

South African Sport in the Global Media Arena: tackling issues of globalisation
and media control and their impact on the national interest

By

Shaun Ross Ryan

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Supervisor

Prof. Ruth Teer-Tomaselli

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University of KwaZulu-Natal

Howard College

Declaration

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Social Science, in the Graduate Programme in Culture, Communication and Media Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban South Africa.

I, Shaun Ross Ryan, declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Social Science in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Science, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other university.

Signed: _____.

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Shaun

Abstract

This dissertation sets out to identify the national interest in terms of South African sport, as represented by the 2003 ICASA Position Paper and Regulations on Sports Broadcasting Rights. The dissertation focuses on South African rugby which, along with cricket and soccer, is one of the main sports deemed to be in the national interest. The government's use of televised sport as a means of disseminating the ideology of nationalism amongst South Africans is explored. A critique of the national interest is provided with the importance of private, commercial broadcasters to the financial sustainability of sporting unions stressed. Commercial broadcasters are often the only broadcasters capable of acquiring sports broadcasting rights at international market related prices. Commercial broadcasters are, therefore, important to the longevity of professional sports and cannot be sidelined by related policies which could give preference to free-to-air broadcasters. The concept of 'responsible broadcasting' is introduced as a means of maintaining the national interest. Broadcasters, sporting unions and the public are imperative to the promotion of the national interest and are analysed further in this regard. The dissertation ends with a discussion of televised sports' contribution towards efforts of nation-building within a South African context. This discussion establishes whether rugby events deemed to be in the national interest are readily accepted by South African audiences and warrant their inclusion in future ICASA policies.

Key Words: National interest, sport, rugby, ICASA, political economy, globalisation, nation-building, national identity, South Africa.

List of Acronyms

ABSA	Amalgamated Banks of South Africa
ANC	African National Congress
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
CCMS	Culture, Communication and Media Studies
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CPNV	Custodian Promoting Normative Values
DStv	Digital Satellite Television
DVD	Digital Versatile Disk
ERC	European Rugby Cup
ICASA	Independent Communications Authority of South Africa
ICC	International Cricket Council
IPL	Indian Premier League
IRB	International Rugby Board
LSM	Living Standard Measure
M-Net	Electronic Media Network
MTV	Music Television
NBC	National Broadcasting Company
NRF	National Research Foundation
ODI	One Day International
PSL	Premier Soccer League
SAARF	South African Advertising Research Foundation
SABC	South African Broadcast Corporation
SANZAR	South African, New Zealand and Australian Rugby
SARFU	South African Rugby Football Union
SARU	South African Rugby Union
TAMS	Television Audience Measures
UEFA	Union of European Football Associations
VCR	Videocassette Recorder

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 The people's players

“Did you see Bryan Habana? Did you see Bryan Habana? I saw Bryan Habana...”

The more I think about it, this little quote reflects one of the finer moments in recent South African rugby history. Well, for me at least. Yes, the Springboks won the Rugby World Cup in France and the Vodacom Bulls beat the Sharks in the first all South African Super14 final (both in 2007) but the passion and innocence of the young boy who so eagerly wanted to know whether or not his younger brother caught a glimpse of their hero, Bryan Habana, will remain as clear as day in my mind for many years to come. The moment occurred on route of the Springbok victory parade through Durban where excited supporters of all ages and races gathered to celebrate our crowning as World Champions and catch a rare glimpse of the William Webb Ellis Cup - rugby's greatest prize. The boy, no more than eight years old, erupted into a frenzy of ecstatic energy when the open top bus proudly carrying the Boks¹ turned the final corner of the ticker-tape parade and came into full view of those gathered outside the Blue Waters Hotel on the Durban beachfront. What made the moment memorable was that the young boy was just so happy to see his hero. That was it. He was happy. He had no knowledge of behind the scenes politics which many people saw coming and eventually did make it into the media, and at such a young age he probably knows very little about the more technical aspects of the game. For him, a truck and trailer is something he plays with in the sandpit at school and not a penalty infringement at a rolling maul. The boy represents the future of South African rugby, a sport which will hopefully grow in popularity across racial divides and be inclusive of all South Africans as a result of the 2007 victories. He may never become a Springbok, perhaps he will we cannot tell, but there is one certainty, he will be a fan as long - as Bryan Habana and other future role models keep on scoring tries in the corner and playing with the passion and heart of the 2007 Boks.

The boy reminded me of myself when I was at junior primary school. I am part of the Jonty Rhodes generation, a generation whose hero played cricket. We all remember the day

¹ An abbreviation or nickname for the Springboks, South Africa's senior national rugby team.

when Jonty picked up the ball and ran out Inzamam-ul-haq by diving full stretch through the air at the 1992 Cricket World Cup. Just like Superman, I thought. The most sought after signature in South African cricket at the time! We wanted to be him, practicing dive catches into the swimming pool during summer. Even at high school if someone took a dive catch in the field it was referred to as a 'Jonty'.

The hype of the ticker-tape parade had been building in Durban for a number of days. As an avid rugby fan I thought it would be a good idea to take some time out of my not so strenuous Sunday afternoon and head on down to the beachfront and witness the event for myself firsthand. I quickly planned the most accessible route to the ticker-tape parade and, armed with my digital camera, departed for the beachfront. I thought that the victory parade would be a good opportunity to gauge the perceptions of the man on the street, literally. When approaching the beachfront I could feel the excitement building. Other drivers were trying to reach the parade route as well and guessing which roads would get you there quickest and avoid traffic jams became more of a lottery than anything else. I felt like an A1 Grand Prix driver aided by the corner markings still on the turns of the Durban street track as I quickly weaved my way through the bends outside Suncoast Casino. To my relief I had made it. Only just.

I departed for the beachfront without really knowing what to expect. I have attended many live rugby matches at ABSA Stadium and have seen the Sharks and Springboks play live on numerous occasions. I have even witnessed the New Zealand *Haka*² from the stands and have felt the emotion in the atmosphere as players and spectators sing the national anthem before Test matches. How would this be any different? As I arrived at the beachfront the crowd that had already gathered along the road let out a loud cheer and the sirens of the police cars escorting the victors eventually overpowered all other sounds. As I got out of my car I noticed my hands were shaking.

The bus came around the corner and South African flags started waving in the air. A congregation of young African supporters started dancing as their friends enthusiastically

² A Maori challenge ritual performed before matches by New Zealand national rugby teams.

blew on their *vuvuzelas*³. I was caught up in the euphoria that had been created the very moment the final whistle blew in Paris and team captain John Smit was handed the trophy. My initial perceptions had been wrong. I was not too old to experience the excitement or too accustomed to seeing players up close to miss out on the occasion. Even if it was for a brief period of time all the people who had made the effort to go down and see the Boks were living the same experience. We were all congratulating our heroes. We were all victorious. And yes, just like the little boy, I did get to see Bryan Habana...

My account of the Springbok parade through Durban highlights a collective experience and the importance of rugby to many South Africans. The sport is more than just an eighty minute affair involving thirty overgrown individuals. Rugby in South Africa evokes passion amongst its followers and is firmly entrenched within the entertainment industry. The extensive media coverage given to the sport chronicles the escapades of South African teams across the world and emphasises the lure of the sport to its many fans. Television played a vital role in the 2007 World Cup. South Africans sitting in pubs, sports bars and in their own homes experienced what turned out to be an event embraced across the country. This dissertation explores the appeal of the sport to audiences as well as media companies and how regulations are put in place to ensure that all South Africans are afforded the opportunity to partake in the spectacle. The South Africans who took to the streets to show their support for the World Champion Springboks exemplify the role that televised rugby plays in nation-building, the desired outcome of broadcasting sport in the national interest. This dissertation charts the progression from state ideology to nation-building through televised sport.

1.2 South African sport in the global media arena

This dissertation sets out to examine the role that is played by sport within a global world. Through rugby, this research dissertation examines the international sporting industry and analyses the presence of South African teams, sporting unions, broadcasters, sponsors and audiences on the international stage. The reasons for focusing on South African rugby are fairly straightforward. Conducting research on a number of sporting codes would prove to be too big a project and require far more time than is allowed by universities to conduct a Masters degree. The success of the South African team on the international stage was another

³ A plastic trumpet type instrument that is popular amongst South African sports fans. Often used at live sporting events.

determining factor. At the time of writing the initial proposal for the research project, South Africa was a previous winner of the Rugby World Cup (1995), a regular fixture in – and past winner of – the Tri-Nations tournament and one of the three countries providing professional franchises to the annual Super14 competition⁴. The media coverage that is given to a sport played all over South Africa, from large urban centres to small farming communities and townships, is also an area of much interest. The main themes of the dissertation are easily recognisable and are firmly based within the political economy of the media. The main focus of the dissertation is the identification of the national interest in terms of South African sports broadcasting. The resultant policies which are set in place by the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa⁵ (ICASA) govern the way in which South African broadcasters act. The national interest, as represented by the relevant ICASA documentation, is extended to establish whether or not televised rugby enhances local efforts of nation-building amongst South African citizens. The impact of globalisation on the South African sporting industry is also taken into consideration. The main reasons for an inquiry into sports broadcasting rights in South Africa are detailed below. Thereafter, the breakdown of the dissertation will follow with a brief outline of the coming chapters provided.

1.2.1 The need for an inquiry into sports broadcasting rights

The primary concern of this dissertation is the identification of the national interest in terms of sports broadcasting and how the sport of rugby fits the mould within a South African context. The roles of the public service broadcaster and private, commercial broadcaster will be analysed in terms of their interpretation and promotion of the national interest through the broadcasting of rugby, as exemplified in their responses to the ICASA Position Paper on sports broadcasting rights. A crisis within local sports broadcasting, fuelled by the high costs of purchasing sports broadcast rights and producing programmes (ICASA Discussion Paper, 2002) as well as the variety of sports codes and different interests held by the South African viewing public, resulted in ICASA holding a public hearing and formulating rules for both public and commercial broadcasters in South Africa to adhere to (ICASA Discussion Paper,

⁴ The Super14 is an annual rugby competition. Fourteen professional franchises, from South Africa, New Zealand and Australia, compete in the competition. South Africa and New Zealand have five franchises each in the competition and Australia four.

⁵ ICASA is a regulatory body that formulates and enforces policy relating to the communications industry in South Africa (Ngubane, 2006: 63 – 73).

2002). Matches and events that are considered to be in the national interest are required to be made available to all South Africans on a free to air broadcaster. The manner in which these matches and events are identified is of much interest and shall be explored further in the chapters to follow.

The effects of globalisation on rugby broadcasting in South Africa are scrutinised. By understanding the influence of international media sources and by recognising that sporting events have a global appeal, a clearer picture of what constitutes the national interest will be established. Nationalism is discussed in terms of the way in which elements of rugby broadcasting contribute to the creation of nationalist sentiments and feelings of unification amongst audience members. By analysing the criteria which need to be met in order for certain sports, matches and events to be broadcast, a better understanding of what constitutes the national interest will be established. Rugby's role in the construction of a national identity and promotion of nation-building will be established through the analysis of a select audience sample. For the purpose of this research the channels under investigation will be confined to **SABC2** (which is free-to-air and available to the viewing public without subscription) and the appropriate Electronic Media Network (**M-Net**) and **SuperSport** channels⁶. These two platforms are the primary broadcasters of rugby in South Africa.

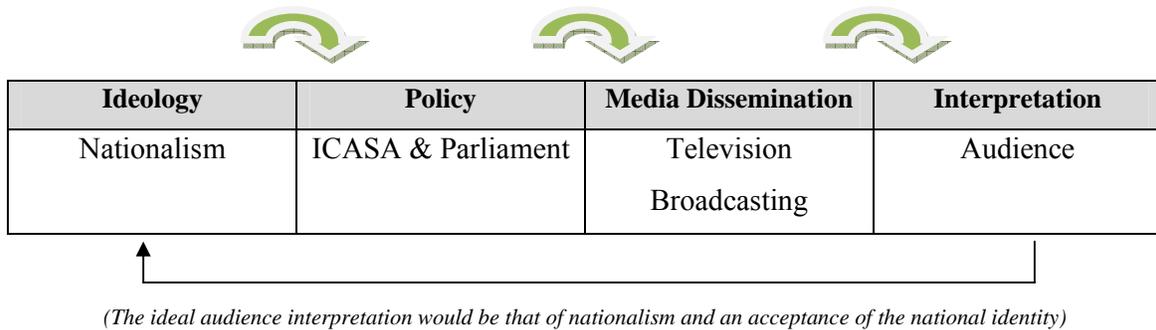
1.2.2 Rugby's progression: ideology, policy, television and the audience

This research dissertation progresses in a way that deconstructs the media text of televised rugby. The analysis of the dissertation begins by deconstructing the ICASA Position Paper (2003) and the resultant implications of the policies on televised rugby. Thereafter, the manner in which media companies and organisations utilise the text to their own advantage is explored. The money making potential of the sporting content is examined. The text becomes a vehicle which delivers audiences to advertisers, attracts sponsorship for sporting teams, unions and events and attracts viewers to subscription based broadcasters. The final stage in the development seeks to identify the message that is received by audiences and whether or

⁶ MultiChoice is the company that owns M-Net and SuperSport. The MultiChoice flagship channel for general entertainment is M-Net, which includes full spectrum scheduling: entertainment, films, sport and commentary. A sports bouquet (SuperSport 1, 2, 3, and 4) is available through the satellite platform. Digital Satellite Television (DStv) is the company that manages satellite subscription. For a company organogram see Appendix 1.

not rugby that is broadcast on television contributes towards efforts of nation-building. The dissertation charts the progression of sports broadcasting in South Africa from the initial policy documentation via the media companies and corporate interests through to the end consumers – the citizens of South Africa.

Figure One: Charting the progression from Ideology to Interpretation



1.2.3 Coming to terms with ‘broadcasting’

Broadcasting has often been used as a means of communicating the national ideology to audience members. Radio broadcasting was utilised by Adolf Hitler as a powerful propaganda tool to promote the Nazi cause (Briggs and Burke, 2002: 216 – 233). In this sense, broadcasting can be viewed as a way of communicating a single message to a large and diverse audience. John Reith, who orchestrated the ideals of public service broadcasting as the British Broadcasting Corporation’s (BBC) first Director General (Teer-Tomaselli, 2005: 199 – 211), believed that broadcasting should not only be used to disseminate entertainment. Broadcasting, according to Reith, should communicate the very best in every department of human knowledge, endeavour and achievement (Briggs and Burke, 2002: 216 – 233). Broadcasting sport in the national interest suits this mantra as elements of human achievement are found within professional sports. The state’s ideology of nationalism is also represented. Technological convergence within the media industry, which will be discussed at length in Chapter Three, has altered the way in which the media operate. Digital satellite television has given audience members a greater choice in programming (Briggs and Burke, 2002: 267 – 272). Digital satellite television offers audience members an array of channels to choose from (Briggs and Burke, 2002: 273 – 280). The broadcast media no longer disseminate a single message to a large audience. Rather, more focused content is transmitted to meet the needs of audience members. Satellite television includes channels that are directed at distinct markets. Sports, music, home and fashion channels all cater for specific

needs. The term ‘broadcast’ as it is used in this dissertation, refers to the transmission of content through the medium of television and not necessarily the single message distributed to large and diverse audience, as was the case before the emergence of digital technologies. Sports programming in the national interest, however, can be considered broadcasting in the original sense of the word, as a countrywide audience is exposed to a single message containing the state’s ideology of nationalism.

1.3 Structure of dissertation

Following on from the Introduction there are eight additional chapters in the dissertation. The next few passages introduce each of the chapters and provide a brief insight into the development and structure of the dissertation.

Chapter Two: literature review

The second chapter of the dissertation takes the form of a literature review and discusses previously conducted research related to the main topics of the dissertation. A review of the related literature will help position the dissertation within an already established field of study. The chapter ends by stating the importance of the research and identifies the limitations of the dissertation and other areas of interest which could become research topics in themselves.

Chapter Three: theoretical framework

The third chapter provides a detailed account of the various theories that are utilised to answer the relevant research questions. The theoretical framework is used to interpret the research results and analyse the collected data. Theories relating to the political economy of the media are of much importance and feature extensively within the chapter.

Chapter Four: research methodology

Chapter Four details the methods used to gain original data in the research process. The benefits of using both qualitative and quantitative methods, when appropriate, are proposed. The chapter includes a section on some of the difficulties faced whilst conducting original research and how these difficulties were overcome or negotiated.

Chapter Five: research results

The results of the research process are presented in a series of tables. The results were utilised to develop the main discussion chapters of the dissertation. The research results form the basis of the main discussions and, when examined in the light of the relevant theories and previously conducted research found in the literature review, are fundamental to the outcome of the dissertation.

Chapter Six: identifying the national interest

Chapter Six breaks down the ICASA Position Paper (2003) and identifies the national interest accordingly. The South African sports broadcasting terrain is discussed in relation to the various submissions made by interested stakeholders and the resultant policies scrutinised. The chapter presents various models which can be used to sustain the national interest and highlights the main difficulties faced when attempting to broadcast sports accordingly.

Chapter Seven: media control and money

This, the seventh chapter of the dissertation, analyses South African rugby in terms of media control and advertising. Here the money making potential of mediated sport is discussed with particular reference being made to that of South African rugby. South African rugby is firmly entrenched within the global media arena and the tussle for sports broadcasting rights is explored. The involvement of corporate sponsors is discussed and the importance of money in the professional era stressed.

Chapter Eight: playing for the nation

The last of the discussion chapters provides an insight into the reception of televised rugby by audience members. The ability for sport to unite a nation and contribute towards efforts of nation-building are discussed. Whilst the chapter includes all forms of televised rugby in the discussion, greater emphasis is given to the national team, or Springboks.

Chapter Nine: conclusion

The conclusion reiterates the main discoveries made during the research process and serves to project the final outcomes of the dissertation. Here the main findings are elaborated upon and sum up the presence of South African sport in the global media arena. Recommendations and comments regarding the nature of televised sport in South Africa are given.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The format of the second chapter will map a full range of literature relevant to the topic of the research project. The writings and comments of influential researchers in their respective fields will be included in the discussion in an attempt to position this particular dissertation within the realms of sports broadcasting and the identification of the national interest. The chapter will commence with a discussion of the literature relating to the concept of nationalism, nationhood and the national interest. The influence of globalisation on national sovereignty will also be examined. The chapter will then plot the development of the 'national interest' and how organised sport is depicted within its identification. The terrain of sports broadcasting will be incorporated into the discussion with the affect on audience members and the potential for nation-building being the main areas of focus. Thereafter, the literature dealing primarily with the South African sporting environment will follow. Particular attention is paid to researchers such as Baker and Glavovic (1996), Nauright (1997), Black and Nauright (1998) and Keim (2003). Evans (2003) focused on the national interest and political economy of cricket by conducting a case study of the International Cricket Council (ICC) World Cup hosted by South Africa in 2003. An analysis of the relevant literature related to South African sports broadcasting will enable a better understanding and examination of the ICASA position paper on sports broadcasting rights. A review of the available literature will help to identify the relevance of the current research and position the final dissertation within an established field of study.

2.2 Understanding the nation

Benedict Anderson notes in his book *Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* that every successful revolution in the post-World War Two era has defined itself on national terms (1991: 1 - 7). For many people the term 'nationalism' is associated with some of the worst aspects of recent history. Many horrific acts have been performed under the guise of nationalism, or for the 'good of the nation', by a number of people who we would today deem as authoritarian or totalitarian leaders (James, 1996: 1 – 5; Poole, 1999: 1 – 8; Smith, 1999: 29 – 31). Yet at the same time, we take the complex ideal of the nation for granted in our everyday lives through programmes such as health reform, social welfare and environmental repair, to name but a few, all because they help appeal to a sense

of national identity. To take it further, nationalism provides people with a sense of belonging and serves both the individual and collective needs for warmth, strength and stability (Poole, 1999: 1 – 8; Smith, 1999: 29 - 31). Organisations and development programmes may be formed to help improve the lives of others because we see them as members of our own group and promote the idea of the “national sentiment” (Smith, 1999: 30). Anderson places great emphasis on the factors that contribute towards the construction of these communities or nations, a phenomenon that he defines as “an imagined political community” that is imagined as both “inherently limited and sovereign” (1991: 6). The nation is imagined as limited due to the presence of definitive boundaries which lie between it and other nations; boundaries that need to be continuously redrawn on maps to ensure national borders and state borders coincide. In terms of its perceived sovereignty, the nation is imagined to be free and self-governing (Anderson, 1991: 1 – 7; Murray, 1995: 61 – 76; Poole, 1999: 127 – 129; Chipkin, 2007: 41 – 52). Sovereignty implies self-determination which grants every nation the right to govern itself if and how it chooses (Murray, 1995: 61 – 76; Stern, 1995: 217 – 235; Hobsbawn, 1999: 101 - 130). This can become a contentious issue when one takes into account the fact that nations are not always independent or legitimate states in their own right (Hoffman, 1998: 96 – 107).

In discussing the ambiguous nature of the term, Hoffman proposes that national sovereignty has been distinguished from state sovereignty (1998: 11 – 20). In their examination of the relationship between nation and state Rejai and Enloe (1969: 140 – 158) suggest that a nation is made up of a large group of people who feel that they are drawn together through their sharing of one or more common traits or characteristics. These traits may include a similarity in language, religion or race, tradition and destiny. Early attempts to define the nation included shared variables such as territory and culture (Lovell, 1956: 308 – 330; Rejai and Enloe, 1969: 140 – 158; Deutsch, 1972: 17 – 28; Stern, 1995: 217 – 235; Hobsbawn, 1999: 101 – 130; Rantanen, 2005: 82 - 88). Members of the nation are seen to hold a privileged position within the territory that they occupy in that they are able to control who has access to the ‘homeland’ (Poole, 1999: 127 – 129).

There are a number of problems facing the use of such characteristics as markers for specific nations. Deutsch (1972: 17 – 28) makes reference to the common use of certain languages by groups of people who would not be classified as being part of the same nation.

We are informed of the extensive use of the Spanish language. Spanish is utilised by at least 20 different geographic communities across the world (Deutsch, 1972: 17 – 28). Just because of this similarity, are these people part of the same nation? Deutsch suggests that they are not. The issue of land is also covered. The nationalist movement of Zionism, which is used to illustrate the point, culminated in 1948 with the establishment of the sovereign state of Israel. This particular movement was actively carried out by people who did not have a common territory for centuries (Deutsch, 1972: 17 – 28). This example correlates with the sentiments viewed by Barrington who places much emphasis on the actual attainment of territory when explaining the terms ‘nation’ and ‘nationalism’ (1997: 712 – 716). Some of these difficulties are mentioned by Chipkin (2007) in his analysis of the South African nation. They will be dealt with in more detail in the passages to follow.

Nations began to be constructed during the age when enlightenment and revolution were undermining the legitimacy of divinely-ordained leaders within a hierarchy of power based on dynasty and family lineage (Alter, 1990: 98 – 103; Anderson, 1991: 1 – 7; Spencer and Wollman, 2003: 94 - 120). These constructed nations are conceived to be imagined due to the fact that the majority of the members of even the smallest nations, as pointed out by Anderson, “will never know their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (1991: 6). What Anderson is saying here is that nations are created where they did not previously exist through the process of nationalism (1991: 1 – 7; Smith, 1999: 29 - 44). Rantanen’s argument agrees with such sentiments when she suggests that citizens of the same nation are assumed to share a national identity even if they do not know their fellow citizens and may differ from them in many ways (2005: 82 – 88). Nationalism is the process through which nations are established or developed. The use of the term ‘nationalism’ shows the intent of the nation, usually in trying to reach certain aspirations or control of the identified territory deemed to be the nation’s homeland (Barrington, 1997: 712 – 716). People forming part of the same constructed nation are able to identify with each other and recognise similar traits and livelihoods. There is no need for members to communicate with, meet or know all of their counterparts in order to embrace their similarity. Anderson’s sentiments echo those made much earlier by Rejai and Enloe (1969: 140 – 158) who propose that the traits that unite people and create the commonality on which to base the nation may not actually exist in reality. What is important in the process of nationalism is the idea that the people believe the traits exist. This forges

new nations with the opportunity to embrace their common experiences and characteristics. Smith, on the other hand, criticises Anderson on some occasions for his lack of acknowledgement given to the pre-existent cultures and ethnic ties of the nations that emerged in the modern period (1999: 8 – 27).

The concept of culture is of much importance when discussing nationalism. Poole (1999: 10 – 18) makes note of a number of different factors which contribute to the understanding of the term culture. A Culture's ability to be continuously remade and adjusted and the manner in which people turn to it in an attempt to reaffirm their beliefs and understand their own identities are noted. Poole says that the national culture "provides a moment of self-recognition through which we...confirm our individual existence and become conscious of ourselves as having a collective existence" (1999: 14). Through their collective imagining of what constitutes their nation, members deem themselves to be similar and a people. However, a common culture is not the sole unifying agent within a nation. There are a number of other important factors that need to be realised. Barrington stresses the importance of territory when discussing the terms 'nation' and 'nationalism'. Controlling the territory that the members of the nation believe to be theirs – the homeland – gives the nationalism process impetus and unifies group members through a common sense of purpose (Barrington, 1997: 712 – 716). The phenomenon of globalisation is one that has had an enormous effect on many different aspects of contemporary society and our everyday lives (Spencer and Wollman, 2003: 157 – 184). The following passages will set out to establish whether or not globalisation has had an effect on the nation as we have come to understand it as well as the influence it may have had on the concept of national sovereignty.

2.2.1 Globalisation and the nation

In his book *Nations and Nationalism in a Global Era* Smith (1995) makes note of the different viewpoints held by various groups of scholars in negotiating the relationship between globalisation and the nation. Whilst proposing his own framework from which to view the relationship, Smith (1995: 1 – 7) identifies three main perspectives that are used to interpret the nature of their coexistence. The first perspective suggests that nations are relics of the past and will cease to exist once they have run their course in each part of the globe. This particular approach highlights the force of globalisation by suggesting that nations are becoming increasingly hybridised and are no longer built around the ethos of commonality

and shared characteristics (Guibernau, 2001: 242 – 268; Smith, 1995: 1 – 7; Spencer and Wollman, 2003: 157 - 184). The second perspective maintains that nations and nationalisms are fundamental attributes of modernity in that they are influential in controlling the negative elements of social change. Nations under this guise will continue to exist until all areas of the globe have undergone a transformation to a more affluent and stable modernity; formatted in the Western mode (Smith, 1995: 1 – 7). The mass migration of workers to nations other than that of their birth within the new global economy is aiding the expansion of globalisation. There is the belief that an increased presence of globalisation on economic affairs is undermining the national economies of certain nations in addition to their remaining power and sovereignty (Guibernau, 2001: 242 – 268; Spencer and Wollman, 2003: 157 – 184). Large organisations such as the European Union have been seen as developments which remove power and sovereignty from the nation-state. These large examples of ‘supranationalism’ (Spencer and Wollman, 2003: 188 – 190; Guibernau, 2001: 242 - 268) have created elements of conflict between some national governments and federal organisations thus creating unnecessary power struggles. The final perspective, according to Smith (1995: 1 – 7), proposes that nations will continue to exist but in a perennial sense. Nations and ethnic communities are seen as important building-blocks of any conceivable order yet the memory of the nation may become unclear or fade away over time. There will, however, be a time when nations and nationalisms will need to be reborn and provide valuable social cohesion (Smith, 1995: 1 – 7). Smith does not subscribe to any of these particular viewpoints. After briefly discussing each of the perspectives he presents his own outlook on nations and nationalism in a global world. Smith (1995: 1 – 7) stresses the importance of nations and nationalisms and that they need to be analysed in terms of their underlying ethnic and territorial contexts. Smith elaborates upon this point and states that when trying to understand nations and nationalisms:

we must set them in the wider historical intersection between cultural ties and political communities, as these were influenced by, and influenced, the process of administrative centralization, economic transformation, mass communications and the disintegration of traditions which we associate with modernity. Both the longer time-frame and the recovery of the ethnic substratum are needed if we are to make sense of the ubiquitous appeal and enduring hold of national ideals at a time in history when other forces seem to presage, and hasten, the obsolescence of nationalism (1995: 5 – 6).

Nations and nationalisms have endured a number of changes in society over time. Globalisation is another prospective change that needs to be negotiated in their development and enduring existence. How nations and nationalisms adopt to the threat is of interest to Smith and, in his view, needs to be determined in accordance to the ethnic and territorial backgrounds of the communities in question. Smith (1995: 147 – 160) believes that nations and nationalisms remain the single realistic basis for a free society made up of independent states in the modern world. Globalisation does not spell the end for nationalism. Instead, it has prompted the nation-state to recast its classical nature (Guibernau, 2001: 242 – 268). Many individual nations have refrained from calling for the eradication of difference and the establishment of cultural homogeneity. Nations often provide opportunity for smaller minority groups to practice their own cultures as long as they continue to participate in the public or national culture (Smith, 1995: 147 – 160). South Africa could be viewed in this light due to the many different cultures found within its political reach (Chipkin, 2007: 174). The establishment of a unique South African identity and nation is the reason behind efforts of nation-building and the identification of the national interest. The chapter will now elaborate upon some of the influential factors in the genesis of modern nationalism. Print-capitalism and language according to Anderson (1991) play a vital role in such occurrences.

2.2.2 Print-capitalism and language

The development of print capitalism and the move away from the older ‘sacred’ languages can be seen as two of the major factors contributing to the development of nationalism (Anderson, 1991). “The fall of Latin exemplified a larger process in which the sacred communities integrated by old sacred languages were gradually fragmented, pluralized, and territorialized” (Anderson, 1991: 19). When using the term ‘sacred language’ Anderson is referring to the languages used by the major holy cultures. These cultures were imaginable through a sacred language and written script. Anderson explains the situation when suggesting that two Muslim men meeting in Mecca, for example, may know nothing of each other’s spoken languages but they are able to identify with each other through their sacred texts which were, at first, only written in Classical Arabic (Anderson, 1991: 12 – 19).

The advent of capitalism had an enormous affect on the development of nations and the establishment of the national consciousness. Anderson suggests that book publishing was one of the earliest forms of capitalist enterprise and took on the relentless search for new and

appropriate markets (1991: 37 – 38). Book sellers became primarily concerned with the generation of wealth and profit. They began to sell texts which were of interest to the largest number of people and when the Latin markets become saturated they started printing books in the vernacular – or spoken – languages which increased the size of their readership (Anderson, 1991: 38 – 39). The elevation of the spoken language to “languages-of-power” in European regions contributed towards the decline of the imagined Christendom community, which would have possessed a centralised Latin dialect (Anderson, 1991: 42). The new imagined communities were created through a fusion of the capitalist production system, technological advances enabling the mass publication of various forms of printed communication and the fatality of human linguistic diversity. These three factors ultimately set the stage for the development of the modern day nation (Anderson, 1991: 42 – 46).

The notion of fatality when taking the vernacular languages into consideration is important in that languages have the ability to die or be wiped out. The one fact that remains, however, is the inability for humans to possess a general linguistic unification (Anderson, 1991: 43 – 44). The diversity and large amount of vernacular languages spread across the world would have made the task of exploiting each market through the process of print capitalism a monumental exercise. However, the spoken languages were capable of being assembled or assimilated into a far smaller number of print languages, making the process of exploiting markets far more manageable (Anderson, 1991: 43 – 44). As a result of their potential for fatality, languages were easily grouped together and moderated to meet the needs of print capitalism. Anderson (1991: 44) explains the role played by print capitalism in the assembling of similar spoken languages when he states that:

[n]othing served to ‘assemble’ related vernaculars more than capitalism, which, within the limits imposed by grammars and syntaxes, created mechanically reproduced print-languages capable of disseminating through the market.

The people that were connected through print, and shared a common print-language, formed the beginnings of communities imagined along national lines (Anderson, 1991: 44). The development of print-languages helped in the construction of a national consciousness in three distinct ways. Firstly, the print-languages created unified fields of communication below Latin and above the spoken vernaculars. People who may not have been able to understand each other in conversation were afforded the opportunity to communicate and

comprehend each other through print and paper. These people were made aware of their many compatriots who made use of the same print-languages and, as a result, formed the genesis of the nationally imagined community (Anderson, 1991: 44 - 46). Gellner comments on the influence that literacy has had in the construction of such imagined communities or nations. Print languages, opposed to the mother-tongue language, have been identified as unifying forces; especially the language of the education system (Gellner, 1981: 753 – 776). These sentiments coincide with the position held by Anderson (1991: 113 – 140) when discussing the educational ‘pilgrimages’ that are taken by students and scholars when attending places of learning. Gellner proposes that the language of the education system and the common knowledge attained by learners act as agents of nationalism (1981: 753 – 776). Secondly, the fixed nature of the printed word meant that the rate of change within languages slowed down drastically. The much more stabilised print-languages forced continuity within the communication process. “Universal literacy” according to Gellner (1981: 758) “carries the potential of nationalism.” Thirdly, print capitalism created languages-of-power different to the older administrative vernaculars which were later afforded political and cultural importance (Anderson, 1991: 44 – 46). These languages helped in the construction of more easily identifiable imagined communities or nations as we know them today. Poole (1999: 10 – 18) states that an individual’s native language provides them with their primary mode of access to the objective world. It is made easier to identify similarly orientated people who share the same mode of access. Through the commonality of the spoken language, people can share similar life experiences and stories with others who can relate to them.

Before the beginning of the print age the majority of the imagined communities established on religious lines were dependent on the travels of pilgrims on spiritual journeys (Anderson, 1991: 47 – 65). Again Anderson refers to the travels of Muslim pilgrims to illustrate his point. He notes that the pilgrims participating in religious acts may not be able to verbally communicate but recognise their similarity and identify each other as fellow Muslims. The same goes for the travels of Western Christians who moved from all over Europe to Rome and other religious sites on spiritual journeys (Anderson, 1991: 54). The spread of printing was slow at first with the church and monarchies controlling most of its initial expansion and output. Most printing that was published was religious in nature. However, during the eighteenth century the development of newspapers changed the landscape entirely. Print-capitalists were given a reliable form of income through the

production of newspapers (Anderson, 1991: 47 – 65). Newspapers were fundamental to the development of imagined communities in that groups of fellow readers with the same print-languages were created. The information within the newspapers related to those reading the publications and created communities of common interest (Anderson, 1991: 47 – 65; Reicher and Hopkins, 2001: 14 – 25). The importance of an effective communication system cannot go unnoticed when addressing the factors contributing towards coherent cultures, societies and nations (Rejai and Enloe, 1969: 140 – 158; Deutsch, 1972: 41 – 46; Gellner, 1981: 753 – 776). The use of language is emphasised by Anderson in his discussion on the creation of new nations or nationalist movements. Anderson uses an example relevant to South Africa, amongst many others, when illustrating his point. The Afrikaner nationalist movement which was pioneered by Boer pastors and litterateurs towards the end of the nineteenth century was able to construct its own language that no longer resembled a European dialect (1991: 67 – 82). By ‘creating’ Afrikaans, a South African version of the Dutch language (Anderson, 1991: 75), the Afrikaner nationalist movement was able to legitimate further their claims for a national identity in that they possessed their own language or ‘mother-tongue’. Lovell notes that the move away from the more established Dutch language and the self-sufficiency of the people, displayed through the efforts of the Great Trek, helped in the potential for Afrikaner nationalism (1956: 308 – 330). This point is contested by Reicher and Hopkins who propose that the print-language utilised by a nation does not need to be unique to that particular group of people or a common first language amongst all of the constituencies. Rather than being an emblem for the nation, it is a means of imagining (2001: 14 – 25).

Through the use of various media, smaller minority groups have been afforded the opportunity to unite together within multicultural societies and hold on to their own cultural practices whilst avoiding complete assimilation into the dominant lifestyle (Poole, 1999: 114 – 142). Poole comments on the efforts of many minority groups, such as the Scots in the United Kingdom, to gain their own political independence. This independence would recognise their cultural differences and territorial claims which vary, in many cases, from the dominant position held by the state (1999: 114 – 142). Poole focuses a large portion of his discussion on the difficulties faced by indigenous communities who have suffered as a result of colonialism. In these cases the dominant political institutions have been implemented by the immigrant populations and have caused many difficulties for the local cultures. Poole focuses primarily on the Aborigine culture of his Australian homeland (1999: 114 – 142).

Similar sentiments are shared by Chipkin (2007: 41 – 60) who proposes that the apartheid regime in South Africa was engineered in a way to ensure that a two tier system, based on the uneven distribution of wealth and resources, was implemented and maintained. This thought is carried further when Chipkin suggests that ‘white South Africa’ resembled an advanced capitalist state and industrial society; whilst ‘non-white South Africa’ had all the features of a colony (Chipkin, 2007: 51). In other words, the colonial population was a settled ruling class in the very territory of the colony (Chipkin, 2007: 80).

The development of different media forms have provided a helpful ally to print in the process of creating or imaging national communities (Anderson, 1991: 113 – 140). Anderson notes that newer broadcast media, especially radio and television, can help “conjure up the imagined community to illiterates and populations with different mother-tongues” (1991: 135). The process of nationalism and building a nation is enhanced through the arrival of more modern day media. Despite this, Anderson provides relatively little space to the newer broadcast media (radio and television) and tends to focus primarily on older nationalist movements and imaginings which were reliant on print media. New media technologies and convergence, which will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Three, enable narrowcasting. Narrowcasting creates smaller niche audiences who are interested in specific genres and media texts (Briggs and Burke, 2002: 267 – 280). This could be seen as a divisive influence and negatively impact on the nation. However, Reicher and Hopkins (2001: 14 – 25) identify certain limitations to the Anderson outline. Instead of just embracing the role that newspapers have played in the imaging of nations and communities, they note that newer technologies such as radio and television as well as the Internet are of great importance. Rantanen focuses our attention on the importance of broadcasting in this regard (2005: 82 – 88). These new technologies, especially the Internet, have lead millions of people to experience broadcasts or events of a national significance simultaneously. National sporting triumphs or failures come to mind here (Reicher and Hopkins, 2001: 15 – 25). The ability for members of a nation to simultaneously engage with the same sporting event anywhere in the world complements the discussion of globalisation earlier in the dissertation. It could be argued that globalisation and the new media are simply aspects contributing towards the creation of a global village or homogenous culture. They do, however, remain helping hands in the creation of national identity and cultural heterogeneity. Rantanen argues that national identities and cultures may in fact be reinforced as a result of globalisation. Nations that try to negate the impact of

globalisation may inadvertently strengthen their local identities and cultures (2005: 94 – 96). Globalisation and the media in this regard help project national symbols and myths to diaspora communities across the world. Myths, symbols and symbolic events are important in determining nations and shall be examined in the following section.

2.2.3 Myths, symbols and symbolic events

Myths and symbolic events may be seen as ways of legitimising the construction of nations and the process of nationalism itself. Ethnic groups and nations are able to legitimise their claims to territory and community through the identification of common myths and symbolic events in their history (Smith, 1999: 57 – 95; Jenkins, 2004: 2 - 3). In his book *Myths and Memories of the Nation* Smith (1999: 3 – 27) sets out to explore the rise of nations and the appeal of nationalism. He attempts to understand why certain myths, memories and symbols of the nation have the potential to command such high levels of loyalty and devotion amongst community members (Smith, 1999: 3 – 27). Myths are important to nationalism in that they have the ability to bring together, in a single vision, elements of historical fact and legendary elaboration to create a commitment or bond for community growth. All national movements and identities must have a solid foundation of shared meanings and ideals on which to base their course for social change. In his discussion Smith focuses on myths and symbols that possess the potential for group identity and social change with reference made to those myths surrounding ethnic descent, which are vital for territorial claims and national solidarity (Smith, 1999: 57 – 95). Myths, symbols and ceremonies or events are crucial for nationalism due to the fact that they help form and celebrate the existence of nations, communities and common values (Smith, 1995: 147 – 160; Guibernau, 2001: 242 – 268; Jenkins, 2004: 1 – 2).

Attention is given by Smith to the lineage of ethnic groups and how the heroic acts of noble ancestors help construct prestigious communities. There is a sense of pride in belonging to a community with heroic ancestors who may have been influential in the establishment of the community or nation. Tracing one's biological links back to a heroic ancestor helps in the creation of solidarity amongst community members as they are all seen as being part of interrelated kin groups. Through the identification of ancestral networks, communities are able to recognise who has a rightful claim to group membership and who does not (Smith, 1999: 57 – 95). These sentiments are shared by James (1996: 4) who states that:

[t]he roots of the modern nation, while being overlaid by more abstract levels of integration, are continuous with 'prior' dominant forms of social integration. They range from kinship ties predominant in reciprocal-exchange societies to institutionally mediated extensions of social connection, such as carried by the monarchical state and the Church.

In the latter part of the literature review, which pays attention to the South African sporting environment, the idea of myth shall be explored when analysing the country's rugby playing population. Rugby in South Africa has long been seen as 'just' a 'white' sport. However, Nauright (1997) explores the emergence of rugby in non-white⁷ areas of the Cape. With credit being given to the heroes of the non-white game, the perception that rugby is only a white game may be changed. At the same time, negative stereotypes and false understandings of the game amongst different race groups may be broken down helping pave the way for nation-building and the construction of a South African nation. For efforts of nation-building in South Africa to be successful, racial divisions need to be nullified. A country that is divided along racial lines cannot progress towards a unified nation where all members see themselves as being part of a single community. The popularity of Bryan Habana, a non-white South African, indicates the role that rugby can play in eradicating racial divisions. Chapter One makes note of Habana's popularity across a full spectrum of South Africa's population.

In many cases the mythic link that is created between heroic ancestors and community groups is not one that is based on family lineage or a direct bloodline. Rather, the connection is based on cultural affinity and an ideological link (Smith, 1999: 57 – 95). The "spiritual kinship", to borrow the words used by Smith (1999: 58) is the major linking factor here. Communities trace their decent through similarities such as virtue and more distinctive cultural qualities such as language, religion, institutions and personal attributes (Smith, 1999: 57 – 95; Smith, 2001: 9 - 31). The latter cultural qualities coincide with factors aiding the construction of imagined communities as suggested by Deutsch (1972), Anderson (1991) and Poole (1999). Some nationalist movements have gone as far as forging or inventing myths that have dissolved into history or that have been forgotten over time in an attempt to show

⁷ Under apartheid, laws were implemented restricting the movement of non-white South Africans. Certain areas were designated to certain race groups, with whites receiving the lion's share of the country and important economic centres (Nauright, 1997: 1 – 23).

ethnic ties and common ancestry. By doing so, the nationalist movement legitimises its claim for territory and actively unites its constituencies (Smith, 1999: 57 – 95). The concept of the ‘community of culture’ opposed to a community constructed along bloodlines is addressed by Deutsch when discussing immigration of people to nations other than their own, or place of birth (1972: 17 – 28). The United States of America is used as an example to show how common history is not the sole determinant of the nation. Many first and second generation Americans have no historical link back to the American Revolution, yet they are still identified as being American. Questions of shared experience will resonate in many “nations of immigrants” (Deutsch, 1972: 20) such as the United States of America where there is a continuous influx of new community members.

Myths and symbols are important to the development of nations for a number of reasons. They help in the transference of knowledge from one generation to the next and help in the preservation of national and ethnic identity (Smith, 1999: 8 – 27). To continue with the point mentioned earlier regarding the criticism of Anderson and his lack of acknowledgement for pre-existing cultural and ethnic ties in the formation of modern day nations, Smith argues that there is more often than not a powerful link between modern nations and pre-existing ethnic communities (1999: 8 – 27). The powerful links between the pre-existing ethnic communities and modern day nations are carried forth by myths, memories and symbols (Smith, 1999: 8 – 27; Smith, 2001: 9 – 31). The importance of community history and memory is stressed by Deutsch when attempting to understand the development of the nation and the common experience that acts as a bonding agent between particular groups of people (1972: 17 – 28). Shared experiences and a common past enable people to relate to each other, live a similar lifestyle and possess some of the attributes discussed above that unite people as a nation. However, Deutsch reminds us that there needs to be a willingness to share experience and form nations. We are informed of the European terrain by Deutsch when he comments on the many small nations across the continent. Many of these people have gone through the same experiences, have a similar history and have common ancestral land yet they view events from their own perspectives and remain divided. In some instances there must already be a sense of unity amongst the people for common histories and memories to promote the bond of a shared experience (1972: 17 – 28). Deutsch surmises that in order to “explain a nation as a result of shared experiences presupposes already this ability to share experience, which is the very thing that cannot be taken for granted” (1972: 19).

Symbols of territory and community take a variety of different forms. They include objects such as flags, coins, anthems, special foods and costumes as well as representations of ethnic deities, monarchs and heroes (Smith, 1999: 8 – 27; Jenkins, 2004: 1 - 2). In his discussion James (1996: 1 – 5) alludes to the nature of the national symbol and the varying forms they may take when analysing the Warsaw stone or cenotaph opposed to the more conventional state flag. James suggests that the cenotaph, which was once part of the Polish Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, symbolises abstract representatives of the national community. To put it differently, the cenotaph symbolises national heroes in general rather than known individuals. The cenotaph reminds the Polish community of the generations gone before them; the generations who played a role in the development of their nation (James, 1996: 1 – 5). Symbols of the nation are important to this dissertation and will be analysed in greater depth in the course of Chapter Eight. Some symbols that are of importance here include national anthems, flags and emblems that are included in televised broadcasts of rugby; especially matches involving the national team. Masenyama (2005, 48 - 53) focuses on the role that the SABC has played in the development of a national identity in post-apartheid South Africa. The relevance of Masenyama's dissertation to this research project is the discussion of national symbols embedded within media texts and the SABC's attempts to unite people through their use. Masenyama (2005: 48 – 53) suggests that the use of South African symbols within texts broadcast by the South African Broadcast Corporation (SABC) help arouse feelings of national sentiment amongst viewers.

Symbolic events within a country's history have shown the ability to bring people together and act as unifying agents in the process of nationalism and nation-building. Masenyama conducted research into the construction of the national identity in post-apartheid South Africa and the contributions that were made by the SABC in the process as part of a Master of Arts Degree at the University of Johannesburg, South Africa. Sporting events hosted in South Africa, such as the 1995 Rugby World Cup, the 1996 African Cup of Nations, the 2000 All Africa Games and the 2003 Cricket World Cup, helped unite the population (Masenyama, 2005: 48 – 53). Through the broadcasting of national sporting events the "SABC can advance notions of national identity because people are more likely to rally behind their nation against the 'other' foreign nation" (Masenyama, 2005: 50). This particular research is interested in similar notions of identity in that it investigates the manner in which rugby broadcast on television promotes efforts of nation-building in South Africa

and identifies the national interest in this regard. Other symbolic events in South Africa's history that could promote the establishment of communities and nations include the Great Trek undertaken by Afrikaans voortrekkers (Lovell, 1956: 308 – 330) and the release of Nelson Mandela from prison.

Symbols in South African sport provide a way in which the population can identify with their team. Since the demise of apartheid all sporting codes, except rugby, have adopted the Protea as their national insignia (Nauright, 1997: 175 – 177). Many top African National Congress (ANC) officials realized the significance of rugby to whites and attempted to reach out to them and ensure their culture's survival (Nauright, 1997: 175 – 177). By keeping certain cultural symbols, such as the Springbok, Nauright argues that whites were provided with a 'safety blanket' which could be used to face the new South Africa whilst not giving up everything from the past. The large degree of uncertainty faced by many whites going into the new South Africa may have led them to cling to objects and memories of the past. The great successes of the Springboks in previous years and the terror struck in the hearts of the opposition teams were, to whites at least, memories worth keeping (Nauright, 1997: 175 – 177). The new South African flag which was embraced by many whites and the ANC's decision to keep *Die Stem* as one of the two official anthems showed positive steps taken by all parties to forge a new beginning and contribute to the development of a unified nation. Mandela's decision to support the Springbok team and emblem during the 1995 Rugby World Cup sent South Africans into euphoria and stirred feelings of national belonging (Booth, 1996: 459 – 477; Nauright, 1997: 175 – 177; Carlin, 2008: 227 - 239). Mandela's efforts, according to Booth, "showed a genuine and infectious enthusiasm" (1996: 469). Such efforts made by Mandela, incorporating an active attempt to reach out to all South Africans, can be viewed as a positive stride in the construction of a South African nation. These examples are drawn from the period directly after the integration of the country under the political leadership of then-President Mandela. The more recent debates have been more fractious, as exemplified by the discussions around the future of the Springbok symbol itself. The meaning behind certain symbols may always be contested but efforts of nation-building need to soldier on. The section on reception theory in Chapter Three of the dissertation explores the Springbok emblem further and takes into account the different meanings that the symbol could possess. Factors contributing towards the identification of the national interest and promotion of nation-building will follow in the next section.

