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## Challenging Gender Stereotypes: A Case Study of Three South African Soccer Players

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### Introduction

In the period leading to the first democratic elections in 1994, a progressively redistributionist developmental framework, the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), was adopted. This framework set out the basic principles and policies that the new democratic government was to pursue in addressing the multiple legacies of apartheid. In the words of former President Nelson Mandela, the RDP represented 'a programme of government and developmental framework that is coherent, viable and has widespread support. It is a product of consultation, debate and reflection on what we need and what is possible' (RDP cited in McKinley 2009). As applied to Sport and Recreation, the RDP set out, in clear terms, both the apartheid inheritance as well as what needed to be done to ensure transformation and redress:

One of the cruellest legacies of apartheid is its distortion of sport and recreation in our society, the enforced segregation of these activities and the gross neglect of providing facilities for the majority of South Africa's people. This has denied millions of people and particularly our youth the right to a normal and healthy life. It is important to ensure that sporting and recreational facilities are available to all South African communities...This cannot be left entirely in the hands of individual sporting codes or local communities...Sport and recreation should cut across all developmental programmes and be accessible and affordable for all South Africans...Particular attention must be paid to the provision of facilities at schools and in communities where there are large concentrations of unemployed youth. In developing such policies it should be recognized that sport is played at different levels of competence and that there are different specific needs at different levels (RDP cited in McKinley 2009).

In the post-apartheid period, any discussion of sport and national identity and who benefits has to contend with the way the state has attempted to redress past inequalities, especially how it has approached racial redress (Desai 2009:290). First, the participation of women in male-dominated sport is a consequence of progressive legislation which creates a context for inclusionary citizenship when both sexes are able to learn skills and techniques from each other. In reality, national sport leaders prioritized racial integration of big-time men's sports, such as rugby and cricket and the hosting of mega global sports events over mainstreaming gender equity in sport (Pelak 2009:112). Second, soccer (always popular), became the people's game and *de facto* national sport with women's participation being pivotal to pushing at the boundaries to create this space at community level. Racial redress also gave substance to the Decent Work Agenda<sup>1</sup> for women entering sporting codes as a form of employment similar to those of their male counterparts. Therefore, the mainstreaming of gender equality of sport into the Decent Work Agenda has the potential to bring about attitudinal changes that contribute towards the socio-economic development of entire communities. When certain contact sports like soccer has both a male and female league, it is important to encourage the community to value the team spirit it generates and to view women as equally skilled to play the sport. Moreover, if there is a monetary reward for the team who wins the league, then women should earn wages equal to their male counterparts. Development therefore, will take place at an individual as well as at community level.

Sport offers alternative avenues for women and girls to participate in their communities by promoting freedom of expression, interpersonal networks and the expansion of opportunities for education as well as the development of a range of essential life skills including community communication, leadership, teamwork and negotiation (Women 2000 and Beyond 2007:3). Soccer, hockey, netball and softball are the popular sporting codes in working class communities and children can often be seen playing on fields or in the neighbourhood streets. Studies conducted by the United Nations support the benefits of physical activity for women in the light of its capacity to prevent a myriad of non-communicable diseases which account for over 60 per cent of global deaths, 66 per cent of which occur in developing countries (Women 2000 and Beyond 2007:2). Participation in sporting activities for older women<sup>2</sup> reduces cardiovascular diseases which account for 1/3 of deaths among women globally and half the number of deaths of women older than 50 in developing countries (Women 2000 and Beyond 2007:2). Participation in sport facilitates good mental health for women of all ages, because it promotes psychological well-being by building self esteem, confidence and social integration as well as facilitating the reduction of stress, anxiety and loneliness.

