

**RADIO CROSSES DIVIDES THROUGH SPORT: THE ROLE OF RADIO IN A  
POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA (1994-2002). A CASE STUDY ON *UKHOZI  
FM* AND *UMHLOBO WENENE FM*.**

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A research report submitted as the dissertation component in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts, in the school of Cultural and Media Studies at University of Natal (Durban).

**DECLARATION**

I declare that this report is my own work. It has not been submitted for a degree at any other University.

All literature resources have been correctly referenced and acknowledged.

Durban.....*Sai D*.....Day of *18 Nov.*..... 2003



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## Abstract

This study will examine the role sport plays in a new democratic South Africa between the periods 1994-2002. Its objective is to look at how sport can be used, through the medium of radio, as a unifying activity in the diversified South African society. The study will specifically compare the broadcast of soccer and rugby on the two radio stations (*Ukhozi FM* and *Umhlobo Wenene FM*). The main aim is to explain the relevance of the inclusion of sport into the programmes of the two radio stations mentioned above, in the period 1994-2002. This comparative approach will also explain the extent to which the listeners of these stations understand the sporting codes mentioned (soccer and rugby) now compared to how they did before 1994.

This study was undertaken because there is little of its kind (if any) that looks at the power of sport broadcasting on radio in changing people's mindsets, attitudes and misconceptions regarding soccer and rugby in a new South African context. There is also little literature available that looks specifically at how *Ukhozi FM* and *Umhlobo FM* listeners relate to the broadcast of these popular but diverse codes after the end of apartheid regime.

The conclusions drawn up in this study show that radio is still powerful in changing people's behaviour and attitudes not only about different sporting codes aired on radio but also in the effort to promote unity among South Africans regardless of cultural, ethnic racial and gender differences. In this regard, radio *does* cross divides created by issues of colour, culture, gender, age and racial differences.

## INTRODUCTION

This study compares the sports broadcasting of two radio stations (*Ukhozi FM* and *Umhlobo Wenene FM*) in the period 1994-2001, both of which target predominantly black audiences. Both stations cover seven of nine provinces in South Africa and command a great portion of the listenership in KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern and Western Cape provinces respectively. *Ukhozi FM* is located in KwaZulu-Natal (Durban) and caters mostly for those who speak and understand Zulu. On the other hand, *Umhlobo WeneneFM* is located in the Eastern Cape (East London and Port Elizabeth) and it caters mainly for listeners who speak Xhosa.

Comparatively speaking, rugby and soccer are still race-specific in South Africa, in terms of play and support. However, there are white South Africans who love and play soccer, as well as black South Africans who support and play rugby (Nauright, 1997). Though sports in South Africa has been racialised in the past, however, there were regions like the Eastern Cape, where blacks enjoyed 'white' sports like rugby. This contradicts Nauright's claim that sports have been race oriented. However, I agree with Nauright that there still exists the element of "black-soccer", "white-rugby" in South Africa. Even among the blacks who support rugby, understanding of the game varies from region to region. In addition, each of the sporting codes of the game has had a different connotative meaning for the different racial groups in South Africa, "depending on the social positioning of particular individuals" (Nauright, 1997: 1). These meanings were socially constructed and they have impacted on the nature and understanding of sport in South Africa.

Soccer, unlike its counterpart (rugby) in this case enjoys much understanding and support from black South Africans. The majority of listeners of both stations under study understand and support soccer regardless of their location, level of education, culture, gender and religious differences. Soccer is the most popular sport in South Africa, particularly amongst black South Africans. Rugby though it enjoys a great deal of black support, especially in the regions like the Eastern and Western Cape provinces, has not yet outclassed soccer in terms of support in South Africa.



It is vital, therefore, to understand the social composition or social dynamics if one hopes to assess the role rugby and soccer plays in a new South Africa, specifically among Africans. This is also important when trying to assess the extent of transformation in South African sport, particularly how sports address the issues of race and regional lines in a new South Africa. This research examines two different locations, KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape, because historically these regions have different understandings of rugby and soccer. Rugby in the Eastern Cape enjoys a huge support from black Africans compared to KwaZulu-Natal. Because of this gap in terms of support and understanding of rugby between the black ethnic groups in the said provinces, I want to argue that without clear transformation in sport, there won't be a uniform understanding of sports in South Africa.