2.2.4 National interest and nationhood

An integral part of this research dissertation is the identification of the national interest in relation to sports broadcasting in South Africa. For this reason it is imperative to have a thorough understanding of the national interest. In his book aptly titled *National Interest* Joseph Frankel discusses key concepts in political science and suggests that the term ‘national interest’ is often used as a means of justifying, denouncing or proposing policy that is intended for the national society (1970: 15 – 30). The national interest is often expected to have similar objectives regardless of the state in question. The national interest is preoccupied with the welfare of the nation and the maintenance of political policies and way of life. The use of the concept has been traced back to the origins of the modern state (Marshall, 1952: 84 – 90; Frankel, 1970: 15 – 30). The concept is taken further by Frankel (1970: 31) when he states that the “national interest refers to the vision of the good life, to some ideal set of goals which the state would like to realize if this were possible.” One can deduce that the national interest is an ambition that the state would like to realise for the benefit of all its constituencies. Benefits may result from various policies which affect the nation as a whole.

The indication given by Frankel that the national interest is presented through policy by the state entails that the state and nation are two closely related terms. This point is important because precisely at an analytical level ‘state’ and ‘nation’ refer to two different domains within the political enterprise. The points of departure between the terms ‘nation’ and ‘state’ are elaborated upon in the following passages of this chapter. The national interest, according to Frankel, is an aspiration that is determined by top decision makers within a specific field. They are seen as the only people capable of making official statements and recommendations whilst keeping the national interest in mind (Frankel, 1970: 97 – 109). Elements of this discussion may be located in Reicher and Hopkins’ *Self and Nation* which pays much attention to the Scottish efforts to realise a national identity within the realms of the British state (2001: 100 – 104). In a speech delivered by then Prime Minister Tony Blair aspects of the national interest were discussed. Blair suggested that in caring for the future of Scotland he wanted to see a union based on solidarity opposed to separatism and focused on ideals that should be achieved by Britain. Scottish organisations rebutted with claims that they had their own ideals and policies which would result in a sovereign state opposed to the plan suggested by Blair (Reicher and Hopkins, 2001: 100 – 104). Blair said to be advancing the Scottish interest through the mobilisation of the Scottish psyche, was attempting to base

his appeal on the collective value of solidarity (Reicher and Hopkins, 2001: 100 – 104). The Scottish national interest could be seen as an independent and sovereign state with the people (the Scots) governing themselves. Blair, on the other hand, was promoting the continued inclusion of the Scots in the United Kingdom. The interest from the Labour Party's perspective would be to further this solidarity. In short, Frankel's argument is that the national interest frequently is less 'organic' (in Gramscian terms) than it would first appear. I refer you back to Figure One in Chapter One of the dissertation where the process of communicating the ideology of the state to its citizens is laid out.

In the case of this particular research dissertation the responsibility rests with ICASA who formulate broadcast policy. Through consultation with the necessary stakeholders the national interest is identified and used as a yardstick in determining who has access to sports broadcasting rights and what events are deemed to be in the national interest. Marshall makes reference to the national interest as an inadequate measure with which to guide and make decisions regarding the legitimacy of public policy. Instead, a more appropriate measure, in the eyes of Marshall, would be the idea of responsibility (1952: 84 – 90). Those that are in positions of power and have influence in the development of policy need to identify what is good for the nation and ensure that the resultant procedures that are put in place are in the interest of the citizens and take their (the policy makers') public responsibility into account. Political mandates, whether covering issues of foreign policy or television broadcasting rights, should be organised in a manner that adjusts conflict so that it is not fought out. Eliminating conflict entirely would be a utopian concept or goal. National interest and responsibility entail that governments are instituted to serve, and not master publics, and to ensure that all needs are met, not just those of the powerful or dominant groups (Marshall, 1952: 84 – 90). These sentiments coincide with much of the discussion presented by Mporu (1996: 6 – 57) on the role of the public broadcaster within a South African context. The idea of responsibility when operating under the guise of the national interest is revisited in Chapter Six of the dissertation. In this instance the nature of South African sports broadcasting is under scrutiny. Responsible broadcasting is emphasised and should be utilised to help project the prevailing national ideology through the identification of the national interest. The discussion now turns towards the process of nation-building which focuses on attempts made by sovereign states as they try and unite their people as a single nation despite the often culturally diverse nature of their populations.

The task of constructing or building a nation is a difficult one and may be formulated differently from nation to nation. There is no single rubric or guide on which to plot the development of a nation. Certain circumstances, which may only occur in individual cases, need to be adhered to and taken into account (Spencer and Wollman, 2003: 94 – 120). This point is made clear by Rejai and Enloe in their article ‘Nation-States and State-Nations’ (1969: 140 – 158) when they examine the differences between states and nations and their often conflicting development in Western and non-Western territories. The main point discussed by Rejai and Enloe (1969: 140 – 158) highlights the different direction of Western and non-Western nationalist movements. Early efforts of nationalism have been identified as ‘bottom up’ movements in that the revolution staged by the people took power from the monarchy, as was the case in the French Revolution, and gave power and legitimacy to the population. The nation assumed responsibility of its citizens and demanded loyalty and devotion in return (Rejai and Enloe, 1969: 140 – 158). In such cases the nation preceded the state. However, in many parts of the developing world nationalist movements were fights against colonialism and colonial structures which needed to be removed after the demise of imperialism (Williams, 1970: 371 – 383; Chipkin, 2007: 17 – 39). ‘Africanism’ is a term that has been used to describe nationalist movements on the continent due their unique nature. Africanism sets goals of achieving a government dominated by Africans that transfers the characteristic spirit of Africans into modern and official institutions (Williams, 1970: 371 – 383). In this sense, the state preceded the nation as political legitimacy was attained before the identification of the nation. Nationalist movements in non-Western territories are said to be ‘top down’ movements because the newly independent state originated before the identification of the nation (Rejai and Enloe, 1969: 140 – 158). This is made clear when analysing the South African nation-building process and some of the difficulties experienced by those tasked with the identification of the South African nation. Murray (1995: 61 – 76) notes that the ANC faced a number of challenges shortly after the emergence of the newly democratic South Africa when considering the national question. The nature of the previous political dispensation - based on racialism, tribalism and a corrupt form of nationalism to secure a division amongst the repressed majority – meant that it was difficult to define the nation, national identity and nationalism.

South Africa found itself in a peculiar position at the beginning of the new democratic order in that there was a need to redefine what it meant to be South African. Chipkin notes in

his book *Do South Africans Exist?: Nationalism, democracy and the identity of the people* that the indicators implying identification as ‘South African’ were blurry. “The South African people lacked national marks. It was only really clear who they were not” (Chipkin, 2007: 174). Since the demise of apartheid, South Africans had taken on new roles. The South African population could not be labelled as they had been in the past due to the reallocation of political legitimacy and legal rights.

They were not the South Africans of old: those who had perpetrated and endured the injustices of the past. They did not speak any particular language, nor did they follow any one faith. They had neither a common culture nor race (Chipkin, 2007: 174).

South Africa did not share a common language or communication system that the likes of Anderson (1991) wrote so extensively about in the construction of communities. The difficulties facing the nation-building process in South Africa are elaborated upon by Chipkin when he examines the often violent relationships between different ethnic groups found in South Africa. The conflict between migrant labourers working in the mining industry during the early 1990’s as well as racial and ethnic stereotyping are just some of the elements hindering the advancement of the South African nation (Chipkin, 2007: 121 – 148). The earlier differences that existed between the bigger African tribes in South Africa, such as the Xhosa and the Zulu, needed to be negotiated as well. Williams draws attention to the fact that the tribal differences needed to be set aside if black South Africans were going to overcome the force of the white oppressors (1970: 371 – 383). Tribalism is the process whereby local groups and communities ‘feud’ with each other and maintain both internal and external order (Gellner, 1981: 753 – 776). Although initially rejected by the African nationalists, Christianity was adopted and embraced by many tribes as a unifying force among Africans even though the religion would be shared with the dominant white culture (Williams, 1970: 371 – 383). Hoffman identifies the necessary steps South Africa had to endure before it could successfully address the injustices of the past. The new government would first have to create or embrace a new modern nation before the difficulties caused by the previous dispensation could be addressed (1998: 96 – 107). South Africa has had to embrace ‘top down’ nationalism as put forward by Rejai and Enloe (1969: 140 – 158). Many would argue that the South African nation has yet to be achieved and that the nation-building process still has some distance to go. South Africa had one indicator, however, from which to identify the nation – geographic location (Chipkin, 2007: 173 – 187). Although not yet viewed as a

unified nation, South Africans were seen as a people who lived within the borders of an independent and sovereign state. The issue that arose was who would be eligible for citizenship and inclusion in the future nation and who would not? The process of nation-building, as proposed by Chipkin (2007: 173 – 187), is thus: why should the nation be composed of these people and not others and what is the common basis on which to build the South African identity? Although it was suggested earlier that nationalism does not always progress along the same lines, there is a major political similarity that exists. Spencer and Wollman (2003: 94 – 120) entertain the idea that nationalist movements are routinely based on an element of exclusion.

There must after all always be people who are not part of the nation; the nation is always framed with the presumption of the existence of the outsider, the other, against which the nation is itself defined and constructed (Spencer and Wollman, 2003: 96).

The development of the national consciousness requires the identification of the ‘other’ (Alter, 1990: 18 – 23). The main premise of identity creation is that every act of inclusion is an act of exclusion. The process of creating an identity requires an exact recognition of what the identity does not entail (Hall, 1996: 1 – 17). Chipkin makes an interesting point when he states that the concept of nation-building is contradictory through the assumption that the nation already exists in itself. The process is one which is seen to make conscious what already exists (Chipkin, 2007: 173 – 187). For the process to succeed there must already be some form of commonality on which to build the nation. Those challenged with the task of building the nation are required to bring the envisaged base into the foreground of public opinion and encourage people to accept the proposed national identity. Ottaway disputes this idea of nation-building when writing that the process should not impose common identities on deeply divided peoples but should rather focus on organising members in a way that they are able to live together despite their differences (2002: 16 – 24). This research dissertation focuses on the national interest and contributions of sport to the process of nation-building. Whether or not sport provides South Africans with a common basis on which to build the nation is of interest. Sport, with rugby being of particular interest, does not need to be the sole aspect driving the state to national unity but rather a cog in the overall effort.

2.3 Sport and the media

The relationship that exists between the media and sport is one that is primarily based on the generation of wealth and the reflection of the national interest (Horne, 2006: 40 – 67). We are told by Wenner of the corporate interests that are harboured by the big media companies and their reliance on sport as a means of attracting audiences and selling advertising space (1998: 3 – 13; see also Bellamy, 1998: 73 – 87 and Horne, 2006: 40 – 67). The money that is generated through sports media and larger events such as the Olympic Games, various World Cups and, within an American context, the Super Bowl according to Wenner (1998: 3), “rival small national economies”. Large scale sporting events are used by advertisers as a means of reflecting dominance in a specific market or introducing new products to a mass audience. The culmination of the Super Bowl is viewed by a domestic audience of 140 million people (Wenner, 1998: 3 – 13); a valuable resource any advertiser would want to tap into. Although television plays a large role in the realm of mediated sport, other media such as print and radio help build hype and excitement in the days and weeks preceding big events (Wenner, 1998: 3 – 13). We are able to identify telling signs of a nation or community through mediated sport (Creedon, 1998: 88 – 99). The Super Bowl in America has specific roles that are played by certain members of society. The game itself is dominated by male participants (players, referees and broadcast commentators) and women are seen on the sidelines only, either as spectators in the crowd or cheerleaders (Wenner, 1998: 3 – 13). The masculine superiority in sport, as reflected in the mass media, is discussed by Creedon (1998: 88 – 99). She notes that there is a dominant position held by male competitors and administrators but there are signs suggesting that women’s sport is on the incline. Race becomes apparent when analysing the composition of teams and management staff. Again within an American context, African American players usually perform certain roles in the team with whites dominating decision making positions on and off the field. The never ending presence of advertising and sponsorship with branding on the field, players’ kit, television screens and the stadium highlight the commercial and consumer driven nature of society (Wenner, 1998: 3 – 13; Miller et al, 2001). The value of a sporting programme does not diminish with consumption and can be classified as a public good (Doyle, 2002a: 11 – 13). Public and private goods are discussed at length in Chapter Three of the dissertation. The longevity of brand exposure through advertising and sponsorship within mediated sport are elaborated upon in Chapter Seven.

Sport has a prominent position within the media due to the commercially driven nature of satellite and cable television (Horne, 2006: 40 – 67). There are few production costs that are required as the sporting event would take place naturally if the media were not present. This type of arrangement is perfectly geared towards the media industry. Media companies have very little start-up costs when broadcasting sport – they do not need to finance stadiums, sporting teams or player salaries – yet they are privy to maximum returns (Horne, 2006: 40 – 67). This argument is naive in that it does not reflect the cost of securing broadcast rights and financing the production costs of the relevant programming; factors that the ICASA Discussion Paper (2002) mentions as contributing towards the crisis in the local sports broadcasting industry. Chapter Six investigates the causes of the crisis in the South African sports broadcasting industry and resultant implications on the consumer in more detail. The relationship that exists between the media, specifically commercial television, and sport is geared towards the generation of wealth and maximising profit. What becomes of interest is the manner in which these relationships are affected by local sporting climates and broadcasting mandates that are unique to certain areas.

The chapter will now focus on the South African sporting terrain and the considerations that local broadcasters need to take into account if they are to contribute towards efforts of nation-building, promote the national interest and overcome negative aspects of a racially divided past.

2.3.1 South Africa's playing field

There are a number of positive attributes associated with either the participation in or spectatorship of sports in general. Baker and Glavovic (1996: 250 – 275) make note of a number of beneficial features of sport at the beginning of their discussion on sport and public service broadcasting in South Africa. Physical activity and skill, a competitive element induced through participation and an adherence to certain rules and regulations make sport a valuable component of society. Baker and Glavovic (1996: 250 275) continue their discussion with a critical view of sport in a contemporary environment by citing the move to professionalism as a fundamental change within the sporting ethos. Sport has become another industry that is defined in terms of its commercialisation (Erwin, 1989: 23 – 31; Hendricks, 1989: 5 – 13; Baker and Glavovic, 1996: 250 – 275).

Sporting bodies in South Africa no longer view the promulgation of the sport itself as their overriding principle. They rather emphasize the packaging of the sport as a commercial product to be sold to sponsors, audiences and broadcasters (Baker and Glavovic, 1996: 251 – 252).

These sentiments speak directly to the relevant theory regarding the ‘audience as commodity’ which will be discussed at length in Chapter Three of the dissertation. The modern day sporting environment is one that reflects many tendencies of an industrial society. These tendencies include the rationalisation, specialisation, bureaucratisation and commercialisation of a new industry that was, at first, a pastime based on amateurism in the pursuit of leisure. Participation in sport at an amateur level is about reward through expression of skill, creativity and achievement in the spirit of human play devoid from the necessity of financial return. The promotion of sport as a professional industry in itself undermines the ethos of amateurism and has altered the nature of mediated upper echelon sport (Hendricks, 1989: 5 – 13; Baker and Glavovic, 1996: 250 – 275; Horne, 2006: 95 - 116). The belief that sport and politics should be entrenched firmly within separate spheres has its ideological base grounded in the British ideal of amateurism (Black and Nauright, 1998: 2). There has been a remarkable increase in participation of sports by previously disadvantaged and underprivileged groups of society. This type of increase is often viewed as an indication of the new democratic rights which have been extended to these particular members of society (Baker and Glavovic, 1996: 250 – 275). Professionalism in this sense helps the upward social mobility of sportsmen and women. Improvements in sporting facilities as well as an increase in numbers of participation indicate more formalised leisure activities for the black working classes of South Africa (Baker and Glavovic, 1996: 250 – 275). Under this guise, the commercial aspect of sport in South Africa could be argued to be a positive attribute. In contrast, Carrington (1986: 3 – 18) proposes that the few opportunities that arise from professional sport could further reinforce a player’s marginalisation within society opposed to lifting him or her out of poverty. Many young children and prospective athletes may view sport as means of removing themselves from the harsh realities of poverty due to the media’s portrayal of the sports star and celebrity. The few athletes who succeed at a professional level and the minimal opportunities available to players after their careers have ended, as coaches and administrators for example, suggest that upward mobility through sport is not a guaranteed progression (Carrington, 1986: 3 – 18; Vande Berg, 1998: 134 – 153). It would be disappointing nevertheless to see the positive strides taken by South Africa through sport undermined by the commercial ethic (Baker and Glavovic, 1996: 250 – 275).

Under the apartheid regime there was an intimate relationship between the state and various sporting bodies. This resulted in a huge disparity that exists to this day between sport in the white communities and sport within the rest of the population (Lapchick, 1979: 155 – 165; Baker and Glavovic, 1996: 250 – 275; Booth, 1996: 459 - 477). “In South Africa, the sports policy was intricately linked to the political system – a political system that has institutionalized racism in all aspects of life, including sports” (Lapchick, 1979: 156). Despite the fact that there was racial discrimination and prejudice levelled against certain communities within South Africa, there was a degree of natural sporting development that took place across the racial divide. Sports that required an investment in capital, such as golf, on the one hand, were almost exclusively white and remain so today. Sports that required less or no investment in equipment, kit and facilities, on the other hand, experienced rapid growth across the racial divide. Soccer is a prime example of a sport requiring little financial investment to participate in. The sport has spread across South Africa and is played in both urban and rural settings (Baker and Glavovic, 1996: 250 – 275). The political motives embedded in South African sport during apartheid have not yet been negotiated according to Baker and Glavovic (1996: 250 – 275) and it is erroneous to suggest that they have been ironed out. Continuing this line of thought, Baker and Glavovic argue that sport is “part of the socio-political make up of a country and cannot be separated from political policy” (1996: 253). With this in mind Baker and Glavovic turn their attention towards sports broadcasting in South Africa and how the two entities relate to each other and can be utilised as a tool in the nation-building process of South Africa.

2.3.2 South African sports broadcasting

Under the apartheid government all aspects of society were sought to be controlled. The media were no different and successive governments aimed to limit black opportunities and manage public criticism through various forms of censorship. The SABC, which was formed in 1936, attempted to build a consensual nation amongst white members of the population (Nauright, 1997: 12 – 13). The first Director General of the BBC, John Reith who orchestrated the ideals of public service broadcasting, was the author of the SABC’s founding document (Teer-Tomaselli, 2005: 199 – 211). The resultant policies and white ownership of the media meant that white dominated sports received more coverage on national television than black dominated sports (Nauright, 1997: 12 – 13). The legacy of such political interference is still a much debated topic in South African circles; especially when analysing

the close relationship between sport and the broadcast media. The relationship between sports and television go hand-in-hand with the former being firmly entrenched in the entertainment industry. This two-way relationship has both positive and negative implications on sport as well as an affinity to improve the commercial viability and appeal of television networks and broadcast corporations (Baker and Glavovic, 1996: 250 – 275; Horne, 2006: 40 – 67). Baker and Glavovic (1996: 254) sum up the close-knit relationship poignantly when stating that “[t]elevision uses sport to boost its viewership, and sport uses television as an irreplaceable source of income.” Horne (2006: 42 – 43) too sums up the symbiotic relationship between sports and the media when stating that:

[s]port, on the one hand, is primarily interested in the media because of the need for exposure. Exposure for a sport attracts new recruits. It attracts fans, consumers and spectators. In the past forty years media exposure has also boosted the chances of gaining, if not guaranteeing, sponsorship. The media, on the other hand, are interested in sport, first, because intrinsic aspects of sport form the basis for an ideal news story...Second, with a few exceptions, sport attracts a predominantly male audience which most commercially driven media organisations otherwise find difficult to reach. Thirdly, sports provide moments of immense public interest...which attracts large audiences, boosts reading, listening and viewing figures and can be relied upon to produce regular consumers.

These sentiments will be explored in the following passages with regards to the South African sporting terrain, the ICASA Position Paper on Sports Broadcasting Rights and the identification of the national interest. The discussion will begin with a brief analysis of the positive and negative implications of sports broadcasting within a South African context before examining certain policy considerations which Baker and Glavovic (1996: 250 – 275) feel need to be taken into account. The literature on broadcasting policy will help provide a useful rubric with which to analyse and critique the relevant ICASA policies later in the dissertation.

The first positive attribute that Baker and Glavovic (1996: 250 – 275) mention in regards to sports broadcasting is that of increased participation. Broadcasting is seen to increase accessibility to sports as far as participation is concerned as well as exposure to ‘new’ sporting events and spectatorship. Baker and Glavovic propose that volleyball was one of South Africa’s fastest growing sports due to its increased broadcast time on local television (1996: 250 – 275). Sports spectatorship is said to have increased through television

broadcasting as well. Baker and Glavovic (1996: 250 – 275) maintain that spectator levels at sporting events have increased due to television exposure rather than decreased, as was initially the fear. In a developmental sense sports broadcasting can play a vital role in the generation of funds for such programmes. The sale of broadcasting rights are utilised for developmental purposes and the exposure in television has been accredited with the ability to educate potential participants about the game at various levels. The focus on international matches and high level competitions, however, have decreased the number of South Africa's post-apartheid development schemes as little broadcast time is provided for grass-roots level programming (Baker and Glavovic, 1996: 250 – 275).

The full developmental potential of television cannot be realised until access to the medium is increased through electrification and the spread of communication technology (Baker and Glavovic, 1996: 255).

Sports broadcasting on television is a fundamental money spinner for both the networks and organising bodies involved. Sports have the ability to attract large audiences due to their entertainment value and easily attract sponsorships and advertising deals (Baker and Glavovic, 1996: 250 – 275). These sentiments will be explored at greater length in Chapter Three and Chapter Seven of the dissertation. The use of sport as a tool for nation-building will be examined in the following passages as well. Even though we are made aware of the numerous benefits or positive attribute of sports broadcasting there are a number of potential risks or negative attributes of the industry that need to be taken into consideration when critically examining the arena of televised sport.

A major negative attribute of sports broadcasting as identified by Baker and Glavovic (1996: 250 – 275) is the commercialisation of television-friendly codes. Management structures of sporting bodies have been transformed to closely resemble those of high powered businesses and other industries. The nature of professional sport is more concerned with the acquisition of wealth and profit than meeting the national interest. There has been a significant shift away from the ethos of amateurism towards a more business orientated approach. As a result, sporting success is directly related to financial resources and not natural talent and camaraderie (Baker and Glavovic, 1996: 250 – 275). Television has had a negative effect on the integrity of the sporting world through its constant drive for revenue and entertainment value. Much has been written about the alterations made to certain sporting

codes in an attempt to produce more television-friendly programmes that fit perfectly into broadcast schedules. One-day cricket, tie breakers in tennis and penalty shoot-outs in soccer add to the entertainment value of televised sport as they have a definitive ending and concentrated action, which are perfectly packaged to suit the needs of television networks (Baker and Glavovic, 1996: 250 – 275; Miller et al, 2001: 68 – 94). There is a great deal of marginalisation in television sports broadcasting as the codes that are not ‘perfectly’ suited for television receive little or no broadcast time (Baker and Glavovic, 1996: 250 – 275).

The next few passages will explore some the policy considerations Baker and Glavovic (1996: 250 – 275) feel need to be implemented for the South African public service broadcaster to meet its required mandate on sports broadcasting. It must be remembered that these recommendations were made some time ago (1996) and may seem out of date or unnecessary in today’s sporting environment. However, the policy recommendations made by Baker and Glavovic may in fact help identify whether or not the broadcasters in South Africa (both commercial and public) are meeting the country’s needs when one takes sports broadcasting into consideration. The relevant literature available on South Africa’s broadcasting requirements, however old, may help in the establishment of new policies and potential outcomes which are better suited for the current sporting environment.

The first policy consideration that Baker and Glavovic take into account make up the criteria used to determine which sports or sporting events qualify for television airtime on the public service broadcaster (1996: 250 – 275). This discussion was written before the ICASA hearing on the subject. Arguably the most important factor that needs to be taken into account is that of spectator appeal. There must be a commitment made by the public service broadcaster to ensure that the majority of the country’s population are catered for. This is one reason why popular sports such as cricket, rugby and soccer receive so much time on television schedules (Baker and Glavovic, 1996: 250 – 275). Large audiences have an affinity to attract relevant sponsorship and advertising deals which are imperative for economic growth in the television industry. Money generated through such deals can be used to subsidise development programmes, fund sporting unions and organisations and cover costs ensued by the broadcaster (Baker and Glavovic, 1996: 250 – 275).

The relative size of sports should be taken into consideration when drawing up broadcast policies. Larger and more popular sports ought to receive the necessary airtime to sustain themselves. At the same time, however, broadcasters must show bias towards smaller minority sporting codes to ensure that they are represented in television schedules. Minority sporting codes may develop and gain more followers as a result of exposure on television (Baker and Glavovic, 1996: 250 – 275). Broadcasters need to be aware of international and local sporting content. They need to ensure that there is fair representation of both forms of sport with particular attention being paid towards local matches, games and competitions. However, the public service broadcaster should not use local sport as its main contributor towards the ‘local content mandate’ of the entire corporation. Overseas content is important in that it reflects South Africa’s interest on the global stage and needs to be given fair broadcast time (Baker and Glavovic, 1996: 250 – 275). As far as language is concerned, television networks and broadcast corporations need to broadcast primarily in English and target other official languages where applicable (Baker and Glavovic, 1996: 250 – 275). Broadcasters should make an attempt to breakdown gender bias in sports broadcasting where possible. The apartheid system prejudiced sportspeople along racial and gender lines. The example of the Comrades Marathon was used to illustrate this point. Far more emphasis is placed on the male athletes than female competitors (Glavovic, 1996: 250 – 275). Roberts (1989a: 1 – 4) identifies the need for sports structures to build on a sporting culture within the country that is not limited to urban areas and male participants. There should be an effort to eradicate gendered bias within the sporting community and focus on taking sport to all parts of the country, including remote rural areas (Roberts, 1989a: 1 – 4).

A continuous theme of this literature review is the emphasis placed on nation-building. Baker and Glavovic (1996: 250 – 275) highlight the importance of such a development in their discussion on policy considerations for South African broadcasters. There should be an effort made by networks to broadcast material that possesses the ability to resolve racial conflict and prejudice in South Africa. Sporting victories provide a common experience that audience members can discuss and talk about. The foundation for nation-building can be laid by sporting events that appeal to a large number of South Africans on the same level (Baker and Glavovic, 1996: 250 – 275). The above examples will enable a better understanding of the ICASA policy regarding sports broadcasting rights and attempts to

broadcast in the national interest. They provide a valuable insight into sports policy and the necessary requirements that need to be met.

2.3.3 Nature of sport and rugby in South Africa

Apartheid legacy is still deeply entrenched in sport and the greater South African society. The ANC and then-President Nelson Mandela had attempted to use sport as a means of reaching out to white members of the population in post-apartheid South Africa. Sports formerly considered 'white' have been supported by senior ANC members and government officials in an attempt to forge a national identity for South Africa (Nauright, 1997: 22 – 23). Black and Nauright (1998: 4) highlight the main use of sport within the realms of politics as a nation-builder and a means of forging a common national identity.

The South African media also plays a fundamental role in the construction of a national identity and the promotion of national building. Nauright (1997: 193 – 194) suggests that sporting heroes are essential in the construction of a national sporting identity. Team captains, flashy players and white participants with 'links' to local cultures are promoted through the media and used to market the game in the 'Rainbow Nation'. Someone like Lance Klusener, for example, was labelled the 'White Zulu' through the media because he was able to speak Zulu before he could speak English (Nauright, 1997). The player was used to market the game of cricket which was a previously white sport to the whole of South Africa. At the same time, the exploits and success of non-white players in previously white sports are hailed as nation builders and people helping to bridge the gap and create a unified sporting nation.

Rugby was originally introduced in South Africa as a way for English speaking whites to replicate British cultural practices (Nauright, 1997: 77). Rugby allowed participants to identify themselves as different and superior to the rest of the Southern African population, especially considering the fact that the sport was being encoded as the most masculine of sports showcasing the vigour and strength of an entire nation (Nauright, 1997: 77). Settlers in the Natal area used rugby as a way to bring together and link the small English-speaking minority (Nauright, 1997: 77), thus showing the ability possessed by team sports in bringing communities and peoples together. With mainly white males participating in rugby, Afrikaners adopted the game soon after their English speaking counterparts and the game was

soon identified as their own. The cultural identification was made stronger with the growing success of the national Springbok team on the international stage during most of the twentieth century. This success was interpreted as the triumph of white South Africa over the obstacles before them (Lapchick, 1979: 155 – 165; Nauright, 1997: 77).

South Africa is like any other country in that sport has played a crucial role in the development and maintenance of national identity. The South African example however, differs to other countries in that sport has played a role in the development of fragmented societies and more localised nations or communities based on language and race (Nauright, 1997: 77 – 78). Sport has been incorporated into the ideological apparatus of certain communities and used as a medium through which to further advance the hegemonic authority of the minority bourgeoisie classes over the masses. The use of sport in such circumstances legitimises the exploitive nature of the capitalist system (Roberts, 1989b: 14 – 22; Erwin, 1989: 23 - 31). Afrikaner nationalists used rugby as a way to bolster their own identity and the greater white community were able to relate to the national Springbok team and the domestic Currie Cup competition. A large number of coloured people in the Western Cape and Africans in the Eastern Cape constructed an identity through their participation in various forms of rugby. However, during much of South Africa's history these groups did not participate in the same competitions and leagues as the white players. Separate leagues were developed for different racial groupings (Nauright, 1997: 77 – 78). Cricket remained a largely white English speaking game and soccer developed a large African following and become a game of resistance. Some white women participated in hockey and netball and the latter's power structures closely resembled the rugby set-up (Nauright, 1997: 78). White South African settlers were playing most British sports by the 1860s. The introduction of such sports helped link them to the wider imperial community (Nauright, 1997: 24; Black and Nauright, 1998: 16; Stoddart, 1988: 649 - 673).

There is a close bond that exists between many sports played in South Africa and the British Isles due to the many settlers that took up permanent residence in the areas of the Cape and Natal colonies. As white settlers began to move further into South Africa, so did the affinity for imperial games such as cricket and rugby (Black and Nauright, 1998: 22 – 35). The emphasis placed on British team sports played a significant role in bringing together English speaking communities in South Africa. Rugby was seen as a way of projecting a

community's manliness and vigour. Social occasions involving sport become good ways for communities to show their superiority over competitors (Black and Nauright, 1998: 22 – 35). National sentiments are seen to become stronger as a result of sporting success. Close ties were made between white South Africans and those living in Australia and New Zealand due to their appreciation of sports such as cricket and rugby, reflecting their shared British colonial experience and heritage (Black and Nauright, 1998: 22 – 35).

There is a misconception in South Africa that white sportsman have played certain sports for much longer than their black counterparts. Black and Nauright (1998: 38 – 51) draw our attention to the fact that certain 'white sports' were introduced to black communities by mission stations and the rapid urbanisation of African communities. We are informed about the long history that sports such as rugby have had in non-white communities by Black and Nauright. Some traditionally 'black' rugby clubs in the Eastern Cape have histories spanning over one hundred years (Black and Nauright, 1998: 38 – 51). Black and Nauright suggest that some of the early non-white 'converts' to sports such as rugby were people seeking refuge at mission stations whilst fleeing the threat of *mfecane*⁸ (1998: 38 – 51). The Africans educated at mission stations become increasingly urbanised and began to follow a more British way of life. Traditional games were avoided as they were seen to be incompatible with the purity of Christianity.

[S]port may be envisaged as a powerful but largely informal social institution that can create shared beliefs and attitudes between rulers and ruled while at the same time enhancing the social distance between them (Stoddart, 1988: 652).

British sports were promoted at coloured schools in the Eastern Cape as a way of teaching discipline and social cohesion (Black and Nauright, 1998: 38 – 51). These sentiments echo those of Stoddart (1988: 649 – 673) who implies that team sports played at a school level helped instil the values of teamwork, respect for rules and authority, courage and loyalty to fellow players in participants.

⁸ The term refers to Zulu wars of conquest undertaken by King Shaka in the early decades of the 19th Century. For more information visit: <http://www.southafrica.info/about/history/521102.htm>

It became clear that sport in South Africa was going to develop along its own lines due to the segregationist policies implemented by the apartheid government. Elements of segregation were spread across the board and included the racial division of cultural activities. Many sports and cultural activities became politically charged; especially the importance of rugby within the Afrikaner culture of South Africa (Black and Nauright, 1998: 60 – 71). The segregationist policies of the time meant that the spread of rugby into coloured and black areas of the Western Cape and Eastern Cape respectively were relatively unheard of and were largely ignored by the South African media (Botma and Wasserman, 2008: 2). Rugby played a vital role in Afrikaner nationalism and the success of Afrikaans speaking players in the national team symbolised the achievements of the nation on the world scale. The Springbok emblem became the highest honour a young white South African could aspire towards and it became a symbol of the apartheid system. Successful rugby players used their positions within society to climb the corporate ladder and ensured themselves political and economic success (Lapchick, 1979: 155 – 165; Booth, 1996: 459 – 477; Black and Nauright, 1998: 60 – 71). Hendricks (1989: 7) highlights similar sentiments when bringing to our attention the notion:

that sport is sufficiently meaningful to a sufficiently large number of individuals for the institution to possess the potential to be manipulated as a medium for political socialisation.

The popularity of sport and its ability to be influenced by authoritative figures is taken further by Hendricks (1989: 8) when he suggests:

the State, in concert with capital which it represents, impinges upon sport, appropriating its symbols, and incorporating them into a form of political ritual designed to promote social and political integration.

Such sentiments enable readers the opportunity to fathom the potential for political change that is held by sports that are organised in a formal environment and are under the control of state personnel. In the above quotations Hendricks is referring to the use of sport as a means of promoting or enhancing the apartheid regime through sport. Lapchick identifies the opposite when suggesting that many non-white South Africans used sport as a vehicle to voice their opinions and show their frustrations with the apartheid system (1979: 155 – 165). Through the active disregard for South Africa's 'official sports teams' many non-whites were

making a stand against the political and social system. Support for touring teams playing against South Africa could be seen as a form of resistance by the non-white community and a challenge to the racist status quo of the time (Botma and Wasserman, 2008: 2). Often, such efforts resulted in non-white South Africans supporting and cheering touring teams and players whilst jeering the Springboks (Lapchick, 1979: 155 – 165; Booth, 1996: 459 - 477). Keim (2003) looks at sport through a different lens and explores the potential for positive change as a result of participation in various sporting activities.

The 1906 / 07 Springbok rugby tour played a significant role in uniting white South Africans. The sport previously dominated by English speaking settlers was captained by Paul Roos, an Afrikaner with an English speaking vice-captain, a mere four years after the Anglo-Boer War (Nauright, 1997: 41 – 43; Black and Nauright, 1998: 22 - 35).

South African international sporting success, as with other colonial societies, was initially a way to prove that the white race could prosper in distant settings. From the 1920s and 1930s, however, sporting success by the white-only national teams became a source of proving internal power and, during the apartheid period, as a source of strength internationally as countries began to pressure white South Africa to reform or dismantle its system of apartheid. Through pronouncements by politicians and rugby officials and a largely uncritical media, rugby came to symbolize the power of white South Africa over other societies. For some, the ability to defeat societies that had instituted forms of racial integration by the 1960s, such as the British Isles teams, France and New Zealand, helped reaffirm white South African racial policies and moral superiority (Nauright, 1997: 78).

Rugby acted as an important bonding agent between English and Afrikaans speaking South Africans in an attempt continue their defence against the non-white factions of society (Stoddart, 1988: 649 – 673). Nelson Mandela realised the ability to bond a people through sport. His support of the 1995 Rugby World Cup hosted by South Africa meant that the sport could be marketed across the country to a full spectrum of the population. The Springboks were transformed into a more national outfit through the slogan “one team, one country”. Accounts of black South Africans watching the Springbok team, or the *Amabokoboko* as they were labelled during the tournament, play from the taverns in Soweto showed how large sporting events could unite a nation (Nauright, 1997: 177). Black and Nauright have noted in their book *Rugby and the South African Nation: sport, cultures, politics and power in the old*

and new South Africas that rugby emerged as one of the most powerful forms of social integration and a significant unifying force in the new South Africa after the 1995 Springbok victory at the World Cup hosted in South Africa. Although short lived (Black and Nauright, 1998: 18), the potential for sport to act as a unifying agent was made apparent. The nickname *Amabokoboko* was given to the Springbok rugby team during the 1995 Rugby World Cup to help 'Africanise' the emblem, giving black supporters a stake in the emblem for the first time (Booth, 1996: 459 – 477; Carlin, 2008: 201 - 211).

2.3.4 Sport as a form of social integration

The use of sport as a form of social integration is examined by Marion Keim (2003) in her book entitled *Nation Building at Play: sport as a tool for social integration in post-apartheid South Africa*. The book, which is based primarily on Keim's PhD thesis, attempts to explore the use of sport as a means of breaking down racially constructed boundaries amongst school aged children in South Africa. Keim noted that social integration in South Africa, seven years after the first democratic election, was lagging behind the political process. She suggests that the social divisions that were created during the apartheid era are likely to persist for a number of years to come. Keim proposes that adult South Africans of different race groups may be able to work together in formal environments but the time when they play together or engage in social activities, on their own accord, appears to be a far off reality (2003: 11 – 15). South Africa's youth, however, find themselves in a different position to their adult counterparts. Changes in South Africa's educational policies have meant that schools are no longer restricted to certain race groups. (Keim, 2003: 11 – 15). Although integration in the classroom may have been a slow process at first, there are signs in place that suggest children from different backgrounds are able to interact on the sports field (Keim, 2003: 11 – 15). The use of sport is often regarded as a tool for nation-building and social cohesion in unequal societies (Nyaka, 1989: 66 – 69; Baker and Glavovic, 1996: 250 – 275; Keim, 2003: 175 – 211). Keim seeks to establish then; "that sport could possibly succeed as a vehicle for social interaction where other means failed" (2003: 13).

Sports have a valuable role to play in the phenomenon of nationalism. Booth identifies three important ways in which nationalism can be achieved through sport. Firstly, sport provides positive symbolic action for the state. Victories on the field induce positive images of the state through national strength, virtues and way of life. The ability to host large

scale international events, such as the Olympics and world cups suggest national wealth, technical expertise and managerial competence (Booth, 1996: 459 – 477). Secondly, sporting events provide shared memories which people throughout the state can embrace and associate themselves with. Thirdly, the presence of flags, anthems, team colours and national icons distinguish competing nation from each other (Booth, 1996: 459 – 477).

Although Keim admits that sport as a unifying agent or tool for nation-building has not quite lived up to its ‘pre-scientifically researched’ hype, she does note that the South African youth have an affinity for sport that transcends racial boundaries (2003: 175 – 211; see also Black and Nauright, 1998). “Sport is an important and popular field of interest among South Africans of all population groups” (Keim, 2003: 184). Black and Nauright warn against the mistake of reading too much into the role sport plays in making nations. Heated talk amongst fans should not be the sole means of identifying the role sport plays in drawing together communities (1998: 8). Intercultural friendships at schools in South Africa have been shown to develop more easily with the help of team sports. Social interaction between pupils of different races and cultural backgrounds has increased as a result of multicultural extramural activities and sports undertaken during pupils’ spare time. Such developments promote mutual tolerance and respect for other groups and help counteract prejudices (Keim, 2003: 175 – 211). Social integration can be facilitated through the participation in and spectatorship of sport by enabling communication amongst strangers who are not necessarily of the same cultural background (Baker and Glavovic, 1996: 250 – 275). Nyaka supports these sentiments when emphasising that the arena of sports is where participants:

experience a sense of freedom and responsibility in fruitful communication between people of different backgrounds. This is where class, peace and reconciliation are supposed to be achieved through the society of play (1989:67).

There are however, a number of factors that obstruct sport from becoming an agent of intercultural interaction. These factors include, amongst others: hardened racism and ethnic prejudices, unsatisfactory sporting infrastructure in certain areas, fear of rejection when members of different race groups participate in sport together and problems with education and sporting policy (Keim, 2003: 175 – 211). We are directed by Nyaka to the fact that such levels of integration or freedom are difficult to obtain if people are not afforded the same opportunities, do not receive equal distribution of wealth through facilities and participation

is reserved for a select few (1989: 66 – 69). African children residing in township areas with little or no access to sports and sporting facilities are reliant on changes that need to be implemented by the relevant authorities (education boards and sporting bodies) if they are going to benefit from sport in the new South Africa. Living conditions need to be improved in their areas as well if sport is to play a role in the promotion of social integration (Keim, 2003: 175 – 211). Without equality of access, sport will remain a resource available to a select few living in previously advantaged urban areas. Keim (2003: 199) suggests that:

[m]utual respect and tolerance are vital to peaceful co-existence, and must be regarded as prerequisites for any harmonious multicultural society. Under certain conditions, sport can help to generate the atmosphere, or create the circumstances, under which population groups can begin to move in this direction.

Certain preconditions need to be met if sport is to play an active role in the nation-building process of South Africa. Opening up opportunities and facilities to previously disadvantaged groups is vital in this regard.

Inequalities in sport can only be addressed at a political level through the allocation of resources and infrastructure. Public and private initiatives are essential for the future development of sport, especially if its unifying potential is to be realised. Such initiatives must combine the efforts of state, private enterprise and the national broadcaster (Baker and Glavovic, 1996: 254).

Sport has the ability to promote racial and cultural integration in South Africa as long as the relevant stakeholders in positions of power, quite literally, play ball (Keim, 2003: 175 – 211). Nyaka draws our attention the efforts made by various non-racial sporting bodies and international boycotts and other political sanctions that, at the time, helped in the achievement of some unity within the sporting environment (1989: 66 – 69). These efforts helped the people gradually take control of the country (Nyaka, 1989: 66 – 69).

The above literature depicts the potential for sport to act as an agent for nation-building and social integration in South Africa. However, the prevailing discourse of the time needs to be taken into consideration. The South African victory at the 1995 Rugby World Cup occurred during the early stages of the country's democracy. A great deal of the Mandela era was focused on the creation of the new South Africa or rainbow nation (Botma and

Wasserman, 2008: 7 – 16). Success on the field, the enthusiasm shown by supporters across racial divides and Mandela's wearing of the Springbok jersey at the trophy presentation have been viewed as significant unifying forces in the new South Africa (Botma and Wasserman, 2008: 7 – 16). The 2007 victory, on the other hand, took place during a different ideological epoch in South Africa's history. The victory took place during a period of Africanisation when much emphasis was placed on the discourse of an African Renaissance (Botma and Wasserman, 2008: 7 – 16).

A critical discourse analysis of three weekly newspapers conducted by Botma and Wasserman (2008) stresses this point. Media coverage of rugby events leading up to the 2007 Rugby World Cup in France indicated a different discourse where there was a clear 'us' and 'them' mentality amongst many of sport's stakeholders. The slow speed of racial transformation in rugby, for example, is an area of concern. In this instance, the slow rate of transformation in the sport is used by members of the ANC to show the apparent reluctance of racist whites to 'let go' of rugby. At the same time, some newspapers could be seen as being critical of the government's quota system or calls to do away with the Springbok emblem (Botma and Wasserman, 2008: 7 – 16). The discourses of the African Renaissance and Africanisation have rekindled South Africa's preoccupation with racial difference, as projected in the country's media. The enthusiasm shown by supporters of all races as a result of South Africa's victory in 2007 was unforeseen as it did not meet the expectations of the media or government's fixation with a divisive discourse. Due to the discourse of the time, governmental policies and the media's representation of rugby failed to understand or anticipate the people's appreciation of the sport and victory in France 2007. (Botma and Wasserman, 2008: 7 – 16). Since the 2007 victory, former President Thabo Mbeki has stressed the importance of a winning team and commentators have expressed the need for transformation to take place at schools and other grass roots level points of entry (Botma and Wasserman, 2008: 7 – 16).

2.3.5 The national interest and sport in South African

In his dissertation entitled *ICC Cricket World Cup 2003: sports broadcasting in South Africa, national interest and money* Ian Evans conducted a case study of the Cricket World Cup hosted by South Africa. Part of this dissertation focused on the political economy of the event with particular attention being paid towards its money making potential. Evans focused on

the actual event as a commodity itself and some of the spin-off benefits that South Africa was exposed to. Such benefits included, amongst others, an increase in local and foreign tourism and event merchandising (Evans, 2003: 62 – 86). However, the main aspect covered by Evans that will be incorporated into this dissertation is the discussion of the national interest. Evans explained the background and need for the identification of the national interest in some depth and elaborated upon the procedures undertaken by ICASA, the government (through the sports and communication ministries) and the various stakeholders concerned (2003: 46 – 51). This dissertation will add to research conducted by Evans and take it further by attempting to identify the national interest opposed to simply listing its requirements. Evans (203: 46 – 51) highlighted the importance of broadcasting in the national interest when explaining some of the main reasons for its identification. He located the national interest within a social responsibility paradigm and draws on then-Minister of Sport, Nonde Balfour's desire to have sports of a national interest available to all South Africans regardless of race and social standing. There was much concern shown by the ministry as the main spectator sports were unavailable to the majority of South Africans. Only a select few who could afford subscription television services were able to watch these events (Evans, 2003: 46 – 51) Internal squabbling and differences over the corporation's focus have meant that the SABC is seemingly unable to compete with the private, commercial broadcaster over broadcast rights of both local and international sporting events and programmes (Botma and Wasserman, 2008: 2 – 3). When incorporating the national interest into sports broadcasting schedules there are many identifiable similarities with the requirements of the public service broadcaster. These requirements are discussed at length in the Chapter Three of the dissertation. An inquiry into sports and sports broadcasting regulation within a South African context opens many doors and asks more questions than it answers. There are many avenues that could be explored with regards to sports in South Africa. This dissertation does not attempt to uncover all the complexities of the South African sports media arena but rather builds on an already established field of study.

2.4 The value of this research: what space is left?

The above literature deals with concepts and discussions that are important to the development of this dissertation. In order to understand the need for sport to be broadcast in the national interest, as regulated by ICASA, the relevant literature on the national interest needs to be discussed. To comprehend nation-building one must first have an understanding

of the 'nation'. Without that understanding, one would not know what to build towards or what factors contribute towards the nation. The South African state is a complex one, as suggested by Chipkin (2007), which has a long way to go in becoming a nation. This research will follow on from that conducted by Evans (2003) and provide a valuable insight into the current South African sporting environment, from both economic and social perspectives.

This dissertation is concerned with the reception of televised rugby by audience members. As with Keim's (2003) research, this particular question focuses on the ability to unite a nation through sport. The question proposed, however, is somewhat different to that of Keim's as it focuses on exposure to sport rather than actual participation. The Springbok victory at the 2007 IRB Rugby World Cup provides a platform from which to view the responses of those making up the television audience. Do images of victory on the sporting field broadcast on television help long term efforts of nation-building or are they simply short lived hypes that fade into enjoyable memories as time passes by? The time that has passed since the 2007 World Cup success and the Vodacom Bulls' victory in the first all South African Super14 final should provide valuable insight into this query. Baker and Glavovic suggest that sporting events offer a temporary reprieve from racial divisions in the country. The use of national symbols within broadcast texts, the elevation of stars and the identification with the national team offer a foundation on which to base efforts of nation-building (Baker and Glavovic, 1996: 250 – 275). The research is important in that it focuses on current issues and obstacles facing televised sport, not only in South Africa but across the world. Media ownership and globalisation are just two factors which are included in the discussion at hand.

The research does not attempt to answer all the questions regarding contemporary South African sport. There are many issues that have been identified which are worthy of their own independent research. Two of South Africa's larger sports have now been researched (cricket and rugby) by students at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. There is room for the analysis of soccer with the fast approaching World Cup to be hosted by South Africa in 2010. The political economy of the sporting event, as with the cricket World Cup researched by Evans (2003), would make for an interesting dissertation topic. These topics, added to the role played by sports broadcasting on radio in the unification of a diverse South Africa, as discussed by Dladla (2003), make for an increasingly researched field within the

institution and department of CCMS. The newly established Indian Premier League (IPL) cricket competition showcases the money making potential of televised sport. The local Twenty20 competition would make for a good platform on which to base the research.

Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

The theories that will be discussed in the following passages form the backbone of the dissertation and will support the direction of the project and the analysis of the collected data in the forthcoming chapters. The theory of globalisation is of particular significance as it locates South African sport and more specifically rugby within the global arena. The nature of contemporary sporting events, such as world cups and other international sporting competitions, remind us that South Africa does not exist on its own within a sporting culture. Instead, South Africa is part of a global sporting culture that is beamed across the world by the broadcast media. The media which takes the global game to all corners of the world allows for the generation of huge financial revenue through the sale of advertising space and television broadcast rights. The treatment of the audience members as citizens too cannot go unnoticed. One of the primary objectives of this dissertation is the identification of the national interest and how it is affected by media ownership and globalisation. The manner in which policies and other regulations determine the national interest and how it can best be served is complemented by the normative approach of many public service broadcasters.

Reception theory plays a large role in the dissertation as it takes into account the decoding of media messages and the manner in which people relate to sports broadcasting. This is fundamental to the research process when testing whether or not televised rugby contributes towards efforts of nation-building. The concept of hegemony is also discussed. The political and ideological nature of South African rugby and the constant quest for power should not be overlooked.

3.2 Sports media and globalisation

This first section of the theory chapter will discuss the concept of globalisation within the media industry and pays particular attention to the effect that television and other technological developments have had on the sports industry. The following passages will negotiate an understanding of globalisation and survey some of the heated issues regarding homogenisation of media content and the breaking down of previously identifiable boundaries between nations and markets alike.

3.2.1 What is globalisation?

When analysing the terrain of media and communications the term ‘globalisation’ may refer to a new type of networked society where participants from all across the world are able to contribute to the global economy and exchange in the free flow of ideas, information and money. The Internet is vital to this new global structure and has been labelled the epitome and most powerful medium of the technological revolution (Castells, 2001: 152 – 167). The structure of the new global order is one that is powered by information based networks and has the power to involve or detach certain regions or countries from the system depending on their contributions to the value chain of the global network. Not all people are afforded the opportunity to participate within the global economy but everybody is affected by it in some way or another. The new economy operates on a global scale and works as a unit in real time due to improvements in telecommunications (Castells, 2001: 152 – 167). Contemporary telecommunication enables people to function at the exact moment in time anywhere in the world as there is no delay in the communication process. Mosco refers to ‘spatialization’ in his discussion on globalisation and notes that there are constant changes in the configurations of ‘space’ (1996: 205 – 206). Businesses and other corporations can easily operate on different continents as communication via the Internet is instantaneous. The geographic distance between people no longer affects the communication process. Globalisation is widely associated with the technological revolutions in transport and data processing as well as in communications (Scholte, 2000: 13 – 40). Spatial proximity, in other words, is becoming less of a limitation, although location in relation to customers and operation partners is still important and should not be overlooked (Fuchs, 2003: 261 – 277). Improvements in transport have influenced the manner in which people operate on a global scale. Within a few hours, for example, one can travel to another continent and chair an important board meeting if required.

Globalisation has been linked to the controversial issue of social change relating directly to the influence of westernisation and modernisation on local cultures and communities. A number of western and modern social structures such as capitalism, industrialism and bureaucracy have been imposed on local cultures as a result of globalisation. In many cases American social values and ideals have had a negative effect on the local cultures; some being destroyed in the process. Questions of whether or not globalisation makes people more the same or more different have been raised (Scholte, 2000:

13 – 40). Those who have argued that the phenomenon of globalisation has altered cultures and that they are becoming increasingly similar highlight the creation of a single world culture which is strongly based on “consumerism, mass media, Americana, and the English language” (Scholte, 2000: 23). The television medium, for example, is dominated by American productions with the more popular programmes enjoying economic success around the world. The film-going audience is becoming increasingly homogenised as a result of the dominance of only a few film industries in the market which pay particular attention to popular demands and tastes (McChesney, 2003: 149 – 160).

At the same time, however, some theorists have argued that globalisation has increased cultural diversity with the process of ‘glocalisation’ taking international and global products and cultural constructions and adapting them to fit into local conditions. National differences are still embraced by many people with a number of groups acting together to try and counteract the powerful homogenising forces of western lifestyles (Scholte, 2000: 13 – 40). The ‘Proudly South African’ campaign could be viewed as an attempt to prevent the domination of international brands and companies within the South African market. The campaign promotes the use of local brands and products and actively strives to emphasise the creation of a strong South African nation (www.proudlysa.co.za).

Many American companies are spreading all over the world in order to tap into new regions and capitalise from potential growth in overseas markets. There has been a change in mindset with the dominant players on the international stage viewing and marketing themselves as global companies as opposed to having strong national brands like American or German. This type of international expansion is based in the strategy of convergence and consolidation where a small number of powerful international conglomerates dominate their respective industries (McChesney, 2003: 149 – 160). This type of growth through various forms of integration will be discussed in depth in the political economy section of the chapter. There has to be a general acceptance of neoliberalism and neoliberal values for large media companies to successfully spread across the globe and make the most of their entry into foreign markets.

Neoliberalism “refers to the set of national and international policies that call for business domination of all social affairs with minimal countervailing force” (McChesney,

2003: 149). State and government regulations are the countervailing forces that McChesney refers to in this regard. Media companies benefit from this type of market approach due to the relaxation or elimination of barriers restricting concentrated media ownership. In order to make the most of the international market structure media firms need to become larger and more diversified and in that way reduce risk and further profit making opportunities whilst, at the same time, trying to stay ahead of their competitors (McChesney, 2003: 149 – 160). Liberalised structures are seen to benefit from the increased number of players in the market. Lower prices and an expansion on services for the consumers are also expected. The deregulated system may also be seen as an attempt to safeguard the interests of a powerful oligopoly cartel and its more favoured customers (Mosco, 1996: 202 – 203). Liberalisation gives priority to economic structures when scrutinising the affects of globalisation (Houlihan, 2003: 345 – 363). Through a neoliberal approach adopted by many markets there is little regulation placed on the large global media companies and they are able to take advantage of the economic situations which suit them best.

3.2.2 Digitization and convergence

Digitization is the process whereby media texts and other forms of electronic information are reduced to a series of digits in the form of a binary code consisting of ones and zeros. The process is one of the major driving forces behind the convergence of various technologies and is viewed as an important cog in the progression of globalisation. Convergence in this sense refers to the coming together of various media, telecommunications and computing technologies (Doyle, 2002a: 19 – 21; Golding and Murdock, 2000: 70 – 92). Technological convergence means that boundaries between information technologies and communication networks are becoming blurry or more difficult to define (van Cuilenburg, 1998: 38 – 50).

Cellular phones provide fine examples of convergence and clearly show the coming together of different digital technologies. Modern cellular phones combine a number of different digital technologies which enhance their functions and appeal to consumers. The devices have maintained their fundamental purpose which is the ability to communicate with people verbally in a similar manner to a fixed land-line telephone. However, new cellular phones come equipped with digital cameras and video recorders, Internet and email capabilities as well as other media related technologies such as radios, MP3 players, voice recorders and an array of computer type games.

New digital storage, manipulation, packaging and delivery techniques for information based products enable media output to be more readily packaged and distributed (Doyle, 2002a: 19 – 21). Golding and Murdock (2000: 79) agree with the above views of digitisation when they state that:

all forms of communication [...] can be coded, stored and relayed using the same basic digital array of zeroes and ones, the language of computing. As a result, the boundaries that have separated different communications sectors up until now are being rubbed away. We are entering the era of convergence. The potentials are impressive. Cultural products flow between and across media in an increasingly fluid way. New combinations become possible. Consumers can use the upgraded telecommunications and cable networks to call up materials of their choice from vast electronic archives and libraries in the combinations and sequences they desire whenever they wish.

The ability for media texts to be minimised into a common format of zeros and ones further improves their capacity to be beamed around the world almost instantaneously (Thussu, 2006: 1 – 5). Multimedia capacity will, according to van Cuilenburg (1998: 43) “certainly change how people gather, digest and use information”. The development of digital technology, especially the arrival of digital broadcasting, and the fusion of telecommunications, broadcasting and computing, has led to the emancipation of the sports fan. No longer are supporters restricted to the realm of free-to-air television. Instead, a variety of sports channels are available throughout the day on pay television. This enables viewers to become their own television producers as they can choose what programmes to watch from the many channels available and which pieces of information to access (Rowe, 2000: 326 – 361). This type of television experience is already available in South Africa, at a financial cost to the consumer. Viewers who subscribe to the DSTv bouquet receive a 24 hour soccer channel and through the use of their remote controls can access extra information about fixtures, results and news across a full array of sporting codes.

Television in general has benefited from the move to digital technology from the analogue system due to the increased ability to compress signals. As a result, more channels are able to be transmitted via satellite, cable and even through the airwaves (Cairncross, 2005: 3 – 7). The new version of digitally based information enables viewers to engage with texts in a highly individualised manner. Audience members are no longer bound by temporal and spatial constraints bringing a new element to the media experience (Thussu, 2006: 1 – 5).

Globalisation has had an enormous effect on the televised sports which will be examined next.

3.2.3 Television, sport and globalisation

Professional sport is no different to any other industry in that it is finely tuned towards the generation of money. Globalisation within the industry is geared towards increased corporate profits and attracting the global media audiences deemed necessary to achieve the required levels of profitability (Stevenson, 2004: 276 – 294). In an attempt to make the most of the exposure on television many companies have utilised every available space provided by various sports to communicate their brand to the audience watching on television. Space is provided for advertising logos on the players' kit and on the playing surface (Miller et al, 2001: 68 – 71). During televised games these logos are beamed across the world and improve company branding and exposure. In many cases companies purchase the naming rights to sports teams and associated competitions. A prime example of purchasing naming rights in rugby is that of the cellular communication company, Vodacom. The company name and visual branding appears extensively in South African rugby; all at a cost. Vodacom is associated with teams, playing venues and actual competitions through the purchase of naming rights. To exemplify this point, the Vodacom Cheetahs participate in the Vodacom Super14 and play their home games at Vodacom Park in Bloemfontein. Vodacom's interests as a corporate sponsor shall be further examined in Chapter Seven of this dissertation.

Vodacom has two shareholders both of which own fifty percent of the company. Half of the company is owned by Telkom, South Africa's primary telecommunications service provider, whilst the remaining shares are owned by the international company Vodafone (www.vodacom.com). Neoliberal policies towards markets and corporate ownership are highlighted in this example as Vodafone is an international company with headquarters in the United Kingdom. The company has economic interests in more than twenty countries around the world and is a dominant player in the mobile telecommunications industry (www.vodafone.com). Vodafone has interests in a number of sporting activities and is a major sponsor for the English cricket team and the Union of Football Associations (UEFA) Champions League. The company admits on their website that the sponsorships are not solely orientated towards the logos on the team shirt or the signboards around the playing field. The sponsorships, more importantly, give Vodafone direct access to television footage and match

scores which can be sent directly to the cellular phones of their subscribers (www.vodafone.com). Benefits such as these motivate international companies to sponsor professional sporting teams and competitions. The exposure is far reaching in that international audiences watch sporting content on television.

A second example showing the importance of corporate sponsors to professional sporting teams is the Sharks⁹ reluctance to wear the ‘No to Racism’ branding on their jerseys in Currie Cup fixtures following a racist incident at a Springbok Test match in Johannesburg¹⁰. The Sharks released a statement on their website (www.sharksrugby.co.za) endorsing their support for the initiative but felt that it did not warrant blacking out their corporate sponsor’s logo on the team jersey. The Sharks acknowledged the contribution made to them by their sponsor, Mr Price, and felt that it was unfair for the company to lose out on its valuable exposure.

The relationship between sports and the media has become a close one with the future of the former being almost entirely dependent on the latter (Miller et al, 2001: 68 – 94). The importance of the relationship between sport and the media is based on the creation of revenue for both parties involved. As the media have become so important to the survival of contemporary sport, they are capable of dictating what they want from the various codes to improve their advertising sales (Miller et al, 2001: 68 – 94). Some innovations which have been forced upon sporting bodies by the media include the introduction of colourful uniforms worn by the players; a greater flow of play resulting in more ‘exciting’ viewing; breaks in play for advertising slots and the positioning of corporate logos and brands on the players’ kit and playing surface (Miller et al, 2001: 68 – 94). The increased ability to transmit broadcast material around the world has greatly affected sports. Were it not for television and the other mass media sport would have remained a seemingly small and insignificant “folk pursuit” (Miller et al, 2001: 68) existing in relative isolation.

Television coverage of events has become the prime unit of currency in the cultural economy of sport. The majority of people who engage with sporting events do so through the

⁹ The Sharks are a provincial rugby based in KwaZulu-Natal when playing in the Currie Cup.

¹⁰ For more information on the Shark’s stance visit:

<http://www.sharksrugby.co.za/default.asp?id=270011&des=article>

media. Even the most ardent of supporters cannot attend all the matches played by their favourite teams (Miller et al, 2001: 68 – 94). The sports industry would not be able to sustain itself if the sum total of the audience were those within the stands of the stadium. Sporting teams and bodies rely heavily on the funds provided by corporate sponsors. Koos Basson, president of the Western Province Rugby Football Union, states on the Vodacom website that funding from corporate sponsors is a vital source of income for the Union and is used for the operation and administration of senior teams as well as the development and growth of the game across the province (www.vodacom.com). Without the sponsorship provided by corporate sponsors, who are drawn to the sports by the prospect of international media exposure, professional sports would battle to operate in the way that they do.

The nature of the global media has changed the way in which a number of sporting codes function within the industry. The competition for ratings is highly intense between sports programmes and other genres such as news and entertainment. This competition has led to sports becoming more television friendly in an attempt to make them more exciting for the viewer (Miller et al, 2001: 68 – 94). The desired result would be an increased spectatorship enabling television networks to charge more money for advertising slots. The selling of advertising space will be discussed in greater depth during the Political Economy and Audience as Commodity sections of the chapter. One Day International (ODI) cricket matches, tie breakers in tennis and penalty shoot-outs in football all demonstrate the need for a definitive end to complete the television experience (Miller et al, 2001: 68 – 94). Good television requires a result (an ending) and the above developments in sports provide this. The shorter version of cricket where the match is complete in one day as opposed to five is far more flashy and entertaining. Television networks and sporting unions have a common interest to produce a global product that is easily marketable (Houlihan, 2003: 345 – 363). However, Miller et al (2001: 68 – 94) note that smaller more localised sports may be negatively affected by such developments, as they lose their national appeal and become more homogenised in their structure.

From a Marxist perspective, the globalisation of sport is based on exploitation with the commodification of games and players taking centre stage. The influence of the financially powerful media corporations are placed under the spotlight and the exploitation of labour, in this case the players, highlighted (Houlihan, 2003: 345 – 363). Boundaries between

countries and nations have been blurred as a result of the international sporting environment. Many sportsmen and women have changed their nationality in order to further their careers or compete at the highest level (Houlihan, 2003: 345 – 363). Rugby players such Clyde Rathbone and Daniel Vickerman have both represented South Africa at an age group level but now represent Australia in Test matches. Many players from the southern hemisphere are drawn to the European domestic leagues by large financial contracts. Houlihan (2003: 345 – 363) discusses three varying levels of national sentiment when examining the outcomes of globalisation on sport. The first level is one that has very little national sentiment. Teams are not nationally affiliated and are structured according to other factors such as commercial opportunity. Professional cycling comes to mind here with cyclists from many different nationalities competing under a corporate umbrella sponsorship (Houlihan, 2003: 345 – 363). The second level is far more conscious of national boundaries. Athletes, squads and teams are drawn from a clearly defined area. National competitions such as the Currie Cup exemplify this level with the majority of players, teams and spectators located within the same national boundaries. The third level is more flexible in that tournaments or tours enable people from different nationalities to be selected as one team. An example here would be the British and Irish Lions rugby team. Under normal circumstances, the nations contributing to this outfit (England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland) would be opponents. They compete, along with France and Italy, in the annual Six Nations rugby competition. However, during the British and Irish Lions tours¹¹, the nations are united with players from the various countries being revered and supported by the spectators regardless of their nationality (Houlihan, 2003: 345 – 363). The global nature of professional sport places much importance on the financial and economic control of the industry and related media texts. An understanding of the political economy of the sports media is therefore imperative to the outcome of this dissertation.

3.3 Political economy of sports media

The concept of political economy is fundamental to the following research as it is primarily concerned with the control that is utilised through the production, distribution and consumption process of various media texts, or vertical integration (Doyle, 2002b; McChesney, 2004; Mosco, 1996, Golding and Murdock, 2000). Political economy makes

¹¹ The British and Irish Lions is a team that tours every four years. The players that are selected to tour are drawn from the English, Welsh, Scottish and Irish national teams.

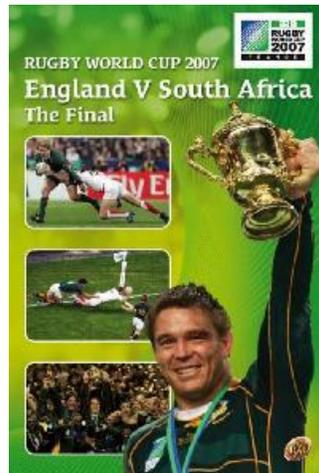
clear the circular structure of communications. Mosco (1996: 25) goes into much more depth than this when describing the nature of political economy. He suggests that it:

emphasizes the institutional circuit of communication products that links, for example, a chain of primary producers to wholesalers, retailers, and consumers, whose purchases, rentals, and attention are fed back into new processes of production.

This particular explanation of political economy, with regard to the media, is important in that it highlights the active role that is played by the audience within the cycle. The audience or consumers of the produced media texts are not the end point within a linear structure. Instead, the consumption patterns of the consumers are taken into account and could easily, when analysed and scrutinised through market research, affect the production of future texts and related merchandise. An example here could be the '438' cricket match between Australia and South Africa. The ODI between the two countries has been billed as the greatest one-day game¹² and shows the importance of the audience within the political economy of sports media. The match itself, when broadcast live, was one of epic proportions. The South African team was able to record a monumental victory over the Australians and clinched the five match ODI series in the process. The match was soon available on Digital Versatile Disk (DVD). The nature of the game and the hype created by the audience would have prompted producers to release the broadcast on DVD as a means of generating further money. This shows the circular nature of the communications industry due to the fact the final product never ended with the audience watching the match on television. Rather, their response to the game itself would have prompted the production of another text, the DVD. This type of 'post-broadcast' merchandising, so to speak, is evident in other sports as well. The 2007 Rugby World Cup Final is already available on DVD for avid supporters to purchase. Mosco suggests that the audience produces the symbolic value, or meaning, of media texts when they consume them (1996: 23 – 27). Continuing this line of thought, the South African audience would have added the symbolic value to the initial text. Had the Springbok team not won the World Cup, the DVD would not be as popular in South Africa as it is now. The make-up of the text itself, including the DVD cover design, for example, would be remarkably different.

¹² <http://www.cricknet.co.za/default.asp?cID=12974&cl=yes>

Figure Two: DVD cover of Rugby World Cup 2007 Final



An important issue to pursue is the power and control that broadcasters have over their audiences and what material they are allowed to consume through the media. Media research has been conducted in terms of political economy which deals with the “study of *the social relations, particularly the power relations that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources*” (Mosco, 1996: 25). From this particular vantage point the products of communication are the primary resources. These include media products such as: newspapers, books, videos, films and audiences (Mosco, 1996: 23 – 27). Even though audiences have control over what they want to watch, by choosing certain channels for example, what they are ultimately exposed to is predetermined by someone else. A fundamental trajectory pursued by this research is deciphering the manner in which broadcasters and independent governing bodies determine what the most suitable sports material to transmit is.

Political economy is generally concerned with the power and control that certain organisations and groups have over other players. In other words, political economy is concerned with social relations and the play of power within various industries, organisations and groups (Golding and Murdock, 2000: 70 – 92). Political economy tends to concentrate on a specific set of social relations organised around power and the ability to control other people, processes and other such entities. In terms of communication and the media, political economy focuses on the altering forms of control along the production, distribution and consumption circuit (Mosco, 1996: 23 – 27). Golding and Murdock (2000: 73) put forward that critical political economy:

is interested in seeing how the making and taking of meaning is shaped at every level by the structured asymmetries in social relations. These range from the way news is structured by the prevailing relations between press proprietors and editors or journalists and their sources, to the way that television viewing is affected by the organization of domestic life and power relations within the family.

Although other disciplines tackle these aspects, political economy differs in that it attempts to show how particular contexts are shaped and affected by general economic dynamics and the wider structures that they sustain (Golding and Murdock, 2000: 72 – 77). With regards to sports and sports broadcasting, political economists would be concerned with the manner in which economics and money affect and control the relevant structures that are put in place.

The political economy approach to sports broadcasting is for the most part concerned with the accumulation of wealth and other monetary resources through the transmission of texts and the consumption of sporting events by audiences watching on television. Although the live audience, or spectators, at the actual venue add to the carnival atmosphere and hype of an event, most of the income generated from sport comes from the sale of television broadcast rights and the associated advertising space available during the event. Television has become inseparable from global sport, as both a marker of globalisation and as one of its prime movers (Miller et al, 2001: 60). The future of professional sport rests within the relationship between sport and the media.

Professional sport would battle to function without the involvement of the media due to the fact that its main forms of income (the selling of advertising space and television broadcast rights) would be lost. Television coverage, especially in its satellite form, has become the prime unit of currency in the cultural economy of sport (Miller et al, 2001: 68). Television broadcasters possess a large amount of power over the actual text which we engage with through our televisions at home. They have the ability to dictate what they want from the sport to secure more advertising and ultimately greater revenue. These requirements range from flashy kits and advertising on the players' jerseys and branding on the field to a greater flow of play during the game and breaks for advertising (Miller et al, 2001: 68). These alterations help sport become more television friendly and suit the needs of advertisers and sponsors. The influence of broadcasters in this regard is discussed further in Chapter Seven of

this dissertation. South Africa's decision to field a weaker team during the 2007 Tri-Nations (in preparation for the World Cup later in the year) is provided. The responses of the broadcasters concerned are detailed as well.

3.3.1 The four cornerstones of political economy

Another way of conceptualising political economy is by focusing on the set of central qualities that characterise the approach. Mosco (1996: 27 – 38) refers here to the 'cornerstones of political economy'. The four elements which Mosco elaborates upon include: social change and history, the social totality, moral philosophy and praxis (1996: 27 – 38). These four cornerstones, which will be briefly discussed in the following passages, provide a platform on which our understanding of political economy is based.

The first element or cornerstone of political economy which will be discussed is that concerned with social change and history, an element that has traditionally been given great priority by political economists (Mosco, 1996: 27 – 38). Political economy from a historical point of view allows us to analyse and interpret the manner in which the economic landscape has changed over time. Classical theorists, such as Adam Smith, David Ricardo and John Stuart Mill, were concerned with the capitalist revolution and the associated changes that transformed agriculturally based societies into fully fledged industrial civilisations (Mosco, 1996: 27 – 38). Identifying patterns of social change are important as well as we may indeed find ourselves in the middle of an "epochal transformation" (Mosco, 1996: 28) where a rearrangement of social structures and processors becomes immanent.

The second cornerstone of political economy as proposed by Mosco (1996: 27 – 38) is social totality. This element of political economy maintains that the discipline should span a full range of problems that today tend to be situated in the fields of several different academic disciplines. Those interested in social class, for example, are rooted within sociology, whereas political economists who are concerned with government usually locate themselves within political science. Political economy acts as a guide that enables scholars to understand the various relationships between different academic disciplines (Mosco, 1996: 27 – 38). By making use of the social totality element, political economists are better equipped in their efforts to understand the connections between various groups and organisations as well as the power relations that result.

The third cornerstone of political economy that is mentioned by Mosco is that of moral philosophy. Moral philosophy refers to social values and appropriate social practices (Mosco, 1996: 27 – 38). The easily masked and often difficult to locate moral positions of the economic and political spectra are identified whilst using this form of analysis (Mosco, 1996: 27 – 38). The use of moral philosophy enables social philosophers the opportunity to identify and envisage morally appropriate ways of living. In Marxist political economy, moral dimensions remain strong as they provide a strong defence for democracy, equality and the public sphere from powerful private interests (Mosco, 1996: 27 – 38).

The final characteristic of political economy that needs inclusion is praxis. Praxis “refers to human activity and specifically to the free and creative activity by which people produce and change the world and themselves” (Mosco, 1996: 37). Theorists have turned to the concept of praxis to visualise what constitutes the realm of freedom. For Marx, the revolutionary goal was to transform the alienated labour into praxis or free, universal, self-activity (Mosco, 1996: 27 – 38). Praxis, which can be seen as ways of theorising the appropriate and ethical ways of acting within organisational settings focuses on the means of acting and not the results of acting (Nielsen, 1993: 131 - 151). Within political economy of communications, praxis is concerned with the manner in which companies and organisations act, specifically in regard to power relations and the processes of production. The notion of the active audience, which is discussed later in the chapter, can be related to praxis in this regard as well.

Each of the above four cornerstones or elements of political economy will affect the manner in which sports broadcasting is viewed and analysed by scholars. When taking social change and history into account, political economists will focus primarily on the progression of sports broadcasting and analyse signs which could suggest new changes in the system. The movement from amateur to fully fledged professional sport would be one area of interest. The use of sport as a money making vehicle or commodity in itself would be of particular interest. Within a South African context, the change in the country’s sporting landscape and broadcasting structures could too prove worthy of academic analysis. The way in which contemporary South Africa uses sport as a unifying process opposed to a divisive force, as was the case during apartheid (see Nauright, 1997), is worth studying. Governing bodies such as ICASA have changed and altered their broadcasting policies would also be of interest and

shall be analysed later on in this research dissertation. The many avenues of sports broadcasting that are open to investigation by different academic disciplines will be made evident in the following chapters. The various ICASA regulations and criteria of public service broadcasting that need to be met fall in line with the ideals of moral philosophy in that the best interests of the community are being served with the national interest taking precedence over economic and social status. Praxis is important in that the regulatory bodies and owners of media corporations will affect the way in which broadcasting takes place. The action of viewers and broadcasters is of much importance here. This next section will focus on the creation of media concentrations and the affects that large media conglomerates have on the industry.

3.3.2 Creating concentrations: media, sport and integration

Media concentrations need to be studied as they provide a valuable insight into the media industry. Concentrations of media ownership narrow the range of voices within the industry and, as a result, pose a threat to the interests of society (Doyle, 2002b: 6 – 7). This is particularly important to this research dissertation which deals with the identification of the national interest. The appeal of certain sporting codes and the ownership of various teams will be analysed in an attempt to expose the money making potential of televised sport. Through various forms of integration large corporate conglomerates are able to control the production and consumption patterns of many media products. To fully comprehend the power of these global conglomerates the processes of vertical, horizontal and diagonal integration will be discussed. Thereafter, the effects of such integration strategies on media pluralism and content diversity will be examined. The financial benefits of purchasing exclusive broadcast rights to various competitions and tournaments as well as the inclusion of sporting teams in such media strategies will be elaborated upon in the following passages. Chapter Seven of this dissertation provides an insight into the financial benefits of securing exclusive rights to sporting material within a South African context. MultiChoice uses exclusive rights to sporting content to maintain its dominance in the South African pay television market.

Political economy of communication has long focused on the institutional extension of corporate power in media related industries. The extension of this power is usually examined through the process of corporate concentration. Political economists when

scrutinising large media firms identify their sheer growth and magnitude by measuring their assets, revenues, profits, number of employees and share value (Mosco, 1996: 175 – 199). “The simplest form of concentration” according to Mosco (1996: 175) “takes place when a media firm buys a controlling interest in a company operating principally in the same business”. The result of this process is the emergence of a small group of media companies that control the entire global media landscape. In her discussion on media ownership and pluralism, Doyle (2002b: 13 – 14) suggests that media concentrations imply that the supply of media products is dominated by few rather than many different owners. A number of worldwide media companies that embody enormous concentrated economic power exist and are responsible for much of the world’s media production and distribution. These companies include AOL / Time Warner, Bertelsmann, News Corporation, Disney and Sony, among others. These companies have consolidated their economic power by integrating vertically across production, distribution and exhibition lines, and horizontally across a range of media products (Mosco, 1996: 175 – 199). Doyle (2002b: 13 – 14) notes that a small number of conglomerates dominating the media industry can be counterproductive in terms of achieving pluralism. Pluralism embraces both diversity of output (content) and diversity of ownership. The concept of media pluralism is important in this regard as the national interest in terms of sports broadcasting attempts to be inclusive of a number of different sporting codes to ensure that the population’s needs and interests are met. Chapter Six of the dissertation lists the events that are deemed to be in the national interest. The three main sports on the list are cricket, rugby and soccer. Provisions are also made for smaller sports (in terms of audience appeal) such as netball and athletics.

The strategies used by media companies to set up concentrations and some of the associated benefits of these acquisitions will be discussed in the following passages. Vertical integration in the media industry refers to common ownership across different phases in the supply chain (Doyle, 2002a: 17 – 19; Doyle, 2002b: 13 – 14; McQuail, 2005: 229; Mosco, 1996: 175 – 199). In other words a vertically integrated enterprise, according to Grossberg, Wartella and Whitney (1998: 89 – 117) (from now on referred to as Grossberg et al), controls the entire production and distribution process. Vertical integration of media companies usually takes place over the three main stages of providing end consumers with finished goods or texts. These include the processes of production, packaging and distribution (Doyle, 2002a: 17 – 19). The production stage, quite literally deals with the creation of media content.

In the television industry, this stage would create the actual programme or show. The second stage, packaging, is tasked with the responsibility of collecting the content and assembling it into a marketable media product or service carried out by television networks. The third stage, distribution, deals primarily with the delivery of the final product to the intended audience. Commercial television is broadcast via the airwaves, but the subscriber needs to purchase a satellite and decoder to unscramble the signal (Doyle, 2002a: 17 – 19). This type of media strategy has a number of benefits to the parent company. A good example of backward vertical integration (moving back along the production circuit) took place when *The New York Times* bought paper mills in Quebec (Mosco 1996: 175 – 199). The company gained the ability to increase its competitive advantage over rival companies by controlling important stages in the production process. The control over the working environment established through vertical integration helps firms avoid losing market access in important phases of production (Doyle, 2002b: 2 – 6). Vertical integration provides companies with the opportunity to control prices, guarantee necessary supplies and operate in an environment that contains very few surprises that could disturb production and general operation (Mosco, 1996: 175 – 199). “Vertical integration generally results in reduced transaction costs for the enlarged firm” (Doyle: 2002b: 4). The common ownership over various levels of vertically integrated firms enables media owners to maximise efficiency and eliminate unnecessary expenditure.

Horizontal integration, on the other hand, occurs when a firm purchases a controlling interest in another company at a similar stage in the supply chain. The firms could be involved in the same industry and combine forces to increase their market share and rationalise resources in an attempt to gain economies of scale (Doyle, 2002b: 2 – 6; Doyle, 2002a: 25 - 29). A South African example in this case is the Independent Newspaper Group. This particular group owns a number of newspaper titles across the country that include, among others, the *Daily News*, *Sunday Tribune*, *Cape Argus*, *Isolezwe*, and *Post*. The shared resources that would be evident in this example of monomedia expansion would be those required for the production and printing of newspapers as well as the circulation of newsworthy stories. Monomedia expansion in this light refers to the horizontal integration of companies from the same medium (Doyle, 2002b: 13 – 14). The benefit of having one managerial style in place needs to be taken into account as well. Increased efficiency and a stronger market position are both possibilities. The presence of economies of scale in many

different media related firms makes horizontal integration an advantageous strategy in most scenarios (Doyle, 2002a: 25 – 29; Doyle, 2002b: 37 - 41). Economies of scale are important to media firms and form one of the main motivations behind horizontal mergers and acquisitions. Economies of scale are common in the media because:

the business of supplying media is characterized by high initial production costs but by very low or minimal marginal distribution costs. So, concentrated media firms that can spread production costs across ever-larger audiences will benefit from diminishing per viewer (or per reader) costs as consumption expands (Doyle, 2002b: 38).

However, when incorporating horizontal integration into company strategies, firms do not necessarily have to make purchases within the same industry. Many cases of horizontal integration have been documented where media firms have purchased a controlling interest in or have been swallowed up by non-media businesses. An example here could be the Radio Corporation of America's purchase of the Hertz car rental company (Mosco, 1996: 175 – 199). The use of horizontal integration by media companies is a successful way of creating large and powerful conglomerates. Mosco defines the term 'conglomerate' as a "product of the amalgamation of firms in different lines of business" (1996: 176). A large international conglomerate that perfectly illustrates the above sentiments is the company, General Electric. General Electric offers a full range of products and services ranging from aviation to security and from healthcare to media and entertainment (www.ge.com).

The third element of integration is commonly referred to as diagonal integration. This specific type of integration means that there is common ownership between different media sectors. Media firms diversify into new business areas (Doyle, 2002a; Doyle, 2002b). Newspaper houses could show interest in and purchase radio stations or venture into the new media and purchase websites as an alternate medium to disseminate their news. This type of merger has a number of benefits for the companies involved. One of the major benefits to companies that get involved in diagonal integration is the spreading of potential risk. Firms are provided with a certain degree of shelter from various dangers and risks that may arise in any one particular medium that they are involved in. Again, the possibility of economies of scale and efficient managerial structures can be implemented (Doyle, 2002a: 21 – 24).

Television and sports have entered into a relationship of integration that has caused critics to identify both positive and negative attributes. In terms of commercial growth and profitability, the broadcasting of sports on television has benefited both parties involved. Sports bodies, teams and players receive huge financial rewards from the awarding of television contracts and, at the same time, television has also increased public access to sports and sporting events (Real, 2005: 337). Television has helped lesser known sports gain mainstream recognition and has brought them to the attention of large global audiences (Barnett, 1990: 108 – 120). Commercial television networks benefit from the sale of advertising space in and around the sports broadcasts (Real, 2005: 351 – 355). From an economic point of view, the relationship between television and sports leads to a goldmine of financial return and profit. The combination between the two industries has been described as a “marriage made in heaven” (Real, 2005: 337). However, much attention has been given to the nature of televised sport and great effort has gone into identifying whether or not the system is truly a two way street along which both entities flourish. Television has been described as a parasite that has literally sucked the best out of sport (Real, 2005: 337 – 339). Negative outcomes from the close relationship between sport and television include a number of sport-related dysfunctions. These include, among others: bloated player salaries, unbalanced demands for victory at all costs, sexist advertising, gambling and betting and a general deviation from the ideals of amateur sport (Real, 2005: 337 – 339; Barnett, 1990: 121 - 153). The following passages will analyse the use of integration, as discussed above, as a strategy adopted by television networks to make full use of the close relationship with the sports industry.

A large amount of money can be made by commercial networks and media companies that are willing to pay exorbitant prices to secure the broadcast rights of various games and events. The larger media companies enter into negotiations with various sporting associations to gain the legal right to broadcast games and competitions over their networks. The fees which are paid by the networks are often worth billions of dollars in multi-year contracts (Real, 2005: 351 – 355). The primary motivation for the networks to secure broadcast rights is the access to potential advertising revenue. Television companies make up the money spent to secure the rights, as well as the cost of production expenses such as cameras, presenters, production trucks and transmission, through the sale of advertising packages available during the event broadcast. Advertisers are quick to purchase the access to the adult male

demographic and its expendable income that is attracted to televised sports and not necessarily to other programme genres (Real, 2005: 351 – 355). A good example that shows the lengths certain networks will go to in an attempt to secure broadcast rights is illustrated by Rupert Murdoch's global media company, News Corporation.

Murdoch has utilised sport as a part of News Corporation's global expansion strategy more so than any other media company (Horne, 2006: 49 – 51). Economic interests in a number of networks around the world provide Murdoch with access to and give him control of television rights in a number of different sporting codes. For example, Murdoch controls British and European soccer, rugby league, rugby union, West Indies cricket and Pakistani cricket through the company, Foxtel of which 40 percent is owned by Murdoch. The British based television satellite company BSkyB, of which Murdoch again owns 40 percent, gives him control of the television rights to premier league soccer, boxing, auto racing, major tennis events and British and American basketball (Real, 2005: 355 – 357). These are just two acquisitions (Foxtel and BSkyB) which fall under the Murdoch umbrella that show the strategic use of horizontal integration. In terms of vertical integration, Murdoch has made numerous attempts to purchase actual sporting teams and clubs. The process, which has been dubbed 'Murdochisation', incorporates and integrates sporting clubs into his own organisations. As a result, the media groups gain access to and control of the competitive activities of the club, which they can distribute on their own networks. In 1998, for example, Murdoch purchased the Los Angeles Dodgers baseball team for a then record payment of 311 million dollars (Horne, 2006: 49 – 51). Among other acquisitions of sporting teams under the Murdoch umbrella there was also the much written about bid to purchase the Manchester United football team for a reported amount of 1 billion dollars. The bid was refused by the British government. They argued that the ownership of the club would give News Corporation an unfair position in the football industry (Horne, 2006; Real, 2005; Rowe, 2000; Rowe, 1999).

Networks are able to benefit in the long run from securing the broadcast rights to large scale international sporting events such as the Olympic Games and other world cup tournaments. Although networks are able to sell advertising space during the event and subcontract broadcast rights to other networks at high prices, they often risk losing money during the initial stages of the deal. This is due to the high prices of producing original

television programming as well as the money spent to secure the broadcast rights (Rowe, 1999: 71 – 75). An example of this is the 1995 bid by US television network the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) to secure the rights to the 2000 Olympic Games. NBC paid 715million dollars in 1995 to secure the rights. This formed part of deal in which NBC paid escalating fees of 793million and 894million dollars respectively for the opportunity to show the 2004 and 2008 Olympics Games to American audiences. NBC would lose large sums on the deal (Rowe, 1999: 71 – 75). Despite the initial loss that NBC would have had to negotiate, they were in possession of a broader economic motive. The huge audiences that would be attracted to the network for the Olympic Games would raise their overall ratings. This means that the network will be in a stronger position to negotiate advertising rates across its all year-round programming. The increased audience size as a result of the Olympics would have a knock-on effect and boost advertising across the network. NBC is also hoping that the Olympics will expose viewers to its other programming and encourage them to stay tuned to the network (Rowe, 1999: 71 – 75). Included in the broader motive behind NBC's acquisition of the Olympic rights is the branding of being the 'Olympic Network'. This comes with a number of appraisals in that the network is shown to be able to cope with the broadcasting of one of the world's largest media events. The prestige also gives the network the competitive edge over rival companies who may have to succumb to buying subcontracted broadcast rights to claim their slice of the action (Rowe, 1999: 71 – 75).

3.3.3 Commodification

The concept of commodification is fundamental to this research dissertation as the emphasis placed on financial return when deciding on sports broadcast schedules will be examined. Mosco (1996: 140) identifies the process of commodification as one that “describes the way capitalism carries out its objective of accumulating capital or realizing value through the transformation of use values into exchange values”. This is particularly important when analysing private commercial broadcasters, such as MultiChoice through their DStv bouquet format, whose main goal is the generation of capital. The nature of commercial broadcasters will be analysed in more depth later in the chapter. A product becomes a commodity when its production is largely organised through the process of exchange (Mosco, 1996: 141). In other words, commodification is the process whereby an object acquires its value in the appropriate marketplace. The particular object in question, when located in the marketplace, is the eventual commodity which will be sold and then consumed by the person making the

purchase (Mosco, 1996: 144). Mosco explains that the majority of political economists focus on the actual text that is produced and then to a lesser extent the audience that is exposed to it when analysing the commodities of communication. Although often neglected in terms of critical analysis, the labour process of the media industry itself can be scrutinised under the guise of political economy (1996: 145).

As mentioned above, the two main areas of focus when examining the commodification of communication include the commodification of the text, or the commodification of content and the commodification of the audience (Mosco, 1996: 146). Doyle (2002a: 11 - 13) supports this concept by proposing that the two commodities produced by media firms are content and audiences. The content which can be in the form of newspaper copy, magazine articles and television programmes, for example, constitutes one form of commodity that can be consumed by the viewers or readers of the text. Whilst the other commodity, the audience, is a valuable resource that can be gathered together, priced and sold to advertisers. Picard (1989: 17) states that “[i]n economic terms, media industries are unusual because they operate in what is called a *dual product market*. They create one product but participate in two separate good and service markets.” Doyle supports this through her explanation of the industry and draws on Picard when discussing the ability that media firms possess to simultaneously sell their wares in two separate and distinct markets. This is one particular feature that sets media markets apart from other areas of economic activity (2002a: 11 -13).

The first market in which the media participate in is that of the media product or, as termed by Picard (1989: 17 – 19) the ‘good’. This product is marketed to media consumers and performance in this particular market is measured in a number of ways. Newspapers and magazines measure performance with circulation statistics whereas broadcast media measure their performance through audience ratings (Picard, 1989: 17 - 19). The content commodity can be somewhat unusual in that it is often described as a ‘cultural good’ (Doyle, 2002a: 11 – 13). Media texts such as films, television broadcasts, books and music albums are not merely commercial products but can also be appreciated for the affect that they have on our cultural environment. This alludes to the idea that some of the value possessed by cultural goods is tied up and determined by the information or messages that they do in fact convey to the consumer (Doyle, 2002a: 11 – 13). This is important to the current research when considering

the reception of televised rugby by audience members. Watching sporting teams do well can add extra value to the broadcast text (cultural good) within the cultural environment. This can be seen by the sale of sporting DVDs, such as the recent Rugby World Cup Final and the '438' cricket match, as discussed earlier in the chapter. In both cases the success of the South African team added extra value to the commodity within a South African market.

The use of content commodities in the media industry is somewhat different to regular markets as well. In this case the concepts of private goods and public goods become relevant as they differentiate between various types of media commodities that are utilised by consumers. The first type of good that Picard (1989: 17 – 19) elaborates on is the private good. Here, a good or commodity diminishes in its availability to others when one is utilised by an individual consumer. Commodities are used up when they are consumed and become unavailable to others. A good example here would be goods and commodities such as food. Doyle (2002a: 11 – 13) utilises the example of a loaf of bread where it literally gets used up by the consumer and is no longer available to anyone else.

The second type of good that Picard (1989: 17 – 19) includes in his discussion is the public good. The public good differs from the private good in that it can be consumed more than once. The availability of the good does not diminish as it is utilised by various consumers (Picard, 1989: 17 – 19; Doyle, 2002a: 11 – 13). The initial cost of producing a public good in the media industry may be rather expensive but the replication costs are considerably low in comparison (Doyle, 2002a: 11 – 13). What is important to note here is the money making ability that the media industry enjoys. A single television programme may cost enormous amounts of money to produce and broadcast but the networks are able to reach more than one consumer without having to spend additional money. As a viewer consumes a television broadcast, the broadcast does not disappear. There is no need to replace it at great cost. Multiple viewers are exposed to the product and can consume it simultaneously. Media goods can be either private or public goods. Picard suggests that newspapers, for example, are private goods in that they are bought and consumed by a single buyer. When the product is consumed, there are fewer available to other consumers (1989: 17 – 19). However, Picard's observation does not take into account the fact that newspapers are often consumed by more than one person. The buyer is not necessarily the sole reader. Magazines are similar in this regard. When one magazine is bought there are fewer available to other consumers. The

consumption of the magazine, however, does not use up the text. Magazines often find their way into waiting rooms and reception areas to be consumed by many readers long after they were initially purchased.

The second market which can be identified when taking Picard's (1989: 17 – 19) 'dual product market' proposition into consideration is the audience commodity. The audience as a commodity has great money making potential. Sport is rapidly becoming defined in relation to its commercial appeal. Sporting bodies no longer view the development of their codes as one of their overriding objectives. Instead, they emphasise the packaging of sport as a commercial product which can be easily sold to sponsors, audiences and broadcasters. Sport has clearly become part of the commercial entertainment industry (Baker and Glavovic, 1996: 250 – 252). For this particular reason, the audience as a commodity will be discussed in detail in the following section as it is a major money spinner for various sporting bodies around the world.

3.4 Audience as commodity

The audience as commodity is vitally important when one considers the general orientation of private commercial broadcasters. As the main aim of such broadcasters is the generation of wealth and the accumulation of revenue, they differ greatly from the public service broadcaster, which subscribes to a more normative approach and treats its audience as citizens within the public realm (Ang, 1991: 26 – 32; McQuail, 1992: 55 - 64). When treating the audience as a commodity broadcasters have one main goal and that is financial return; just like any other commercial enterprise. Audiences are the main currency for many media companies as they provide the opportunity to generate advertising revenue which is a primary source of income for many commercial broadcasters (Doyle, 2002a: 11 – 13). Effective communication and the quality of the audience experience are of secondary importance in a terrain where viewers are seen as potential markets and mere consumers of media texts. In an environment where the accumulation of wealth is the highest priority little concern is given to the reception of media texts by the audience. The focus of the media is primarily on audience consumption (McQuail, 2005: 399 – 400). The above sentiments of the audience as commodities are well represented by McQuail (2005: 399) when he suggests that markets consider:

an audience as a set of consumers rather than as a group or public. It links sender and receiver in a 'calculative' rather than a normative or social relationship, as a cash transaction between producer and consumer rather than a communication relationship. It ignores the internal social relations between individuals, since these are of little interest to service providers. It privileges social-economic criteria and focuses on media *consumption* rather than reception.

This so-called 'calculative' relationship that McQuail (2005: 399 – 400) alludes to emphasises the capitalist nature of commercial television networks. Commercial television structures are straightforward in that they are geared towards the procurement of wealth. Usually this occurs through two distinct approaches. Firstly, commercial television networks will create programmes for profit and, secondly, use the various channels at their disposal for advertising space (Ang, 1991: 26 – 32; Abelman and Atkin, 2002: 18 - 20). The driving force behind commercial television is purely an economic matter and is "principally connected with the capitalist concern of making money" (Ang, 1991: 26). By incorporating television material that is both entertaining and laden with advertising in the broadcast schedule, it is made clear that commercial networks are solely focused on the production of capital. Commercial networks and broadcast corporations set out to give the audience what it wants in order to keep viewers happy and tuned in to their channels (Ang, 1991: 28; Hellman, 1999: 105 - 129). They are interested in attracting the largest possible audience with the intention of selling them to the highest paying advertisers.

3.4.1 Selling the audience

The idea of the audience as a commodity suggests that somewhere along the line the viewers are 'sold' to somebody else. Audiences are the primary commodities of the mass media and large scale media companies produce audiences and deliver them to advertisers. Media programming is used to attract audiences to the specific channel in question (Mosco, 1996: 148 – 150). Television networks create audiences by broadcasting media texts that certain people will find interesting and entertaining. What this means is that a large number of people are watching the broadcast text. This is the constructed audience. The constructed audience is then 'sold' to advertisers as they are exposed to their products during the programmes. Commercial television networks transmit programmes in order to carry advertisements. The adverts are usually inserted between programmes or imbedded in the primary text itself during commercial breaks (Ang, 1991: 26 – 27). Advertisers pay large sums of money to gain access to this already constructed audience so that they can distribute their messages. Picard

(1989: 17 – 19) supports this idea and asserts that it is more accurate to consider access to the audience as the item that is sold opposed to the actual audience members viewing the broadcast texts. When the audience is viewed as a commodity the actual television programme is nothing more than a method used to deliver the audience to the advertisers (Abelman and Atkin, 2002: 18 – 20). Their value is purely economic and watching television becomes a commercial transaction. Grossberg et al concur with these sentiments when they state that the “media produce an audience for their own media products and then deliver that audience to another media producer, namely, an advertiser” (1998: 215). Since the more popular programmes draw a greater audience, the associated advertising space is more expensive. The slot is more beneficial to the advertiser as a larger number of people are exposed to the product (Ang, 1991: 26 – 27).

Audience members actually work for the advertisers (and are exploited for their efforts in the process) by giving up their free time to watch the media. This so called ‘labour’ is then packaged and sold by the media to the advertisers as a new kind of commodity (McQuail, 1997: 12 – 24). The audience then has to purchase the final media product in order to consume it and at the same time pay for their own exposure to advertising material (McQuail, 1997: 12 – 24). A good example highlighting the process of purchasing exposure to advertising is evident in an analysis of any popular magazine title. *Sports Illustrated* magazine has many full page colour advertisements as well as various forms of leaflets and promotional cards inserted within the packaged magazine. The 2008 Swimsuit calendar, which could attract even more male readers to the specific edition, comes free with the purchase and is covered in advertising logos as well.