Participation in sport is defined as a human right by the United Nations and has the potential to contribute towards achieving certain of the Millennium Development Goals in South Africa, among which the eradication of extreme poverty and hunger by creating work opportunities (Goal 1) and the promotion of gender equality and empowerment of women (Goal 3) are of utmost importance when addressing issues of development. This is because the participation of women and girls in sport challenges gender stereotypes and discriminatory practices and is often used as a method to promote equality and empowerment in society. A review of the literature demonstrates that women's participation provides opportunities and benefits for women and girls to create a critical mass who are able to shape societal attitudes towards women as leaders and decision-makers (Women 2000 and Beyond 2007:3; ILO, 2003). Women's increasing participation in certain sporting codes creates alternative norms, values, knowledge, capabilities and experiences for those of their male counterparts. Often women's participation diversifies skills, expanding the talent base in areas such as management, coaching and sport journalism (Women 2000 and Beyond 2007:3). Moreover, through their participation in sport, women and girls are granted access to public spaces and a sense of ownership over their bodies. This overt shifting of boundaries into the public sphere increases the self-esteem of women and girls who in turn make better choices about their lives. Sport becomes a channel for informing girls and women about their reproductive and other health issues that may conventionally have remained confined to the private sphere.

Sport is now recognized by the United Nations Inter-Agency Task Force and the International Labour Organization as a tool for fostering social inclusion and for the development of peace (Report of the First ILO Workshop on Sport for Development 2003). The 2010 World Cup in South Africa is one such large event and it is considered an appropriate vehicle with which to enhance the transformation in sport as a fundamental concept for promoting equality and the rights of citizenship (Desai 2008:292). South Africa is a signatory to the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women which binds 'state(s) parties on the elimination of discrimination against women and girls in the area of sports and physical education' (Women 2000 and Beyond 2007:6). Articles 10 and 13 respectively call on states to take appropriate measures to ensure that women have equal rights to men in the field of education and other areas of economic and social life (Women 2000 and Beyond 2007:6). The Southern African Development Community (SADC) Declaration on Gender and Development Protocol proposes a 50 per cent representation of women, especially in decision-making positions, by 2015 within the region and this campaign for the mainstreaming of gender in all institutions is actively promoted in South Africa. The concept of equality is reinforced in the South African Constitution and Bill of Rights. In President Mandela's inauguration speech, he spelt out his govern-

ment's commitment to non-racism, non-sexism and equality for all in our country in a clear and unambiguous manner when he stated that:

'Freedom cannot be achieved unless the women have been emancipated from all forms of oppression which forms part of our proud history' (President Nelson Mandela 1994).

Legislation such as The Employment Equity Act; The Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act (PEPUDA) and The Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Act were promulgated to support gender equality. Consequently, gender and development (GAD) approaches promote gender mainstreaming in all facets of society by prioritizing women's empowerment in order to address the imbalances of the past, especially for black women and the disabled. This approach formed part of the broadly and progressively redistributionist developmental framework of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) that set out the basic principles and policies that the new democratic government was to pursue in addressing the multiple legacies of apartheid.

The political will to build a society free of racial and gender discrimination informed the formulation of the National Policy Framework for Women's Empowerment and Gender Equality (2000) which is the policy framework which outlines South Africa's vision for gender equality and how it intends to realise this ideal (National Gender Policy Framework (<http://www.doh.gov.za/docs/policy/gender.pdf/> – accessed 20 December 2009). The National Gender Policy Framework adopts a development approach that prioritizes the meeting of basic needs because of the high levels of inequality of women in South Africa, especially black women. Basic needs are complementary to women's striving to meet practical needs through empowerment. Whereas, the gender and development approach focuses on strategic needs which ultimately translate into gender equality. (National Gender Policy Framework ( <http://www.doh.gov.za/docs/policy/gender.pdf/> accessed 20 December 2009).

## Methodology

The chapter draws on interviews with three women soccer players who have had four decades of experience between them to explore the opportunities and challenges women confront when embarking on a career path in a male dominated sport and how women soccer players in amateur leagues challenge gender stereotypes. These interviews took place between August and September 2009.<sup>3</sup>

Because of my unfamiliarity with the amateur league system, I approached a soccer coach who suggested I interviewed Lebo who is a member of the 'Chosen Few' soccer team. This interview provided insights into the challenges facing gay women wishing to play in the Gauteng league. Lebo recommended that I

interview members of the amateur leagues in Gauteng. She introduced me to a soccer player who suggested that I should meet Liezl whom I interviewed to understand the league system and her role as an amateur soccer player. In Cape Town, a family friend introduced me to Bianca who continues to play for Banyana Banyana.