In addition, the thesis stresses the importance of locating sport within forces outside the playing fields, including politics, ideology and class because these forces determine the nature of sport and its role in a society, particularly in South Africa. They have contributed to the various views of sport among people of different cultural and linguistic backgrounds in South Africa. It is important to understand how sport was viewed prior to 1994 as well how it is viewed in the post-apartheid era. Sport, as I have suggested, has been 'racialised' over the years in South Africa and the media has, and continues, to play a role in reproducing and mythologizing the ideological dimensions of sport. It is important, therefore, to unpack these dynamic social factors which surround sport, and the role that the media play in shaping mindsets. By so doing, I will be able to assess the extent to which radio is able to unite people of different backgrounds. I have selected radio as a medium for research because it is popular and affordable for the majority of people in South Africa. I chose rugby because of the popular assumption that it is a 'white' sport, whereas soccer has been regarded as a 'black' sport.

The study also tries to understand the process of transformation in sport, whether it has taken place after 1994 or not. This is because understanding sport broadcasting without looking at a broader political picture would be problematic. Has the game of rugby, for

instance, been transformed since 1994? If not, what factors have limited transformation and why? Can rugby broadcasting on *Ukhozi FM* hold any value if there is no transformation in South African rugby? These are some of the difficulties one has to deal with in trying to assess sports broadcasting on radio as a unifying tool. Consequently, the study has incorporated some of the debates surrounding sports in general though the focus of the study is on sports broadcasting (rugby in particular) on the medium of radio after 1994.

The arguments of this research are based on the assumption that “in a context where segregation and race were being practically enforced by law and projected as a historically given reality, non racialism was (and still is) a goal that had to be struggled for and self-consciously constructed” (Grundlingh, Odendaal and Spies, 1995: 53). In simple terms, segregation and racism in the past were practically imposed through forms which included the media. A new democratic South Africa, therefore, needs to find ways of dealing with the past by creating a better South Africa for everybody, across race, gender and class boundaries. This is an ongoing process that needs constant assessment.

Finally, I hope that this study will demonstrate that racism and segregation that were imposed by the previous regime can be dismantled through sport. The fight against racism and segregation will not be an easy task and the media play a major role in assisting the government in this project. This work therefore, is an assessment of how the media (in the form of radio) try to help their audience to move from its present beliefs and attitudes towards more enlightened ones, which will contribute to political transformation. However, media on its own will not succeed should there be no transformation taking place in sporting codes like soccer and rugby.

## CHAPTER 1: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

As a typical Zulu boy, born and brought up in a remote area of KwaZulu-Natal, having played soccer on the dusty streets and a victim of a discriminatory education system, I was intrigued by the growing support for rugby among black University of Natal students. As a member of the Residence community, I saw this gradual increase in support for rugby among my contemporaries. I began to wonder what the driving force was behind this. With little knowledge of rugby, I was also intrigued by the inclusion of this sport in the programmes of 'black' radio stations like *Ukhozi FM* and *Umhlobo Wenene FM*. The question that came to my mind was, how many black people feel comfortable or can relate to rugby broadcasts on these 'black' radio stations. What impact does this inclusion have on the listenership of these radio stations. Although primarily a listener to *Metro FM* rather than to either of these radio stations, I wanted to find out about the reception of this sport code by the listeners to these stations. How much do they understand about rugby, let alone the ethical issues pertaining to the role of the SABC in terms of universal appeal and pluralism in terms of programming.

I also hoped that this study would find answers to the following questions: what impact(s) do economic, social and political changes that have taken place have on the people of South Africa, considering the social positioning of the people. How do these changes combat the differences that were perpetuated by the past regime's policies of dividing people in terms of race, gender, class and culture. And most importantly, how do people react to these changes, especially the whole notion of nation building? I have taken sport and sport broadcasting as an example in attempting to assess successes and/or failures in achieving these goals.

Initially, I didn't think of comparing soccer and rugby in my study because I knew that this code (soccer) was and still is the most supported sport among black South Africans. I knew that the understanding of rugby varies from region to region and that a comparative approach should be adopted between people from different provinces (KwaZulu-Natal and Eastern Cape). It became imperative that I should also include *Umhlobo WeneneFM*



into my study since it caters mostly for the people of the Eastern Cape, who happen to be more exposed to rugby. This comparative approach was adopted because I wanted to get a contemporary general understanding of rugby amongst black Africans. However, I was aware that this would be impossible when focusing on one radio station because the understanding of rugby among black Africans differs from region to region.