The DStv advertising rate card (see Appendix 2) shows the cost of various advertising slots on the different DStv channels for the month of February, 2008. What is interesting to note is that advertising slots on Supersport during prime-time on weekends cost R10 000 whereas weekday prime-time slots cost R7 000. From this, one can deduce that more people are engaging with sporting material over the weekends than there are during the week. The rugby highlights and talk show programme *Boots & All*, broadcast on Thursday evenings from 20h00 – 21h00 attracts advertising costs of R12 000 per slot, the highest of the sports specific support programmes. To reiterate what Ang (1991: 27) suggests, the more popular programmes draw in larger audience numbers and, therefore, advertising prices during these

programmes are generally the most expensive. This suggests then that more people watch *Boots & All* than the other magazine programmes on Supersport during the week. Television networks, according to Baker and Glavovic (1996: 254) use sport as a means of increasing or boosting viewership. This, when looked at in the line of the above discussion, can be seen as a shrewd manoeuvre to attract audiences and gain greater advertiser appeal.

3.4.2 Knowing your audience

A great deal of market research is conducted so that the advertisers know exactly what type of person uses their product, what media patterns they follow and ultimately which texts they consume. Major advertisers are said to consume audiences that have literally been produced on demand (Gandy, 2004: 327 – 341). A good example here, and relevant to the overall topic, is the 2007 Rugby World Cup final involving South Africa and England. The match was broadcast live on both Supersport and SABC2. Supersport received the highest bid for a single advert in South African television history. The commercial advertising Supa Quick tyres cost the company and its advertising agency R151 000 for the once off 30 second deal. The proceeds generated from the advertising sale were donated by Supersport to the Chris Burger / Petro Jackson Players Fund¹³ (see Appendix 3). Despite the fact that the profits were donated to charity by Supersport, Supa Quick was able to expose its brand to a large audience attracted to the television broadcast at that particular time by the screening of the Rugby World Cup Final.

The audience constructed by Supersport would have been identified by Supa Quick as the ideal target market. In other words, those watching the match would have been seen by Supa Quick as people likely to purchase their products. Personnel at Supersport have suggested that the euphoria surrounding the 2007 Rugby World Cup final created an extraordinary demand for commercial exposure (see Appendix 3). The 2007 Rugby World Cup Final was a large scale international event which was made even more appealing on a local scale because South Africa was involved. The hype of the entire competition created during the initial rounds and the drama of the knock-out stages culminated during this once

¹³ The Chris Burger / Petro Jackson Players' Fund is an organisation that assists rugby players who have been seriously injured during matches. They assist the players by providing them with wheelchairs and other comforts to improve the quality of their lives. The Players Fund spends a lot of time educating people on safe rugby and how catastrophic injuries can be avoided (www.playersfund.org.za).

off fixture. The constructed audience was then ‘sold’ to Supa Quick who wanted exposure for their various advertising messages. People were not watching the game for the adverts. They were watching the primary event, the final. Advertisers purchase the audience members’ attention briefly and deliver their product messages.

3.4.3 Audience as the consumer

A counter argument is provided which suggests that the audience is the consumer and not the consumed entity (Abelman and Atkin, 2002: 18 – 20). The counter argument is based primarily on the fact that people are rational individuals with a goal or purpose in life and therefore make decisions on which programmes they want to watch and when it suits them best to do so. People, more often than not, have well-informed programme preferences which govern the television broadcasts that they do or do not watch (Abelman and Atkin, 2002: 18 – 20). Choice has a great role to play in the distinction between audience as consumer and audience as commodity within commercial broadcasting. Commercial networks provide great choice to viewers to appease their interests. Choice is more about the quantity of options available to the viewer and comes with the hope of meeting their demands. The ability to choose between programmes gives the viewer an element of control in their experience and over what they consume (Hellman, 1999: 105 – 129). It is important to note the relative power that is held by the audience. This power emphasises the broadcasters’ need to transmit quality programming that appeals to the audience. These sentiments can be related to the changes made to sports in an attempt to make events more television-friendly.

Even though commercial networks and broadcasters are for the most part concerned with the generation of wealth and financial revenue they still have to take the audience’s demand for programme quality and diversity into account. Audience numbers may diminish leading to poorer ratings and a weakened ability to attract advertisers willing to pay premium rates if the broadcasters do not meet the needs of the viewers (Abelman and Atkin, 2002: 18 – 20). The different media produce commodities and cultural texts which are consumed and used by the people constituting the audience (Grossberg et al, 1998: 235 – 238). When seen as consumers, audiences are identified according to their tastes and interests – by what they purchase and by what they own (Grossberg et al, 1998: 209 – 215). The audience is “constantly working, gathering information on what products exist, deciding what is best for

them to buy, and eventually, going out and buying them” (Grossberg et al, 1998: 215). As consumers, the audience members have their own interests at heart.

In light of the above two arguments it is fair to suggest that the viewers can be construed as both commodities and consumers. In an attempt to maximise their own profits the television networks would see the audience as a commodity that can be readily gathered together and ‘sold’ to advertisers. At the same time however, the audience can be viewed as a group of consumers who set out to meet their own interests and expectations by watching programming that appeals to them. They consume what they want to through the availability of choice. The advertisers may see the audience as taking up a position somewhere in between the two poles. They would see audiences as commodities in that they are purchased from the networks and exposed to their products. At the same time, they could potentially see audiences as consumers because they would want them to consume the adverts and accept the intended meanings and messages embedded within the text.

3.5 The audience in the public realm

Leading on from the discussion of audiences as a commodity the direction of the chapter will now move to the audience within the public realm. This particular approach to audiences focuses on the viewers of various broadcast texts as citizens opposed to commodities. Unlike private commercial networks, the focus of public service broadcasters is not entirely orientated towards financial return and profit making. The relationship between the public service institution and its audience is essentially characterised by a sense of cultural responsibility and social accountability (Ang, 1991: 28; Hellman, 1999: 105 - 129). When acting in the public interest the mass media do not cause social problems or extreme offence. The public is served and positive expectations are foreseen (McQuail, 2005: 164 – 166). Broadcasters and networks undertaking such policies often subscribe to an ethos outlining the approach adopted by many public service broadcasters. For this reason, the public service broadcasting ideal will be used as the main approach to outline the manner in which audiences are treated when viewed as citizens. Public service broadcasting, as a normative category, is used as a guiding principle to indicate the way in which broadcasters ought to act (Teer-Tomaselli, 2005: 199). This suggests that public service broadcasters need to adhere to a number of regulations and standards, which will be discussed later on in this chapter. The manner in which the term has been used over the years is somewhat flexible and alters

depending on the various needs and challenges faced by different countries at different times (Teer-Tomaselli, 2005: 199). In other words, “what it means to be a public broadcaster obviously changes with the times” (Mpofu, 1996: 7) and is dependent on various social and political factors.

3.5.1 Public service broadcasting: normative requirements

Public service broadcasters have a number of normative requirements to which they need to adhere. These requirements form the basis on which public service broadcasters construct their policies and provide a rubric outlining the way they ought to act (Teer-Tomaselli 2005: 199 - 211). The SABC is South Africa’s public service broadcaster and according to its website is:

obliged to provide a comprehensive range of distinctive programmes and services. It must inform, educate, entertain, support and develop culture and education and as far as possible secure fair and equal treatment for the various groupings in the nation and the country, while offering world-class programming on television and radio (www.sabc.co.za).

From this statement one can deduce that the SABC, through both television and radio broadcasting, strives to provide audiences with an array of material that is educational, entertaining, informative and equal in its treatment and representation of culture, cultural practices and ethnic differences. At the same time the SABC must attempt to broadcast quality material that is of a high standard and inclusive of all official South African languages (see *Broadcasting Act* No. 4 of 1999). This coincides with the sentiments expressed by Ang (1991: 29) who states that public service television should serve audiences when viewed as citizens and reform, educate, inform and entertain them; presumably so that they (the audience members) are enabled to better perform their democratic rights and duties. The Peacock Committee, established in 1985 to identify alternative forms of financing for the BBC, tried to explain what public interest and ‘public service’ meant in the context of broadcasting. The committee settled on eight principles which promote the public service ideal (McQuail, 1992: 55 – 59). Mpofu too identifies eight very similar basic principles and objectives which determine the nature of public service broadcasting in South Africa (1996: 6 – 57). These eight principles and objectives, which will be discussed in the following passages, will help with the understanding of public service broadcasting within a South

African context and elaborate on the stance taken by the SABC. The following passages will further elaborate on the approach taken when audiences are treated as citizens.

3.5.2 Eight principles and objectives of public service broadcasting

The first of the eight principles and objectives that shall be discussed is that of geographic universality. Geographic universality in this sense promotes the idea that people all across a particular county or region served by the public service broadcaster should have access to the transmitted material. Mpfu states that geographic universality “should be regarded as a fundamental axiom for a public service broadcaster” (1996: 9). It is of great importance for the public service broadcaster to be available to all members of society regardless of their geographic position. All citizens, even those who reside outside the major towns and cities, should be able to access material broadcast by the public service broadcaster (Mpfu, 1996: 9 - 16; Teer-Tomaselli, 2005: 202 - 203). Although drawing on examples from the American broadcast terrain, Abelman and Atkin (2002, 173 – 194) make reference to the fact that public television should facilitate and assist audience access to the airwaves. Teer-Tomaselli (2005: 202 – 203) links audience access to broadcast material through the public service broadcaster to the distribution of other ‘public utilities’ or basic requirements. These include the provision of electricity, water, basic education and medical care. All these amenities are available to citizens at no profit or are subsidised by the government. Under this guise broadcasting is viewed as a public necessity. It is the responsibility of the national broadcaster to ensure that its services are available across the country (Teer-Tomaselli, 2005: 201 – 202). Access to texts transmitted by the public service broadcaster should be made available to all citizens within the footprint of the SABC. Programming should appeal to a full spectrum of the country’s population.

The second principle of public service broadcasting that Mpfu (1996: 9 – 16) incorporates into his discussion is the universality of appeal. The principle here is concerned with the range of programmes that are made available to the citizens making up the audience. The public service broadcaster should broadcast a wide variety of programmes to ensure that a diverse range of public needs are met and adequately served. The whole of the population should have their tastes and interests represented (Mpfu, 1996: 9 – 16; Teer-Tomaselli, 2005: 210 – 211; Ang, 1991: 115 – 117). This coincides with the thoughts expressed by McQuail who suggests that programmes broadcast from any particular station, or stations in

general, should contain a suitable proportion of content material that is calculated specifically to meet the needs and appeal to the interests of those served by the broadcaster (1992: 55 – 59). The “pluralistic mass media can contribute to diversity in three main ways: by *reflecting* differences in society; by giving *access* to different points of view and by offering a wide range of *choice*” (McQuail, 1992: 144). Due to the nature of this requirement the public service broadcaster may face a number of problems in that it cannot simply broadcast material that suits the needs of the majority of the population. Minority interests and programming that is of a national priority needs to be included in broadcast schedules as well (Mpofu, 1996: 9 – 16). In order to fully serve the public as citizens the broadcaster must make a sincere attempt to include a wide variety of programming that is found appealing by all people of the viewing audience.

The inclusion of minority interests represents another fundamental attribute of public service broadcasting. This particular requirement follows on from the concept of universality of appeal in that it highlights the importance of producing and distributing a wide range of programming that takes into account the needs of the entire population. The importance of diversity and the inclusion of minority interests in the construction of broadcast schedules are seen as ways of mirroring the composition of the society that the public broadcaster is serving (Ang, 1991: 115 – 117). The representation of minority interests in South Africa is somewhat different to the European and American models. As a result of apartheid policies there is an imbalance in economic distribution and some minority groups (classified along racial lines) have greater economic power than others and their languages occupy more privileged positions in society. It makes sense then to include socio-economic status, gender and race as requisites when identifying what constitutes minority interests (Mpofu, 1996: 9 – 16). Minorities in a South African context should not only be determined by percentage of the total population but rather by disadvantage along “**social power relations**” (Mpofu, 1996: 16 - original emphasis). By ensuring that both minority and majority interests are represented a diverse schedule of programming is attained.

The fourth principle or objective of public service broadcasting which will be analysed is the required relationship between the broadcaster and the national identity (Mpofu, 1996: 9 – 16). This principle is fundamental to this dissertation as it aims to identify the ‘national interest’ discussed by ICASA in regards to sports broadcasting and the

construction or maintenance of nation-building through televised rugby. A public broadcaster must:

reflect national concerns, interests, events and culture. It is therefore incumbent upon the national broadcaster to televise political events of importance (eg. general elections), state occasions (eg. the opening of parliament) and sporting events (eg. test match cricket, national soccer matches). These are truly national in scope and interest (Mpofu, 1996: 14).

It is important for the public service broadcaster to include programming in its schedule that is reflective of the nation. The SABC must make attempts to forge a South African identity (Mpofu, 1996: 9 – 16; Teer-Tomaselli, 2005: 204 - 205) by including material and programming in its broadcast schedules that are representative of the nation. How this is done through the broadcasting of rugby is important to the outcome of this research dissertation. The limited space available to the SABC, who still have other requirements to meet as a public service broadcaster, and competition from private commercial networks as well as the high cost of producing original sports shows and securing broadcast rights (ICASA Discussion Paper, 2002) make it difficult to determine what sports programming should be broadcast and made available to the entire population. Identifying the national interest in terms of televised sports becomes problematic. Addressing this problem is of central importance to this research.

The public service broadcaster faces a number of challenges when trying to identify and include programming that is reflective of the nation and carries the country's interests at heart. The media have a key role to play in the construction and promotion of the nation-building process (Mpofu, 1996: 9 – 16). "What the audience 'needs' is any broadcast which creates a feeling of togetherness and contributes to social cohesion" (Hellman, 1999: 119). However, attempts of nation-building are made difficult when one considers the fact that Africa was so drastically divided by colonial powers. These divisions have caused many political tensions, some of which still remain today. The process of nation-building faces an uphill battle when such factors are taken into consideration (Mpofu, 1996: 9 – 16). Mpofu goes on to state that, "South Africa's political history calls for the need to have national institutions whose roles are integrative and link South African nationhood to the geographical area now called South Africa" (1996: 15). These sentiments correlate with the views of Chipkin (2007: 173 – 187) who suggests that the concept of nation-building is difficult in

South Africa as there is no common language, culture, religion or social status. Nation-building in post-apartheid South Africa is problematic in that the people lack national marks. It is only clear, or identifiable, who the people are not. They are not the perpetrators and sufferers of past injustices and they are not members of a common culture or race. Instead of attempting to unite all people along cultural lines, for example, efforts of nation-building are focused towards unifying the people within a specific geographic area, South Africa (Chipkin, 2007: 173 – 187). Despite this minor setback, Mpofu suggests that the “celebration of diversity can be the basis for commonality” (1996: 15). Public service broadcasters need to ensure that they reflect the identity of the nation. Although this may seem contradictory to earlier suggestions that minority interests and diverse programming, which appeal to all South Africans should be included in television and radio schedules, it is important for the SABC to ensure that the South African nation is represented and attempts are made for the people to identify with and locate themselves within the national community.

Another essential element of public service broadcasting that cannot be ignored is the universality of payment concept. Although the legitimacy of a required licence fee has come under scrutiny of late¹⁴, universality of payment falls under the ethos of ‘the public sphere’, an ethos of which public service broadcasting is a vital component (Mpofu, 1996: 9 – 16). In many countries public service broadcasting is supported financially by the people. Citizens are often required to fund the broadcaster through the payment of a compulsory licence fee (McQuail, 2005: 178 – 180; Blumer, 1992: 7 - 21). The BBC model has been credited as being the ideal goal where the broadcaster is free from advertising. Pursuing advertising revenue and competition with commercial networks leads to a battle over the audience which stimulates unnecessary convergence and has a negative effect on the diversity of programming available to viewers (de Bens, 1998: 27 – 37). To efficiently serve viewers the public service broadcaster should be kept clear of the state and private sector’s vested interests (Mpofu, 1996: 9 – 16).

In some countries, such as Canada, New Zealand and Germany, the public service broadcaster is supported by the citizens, through the payment of licence fees, and the selling of advertising space. A small percentage of funds are generated for the broadcaster and

¹⁴ Mpofu notes that universality of payment is rooted in the thinking that if everyone is capable of receiving the public service broadcaster then everyone should pay for it (1996: 11).

sustain its existence through the accumulation of such revenue (Mpofu, 1996: 9 – 16). The Australian and Canadian public service broadcasters receive some financial grants directly from the government. However, “direct government grants [are] often seen as anathema in terms of compromising the independence of broadcasters” (Mpofu, 1996: 11 – 12). If the state or the private sector were to be the sole funders of the public service broadcaster, the authenticity of the broadcaster could be questioned. Who is being served, the citizen or the financial backer? The public service broadcaster should attempt to steer clear from the paymaster and retain some form of independence.

Whether the financial support is provided by the state or the private sector, there should be no commercial pressure on the public service broadcaster to alter its programming schedule or commissioning practices (Mpofu, 1996: 9 – 16). The public service broadcaster should be an independent public body with a substantial amount of financial policy-making autonomy from both government and commercial organisations (Teer-Tomaselli, 2005: 203 – 204). Influence from the financial support could cause the public service broadcaster to veer away from other normative principles and objectives resulting in an unbalanced programming schedule and weakened ability to best serve the audience. Political influence, for example, could affect the objectivity of news reporting and commercial funders may focus entirely on monetary reward, therefore neglecting minority interests. The public service broadcaster should be independent of the government (McQuail, 2005: 178 – 180). Governments with too much control of the media could be seen as authoritarian in nature and use the public service broadcaster as a political mouthpiece. This would be applicable in countries that have a certain degree of authoritarian control (Oosthuizen, 2002).

The idea of control and restriction over broadcasting leads on to another of the eight principles and objectives of public service broadcasting. There should be editorial freedom within the guidelines of public service broadcasting. Producers and programme makers should have the liberty to create media texts of their choice and there should be little or no restriction on what they do in fact create (McQuail, 1992: 55 – 59; Mpofu, 1996: 9 – 16). “Their work should be protected from arbitrary interference and safe-guarded by the norms of media professionalism” (Mpofu: 1996: 16).

The final element that will be discussed is that concerned with the quality of programming. The competition that arises within the realms of public service broadcasting should be competition in good programming and not necessarily competition in numbers. The programme quality should suffice if there is a commitment to diversity of sources and an opportunity for viewers to locate themselves within a subject position that they are comfortable and responsible for (Mpofu, 1996: 9 – 16). Viewers need to be able to interpret the text in a manner that is ‘natural’ for them. Quality programming should be used to entrench this requirement. Objective news reporting and documentary making enable viewers to make up their own minds about events. They should not feel as if they are being forced into accepting one particular reading. The public service broadcaster communicates with a whole host of people (differentiated by race, culture, ideological background, socio-economic status) and fair and responsible programming will enable viewers to construct their own meanings of the texts that they are exposed to.

3.5.3 Approaching the audience

The objectives and principles discussed above should be taken into consideration when treating the audience as citizens opposed to commodities. Although the eight points discussed are seen as necessities or fundamental requirements of public service broadcasting, private commercial broadcasters could utilise the points in order to sustain a happy and content subscription base. It has been made clear that by treating their audience as citizens, broadcasters place less emphasis on financial gain. The broadcaster sets out to serve the interests of the entire population and acts in a manner which brings people together rather than divides them along socio-economic lines. Not all people comprising the South African population have the resources to afford subscription television and this must be taken into consideration when treating the audience as citizens. Everyone has the right to access public utilities. Everyone should, therefore, have their interests represented by the public service broadcaster. The chapter will now focus on reception theory and discuss the ways in which audiences interpret media texts. The concepts of the passive and active audience will be included in the dissertation.

3.6 Reception Theory

One of the primary questions that shall be answered in this dissertation is whether or not exposure to televised rugby has an effect on audience members and helps in the promotion of

nation-building. In order to answer such questions it is imperative that reception theory is clearly outlined as a part of the cultural studies tradition. Cultural studies can be located within the borderland between social science and humanities. Cultural Studies in this regard is almost exclusively concerned with works of popular culture. Theorists identify media use as a reflection of a particular sociocultural context which gives meaning to cultural products and experiences (McQuail, 1997: 18 – 24). The way in which audience members utilise the broadcast material that they are exposed to is of interest.

Due to the increased emphasis that has been placed on reception analysis by cultural studies, theorists and scholars alike are better equipped to understand how certain audience groupings relate to the mass media and draw upon them as a resource in their everyday lives (Jenkins, 1992: 1 – 8). Certain people may be more in tune with the proceedings and follow the game of rugby on a regular basis. Although often shrouded by claims of excessive enthusiasm and seen to possess negative connotations, Jenkins (1992: 12 – 15) makes reference to the use of the term ‘fans’, an abbreviation of the word ‘fanatic’, when describing the more ardent audience members of a particular programme or television genre. When discussing the term ‘fan’ Jenkins acknowledges its origin during the late 19th century in journalistic accounts of sporting events. Journalists used the abbreviated word to describe the followers of professional sports teams. However, it was soon expanded to incorporate any faithful devotee of sport and commercial entertainment (Jenkins, 1992: 12 – 15). What motivates these audience members to participate so wholeheartedly within a rugby culture is worthy of its own independent research. The meaning that audience members decode and take away from exposure to certain texts is important. Certain audience members may be less interested in the game and only watch high profile fixtures such as the 2007 Rugby World Cup Final involving South Africa and England. The degree to which people engage with various sporting texts and the number of people who do so could affect the process of determining the national interest and what sporting events are afforded regular and widespread television coverage. For this reason audience reception and attitudes towards rugby and television broadcasting are important to the research process.

The school of cultural studies firmly rejects the notion of the all-powerful text or message. Many theorists have made an attempt to show that messages embedded within media texts can be read or decoded in numerous ways. Fiske (1987: 63 – 83) was one of the

first theorists to note that for a text to be popular it must be read and interpreted by a number of diverse social groups. Different people must be able to relate to the text and take away from it what they want. In many cases the decoded meaning can differ greatly from the intended message that was initially created by the message sender. Media texts are open to interpretation and can be decoded in various ways depending on a number of factors (McQuail, 1997: 18 – 24). Reception theory promotes the role of the reader in decoding media texts and suggests that the audience has the power to resist the dominant and hegemonic meanings distributed through the media (McQuail, 1997: 18 – 24). Audiences for specific programmes or television genres may comprise of smaller ‘interpretive communities’. These communities often function on an individualistic basis where members often refuse to conform to mundane social conventions (McQuail, 1997: 18 – 24). These audience groupings tend to respond to the more subtle demands of belonging to a specific fan culture (Jenkins, 1992: 88 – 89). Such audiences make use of media texts in certain ways as a result of their everyday lives which are based on the social experience and context of subcultural groups. In other words, group members of smaller ‘interpretive communities’ will share similar readings of media texts based on their common culture and a shared social discourse (McQuail, 1997: 18 – 24). Subcultural groups may use media texts to position themselves within society and reflect their interests.

3.6.1 Stuart Hall’s model of encoding and decoding

Stuart Hall’s seminal essay ‘Encoding/decoding’ (1980: 128 – 138) highlights the inaccuracies in, or the limitations of, the linear ‘sender → message → receiver’ model of traditional communications theory. The model received much criticism due to its linear structure, concentration on the level of message exchange and the absence of an analysis of the different moments of the mass communications process as a complex structure of relations (Nightingale, 1996: 21 – 39). Hall suggests that there are a number of factors that affect the decoding of messages which influence the final stages of the communication process (1980: 128 – 138). The process is not a straightforward one which perfectly transfers the original message from the sender to the receiver. The linear model assumes the message receiver successfully decodes the bundle of verbal and nonverbal signs in the intended manner. Misunderstandings in the communication process “arise precisely from the *lack of equivalence* between the two sides in the communication exchange” (Hall, 1980: 131). The degrees of symmetry, to use the words of Hall, depend on the positions or attitudes held by

the sender (encoder) and receiver (decoder) of messages who are both participating in the communication process. Problems in communication are encountered when the encoded meaning of a particular message or sign does not match the decoded meaning on the other side of the spectrum (Hall, 1980: 128 – 138). Some visual signs appear to have achieved an almost universal understanding. It is suggested that these ‘naturalised’ visual signs are culturally specific and can, even if it sounds absurd to think so, evoke different meanings and understandings for some people (Hall, 1980: 128 – 18). Communication can become increasingly difficult when two or more people from different cultures, backgrounds or life experiences exchange ideas and messages.

The use of the terms ‘denotation’ and ‘connotation’ are important when examining the way in which mediated texts and messages are understood and decoded. These two concepts are fundamental when determining whether or not televised rugby contributes towards efforts of nation-building. It is important to remember that televised rugby may not be universally accepted by South African audience members. Audience members have the ability to construct their own readings and perceptions of events when taking reception theory into consideration. Certain signs and messages could cause alternate readings of televised rugby to be read. These may or may not promote efforts of nation-building within a South African context. A sign usually will possess both denotative and connotative meanings (Hall, 1980: 128 – 138). Media researchers and scholars cannot assume that media messages sent by the encoders of the text will be decoded in the intended manner (McQuail, 1997: 101 – 102).

The term ‘denotation’ is the less problematic of the two and is generally perceived to represent the literal meaning of a sign (Hall, 1980: 128 – 138). The *denotative sign* has a physical correspondence to the object of ‘reality’ that is being referred to (Tomaselli, 1999: 29 – 50). A good example here that is related to the sport of rugby would be the Springbok emblem. The emblem that is worn on the jerseys of the South African team quite literally represents the South African rugby team. The emblem is widely recognised and often used in television broadcasts as a signifier for the South African team. This could be done, for example, on graphics showing the updated scores of televised games. ‘*Connotation*’ can be construed as more problematic in that it is used to represent the more flexible and associative meanings. Connotative meanings are less fixed than denotative meanings and result from the ideological backgrounds of the readers in question and are a result of human intervention

(Hall, 1980: 128 – 138; Tomaselli, 1999: 29 - 50). The sign becomes open to new interpretations which may not correspond with the more widely accepted denotative meaning. To continue with the example used above, the Springbok emblem may contain connotative meanings that are not as clear cut as the denotative understanding. To different people the emblem could promote different feelings based on their cultural backgrounds and experiences of South African society.

Figure Three: South African players wear the Springbok emblem against Australia



Nauright (1997: 175 – 181) examines the Springbok emblem and some of the controversies that it has created. White South Africans may want to hold onto the Springbok emblem due to nostalgia and in efforts to define their cultural identities and heritage. Rugby, which has played a large role in the construction of a white South African identity, was seen by the ANC during the transition phase between apartheid and the democratic state as a way of reaching out to whites and ensuring that majority rule meant the survival of white culture, rather than its further demise through international sanctions (Nauright, 1997: 175 – 181; Botma and Wasserman, 2008: 2 - 3). White South Africans were provided with a safety blanket of sorts with which to face the challenges of the new South Africa by remaining attached to their cultural symbols and ways of life (Nauright, 1997: 175 – 177). The emblem could embody success to white South Africans in that it was worn by the national team which has been considered one of the top rugby playing nations throughout its history.

Some could argue that the emblem is supported by those who are stuck in the past and unwilling to embrace the new political dispensation (Nauright, 1997). At the same time, the emblem could represent white supremacy. To black South Africans the same emblem could create feelings of anger due to the discriminatory nature of the apartheid regime (Botma and Wasserman, 2008: 2 – 3). The Springbok emblem could still represent segregation and unfair living conditions to many who experienced the hardships of apartheid. The emblem could have negative connotations attached to it such as: racism, segregation, lack of opportunity and exploitation. Efforts of nation-building in the new South Africa could be hindered by such connotative readings which differ immensely depending on one's cultural background or political point of view (see Appendix 4). It would be naive for community leaders to assume that certain signs (both verbal and non-verbal) would be readily accepted by all sectors of society on a connotative level.

Hall identifies three ways in which mediated texts, especially those broadcast on television, can be handled by audience members (1980: 128 – 138). The first position identified is that of the *dominant-hegemonic* position. When a viewer of a specific programme engages with the text and accepts the preferred meaning embedded in the encoded message they are said to have operated within the dominant code (Hall, 1980: 128 – 138). The viewer has accepted the broadcast messages at face value and has decoded the message and constructed a meaning that corresponds with the intentions of the message senders (encoders). There are relatively few misinterpretations within the communication process and the desired meaning and result of the message is successfully transferred. The encoded messages make use of easily identifiable signs and help promote the already established hegemonic order. Broadcast professionals are linked to prominent elite members of society who interact in a manner to ensure that their views on events and situations are reflected. The ideas of the dominant cultures in society are represented through television and other broadcast media (Hall, 1980: 128 – 138; Nightingale, 1996: 24). The media may also be adopted as an arm of the 'ideological apparatus' and be used to inadvertently disseminate important messages which support the dominant order (Hall, 1980: 128 – 138).

The second position is that of the *negotiated code*. Mediated texts are decoded in manners which contain a mixture of adaptive and oppositional elements. The legitimacy of the hegemonic order is acknowledged whilst at the same time readers make their own rules

and position themselves in relation to the text (Hall, 1980: 128 – 138). Audience members do not blatantly accept the messages which are released. Codes are successfully identified but smaller and more specific elements dictate the relationship that the viewer has with the communication process. Factors which may not be influential to other readers come into play and affect the outcome of the process. The majority of misunderstandings in the communication process could arise from the contradictions between the hegemonic-dominant encodings and the negotiated decoding which may or may not result in the desired meaning of the message being established (Hall, 1980: 128 – 138).

The third and final position identified is the *oppositional* code. It is possible for the viewer to perfectly understand the denotative and connotative meanings of particular signs but decode the messages in a contrary or oppositional way. The reader decodes the message in the intended way but relocates it within in a different framework of reference and constructs a reading that intentionally opposes the preferred meaning (Hall, 1980: 128 – 138). The message receiver may purposefully choose to reject the intended meaning.

3.6.2 The ‘active’ and ‘passive’ audience

Within the boundaries of cultural studies the idea of an ‘active’ and ‘passive’ audience is developed. By definition the audience as a mass is passive in that it is incapable of collective action. A true social group has the means and perhaps the motivation to be active in the sense that it (the group) is able to choose a specific goal which members can participate in its pursuit (McQuail, 1997: 18 – 24). As mentioned earlier in the discussion on reception theory, cultural studies by and large reject the idea that audiences are powerless and inactive when analysed as textual subjects (Fiske, 1987: 62 – 83). The relative activity of the audience is related to the uses and gratification theory by Hall (1980: 128 – 138) and Nightingale (1996: 88 – 90) who put forward that people watch specific programmes or television genres to satisfy certain physical, social or emotional needs. McQuail (1997: 69 – 72) supports these sentiments and identifies the close relationship between media research and the uses and gratifications approach. McQuail (1997: 70) writes that the uses and gratifications approach poses one central question which is: “*Why* do people use media and what do they use them for?” This research dissertation will subscribe to the notion that the television audience is, or should be considered, active in nature as members have the ability to decode messages differently depending on a number of factors.

In his book *Television Culture* Fiske (1987) provides ample space for the discussion on the active audience. From the beginning of the chapter dedicated to the active audience the views of those who see the audience as a passive and inactive entity are rejected (Fiske, 1987: 62 – 83). A number of factors are discussed which are thought to affect the reading that audience members extract from the television texts they are exposed to. This is especially so when viewing the individual audience members as social subjects. These people have a social history that needs to be taken into consideration when analysing their readings of various media texts (Fiske, 1987: 62 – 83). Aspects of their social history will affect the way that they relate to certain events or representations of people and structures within the text. Features of the individual audience member's social history and social formation are determined by a whole host of factors. These include, amongst others, age, gender, class, and geographical location (Fiske, 1987: 62; Nightingale, 1996: 88 - 93). The actual person watching the television programme draws on their own 'real' personal experiences as a social subject as well as their experience of the mediated text when they construct their textual readings. The subjectivity resulting from the individual's real, or social, life is far more influential than the textual subjectivity which only occurs at the moment of viewing (Fiske, 1987; 62 – 83). What this suggests is that the viewer is in possession of a vast quantity of personal baggage which influences the way they decode certain messages and interpret media texts. The audience members are active in the sense that they construct their own media interpretations and are not reliant on the creators of the text in deciphering meaning.

One of the primary factors contributing towards the specific interpretation of media texts and the decoding of television messages is class (Hall, 1980: 128 – 138). Audience members of the same class and social status are perceived to decode messages and signs embedded within media texts in a similar manner. Hall (1980: 130) states that the:

typical processes identified in positivistic research on isolated elements – effects, uses, 'gratifications' – are themselves framed by structures of understanding, as well as being produced by social and economic relations, which shape their 'realization' at the reception end of the chain and which permit the meanings signified in the discourse to be transposed into practice or consciousness (to acquire social use value or political effectivity).

What Hall is conveying here is that people of a certain class or position within the social hierarchy have comparable needs and desires. They will participate in the communication

process with similar lifestyles and ideologies and are likely to decode the messages in ways that produce concurrent readings. People of the upper class have similar life experiences and needs which must be gratified. They are unlikely to relate to the text in the same way as those of the lower classes who have their own independent sets of social requirements and life experiences affecting their decoding of signs and messages. Social life is classified into a hierarchical structure of preferred or dominant meanings. The domains in which these preferred or dominant meanings exist have the whole social order embedded within them suggesting that people from the same social category are likely to identify the signs and messages in the same light (Hall, 1980: 134). Although only seen as one of the factors contributing to the manner in which audiences decode messages and construct meanings out of media texts, theorists and cultural studies researchers such as Morley (1992: 119 – 130) found that Hall had over emphasised the role of class in the reading of media messages.

Morley's research found that Hall had underestimated a number of other factors contributing to the reading of media messages, many of which were surprisingly across a broad spectrum of class divisions (Morley, 1992: 75 – 118; Fiske, 1987: 62 – 83). Morley found that trade unionists and university students, for example, often read media texts in a similar way despite the fact that they are (not necessarily) classified as being part of the same class. It was established that the two groups had similar readings of the text in question as a result of the roles that they played in society. The institutions that trade unionists and university students found themselves in provided them with the opportunity to be more critical of the dominant system and easily allowed the two to generate readings that were more oppositional to the text's intended meanings (Fiske, 1987: 62 – 83; Morley, 1992: 75 - 118). Such research acknowledges the differences between people despite their social standing and highlights the fact that media texts, especially television programmes, can be decoded and enjoyed in a number of different ways by people making up a significantly pluralist audience body (Fiske, 1987: 62 – 83).

The audience can also be viewed as active when one considers the various degrees to which smaller audience groups engage with the texts at hand. Audiences and dedicated fans of certain genres and individual television programmes adapt, change and make use of media texts to suit their own needs (Jenkins, 1992). Jenkins' book *Textual Poachers* (1992) explores the interesting world of fanatics. Ardent *Star Trek* fans, or 'Trekkies', are actively involved

with the text and can be classified as belonging to a fan community (Jenkins, 1992: 16 – 24). ‘Trekkies’ may become obsessed with the show and may attend conventions, put off previous arrangements so that they do not miss an episode, participate in online discussions and even learn fictitious languages used in the show (Jenkins, 1992: 16 – 24). These people have made conscious decisions to further their experience with the text and have become active participants in popular culture through their high levels of engagement with the show. In certain ways, rugby supporters are no different. They purchase replica playing jerseys and team magazines, decorate themselves in the colours of their team and ensure that stay abreast with the latest results. Midweek magazine programmes such as *Boots n All* provide viewers with a summary of the weekend’s games, discuss interesting topics and host in-studio guests. All this is done to meet the needs of the public who engage extensively with the sport. Those who participate so actively in the rugby culture are obviously meeting certain needs from watching the matches on television. Whether or not those exposed to televised rugby are encouraged to accept apparent messages of nation-building through their reading of the text remains to be seen and will be discussed in Chapter Eight of the dissertation.

3.7 Hegemony

The concept of hegemony is important to this particular research question as the acquisition of political and ideological control of rugby in South Africa and the use of the sport as a bargaining tool in the construction of a South African nation is of great importance. The traditional definition of hegemony is associated with political rule or domination, especially in relations between states (Williams, 1977: 108 – 114). Marxists “extended the definition of rule or domination to relations between social classes, and especially to definitions of a *ruling class*” (Williams, 1977: 108). Sport has long been utilised by those in power to extend their control over the people. We are made aware by the writings of Nauright (1997) in his book *Sport, Cultures and Identities in South Africa* of the lengths that the apartheid government would go to ensure that their racial policies and uneven distribution of resources and opportunity would be implemented. Many non-white sportsmen, such as cricket player Basil d’Oliveira, eventually left South Africa to pursue a sporting career overseas (Nauright, 1997: 73 – 74; Osborne, 2004: 1 - 11).

A lived hegemony is not a static or inactive entity (Williams, 1977: 108 – 114). Hegemony “is a realized complex of experiences, relationships, and activities, with specific

and changing pressures and limits” (Williams, 1977: 112). In other words, for hegemony to be achieved, the political leaders of a nation are forced to incorporate different ideologies and outlooks into their approach to consolidate political or ideological power for their organisation. Hegemony does not just passively exist as a form of dominance. It must be continually renewed, recreated, defended and modified in order to exist at the given time (Williams, 1977: 112 – 113; Donnelly, 2003: 11 - 27). When one examines the recent Rugby World Cup, the constant changes in approach to the sport by the South African government highlight the point. Before the world cup started there were numerous reports in the media about the composition of the Springbok squad. Certain politicians publically proclaimed their disappointment at the racial make-up of the team. These politicians were not happy with the small number of non-white players within the squad. Later it was reported that they were not happy with the number of ethnic African players in the team. Some members of the government threatened to withhold the players’ passports if the squad did not meet stipulated ‘transformation goals’ (see Appendix 3). However, the mood quickly changed when the South African team returned to South Africa as the competition winners. The team was heralded as champions by the government and the players embarked on a nationwide victory parade. Players and management staff were invited to parliament to meet then President Thabo Mbeki and other important officials. The government realised the value of the team’s success and tried to utilise it as a form of nation-building.

The change in approach by the government in all likelihood was based on the result of the world cup. The government needed to ride the wave of the Springbok success and for a short period of time there was little talk in the media about the racial make-up of sporting teams, changing of the Springbok emblem and other ‘political’ attributes of the game. Ministers in parliament even wore Springbok supporter jerseys and hats to show their support and gratitude to the team (see Appendix 3). This coincides with the views of Tomaselli, Tomaselli and Muller (from now on referred to as Tomaselli et al) who suggest that the notion of hegemony should be understood as the unstable equilibrium that a ruling class achieves at any particular moment (1987: 5 – 21). By embracing the victory the government attempted to unite the nation behind the team and provide the country’s citizens with a common piece of history. Chapter Two and Chapter Three have laid the foundation on which the dissertation is built. The next chapter discusses the research methodology that was utilised to gather primary data for the development of the discussion chapters that follow thereafter.

Chapter Four: Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the research methodology undertaken during the process of accessing and gaining original data for the development of the dissertation. This research dissertation makes use of both qualitative and quantitative research methods where applicable in order to answer the proposed research questions. Quantitative research methods were utilised when analysing the relevant ICASA policy documentation and research results presented by the South African Advertising Research Foundation (from now on referred to as SAARF). Qualitative research was conducted when interviewing both audience members and available representatives of the broadcasters in question. The benefits and potential pitfalls of using such research approaches are explored further in the following passages. The primary tools that were utilised in the research process included; policy scrutiny, in-depth interviews and an audience survey analysing the results presented by SAARF. Some of the difficulties faced during the research process will be incorporated into the discussion in an attempt to identify potential shortcomings. This enables such difficulties to be successfully negotiated when presenting and analysing the collected data in the chapters to follow. The importance of attaining reliable and valid data is stressed in order to present a well structured analysis.

4.2 Research problems and objectives

The following section will briefly discuss the key problems and objectives that the research questions address. These key questions form the backbone of the dissertation and have played a vital role in determining the research methods utilised when collecting original data. The first question that is asked concerns the national interest and rugby's contribution to the development of a South African nation. In this regard, the dissertation is concerned with identifying the national interest through the analysis of the related ICASA policy documentation. This question is extended to establish whether or not rugby that is broadcast in the national interest promotes sentiments of belonging to a South African nation and enhances local efforts of nation-building amongst citizens. This particular question draws on information gained from both official organisations (ICASA policy) and interviews with select audience members.

The second key question takes the impact of globalisation on South African sport into consideration. The resultant policies that are put in place regarding the broadcast media are of interest. The global appeal of sport is an undeniable reality and South African broadcasters include a great deal of foreign sport in their schedules. The reasons for this are scrutinised and taken into consideration. Finally, the dissertation takes broadcast selection into consideration. What criteria must be met for sporting material to be broadcast over the stipulated channels? This particular question examines the ICASA regulations that need to be met, audience segmentation and the emphasis placed on financial return. The contrasting stances adopted by the public service broadcaster (SABC) and private, commercial network (DStv and M-Net) are of particular interest in this regard. Although the dissertation may allude to other significant findings at times, the discussion chapter is primarily concerned with answering the aforementioned questions.

4.3 Qualitative and quantitative research

This dissertation makes use of both qualitative and quantitative research methods and is firmly based within both of the two approaches. Although there has been some debate over their benefits and pitfalls within the social sciences and humanities, this particular dissertation uses both approaches when appropriate. Stokes (2003: 2 – 4) makes note of some of the contrasting attitudes and criticisms made towards the two research categories. Depending on which paradigm is favoured, qualitative methods are believed to lack objectivity whilst quantitative methods are criticised for being too pedantic and clumsy; providing very little noteworthy insight. It is made apparent that stereotypical notions of what each methodological approach entails exist and that they are usually divided into distinctive categories. The mind-sets of the different schools of thought are elaborated upon in the forthcoming passages dedicated to the understanding of qualitative and quantitative research. Despite the differences in approach, researchers should subscribe to and use the methods that are best suited for their research – regardless of whether or not they are considered ‘qualitative’ or ‘quantitative’. A well designed methodology will utilise tools that determine the best and most applicable research results (Stokes, 2003: 18 – 20).

4.3.1 Qualitative research

The qualitative research paradigm is one that is primarily concerned with the exploration of meaning and interpretation (Stokes, 2003: 2 – 4). Through the use of qualitative methods,

such as in-depth interviews, media researchers attempt to understand how members of their sample audience relate to and understand certain elements of media and cultural texts (Stokes, 2003: 2 – 4; Bertrand and Hughes, 2005: 85 - 106). “Qualitative research is based on the interpretation of the world according to concepts which are typically not given numerical values, such as ethnomethodology or certain kinds of interview” (Stokes, 2003: 18). Qualitative research enables scholars the opportunity to gain a deep insight into the beliefs and attitudes of their sample audience (Gunter, 2000: 22 – 54; Bertrand and Hughes, 2005: 85 - 106). The use of a qualitative research methodology is fundamental when operating under the premise of reception theory, as is the case (at times) in this dissertation. The complexities of reception theory were elaborated upon in Chapter Three of the dissertation and emphasise the role of interpretation in decoding media and cultural messages. Even though qualitative methods enable researchers to gather valuable information that is based on the beliefs and attitudes of their sample audience, many scholars, especially those who subscribe to a more quantitative approach, criticise the paradigm for lacking objectivity (Berger, 2000: 3 – 20; Stokes, 2003: 2 – 4). “[S]cholars from the quantitative tradition find the rules of evidence employed by cultural studies researchers to be non-existent” (Stokes, 2003: 3). The methodology is seen to lack any rigour (Stokes, 2003: 2 – 4), which quantitative research, in contrast, is believed to exert. Qualitative data may lead to valuable insight into a specific area of study but it can be easily moulded to fit the needs of the researcher. Researchers may be tempted to read into or include only the collected data that fits their untested preconceptions (Priest, 1996: 181 – 194). When appropriate, this research makes use of quantitative methods to ensure balanced and informative data is collected.

4.3.2 Quantitative research

Quantitative research differs primarily from qualitative research in its approach to gathering and making sense of collected data. It seeks to understand elements of media and cultural studies through the analysis of statistical data and is generally associated with the American tradition of mass communication (Stokes, 2003: 2 – 4). As already alluded to, quantitative research is based on numerical information and is concerned with quantities and other forms of statistical data (Priest, 1996: 3 – 8; Gunter, 2000: 22 – 54; Bertrand and Hughes, 2005: 85 – 106). “A quantitative method is any kind of inquiry which uses numerical values, such as statistical research, certain kinds of survey research or any method which generates numbers” (Stokes, 2003: 18). Such research results enable scholars the opportunity to understand

general audience patterns and consumer behaviour within media and cultural studies. This becomes important when attempting to understand a media company's use of the audience whilst subscribing to a theoretical framework based on the political economy of the media. Such data complements the theories relating to the audience as commodity, as discussed in Chapter Three of the dissertation. Common methods used when conducting quantitative research within the boundaries of media and cultural studies include: content analysis, survey research and various forms of archival research (Stokes, 2003: 2 – 4). This research paradigm has been criticised by those who are more intent on using qualitative methods as being far too concerned with numbers, avoiding elements of theoretical importance and being largely uncritical of collected data (Berger, 2000: 3 – 20; Stokes, 2003: 2 – 4). Despite these apparent shortcomings, quantitative research methods help in the development of this particular dissertation. The results of the SAARF analysis depict consumer preferences and regular patterns of the South African television audience. Such indications help in the identification of audience segmentation according to channels watched and broadcasting networks utilised. A number of problems may be experienced when utilising quantitative research methods. Although they may provide accurate statistical data, the information must be translated into academic prose and cannot be presented solely in their tabulated form. They need to be interpreted and discussed in relation to the research question (Bertrand and Hughes, 2005: 85 – 106). Errors made by the researcher at this juncture may lead to data that is not necessarily anymore reliable or valid than that obtained by qualitative measures.

Many researchers bridge the gap between the two research approaches and make use of both qualitative and quantitative methods when collecting data. The two approaches are both based on scientific methods and are equally rigorous in their attempts to access valid information (Priest, 1996: 3 – 8). The methods that are used in the research process should be determined by the theory applied to the research question. In some instances it may be beneficial to utilise both qualitative and quantitative methods in an attempt to access the information that best suits the research project. Very rarely does research undertaken in media and cultural studies exist without elements of both quantitative measurement and qualitative analysis (Stokes, 2003: 18 – 20). The chapter will now focus on the techniques used in the research process and elaborate upon the reasons for their selection and inclusion within the methodology.

4.4 Research methods used

The focus of the chapter now turns towards the actual methods utilised during the research process when collecting original data and information relating to the key questions and objectives of the dissertation. The section discusses the methods used as separate entities and provides an explanation as to why each was incorporated into the study and the benefits they bring to the methodology.

4.4.1 Policy scrutiny

The application of policy scrutiny allowed for a better understanding of the various ICASA regulations to which both public and private, commercial broadcasters need to adhere. In this process the ICASA regulations were scrutinised in order to establish what constitutes the national interest and why certain sports, sporting events and matches are preferred over others. The material submitted by the various stakeholders to ICASA in response to the position paper as well as a review of sports scheduling on the stipulated channels will provide a greater understanding of the perceptions of the national interest.

The ICASA policy scrutiny within this dissertation made use of various forms of document analysis. Research conducted into the affairs of media institutions should not simply use documents as a way of uncovering records of the activities, finances and organisational structure of institutions. Instead, collected documents are representations of how the institution wishes to present itself to the readers of the documentation (Bertrand and Hughes, 2005: 152 – 170). Deacon, Pickering, Golding and Murdock (from now on referred to as Deacon et al) suggest that documentation provides insight into the decisions made by organisations and can be made the primary focus of any study (1999: 14 – 39). There are two different kinds of research making use of institutional documents, namely source-oriented document research and problem-oriented document research (Stokes, 2003: 106 – 109). Source-oriented document research makes use of the available resources at hand when conducting primary research. The documents become the main focus of attention and the research question is based on the document collection (Stokes, 2003: 106 – 109). Problem-oriented document research, on the other hand, uses the available documents as a starting point from which to conduct primary research. The research question is formulated after reading other secondary sources and is applied to the available documentation (Stokes, 2003: 106 – 109). This particular dissertation draws on both kinds of research when necessary. The

ICASA policy scrutiny deals primarily with the documents at hand and sets out to establish what constitutes the national interest in terms of sport broadcasting in South Africa. This falls under the guise of source-oriented document research. At the same time however, the research question is extended to review the possibility of sport as an agent for nation-building. The analysis of secondary sources and prior research determines which elements of the ICASA policies contribute towards such efforts of nation-building and can thus be viewed as elements of problem-oriented document research.

4.4.2 Interviews

Interviews are a form of conversation between either an interviewer and a single interviewee or an interviewer and a small group of people; also known as a focus group (Berger, 2000: 111 – 128; Bertrand and Hughes, 2005: 74 – 82). Interviews are no longer viewed as neutral tools for collecting data by researchers. Instead, they are seen as active interactions between two or more people and lead to “negotiated, contextually based results” (Fontana and Frey, 2000: 646). Interviews conducted during the research process of this dissertation took place between an interviewer and an individual interviewee. Interviews, in their most appropriate form, were used to collect information from sponsorship representatives and audience members. Due to the fact that the interviews conducted with sponsorship executives differed to those conducted with the select audience members (in structure and sought after information), the two categories are discussed separately in the following passages.