The interview schedule included the following open-ended questions:

- Why do women play amateur soccer?
- Do talented women soccer players choose to play amateur soccer?
- Are women soccer players able to participate in professional soccer?
- What are the training opportunities?
- What are the administrators (both male and female) perceptions of women soccer players?
- Are there adequate funding sources and career opportunities?
- What are societal perceptions of women's participation in male dominated sports?
- What are the respondent's family perceptions of their role in male dominated sports?
- Do respondents' families support their participation in soccer?

Responses to the questions were analyzed and disaggregated into themes. To complete the process, the responses were compartmentalized to establish similarities and dissimilarities of opinions.

### **The Historical Role of Women in Soccer in South Africa**

As noted earlier, soccer has arguably been the 'people's sport' and the *de facto* national game for the black population in South Africa. South African soccer teams have had women supporters, many of whom were famous for their fierce loyalty and inspirational singing and cheerleading at matches. Soccer is the most popular sport within the working class communities in South Africa. According to Alegi (2004:148), playing and watching soccer in cities, towns and mining compounds engendered prolonged popular struggles largely because African sport was bound up with the pursuit of urban racial segregation in the twentieth century. One of the outstanding features of the supporters' clubs was the active participation of increasing numbers of women. Female organizers and actors filled simultaneously progressive and conservative roles. Fan groups represented a social space where black women excluded from sporting activities could exercise informal power in a deeply patriarchal society. In 1961, the Berea Soccer executive had a female-dominated executive board and, together with about 30 Indian women supporters, they travelled with the team to Johannesburg. Support was not confined to Indian women. African women were also directly

involved in soccer. Young female fans of Orlando Pirates FC, dressed in black and white uniforms, were popular figures at the matches. Betty Nkosi and Edith Moipone Moorosi influenced the internal affairs of Pirates FC to such a considerable extent by the late 1960s that men in the club referred to them disparagingly as an 'apron government' implying that these women were able to subvert the collective decisions made by the club executive committee (Maguire 1991 cited in Alegi 2004:128). As the apartheid regime spread its tentacles, sport became an alternative form for community involvement in open defiance of legislation banning large meetings. In 1982, the first South African Council on Sport festival was held in Cape Town in order to demonstrate that different sporting codes were able to break the oppressive apartheid mindset by encouraging black<sup>4</sup> women, men and children to utilize their leisure time in an expression of freedom of association using the slogan 'no normal sport in an abnormal society'. These were some of the sporting events that attempted to forge unity amongst oppressed people under apartheid, referred to earlier by former President Nelson in the preface of the Reconstruction and Development Document.

Since 1994, opportunities have opened up for career development and the profiling of men's soccer in South Africa. The symbolic use of sport to dismantle apartheid and the discourse of non-racialism to unify the nation ignored the need for gender transformation. Initially it was white women who formed soccer teams, but as the teams progressively became more non-racial, the white women preferred to play in-door 'Social corporate six a side' and black women played outdoor soccer (Pelak 2009). The newly formed and unified mother body of South African soccer gained membership to both the continental (Confederation of African Football — CAF) and global (Federation of International Football Associations — FIFA) governing bodies of soccer (McKinley 2009). Over the next several years, South Africa's various national teams (from the senior men's side — Bafana Bafana — and senior women's side — Banyana Banyana, down to the under-17 boys' team) hosted a number of international games and participated in the various CAF and FIFA competitions (McKinley 2009). The country's first-ever, fully fledged soccer business corporation for professional clubs (led by South Africa's biggest and most popular clubs at the time, Orlando Pirates and Kaizer Chiefs), the Premier Soccer League (PSL), was formed. Men who recognized lucrative business prospects by gaining a foothold in the soccer industry, seized control by setting up most of the first women's teams (Hilton-Smith<sup>5</sup> cited in Naidoo 2007:63). According to Hilton-Smith, there was an absence of a professional women's league, and many men who failed in men's soccer turned to the women's game 'to try their luck', but the men lacked the skills and experience necessary to coach and manage women players. More often than not, they were prone to sexist practices (Naidoo 2007:63). Those responsible for developing women's soccer had no intrinsic interest in doing so and did not appear commit-

ted to the players' wellbeing. Irrespective of their talent, women soccer players struggled against systematic exclusion from a sport which is considered a male preserve. In order to compete, they had to negotiate a host of prejudices that define gender roles in society and the soccer world. Pelak confirms this viewpoint when she states that in spite of these legislative intentions towards building a soccer community, sexism in sport continues to be conceptualized by male national sport administrators as of secondary importance to racial integration (Pelak 2009:112).