It was important to understand the importance of broadcasting rugby on *Ukhozi FM* because it is an historically black radio station that in the past has privileged soccer coverage and therefore the degree to which it now covers rugby can, perhaps, be a starting point for assessing transformation through the radio station as a means of contributing to the process of building a nation through sports. The inclusion of *Umhlobo Wenene FM* is important in understanding the current motifs behind rugby broadcasting compared to those prior to 1994.

## **1.2 METHODOLOGY**

At the outset of this research, I hoped to get relevant information from the station managers of the two radio stations, sport journalists, and listeners of both radio stations regardless of gender, age and other differences. I opted to use a case study approach with the two radio stations. A comparative approach eventually led to an approach which would show sensitivity to linguistic awareness. I have examined the two 'black' radio stations, *Ukhozi FM* and *Umhlobo Wenene FM* and have analysed the sporting codes broadcast on these radio stations, the objectives they have in broadcasting these codes, the roles they think their chosen sports can play in a 'new South Africa', the challenges they have in broadcasting these sport codes and how they confront those challenges. Rugby broadcasting on these 'former' black radio stations was the centre of my study because rugby, over the years, has been regarded as a 'white' sport, less relevant to the majority of Africans, especially *Ukhozi FM* listeners. I contend that the media are often used as a political tool and are under the control of the dominant political movement and, therefore, reflect the nature of the country at any particular given moment. The media often reflect the ideologies of the ruling class/group in a particular historical moment.



The ideology of the ruling group may change over time in terms of the interests and the expectations of said group.

In this study I used a qualitative methodology, whereby the structured interview and questionnaire methods were used. But due to other difficulties like lack of cooperation from some interviewees and time constraints, I used a telephonic interview technique. The information gathered through these telephonic interviews was recorded during the interview sessions. My study draws on information from people who were selected on the basis of their language, background and gender differences. I selected interviewees from different social and gender backgrounds in order to get a representative sample of the listeners of each radio station. I believe that these factors have significant impacts on the individual's view of the world. And the understanding of sport can also be shaped by these factors. Therefore, to obtain general perceptions of sport, sport broadcasting and transformation in sport, be it soccer or rugby, it is important to study sport in conjunction with these factors. However, I acknowledge the importance of the focus group approach, though I was unable to employ it because of the time frame of the study. I hope, nevertheless, to have gathered a general (though not conclusive) view of the subject.

I interviewed fifteen listeners from each radio station, four *Ukhozi FM* employees and two *Umhlobo Wenene FM* employees, thirty-six in total. In fifteen *Ukhozi FM* listeners, 67% have an up to matric (grade 12) level of education with only five of them (33%) never having gone to school at all. Two (13%) are females and other two (13%) are University students. I also tape-recorded former President Nelson Mandela's speech on *Metro FM Sports Centre* show. One of the four (25%) of the *Ukhozi FM* listeners was a female (Miss Vicky Masuku) and the rest (75%) were males. Both *Umhlobo Wenene FM* employees interviewed were males. The majority of listeners interviewed (80%) have as well up to matric (grade 12) level of education while two of them (13%) being University students.

All the interviews were conducted in and around Durban and Port Elizabeth They were conducted in a one-on-one format. With only few exceptions the majority of these

interviews were tape recorded and later transcribed and translated. The data collection also included note-taking during and after the interview sessions. I also tried to clarify the purpose of the research in order to alleviate fear and scepticism in some of the interviewees, who sometimes felt uncomfortable, nervous or sceptical about the outcome of the research. I tried to remain as neutral as possible in terms of the responses given by the respondents. Where the respondents were anxious or unwilling, the interviews were not tape recorded because tape recording was viewed as a kind of “putting one’s signature on a legal document (*ukuzibopha*)” as Mr Thanda Ndlovu, one of the sport commentators, put it. However, all the information gathered during such occasions was recorded.

The structured interviews were initially done in English but due to language problems and personal choice some of the questions were rephrased and translated into Zulu or Xhosa. Most of the interviewees felt more comfortable conversing in their home languages (Xhosa or Zulu). Some of them have up to matric level of education, meaning that to this group of listeners the issue of language choice was sometimes a matter of personal choice rather than language competency. Others were just uncomfortable with English. My own first language (Zulu) played a role in the language choice of some interviewees. Once they knew my language background, most of them insisted we speak in Zulu, even the Xhosa speaking interviewees opted to communicate in either Zulu or Xhosa since the two languages are similar.

