in Hollywood so the meeting could be moved to the dignified Cuban Soil in front of the military base which the U.S. maintains illegally and illegitimately.

In Italy, Subcommandante Marcos suggests playing in Milan, Rome, as well as Basque Country - all with an aim of raising awareness and funds for migrants and independence movements.

But we would certainly need at least one day in order to go to Genoa to paint Caracolitos on the statue of Christopher Columbus (The likely fine for damage to monuments would be covered by Inter).

The Zapatista vision for sporting spaces is not based on carving out a separate Utopia, but is an intervention, an occupation, where sport contributes to justice.
FIFA's Utopia

Football and People

What is exceptional here in these games is there are no referees... and it's really the essence of football. It is a great game... and the boys and girls, they play together!

Blatter was referring to Football 3, a methodology developed by Streetfootballworld - the NGO that consults on FIFA's Football for Hope Movement™.

In itself Football 3 offers a utopian vision of football and society.

Jürgen Griesbeck

Football 3 Objectives

- Increased communication, decision-making, and conflict mediation skills
- No coaches - players from both teams make decisions
- Teams are mixed-gender
- Increased respect for women and girls and appreciation of gender equality
- The vision provided by Football 3 shares a lot with Americanism...

- Increased Willingness to include others, regardless of gender, age, ability, or background
- Increased desire to become a role model for others
- Mutual aid
- Enhanced sense of fair play, responsibility, and accountability

Increased Participation in the Community

No hierarchies

Increased Communication Decision-Making and Conflict Mediation Skills

No coaches → players from both teams make decisions

Teams are mixed-gender

Increased respect for women and girls and appreciation of gender equality

The vision provided by Football 3 shares a lot with Americanism...

Sort of
Anarchist football can express collective identities through teams, specifically in how they practice anarchist ideals and build collective skills. Deciding on positions and strategies without a coach, training without pressure, using players of all skill levels; who could accomplish these besides anarchists? And couldn’t we use the communication skills and other cooperative skills in football in our direct actions?

When I saw Football 3 in action during the FIFA Festival™ I thought it reflected some of these anarchist ideals.

But when I thought about Football 3 in the context of FIFA, I though, nah.

The Festival has a VIP section.

FIFA’s spaces are carved out from communities!

Sponsored by: adidas, Visa.

Success is equated to wealth and consumption.

FIFA’s only targeted at those designated as disadvantaged, underprivileged at-risk, living in violent communities.

FIFA’s exec’s need to play Football 3?

FIFA talks about gender equality. Ha!

Sepp says, women players should wear short-shorts.

Fair play and FIFA? Ha Ha!

Carlos Fernandez
Like Football 3, Subcomandante Marcos tells later, that the Zapatista Football team will be mixed.

* I could not find any photos of a mixed squad.

**WE PLAY WITH SO CALLED "MINERS' BOOTS" (THEY HAVE STEEL TOES, WHICH PUNCTURE BALLS)**

**THE GAME IS ONLY OVER WHEN NONE OF THE PLAYERS OF EITHER TEAM IS LEFT STANDING**

**WE HAVE DESIGNED A CHAMELEON-LIKE UNIFORM (IF WE'RE LOSING, BLACK AND BLUE STRIPES APPEAR ON OUR SHIRTS, CONFUSING OUR RIVALS)**

Perhaps in order to differentiate ourselves from the objectification of women which is promoted at football games, the EZLN would ask the national lesbian-gay community, especially the trans community, to organize and to propose the respectable with ingenious piñatas. That way in addition to promoting TV censorship, feminizing the ultra-right and disconcerting the nimb banks, they would raise the morale and spirits of our team.

With all this (and a few other surprises), we might, perhaps, revolutionize world football.

Marcos' ideas may seem silly...
THE SILLY OR PATHOLOGICAL NATURE OF ALTERNATIVES TEACHES US NOT ABOUT THE NATURE OF THOSE ALTERNATIVES BUT ABOUT HOW THREATENING IT CAN BE TO IMAGINE ALTERNATIVES TO A SYSTEM THAT SURVIVES BY GROUNDING ITSELF IN INEVITABILITY.

Sara Ahmed

We have examples of football being organized around alternative visions of the world.

DEMOCRACIA CORINTHIANS

One example that shares similarities with the organizational and decision-making structures present in the football's methodology is the management structure adopted by the Brazilian club Corinthians in the 1930s. While the country was under a dictatorship, the club, under the leadership of players like Sérgio and Wadimir, institutionalized a radical form of democracy.

Rio de Janeiro

During the 2010 and 2014 World Cups, while FIFA hosted its Football for Hope Festival, community groups and social movements hosted their own alternative World Cups. The Copa Popular in Rio and the Poor Peoples World Cup in Cape Town both aimed to create spaces where football could be organized differently, and where community members could come together to advocate for and imagine a better world.

 Mangaung, South Africa

We live in dump areas that are used to turn poor people into waste and rubbish in a racist and capitalist society. But look what has come out of such places because of love and hope.

We use football to build our communities and to give our young people something to look forward to and be a part of... But... football has been captured by capital in South Africa. We need to resist this. The beautiful game should belong to the people.

Let's celebrate football in township (Mangaung), we celebrate our unity, we celebrate our organization, we celebrate the love and hope and dedication that has brought us this far.
Appendix B - Sample of Gesture Drawings and Sketches
Appendix C - Sample of Field Sketches: Locations and Settings
Appendix D – Sample of Field Sketches: Thumbnail Comics

[Image of thumbnail comics]
There was also the comrades.

Playing spin.

Big fight.

Cowards.