This process coincided with the switch in government development policy to the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) macroeconomic framework, and following the neoliberal economic advice of the various international financial institutions and developed country governments, national grants and subsidies to local municipalities and city councils were drastically decreased (McKinley 2009). What this meant in practical terms was that public resources (both human and material) available at the local level for sports such as school and community soccer were virtually wiped off the map. In other words, the people's sport was being effectively privatized. (McKinley 2009). Consequently, women's soccer remained 'an afterthought', complains Hilton Smith (cited in Naidoo 2007:64). Research indicates that although women have exposure to male-dominated sport, women administrators' ability to make decisions is often confined to local levels rather than international levels. This has negative outcomes for women's participation which may be confined to amateur rankings and/or the consequent gender segregation of particular sporting codes. This may explain why the current function of women in soccer still continues to be largely one of a supportive role. In a recent newspaper interview, four women described their jobs in the world of soccer. These jobs ranged from events and marketing, communications and reception for three professional soccer teams. In these supportive roles, the women place soccer coaches at certain schools and shelters to train under-privileged children. Two of the women have diplomas in Information Technology and Public Relations and a large part of their tasks involve 'booking flights, hotels and match venues; handling calls from fans, handling communication with the media and ensuring that the team sheets are in order on match day' (Ndibi K and Bam B: August 2009). According to Naidoo (2007:62) reports on women's soccer are relegated to fillers on sports' pages of newspapers and magazines.

### **Sport as a Catalyst for Challenging Gender Stereotypes**

Liezl Windvogel,<sup>6</sup> a slim-built woman passionate about the game of soccer she has been playing for different amateur league teams since she was 16 years old. For the past 15 years, she has played recreational soccer for the 'Social Corporate 6 a Side' and amateur league soccer. Some of the teams include Mamelodi

Sundowns FC and Panorama Ladies<sup>7</sup> team based in Johannesburg. As she informed me 'I don't have to act like a boy because I play with style and skill'.<sup>8</sup> Her family is very supportive of her and her mother watches her games. As a young girl, she played in the street with her male playmates. Her family continues to encourage her to play by asking how her team has fared in the league. In response to my question of whether soccer is her choice of career she stated 'not in South Africa because women players must fight for recognition. Often one's potential is ignored and ladies lose interest'.<sup>9</sup>

Bianca Zeeman<sup>10</sup> is a member of the Banyana Banyana national team. She grew up with three brothers and was considered a 'tomboy'. She started playing soccer at high school. As a mother of a 15-month old daughter, her husband and family encourage her to excel at sport. She has a good support system for her daughter at her disposal when she participates in training camps. In 2000, she toured with the national team and plans to return after an injury layoff. Before playing professional soccer, she played for Spurs Women's Soccer Club, a local Cape Town team. At the time, Sasol Company<sup>11</sup> sponsored the league but women soccer players received no prize money. As part of the national team, she considered herself privileged to represent her country in regional and international soccer tournaments. She considers the Banyana Banyana team to be a catalyst for challenging gender stereotypes. As a woman soccer player, she challenges and dispels misconceptions about women's capabilities and perceives herself to be a positive role model for younger women. As a member of the Banyana Banyana team, she has the advantage of playing many international friendly games to improve her soccer techniques and to extend her social networks with women facing similar discriminatory practices. For her, gender-based discrimination in sport mirrors the traditional gender inequalities within society. Liezl concurs because 'the lack of development opportunities for women is experienced as discriminatory and soccer officials make us feel as if we are there on sufferance'.<sup>12</sup> Yet, Liezl and her team mates play with passion and pride of place in this male-dominated sport, whereas she believes the men play for financial rewards.