All the *UkhoziFM* sport journalists and commentators were consulted telephonically or visited personally. The *Umhlobo Wenene FM* sport commentators and station managers were visited personally at the SABC Port Elizabeth branch, where the interviews were conducted on a one-on-one basis. Listeners to both radio stations were consulted or visited personally, since some of them are students at the University of Natal, Durban. Other listeners are from outside Durban but were consulted telephonically for interviews (with the help of *Ukhozi FM* sports commentators). Most of those listeners come from KwaZulu-Natal and Eastern Cape. While the study was gender-sensitive, most of the listeners interviewed were male because, (relative to men), women have a limited interest

in soccer and rugby and the majority of black South African women are less active in the sports under study.

It is important to note that in South Africa there are very few female rugby players although some of the women listeners have an adequate understanding of the game. This is not to say that black South African women do not participate in the sporting codes under study. For example, we have a female South African soccer team (*Banyana Banyana*), which comprises many accomplished women soccer players like Veronica Phewa, Sibongile Khumalo and Joanne Solomon (the captain) to mention just a few. However, there still exists a wide gap between men and women professional soccer and rugby players and fans in the country. Women soccer players and fans still make up a small minority when compared to their male counterparts. This was evident even among some of the female sport commentators in *UkhoziFM*. For example, Vicky Masuku (*Ukhozi FM's* sport commentator) confessed that she knows little about the game of rugby than she does about soccer, thus citing Mr Thanda Ndlovu as the relevant person who knows the ethics and ethos of rugby (May, 2002).

Data collection also included visits to some of the useful websites. The SABC websites provided brief abstracts regarding *Ukhozi FM* and *Umhlobo Wenene FM* demographics, listenership and programming ([www.sabc.co.za/](http://www.sabc.co.za/) or [www.ukhozifm.co.za/Ukhozi/Ukhozi%20index.html](http://www.ukhozifm.co.za/Ukhozi/Ukhozi%20index.html) and [www.hal.co.za/HalPublic/S03-RadioActiveStation/F04-RadioActiveFrameset.asp?Hub-lo&Supplier=24](http://www.hal.co.za/HalPublic/S03-RadioActiveStation/F04-RadioActiveFrameset.asp?Hub-lo&Supplier=24), May 16, 2002). Questionnaires were also used where necessary. These questionnaires were mainly for listeners and were structured so as to maintain consistency in terms of questions being asked and answers anticipated. The respondents either handed the answers in or where they had access to computers, emailed them to me. The questions were written in English and were responded to in the language of choice by the interviewees. However, I was also aware that a limited number of listeners have access to computers. These answers, therefore, do not give the general view of sports in post-apartheid South Africa but reveal the point of view of those listeners who have a good level of education. To address this problem, I interviewed some listeners who had never attended school. This was done



deliberately in order to get a range of opinions on the subject matter rather than limiting my study only to those listeners with access to computers. This was also important, given the economic circumstances of the majority of the listeners to both radio stations.

Finally, there are instances where I tape-recorded interviews from other radio stations (*MetroFM*, in particular). For instance, Mr Nelson Mandela's speech on February 12<sup>th</sup>, 2002 speaking on the status of sport in a post-apartheid South Africa, (courtesy of *MertoFm Sport Centre* 6-7pm weekdays). The paper acknowledges that all the information gathered through this process (recording interviews from *MetroFM*) is correctly and accurately referenced and acknowledged. The *Metro FM Sport Centre* show provided insight into the state of sport in contemporary South Africa from the point of view of the former president, Mr Nelson Mandela. It gave a view, particularly, to the role of sport in the new South Africa as well as some of the ethics within the sporting fraternity. That show also revealed that transformation in sport has taken place, from the point of view of the former President Nelson Mandela.

My paper also draws on background information about the introduction and development of these particular sporting codes in South Africa, particularly in KwaZulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape. I used this in order to show how these codes have been racialised and politicised in South Africa in the past. That is, how they assisted in mythologizing soccer and rugby as 'black' and 'white' sports respectively.