Interviews with broadcast personnel and sponsorship representatives

The original idea when writing the research proposal for this dissertation was to interview available personnel from SuperSport and the SABC. However, the unwillingness of SuperSport and the SABC to allow their employees to participate in the research process meant that no new data was obtained from the broadcasters. The interviews with broadcasting personnel, had they been given the green light by management to proceed, would have been utilised to further understand South African sports broadcasting within an international arena. The impact of globalisation, media ownership and interest in financial return would have been important in this regard. Representatives from SuperSport and the SABC would have been asked, when necessary, to elaborate upon or clarify positions held in their submissions to the ICASA Sport Broadcasting Rights Inquiry. The respondents’ views and understandings of broadcasting sport in the national interest would have been sought after as well.

Interviews were conducted over the Internet via email correspondence with corporate sponsors involved in South African rugby. Bertrand and Hughes (2005: 74 – 82) make note of some of the benefits that arise from conducting interviews via email. They emphasise the fact that interviews can be conducted with people who are far away and travel costs do not become a problem for either party concerned. The data that is collected is immediately stored and electronically ‘saved’ to a computer or printed and included with other appendices in the final document. Time dedicated to transcribing recorded interviews is therefore reduced and the process becomes far more efficient (Fontana and Frey, 2000: 645 – 672). Bertrand and Hughes (2005: 74 – 82) mention some difficulties posed by interviews conducted over the Internet but many of these are not applicable to this research. They bring to our attention that responses may be less spontaneous when given over email than interviews that are conducted face-to-face. As the interviews were designed to gain information about corporate sponsorship and not in-depth and personal information regarding media reception, this was not foreseen as a major problem. However, responses to questions sent via email often took an extended period of time to be returned. Waiting for email responses to arrive often lead to periods of inactivity and stalled the progress of the dissertation. Many companies, including those in the media industries, only provide researchers with the official line on certain topics (Stokes, 2003: 114 – 120). It was not viewed as a significant problem that new information was not gained from SuperSport and the SABC. A great deal of information has already been made available by the broadcasters in question through their submissions to ICASA in response to the Sport Broadcasting Rights Inquiry.

Interviews that were conducted over the Internet followed a rigorous procedure. Firstly, interviewees’ email addresses or contact details had to be acquired before the initial email inviting participation in the study could be sent. This required research into the company or organisation concerned with emails being sent to ‘information addresses’ when needed. Thereafter, emails were sent to the potential interviewees informing them about the project and how they would be beneficial to the research process. If interested in participating in the interview schedule, interviewees would be sent emails containing questions for them to answer. Questions included in the email interviews were constructed in a similar fashion to questions that would have been utilised in a face-to-face discussion. Interviewees were given the opportunity to elaborate upon answers and were not restricted by various time or space constraints. The questions were asked in an order that promoted the development of the

correspondence and were not fragmented in the sense that there was no logic to the order. Questions followed on from each other and progressed in the same manner that a face-to-face interview would have.

The link with the interviewee at the SAIL Group Ltd¹⁵ was established under unusual circumstances. The Vodacom website was searched in order to identify a suitable marketing representative in an attempt to gather information regarding the large sponsorship presence of Vodacom within South African rugby. The email which was sent was passed on by numerous employees at Vodacom until it eventually reached the desk of the SAIL Group Ltd. Sponsorship executives at this company proved to be ideal interviewees as they deal directly with the placement of Vodacom's brand through the sponsoring of sporting events. This shows another benefit of interviews conducted over the Internet. Emails requesting participation in a research project can be forwarded internally to the most suitable candidate from the company or organisation concerned. The relevant questions were sent off to the respondent once the initial link had been established. A detailed set of questions were sent to a SAIL Group Ltd representative who provided insightful information into Vodacom's interest in rugby. After the answers were received some correspondence with the SAIL Group Ltd continued where certain points were discussed further. Any ambiguities in or misinterpretation of data were also ironed out.

Interviews with select audience members

Ten interviews were conducted with people who have watched televised rugby. The sample was split along gender lines (5 males; 5 females). Race has been made serendipitous for the purposes of this study, although an attempt was made to include people of all racial groupings. As the research tests the notion that televised rugby contributes towards efforts of nation-building, interviews could not be restricted solely to people who would be considered rugby fans. This decision was taken with due consideration after having read the Black and Nauright book, *Rugby and the South African Nation: sport, cultures, politics and power in the old and new South Africas* when conducting the literature review. The authors warn against reading too much into heated debates amongst fans when considering the ability of sport in bringing communities together (Black and Nauright, 1998: 8). For this reason, rugby

¹⁵ SAIL Group Ltd is a South African holding company that has business interests in the sport and entertainment industries. SAIL manages the sponsorship activities of Vodacom. For more information of SAIL Group Ltd and a company profile see: <http://www.sail.co.za>

fans could not be the only interviewees. The research results could reflect major inaccuracies and bias towards the benefits of televised rugby if this were the case. However, it is imperative for interviewees to have watched some form of televised rugby. Potential interviewees who had watched international Test matches were given preference when the interview schedule was finalised. People who had not watched televised rugby would obviously not be able to comment on the experience and were, therefore, eliminated from potential selection accordingly.

The ten interviewees were identified according to three main criteria: accessibility, suitability and willingness to participate in the study. As mentioned above, the sample was restricted to ten people split equally along gender lines. Through discussions with potential respondents in and around the University of KwaZulu-Natal's Howard College campus (Durban) ten suitable candidates were identified. A sample which is indicative of the South African population is not required as the research dissertation does not set out to investigate the attitudes of the entire country. Instead, an insight into the potential for nation-building through televised sport, and rugby in particular, was sought. Finding potential interviewees who have had some experience with televised rugby was the primary concern.

The interviews that were conducted with select members of the televised rugby audience were designed to investigate the relationship that exists between the sport and those who engage with it through the broadcast medium. Audience research allows scholars to investigate the social uses of the media. Researchers are able to understand how the media impacts, influences and effects audience members by placing human experience at the centre of enquiry (Stokes, 2003: 128 – 153). As this dissertation is concerned with the way people decode televised rugby and tests the notion that sports broadcasting acts as a tool for nation-building, it was decided to utilise in-depth interviews as the main method of enquiry. In-depth interviews are recommended if researchers are attempting to gauge “how people feel about something” (Stokes, 2003: 137). In the case of audience research, interviews provide respondents with the opportunity to elaborate upon their own beliefs or feelings using their own linguistic structures (Bertrand and Hughes, 2005: 74 – 82). This is important and beneficial to the research process as the interviewees are able to communicate their feelings or attitudes in a manner most suited to them. The fact that verbal answers can become longer

and more complex enables the researcher to collect data that is more interesting and richer in content than written answers (Bertrand and Hughes, 2005: 74 – 82).

Open ended questions are encouraged when conducting interviews as they allow for the collection of deep information relevant to the discussion topic. Interviewees can emphasise points they feel are important and can provide the researcher with valuable and original data (Bertrand and Hughes, 2005: 74 – 82; Deacon et al, 1999: 62 – 80). However, the researcher must attempt to keep responses relevant to the discussion topic and avoid unnecessary data. Long answers provided by interviewees that are of little or no relevance to the discussion topics simply create more clutter that needs to be worked through when transcribing and processing recorded data. Interviews conducted with the ten audience members were organised to take place in an unstructured format. Unstructured interviews enable ‘conversational communication’ between the interviewer and interviewee. Highly individual responses are gained from the unstructured interview and the interviewer can follow any openings that the interviewee may lead towards (Bertrand and Hughes, 2005: 74 – 82). Interviews are not restricted to a rigid guideline of what can and cannot be asked (Fontana and Frey, 2000: 645 – 672; Gunter, 2000: 22 – 54). Informal questioning encourages interactive dialogue between the researcher and interviewee. This may generate deeper insight into the area of study, which is more beneficial to the research process (Deacon et al, 1999: 62 – 80).

At the beginning of the research process a ‘mock’ interview was conducted with an Honours student studying media at the University of KwaZulu-Natal’s Howard College campus (Durban). The interview was conducted under real conditions and served the same purpose as a pilot survey. The interview helped identify potential problems which could have arisen through question structure and interview technique. The ‘mock’ interview was extremely helpful and provided valuable insight into the research schedule and processes which lay ahead. All ten in-depth interviews that were conducted face-to-face with the interviewees were recorded on a digital voice recorder. This enabled a greater level of interaction between interviewer and interviewee as more effort was given to the discussion opposed to meticulously taking down conversation notes and potentially missing valuable pieces of information. Bertrand and Hughes (2005: 74 – 82) highlight some of the difficulties encountered when jotting down notes during an interview. Interviews may become disjointed

and an informative conversation difficult to maintain (Bertrand and Hughes, 2005: 74 – 82). Brief notes were, however, taken during the interviews to help steer the discussion and emphasise important points raised by the respondents. Interviews were transcribed as soon as possible after the completion of the interviews. This was done to ensure that the information was recorded correctly. Whilst the discussion was still ‘fresh in the mind’ of the interviewer, the context in which certain responses were given was accurately recalled and incorporated into the transcribed document (Bertrand and Hughes, 2005: 85 – 106). The interviews were structured in a manner that enabled the interviewee to settle down before the more important or thought provoking questions were asked. Questions requiring short and straightforward answers were asked at the beginning of the interview. The more important questions to the study that required some thought and greater elaboration from the interviewees were asked towards the end of the interviews (Deacon et al, 1999: 62 – 80; Bertrand and Hughes, 2005: 74 – 82).

It was made apparent soon after the commencement of the interview schedule that a number of difficulties would need to be negotiated. These difficulties included the fact that the interviewees, in some instances, came across as providing answers they thought the interviewer would want to hear; as opposed to providing answers that reflected their true beliefs and attitudes. This is a problem regularly experienced by researchers when asking in-depth questions or utilising ‘interrogation strategies’ (Deacon et al 1999: 62 – 80). In some instances, this came across through the choice of words used by the interviewees. They may have passed on their intended (and potentially accurate) answers to the interviewer but the choice of words suggested that they were trying to structure answers in accordance to the research question. When analysing responses, the interpretation of such instances needed to be carefully assessed.

4.4.3 Audience survey: SAARF analysis

The analysis of the SAARF findings enabled a greater understanding of audience segmentation and television habits of the South African viewing population. By using quantitative measures, the analysis of the SAARF findings identified which segments of the viewing population engage with sports and on which particular channels. This will help identify what sports contribute to the national interest, as seen by the broadcasters, and the general characteristics of the audience consuming the televised material.

Surveys provide researchers with a window into the world of the audience when utilised within media studies. Surveys enable researchers to collect descriptive information about the viewing habits of their subjects and make comparisons between different groups of people within their sample (Gunter, 2000: 22 – 54; Bertrand and Hughes, 2005: 68 – 84). This particular research dissertation makes use of the research results formulated by SAARF. The SAARF audience surveys provide up-to-date information about the viewing habits of South African television audiences. The Television Audience Measures (TAMS) record precise viewing patterns through a device commonly referred to as a ‘peplemeter’. The device, which is turned on by the members of the household, records information relating to the channels that are viewed by the audience. Other external devices such as videocassette recorders (VCR’s) and M-Net or DStv decoders have an influence on the data collected by SAARF as well (www.saarf.co.za). Members of the household are responsible for turning the ‘peplemeter’ on and off before and after each viewing session. Every twenty-four hours the data collected by the device is automatically transferred to a central computer in Johannesburg. This ensures that up-to-date information is regularly made available. Survey results are made available to the public on the official SAARF website (www.saarf.co.za).

4.5 Difficulties faced during the research process

There were a number of difficulties experienced during the research process that needed to be worked through when analysing the collected information. The difficulties often resulted when interpreting primary data. Data collected by conducting interviews is often discursive and needs to be interpreted by the researcher when writing up findings and answering the proposed research questions (Bertrand and Hughes, 2005: 74 – 82). Although this sounds relatively straightforward, misinterpreting the data may distort findings and have a negative effect on the accuracy of the final analysis. The social and historical context of the time needs to be taken into consideration as well when interpreting qualitative data. Interviewee responses may be influenced by current events, which may or may not be common or everyday experiences (Jensen, 1991: 135 – 148). The xenophobic violence in South Africa, which occurred around the country whilst some interviews were conducted with audience members, exemplifies this point. Some of the respondents commented, off record, on the xenophobia. This implies that the social climate within South Africa at the time was a hot topic of discussion amongst many members of the community. Respondents may have been more aware of state borders and the differences between themselves and what could be

considered the 'other'. Data relating to nation-building and the influence of televised sport on its promotion may have been skewed. Such occurrences need to be taken into consideration as they are not every day events and may alter respondents' sentiments regarding the state and other elements of the analysis. Researchers may not always find themselves acting objectively when conducting interviews. The interviewer is very much so a part of the actual interview and should avoid having too great an influence on the information received, even though they control procedures (Bertrand and Hughes, 2005: 74 – 82). It is very easy for the researcher's biases to deconstruct interview data (Deacon et al, 1999: 62 – 80; Fontana and Frey, 2000: 645 - 672). At times during the interviews, questions may have been worded in a way that invited certain responses without giving the interviewee a fair chance to answer the question in the manner that they saw fit. Open ended questions encourage interviewees to elaborate on their beliefs or attitudes. This can make interpreting data a difficult exercise (Deacon et al, 1999: 62 – 80). This potential problem was counteracted by revisiting the recorded interview and listening to the manner in which the answers were given again. The answers that sounded confident and were provided relatively quickly were understood to be accurate, whereas those that suggested the interviewee may have been unsure about their opinions were not taken into consideration when discussing the collected data. Another problem arising during the interview schedule was the misinterpretation of the question on behalf of the respondent (Bertrand and Hughes, 2005: 74 – 82). By misinterpreting questions, respondents may provide answers which are of little or no value to the research process. The questions may need to be readdressed but in a manner that does not alienate the respondent. Making the respondents second-guess their own answers may have a negative impact on the interviews. Interviewees may lose confidence and refrain from answering questions in as much detail as anticipated or required.

Further problems or setbacks that needed to be negotiated involved the private, commercial broadcaster SuperSport and the SABC. Representatives at SuperSport and the SABC had initially indicated a willingness to participate in the research process. However, after separate board meetings where the research questions were discussed both SuperSport and the SABC decided to withdraw from the research process. As a result, new data that may not have been reflected in the SuperSport and SABC submissions to the 2002 ICASA Inquiry in Sport Broadcasting Rights were not obtained. All information regarding the broadcasters had to be gained from either their submissions made to ICASA, previously published articles

and research dissertations or the company websites. More than enough sources have been investigated when commenting on SuperSport and the SABC. An up-to-date opinion on the South African sports broadcasting terrain is the only sought after information from both SuperSport and the SABC that has not been obtained due to their reluctance to participate in the research process.

When reflecting on the research conducted with the ICASA policy documentation and SAARF audience survey problems of interpretation arose. As mentioned earlier in the chapter when discussing qualitative and quantitative research methods, an analysis of statistical data still requires an element of interpretation (Bertrand and Hughes, 2005: 85 – 106). Data that is in the form of statistics or previously written prose still needs to be interpreted by the researcher when presenting their findings and answering their own research questions. Although this section of the chapter may come across as being negative in that a number of difficulties faced during the research process are outlined, the fact they have been identified suggests that they have been adequately addressed and successfully negotiated when conducting the analysis. It is, nevertheless, important to test the reliability and validity of the collected data before any final conclusions are made or read into.

4.6 Validity and reliability

This next section of the Methodology Chapter deals with the acknowledgment and recognition of some of the limitations faced by the current research. Through the identification of such limitations, one can establish whether or not the answers to the proposed research questions are valid and reliable. One can ensure the accuracy of the final analysis by testing the validity and reliability of the collected data. When one talks of ‘error’ within the final analysis of the dissertation they are referring to the difference that exists between the results of the presented analysis and the results that would have been obtained had the research process been flawless. Despite this, the recognition of flawless research is impossible even though one must try and achieve a final analysis that is free of error (Bertrand and Hughes, 2005: 236 – 243). Reliability of data is a measure of stability. In this sense, it is used to judge how well the research project could be replicated if the researcher were to conduct similar research on another sample or on the same sample under different conditions (Bertrand and Hughes, 2005: 236 – 243). This can become problematic when analysing qualitative research results in that a great deal of interpretation is utilised when

doing so (Bertrand and Hughes, 2005: 236 – 243). The validity of the research determines how well the collected data represents the population, as represented by the sample. The validity of the research implies that the relevant conclusions are based on sound logic and fall in line with other elements of the dissertation, such as the theoretical framework. Any valid conclusions should speak directly to the literature of previously conducted research on which the proposed research questions are based (Bertrand and Hughes, 2005: 236 – 243).

4.7 Conclusion

This particular research dissertation does not intend to establish the entire population of South Africa's response to televised rugby. The dissertation explores the notion that sports broadcasting contributes towards efforts of nation-building by conducting ten in-depth interviews with select audience members. Such attitudes, as they are reflected in Chapter Eight, should not be taken as representing the whole of South Africa. Future research could be undertaken by larger research bodies with a countrywide reach, a larger time frame and greater resources to establish such sentiments. The identification of the national interest as represented through ICASA's policies on sports broadcasting rights serves to enhance its understanding and emphasises the need for broadcasting sport in the national interest.

Chapter Five: Research Results

5.1 Introduction

Chapter Five presents the results of the research process undertaken during the development of this dissertation. The results which are extracted from the primary data collected during the research process form the foundation on which the main discussion chapters are built. The collected data is used to answer the research questions proposed during Chapter Four. The manner in which the research results speak to the already documented research found in Chapter Two helps position the scope of the dissertation and focuses the direction of the relevant discussion chapters. The collected data that is presented in the following sections is grouped together according to the main themes of the discussion chapters: the national interest, media control and advertising and the results pertaining to the contribution made by televised rugby towards efforts of nation-building in South Africa.

5.2 The national interest

The results relevant to the identification of the national interest were extracted from the various ICASA documents analysed during the policy scrutiny stage of the research process. The ICASA process began with the publication of a Discussion Paper (2002) followed by submissions made by interested stakeholders and publics (2002). The inquiry culminated with the release of the Position Paper and Regulations in 2003.

5.2.1) The ICASA Position Paper and Regulations for Sports Broadcasting Rights (2003) was divided into three main sections.

1	2	3
Summary of main submissions.	Relevant Findings	Regulations

5.2.2) Sports / events listed in ICASA Regulations

Sports represented in ICASA list (2003)	
Composition of 2003 ICASA regulations	Olympic Games, Commonwealth Games and All Africa Games.
	Soccer
	Rugby
	Cricket
	Netball
	Athletics ¹⁶

5.2.3) Annual (regularly occurring) events by gender.

Male	Female	Not Gender Specific
Cricket	Netball	Athletics
Rugby		
Soccer		

5.2.4) Factors contributing towards the national interest.

Factors contributing towards the national interest
Popularity amongst television audience
Location (hosted in South Africa)
Events should have widespread appeal
Cultural significance
Potential for nation-building (national teams)
Global event / interest (eg Summer Olympics and World Cups)

¹⁶ Events classified as 'Athletics' in the ICASA regulations (2003) include: the Comrades Marathon and the Two Oceans Marathon.

5.2.5) Broadcasting in the national interest

Broadcast requirements
Events appearing on the ICASA list shall be broadcast live or delayed live or delayed by free-to-air television broadcasting licensees. For events with separate parts that cannot be broadcast simultaneously (such as the Olympic Games) adequate representation needs to be given to South African teams or individual competitors (ICASA Position Paper, 2003).

5.2.6) The main sports represented on the list (cricket, rugby and soccer) submitted in their responses to the ICASA Discussion Paper (2002) that the sale of broadcast rights to the highest bidder (usually a commercial network) is important for the financial stability of their unions. Maximum exposure of their sports, however, could be achieved through free-to-air broadcasting. Benefits of selling rugby broadcast rights to SuperSport and the SABC (according South African Rugby Football Union (SARFU) submission to ICASA in response to the 2002 Discussion Paper) are listed below.

SuperSport	SABC
Greater revenue through sale of broadcast rights.	Increased exposure has ability to build a greater interest base in the sport - access for all South Africans to rugby (irrespective of financial status or spending power).
In 2001, SARU gained 55.5% of its annual revenue through the sale of broadcast rights.	
Pay competitive salaries to professional players (top players are lured overseas by wealthy unions who have greater financial resources).	
Better quality of rugby – by retaining top players.	
Better quality of rugby leads to more sponsorship deals.	
Sustain domestic rugby competitions (eg Currie Cup unions).	

5.2.7) Number of hours dedicated to rugby events / programming on ‘MultiChoice channels’¹⁷ and the SABC in one week. Example week: Monday 18 August 2008 - Sunday 24 August 2008 (Week includes home Test match between South Africa and Australia as part of the Vodacom Tri-Nations tournament).

MultiChoice Channels		SABC	
Programme / Event	Hours	Programme / Match	Hours
ABSA Under 19	3hrs	Rugby: SA vs. Aus	1hr 45mins
ABSA Under 12	3hrs 30mins	Rugby Highlights	30mins
ABSA Currie Cup	4hrs	Rugga Zone	1hr
All Out Rugby	5hrs		
Boots n All	4hrs		
Captain’s Table	2hrs		
Gilbert Super 24 (H/L)	2hrs 30mins		
Rugby Focus	3hrs		
SA Rugby Legends	1hrs 30mins		
Springbok Saga	9hrs 20mins		
Superrugby	4hrs		
Total Rugby	2hrs		
Vodacom Tri-Nations	10hrs 25mins		
Total	54hrs 15mins	Total	3hrs 15mins

The SuperSport broadcast schedule for the above week was sourced from the SuperSport website and *Dish (2008)*¹⁸ magazine. SABC schedule sourced from *Dish (2008)*¹⁹ magazine. The above table shows the capacity that SuperSport has to broadcast rugby related programming. There is enough space in schedules for programmes and matches to be

¹⁷ ‘MultiChoice channels’ refers to events / programming available on the M-Net, SuperSport and Kyknet channels available through a DStv subscription. Rugby content on the SuperSport Update channel, in ‘SuperSport Variety’ slots and on international channels available through the DStv bouquet, such as ESPN, is ignored.

¹⁸ *Dish (2008)* magazine is a monthly television guide made available to DStv subscribers.

¹⁹ *Dish (2008)* magazine lists SABC and E-TV broadcast schedules as well. These channels are available through the DStv bouquet.

broadcast on more than one occasion. By contrast, the SABC is limited in its capacity. The 2008 Olympic Games was underway during this particular week placing even more strain on the SABC's space constraints. During the Super14 more hours could be dedicated to rugby on SuperSport²⁰ as there are more matches per week, all of which are shown live on SuperSport.

5.3 Media control and advertising

The results for the following section were drawn primarily from the submissions made to ICASA in response to the 2002 Discussion Paper by SuperSport and the SABC. They show the global implications of media control on sports broadcasting.

5.3.1) The following table lists negative outcomes that could result from listing events played outside of South Africa. Information was taken from the Octagon CSI²¹ Submission to the ICASA Sport Broadcasting Rights Inquiry (2002).

Potential negative outcomes resulting from listing events played outside of South Africa
Only two broadcasters are likely to bid for broadcasting rights (SABC and eTV).
Lower prices received by host federation for broadcast rights.
South African teams seen in less favourable light by host unions (less attractive financially).
Host unions decide to invite other countries to tour instead of South Africa.
Choose not to sell rights to South African broadcasters.
Sporting footage may become scarce or unavailable.
Less advertising and sponsorship interest (locally).
International broadcasters decide not to make market related bids for events hosted in South Africa.
Reduced income for local sporting unions – sustainability put at jeopardy.

²⁰ For more information on live rugby that is broadcast by SuperSport visit: <http://www.supersport.co.za>

²¹ Octagon CSI has acted as the exclusive television rights agency for SARU since 1992. The company is tasked with ensuring SARU's increased exposure and revenue through the sale of international broadcasting rights (Octagon Submission to ICASA Sport Broadcasting Rights Inquiry, 2002).

5.3.2) Commercial networks have extensive resources at their disposal.

Resources available to commercial broadcasters
Exclusivity drives audiences into subscribing to network. Network has money at its disposal.
Greater finances mean market related prices can be offered for international broadcast rights.
More channels (digital) means sport always has a place in schedule (without compromising other programme commitments) and can broadcast events in full.

5.3.3) Globalisation of South African rugby – SANZAR agreement.

Sale of SANZAR broadcast rights to News Corporation
SANZAR members sell broadcasting rights to News Corporation in 1995 for ten year deal.
News Corporation has the option to retain rights until 2010.
News Corporation own all the broadcasting rights for professional and under-21 rugby played in South Africa.
Restricting the sale of broadcast rights to free-to-air networks negatively impact on revenue generated by Australian and New Zealand rugby organising bodies as well.

5.3.4) Main drivers for subscription television according to O’Neil (2008, 37 – 39).

Primary drivers of subscription television
Sports coverage
Movies

5.3.5) Other important genres for subscription television according to O’Neil (2008: 37 – 39).

Secondary drivers of subscription television
Series
Documentary
News channels
Kids programming (Cartoon Network, Disney Channel etc)
Music and lifestyle – Music Television (MTV)

5.3.6) Benefits of rugby sponsorship for Vodacom

Benefits for Vodacom through sponsorship of rugby
Extensive media coverage for brand (local and international)
Brand positioning – association with ‘positive events’ of South Africa
Target audience – audience with spending power

5.4 Nation-building

This section examines the hypothesis that televised rugby contributes towards efforts of nation-building in South Africa. The research results projected in the following section are taken from the interviews conducted with ten select audience members. Although the sample size is small and cannot be taken to represent the entire population’s attitudes and sentiments towards televised rugby in South Africa, the results do depict certain trends uncovered in the research process. Race has been made serendipitous for the purposes of this research.

5.4.1) The audience interviews showed some significant trends regarding teams supported and factors influencing such decisions.

Teams supported
The majority of respondents interviewed suggested that they support two teams within South African rugby. In most instances there was an appreciation for the senior national team, the Springboks. All interviews who considered themselves fans or supporters of rugby (8 out of the 10) identified the Springboks as being one of ‘their teams’. The other team supported was the local provincial team, the Sharks. The main reason being region. Interviewees were from the Durban area (KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa) are therefore supported the team. Of the two interviewees who did not consider themselves fans or supporters of rugby (2 out of 10), one admitted to following the Springboks but only followed ‘big’ (important) provincial games. The other did not follow rugby but had watched some games on television. All interviewees who watched the Springboks play regularly suggested that the team holds more appeal than provincial teams.

5.4.2) All of the interviewees suggested that national symbols, and on important occasions, public figures had a place in South African rugby.

National symbols and public figures

All of the interviewees felt that national symbols such as flags and the national anthem have a place in professional rugby. The national anthem, sung before Test matches, helped associate the interviewees with the team. The South African flag, both on the players' jerseys and waved by spectators in the crowd, was embraced by audience members. Springbok rugby players were seen as being the best players in the country and therefore worthy of wearing the nation's flag. People are able to show their support for the players by waving flags, wearing replica jerseys and painting their faces like the flag.

5.4.3) National symbols and public figures helped link the television audience members to the players on the field.

Televised rugby and the nation

Nine out of ten interviewees suggested that they felt patriotic and proud to call themselves South African as a result of the Springboks victory at the 2007 Rugby World Cup. The team was generally seen to represent the interests of the supporters. National symbols and the inclusion of public figures in the broadcast helped audience members associate themselves with the team. The word 'unity' was used by a number of interviewees. Nine out of ten interviewees suggested that victory on the international stage made them feel good. South Africa was seen to be elevated in the global order through success on the field. Defeat at an international level was not enjoyed although it did not distance audience members from the team. Most of the interviewees said that they use words such as 'we' and 'us' when talking about the teams they support and 'them' or 'they' when talking about the opposition.

5.4.4) Although audience members suggested that politics should be kept separate from South African rugby, it did not detour them from watching the Springboks play. Politics can influence the way televised rugby (the media text) is read or decoded.

Politics, rugby and the television experience

The general consensus amongst audience members (of all races) was that politics and rugby should be kept separate. Rugby administrators, coaches and players should be appointed or selected on merit and not because of their race. Nine out of ten interviewees said that they would continue to watch the Springboks play even if there were elements of political interference before the Test match. However, respondents suggested that they would be more critical of the players' or coaches performance if there were elements of political involvement. The act of engaging with the text may not change but the decoding of the game can be altered by political involvement.

Chapter Six: Identifying the National Interest

6.1 Introduction and need for ICASA inquiry

The purpose of the ICASA Discussion Paper (2002), which was followed by the release of the ICASA Position Paper (2003), was to generate comment from the public and various stakeholders on a number of issues related to the sale and acquisition of sports broadcasting rights within a South African context. The Discussion Paper set out to identify ‘national sporting events’ through consultation with those directly involved and how best to regulate the acquisition of sports broadcasting rights for both free-to-air and subscription based broadcasters (ICASA Discussion Paper, 2002). The Discussion Paper was structured in a way that invited written responses to proposed questions in an attempt to gain the public and stakeholders’ perceptions on the acquisition of sports broadcast rights. Public hearings were held towards the end of 2002 to explore further the issues relating to sports broadcasting rights in South Africa. Some areas of concern included the “public expectation that ‘significant’ sporting events should be broadcast on free-to-air television and radio” (ICASA Discussion Paper, 2002: 6). The way in which ‘significant’ sporting events are determined relates directly to broadcasting sporting events that are considered to be of a national interest. This is supported by section 30(7) of the *Broadcasting Act* of 1999 which states that:

[s]ubscription broadcasting services may not acquire exclusive rights for the broadcast of national sporting events, as identified in the public interest from time to time by the Authority²² in consultation with the Minister²³ and the Minister of Sport and in accordance with the regulations determined by the Authority through a public process.

A second serious issue of concern was financial in nature. Pay-television networks use exclusivity to boost the number of their subscribers. In many instances, viewers subscribe to pay-television primarily in order to watch sporting events. This has caused a rise in the costs of sports rights both locally and internationally as there is fierce competition to secure such rights (ICASA Discussion Paper, 2002; ICASA Position Paper, 2003). Many South Africans who cannot afford subscription fees for commercial television are therefore unable to watch

²² In This instance the ‘Authority’ refers to the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA).

²³ The Minister of Communications.

the sporting events they may find appealing. In addition, rights holders charge broadcasters large sums of money to acquire their rights. The money generated through such sales helps finance and sustain sports administrations and unions (ICASA Discussion Paper, 2002). The financial issues have meant that commercial networks are more likely to be in a position to acquire rights; to the detriment of both the free-to-air broadcasters and those who cannot afford to pay subscription fees (Balfour, 2002). The whole process culminated in July 2003 with the formation of the ICASA Position Paper and the generation of regulations for sports broadcasting rights. The Position Paper stipulates the rules that both free-to-air and commercial broadcasters need to adhere to. This discussion draws on the ICASA Position Paper and the written submissions made by the relevant stakeholders and publics involved in rugby when making conclusions and identifying the national interest.

6.2 Visual quotas: deconstructing the ICASA Position Paper

The term 'quota' is a controversial one at the best of times within South African sport; especially when one takes rugby into consideration. The term 'quota' in South African sport refers to a player who has been selected to meet certain transformation goals. The term has had a negative connotation attached to it by certain members of the population, as players are seen to have been selected according to the colour opposed to skill. To many people the word is synonymous with political interference or 'window dressing'. To others, the system put in place by the powers that be may be giving previously disadvantaged sportsmen and women an opportunity that earlier generations never had; an attempt to level the playing fields. This section of the of the discussion will deconstruct the ICASA Position Paper (2003) and present the sporting events that are considered to be in the national interest and must be made available for all South Africans to watch on a free-to-air broadcaster. A quota system of sorts set in place to ensure that all South Africans are given an opportunity to engage with the country's significant sporting events. The government's ideology of nationalism can be preached to more South Africans when a larger audience than usual is exposed to televised sport. By presenting the full list of regulations formulated after the inquiry into sports broadcasting rights by ICASA, one is made aware of the pressures put on the free-to-air broadcasters. It should also be remembered that such broadcasters have limited space to broadcast live sporting events. Furthermore, they need to continue with their regular programming schedules and public service mandates, as is the case with the SABC. Greater attention shall be given to the requirements related to South African rugby and how they are

represented on the list. The space constraints which hinder the SABC's ability to broadcast vast quantities of sports programming are highlighted in television schedules for the week of Monday 18 August 2008 to Sunday 24 August 2008. This particular week includes a home Test match between South African and Australia as part of the Tri-Nations tournament. SuperSport is able to dedicate in excess of 54 hours of rugby related programming during the week whereas the SABC can only find space for 3 hours and 15 minutes worth of rugby programming.

The Position Paper (2003) produced by ICASA is divided into three major sections: a summary of the main submissions, relevant findings and the regulations that broadcasters need to follow (ICASA Position Paper, 2003). The Position Paper seeks "to ensure the broadcasting of 'national sporting events' [...] on free-to-air television" (ICASA Position Paper, 2003: 5). In addition, the regulations that have been put in place attempt to encourage investment and promote stability within the broadcast industry and aim to broaden the audience support base of South African sporting teams and individual competitors. This is done by exposing the majority of the population to 'national sporting events' (ICASA Position Paper, 2003). Stability and investment in the broadcast industry can be achieved through the sale of broadcast rights to the highest bidder and the presence of advertisers and corporate sponsors willing to gain access to an identifiable market. For this reason, the importance of money to the sports broadcasting industry will be investigated in Chapter Seven of the dissertation.

The events represented on the next page are considered to be in the national interest and are therefore required by section 30(7) of the *Broadcasting Act* of 1999 to be made available to all South Africans on a free-to-air broadcaster. The sporting events appear listed in the ICASA Sports Broadcasting Rights Position Paper and Regulations, 2003. The events are deemed to be in the national interest even if there is a change in name or title sponsor of the competition (ICASA Position Paper, 2003). The spectacle, in other words, is of primary concern. Events that are deemed in the national interest will remain so even if there are significant changes in sponsorship and competition naming rights. ICASA's main objective in this regard is for the people of South Africa to have access to significant sporting events via free-to-air broadcasters.

Table One: Sporting events declared to be in the national interest

Large International Sporting Events
<p>Summer Olympic Games Commonwealth Games All Africa Games</p>
World Cup and International Competitions - FIFA World Cup, the African Cup of Nations, the IRB Rugby World Cup and the ICC Cricket World Cup
<p>All South African team matches Opening match – including opening ceremony Two quarter finals One semi-final 3rd and 4th play-off (if South Africa is involved) Final – including closing ceremony</p>
National Knockout Competition Finals
<p>ABSA Cup (soccer) Coca-Cola Cup (soccer) SAA Super Eight Cup (soccer) Currie Cup (rugby) Standard Bank Cup (cricket)</p>
International Knockout Competition Final (If a South African team is involved)
<p>CAF Champions' League (soccer) CAF Cup Winners Cup (soccer) Super 12 / 14 (rugby)</p>
International Events - all international matches played in South Africa involving the senior South African national team.
<p>Soccer Rugby Cricket Netball</p>
Athletics
<p>Comrades Marathon Two Oceans Marathon</p>

6.3 Cracking the code: defining the national interest

This section of the discussion will make use of the listed events included in the regulations proposed by ICASA and define the national interest in terms of South African sports broadcasting. The criteria for determining national sporting events, as presented in section 3 of Annexure 1 in the ICASA Position Paper (2003), will be dissected. The figure below represents the criteria used by ICASA when determining national sporting events.

Figure Four: Criteria used in determining national sporting events²⁴

Event Must be Appropriate to List (structure and duration)			
Event Must be Played in SA		Events Not Played in SA	
SA Senior National Team	Final of Knockout Competition	Large Scale International events (eg Summer Olympics, World Cups)	International Knockout Competition Final - if South African team involved. (eg Super14 final)

The above figure demonstrates how the criteria utilised in determining national sporting events fit together. The overarching requirement is that the event must be suitable for television. This particular element (maroon section) takes the structure and duration of the event into consideration. Events must be played in South Africa (green sections) and include the senior national team of the particular sport. If not the senior national team, then the event should be the final of a national knockout competition. An example of such an event would be the annual Currie Cup interprovincial rugby competition. Certain events that do not take place in South Africa (blue sections) may be deemed national sporting events; usually if a South African team is involved in a final. The final of the Super14 rugby competition meets the criteria and needs to be broadcast on free-to-air television if a South African franchise is involved in the match. The event would be made available for all interested South Africans to watch. Other large scale international events, irrespective of their location, need to be made available on free-to-air broadcasters as well. These include events such as the Summer Olympics, Commonwealth Games and various World Cups. ICASA suggests that national sporting events “refers to the broadcasting of sporting events that are deemed to be of the national interest” (ICASA Position Paper, 2003: 29).

²⁴ The information used for the construction of this particular figure was derived from Annexure 1 of the ICASA Sports Broadcasting Rights Position Paper (2003).

The national sporting events which are represented in the ICASA Position Paper (2003) are required by section 30(7) of the *Broadcasting Act* of 1999 to be made available to all South Africans on a free-to-air broadcaster. Encrypted commercial broadcasters cannot buy exclusive rights to the listed events without making them available to free-to-air broadcasters. The regulations that have been put in place by ICASA through consultation with the public and other interested stakeholders are not inclusive of a full variety of sporting codes. The three main sports that are represented on the list are: rugby, cricket and soccer. The competitions that are listed are predominantly mainstream sports and appeal mainly to such sporting enthusiasts. Apart from netball there are no other sports on the list that may be construed as being ‘female events’. The Comrades Marathon and the Two Oceans Marathon are the only events on the list in which both men and women compete on an annual basis. Although both men and women compete in events during the Summer Olympics, Commonwealth Games and the All Africa Games, these events do not occur annually and therefore do not help in the representation of the different genders throughout the sporting calendar. Such levels of gender discrimination were identified by Baker and Glavovic (1996: 250 – 275) who suggested that the apartheid regime impacted negatively on female sporting activities as well as the development of non-white sport. Although a critical eye has been given to previous racial sporting policies, little appears to have been done to rectify the nature of gender discrimination in sports broadcasting (Baker and Glavovic, 1996: 250 – 275). The ICASA sporting regulations emphasise this. The Comrades Marathon has been used in the past to exemplify the prestige given to the male race over the female race (Baker and Glavovic, 1996: 250 – 275).

As stated above, the three main sports that are represented on the list formulated by ICASA include: cricket, rugby and soccer. These sports are identified as being national sporting events and are therefore perceived to be of a national interest. The first element which contributes towards their identification as being in the national interest is a result of their popularity amongst television audiences. In their submissions to ICASA both the SABC and M-Net suggested that sports identified as being in the national interest should have a wide support base and be popular amongst the South African television viewing public (ICASA Position Paper, 2003). One can deduce then that these three sports are the most popular in South Africa in terms of audience and spectator interest. Together they will appeal to the largest percentage of the South African population. The inclusion of sports that attract a

large audience base and the financial ramifications for broadcasters will be discussed at greater length when analysing the pursuit of profit. The first requirement needed for a sport to be considered in the national interest rests in its ability to satisfy as many South Africans as possible. The regulations produced by ICASA indicate that rugby, cricket and soccer have the ability to do this (ICASA Position Paper, 2003). The fact that very few events on the list provide extensive coverage of female sports seems to further entrench the stereotype that males dominate the professional sporting environment (Baker and Glavovic, 1996: 250 – 275). Although broadcasters may include female sporting events in their schedules, the apparent reluctance to have such events represented on the list implies that South Africans are only concerned about male dominated sports and that female sports, in general, do not represent the needs of the South African majority.

The identification of the national interest is taken further by the events which have been included in the regulations. Although there are a few exceptions to the rule, generally speaking an event must take place in South Africa for it to be considered a ‘national sporting event’. Great emphasis is given to this and all local matches played by the senior national team (of the events stipulated in the ICASA regulations) must be made available to the whole population via a free-to-air broadcaster. Events involving the senior national team provide an opportunity for all South Africans to rally behind a single group and support the efforts of the national players. The broadcasting of events involving the senior national team meets recommendations made by M-Net in their submission to ICASA. M-Net suggested that events that are of great importance to society should be listed. Events, according to M-Net, should also have widespread appeal across the country, contain cultural significance and serve to unite the nation (ICASA Position Paper, 2003). Matches involving the senior national team provide special occasions for South Africans who engage with televised sports to stand together behind a single event. Results, whether successful or not, lay the foundation for a common experience to be shared amongst all South Africans irrespective of race, culture or religion. The benefits of the common experience and televised rugby acting as an agent for nation-building is discussed in more detail during Chapter Eight of the dissertation. The response to the South African victory at the 2007 Rugby World Cup by many supporters across the country corroborates this point. Major cities across South Africa hosted victory parades for the team and a full spectrum of the South African population took to the streets to cheer and congratulate the players. All these supporters, and the many watching on television

or following events via other media forms, were provided with a common South African experience to embrace.

Figure Five: Scenes from the 2007 Springbok victory parade through Durban



Identifying Test matches involving the Springboks as events of a national interest support a particular trend discovered during the research process. A number of interviewees suggested that they make a greater effort to watch the Springboks play than they do local or domestic teams. This implies that the national team has a greater public appeal. The audience interview conducted with Douglas Mattushek²⁵, for example, highlights this. Mattushek, an avid supporter of both international and domestic rugby, indicated that he would inevitably land up watching the broadcast of the national team if it was scheduled at the same time as a match involving the Sharks²⁶, for example, as a Test match is more alluring. The nature of the above discussion is continued in Chapter Eight of the dissertation when the notion of the common experience is elaborated upon as a factor contributing towards efforts of nation-building. The appeal of certain rugby events over others is probed further as well.

Events declared to be in the national interest that do not involve the senior national team are often finals of national knockout competitions. In rugby terms, this would equate to the Currie Cup final being made available to all South Africans on free-to-air television. Again, events need to be listed in the regulations formulated by ICASA. When looking at this requirement in terms of the submissions made to ICASA by the SABC, M-Net and SARFU,

²⁵ Douglas Mattushek is the interviewee's real name. He did not object to being identified in the dissertation.

²⁶ The Sharks are a Durban based professional rugby team, competing in the Currie Cup and Super 14 competitions. For more information on the team visit <http://www.sharksrugby.co.za>

now known as the South African Rugby Union (SARU)²⁷, one can immediately see why national competitions were incorporated into the regulations. Both the SABC and M-Net proposed that sporting events that are of a cultural significance to South Africa should be deemed ‘national sporting events’. Dating back to 1889, the Currie Cup plays a major part in South African rugby (www.saru.co.za). The final of such an event will be of great interest to many South Africans who do or do not have access to subscription television. Currently, SuperSport holds the broadcast rights to the entire Currie Cup competition but the final is made available to all South Africans on SABC2. Broadcasting the Currie Cup final on free-to-air television enables all South Africans to participate in the excitement and culmination of one of the country’s most popular and historic tournaments. Finals of larger events such as the Super 14 are also deemed to be in the national interest if a South African franchise reaches the final, irrespective of location.

At the time of their submission to ICASA, SARU had brokered an agreement between the two main broadcasters of rugby in South Africa. The agreement stipulated that one regular Currie Cup match per week be broadcast on the SABC (SARFU Submission to ICASA Sports Broadcasting Rights Inquiry, 2002). SARU recognised the need for rugby to maintain a balance in its structure by ensuring that the game is taken to all members of the population whilst remaining financially viable. This balance is found between promoting the game on a national level and generating revenue through the sale of broadcast rights. The money-making potential of sporting unions is discussed further in Chapter Seven. By facilitating an agreement between broadcasters, SARU was able to maximise public access to rugby without jeopardising its own financial status. Listing the Currie Cup final and (when applicable) the Super 14 final helps SARU achieve this valuable exposure (SARFU Submission to ICASA Sport Broadcasting Rights Inquiry, 2002).

As noted in the Chapter Three, sports matches are fast becoming global events. Events such as the Summer Olympics and various World Cups, when South Africa is involved, place the country in the global arena. It is important for the population to have access to such events and be able to follow the efforts of the nation’s athletes against foreign

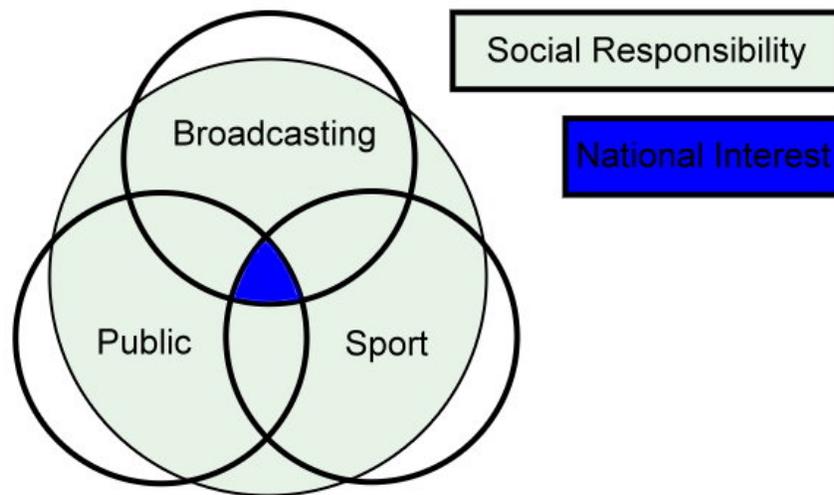
²⁷ Submissions made to ICASA are made by South African Rugby Football Union (SARFU) but the union is now known as the South African Rugby Union (SARU). To avoid confusion the discussion will use SARU when referring to the sporting body. SARFU shall only be used when referencing their submission to ICASA.

competition. The size and magnitude of events such as the Summer Olympics reach audiences all across the globe, South Africans without access to subscription television should not, according to the ICASA regulations, be left out of the global experience.

The national interest in terms of sports broadcasting is set in place to ensure that the needs of the entire population are met. With the limited space available on free-to-air broadcasters there are always going to be people who do not agree with the policies set in place. People may also feel that they are not adequately represented by the sports listed in the ICASA regulations. However, ICASA has attempted to create a platform from which to showcase South Africa's sporting identity and the public participation in the process cannot go unnoticed. To be considered in the national interest a sport needs to be widely supported and possess the ability to unite a nation and create opportunities for a common experience amongst viewers. When the event is organised in South Africa it is perceived to be culturally relevant and therefore more important to the viewers. The national interest incorporates the need for sporting unions to remain financially viable through the sale of broadcast rights to the highest bidder. It therefore does not stipulate that entire tournaments be shown on free-to-air television networks. The national interest exists in a realm of its own. A realm that meets the needs of three independent spheres: the public, broadcasting and the specific sport in question. When elements of each sphere are present the sport, according to this research, is considered to have been broadcast in the national interest.

The tension between financial agendas and meeting the needs of the South African people can be disposed of when taking all three spheres into consideration. Professionally orientated sporting unions and commercial broadcasters are geared towards monetary return. The broadcast media are also significant role players in the projection of popular culture and national events to the country's constituencies. Broadcasting in the national interest stresses the importance of the South African people. They are vital for commercial broadcasters to sustain themselves and the commodity audience draws sponsorship, advertising and lucrative broadcast rights for the sporting unions. The national interest takes into account the needs of the viewers whilst maintaining and managing the profitability of the South African sports industry.

Figure Six: Locating the national interest within a Social Responsibility paradigm



The above diagram illustrates the identification of the national interest in terms of South African sports broadcasting²⁸. The national interest is achieved when all three spheres are present and afforded the same weighting and importance within the process of organising sports broadcasting schedules. The blue segment highlights the area where all three components are present; the national interest. The national interest is an area of responsibility. The interests and needs of the public are accounted for whilst the needs of the sports bodies and broadcasters are taken into consideration and not neglected. Locating the national interest in relation to the national interest model (Figure Six) is based within a social responsibility paradigm (Evans, 2003: 46 – 51) and is represented by the pale green sphere in the figure. Aspects of the social responsibility paradigm that are evident when broadcasting in the national interest include the need for the media to apply self-regulation within the framework of the law and the possibility for government intervention to ensure that the needs of the people are met (Oosthuizen, 2002: 41 – 43). The call for an inquiry in the sale and acquisition of sports broadcasting rights in South Africa shows a stand taken by the government and ICASA to ensure that the needs of the South African sports enthusiasts are met whilst maintaining a market which privately owned media can still freely operate in.