Unlike the male professional leagues, women soccer teams play interprovincial tournaments and 'play offs' where talent scouts and the Banyana Banyana coach and selectors are present to choose a squad from the top clubs in South Africa. When women are chosen for the national team, the camp takes place one week before the tour. Because there is a small stipend<sup>13</sup> as a training allowance, women find they have to weigh up their options and, invariably, they choose to remain in regularly paid employment. Soccer trials do not necessarily guarantee a place in the national team and rather than risk their paid employment, women opt out of the training camps. Bianca agrees with Liezl that women soccer players cannot earn a living from the games because unlike the men's professional soccer league, sponsors do not offer women similar prize money.<sup>14</sup> The female



squad of 50 players receive a daily allowance while in training camp. As a government employee, Bianca is able to take sporting leave in addition to annual leave. Within one week, a player has to prove her physical and psychological well-being at the training camp. Bianca considered one week sufficient time to become part of a team because 'these are star players' who are physically fit. While these women soccer players train rigorously they do not consider the game as a form of employment. The 'Banyana Banyana players receive a daily allowance of R500 per match and receive R5000 each if they win a match, R2 500 if they draw and nothing if they lose' (Pelak 2005; Naidoo 2007; Zeeman 2009).<sup>15</sup> In contrast, Bafana Bafana players receive R40 000 for a win and R20 000 for a draw. Therefore, stereotypical attitudes towards the value of women's sport also fuel inequality in wages, conditions of employment and career development. Many women players are unemployed between matches because participation in the Banyana Banyana team places huge demands on their time and only those who are self-employed or have alternative forms of employment are able to sustain themselves between match call-ups.

Talent scouts observe women players at the different league games as potential players for the national soccer trials. These events have limited media exposure. Teams get exposure for selection when they go for 'play-offs' and the sport features as part-time or recreation for the majority of women because the lack of support infrastructure makes it impossible to consider it a career. Television coverage of the 'play-offs' is provided on certain satellite television channels. Lebo, a tall slim woman who has played soccer since she was 12 years old does not consider soccer a career because she 'feels women are not given similar opportunities as their male players'.<sup>16</sup> Lebo's mother never gets to watch her daughter's games on television because she does not have access to satellite television. Lebo informed me that 'popular television soap operas are rescheduled when Kaiser Chiefs FC play an important match'. Women soccer teams do not enjoy similar privileges'.<sup>17</sup> Lebo plays social soccer for 'The Chosen Few', a soccer club for lesbian women. In 2007, she was chosen to play in the Gay Games held in London in the United Kingdom. Lebo established a team for gay women, encouraging diversity and alternative approaches to sexuality. In her opinion, the lack of media coverage fuels negative images for women's participation and reinforces gender segregation of particular sporting codes.

### **Unintended Consequences for Equality in Soccer**

Lebo also plays left wing position for the Titan Ladies Soccer Club in Rustenburg (her home town), in the North West Province. Coaching sessions are held every afternoon of the week. During soccer season, the team meets every Friday evening to discuss the next day's match. According to Lebo, it's an opportunity for the coach to advise, guide and strategise on how to win the next match'.<sup>18</sup> She is keen

to coach young school girls and feels that learning that skill would expand her talent base in areas such as management, coaching and sport journalism (Women 2000 and Beyond 2007:3; Lebo Zulu 2009). Lebo feels that her participation is labelled as 'being manly or unfeminine' and the prevailing code of silence results in fears of homophobia. It is evident that women who challenge the masculine construction of soccer face formidable challenges to dominant gender structures and exclusionary practises (Pelak 2009:99). Hilton-Smith recalled events when the establishment of the early teams, led by men, resulted in sexual harassment and abuse of players by many male coaches and managers (Hilton-Smith cited in Naidoo 2007:63). Hilton-Smith and a colleague tabled the issue at the Pickard Commission set up by the Minister of Sport in 1996 'to look into the problems facing the administration of soccer' (Hilton-Smith cited in Naidoo 2007:63). The Pickard Commission recommended interventions in order to address the problems of sexual harassment, but the soccer players who had personally encountered harassment were not counselled.<sup>19</sup> After intense public negotiations, it was decided to change the relationship between women's soccer and SAFA. Women's soccer became a sub-committee of SAFA which allowed the male-led administrators total control over and the fiscal responsibility of women's soccer (Pelak 2009:115)

Women players who dared to speak out risked their soccer careers and in the case of two popular players the consequences were manifested in a swift end to their careers. In addition, the open and public sexual orientation of the women posed further obstacles to the independent advancement of their careers (Naidoo 2007:64). Some of the women believed that their sexual orientation prevented them from gaining contracts to coach professionally. Thus, playing a male sport involves a constant negotiation of women's identities due to societal perceptions of them as women. Soccer for Lebo is the pride of demonstrating the skill and tactics of the game. This feeds her commitment as a positive role model for young girls and boys eager to learn team sports. This is not an opinion shared by the executive of the South African Football Association (SAFA). In 2005, Ria Ledwaba<sup>20</sup> publicly declared that the Banyana Banyana team needed to act like ladies to secure more sponsorship. She recommended that the team take part in workshops which teach ladies' etiquette, as well as offered less shapely soccer kit to wear (Naidoo 2007:64). Eudy Simelane, a former Banyana Banyana soccer player and lesbian activist was robbed, gang-raped and murdered as a symbol of corrective rape.<sup>21</sup> (<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/8270417.stm> accessed 8 October 2009). According to Liezl and Lebo, societal perceptions of how feminine or masculine roles are constructed must be transformed. Legislation encourages women to be equal to their male counterparts but patriarchal institutions such as SAFA oppose this process of democratization. Moreover, the sexual orientation and appearance of the team became a 'scapegoat' for SAFA's poor management

and leadership of the team and their inability to secure sponsorships. According to Bianca, hockey and softball have a larger number of lesbians in the teams, yet they do not suffer the same discriminatory practices as their female counterparts in soccer.<sup>22</sup> The interviewees whose views are expressed in this chapter have different sexual preferences and believe that they have the democratic right to choose their sexual identities. SAFA's patriarchal attitudes and preferential treatment to the men's team, Bafana Bafana, reinforces stereotypes and obfuscates their poor leadership, management and discrimination suffered by women players.

### Conclusion

While these young women break stereotypes and challenge their male counterparts and officials to equal opportunity, Lebo and Liezl are not optimistic that women soccer teams will feature as curtain raisers at the 2010 World Cup matches because they were completely ignored at the recent Confederation Cup of Nations hosted in Johannesburg. Bianca is of a different viewpoint. She opines that these are male competitions that do not feature women soccer teams. According to her, women soccer players have qualified for the Women's World Cup in 2011 where there will be live media coverage similar to the Men's Professional Soccer League. Bianca believes SAFA needs to promote women's soccer by ensuring adequate financial resources and leadership. Kylie-Ann Louw, the Banyana Banyana midfielder now plays for Stephen F Austin State University (SFS) Texas, United States of America. The college soccer league has 320 women's teams representing universities in the First Division (*Star*, August 2009). More senior women players will leave South Africa to join international women's soccer teams for lucrative financial rewards. Moreover, the lack of local opportunities encourages players to make individualist choices to further their own careers and sell their soccer skills to the highest bidder because women have limited access and experience of soccer and are dependent on male coaches' expertise and resources. Despite, men's rhetoric about dismantling male dominance in women's soccer, the lack of women leadership roles marginalizes women within the institutional structures.

According to Hilton-Smith, women's soccer has, for the first time, gained financial support from two sponsors, namely Absa Bank and Sasol (*Hilton*, 14 August 2009). This is the first sponsorship after five years of struggling to play competitive international games. Positing a different viewpoint, Hilton-Smith believes that 'those selected were often not in top form because of a lack of game time.' (*Hilton*, 14 August 2009). Moreover, the national technical team did not travel around the country in search of talent because there were no tournaments (*Hilton*, 14 August 2009). Bianca confirms that greater sponsorship will assist to professionalize the game because players will be able to participate in

clinics, receive professional coaching and play competitively. For her, these are indicators that women's soccer is being taken seriously and that women are being considered on an equal footing to their male counterparts. Bianca who is waiting for a call-up for a soccer clinic believes that the Banyana Banyana team is receiving recognition for their soccer skill and technique. Another positive indicator is the Woman Player of the Year Award at the Confederation of African Football (CAF) scooped by Noko Alice Matlou, held in Lagos-Nigeria in February 2009 (<http://gsport.co.za> accessed 7 October 2009). Matlou's success is a result of SAFA embarking on programmes that accelerated the development of women's football in the country. The team had opportunities to set up camps in Germany and Holland and they played competitive teams from Sweden and the African continent, hence the positive results in team performance', says Raymond Hack, the President of SAFA (<http://www.gsport.co.za/noko-crowned-no-1-in-africa.html>. accessed 7 October 2009). Hilton-Smith is equally enthusiastic about Banyana Banyana's success and the prospect of having greater sponsorship opens doors to build the sport. She believes there is a need for a school league for girls because this is an important stage where girls can be groomed from a young age (*Hilton* 14 August 2009).