The next section of the chapter tackles the idea of responsible broadcasting and the national interest. The section elaborates upon the importance of meeting all the players' needs

²⁸ The idea for the diagram locating the national interest is loosely based on an illustration showing the elements of sustainable development (Urquhart and Atkinson, 2000: 15 – 19).

and further explores the relationship between each of the three spheres. Responsible broadcasting is key to the sustainability of broadcasting sport in the national interest.

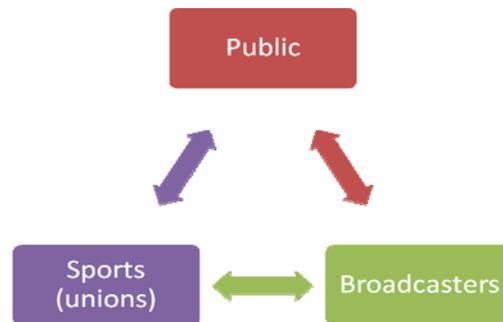
6.3.1 Responsible broadcasting: meeting all the players' needs

The idea of the national interest being an area of responsible broadcasting stems primarily from the submission made to ICASA by SARU. SARU highlighted the importance of finding a balance when selling rugby broadcasting rights. As briefly mentioned earlier, SARU suggests that there is a need to find a balance between maintaining their financial stability through the sale of broadcast rights to the highest bidder, usually a commercial broadcaster, and maximising the public's access to the game of rugby (SARFU Submission to ICASA Sport Broadcasting Rights Inquiry, 2002). Amanda Armstrong, the head of the Media and Communications Law Department at Werkmans Attorneys, echoes these sentiments by suggesting that there is a need for sports bodies to find a balance between maximising the exposure of their sport and maximising potential income through the sale of broadcast rights (2008: 29 – 31). Broadcasting in the national interest can be construed as responsible broadcasting in that it takes all three spheres into consideration. Responsible broadcasting locates the position that ought to be taken and manifests the most appropriate means to ensure that the national interest is sustained or promoted. The concept of responsible broadcasting is closely linked to the literature discussed earlier in Chapter Two of the dissertation. Marshall's sentiments of responsibility when acting in the national interest are echoed in this regard (1952: 90). It is imperative that the policies put in place by ICASA and other regulatory bodies meet the needs of the South African people. The way in which responsible broadcasting can be achieved is outlined in the following passage.

The notion of responsible broadcasting will be further explained using a triangular diagram. The diagram represents the relationship between each of the three spheres (public, sport and broadcasting) and how the national interest can be achieved. Test match rugby played in South Africa and involving the Springboks will be utilised to exemplify the triangular nature of responsible broadcasting. SARU supported the ICASA process but believes that it is possible for sporting bodies to self-regulate the sale of their broadcast rights (SARFU Submission to ICASA Sport Broadcasting Rights Inquiry, 2002). SARU's stance on self-regulation helps one understand the nature of responsible broadcasting. The players that are involved when exploring the concept of responsible broadcasting are the same three used

when identifying the national interest – public, sport and broadcaster. For sports broadcasting to be seen as responsible each sphere needs to play a role in upholding the position of the other two. The act of upholding the other players is not necessarily a conscious effort but rather a result of acting in the national interest.

Figure Seven: Meeting all the players' needs



The above diagram exemplifies the relationship between the three players required for broadcasting to be deemed responsible. The nature of the triangular relationship depends on the point-of-view from which the diagram is viewed. When examined from the perspective of the sports body, this is made clear. The sports body (union) needs to uphold or meet the needs of the public and the broadcasters. This coincides with the statement made by SARU about meeting the ideal balance and self-regulating the sale of their broadcast rights (SARFU Submission to ICASA Sport Broadcasting Rights Inquiry, 2002). When a Test match involving the Springboks is played in South Africa, and is therefore required by the 2003 ICASA Sports Broadcasting Regulations to be made available on a free-to-air broadcaster, the sports body (SARU) meets the needs of the public and the broadcasters. The public's needs are met in a relatively straightforward manner. The public is given access to a cultural and socially relevant pastime via the medium of television. The benefits of televised rugby in efforts of nation-building shall be examined in Chapter Eight of the dissertation. Viewers are afforded the opportunity to watch the Springboks play without having to be at the actual venue. Rugby upholds the interests of the broadcasters in that the sport attracts viewers to their channels. Higher audience ratings, when looked at in the light of the discussed theory, suggests an interest by advertisers eager to gain access to an already assembled market. Advertisers pay large sums of money to purchase advertising slots in and around the Test match. Such sales generate money for the broadcasters. M-Net is not disadvantaged in that it

can still purchase exclusive rights to the Test match and broadcast the game live and in full on its many channels. Due to the fact that the Test match is a listed event SuperSport must sub-licence the rights to the SABC who will then broadcast the match in full, either delayed live or delayed on SABC2. Both the primary broadcasters of rugby in South Africa are put in a position to benefit from the event.

Viewing the relationship from the point-of-view of the broadcasters sees the sports bodies themselves and the public being upheld. The broadcasters are responsible for the exposure given to sporting bodies, teams and events. Rugby, for example, is given much needed exposure to interested parties via television. This exposure keeps spectators interested in the sport and helps develop the game. Younger members of society and people experiencing rugby for the first time may want to take up the sport themselves or become passionate supporters. This helps sustain sporting bodies and codes. The exposure given to sports on television is a good way of securing future sponsorship deals. Broadcasters act responsibly towards the public due to the fact that viewers are given the same level of access to national events. All South Africans with access to televisions are provided with the opportunity to engage with Test match rugby when broadcasting in the national interest. There are no divisions amongst the audience members which may, under different circumstances, lead to some people being marginalised and unable to engage with the text.

Finally, the public is given a certain degree of responsibility as well which should not go unnoticed. The public acts favourably towards broadcasters primarily in a financial manner. Both encrypted commercial and free-to-air broadcasters are able to 'sell' the commodity audience to advertisers and in turn generate money for themselves. In addition, many audience members purchase subscriptions to commercial television as a result of the sports on offer. This is supported by the submission made by M-Net to ICASA (M-Net Submission to ICASA Sports Broadcasting Rights Inquiry, 2002). Audiences pay for the material that they watch whilst being 'sold' to advertisers at the same time. A large television audience can have many positive financial spin-offs for the broadcasters in question. The public too upholds the sporting bodies in a financial sense. A high level of public interest in an event allows sporting bodies to charge large sums of money for the broadcast rights. The money generated through the sale of broadcasting rights is often the primary source of

income for sporting bodies (ICASA Position Paper, 2003). Public interest is, therefore, vital to the financial sustainability of sporting bodies.

The importance of each of the three spheres in securing and maintaining public access to sporting content is stressed when analysed in terms of the theory discussed earlier in the dissertation. The theory related to the normative ideals of public service broadcasting is pertinent in this regard. The equal weighting given to each of the three spheres (sport, broadcasting and public) promotes the concept of responsible broadcasting and helps sustain the national interest in terms of South African sports broadcasting. Each sphere acts as a CPNV ensuring that the citizens of South Africa are not neglected in favour of financial return. I have coined the acronym CPNV which stands for ‘Custodian Promoting Normative Values’. Each CPNV helps ensure that the public has access to significant sporting events. For a brief period, the majority of South African citizens are not sidelined by those stakeholders who actively try and promote their financial well-being through the accumulation of wealth. The CPNVs underline a commendable social responsibility ethos directed towards sports broadcasting where the needs of the country’s population are the priority. The normative ideals place the interests of the audience (South African citizens) ahead of financial return. The interests of the audience members become a secondary concern when CPNVs are not present or are afforded unequal weighting within sports broadcasting schedules. South African soccer experienced such a problem when the broadcast rights for the Premier Soccer League (PSL) were awarded to SuperSport; to the detriment of the league’s support base.

6.3.2 Soccer broadcasting rights in South Africa: regulating controversy

South African soccer found itself facing a wave of controversy regarding the sale its broadcast rights to SuperSport. Although this particular example steers away from the general inquiry into the broadcasting of rugby in South Africa, the need for responsible broadcasting is exemplified. The debacle began when the Premier Soccer League²⁹ (PSL) decided to award exclusive rights of their matches to the pay-television channel SuperSport (see Appendix 4). The five year deal with SuperSport was worth a reported one billion Rand by writers at the *Sunday Tribune* (Mcetywa and Charter, 2007: 4). The sale of the broadcasting rights to

²⁹ The PSL is the administrator of professional soccer in South Africa. For more information on the PSL visit: <http://www.psl.co.za>

SuperSport meant that the PSL would generate huge amounts of money. Some of the perceived benefits of the deal included an improved local soccer scene. A number of directors and senior members of local soccer clubs were highly supportive of the sale. They envisaged benefits that included the ability to better run local soccer clubs, provide valued players with better salaries and an improved level of television coverage (Mcetywa and Charter, 2007: 4). From an economic perspective the sale of the broadcast rights is a major success. However, the sale was met with much criticism. The majority of critics highlighted the fact that only a few wealthy members of society would be given access to the games. Critics felt that the majority of local soccer supporters would be unable to afford the subscription fees that are demanded by the pay-television network. The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) suggested in the *Sunday Tribune* that the decision to award the rights to SuperSport meant that millions of South Africans would be unable to watch their favourite sport on television (Mcetywa and Charter, 2007: 4).

The above example indicates the tensions that arise between responsible broadcasting and the profitability of the sporting industry. Not all PSL matches are listed in the 2003 ICASA regulations as events of a national interest. The sporting body's decision to sell the rights to SuperSport was, as a result, in no way unlawful. However, the decision to award the rights to SuperSport became an act of controversy as all three spheres contributing to the national interest (broadcasting, public and sport) were not present. The only two spheres that were upheld were the sporting body (PSL) and the broadcaster (SuperSport). The majority of the local soccer enthusiasts were neglected in an attempt to secure as much revenue as possible for the PSL. The *Sunday Tribune* article, 'Soccer fans 'sacrificed' for financial gain' (Mcetywa and Charter, 2007: 4) clearly emphasises this neglect. All three CPNVs were not present after the signing of the PSL deal. The agreement may not have been conducted unlawfully when analysed in terms of Section 30(7) of the Broadcasting Act (1999) but the result does not promote the ideal of responsible broadcasting as the support base is marginalised.

The arrangement proposed by Kaizer Motaung, chairman of the Kaizer Chiefs soccer team, that the broadcast rights could be sold to the SABC by SuperSport holds water. All parties involved would be in a position to benefit from the transaction. The whole PSL debacle highlights some of the concerns raised by various stakeholders in their Submissions

to the ICASA Inquiry into Sports broadcast Rights and Regulations (2002). There may be reduced competition within the market for broadcast rights if free-to-air broadcasters expect to obtain the rights. A private, commercial network such as M-Net, for example, may not bid extensively for the rights if they know full well that the rights are going to be awarded to the SABC. This restriction would impact negatively on the sporting body and the public. The public could receive an inferior broadcast quality as the free-to-air broadcaster has less financial resources at its disposal (Mcetywa and Charter, 2007: 4).

6.4 Conclusion

The notion of responsible broadcasting goes hand-in-hand with the idea of the national interest. Both emphasise the need to act in a manner that looks at the bigger picture and not just financial reward or mass exposure. One particular sphere is never more important than the other two. Broadcasting that is in the national interest meets the needs of the public (viewers) whilst at the same time places the sporting unions and broadcasters in a position to make the most of the sporting event financially and through the necessary exposure. The balance that is found when broadcasting in the national interest places South African sport in a positive light. The ‘give and take’ relationship that exists between each of the three spheres highlights the importance of television to the sporting industry. However, there should be a concerted effort to include a greater variety of sport on the list approved by ICASA as being in the national interest and provide more exposure for women’s sport. Even though events that appear on the list are not the only sporting events that are broadcast on free-to-air networks, a greater representation of codes and women’s sport could help a great deal in their development. The Department of Sport and Recreation’s website (<http://www.srsa.gov.za>) promotes a book detailing the rules of South Africa’s indigenous games. The list should include some form of indigenous sport; even if it is just one highlights package after a significant event or meeting. This would improve the exposure of the sports and help educate South African’s of their cultural heritage. The list should depict the reality of South African sport whilst maintaining its commitment to responsible broadcasting. Chapter Seven of the dissertation examines the influence that media control has on the sporting industry and stresses the importance of advertising and attracting viewers from a commercial perspective. The following chapter begins with an analysis of the sale and acquisition of international sports broadcasting rights and South Africa’s position in the global media arena.

Chapter Seven: Media Control and Money

7.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an introduction to the financial analysis of televised rugby and discusses the implications of the international sports industry on local broadcasting conditions. In the previous chapter it was mentioned that an additional aim of the ICASA Position Paper (2003) was to encourage investment in and promote the stability of the broadcasting industry. This can be achieved by selling advertising space in and around media texts and by encouraging corporate sponsors within the realms of professional sport. It is imperative that corporate sponsors promote the interest of the consumers or audience members for the national interest to be achieved. The importance of money to professional rugby will be analysed. Advertising, the sale of broadcast rights to the highest bidder and corporate sponsorship help sustain the professional industry and enable televised rugby to be utilised as a vehicle to disseminate the ideology of nationalism. Chapter Three stresses the importance of money to professional sport and its reliance on the media (especially television) in accumulating the necessary wealth. Some of the negative consequences of listing events played outside of South Africa as being in the national interest are discussed and the importance of allowing private commercial networks to bid for such rights investigated. Advertising and sponsorship imbedded in and around televised matches and rugby related programming is of great importance and will be discussed at length. The emphasis placed on financial return by broadcasters is scrutinised. The section ends with an analysis of Vodacom's presence within South African rugby as a prime sponsor of events, teams and rugby related television programmes. Vodacom's slogan, 'the greatest supporter of South African rugby supporters' emphasises the importance of corporate sponsorship to the country's rugby public.

7.2 Negotiating Globalisation

The inquiry into sports broadcasting rights successfully places South African sport in the global media arena. The place occupied by South Africa within an international sporting industry is made apparent with the various ramifications resulting from such activity clearly highlighted. The most striking observation that is made is the presence of other countries, international companies and sporting bodies participating within the industry. These

participants look to benefit from televised sports in the same manner as their South African counterparts. In this sense, South Africa does not function in a unique manner. All parties and stakeholders involved in the realm of international sports media wish to maximise their profits and sustain themselves through the sale and acquisition of sports broadcasting rights.

After the release of the ICASA Discussion Paper (2002) a number of South African stakeholders (including SARU and Octagon CSI who both have a direct interest in South African rugby) warned against the regulation of sporting events held outside of South Africa in their submissions made to ICASA. The relevant stakeholders submitted that:

the listing of sporting events played outside of South Africa would result in adverse consequences in that reduced competition and reduced income to foreign federations would result in such federations not selling their rights to a South African broadcaster at all (ICASA Position Paper, 2003: 15).

This could result in events involving South Africa not being broadcast locally at all; a far cry from the initial intentions of listing such events (ICASA Position Paper, 2003). These sentiments indicate that the sale and acquisition of sports broadcasting rights is a delicate process that needs to take into account the needs of overseas federations and broadcasters as well as the interests of local stakeholders and authorities. A number of negative consequences which could result from the regulation of sporting events played outside of South Africa were further discussed by Octagon CSI in their submission to ICASA on behalf the United Cricket Board of South Africa and SARU. Octagon CSI submitted in their response to the ICASA Discussion Paper (2002) that the regulation of international sporting events preventing subscription broadcasters (M-Net and SuperSport) from acquiring exclusive rights in all likelihood would mean that only two South African broadcasters would bid for international rights. These broadcasters would be the SABC and eTV. Both free-to-air broadcasters have a limited budget and availability of airtime in comparison to the capabilities of M-Net and the various SuperSport channels. The primary area of concern for the overseas based sporting bodies would be the lower prices received for the broadcast rights (Octagon CSI Submission to ICASA Sport Broadcasting Rights Inquiry, 2002). South African touring teams would then come across as less attractive to host bodies as their (host's) ability to fund the tours would diminish. The available budget used to host an international sports tour usually takes anticipated revenue from selling the broadcast rights into account. If our local broadcasters do

not deliver fair market prices for the acquisition of the television rights, host countries may choose to invite other international teams to tour instead of South Africa's. These countries would represent a more economically viable proposition (Octagon CSI Submission to ICASA Sport Broadcasting Rights Inquiry, 2002).

The inability to acquire prices that are deemed fair and market related may prompt overseas sports bodies not to sell rights to South African broadcasters. This would have a negative effect on local sporting content, as previously accessible footage would become scarce. Sports bodies and sporting events would gain limited exposure on television; resulting in less interest from advertisers and potential sponsors (Octagon CSI Submission to ICASA Sport Broadcasting Rights Inquiry, 2002). International tours hosted by South Africa could be negatively affected in the long run. Overseas broadcasters may return the action and not want to pay market related prices for the right to broadcast events. This would result in poor broadcast sales and revenue generated by local sporting bodies placing their sustainability and related activities at jeopardy (Octagon CSI Submission to ICASA Sports Broadcasting Rights Inquiry, 2002). An examination of the sale and acquisition of sports broadcasting rights places the industry in the global spotlight. South Africa cannot function according to its own mandate as other international broadcasters and sporting bodies are involved. There is a need for commercial broadcasters to sustain local access to international events on a basis of exclusivity as they are in the best position to pay international market related prices and fees.

The global nature of televised sports can be further examined when scrutinising the sale of the South African, New Zealand and Australian Rugby (SANZAR³⁰) broadcasting rights to News Corporation in 1995. News Corporation purchased the broadcast rights for rugby events falling under the control of the SANZAR territories for a contract value of 555 million US dollars for ten years; ending in 2005 with News Corporation retaining the option for a five-year renewal. As a result, News Corporation own all the broadcasting rights for professional and under-21 rugby played in South Africa (SARFU Submission to ICASA Sport Broadcasting Rights Inquiry, 2002). This deal places South African rugby firmly in the global media arena. Even domestic matches played in South Africa (Currie Cup) are controlled by an international media company. The current contract between SANZAR and

³⁰ SANZAR is a regulatory body that controls annual rugby competitions between South Africa, New Zealand and Australia. Competitions under SANZAR control include: The Vodacom Super 14 and the Vodacom Tri-nations. Vodacom are the current title sponsors of the two competitions in South Africa.

News Corporation comes to an end in 2010. Regulating rugby matches and restricting the sale of rights to free-to-air broadcasters in South Africa will have an effect on the revenue of the Australian and New Zealand rugby organising bodies as well (SARFU Submission to ICASA Sport Broadcasting Rights Inquiry, 2002). The international media are significant players in the sports broadcasting industry and have a large reach in terms of their global influence. These large corporations are attracted to sporting events as they attract new subscribers to commercial television networks and open the door for appealing advertising contracts.

The power relations that exist within the tussle for sports broadcasting rights and who should be in line to acquire them has a profound effect on television schedules around the world. Large scale international media companies attempt to dominate sports media as they are afforded the opportunity to generate vast quantities of wealth for themselves. The theory discussed in Chapter Three of the dissertation emphasises this importance. A large international media company like News Corporation is at an advantage over other companies as a result of the SANZAR deal. Through the SANZAR deal, News Corporation control the broadcast rights for the major annual rugby competitions held in the southern hemisphere. A South African broadcaster, such as SuperSport, will bid for the rights for Super14 matches as will New Zealand and Australian broadcasters. If a network wishes to broadcast any of the tournaments and matches falling under the control of SANZAR they have to purchase them from News Corporation. Many networks located in countries other than those involved in the actual tournaments (Super14 and Tri-Nations) may wish to broadcast matches in order to supplement their own rugby content. These networks will again have to buy the rights from News Corporation. This makes the deal lucrative for both the SANZAR unions and News Corporation. SANZAR are guaranteed a fixed amount from the deal, whilst News Corporation is in a position to sell the rights to many interested parties; generating its own money in the process. This type of situation is made evident by the inclusion of Heineken Cup matches and many other international rugby fixtures on SuperSport channels.

SuperSport caters for the needs of their subscribers by acquiring the rights to broadcast Heineken Cup matches to South African audiences. The broadcast rights to the Heineken Cup³¹ are held by the European Rugby Cup (ERC) organisation. This body sells

³¹ The Heineken Cup is an annual European rugby competition similar to the Super14.

their rights directly to broadcasters around the world who wish to include the content in their television schedules. There is no ‘middle man’ in the arrangement so to speak, as is the case with the SANZAR and News Corporation relationship³². SuperSport would have to acquire broadcasting rights directly from the ERC organisation in order to broadcast the Heineken Cup to South African viewers. Other than a few South African players plying their trade for European clubs there is no direct link between South Africa and the Heineken Cup. However, the holder of the rights to the Heineken Cup will have made an additional sale by allowing SuperSport to screen their matches. The holder increases its wealth whilst highlighting the global nature of sports media in the process.

7.3 The benefits of sports broadcasting

The SANZAR deal between the associated rugby unions and News Corporation highlights the importance of sporting events to broadcasters and media conglomerates. News Corporation benefits a great deal by controlling the rights to the premier annual rugby events in the southern hemisphere. Not only does News Corporation benefit through the sale of broadcast rights to commercial television networks, the media giant places itself firmly in the driving seat due to the fact that television networks under its own media umbrella have direct access to valuable sporting content. The Fox Sports Australia network³³, for example, broadcasts the Super14 and Tri-Nations in that region giving the company an advantage over their competitors. For a breakdown of News Corporations television interests, in the form of an organogram see Appendix 1. The network also has access to footage used in news, highlights and discussion programmes, such as *Inside Rugby*³⁴, which cuts down production costs and increases their rugby content. New Zealand has a channel dedicated purely to rugby; much like SuperSport3 is to soccer in South Africa. ‘The Rugby Channel’, as it has been aptly named, is available through the commercial television network SKY TV in New Zealand and this too is part of the News Corporation consortium. Rugby matches and events organised by SANZAR make News Corporation a powerhouse in the southern hemisphere. Such examples highlight the benefits of integrated media companies, which were discussed at length in Chapter Three of the dissertation. The ownership and control of sports broadcast

³² Information regarding the sale of ERC broadcast rights was established through email correspondence with ERC Communication Executives based in Dublin. For more information regarding the ERC visit: <http://www.ercrugby.com>.

³³ For more information on Fox Sports Australia visit: <http://www.foxsports.com.au>

³⁴ *Inside Rugby* is a rugby magazine programme similar to SuperSport’s *Boots n All*. The programme is also available to DStv subscribers on SuperSport.

rights prove to be valuable resources to international media conglomerates. Large scale sporting events, such as the Super14 and Tri-Nations competitions, are seen as media products by commercial broadcasters who use sports to generate money for themselves.

The 2007 Super14 and Tri-Nations competitions were fuelled with controversy at times. Certain unions decided to rest their top players in preparation for the World Cup later in the year. New Zealand rested their top players for the first half of the Super14 competition whilst South Africa utilised under strength teams on their away leg of the Tri-Nations. The broadcasters from each of the three regions met with SANZAR to ensure that such selection policies would not reoccur³⁵. Although the policies could be viewed as ‘rugby decisions’ in that they were used to best prepare their squads for the World Cup, the broadcasters appealed against the below par team selections. Broadcasters would not have been content with the fact that substandard teams were on show. Networks paid large sums of money to broadcast the matches live and would, in turn, expect the best quality product to be made available. The appeal of the tournaments in question, when seen as parts of the entertainment industry, were jeopardised as the top players (or stars) were not involved. The symbolic value of the media product had been reduced. This has the potential to discourage spectators from watching and participating in the event. A reduction in television audiences would have produced lower audience ratings. Unfavourable audience ratings could reduce the amount of money that networks can demand for advertising slots around future tournaments and related events. This could compromise the prosperity of the various broadcasters in question.

The appeal of sporting events to broadcasters is of great importance. The 2005 season saw the end of the Super12 rugby competition with two additional teams participating annually from 2006. The new Super14 tournament resulted in a dramatic increase in the number of matches played each year. The Super12 saw 69 matches played a year whilst the Super14 would yield 94. The extra games appeased the interests of News Corporation who had stated that they would not contemplate renewing their contract made with SANZAR in 1996 if the deal was not made more appealing³⁶. The expanded format of the competition suits broadcasters as they are given access to a larger amount of games each season. This has

³⁵ For more information related to SANZAR and the selection debacle visit

<http://www.sportbusiness.com/news/162142/sanzar-rugby-unions-feel-wrath-of-broadcast-partners>

³⁶ For more information about the expansion of the Super14 visit:

<http://www.sportbusiness.com/news/166701/rugbys-super-14-set-for-revamp>

an influence on their content and their appeal to audiences and advertisers. There has been much written in the media about further expansions involving the Super14 and Tri-Nations competitions (see www.sportbusiness.com). With new television broadcast rights up for grabs SANZAR should be seen as trying to improve the appeal – or quality – of their products in an attempt secure the best possible deals when negotiations commence. Current proposals which have been mentioned in the media include expansion options involving Argentina and Japan³⁷. These expansions would open up the market in that more broadcasters would be interested in the rights to the competitions. The package deal would be made more appealing if SANZAR were to sell collective rights to a primary rights holder again, such as News Corporation, as was the case in 1996. Furthermore, the exposure given to SANZAR would increase; opening up the door for greater sponsorship and advertising deals for all parties concerned.

Another perceived benefit of sports broadcasting to commercial broadcasters is the increase in viewers or subscribers. Securing the broadcast rights to sporting events is a vital step that needs to be taken when attempting to gain the upper hand or majority share in the industry. SuperSport and M-Net have shown the importance of controlling the broadcast rights of sporting events and other popular television genres in South Africa. They have attempted to secure the rights in an effort to maintain their dominance in the industry and fend off the threat of the newly licensed subscription based broadcasters³⁸. The manner in which SuperSport and M-Net have acted in an attempt to preserve their status in the South African sporting environment shall be explored in the following passages.

7.3.1 SuperSport on the charge

In South Africa the live broadcasting of major sports is dominated by SuperSport. In an article published in *The Media*, Clare O’Neil (2008: 37 – 39) notes that SuperSport have managed to obtain the broadcast rights for of all the major sporting events that are aired live in South Africa. This particular manoeuvre is a cunning one which cements SuperSport’s position of power in a newly formed subscription based television market. Sporting events

³⁷ For more information about the sale of SANZAR television right visit:
<http://www.sportbusiness.com/news/156507/sanzar-strikes-323m-tv-deal>

The rugby talk show programme *Inside Rugby* (specifically the episode broadcast on SuperSport on Thursday 21 August, 2008) suggests that an expansion by SANZAR into countries such as Japan would open up new markets for the union.

³⁸ In September 2007 five new subscription broadcasters were granted licences by ICASA (O’Neil, 2008: 37 – 39).

and movies can be labelled 'attractions'. They have the ability to draw new subscribers to commercial networks (O'Neil, 2008: 37 – 39). There is the potential for M-Net and SuperSport to face opposition and be knocked off their pedestals in the South African television industry with five new subscription based broadcasters being awarded licences by ICASA³⁹. The O'Neil article (2008: 37 – 39) looks at the acquisition of certain sporting events and movies by the MultiChoice group as a deliberate attempt to maintain their dominance in the industry and prevent any of the new subscription broadcasters from becoming realistic threats. The new subscription broadcasters face an uphill battle in that there are very few openings which they can penetrate in order to attract subscribers. MultiChoice (through M-Net and SuperSport) has already secured the rights to the main draw cards in this regard (O'Neil, 2008: 37 – 39). MultiChoice have utilised sport as an offensive measure in an attempt to consolidate their leading position in the industry.

There is very little chance that the new subscription based broadcasters are going to pose any real threat to the already established networks if they are unable to acquire exclusive rights to popular South African sporting events. MultiChoice should not be negatively affected. MultiChoice is unlikely to lose subscribers to the new subscription based broadcasters who have little at their disposal to attract prospective viewers. This is due to M-Net and SuperSport's domination over the main attractions of pay-television. As a result of its dominance in the industry, MultiChoice is likely to benefit from its position in an economic sense as well when analysed in terms of the commodity audience. The network already has signed up subscribers meaning a greater appeal to advertisers. It also boasts prime local and international programming which suggests a strong audience presence and the ability to charge top dollar for advertising slots. The importance of controlling sporting material as a commercial broadcaster is emphasised in the above scenario.

7.3.2 Advertising

When analysed in terms of the related theory, it becomes clear that advertising has an important role to play in the financial side of the sports broadcasting industry. SuperSport and the SABC's sports wing will earn a certain percentage of their total income through the sale of advertising space and programme sponsorship. The concept of the commodity audience is a real entity in this regard. High profile sporting events that attract large television audiences

³⁹ At the time of completing this dissertation, these channels were not yet 'on air'.

place broadcasters in a favourable position. Rugby events that are deemed to be in the national interest have the ability to attract even larger audiences, which appeals even more to advertisers. This observation is made after the culmination of the audience interviews. Many of the interviewees suggested that they prefer to watch the more important games of the season. Although many audience members may make an effort to watch rugby on a regular basis, matches deemed to be in the national interest hold a greater audience appeal.

The SAARF TAMS results for the week of the 2007 Rugby World Cup final between South Africa and England clearly show the appeal of rugby to South African audiences. The final was prominent on the top-ten programmes for the week lists on both SABC2 and M-Net; especially the 'All Adults' list. The popularity of the match extended beyond language barriers and was a popular choice amongst different segments of the population. The national appeal of the event will be explored further in Chapter Eight of the dissertation. Broadcasters possess access to a valuable commodity, which advertisers wish to exploit. The example utilised in Chapter Three of the dissertation again refers. Supa Quick paid the largest amount of money in South Africa's television history for a once off thirty second advert aired at half-time of the 2007 Rugby World Cup final (see Appendix 3). Advertisers are eager to gain exposure to an already established audience. Programmes such as *Boots n All* and *All Out Rugby* are examples of programmes sponsored by Vodacom. These programmes, which are 'brought to you by Vodacom', generate further revenue for the broadcaster in question. The exposure given to Vodacom and other corporate sponsors is discussed further in the next section of the chapter.

Advertisers often alter their adverts and purposefully structure them in a way that relates to the sporting content that is being shown (Evans, 2003: 80 – 84). These are methods utilised to further encourage the target market to purchase their products. Advertisers associate themselves with the sporting event in an attempt to attract potential consumers (Evans, 2003: 80 – 84). Brands try and appeal to the specific target audience in question. By associating themselves with certain sporting events, advertisers put themselves in a position to benefit from brand positioning and exposure to the ideal set of consumers. This point can be related to that discussed in the next section of the chapter regarding the positive connotations which result from branding and product placement. Advertising helps sustain the broadcasters of televised sport. The assembled audience, which is created by sporting

content, is attractive to advertisers and provides exposure to an identifiable group of consumers. The money which advertisers are willing to pay for advertising slots in and around sporting content helps sustain the broadcasters financially. The ability for sporting content to construct a desired audience is made clear when analysing the TAMS results for the same week used earlier. The 2007 Rugby World Cup Final had a high audience rating on SABC2. However, the same time period the night before (Friday, 19 October 2007) has less favourable readings. One can deduce then that the 2007 Rugby World Cup Final was a major attraction to both audiences and advertisers. Moreover, the increased spectatorship justifies the listing of such events as being in the national interest.

Sports broadcasting rights are expensive. This has been shown throughout the dissertation. The successful bidder may have to pay prices worth hundreds of millions of dollars to broadcast events on their channel(s) – a major financial risk that needs to be negotiated. In an interview conducted by Evans (2003) with available personnel from the SABC, it was established that advertising is a prime generator of money for sports broadcasters. The money that is generated through the sale of the commodity audience to advertisers is often used to recoup the money spent to secure the broadcast rights. Other forms of corporate sponsorship help broadcasters negotiate the high costs of acquiring the rights to televised sports. A broadcaster that is able to secure exclusive rights to an event may also sub-licence the content to other television broadcasters in an attempt to help ease the expense of the initial deal.

7.3.3 Advantage Vodacom

This next section examines the presence of corporate sponsorship within the sporting industry. Vodacom is used as the main example to illustrate the appeal of sports broadcasting to the corporate world. Vodacom has a large presence within South African sport and has interests in a number of different codes ranging from soccer to golf. As mentioned briefly in Chapter Three of the dissertation, Vodacom's presence in South African rugby extends from sponsorships of teams and competitions through to the acquisition of naming rights of stadiums and sporting venues. When analysed in the light of the already discussed theory, one can establish that Vodacom has identified the televised rugby viewing public as an ideal set of consumers to which they should market their product. Sponsorship executives at SAIL

Group Ltd have indicated that Vodacom targets higher Living Standards Measure⁴⁰ (LSM) consumer groups through their involvement in South African rugby. The sponsorship of weekly television programmes such as *Boots n All* and *All Out Rugby* further entrenches this desire to reach higher LSM consumer groups, as the shows are only available to those who have access to the subscription based channels of M-Net and SuperSport.

The SAIL Group Ltd, who manage Vodacom's sponsorship activities, suggest that Vodacom has the ability to reach both black and white consumers through their involvement in rugby as there are signs indicating the steady increase of the sport's supporters across the population; irrespective of race (see Appendix 5). SAARF results reflect this notion. The 2007 Rugby World Cup was a popular event on South African television with an audience comprised of different languages and perceived racial groupings. Vodacom currently holds the naming rights of three of the top South African rugby franchises⁴¹. These franchises include the Vodacom Bulls, the Vodacom Cheetahs and the Vodacom Stormers all of which participate in the annual Super14 competition comprising of teams from the SANZAR alliance. The South African leg of the competition is sponsored by Vodacom and is referred to as the Vodacom Super14. One of the positive spinoffs for Vodacom in this regard is the global exposure which is given to their brand. The company benefits from globalisation in that television broadcasts are transmitted around the world with the Vodacom brand prominent during fixtures involving South African teams. The coverage given to the brand on a local scale is pertinent to its position as a market leader within a South African context.

Corporate involvement in rugby events and competitions provide sponsors with valuable marketing and branding opportunities. This is made clear by the statement released by personnel at Amalgamated Banks of South African (ABSA) regarding their involvement in South African rugby. After the announcement that ABSA would extend its current sponsorship of the Currie Cup for another five years, Angie Burton, General Manager of Group Marketing with ABSA, suggested on the Sportbusiness.com website that the sponsorship enables the rugby public to engage with and experience the ABSA brand. This

⁴⁰ LSM is a widely used marketing research tool. Markets are segmented according to certain criteria such as: degree of urbanisation and ownership of assets and other appliances. The categories range from 1 through to 10. Consumers categorised as a '10' will have the most wealth or spending power (www.saarf.co.za).

⁴¹ In South Africa teams participating in the Super 14 are often referred to as 'franchises'. These teams are not the same as those participating in domestic competitions although a franchise is usually based around one of the larger Currie Cup teams.

can be achieved through a number of marketing opportunities which arise from its involvement in local rugby. Burton continues along this line and proposes that the sponsorship gives ABSA direct access to a passionate market made up of both existing and potential customers.⁴² Corporate sponsorship of sporting teams, venues and events should be viewed as well thought out strategies on behalf of the sponsors who seek to maximise their exposure and reap the rewards of the mass appeal held by the industry.

Figure Eight: The Super14 logos with the title sponsor of each SANZAR region



Another interesting development that was uncovered during the research process indicates that corporate sponsors may try to assimilate or transfer the positive values and connotations of the sport or team that they are associated with onto their own company profiles. Again, this is shown by Vodacom and their involvement in South African rugby. When asked why Vodacom has such a large sponsorship presence within South African rugby an executive with the SAIL Group Ltd proposed that their decision was made along the lines of brand positioning. Success on the sporting field by South Africa, such as that in the 1995 and 2007 Rugby World Cups have been identified by the SAIL Group Ltd as events producing positive results for the country. Such sentiments suggest that through their extensive involvement in rugby, Vodacom is put in a position to benefit from the positive vibe created by success on the field. In 2007, for example, the Vodacom Bulls became the first South African franchise to win the Vodacom Super14. When analysing the sponsorship along these lines, Vodacom would appear as an integral part of the Bulls' success and therefore benefit from the victory as well. This could be achieved through their association with the team and the positive connotations which follow. Vodacom would be at the forefront of public opinion and therefore gain a competitive edge over their rivals within the cellular communications industry.

⁴² For more information about the ABSA sponsorship deal and its involvement in South African rugby visit: <http://www.sportbusiness.com/news/166978/sa-rugby-and-absa-renew-domestic-cup-deal>

Figure Nine: Vodacom Bulls and the exposure given to their title sponsor



The exposure given to Vodacom through their association with South African rugby is remarkable. Figure Nine clearly illustrates this. Vodacom branding is visible in each of the three photographs making up the image. The photograph on the extreme left clearly shows the presence of Vodacom within professional rugby – both players and signage reflect the brand. In this instance, the Vodacom Bulls have been awarded the Super14 trophy with the branding in the background showing the title sponsor of the South African leg of the competition. Such exposure is not limited to those watching the game at the venue or on television. Photographs such as these may be incorporated into various other visual media forms and extend the longevity of the sponsorship's rewards. Action photographs in newspapers, magazines and on websites increase the exposure given to the team and competition sponsors making the deal even more valuable. When viewed through such a lens, it is made easy to classify mediated rugby as a public good, as discussed in the political economy section of Chapter Three of the dissertation. The availability of the product does not diminish after it is has been consumed (Doyle, 2002a: 11 – 13).

The most important aspect of Vodacom's involvement in rugby when broadcast in the national interest is the positive affect had on the consumer. Vodacom's slogan 'The greatest supporter of South African rugby supporters' is significant in this regard. Although it could be viewed as a clever marketing strategy and nothing more, Vodacom does have an influence on the television audience and South African public. The importance of money to the professional sporting industry has been established in the above discussion as well as earlier chapters of the dissertation, especially Chapter Three. The contemporary sports industry would not be able to operate without the media and corporate sponsorship (Miller et al, 2001: 68). The money that Vodacom invests in South African rugby enables the sustainability of the sport and makes it possible for South Africans to partake in the common experience that

the government ideology of nationalism wishes to embrace⁴³. The common experience, as an agent for nation-building, is discussed in more detail during Chapter Eight of the dissertation. Vodacom literally does support South African rugby supporters. Without their corporate sponsorship in South African rugby, the public would not be able to experience the sport as they do now. The government would have to find another means to disseminate their ideology of nationalism and the ideal of broadcasting in the national interest would become obsolete and irrelevant.

7.4 Conclusion

The South African sports industry is fully reliant on the media for its survival. Professional rugby operates in a manner that closely resembles the entertainment industry where matches, events and tournaments are the performances. These performances are beamed around the world via satellite. Money has become a crucial element of sport in the professional era with the drive for financial gain steering the industry. This need for money has caused many aspects of the amateur game to be forgotten or left behind. International rugby tours need to be economically viable if they are to occur on a regular basis and provide sporting enthusiasts with the media content that they desire. Commercial broadcasters are responsible for these tours as they are the organisations most likely to be in position to purchase international broadcast rights. This responsibility is heightened when taking the global sporting industry into consideration; not only as a means of transmitting (what once were) local events to an international audience but sustaining the relationship and competition between sporting bodies. Subscription based broadcasters can increase the number of their customers and advertisers will inevitably follow the largest audience. The attraction of sports to advertisers and sponsors is made clear by the discussion of Vodacom's presence within South African rugby. Audiences are continuously exposed to brands that pay large sums of money to be associated with the winning team. The corporate sponsors keep both professional sports and the possibility to broadcast in the national interest alive. Sports would not be able to promote the government ideology of nationalism if it were not for the money invested in the industry. Chapter Eight analyses the audience reception of televised rugby. The analysis provides insight into whether or not televised rugby contributes towards efforts of nation-building and the perception of professional rugby from the consumers' point of view.

⁴³ Readers are referred to Figure One in Chapter One of the dissertation.

Chapter Eight: Playing For the Nation

8.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the role that televised rugby plays in efforts of nation-building within a South African context. The data that is discussed is based on the ten audience interviews conducted during the research process. This chapter sets out to answer one of the main research questions of the dissertation; whether or not televised rugby helps in the unification of citizens and the promotion of nationalist sentiments? It will also be established in due course whether the national interest actually meets the needs of the end consumer.

As television is a medium that makes use of both audio and visual elements, the potential for nation-building is greatly enhanced. Factors within a televised rugby broadcast such as commentary and visual imagery have an influence on the text as a whole. The manner in which these factors are interpreted and viewed by audience members are of great importance. The reception of rugby matches by audience members is pertinent to the outcome of the dissertation. A general acceptance of the matches deemed to be in the national interest would suggest that the 2003 ICASA Position Paper has successfully identified the most appropriate rugby events to be broadcast to all South Africans with access to a television set.

Nation-building should not only be seen as a process between black and white members of the population. The 2007 Rugby World Cup victory provides all South Africans with a common experience. People were given the opportunity to stand together and embrace their country's success. Photographs taken at the victory parade along the Durban beachfront after the World Cup squad returned to South Africa show a diverse selection of people who under different circumstances may not have come together to support one squad of players (see Figure Five in Chapter Six). Differences that exist here include those of race, gender, age, language, occupation, social standing and perhaps even religion. To view televised rugby's role in nation-building purely along racial lines would be narrow minded and, to an extent, incomplete. Television's role in the creation of a common experience is an important one. The medium successfully brought an event staged in Paris into the lives of people all across South Africa.

8.2 Team allegiances

South African rugby supporters or even just members of the population who are exposed to televised rugby on a regular basis have an affinity towards certain teams. The strength of the relationship with a specific team varies from audience member to audience member. Those audience members who consider themselves supporters or fans of rugby generally support both a provincial team as well as the senior national team, the Springboks. A number of interviewees suggested that they will watch their teams play as often as possible. Some of the respondents said that they had a definite routine when watching televised rugby, especially during the height of the season. When asked how often they engage with televised rugby, many respondents replied with, “Whenever it’s on.” The relationship that exists between supporter and provincial outfit is generally based on region (see also Horne, 2006: 61 – 67). The majority of respondents interviewed during the research process indicated that they support the Sharks because they are from KwaZulu-Natal and, more specifically, the Durban area.

Supporters are able to relate to the team that represents their province even though many of the players do not hail from the actual province in question. The professional nature of modern rugby has yielded a scenario where players often follow lucrative contracts to the highest paying union. The movement of players in such a regard has lead some rugby supporters to see the players as professionals ‘doing their jobs’. Such sentiments again highlight the parallels between professional sport and the entertainment industry. In one particular audience interview the respondent, Victoria Johnson⁴⁴, suggested that players do not represent her on the field because they follow money and high paying contracts. Johnson used the example of Butch James who is currently playing in England. James, a Springbok and former Sharks player, left the South African domestic scene to play for Bath⁴⁵ in the European leagues. Johnson implies that the players follow contracts that will further their careers as professional sportsmen. As a result she does not relate directly to the players. The players, however, work for a union that represents her due to location. The players on the Sharks pay roster do not alter her allegiance to the team.

⁴⁴ Victoria Johnson is the interviewee’s real name. She did not object to being identified in the dissertation.

⁴⁵ Bath is a professional club side based in England.

There also appears to be a genuine level of support for the national team because of citizenship. A number of respondents implied that they support the Springboks because they are South African. The recognition that the audience gives the national team shall be explored further in the following sections of the chapter. The support that is generated for the national team encompasses rugby enthusiasts irrespective of their provincial ties. The national team is in a unique position in that the players need to be eligible for selection. Someone like Frederic Michalak who played for the Sharks in the 2008 Currie Cup cannot play for South Africa despite representing a provincial union. Michalak is a French national and has represented France at Test level. South Africa's Test team must be drawn from South African citizens or players who have been deemed permissible by International Rugby Board (IRB) regulations⁴⁶. The Springbok team can be considered a team of 'South Africans'. Such a label helps the construction of a common experience amongst audience members who watch the team play on television because people from all over the country can relate to the team. The Springboks are not restricted to certain urban areas or location in the way that provincial unions are. Factors linking the team to the people of South Africa are discussed later in the chapter. The media exposure given to the national team helps communicate the common experience which is imperative to efforts of nation-building and forging a national identity.

8.3 Creating a common experience

This section of the chapter will argue that televised rugby has the ability to create a common experience which South Africans can embrace. Rugby has the ability to reach out to many South Africans who have an interest in the sport. People who have the financial resources at their disposal and can afford subscription based broadcasting have access to a vast quantity of rugby related programming throughout the year. SuperSport includes many different levels of rugby related programming in their television schedules. The network broadcasts matches from a schoolboy and club level all the way through to the senior national team. Events involving South African teams (international and domestic) as well as foreign competitions (such as the Six Nations, French Top14, Heineken Cup and the Air New Zealand Cup) are made available to DStv subscribers. SuperSport's financial capabilities and the many channels available in a digital bouquet enable the company to do so. However, these events

⁴⁶ For more information on player eligibility for national selection visit:
http://www.irb.com/mm/document/lawsregs/0/regulation8080610_6065.pdf

are only experienced by a small minority of the population. The common experience that will be explored in this section of the chapter refers primarily to the broadcasting of rugby matches deemed to be in the national interest and therefore made available to all South Africans with access to a television – irrespective of their financial status. For more information regarding rugby matches deemed to be in the national interest, and therefore required by law to be made available to all South Africans on a free-to-air broadcaster, refer to Chapter Six of the dissertation.

8.3.1 The Springboks are the national interest

One of the main trends identified whilst conducting audience interviews during the research process was an affinity towards South Africa's national rugby team, the Springboks. The attraction held by the Springbok rugby team was found appealing by respondents who saw themselves as fans or supporters of rugby as well as those who did not. Those interviewees who considered themselves rugby supporters or fans felt that the Springbok team held an appeal based on the fact that the team represented the country's elite players. These players have received their national colours and have, as a result, achieved a great deal in their sport. Some interviewees who have played organised rugby (at both a school and club level) suggested that as rugby players they can relate to the Springboks who epitomise the highest level of an organisation or body that they have represented – to a certain degree – as well. Respondents who did not consider themselves rugby fans or supporters suggested that the appeal and hype surrounding large scale Test matches motivated them to engage with the related rugby programming. Other media forms such as newspapers and radio coverage were identified as factors generating additional hype around rugby matches in the days or weeks preceding the actual events. The days preceding the 2008 Currie Cup Final between the Natal Sharks (based in Durban and representing the province of KwaZulu-Natal) and the Blue Bulls (who are based in Pretoria), for example, clearly shows both the media and public interest held by the event⁴⁷. The match was a major talking point on the radio station 5FM⁴⁸ in the days leading up to the actual event. The event received much more coverage before match day than regular seasonal Currie Cup fixtures. The radio coverage, as well as interest shown by other media forms, would have helped build and sustain a public interest in the event played out in Durban. The mass appeal of the game would have been bolstered by the

⁴⁷ In the Currie Cup, teams are provincially based.

⁴⁸ 5FM is a South African national radio station falling under the SABC umbrella.

additional media attention given to the one off event; justifying the inclusion of national knockout finals in the ICASA list of events declared to be of a national interest.

In the majority of instances respondents felt that they would watch a Test match involving the Springboks ahead of a domestic match comprising of teams participating in, for example, the annual Currie Cup competition. Sentiments such as these indicate that the national team is viewed as being more prestigious than even the better or more successful provincial teams in South Africa. Attitudes that were uncovered during the interviews suggested that the mass appeal held by rugby matches involving the Springboks acted as motivation to watch the related events. Many respondents referred to the sport's unifying potential when discussing reasons why they watch the senior national team. Some respondents alluded to the fact that they might often land up watching the Springboks play on television due to the fact that other South Africans – or even just their family and friends – would be doing the same thing. An element or feeling of inclusion is noticeable amongst audience members of televised rugby. When audience members include themselves in the event and watch the Springboks play on television they are also able to participate in other post-match activities. When asked whether or not they used words such as 'we' and 'us' when describing the Springbok team or their favourite provincial unions and 'them' and 'they' the opposition, many respondents suggested that they do associate themselves with their teams in such a manner. The level of this association will be explored further in the coming sections of the chapter. However, when looked at in the light of the current discussion, we are able to see that the event does not culminate with the blowing of the final whistle by the referee.

People making up televised rugby's audience, as with those who attend matches live at the venue, extend their involvement with the text or event through discussion and debate. Interviewees who acknowledged that they do use words such as 'we' and 'us' when referring to their teams indicate this continued involvement. These interviewees pointed out that they do engage further with the text. Interviewees implied that they talk about the games and events that they have seen unfold on television when acknowledging the use of the terms. The common experience that is manufactured by rugby events broadcast in the national interest is extended in this regard. People are able to relate to others and contribute to the established sense of community when discussing recent rugby matches. The idea of the common

experience in this regard is closely linked to the discussion of the imagined community by Anderson (1991: 12 – 19), as included in Chapter Two of the dissertation. People do not necessarily need to know each other in order to understand that they are of the same nation and have a similar set of interests. Televised rugby acts the vehicle delivering a common experience to the audience. This has the ability to bring likeminded people together as a single entity.