Sponsorship and skilled players is one of the many missing pieces of the puzzle. There is also a need for political will to facilitate women's soccer in terms of equity, representivity and redress. Moreover, the political will to promote community level soccer rather than relying on private corporations to bankroll the game lies squarely at the door of government. Clearly, effective interventions require that policies and mechanisms be put in place to address the challenges facing women soccer players in the national team. Moreover, there is a need to recognize that women soccer players require career opportunities which includes the development of a career path. These interventions must be consistent through internal policy coherence and aligned with medium- and long-term objectives to those of their male counterparts. These challenges should be part of an ongoing debate in fora where male and female professional players, their representatives and government decision makers meet to discuss and negotiate the strengthening of both human and infrastructural aspects of the soccer sporting code.

## Notes

1. Decent work constitutes four key pillars: employment opportunities, rights, protection and voice. Decent work is captured in four strategic objectives: fundamental principles and rights at work and international labour standards; employment and income opportunities; social protection and social security; and social dialogue and tripartism. These objectives hold for all workers, women and men, in both formal and informal economies; in wage employment or working on their own account; in the fields, factories and offices; in their home or in the community. <http://www.ilo.org/global/>

- About\_the\_ILO/Mainpillars/WhatisDecentWork/lang—en/index.htm accessed 10 October 2009.
2. Physical activity reduces the effects of osteoporosis which women have a higher risk of developing than men. Participation in physical activity aids in the prevention and/or treatment of other chronic and degenerative diseases associated with aging, such as type-2 diabetes, hypertension, arthritis, osteoporosis and cardiovascular abnormalities (Women 2007 and Beyond 2007:2).
  3. Interviews with L. Zulu a gay woman interviewed on 5 August 2009 in Johannesburg; L. Windvogel a heterosexual woman on 13 August 2009 in Johannesburg and B Zeeman a heterosexual mother interviewed on 28 September 2009 in Cape Town.
  4. Black connotes people who were classified as Coloured, Indian and African under the Apartheid regime.
  5. Francis Hilton Smith is the manager of the Banyana Banyana team and the coach is male.
  6. Liezl Windvogel is one of three women players interviewed. She holds fulltime employment at a call centre. She established a women's soccer club at high school. Interview conducted on 13 August 2009 in Johannesburg.
  7. Women's soccer teams are organised into amateur leagues in each province. Each league has approximately 14 teams who play competitively.
  8. Liezl Windvogel interviewed on 13 August 2009 in Johannesburg.
  9. Liezl Windvogel interviewed on 13 August 2009 in Johannesburg.
  10. Bianca Zeeman interviewed on 28 September 2009 in Cape Town.
  11. Sasol Company is one of three sponsors. Supersport 14 (the TV channel) and Absa Bank are the other two sponsors.
  12. Liezl Windvogel interviewed on 13 August 2009 in Johannesburg.
  13. The stipend is R600 per day as per interview with Bianca Zeeman.
  14. Bianca Zeeman interviewed on 28 September 2009 in Cape Town.
  15. The author was unable to access the 2009 rates for stipends and prize money.
  16. Lebo Zulu interviewed on 5 August 2009 in Johannesburg.
  17. Lebo Zulu interviewed on 5 August 2009 in Johannesburg.
  18. Lebo Zulu interviewed on 5 August 2009 in Johannesburg.
  19. Pickard Commission recommended structures to counter sexual harassment, in addition to interventions such as the training of female coaches, and the partnering of female coaches with male managers and vice versa (Naidoo 2007:64).
  20. Ria Ledwaba the then chairperson of SAFA's Women's Committee cited in Naidoo 2007.
  21. Corrective rape is a form of gender based violence perpetrated by men who believe that sexual relations between a lesbian woman and heterosexual man will reverse the woman's sexual preference.
  22. Bianca Zeeman interviewed on 28 September 2009 in Cape Town.

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