The extent to which rugby supporters and audience members will go to in order to communicate with other likeminded people is made evident on the rugby website <http://www.keo.co.za>. The website caters for South African sporting enthusiasts who have a particular interest in cricket and rugby. Rugby related articles are posted on the website and registered users are able to comment on the articles and provide their opinions on the general state of South African rugby. The website has a few regular users who communicate via their posted comments. This particular online community has a few strange characteristics or traditions that are played out amongst the regular users. There appears to be a constant struggle amongst the regulars to post the first comment after each article as well as the mandatory post of ‘dragons’. The interaction between members of online rugby communities would provide for an interesting case study but falls out of the main scope of this particular dissertation. The establishment of such communities, however, indicates the way in which rugby can bring likeminded people together and help forge the notion of the imagined community. The common experience is required for people to engage in the manner that they do when discussing rugby related stories. Television is important in this regard as it is the prime medium exposing people to the actual event and initial text.

South African rugby that is deemed to be in the national interest helps stimulate the common experience as the whole country is afforded the opportunity to engage with the text. An analysis of the SAARF results of the week housing the 2007 Rugby World Cup Final involving South Africa and England clearly shows the mass appeal held by the event (see Appendix 6). The Final, which was broadcast on both SuperSport and SABC2, met the needs of a large portion of the South African public. The match featured on the top ten lists for the week of programming watched by ‘All Adults’ on both M-Net and SABC2. In fact, according to the SAARF results, the Final was the most watched item on SABC2 for the entire week. This clearly shows that the appeal of the event on a national scale. Had SABC2 not shown the

event, the majority of South Africans interested in the game would have been unable to experience the country's international success. In addition, the match featured highly in the audience ratings across the different language groups. This accentuates the idea of unification amongst citizens as South Africans from an array of backgrounds (race, culture and class to name but a few) were all exposed to the same event. The common experience as a result of the 2007 Rugby World Cup triumph is one that can be embraced by a full spectrum of the South African population. The appeal held by high profile games shall be discussed at length in the following passages. Both the 2007 Rugby World Cup Final and the 2008 Currie Cup Final have been utilised in the above discussion as events contributing towards the construction of a common experience. A common experience can fuel the drive towards a national identity and aid in efforts of nation-building. Deciphering which rugby events have the greatest ability to do so becomes an important process.

8.3.2 More rewards, more appeal

Rugby events that appear to be the most appealing to audience members are those that contain the most rewards for the winning team. The exploits of the national team against international opposition are firm favourites when viewed through such a lens. An interesting finding that was uncovered during the research process was the reason why success on the sports field is such a high priority for South Africans. A number of respondents indicated that success on the sports field gave the country 'bragging rights'. Victory enables South Africans to be proud of their achievements and places the country in the limelight of the international sporting fraternity. Being labelled 'World Champions' provides South Africans with the opportunity to focus on positive achievements opposed to the more everyday rigours and realities of society. The fact that South Africa has won two World Cups, along with Australia the most by any country, allows enthusiasts to further enjoy the fruits of success; and the resultant bragging rights.

Figure Ten: South Africa achieve 'World Champion' status for the second time



International victories are important because they elevate South Africa within the global hierarchy or order. A number of respondents proposed that success on the rugby field is important because South Africa is no longer viewed as ‘just a third world country’ by the opposition. Victory over first world or developed countries is particularly sweet as it shows South Africa to be at the forefront of a specific movement. This, coupled with the notion that professional sports are easily located within the entertainment industry, allows South Africans to be proud of a product that they deliver on the international stage. The sentiments held by Khuboni refer in this regard.

I think I feel very proud! African countries are not to standard of overseas countries. Europe. We are regarded as inferior. So when South Africa wins they are putting us to a bigger level. Same level as European countries. Makes me feel very proud.

The success of the Springboks on the international stage has the ability to promote positive feelings towards the country. Although some respondents suggested that success on the sporting field was purely a sporting matter and remained between the white lines, the benefits are significant in that the common experience is shared amongst a full spectrum of the country’s population. Even if restricted to the sporting environment, victory leads to feelings of passion and evokes a sense of patriotism amongst South Africans. The majority of respondents claimed to have felt a sense of patriotism when the Springboks won the 2007 Rugby World Cup in France. They stated that they were proud to call themselves South Africans in light of the team’s achievement. The tenacity of such a sentiment is discussed later in the chapter when exploring televised rugby’s affect on nation-building within a South African context. The section will analyse the longevity that is associated with success on the sporting field and whether it can aid long-term efforts of nation-building or rather promotes weekend patriotism.

Domestic competitions are held in high esteem by audience members as well. Currie Cup matches that feature two of the larger and more powerful unions, for example, muster a fair deal of public support. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, regional ties play a noteworthy role when creating an allegiance with a specific team. All of the interviewees who regularly watch televised rugby said that they support the Sharks in local competitions. Matches involving the Sharks and Blue Bulls were considered to be important matches by many of the respondents. The success of the two teams in the 2008 Currie Cup cannot go

unnoticed when analysing what it considered to be a ‘big’ provincial encounter. The fact that the Blue Bulls and the Sharks fought out the final of the 2008 competition is testament to the awareness that is created by success on the field and the ensuing media attention.

A few of the more avid rugby supporters put forward that a Currie Cup match may at times be more appealing than a Test match involving the Springboks. The Springbok’s opposition played a major role when such an occurrence transpired. Domestic matches involving teams such as the Sharks and Blue Bulls would be considered more entertaining and contain ‘better rugby’ than a Test match involving South Africa and Uruguay, for example. Lesser known rugby playing countries appear to fall out of favour amongst audience members. The result of the Test match may often be a foregone conclusion. Rugby supporters may still watch the game but the spectacle as a media text does not compare to the matches played between the more established Test teams. Sentiments such as these corroborate earlier suggestions that professional sport can be located within the entertainment industry. Even though audience members may be attracted to the national team due to elements of patriotism and national unity, there is still a desire to be entertained and experience a quality media product. In some instances this may be more readily achieved by domestic fixtures. The views expressed by Njabulo Sithole⁴⁹ refer:

If South Africa is playing, um well no, Fiji got quite far in the last World Cup. If SA is playing, like I don’t know a team that we can thrash. Yes, Uruguay. Why? That’s a waste of my time because, you know, the outcome is a foregone conclusion. Where Natal is playing a team where they’re relatively on the same level, you know, that’s gonna be a better game. I’ll watch the better game. If I had a choice between a Natal game which is going to be competitive and an SA game that is going to be a straight walkover, I will watch the more competitive game.

The fierce rivalry that exists between certain provincial unions could come across as a divisive influence on the ability to construct a nation through televised rugby. However, the manner in which the national team is identified as representing the country trumps provincial allegiances. The interviewees who considered themselves rugby fans generally identified two teams that they support. In most cases, the two teams were their provincial affiliation (Sharks) and the national team.

⁴⁹ Njabulo Sithole is the interviewee’s real name. He did not object to being identified within the dissertation.

8.3.3 Red-carding provincialism

The domestic setup in South African rugby does not appear to diminish the national appeal of the Springbok rugby team. As briefly alluded to in the previous section of the chapter, most audience members interviewed who actively engage with televised rugby indicated that they have two primary teams that they support. In each case a domestic team was favoured as well as the country's Test team. The annual Currie Cup showcases the best that local talent has to offer. The fierce battles that are fought out on the field provide rugby enthusiasts with an opportunity to engage with a well structured and popular form of entertainment. The provincial allegiances that are created are based almost exclusively on region. Interviewees who supported the Sharks suggested that they do so because they are from Durban. A number of respondents said that they would continue to support the Sharks in the Currie Cup and Super14 even if they (the respondents) were to leave KwaZulu-Natal and take up residence in another province. The team links audience members to their region, where they are from. The relationship that exists between supporter and province is a strong one. But that is all it is – provincial. When discussing the politics of South African rugby, a number of respondents suggested that the best players in South Africa should be selected to represent their country. Such sentiments are discussed at greater depth later in the chapter. However, these feelings do indicate that the national team is a widely supported group of players, irrespective of their provincial contracts. One's desire to see their country do well on the international stage outweighs provincial boundaries. Audience members are happy to oblige if supporting and having faith in the country's best team means cheering for players who represent other provincial unions and wear different coloured jerseys on the local scene.

The 2007 Super14 saw the first ever final of the competition played between two South African teams. The match which was played in Durban between the Sharks and the Bulls brought the country its first Super14 victory. The Bulls emerged the victors much to the disappointment of the home crowd. However, the disappointment that was felt by a number of Sharks fans was soon turned into a positive outcome. Several interviewees admitted that they were bitterly disappointed with the fact that the Sharks lost the final but suggested that as time passed by they were happy that the Bulls had won the match. The result at least provided a South African franchise with Super14 success. The fact that the Bulls and the Sharks contested the final was viewed as a major triumph in that both franchises are South African. The all South African Super14 final and the Springbok's success at the 2007 Rugby

World Cup later in the year proved to be significant events for rugby enthusiasts. Provincial allegiances can at times be pushed to the side to allow for a better ‘South African experience’ when the moment requires it. The 2007 Super14 final provides evidence that red-cards the idea of provincialism within South African rugby. When required, South Africans can put their own provincial allegiances aside for the greater good of the South African experience.

Powerful images supporting the nation’s interests opposed to smaller regional ties are relayed to the country via televised sports. The 2007 South African rugby season again refers. The World Champion Springbok squad were quickly thrust into the public domain after they arrived home from the 2007 Rugby World Cup in France. A prime example showing the potential for unity amongst South Africans as a result of success on the international stage was shown at the 2007 Currie Cup Final. The match which was played between the Cheetahs (based in Bloemfontein) and the Lions (based in Johannesburg) included visuals of the Springbok team with the William Webb Ellis Cup. At half-time of the Currie Cup Final the Springbok team paraded around the field with the trophy. The squad was well received by all in the crowd. Supporters of the two teams in the final seemed to momentarily forget about their provincial allegiances. Together, the spectators were caught up in the euphoria of the nation’s triumph and helped create a memorable moment for South African television. Images from the broadcast show Cheetahs and Lions supporters celebrating together. Although these images may seem trivial and a concoction of mass hype and the carnival nature of live sporting events, they relay a sincere recognition of a national identity and appreciation of a national achievement to the television audience. The Test team’s success was a uniting factor that was experienced (again) by those at the venue and watching on television.

Figure Eleven: Cheetahs and Lions fans celebrate the 2007 Springbok success



The unity amongst supporters at the 2007 Currie Cup Final correlates with the views held by Khuboni. During his interview, Khuboni elaborates upon his attitudes towards the

Springbok team. Khuboni indicated that he prefers Currie Cup rugby played in South Africa. The South African team is mixture of the best Currie Cup players in the eyes of Khuboni. He enjoys the Springboks as the team brings all the supporters of provincial teams together as a single entity. People who may Support the Blue Bulls in the Currie Cup link up with the Sharks supporters and eagerly follow the exploits of a single team. Acknowledging the Springbok team as the country's elite players performing together helps red-card provincialism entirely. The Springboks are the country's top players drawn from all the provincial unions. Their exploits represent all of rugby's stakeholders – even if the team is comprised primarily of players contracted to the larger unions.

8.3.4 The Springboks and South Africa

The common experience that is created when broadcasting in the national interest assists in the promotion of a South African nation. South Africans are given the opportunity to stand together and support a single body or event that is not restricted to those members of society who have the necessary financial resources to afford subscription based television. The following passages will analyse various components of televised rugby and how they promote an association with the team playing on the field. Areas of particular interest that are incorporated into the discussion include the visual imagery associated with televised Test rugby, verbal commentary and the presence of national symbols within the text. The discussion will identify ways in which the Springboks are linked to South Africa and, as a result, the South Africans watching on television.

A common question that was posed to all interviewees was whether or not the senior national team represented them as individuals or as members of a larger community. Some of the interviewees acknowledged that the team represented them as individuals because they (the interviewees) had an interest in the game and watch rugby regularly on television. However, the majority of respondents indicated that the national team did not represent them as individuals but rather as part of a larger community. Respondents acknowledged that the players were doing their jobs, as professional sportsmen, but often carried the expectations of all the people watching the game in the stadium as well as on television. Some interviewees said that the Springboks could not represent them as individuals because they did not know the players personally. Interviewees who regularly watch televised rugby understand that those selected to represent the Springboks have achieved a great deal in their sport and are the

country's elite players. Those on the field playing as 'South Africa' are selected from a whole host of professionals and are considered to be the best in their positions. The allegiance to the team (from the perspective of spectators and audience members) is the recognition that the players in the senior national team are selected from the various provinces or franchises within the South African state.

The South African state is represented by a number of national symbols that are widely accepted and recognised by the country's citizens. The state has its own flag and anthem which people immediately recognise as being 'South Africa'. These symbols are visual and verbal signs that signify the sovereign state of South Africa. The Springbok rugby jersey has a South African flag on it, which links the players to the South African state. Both teams participating in a Test match sing their national anthems prior to kick-off. Audience members are again reminded of the links back to the state when the national anthem is performed. The majority of interviewees successfully identified that national anthems were sung only before Test matches and not provincial games. The presence of national symbols within television broadcasts helps associate audience members with the team. The symbols identify the team as being South African and, therefore, different to provincial teams, which do not reflect a national identity. Several interviewees indicated that the national anthem performed before the game is one of the most striking elements of a televised Test match. The text that is broadcast and made available to all South Africans (when deemed to be in the national interest) invites viewers to identify with the team because of the presence of such symbols. Almost all of the interviewees suggested that they did not have a problem with national symbols being broadcast on television. In fact, respondents felt that the presence of national symbols increased the cultural value of the text and added to its significance as a media product.

The group of players plying their trade on the field are again linked to the state and the people of South Africa through the presence of public figures at important games. The efforts of Nelson Mandela to unite a single nation behind the Springbok team during the 1995 Rugby World Cup (hosted in South Africa) are well documented. A recently published book entitled, *Playing the Enemy: Nelson Mandela and the game that made a nation* (Carlin, 2008) explores the measures that Mandela went to in an attempt to unite a nation behind a single team. Mandela, aware of the benefits of sport in uniting a people, mobilised rugby to perform

the task in the newly democratic South Africa (Carlin, 2008: 159 - 170). Carlin notes how Mandela was often criticised by his own party members and supporters for wanting to keep the Springbok emblem and for putting his support behind a team that was seen by many to represent the apartheid state and unequal opportunity in South Africa (2008: 201 - 211). However, Mandela utilised rugby as a means to reach out to the people of South Africa, especially whites, in an attempt build a new South Africa. Mandela signified to black South Africans that the team represented them as well as white South Africans by wearing the Springbok jersey on the day of the final. Simultaneously, Mandela signified to white South Africans by wearing the Springbok jersey that they had a place in the new South Africa under majority rule (Carlin, 2008: 201 - 211). Such images are broadcast to all South Africans watching Test rugby on television. Feelings of inclusion result with the exploits of the players again linked back to the state and ultimately the people of South Africa. Visuals of public figures such as Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki celebrating with the Springboks after they won the 1995 and 2007 Rugby World Cups respectively help associate the success of the team with the people of South Africa - who they (as leaders) represent. The common experience is shared further in that the democratically elected leader of the state is associated with the team. In 2007, for example, Mbeki was South Africa's leader. By associating himself with the team, he associated the people of South Africa with the players and the resultant success and jubilation.

Figure Twelve: Mandela and Mbeki with the Springboks



The television broadcast of the 2007 Rugby World Cup Final contested between South Africa and England in Paris contained a number of striking visuals that emphasised the link between the players and the South African state. The television broadcast contains

images of the players (from both teams) entering the playing arena. Both teams walk onto the field simultaneously following a flag bearer carrying their national flag. The images emphasise the notion that the players are representing the interests of their respective countries. Several interviewees regarded rugby matches as battles between competing nations. The imagery shown during the broadcast supports such sentiments. Both the teams' national anthems are shown in the broadcast with an interesting array of shots utilised by the producers. Visuals of British Prime Minister, Gordon Brown, as well as South African President, Thabo Mbeki, are shown whilst the players sing the anthems. Shots of spectators singing along with the players emphasise ideas of inclusion and association with the team. The producers also included visuals of Prince William and Prince Harry during the segment helping English supporters recognise the interests of their team. The visuals used during the singing of the national anthems help forge a connection between the players on the field and the audience members watching at home.

Figure Thirteen: Players, President and spectators singing the national anthem in Paris



(Rugby World Cup Final, 2007).

The commentary embedded within the text has an influence on the broadcast as well. The 2007 Rugby World Cup involving South Africa is no different. The broadcast referred to in this section of chapter appeared live on SABC2 in South Africa. The commentators speak in both English and Afrikaans; helping relate the text to a South African audience. The global television transmission was altered to suit South African viewers through the overlaid audio commentary. The commentators on SABC were not entirely objective. Although they did represent the events fairly, certain comments made prior to kick-off and during the match clearly indicated their support for South Africa. One particular comment made by Craig Marais to Pieter Hendricks clearly shows how elements of the commentary can influence the text. Marais states the following in the broadcast:

And we're all ready to go for the 2007 Rugby World Cup Final here at the Stade de France in Paris and let's hope, Pieter that it's the Springbok's night (SABC2, 20 October 2007).

This particular extract clearly shows the commentator's support for South Africa and desire to see the South African team emerge victorious. The media text, when commentary is added, can help associate the audience with the players. Comments such as Marais' could promote South African audience members to support and identify with the team. Both commentators during the match continuously refer to the national team as the 'Springboks' or 'South Africa'. This helps the viewer relate to the players on the field. If the team was only referred to as the 'Springboks' many viewers, especially those who do not actively engage with televised rugby on a regular basis, may not successfully make the link between themselves and the players. By referring to the team as 'South Africa' at times, viewers watching on television are able to relate more easily to the team. A mentality along the lines of, 'they are South Africa, I am South African, therefore, they represent us' could emerge. Footage leading to the half-time discussion of the final in the SABC studio indicated a desire by the broadcaster to garner support for the Springbok team. The frames presented below signify how the aspiration of the nation rested in the hands of the Springbok squad.

Figure Fourteen: Frames leading to the half-time discussion of the 2007 final



The frames leading to the SABC2 half-time discussion of the 2007 Rugby World Cup Final imply that the entire nation is represented by the players on the field. The players' dream for World Cup success is shared by their supporters watching on television. Success for the team, in other words, would mean success for the nation. The sentiments felt would add to the idea of the common experience endured by all South Africans watching the match on SABC2. The common experience would generate a platform on which South Africans could relate to each other and help efforts of nation-building. South African victories on the sporting field help fuel a collective memory that exists between a wide range of people making up the

country's population. Sports deemed to be in the national interest stimulate the collective memory as footage is not restricted to those who have subscription based television.

The above passages show how televised rugby can hail audience members to support a specific team or identify with the players representing their country. Televised rugby does not focus exclusively on the players and officials. The text often includes images of the spectators in the crowd. The spectators that are often picked up by the camera operators and included in the broadcasts are those sporting painted faces, waving flags or wearing clothing that is easily associated with the team they are supporting. Such visuals can help audience members watching at home identify with the spectators and the players. When South Africa scores a try, for example, a shot of the crowd waving flags and cheering is included in the text. These spectators are happy because their team has scored or taken the lead. Objects such as flags and replica jerseys link the spectators to the players. A number of the interviewees suggested that they approve of spectators waving flags and sporting painted faces being included in the broadcast as they show their support for the team. The audience members are exposed to the emotions of the spectators through such visuals. This process links television audiences to the event and helps them experience what those at the event are feeling. Spectators waving the South African flag are rejoicing on television, therefore, as South Africans, the audience members – through association with the objects depicted in the text – rejoice. Flags and other easily recognisable national symbols help associate audience members with their team and other interested spectators. A common group of supporters sharing similar interests are represented. At the same time, such symbols help audience members identify the 'other'. An English flag shown during the broadcast, for example, will help South African audience members identify who they are not and therefore who the opposition is.

The interview process highlighted the degree to which certain television audience members relate to the rugby events that they are exposed to through the medium. A number of respondents, including some of those who did not consider themselves rugby supporters or fans, indicated that they use the words 'us' and 'we' when describing events involving the teams that they support. Words such as 'them' and 'they' were used, on the contrary, to describe the opposition team's performance. Several respondents said they were not sure how they referred to their teams as they had not thought about it much before. However, when

listening to the recordings of their interviews, similar terms of referral were identified when discussing other topics. The use of words such as 'us' and 'we' show how audience members readily associate themselves with the teams that they support. These words prove that televised rugby has the ability to assist efforts of nation-building. Interviewees, regardless of differences such as age, gender, race and religion, saw themselves as being a part of the Springboks through the use of such words. Their interests, along with the others who express themselves in a similar manner, are represented by the players on the field. Audience members suggest that they are part of a larger community which is built around a passion or interest in rugby. The common experience that is created when broadcasting in the national interest acts as a way of uniting likeminded people who identify similarities in each other.

8.4 The long and short of it: constructing a nation or weekend patriotism?

The above sections of the chapter have shown that televised rugby has the ability to aid efforts of nation-building and the construction of a South African national identity. How effective televised rugby is in long-term efforts of nation-building remains to be shown. This section of the chapter discusses the views held by respondents on the longevity of televised rugby as an agent for nation-building. All of the interviewees who had watched the 2007 Rugby World Cup Final between South Africa and England had indicated that they were quite emotional after the final whistle. The victory was seen to be an important occasion for the country and some interviewees linked the experience to the Springbok's success in the 1995 Rugby World Cup hosted by South Africa. Audience members felt a sense of patriotism towards the country as a result of the 2007 victory in Paris. The majority of interviewees alluded to the fact that they felt proud to call themselves South African. Some even admitted to crying towards the end of the game. The responses to the questions suggested that the World Cup does mean a lot more to television audience members than regular seasonal Test matches and provincial games. The immediate post-match celebrations were a direct result of the team's crowning as 'World Champions', a label many supporters transferred onto themselves through an association with the team. The response to the World Cup victory by South Africans helps add to the development of the common experience. In the days preceding the final as well as the days immediately afterwards were important to the national psyche. Motor vehicles were seen sporting national and Springbok flags. Supporters were also seen wearing replica jerseys in the days before the match. South Africans were forming a united front even before the day of the final.

Televised rugby can promote long-term efforts of nation-building as well as ‘weekend patriotism’. The affect that televised rugby has in this regard will depend a great deal on the individuals exposed to the content material. Interviewees who considered themselves rugby fans and supporters were more inclined to see the long-term effects of rugby on the construction of a South African nation and the unification amongst fellow citizens. Some of the respondents suggested that the emotions that they felt after South Africa had won the 2007 World Cup in Paris had not faded over time. Some interviewees stated that the feeling will last forever as the memory of the event will not fade. ‘South Africa’ being engraved on the trophy was another factor influencing the longevity of the accomplishment. Future generations will be reminded of the Springboks’ successes in 1995 and 2007, as well as any future triumphs, in the years to come because of the trophy. The common experience shared by South Africans is proudly recorded on the trophy. Any future victories in the competition will add to the nation’s already noted successes. It was established that certain audience members and supporters of other sporting codes will try and transfer the feelings of pride and patriotism generated by the Springbok’s success in 2007 onto other national teams. One particular interviewee, Douglas Mattushek, suggested that the emotions he felt and the joy experienced when South African won the world cup could be transferred onto his support for the South African cricket team. The success, according to Mattushek, places South African sport in the spotlight and suggests that the country has the players, personnel and the necessary structures in place to achieve further on the international stage. Such sentiments interviewees highlight the importance of broadcasting a number of diverse codes in the national interest. The success of one code can be transferred onto others improving efforts of nation-building in South Africa. Consecutive successes on the field by the senior national teams of sporting codes deemed to be in the national interest would add to the ‘feel good’ nature promoted by South African sport. The chances of long-term nation-building would be enhanced as well.

Other interviewees felt that victory between the white lines was more likely to bring ‘weekend patriotism’ than successfully build a South African nation and national identity. The interviewees who held such opinions suggested that the emotion experienced after winning on the sport field was short lived. People soon return to their everyday lives and roles in society. Some respondents who felt televised rugby contributed towards weekend patriotism felt that national symbols within broadcasts were more to associate spectators with

the players than create links back to the state. The group of players representing ‘South Africa’ were seen as professional players who would follow the most lucrative contracts during their careers. Waving a South African flag showed support for the team opposed to the country as a whole. Other respondents who shared similar beliefs felt that the success of the Springbok team at the 2007 Rugby World Cup was a success for sport and did not necessarily spill out onto other facets of public life. Politics within South African sport was generally frowned upon by audience members. Interviewees who commented on the presence of political interference in rugby felt that it could stifle some of the positives created by the men in green and gold.

8.5 Hands in the ruck⁵⁰: political involvement and rugby

South African rugby often finds itself participating in a controversial playing arena. The sport is regularly criticised by politicians for its slow pace of transformation and apparent reluctance to embrace equal opportunity. This is often interpreted as being a criticism of the number of players of colour included in the teams. When removing political bias and agendas from the situation, the sport remains a popular form of entertainment for many South Africans. Interviewees from an array of cultural backgrounds suggested that they were not happy with the current levels of political interference in South African sport. Both black and white respondents indicated that they would prefer to have a sporting environment that was clear of political involvement. The general consensus was that players be selected on merit and should be able to represent their country efficiently at the highest level. The political interference within South African sport was not limited to the players. Some respondents felt that administrators and coaches should be the best candidates for the job as well. Sifiso Khuboni⁵¹, for example, felt that current Springbok coach Peter de Villiers was appointed because SARU wanted to make history by selecting their first black coach. de Villiers is a ‘coloured’ person as opposed to the previous coach, Jake White, who (ironically) is white. Khuboni stated categorically that White should have been retained as coach after the World

⁵⁰ A ruck in rugby is a breakdown in play usually created by a successful tackle. The ball is on the ground and players must use their feet to win the ball or regain possession. Players who get caught using their hands in the ruck may be penalised by the referee. Repeat offenders may be yellow-carded and sent from the field for ten minutes.

⁵¹ Sifiso Khuboni is the interviewee’s real name. He did not object to being identified in the dissertation.

Cup because he had proved himself and had achieved much success during his tenure as Springbok coach.

The sentiments discussed above indicate the fact that South African audiences want to embrace rugby as the popular form of entertainment that it is for them. Unwarranted levels of political involvement dampen the spirits associated with success on the field. The jubilation that was experienced after the 2007 Springboks returned as World Champions was short lived in the media. Focus was soon turned towards the coaching succession battle which broke out into the public domain. This dissertation, however, does not attempt to scrutinise the politics of South African rugby. The main concern of this dissertation is rugby as a media text and how the sport is received and utilised by audience members. For this reason, the results of political involvement (opposed to the involvement itself) on audience members viewing habits and how audiences relate to the text is investigated further in the coming passages.

The media experience is influenced by political involvement to a certain degree. A great deal of the theory, literature and findings discussed in this dissertation allude to the fact that professional sport is firmly entrenched within the entertainment industry. The media product (televised rugby) is a much sought after and freely traded commodity. Television broadcasters, sponsors, advertisers and audience members want their piece of the action. When politicians get caught with their hands in the ruck the appeal of the product may be diminished and negatively affected. Respondents suggested that they approach games differently when there have been reported incidents of political involvement within South African rugby. The most interesting trend identified when analysing interviews was the tenacity shown by those who engage with South African rugby on television. All of the interviewees who stated that political interests and sport should be kept separate acknowledged that they would not refrain from watching televised rugby. The tenacity shown by audience members stresses the importance of rugby to many South Africans. Interested parties will continue to watch televised rugby even if the sport is used, in the eyes of audience members, to meet certain political agendas.

The audience members indicated that they would continue to watch televised rugby despite cases of political interference. A primary reason for their continued spectatorship was a sense of loyalty to their country. The manner in which the text is received by audience

members can differ drastically when compared to matches or events that are deemed to be free of political agendas. Interviewees suggested that they may be more critical of an event if there have been elements of political interference. If a player is forced into the squad, for example, respondents felt that they would be more critical of the player's performances and actively look for mistakes or negative attributes of their game. These mistakes could be used to justify rugby supporters' unhappiness with political interference in the sport.

Political involvement may alter the way in which audience members receive televised rugby. A strong bond does, however, persist between audience members and their team. This bond remains intact despite political meddling. There is a will for the country to perform on the international stage with the success of the senior national team the primary concern. The benefits of success and the common experience have been explored at great length in this chapter. The South African rugby community should not be alienated by political agendas or personal vendettas. The positive influence that sport has on the television audience (as an agent for nation-building) should be promoted at all costs. When viewed in light of the three spheres represented when broadcasting in the national interest, the interest of the public needs to be looked after. Although a professional industry, the majority of the sport's participants (spectators and audience members) are attracted by the prospect of entertainment and through their own choice. This choice should be respected.

8.6 Conclusion

Rugby that is broadcast in the national interest has the ability to promote efforts of nation-building within a South African context. The prime contributor is the wide-scale access to sporting content that emphasises the common experience. The common experience that is shared amongst a full array of South Africans can be based on both success and defeat on the international stage. All South Africans who engage with televised rugby deemed to be in the national interest are provided with the same media product or text to decode and appreciate. National symbols and public figures link the players on the field to the South African state. The national anthem that is sung before Test matches, national flags and national leaders are all easily recognisable and help South Africans identify with the team. Professional sportsmen represent more than just each other when plying their trade within the global media arena. The South African national team is well supported and more often than not trumps the local domestic teams in public appeal. The appeal that is held by the senior

national team over local domestic sides explains why it features more as an event declared to be in the national interest. Audience members may differ in opinion to the longevity of the national identity that is created by success on the field. The main point is the recognition that rugby can bring people together as a single community. Rugby should not be the sole agent for nation-building within South Africa but a cog in the overall effort. The sport is a successful way of hailing the willing participants to the national identity. The positive strides taken by the country's representatives on the field should be used by the powers that be as building blocks towards a better future...and a better South Africa.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion

9.1 Playing beyond the final whistle

This final chapter provides a summary of the main themes argued and incorporated into earlier sections of the dissertation. The main findings discussed in the latter chapters of the dissertation will be reiterated to ensure that a simple and congruent approach is presented to the reader. Recommendations and opinions relating to the ICASA stance on the national interest in terms of the acquisition and sale of sports broadcasting rights, as presented by the 2003 Position Paper, will be provided – with an eye on submission during future inquiries held. The final chapter will emphasise the importance of money and the sale of exclusive broadcast rights to the highest bidder in an attempt to maintain what has become an important attribute of the global entertainment industry. The South African citizenry is equally important to the sporting industry and must not be neglected in the pursuit of financial gain.

The line taken during this research is that of responsible broadcasting. The three most important spheres in South African sport (public, broadcasters and unions) must be provided equal weighting when broadcasting in the national interest. This will ensure that all the players' needs are met and the professional industry can sustain itself in the years to come. Broadcasting in the national interest implies that the nation's interest is met. A brief overview of televised rugby's contribution towards efforts of nation-building is provided. Finally, the chapter will provide an overview of potential research topics that could develop from this dissertation. A number of interesting findings and unforeseen trends were uncovered when writing this dissertation. At times, they fell outside the main scope of the dissertation and could not be explored further. Some could make suitable research topics of their own and warrant further investigation. The topics could add to the already established area of study and growing inquiry into South African sports media with CCMS at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

9.2 Rugby and the global entertainment industry

This dissertation has placed South African rugby firmly within the global entertainment industry. Professional rugby and sports in general are primarily geared towards the generation of wealth. Rugby matches that are broadcast on television should be viewed as media products that are produced with the intention of making money for the relevant stakeholders

involved. It was established that sporting unions make most of their money through the sale of their broadcast rights. The rights to an event are owned and controlled by the host nation or the organising body in question. The sale of South African broadcast rights to News Corporation, along with the rights in the other SANZAR nations, shows the lengths that global media companies will go to ensure that they have access to a valuable and sought after commodity. Unions are also inclined to sell their rights to the highest bidder in an attempt to secure financial stability and profit. Televised rugby in South Africa has a significant spectator appeal that advertisers and sponsors are eager to utilise. Players, venues, teams and competitions have become vehicles that deliver advertisers and sponsors to their prospective markets and consumers. Players are awash with strategically placed branding that ensures high paying advertisers and sponsors receive as much television coverage as possible. The dissertation detailed at length the relationship between South African rugby and the cellular communications company, Vodacom. The money that is received from Vodacom is used by SARU and specific teams, such as the Bulls, to maintain their professional structures. Vodacom, in return, receives valuable exposure throughout South Africa and across the world due to global appeal of sporting content.

Televised sport is treated by networks as an important genre that can be used to attract much needed audiences and potential subscribers. The commodity audience is an important factor and a prime reason why television networks are so eager to acquire sports broadcasting rights. Sporting events that attract large audiences will boost a network's ratings. The higher the rating for a specific slot, the more networks can charge would be advertisers. This brings in much needed money to the broadcaster. Revenue generated through the sale of advertising space in and around sporting content can be used to lessen the financial burden endured to secure the rights initially. Commercial networks use exclusivity to boost the number of subscribers paying to watch their content. The South African subscription based broadcasting terrain has been altered with ICASA awarding five new broadcasters licences. MultiChoice has utilised sport as an offensive measure to maintain its dominance in the market. This dissertation has looked at the way in which MultiChoice has used sport, in the same way as it has other popular genera such as movies, to keep their current subscribers from moving to the new networks. By securing the exclusive rights to the popular forms of television (including sport) in South Africa, the new broadcasters have very little to offer potential subscribers. Television has most definitely placed South African sport in the global media arena. South

African rugby does not, for the most part, operate according to its own mandate. The sport needs to take into account and heed to the needs of international broadcasters and sporting unions to ensure its own success and continued involvement in the entertainment industry.

It is possible for professional sports, when located within the entertainment industry, to neglect the interests of the end consumer. Those people who are responsible for the upkeep and sustenance of the industry through their actual involvement in sport and their important role as television audience members. When the industry goes unchecked, the results reflect those which occurred in South Africa before ICASA and the government stepped in to rectify the problem. The situation in South Africa, where only the financially privileged were able to experience sport, was not seen as ideal. Sporting unions and television subscription based broadcasters were benefiting to the detriment of the country's majority. A clear division between the rich and poor was drawn in the sand. The 'haves' on one side and the 'have nots' on the other.

9.2.1 Recommendations

The regulations put in place by ICASA in the 2003 Position Paper will always contain some form of criticism. Some people could suggest that there is too much sport on television and others could ask for more; or perhaps a greater variety of sporting codes. It is the opinion of this researcher that within the space limitations faced by free-to-air broadcasters and the other public service mandates that the SABC needs to meet, the national interest has been successfully implemented. However, the audience interviews conducted for this dissertation identified that 'big' local rugby matches have much audience appeal. Some interviewees suggested that they have to follow the Currie Cup with other media forms (mostly newspapers) because they do not have regular access to DStv. This dissertation recommends that the local content (domestic rugby) be increased and included as being in the national interest. A set of sub-category regulations could be implemented increasing the reach of local matches. The process would again be selective as fitting all Currie Cup matches, for example, into free-to-air broadcasting schedules would be an unrealistic goal. The recommendation of this dissertation is that the matches played between the previous year's Currie Cup finalists be shown at some point in the week following the event. The matches could be shown late at night in a timeslot that usually houses imported television programmes. This measure would add to the local content of the free-to-air broadcaster who buys the sub-licensed rights to the

events from the primary right holder. Audience members who do not want to stay up and watch the games when screened can record them and watch at a time that suits them. In weeks which the previous year's finalists are not playing, a match randomly selected could be shown in the same way. This would ensure that all the provinces competing in the Currie Cup receive the same amount of air-time; to the benefit of their sponsors. In the case of rugby, the free-to-air broadcaster would need to find a slot for one match per week; at the cost or expense of a foreign import programme. South Africa's indigenous games should also be included in the national interest. Even if just a 'highlights package' after one significant meeting a year (which could be created if needed – an Indigenous Games of sorts). In doing so, South Africans who choose to watch the event on television will be educated on their nation's heritage and experience a unique South African event. Such an 'Indigenous Games' event could be easily housed on the SABC as it could be used to meet a number of public service mandates: education, local content and sport.

9.3 Future research

A positive attribute of this particular dissertation is the fact that it does not stand alone and by itself in terms of academic insight. The dissertation can be located in an ongoing field of study within the realms of academia. The global media industry is well documented with the likes of globalisation and political economy being important and often researched frameworks. The inquiry into mediated sport is also a well researched topic. During the course of this dissertation, a number of interesting leads were uncovered which deserved further inquest. However, a number fell out of the main scope of this particular research. If these leads were afforded their own independent research they would contribute towards the current investigation of South African sport and the international media industry. From a political economy point-of-view, the shorter version of cricket would be an ideal topic and research dissertation on its own. The game, which is restricted to 20 overs per side, is ideal for television in that it is over quickly and has a definitive ending. The matches, which have all the elements of crowd appealing team sports, are already played at an international level. The newly formed IPL would provide an interesting case study with the local Pro-Twenty tournament played in South Africa being a point of entry. Another interesting topic worthy of further research that was touched on in this dissertation is corporate sponsorship. The dissertation could be again based in the political economy and globalisation frameworks. The study would provide valuable insight into the advertising and sponsorship deals associated

with professional sport. Product placement and branding would be interesting areas of study. An investigation into indigenous sports and their suitability for television coverage could also prove beneficial. The final potential topic that could be researched further is that of online sporting communities. These online communities would provide for an interesting analysis in terms of the active audience. The reasons why sporting enthusiasts enter online communities and choose to engage further with the text would be of much interest.

9.4 The national interest and the nation

The process to establish which sporting events should be deemed to be in the national interest, and therefore required to be made available to all South Africans with access to a television, culminated in 2003. The Position Paper (2003) stipulated the rules and regulations that need to be adhered within a South African context. Sporting events represented in the ICASA regulations cannot be shown exclusively on a private, commercial broadcaster without being sub-licensed to a free-to-air broadcaster as well. These sub-licensed free-to-air broadcasts may be televised asynchronously so as to give the primary buyer of the rights ‘first option’ transmission. The regulations set in place ensure that all South Africans can engage with and experience the exploits of the country’s professional sporting starts.

This research has located the national interest within a social responsibility paradigm. The national interest ensures mass exposure to popular sporting events as well as the need for exclusive broadcast rights to be awarded to the highest bidder (usually a private, commercial broadcaster) in order to guarantee the financial stability of professionally orientated sporting unions. Broadcasting sports in the national interest is a noteworthy effort made by the relevant authorities to ensure that all interested parties share in the common experience. Sporting events that are declared to be in the national interest ensure that a full spectrum of the population can experience the country’s exploits in the global media arena. With professional sports being firmly located within the entertainment industry, all South Africans are afforded the opportunity to engage with the country’s product produced for an international market.

Despite the fact that sports deemed to be in the national interest are required to be made available on a free-to-air broadcaster, sporting unions are not put under unnecessary pressure to sustain themselves. Full competitions are not included in the regulations. This

means that sporting unions will benefit from selling rights to the highest bidder (usually shown on SuperSport) if the tournament is considered television friendly and likely to attract a large audience. When taking the national interest into consideration the three spheres diagram indicates the relationship that exists between the relevant stakeholders. Based within social responsibility paradigm the three spheres (public, sport and broadcasters) are afforded the same level of importance and weighting when drawing up television schedules. This implies that a 'give and take' relationship is garnered and ensures that all the players' needs are met. South Africans are able to embrace a public entity together – irrespective of their financial resources at hand. The idea of responsible broadcasting was introduced in this dissertation. Each of the spheres (public, sport and broadcasters) plays an active role in upholding the interests of the other two. Each sphere acts as a CPNV (see Chapter Six) to the others ensuring the continued growth of the sporting industry.

From the interviews undertaken as part of this research, it is evident that the common experience that is shared amongst South Africans watching televised rugby is fundamental to the creation of a national identity and in efforts of nation-building. Televised sport has the ability promote the interests of the South African people and mobilise the collective memory. Televised sport helps people conjure up feelings of belonging and patriotism to their country. Broadcasting in the national interest is important in this regard as it shares the common experience with a greater percentage of the South African people. All South Africans can embrace the success (and mourn the failures) of the senior national teams together as a single entity. No one group, perceived to be more influential because of their financial resources and ability to afford subscription based television, experiences the nation's interest alone. By declaring events to be in the national interest, the authorities have underlined the fact that the events represented on the list are what the public wants to see and have the ability to unite the nation. The audience research into televised rugby conducted for this dissertation proves that the events have the potential to unite a country behind a single squad of players. There are always going to be people who do not fit the mould (perhaps intentionally). For this reason, efforts of nation-building should not be based solely on televised sports. The playing of sport, and its mediation, should rather be seen as cogs in the overall effort; a process that hails and incorporates those who are willing to locate themselves in the South African nation.

The audience interviews conducted suggest that the national interest in terms of South African rugby has been identified successfully. Those who watch rugby on television said that they find Test matches involving the senior national team to be the most appealing fixtures. Finals of domestic competitions are also highly sought after texts. The space constraints experienced by the SABC, for example, means that it cannot include a full range of rugby related content in their schedules. The SABC, as a public service broadcaster, has other mandates that it needs to meet. Including more rugby in their schedules would result in unnecessary strife and poor space management. The most important thing to take from the identification of the national interest and sports broadcasting is the acknowledgment that all South Africans with a television should have access to a public entity and highly popular form of entertainment. Had the authorities let the private, commercial broadcaster continue its unfair domination of South African sport, many interested South Africans would have been discriminated against further for not having the financial resources at hand to subscribe to pay-TV. The national interest creates a larger South African support base that can share in a common experience and add to the nation's collective memory.

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Picture References

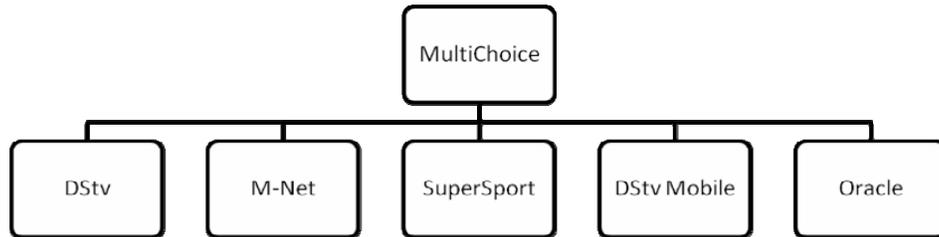
Figure	Picture	Website	Date
Figure Two		http://www.kalahari.net/dvd/Rugby-World-Cup-2007-The-Final/2/32501758.aspx	03 December 2007
Figure Three		http://www.sarugby.net/includes/photogallery.asp?id=15683&job=image	14 November 2008
Figure Five		Photographs taken by Shaun Ryan.	28 October 2007
Figure Eight		http://www.sarugby.com/news/Content/pid=30.html	28 August 2008
		http://www.rugbywa.com.au/emirates_western_force/emirates_western_force_landing_page,50768.html	28 August 2008
		http://www.crfu.co.nz/main/index.cfm/1,347,html/Weekly-Preview	28 August 2008
Figure Nine		http://img.skysports.com/07/12/218x298/Bulls_605890.jpg	28 August 2008
		http://msnsport.skysports.com/rugbyunion/match_report/0,20244,11069_2937132,00.html	28 August 2008
		http://www.skysports.com/story/0,19528,12321_3347836,00.html	14 November 2008

Figure Ten		Still extracted from Rugby World Cup Final 2007. Broadcast live on SABC2.	20 October 2007
		Still extracted from Rugby World Cup Final 2007. Broadcast live on SABC2.	20 October 2007
		Still extracted from Rugby World Cup Final 2007. Broadcast live on SABC2.	20 October 2007
Figure Eleven		Still extracted from Currie Cup Final 2007. Broadcast live on SuperSport1.	27 October 2007
		Still extracted from Currie Cup Final 2007. Broadcast live on SuperSport1.	27 October 2007
		Still extracted from Currie Cup Final 2007. Broadcast live on SuperSport1.	27 October 2007
Figure Twelve		http://www.mirror.co.uk/celebs/pictures/2008/06/19/90-years-of-nelson-mandela-115875-20660858	14 November 2008
		http://business.e-newsletter.com.au/link/id0617318bc49b817b23bf/page.html	14 November 2008

Figure Thirteen		Still extracted from Rugby World Cup Final 2007. Broadcast live on SABC2.	20 October 2007
		Still extracted from Rugby World Cup Final 2007. Broadcast live on SABC2.	20 October 2007
		Still extracted from Rugby World Cup Final 2007. Broadcast live on SABC2.	20 October 2007
Figure Fourteen		Still extracted from Rugby World Cup Final 2007. Broadcast live on SABC2.	20 October 2007
		Still extracted from Rugby World Cup Final 2007. Broadcast live on SABC2.	20 October 2007
		Still extracted from Rugby World Cup Final 2007. Broadcast live on SABC2.	20 October 2007

Appendix 1

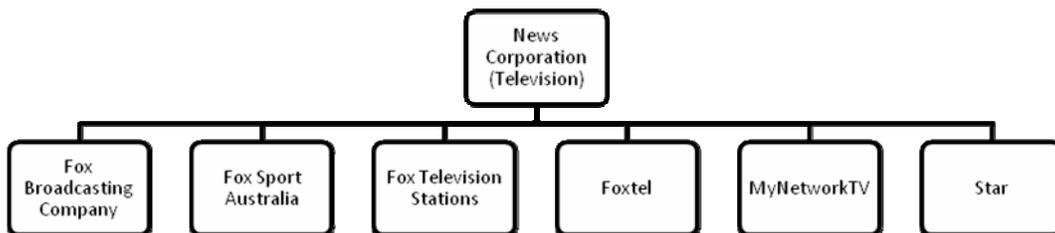
MultiChoice Company Structure



MultiChoice is part of the Naspers Group. For more information on Naspers and to find a detailed company organogram visit: <http://www.naspers.com>.

News Corporation Company Structure

(Television Interests)



The above organogram does not follow News Corporation's ownership falling under 'Direct Broadcast Satellite Television'. For more information on News Corporation and a full list of the company's other media interests visit <http://www.newscorp.com>.

Appendix 2

DSTV LOOSE SPOT RATES & PACKAGES

CHANNELS	PRIME TIME PER CHANNEL	PRIME TIME RATE	OFF-PEAK RATE	PACKAGE DETAIL	PACKAGE TIME RATES
M-Net Extra	17000 - 20300	R 5,000	R 2,500	18 spots for R 45,000	0900 - 2400
M-Net Movies 1	10300 - 24000	R 2,000	R 2,000	18 spots for R 45,000	0900 - 2400
M-Net Movies 2	10300 - 24000	R 2,000	R 2,000	18 spots for R 45,000	0900 - 2400
HaiMark	18000 - 23000	R 2,500	R 2,500	20 spots for R 45,000	1200 - 1800 & 1800 - 2400
actiXX	18000 - 24000	R 2,500	R 2,500	20 spots for R 45,000	2400 - 0600
M-Net Series	18000 - 22000	R 2,500	R 1,200	40 spots for R 45,000	24 hours
ISHAFT	18000 - 22000	R 2,000	R 1,500	14 spots for R 45,000	0900 - 2400
BBQ Drama	10000 - 22000	R 2,000	R 2,000	19 spots for R 45,000	0900 - 2400
BBQ Food	10000 - 22000	R 2,000	R 2,000	19 spots for R 45,000	0900 - 2400
Discovery Channel	18000 - 24000	R 2,500	R 1,000	34 spots for R 45,000	1400 - 2400
History Channel	18000 - 24000	R 2,500	R 1,000	48 spots for R 45,000	1400 - 2400
National Geographic	18000 - 24000	R 2,500	R 1,200	40 spots for R 45,000	1400 - 2400
go	14000 - 24000	R 2,500	R 500	40 spots for R 22,000	0900 - 2400
El Entertainment	14000 - 24000	R 2,500	R 1,100	40 spots for R 45,000	0900 - 2400
SPORTS CHANNELS					
SuperSport 1 - 6 (Mon - Fri)	18000 - 24000	R 7,000	R 3,500	18 spots for R 45,000	0900 - 2400
SuperSport 1 - 6 (Sat & Sun)	10300 - 23000	R 10,000	R 4,500	18 spots for R 45,000	0900 - 2400
SuperSport 3 - Update Channel	09000 - 22000	R 10,000	R 3,500	25 spots for R 45,000	0900 - 2400
MUSIC CHANNELS					
AMK	09000 - 24000	R 2,500	N/A	40 spots for R 22,000	0900 - 2400
Channel O	09000 - 24000	R 2,500	N/A	40 spots for R 45,000	0900 - 2400
KIDS CHANNELS					
Cartoon Network		N/A	N/A	42 spots for R 31,000	0900 - 2400
Boomerang		N/A	N/A	42 spots for R 31,000	0900 - 2400
Kidz Day		N/A	N/A	42 spots for R 31,000	0900 - 1700
NEWS CHANNELS					
BEO World		N/A	N/A	42 spots for R 21,000	1000 - 2400
CHN		N/A	N/A	42 spots for R 42,000	1000 - 2400
Six News		N/A	N/A	42 spots for R 42,000	1000 - 2400

Added Value Promotion...

By 4 BILLION HALF priced packages and quality to add value to your advertising investment of package spots. By BILLION HALF priced packages and quality to add value to your advertising investment of package spots.

By 4 BILLION HALF priced packages and quality to add value to your advertising investment of package spots.

By 4 BILLION HALF priced packages and quality to add value to your advertising investment of package spots.

Phone your Client Sales Rep to secure your value packed DSTV packages NOW!

TERMS AND CONDITIONS

1. This promotion is applicable to DSTV loose package bookings only and does not include any other packages.
2. The promotion is subject to the availability of package spots.
3. DSTV client commitment discounts do not apply.
4. Actual value is subject to a maximum of 50% off the package price.
5. Overall package discounts apply and cannot be stacked.

SPORTS SPECIFIC RATES (Support programmes)

CHANNEL	PROGRAMME	BROADCAST	RATES
SuperSport 1	Low Risk	Monday 19:00 - 19:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 2	RPM	Wednesday 19:00 - 22:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 3	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 4	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 5	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 6	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 7	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 8	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 9	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 10	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 11	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 12	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 13	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 14	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 15	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 16	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 17	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 18	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 19	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 20	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 21	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 22	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 23	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 24	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 25	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 26	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 27	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 28	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 29	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 30	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 31	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 32	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 33	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 34	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 35	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 36	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 37	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 38	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 39	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 40	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 41	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 42	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 43	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 44	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 45	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 46	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 47	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 48	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 49	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 50	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 51	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 52	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 53	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 54	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 55	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 56	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 57	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 58	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 59	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 60	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 61	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 62	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 63	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 64	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 65	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 66	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 67	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 68	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 69	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 70	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 71	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 72	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 73	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 74	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 75	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 76	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 77	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 78	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 79	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 80	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 81	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 82	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 83	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 84	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 85	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 86	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 87	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 88	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 89	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 90	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 91	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 92	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 93	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 94	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 95	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 96	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 97	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 98	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 99	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000
SuperSport 100	Two Weeks	Monday 19:00 - 21:00	R 10,000

* Refer to the spot sheet page for live event packages.

MONUMENT	PEAK RATE	OFFPEAK RATE
Monday - Friday	R 7,000	R 3,500
Saturday - Sunday	R 10,000	R 5,000

* For live event packages, please refer to the DSTV grid.

PACKAGE & SPORT NOTES

- All DSTV package costs are based on 30" spot durations. Costs of longer or shorter duration are pro rata.
- All DSTV packages are scheduled at Oracle's discretion based on the parameters outlined within the rate card.
- Half packages are available across all channels. For half packages simply divide by two.
- For Telem application purposes, all packages have been formulated to run over a two-week period. Half packages are to run over a one-week period.
- The off-peak rate on M-Net Series only applies between 23000 - 08000 due to the nature of the block channel format - i.e. prime time block (18000 - 20000) is repeated three times: 08000 - 09000, 09000 - 12000 & 12000 - 18000.
- SuperSport DSTV packages exclude all major events and programmes that are mirrored on M-Net/CSN. Please see M-Net and CSN rates for event/programme-specific costings.
- If a sporting event is broadcast on M-Net, the content is fed through via a digital sport channel (SuperSport 1, 2, 3, 5, ...). Therefore the M-Net spot rate would apply as the advert is seen by both analogue and digital viewers.
- DSTV programme-specific placement of spots other than those specified in the rate card will be subject to a 50% loading on the prime time rate.
- Requests for preferred position within a specific break on DSTV will be subject to a 20% loading.
- All package spends may contribute towards committed spend, but will not qualify for volume discount or added value.
- Loose spots will be pre-empted should packages sell out.

Appendix 3

SA's most expensive world cup TV ad

The most expensive 30-second ad in South Africa's television history was auctioned last week, with the highest bid going to Supa Quick and its partner advertising agency, TinFish CLM Advertising. The 30-second spot, which was aired at halftime during the final 2007 World Cup match between South Africa and England, was auctioned in just 25 hours for a staggering R151 000. The entire amount will be donated to charity by SuperSport and Oracle Airtime Sales.

“The euphoria around this final match, which is believed to be the biggest ever on the SuperSport platform, created an unprecedented demand for commercial exposure,” explains Fahmeeda Cassim Surtee, SuperSport & News GM.

“We are thrilled to announce that the entire value of R151 000 will be donated to the Chris Burger/ Pedro Jackson Players Fund, which was set up to assist rugby players who have been seriously injured whilst playing rugby at school, club level or as a professional,” commented Peter McKenzie, Oracle Airtime Sales MD on the joint initiative started by SuperSport and Oracle Airtime Sales.

David Lehr, TinFish CLM Advertising MD, who topped up their client Supa Quick's bid as a gesture of appreciation for their continued 10-year support, saw this as “the perfect opportunity to pay homage to those players who ultimately paid a price playing the sport they so loved”.

“Making peoples' lives safer, both on and off the road, has long been a cornerstone of Supa Quick's commitment to safety,” said Gavin Kockott, chairman of Bridgestone South Africa Retail. In turn. “We are delighted with the news and are pleased that the airtime auction proceeds will be going to such a worthy cause.”

“I commend SuperSport and Oracle Airtime Sales on the initiative and was delighted to assist in selecting a beneficiary,” added Oregon Hoskins, President of the South African Rugby Union.

[23 Oct 2007 10:01]

Found at: <http://www.bizcommunity.com/Article/196/66/19084.html>
Date Accessed: 29 November 2007

Boks must transform — or else

Monday 16 July 2007

The Springboks could be prevented from attending the World Cup if the squad does not have a sufficient number of black players.

This is according to Butana Komphela, chairman of the parliamentary portfolio committee on sport, who gave a lengthy interview to the Sunday Times.

“If the rugby team go to France after the president has signed the sport amendment bill into law, that team will have to conform to the act,” he replied. “If not, they will be in contravention of the law. If that happens, they will be stopped. When the Australian cricket team were supposed to play in Zimbabwe their prime minister said the team would not be allowed to go because there were no human rights there, and the team didn’t go.

“Our government will do the same. We will take appropriate action by stopping them from leaving the country if necessary. We will hit them hard. People must understand we are a government and South Africa is not a banana republic. Rugby wants to have its own government. This country has only one government, led by President Mbeki.”

When asked what transformation meant to him, Komphela said: “It means equal opportunities, open access, building non-racialism, non- sexism and contributing to a democratic South Africa. Those are the key pillars of transformation.”

This follows earlier threats by Komphela that he would not issue the Boks with passports if they were not representative. However, it was later revealed that this would be unconstitutional.

Found at: <http://www.keo.co.za/2007/07/16/boks-must-transform-or-else/>

Date Accessed: 16 July 2007

Ministers revel in World Cup glory

October 25 2007 at 03:39AM

Cape Town - South African government ministers attended a cabinet meeting on Wednesday clad in the green and gold of the Springboks, demonstrating the national pride that has swept the country since the World Cup final victory over England.

Most ministers wore a Springboks shirt or hat - deputy president Phumzile Mlambo-Ngquka wore both during question time in parliament - and the walls of the meeting room were draped in rugby flags.

Government communications head Themba Maseko said this was the ministers' way of showing appreciation to the Springboks for bringing the trophy back to South Africa after an absence of 12 years.

Rugby was the sport most closely associated with the apartheid era and has been criticised for being the most resistant to change.

Only two of South Africa's regular starting lineup at the World Cup in France were nonwhite. But the victory has united the whole country and boosted hopes that young blacks will now embrace the sport.

The Springboks squad returned home Tuesday to a rapturous welcome from thousands of fans, and will embark on a four-day victory tour from Friday.

The Springbok - which used to be regarded as a white elitist emblem - has become a source of national pride.

By contrast, soccer, the preferred sport of the black majority, is in crisis with the national team struggling to find form under Brazilian coach Carlos Alberto Parreira.

Even the name of the squad - Bafana Bafana (Boys, Boys) - has fallen out of official favour.

"What kind of a name is it?" President Thabo Mbeki said in a radio interview Tuesday. "I don't think it is fit for a senior national team or for the hosts of the 2010 World Cup."

He said the public should participate in the search for a better name. Mbeki also wants new names for the women's team - Banyana Banyana - and the under-23's, Amaglug-glug.

Mbeki believes the soccer team's colours, which changed from gold to yellow in 1992, need to be reassessed. He said the Springboks' green kit with gold trimmings had become one of South Africa's best-known brands. - Sapa-AP

Found at:

http://www.iol.co.za/index.php?click_id=18&set_id=6&art_id=nw20071025013113527C987140

Accessed: 25 October 2007

Bok emblem is here to stay

THE Springbok will not become extinct.

That was the message that the South African Rugby Union president Oregan Hoskins gave loud and clear at a rugby dinner recently.

Hoskins, along with Sharks centre Brad Barritt, Sharks Biokineticist Jimmy Wright and Simon Osler were all guests at a church fundraiser last Friday night.

The four wise rugby men chatted to an intimate audience of about 100 people crammed into Holy Trinity Catholic Church hall on Musgrave Road to preview the World Cup and speak about other burning issues in the game.

Hoskins was his erudite self, preferring to speak from the heart rather than telling half truths like a spin doctor.

For my sins, I was tasked with chairing a panel discussion and asking relevant questions.

One of them posed to Hoskins was about the continued use of the Springbok emblem which, to me, is quite divisive given the conservative connotations to the leaping buck.

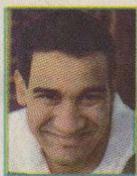
"Should rugby not go cricket's route and introduce a new emblem for a unified body?" was the question I asked.

There were some rumbblings from the crowd and glares that would have suggested that I was a heretic for even contemplating this, but Hoskins diplomatically said he understood my line of thinking even though he didn't agree.

Hoskins firstly pointed out the Springbok had been the representative honour not only bestowed to the white rugby fraternity but also given to non-racial teams in the past.

He said people of all hues, no matter which Springbok team they played for, were proud of the emblem.

The gist of what Hoskins was saying, is that the Springbok has been recast as an all encompassing symbol for all to don proudly, like former state president Nelson Mandela did at the final of the 1995 World Cup at Ellis Park.



Zayn Nabbi

IN Touch

031-308 2171 or email zayn.nabbi@inl.co.za

The president then spoke of how the Springbok brand was recognised across the globe and it wouldn't make financial sense to drop the emblem.

Hoskins does have a point.

Just glancing at the newspaper adverts this week it's clear that SA Rugby's coffers are going to swell as World Cup fever grips the nation and a wave of patriotic supporters all start buying their green and gold jerseys.

A replica Bok jersey costs R500 which is a pretty fair amount in my eyes.

Hoskins's answer was met by cheers from the crowd.

Hoskins then traversed the rocky subject of transformation like a seasoned skipper.

The attorney from Shepstone and Wylie reiterated that he wasn't a fan of quota systems because they were divisive and did not encourage meaningful transformation.

Hoskins again spoke of growing the game at grassroots level and especially focussing on rugby in the Eastern Cape which is a hotbed of talent for black rugby.

Eastern Province and Border are the cradle of black rugby and Hoskins said that measures were being put in place to ensure that the administration was going to be sound within those regions.

Finally Hoskins concluded that he would be prepared to stand for a second term of office later this year if the provinces wanted him to.

Truth be told, there's no better man for the job.

It's not often you find a leader who stays out of petty politics and chooses to be honest and transparent.

How, do I know this for sure you ask?

Well quite simply where in the world would you get a high-profile figure spending his Friday night at a church fundraiser unfurling his vision for the game?



ANC sets sights on SA sports emblems

SOUTH Africa's globally recognised Springbok rugby emblem is in the firing line after the country's ruling party proposed yesterday the creation of a single sports symbol.

Also at risk are the Protea emblem of the national cricket team and the insignia of the Bafana Bafana football squad.

"The issue of one sporting emblem was discussed and it was recommended," ANC policy head Jeff Radebe told reporters in Midrand at the conclusion of the party's four-day policy conference.

Party spokesman Smuts Ngonyama said the move was a necessary part of efforts to unite the citizens of a country in which sport remains a divisive racial issue 13 years after the fall of apartheid.

Despite efforts to transform South African sports teams, there are regular complaints that especially the rugby and cricket teams are comprised mostly of whites.

"In most countries, there is harmonisation of emblems," Ngonyama said. "Within the context of . . . nation-building, the creation of a non-racial, non-sexist South Africa, it is important that we rally around single emblems and symbols.

"It is within the context of transforming our society," he stated.

No preferences had been expressed for an emblem theme, said Radebe, who is also transport minister and member of ANC national executive.

"That will be left to the professionals to decide," he added.

The conference proposal would be submitted to the ANC's national congress in December for approval, whereafter its execution would become a government task. —

Sapa-AFP

ANC to discuss death of the Springbok

JOHANNESBURG — The issue of a uniform South African sports symbol will be discussed at the upcoming African National Congress policy conference, party spokesman Smuts Ngonyama said yesterday.

"We want to harmonise the national symbols of the country. One logo for all sports," he said.

Ngonyama said the public will be given a say in the possible change, as the symbol is not the sole preserve of the ANC.

"There will be no decision, we will discuss it and then we'll throw it back to the public ...

"We are discussing the national symbols, all of them, including the Springbok and the Protea," he said.

Cedric Frolick, chief whip of the Parliamentary sport portfolio committee, told the *Volksblad* newspaper on Thursday that a unified sports emblem would build the nation.

— Sapa.

(Weekend Witness, 23 June 2007 - Pg 5)

Soccer fans 'sacrificed' for financial gain

(Sunday Tribune, pg 4, 17 June 2007)

NOMFUNDO MCETYWA and CHIARA CHARTER

THE Premier Soccer League's decision to award pay-TV channel SuperSport International exclusive rights to broadcast PSL matches would improve the standard of local soccer because of the huge amount of money the deal would generate for the sport, according to soccer bosses.

This is their view, despite widespread condemnation of the deal by interest groups.

The five-year deal, worth R1 billion, was announced by PSL chairman Irvin Khoza on Thursday, following protracted negotiations with the SABC, which has held the broadcasting rights since the founding of the PSL nine seasons ago.

SABC chief executive Dalit Mpofo has vowed the broadcaster would take all steps necessary to reverse the decision, and has hinted at legal action.

Uncharacteristically, Sport Minister Makhenkesi Stofile, who is usually vocal on rugby and cricket matters, has been coy in his reaction. His spokesman, Mandisi Makwele, said the minister was watching the matter closely, but did not want to interfere in business matters.

Shocked

"The minister is concerned that all South Africans have access to sport and recreation - including as spectators. We hope the situation will be resolved in the best interests of soccer. And by this we mean not only players and management, but also those who go to the stadiums, listen to broadcasts and watch sport on television," Makwele said.

The move has shocked fans, the vast majority of whom fear they will no longer be able to watch local televised soccer, as they cannot afford pay-TV subscriptions.

Cosatu has entered the fray saying they were "appalled and angry" at the decision, as matches would be broadcast to a "small elite of rich TV viewers while depriving millions of the working class of the opportunity to watch their favourite sport".

The union said they would be requesting a meeting with the PSL to discuss ways to ensure the sport was not moved away from the working class and the poor.

IFP MP Suzanne Vos, said, "you can't have a situation where the majority of citizens are denied access to events of national interest. Elsewhere in the world they have what is called anti-siphoning legislation, where events of national interest can't be taken from free-to-air channels and given to pay-to-view channels. You need to look at accommodating the pay-to-view channels' interests,



You can't have a situation where the majority of citizens are denied access to events of national interest . . . The time may come when we need anti-siphoning legislation

Suzanne Vos- IFP MP

because they've got shareholders to please, but it must be a win-win situation for all. I believe the time may come when we need anti-siphoning legislation," she said.

But most local soccer bosses have welcomed the deal, saying it would benefit soccer.

Afzal Khan, Mamelodi Sundowns' executive director, said the move would enable the PSL to increase the monthly grants which they pay to the teams. This, Khan believes, would ensure club owners had more resources to better run their teams.

The PSL gives soccer teams a grant of R450 000 a month for operational costs. The new deal will see the grants increase to R750 000.

"This will enable soccer

teams to give their players better salaries, which should surely improve the standard of the game," said Khan.

Kaizer Motaung, Kaizer Chiefs chairman and PSL head of finance, said on his team's website that the deal was the best news for local soccer and fans would not be deprived of watching their teams on television.

"SuperSport, as SABC were doing previously, will sell games to them (SABC) and there is nothing wrong with that. It is a good move that will enhance our soccer and ensure teams get enough monthly grants to pay their players better wages," said Motaung.

Cheap

Black Leopards boss David "Chief" Thidzela said the move would also see an improvement in the television coverage of matches. The SABC has been criticised for poor-quality footage of games and sub-standard commentary. The public broadcaster has also angered soccer fans for sometimes failing to show some soccer matches live.

Former Bafana Bafana coach Ted Dumitru said he didn't think the PSL would succeed in giving SuperSport exclusive rights as the awarding of games was still under arbitration.

"I think sanity will prevail among our soccer bosses and they will realise that it is not in the interests of fans to award pay-TV exclusive rights to soccer matches," said Dumitru.

Veteran coach Clive Barker believes the decision will attract people back to soccer stadiums and will contribute to a much better atmosphere at matches.

"Watching a soccer match in South Africa does not cost much. In fact, having a burger and coke costs more than going to a soccer game," said Barker.

Amazulu FC boss Patrick Sokhela was the only dissenting voice among the PSL team bosses.

"This is not a solution to bring people back to the stadiums as some cannot afford to spend the little they have on going to watch soccer matches," said Sokhela.

nomfundo.mcetywa@ntl.co.za

Appendix 5

Interviewee (Role): Executive - Sponsorships
Company: SAIL Group Ltd (sports and entertainment marketing)
Vodacom Sponsorship Management

Interviewer: Shaun Ryan

1) Why does Vodacom have such a large sponsorship presence within South African rugby?

A: It was a brand positioning which showcased leadership and support for a sport that after the world cup, showed what sport could do within a country.

2) What type of consumer does Vodacom hope to reach through their involvement in rugby? How effective has this sponsorship (and the sponsorship of television programmes such as Boots n All) helped in this regard?

A: The higher LSM consumer although the success of rugby now boasts more black supporters than white purely due to population size. Vodacom has spontaneous awareness of 52.7% white and 28.9 % black.

3) How does Vodacom measure the effects/influence of televised rugby on 'nation-building'?

A: Very difficult to measure as we track exposure with regards to propensity to purchase and awareness with regards to affinity via qualitative and quantitative research. The impact of SABC not showing rugby in 2007 was definitely felt as it is a sport of national interest. In 2008 this has been better and games are shown live.

*** All stats are BMI statistics and are conducted independently.**

Appendix 6

SECTION 1

TAMS UNIVERSE

Mon, 15/10/2007 - Sun, 21/10/2007

UNIVERSE

	Universe '000
Households	7,636
Total Adults	21,042
Total Children	5,898

UNIVERSE BY DEMOGRAPHICS

	Adults Universe '000
MEN	10,522
WOMEN	10,520
MAIN PURCHASER	7,636
ENGLISH/OTHER	3,074
AFRIKAANS/BOTH	4,072
NGUNI	7,812
SOTHO	6,084
16 - 24	5,480
25 - 34	4,991
35 - 49	5,764
50+	4,807
INCOME(H)	5,368
INCOME(M)	7,303
INCOME(L)	8,371

	Children Universe '000
BOYS	2,893
GIRLS	3,005
ENGLISH/OTHER	496
AFRIKAANS/BOTH	915
NGUNI	2,569
SOTHO	1,918
7 - 12	3,715
13 - 15	2,183

*The Universe is based on AMPS 2006 with Black Rural Included
The daily weights do not re-balance the daily panel by 'Income' See introduction on RIM weights.*

NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS REPORTING THIS WEEK

Reporting Panel		Number of Reporters
Monday	15-Oct	1212
Tuesday	16-Oct	1211
Wednesday	17-Oct	1211
Thursday	18-Oct	1212
Friday	19-Oct	1211
Saturday	20-Oct	1209
Sunday	21-Oct	1209
TOTAL		1,424

SECTION 2

**NEWS & SPORTING HIGHLIGHTS
&
TOP TEN PROGRAMMES by CHANNEL by TARGET**

Mon, 15/10/2007 - Sun, 21/10/2007

- All Adults
- All Children
- Nguni/Sotho Adults
- Nguni/Sotho Children
- English Afrikaans Adults
- English Afrikaans Children

NEWS HEADLINES

- Condolences pour in for murdered reggae star Lucky Dube.
- Outrage mounts over plans to arrest Sunday Times editor.
- Reports emerge claiming Brett Kebble planned his own death.
- ANC blocks parliamentary probe into health minister's professional performance.
- Gunman kills one, wounds two, during rush-hour shooting spree in Port Elizabeth.
- Jubilation as South Africa snatches the rugby world cup from England.
- Three injured in explosion at Cape Town electricity substation.
- Analysts say property market not heading for crash.

SPORTING

SABC 1

Wednesday
Saturday
Saturday
Saturday
Sunday

SOCCER

Italy vs. South Africa
MTN Africa Cup of Nation Draw
Wits vs. Santos
Mamelodi Sundowns vs. Golden Arrows
Moroka Swallows vs. Black Leopards

SABC 2

Saturday

RUGBY

RWC 2007 South Africa vs. England

SABC 3

ETV

Saturday
Sunday

WRESTLING

WWE ECW
WWF Smackdown

MNET

Wednesday
Friday
Saturday
Saturday
Saturday

RUGBY, WRESTLING

WWF Smackdown
RWC 2007 Argentina vs. France
ABSA Currie Cup Qualifier Elephants vs. Cavaliers
ABSA Currie Cup Qualifier SWD Eagles vs. Valke
RWC 2007 South Africa vs. England

CSN

Thursday
Friday
Saturday
Saturday
Saturday
Saturday

SQUASH, CRICKET, SOCCER, RUGBY

Cricket: South Africa vs. Pakistan
RWC 2007 Argentina vs. France
Mamelodi Sundowns vs. Golden Arrows
ABSA Currie Cup Qualifier Elephants vs. Cavaliers
ABSA Currie Cup Qualifier SWD Eagles vs. Valke
RWC 2007 South Africa vs. England

Week 15/10/2007 - 21/10/2007		Channel SABC 1	Market National	Target All Adults	
Counter	Description	Day of week	Variable Level 1	AMR%	
1	GENERATIONS	Wednesday	Soap opera	28.2	
2	ZONE 14	Monday	Drama	22.6	
3	ZULU NEWS	Friday	News	20.6	
4	SOUL CITY	Tuesday	Drama	20.2	
5	XHOSA NEWS	Tuesday	News	17	
6	JIKA MA JIKA	Wednesday	Music	16.3	
7	LADUMA SOCCER BUILD- UP	Wednesday	Sport	15.9	
8	THE BOLD AND THE BEAUTIFUL	Thursday	Soap opera	15.3	
9	ZOLA 7	Thursday	Reality	15.2	
10	MUSIC	Friday	Music	15.1	

Week 15/10/2007 - 21/10/2007		Channel SABC 2	Market National	Target All Adults	
Counter	Description	Day of week	Variable Level 1	AMR%	
1	RUGBY WORLD CUP 2007 ENGLAND VS	Saturday	Sport	17.1	
2	MUVHANGO	Tuesday	Drama	14.6	
3	7DE LAAN	Monday	Soap opera	11.2	
4	STOKVEL	Sunday	Sitcom	10.6	
5	NUUS	Monday	News	9.1	
6	S/SPORT RUGBY BUILD UP	Saturday	Sport	8.9	
7	GOSPEL TIME	Sunday	Religion	8.3	
8	IN MEMORIUM OF LUCKY DUBE	Friday	Actuality	8	
9	MUVHANGO -R	Thursday	Drama	7.3	
10	ASHIFASHABBA	Thursday	Sitcom	7.2	

Week 15/10/2007 - 21/10/2007		Channel SABC 3	Market National	Target All Adults	
Counter	Description	Day of week	Variable Level 1	AMR%	
1	DAYS OF OUR LIVES	Tuesday	Soap opera	10.2	
2	ISIDINGO:THE NEED	Thursday	Soap opera	8.1	
3	NEWS	Sunday	News	7.5	
4	NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SPECIAL	Sunday	Magazine	6.8	
5	THE OPRAH WINFREY SHOW	Thursday	Magazine	6.6	
6	THE MATRIX REVOLUTIONS	Friday	Movies	6	
7	SABC 3 TALK	Wednesday	Magazine	5.4	
8	THE FLINTSTONES	Sunday	Movies	5	
9	DESPERATE HOUSEWIVES	Monday	Drama	4.7	
10	SPECIAL ASSIGNMENT	Tuesday	Actuality	4.5	

Week 15/10/2007 - 21/10/2007		Channel e-TV	Market National	Target All Adults	
Counter	Description	Day of week	Variable Level 1	AMR%	
1	BAD BOYS	Sunday	Movies	12.9	
2	INTERNATIONAL SMACKDOWN	Wednesday	Sport	12.6	
3	INTERNATIONAL RAW	Sunday	Sport	10.6	
4	LOTTO DRAW LIVE	Wednesday	Competition	10.5	
5	SCANDAL	Monday	Drama	10	
6	NEWS	Thursday	News	9.6	
7	E NEWS EARLY EDITION	Sunday	News	9.1	
8	INTERNATIONAL ECW	Saturday	Sport	7.4	
9	BECKER	Sunday	Sitcom	7.3	
10	RHYTHM CITY	Monday	Soap opera	7.3	

Week 15/10/2007 - 21/10/2007		Channel M-NET	Market National	Target All Adults	
Counter	Description	Day of week	Variable Level 1	AMR%	
1	YOU ME AND DUPREE	Sunday	Movies	2.4	
2	EGOLI-PLACE OF GOLD	Monday	Soap opera	1.9	
3	RUGBY IRB WORLD CUP SA VS ENGLAN	Saturday	Sport	1.9	
4	CARTE BLANCHE	Sunday	Magazine	1.9	
5	IDOLS PROGRAMME	Sunday	Reality	1.7	
6	GREY'S ANATOMY	Monday	Drama	1.6	
7	BINNELANDERS	Monday	Soap opera	1.5	
8	SURVIVOR SA	Wednesday	Reality	1.4	
9	CSI MIAMI	Tuesday	Drama	1.3	
10	S/SPORT RUGBY CHAT	Saturday	Sport	1.3	

Week 15/10/2007 - 21/10/2007		Channel SABC 1	Market National	Target All Children	
Counter	Description	Day of week	Variable (Level 1)	AMR%	
1	GENERATIONS	Thursday	Soap opera	25.6	
2	ZONE 14	Monday	Drama	21.8	
3	ZULU NEWS	Friday	News	18.8	
4	SOUL CITY	Tuesday	Drama	18.7	
5	XHOSA NEWS	Thursday	News	17	
6	EVERYBODY HATES CHRIS	Friday	Sitcom	16.7	
7	MUSIC	Friday	Music	16.3	
8	ZOLA 7	Thursday	Reality	15.6	
9	JIKA MA JIKA	Wednesday	Music	15.6	
10	NEWS HEADLINES	Friday	News	13.6	

Week 15/10/2007 - 21/10/2007		Channel SABC 2	Market National	Target All Children	
Counter	Description	Day of week	Variable (Level 1)	AMR%	
1	MUVHANGO	Monday	Drama	17.1	
2	RUGBY WORLD CUP 2007 ENGLAND VS	Saturday	Sport	15	
3	STOKVEL	Sunday	Sitcom	8.2	
4	S/SPORT RUGBY BUILD UP	Saturday	Sport	7.7	
5	7DE LAAN	Wednesday	Soap opera	7.7	
6	GOSPEL TIME	Sunday	Religion	6.1	
7	ASHIFASHABBA	Thursday	Sitcom	5.7	
8	MUVHANGO -R	Thursday	Drama	5.5	
9	SES/TSW/SEP NEWS	Sunday	News	5.3	
10	NUJUS	Monday	News	5	

Week 15/10/2007 - 21/10/2007		Channel SABC 3	Market National	Target All Children	
Counter	Description	Day of week	Variable (Level 1)	AMR%	
1	DAYS OF OUR LIVES	Wednesday	Soap opera	6.5	
2	MONKEY TROUBLE	Saturday	Movies	6	
3	THE FLINTSTONES	Sunday	Movies	5.9	
4	ISIDINGO:THE NEED	Thursday	Soap opera	5.4	
5	NEWS	Sunday	News	5.4	
6	NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SPECIAL	Sunday	Magazine	5	
7	SUPERMAN	Monday	Movies	4.8	
8	PINKY AND THE BRAIN	Thursday	Children's programs	4.8	
9	THE OPRAH WINFREY SHOW	Thursday	Magazine	4.8	
10	THE MATRIX REVOLUTIONS	Friday	Movies	4.3	

Week 15/10/2007 - 21/10/2007		Channel e-TV	Market National	Target All Children	
Counter	Description	Day of week	Variable (Level 1)	AMR%	
1	INTERNATIONAL SMACKDOWN	Wednesday	Sport	11.1	
2	BAD BOYS	Sunday	Movies	10.9	
3	INTERNATIONAL RAW	Sunday	Sport	10.2	
4	SCANDAL	Monday	Drama	10	
5	INTERNATIONAL ECW	Saturday	Sport	9.3	
6	E NEWS EARLY EDITION	Saturday	News	8.8	
7	JUMANJI	Sunday	Movies	8.5	
8	RHYTHM CITY	Monday	Soap opera	8.2	
9	ROBOCOP III	Friday	Movies	7.6	
10	NEWS	Thursday	News	7.3	

Week 15/10/2007 - 21/10/2007		Channel M-NET	Market National	Target All Children	
Counter	Description	Day of week	Variable (Level 1)	AMR%	
1	YOU ME AND DUPREE	Sunday	Movies	1.6	
2	CARTE BLANCHE	Sunday	Magazine	1.3	
3	UGLY BETTY	Tuesday	Drama	1.2	
4	EGOLI:PLACE OF GOLD	Tuesday	Soap opera	1	
5	BINNELANDERS	Monday	Soap opera	0.8	
6	SURVIVOR SA	Wednesday	Reality	0.8	
7	EPK:THE GOLDEN COMPASS	Wednesday	Documentary	0.7	
8	KTV LIVE	Friday	Children's programs	0.7	
9	IDOLS PROGRAMME	Sunday	Reality	0.7	
10	CSI MIAMI	Tuesday	Drama	0.7	

Week 15/10/2007 - 21/10/2007		Channel SABC 1	Market National	Target Nguni/Sotho Adults	
Counter	Description	Day of week	Variable Level 1	AMR %	
1	GENERATIONS	Monday	Soap opera	40.1	
2	ZONE 14	Monday	Drama	34.8	
3	ZULU NEWS	Monday	News	26.6	
4	SOUL CITY	Tuesday	Drama	26.3	
5	JIKA MA JIKA	Wednesday	Music	23.6	
6	XHOSA NEWS	Tuesday	News	21.6	
7	SOUL BUDDYZ	Monday	Children's programs	20.6	
8	NEWS HEADLINES	Friday	News	20.1	
9	EVERYBODY HATES CHRIS	Friday	Sitcom	19.6	
10	ZOLA 7	Thursday	Reality	19.6	

Week 15/10/2007 - 21/10/2007		Channel SABC 2	Market National	Target Nguni/Sotho Adults	
Counter	Description	Day of week	Variable Level 1	AMR %	
1	MUVHANGO	Monday	Drama	20.1	
2	STOKVEL	Sunday	Sitcom	15	
3	SES/TSW/SEP NEWS	Sunday	News	11.5	
4	CINE 2 RUSH HOUR 3	Sunday	Documentary	9.3	
5	MUVHANGO -O	Sunday	Drama	9.3	
6	ASHIFASHABBA	Thursday	Sitcom	8.3	
7	MUVHANGO -R	Thursday	Drama	8	
8	RUGBY IRB WORLD CUP SOUTH AFRICA	Sunday	Sport	6.9	
9	7DE LAAN	Monday	Soap opera	6.6	
10	MOTSWAKO THE MIX	Monday	Magazine	6.5	

Week 15/10/2007 - 21/10/2007		Channel SABC 3	Market National	Target Nguni/Sotho Adults	
Counter	Description	Day of week	Variable Level 1	AMR %	
1	ISIDINGO:THE NEED	Monday	Soap opera	9.5	
2	DAYS OF OUR LIVES	Thursday	Soap opera	9.4	
3	NEWS	Thursday	News	7.2	
4	NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SPECIAL	Sunday	Magazine	7	
5	THE MATRIX RELOADED	Friday	Movies	5.8	
6	THE OPRAH WINFREY SHOW	Thursday	Magazine	5.8	
7	ISIDINGO -R	Monday	Soap opera	5	
8	MUSIC	Tuesday	Music	5	
9	SUPERMAN	Monday	Movies	4.8	
10	GENERATIONS -R	Monday	Soap opera	4.6	

Week 15/10/2007 - 21/10/2007		Channel e-TV	Market National	Target Nguni/Sotho Adults	
Counter	Description	Day of week	Variable Level 1	AMR %	
1	NATIONAL SECURITY	Sunday	Movies	16	
2	INTERNATIONAL RAW	Sunday	Sport	14.3	
3	INTERNATIONAL SMACKDOWN	Wednesday	Sport	12.9	
4	INTERNATIONAL ECW	Saturday	Sport	12	
5	LOTTO DRAW LIVE	Saturday	Competition	11.5	
6	SCANDAL	Monday	Drama	11.2	
7	NEWS	Tuesday	News	10.9	
8	THE JEWEL OF THE NILE	Saturday	Movies	10.6	
9	E NEWS EARLY EDITION	Saturday	News	10.4	
10	ROBOCOP	Friday	Movies	9.4	

Week 15/10/2007 - 21/10/2007		Channel M-Net	Market National	Target Nguni/Sotho Adults	
Counter	Description	Day of week	Variable Level 1	AMR %	
1	UNDERWORLD:EVOLUTION	Friday	Movies	0.3	
2	E R (EMERGENCY ROOM)	Thursday	Drama	0.3	
3	RUGBY ABSA CURRIE CUP FS CHEETAH	Saturday	Sport	0.3	
4	RUGBY WORLD CUP 2007 HIGHLIGHTS	Saturday	Sport	0.3	
5	S/SPORT:SPORTS	Saturday	Sport	0.2	
6	CARTE BLANCHE	Sunday	Magazine	0.2	
7	RUGBY WORLD CUP 2007 ARGENTINA VS	Sunday	Sport	0.2	
8	RUGBY WORLD CUP 2007 FRANCE VS ENGLAND	Saturday	Sport	0.2	
9	IDOLS PROGRAMME	Sunday	Reality	0.2	
10	GREY'S ANATOMY	Monday	Drama	0.2	

Week 15/10/2007 - 21/10/2007		Channel SABC 1	Market National	Target Nguni/Sotho Children	
Counter	Description	Day of week	Level 1 Variable	AMR%	
1	GENERATIONS	Thursday	Soap opera	32.5	
2	ZONE 14	Monday	Drama	28.3	
3	SOUL CITY	Tuesday	Drama	24.2	
4	ZULU NEWS	Friday	News	24.1	
5	XHOSA NEWS	Thursday	News	21.8	
6	EVERYBODY HATES CHRIS	Friday	Sitcom	20.6	
7	MUSIC	Friday	Music	20.6	
8	JIKA MA JIKA	Wednesday	Music	20.1	
9	ZOLA 7	Thursday	Reality	19.8	
10	NEWS HEADLINES	Friday	News	17.7	

Week 15/10/2007 - 21/10/2007		Channel SABC 2	Market National	Target Nguni/Sotho Children	
Counter	Description	Day of week	Level 1 Variable	AMR%	
1	MUVHANGO	Monday	Drama	22.1	
2	RUGBY WORLD CUP 2007 ENGLAND VS	Saturday	Sport	13.6	
3	STOKVEL	Sunday	Sitcom	10	
4	GOSPEL TIME	Sunday	Religion	7.6	
5	S/SPORT:RUGBY BUILD UP	Saturday	Sport	6.9	
6	SES/TSW/SEP NEWS	Sunday	News	6.6	
7	ASHIFASHABBA	Thursday	Sitcom	6.6	
8	MUVHANGO -R	Thursday	Drama	5.8	
9	MOTSWAKO THE MIX	Monday	Magazine	4.8	
10	JUDGE HATCHETT	Tuesday	Variety	4.8	

Week 15/10/2007 - 21/10/2007		Channel SABC 3	Market National	Target Nguni/Sotho Children	
Counter	Description	Day of week	Level 1 Variable	AMR%	
1	ISIDINGO:THE NEED	Thursday	Soap opera	6.6	
2	DAYS OF OUR LIVES	Wednesday	Soap opera	6.5	
3	THE FLINTSTONES	Sunday	Movies	6.4	
4	THE OPRAH WINFREY SHOW	Thursday	Magazine	5.6	
5	NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC SPECIAL	Sunday	Magazine	5.5	
6	PINKY AND THE BRAIN	Thursday	Children's programs	5.3	
7	NEWS	Sunday	News	5.2	
8	THE MATRIX REVOLUTIONS	Friday	Movies	4.9	
9	MONKEY TROUBLE	Saturday	Movies	4.8	
10	SUPERMAN	Monday	Movies	4.5	

Week 15/10/2007 - 21/10/2007		Channel e-TV	Market National	Target Nguni/Sotho Children	
Counter	Description	Day of week	Level 1 Variable	AMR%	
1	INTERNATIONAL SMACKDOWN	Wednesday	Sport	12.1	
2	SCANDAL	Monday	Drama	10.8	
3	INTERNATIONAL RAW	Sunday	Sport	10.8	
4	BAD BOYS	Sunday	Movies	9.7	
5	E NEWS EARLY EDITION	Saturday	News	9.6	
6	RHYTHM CITY	Monday	Soap opera	9.4	
7	INTERNATIONAL ECW	Saturday	Sport	8.6	
8	NEWS	Thursday	News	7.7	
9	JUMANJI	Saturday	Movies	7.5	
10	ROBOCOP III	Friday	Movies	7.2	

Week 15/10/2007 - 21/10/2007		Channel M-Net	Market National	Target Nguni/Sotho Children	
Counter	Description	Day of week	Level 1 Variable	AMR%	
1	EPK:THE GOLDEN COMPASS	Friday	Documentary	0.2	
2	DELILAH & JULIUS	Saturday	Children's programs	0.2	
3	RUGBY MAZDA AUSTRALIAN RUGBY CH	Saturday	Sport	0.2	
4	GROSSOLOGY	Saturday	Children's programs	0.2	
5	KTV POWER EDITION	Saturday	Children's programs	0.2	
6	GO ZONE	Saturday	Children's programs	0.2	
7	CLASS OF THE TITAN	Saturday	Children's programs	0.2	
8	KTV LIVE	Saturday	Children's programs	0.2	
9	S/SPORT:RUGBY SHARKBITE	Saturday	Sport	0.2	
10	S/SPORT:TALKSHOW OOR DIE KOLE	Tuesday	Sport	0.1	

Week 15/10/2007 - 21/10/2007		Channel SABC 1	Market National	Target Eng/Afr/Both Adults	
Counter	Description	Day of week	Variable Level 1	AMR%	
1	THE BOLD AND THE BEAUTIFUL	Tuesday	Soap opera	11.2	
2	MUSIC	Monday	Music	6.4	
3	GENERATIONS	Wednesday	Soap opera	5.7	
4	VODACOM YEBO MILLIONAIRES	Tuesday	Competition	5.6	
5	GENERATIONS -R	Friday	Soap opera	5.1	
6	US MARSHALS	Sunday	Movies	5	
7	ISIDINGO -R	Friday	Soap opera	4.4	
8	LADUMA ON 1	Wednesday	Sport	4.1	
9	WAKE OF DEATH	Saturday	Movies	3.7	
10	THE BOLD AND THE BEAUTIFUL -R	Friday	Soap opera	3.6	

Week 15/10/2007 - 21/10/2007		Channel SABC 2	Market National	Target Eng/Afr/Both Adults	
Counter	Description	Day of week	Variable Level 1	AMR%	
1	7DE LAAN	Monday	Soap opera	22.6	
2	NUUS	Monday	News	21.5	
3	IN MEMORIUM OF LUCKY DUBE	Friday	Actuality	19	
4	SUPERSTERRE	Friday	Music	18.6	
5	RUGBY WORLD CUP 2007 ENGLAND VS	Saturday	Sport	18	
6	PASELLA	Wednesday	Magazine	17.8	
7	50/50	Monday	Magazine	11.4	
8	RUGBY WORLD CUP 2007 HIGHLIGHTS	Thursday	Sport	11.2	
9	S/SPORT-RUGBY BUILD UP	Saturday	Sport	11.2	
10	HEARTLINES	Tuesday	Movies	10.8	

Week 15/10/2007 - 21/10/2007		Channel SABC 3	Market National	Target Eng/Afr/Both Adults	
Counter	Description	Day of week	Variable Level 1	AMR%	
1	DAYS OF OUR LIVES	Thursday	Soap opera	12.6	
2	DESPERATE HOUSEWIVES	Monday	Drama	10.1	
3	LAW AND ORDER SPECIAL VICTIMS UNIT	Tuesday	Drama	10.1	
4	SURVIVOR:COOK ISLANDS	Tuesday	Reality	9.9	
5	NEWS HEADLINES	Tuesday	News	9.5	
6	TOP BILLING	Thursday	Magazine	9.3	
7	SPECIAL ASSIGNMENT	Tuesday	Actuality	8.9	
8	THE OPRAH WINFREY SHOW	Thursday	Magazine	8.2	
9	HEROES	Wednesday	Drama	7.5	
10	THE WAR AT HOME	Monday	Drama	7.5	

Week 15/10/2007 - 21/10/2007		Channel e-TV	Market National	Target Eng/Afr/Both Adults	
Counter	Description	Day of week	Variable Level 1	AMR%	
1	BAD BOYS	Sunday	Movies	14.9	
2	BECKER	Sunday	Sitcom	13.5	
3	LOTTO DRAW LIVE	Wednesday	Competition	11	
4	NEWS	Sunday	News	11	
5	INTERNATIONAL SMACKDOWN	Wednesday	Sport	10.5	
6	WHEN HARRY MET SALLY	Thursday	Movies	10.2	
7	THE BIGGEST LOSER	Monday	Reality	10.2	
8	AMERICA'S NEXT TOP MODEL	Tuesday	Reality	9.2	
9	SHOWBIZ REPORT	Saturday	Variety	8.7	
10	BEHIND THE NAME	Wednesday	Magazine	8.6	

Week 15/10/2007 - 21/10/2007		Channel M-NET	Market National	Target Eng/Afr/Both Adults	
Counter	Description	Day of week	Variable Level 1	AMR%	
1	YOU ME AND DUPREE	Sunday	Movies	7	
2	EGOLI-PLACE OF GOLD	Monday	Soap opera	5.6	
3	RUGBY IRB WORLD CUP SA VS ENGLAN	Saturday	Sport	5.5	
4	CARTE BLANCHE	Sunday	Magazine	5.4	
5	IDOLS PROGRAMME	Sunday	Reality	4.9	
6	BINNELANDERS	Monday	Soap opera	4.5	
7	GREY'S ANATOMY	Monday	Drama	4.5	
8	S/SPORT-RUGBY CHAT	Saturday	Sport	3.8	
9	SURVIVOR SA	Wednesday	Reality	3.8	
10	MUSIC	Monday	Music	3.7	

Week 15/10/2007 - 21/10/2007		Channel SABC 1	Market National	Target Eng/Afr/Both Children	
Counter	Description	Day of week	Level 1	Variable	AMR%
1	THE BOLD AND THE BEAUTIFUL	Tuesday	Soap opera		11.7
2	THE BOLD AND THE BEAUTIFUL -R	Wednesday	Soap opera		8.1
3	ISIDINGO -R	Monday	Soap opera		8
4	GENERATIONS -R	Wednesday	Soap opera		7.8
5	KIDS NEXT DOOR	Tuesday	Children's programs		7.6
6	ONE ON ONE -R	Sunday	Sitcom		7.4
7	MUSIC	Tuesday	Music		7.2
8	YO TV LAND	Tuesday	Children's programs		7
9	CEDRIC	Saturday	Children's programs		6.9
10	EBB & FLO	Wednesday	Children's programs		6.8

Week 15/10/2007 - 21/10/2007		Channel SABC 2	Market National	Target Eng/Afr/Both Children	
Counter	Description	Day of week	Level 1	Variable	AMR%
1	RUGBY WORLD CUP 2007 ENGLAND VS	Saturday	Sport		19.4
2	7DE LAAN	Tuesday	Soap opera		19
3	NUUS	Tuesday	News		16.8
4	IN MEMORIUM OF LUCKY DUBE	Friday	Actuality		14.5
5	SUPERSTERRE	Friday	Music		10.7
6	S/SPORT:RUGBY BUILD UP	Saturday	Sport		10.6
7	PASELLA	Wednesday	Magazine		10.5
8	HEARTLINES	Tuesday	Movies		10.3
9	RUGBY WORLD CUP 2007 HIGHLIGHTS	Thursday	Sport		9.9
10	50/50	Monday	Magazine		9.1

Week 15/10/2007 - 21/10/2007		Channel SABC 3	Market National	Target Eng/Afr/Both Children	
Counter	Description	Day of week	Level 1	Variable	AMR%
1	MONKEY TROUBLE	Saturday	Movies		9.5
2	NEWS HEADLINES	Tuesday	News		8.4
3	DAYS OF OUR LIVES	Monday	Soap opera		7.5
4	DESPERATE HOUSEWIVES	Monday	Drama		6.8
5	SURVIVOR: COOK ISLANDS	Tuesday	Reality		6
6	MUSIC	Saturday	Music		5.9
7	SUPERMAN	Monday	Movies		5.8
8	NEWS	Sunday	News		5.8
9	ALL MY CHILDREN	Monday	Soap opera		5.7
10	THE POWER WITHIN	Saturday	Magazine		5.4

Week 15/10/2007 - 21/10/2007		Channel e-TV	Market National	Target Eng/Afr/Both Children	
Counter	Description	Day of week	Level 1	Variable	AMR%
1	BAD BOYS	Sunday	Movies		14.5
2	JUMANJI	Sunday	Movies		14.5
3	SHOWBIZ REPORT	Saturday	Variety		13.5
4	INTERNATIONAL ECW	Saturday	Sport		11.5
5	BECKER	Sunday	Sitcom		11.1
6	E-SHIBOBO	Saturday	Sport		10.7
7	EPK:EVAN ALMIGHTY	Saturday	Documentary		10.7
8	THE BIGGEST LOSER	Monday	Reality		10.6
9	MOUSE TRACKS	Saturday	Movies		10.3
10	EDU-LOAN	Saturday	Advertisement		10.2

Week 15/10/2007 - 21/10/2007		Channel M-NET	Market National	Target Eng/Afr/Both Children	
Counter	Description	Day of week	Level 1	Variable	AMR%
1	YOU ME AND DUPREE	Sunday	Movies		6.6
2	CARTE BLANCHE	Sunday	Magazine		5.2
3	UGLY BETTY	Tuesday	Drama		5.2
4	EGOLL:PLACE OF GOLD	Tuesday	Soap opera		4
5	BINNELANDERS	Monday	Soap opera		3.4
6	SURVIVOR SA	Wednesday	Reality		3.1
7	IDOLS PROGRAMME	Sunday	Reality		3.1
8	CSI MIAMI	Tuesday	Drama		3
9	EPK:THE GOLDEN COMPASS	Wednesday	Documentary		2.9
10	CATSCRATCH	Friday	Children's programs		2.8

For a full set of SAARF TAMS results of the above week visit: <http://www.saarf.co.za>