The brief historical account is also important in that it shows that the assessment of the role of sports like soccer and rugby play in a process of nation-building is part of South African history. However, studying the impacts of rugby broadcasting on *Umhlobo Wenene FM* becomes problematic because their listeners do not battle against an historical racial categorisation of sport into black-soccer and white-rugby. Nevertheless, the study will try to investigate the nature of rugby broadcasting after 1994, and whether the rugby broadcasts on this station have moved from a parochial, regional, black-only culture.

### **1.3 Limitations of the study**

During the course of this study I encountered some difficulties or limitations that had significant impacts on it. Initially, I hoped that I would get a 100% co-operation from the employees of these stations and amongst their listeners, but it was not the case for some of them. Some were most helpful, but others created difficulties. Due to negligence, lack of professionalism, scepticism or lack of commitment some of them were unwilling to comment or supply information. The other major problem was the lack of interest from some of the sports journalists and commentators, though there were some significant exceptions. In addition there was the frequent failure of some sport journalists/commentators to keep their appointments for interviews. Fortunately, I managed to get some of the required information through the Internet. These problems presented a major methodological challenge to me as a researcher and impacted significantly on the research as a whole.

During the process of data collection, there is an unavoidable imbalance in the interviewees from station-employees in terms of numbers (*2 Umhlobo Wenene FM personnel vs 4 Ukhozi FM*), owing to the lack of co-operation from some personnel as mentioned in the previous paragraph. I also acknowledge the lack of consistency in terms of questions being asked. The questionnaires were not uniformly constructed because of the varied nature of the interviewees themselves, including the issues of language and class of the interviewees, as explained earlier in the section.

I also struggled to get the relevant data pertaining to the SABC sport statistics in terms of rugby and soccer attendance by black Africans before and after 1994. There was also no Sport Policies available in both radio stations during the apartheid period. To obtain this I would have been obliged to travel to the SABC premises in Johannesburg, but due to financial and time constraints this was impossible. There was also limited information available on SA soccer and black rugby history (particularly, after 1994). These instances of lack of co-operation prolonged my work on the study itself. They further forced on me constant changes of methodology in the constructions of questionnaires and interviews and were influential in terms of the direction of the study itself. Questions of language

use and education level sometimes resulted in a high degree of intervention on my part as a researcher in order to elicit relevant information from the interviewees.

There were also no apartheid-era policies on sport available from other stations at the time of interviews making it difficult for me to draw objective conclusions about what went on in sport prior to 1994. The shortage of information on soccer and black rugby history forced me look at studies conducted earlier. These studies are now outdated and irrelevant a bit because they look at South Africa before 1994, whereas my study specifically examines what is going on in the present South Africa. In addressing this problem I used some of the racial policies of the past in trying to understand how it was impossible to cross racial divides in sport in the past. These racial policies assisted in intensifying the racial divide in every aspect of South African society, including sports. However, while my study is important, there is still a need for further investigations in terms of how sport in the democratic post-apartheid South Africa differs from that in the past.

## **1.4 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

### **1.4.1 The role of a Public Service Broadcaster (PSB).**

The following section will cover the role of the SABC as a national broadcaster, its mandate in a democratic South Africa, and its challenges in achieving these goals. For example, how does the SABC address the issue of race in sport broadcasting? Does the SABC give women's sport adequate coverage? What do these kinds of issues tell us about the role of the SABC as national broadcaster in terms of universal appeal and the construction of a single South Africa across race, class and gender divides? The analysis below draws from some of the theorists and critics of Public Service Broadcasting (PSB) such as Mark Raboy in trying to assess the nature of PSB by using South Africa as an example.

My aim is to draw attention to some of the pitfalls and setbacks PSB principles have, particularly in the South African context. While I understand and applaud the efforts expended in making the SABC a truly national broadcaster, there are obstacles that are



yet to be overcome. I hope to add to some of the input made by various scholars and academics regarding the effectiveness of PSB principles, particularly in a post-apartheid South Africa. This is in full understanding that since South Africa became true democracy in 1994, a certain pattern of broadcasting has emerged to reflect the political position of the country, and this needs constant assessment.

Mark Raboy (1996: 6) rejects a single fixed definition of public service broadcasting. For him, “[t]here is no easy way to answer the question of what PSB is” (Raboy, 1996: 6). The function of the PSB constantly changes over time and from country to country. In search of a definition of the PSB, the UK’s now defunct *Broadcasting Research Unit (BRU)* in 1985/1988 (Raboy, 1996: 6) made a reasonably thorough attempt. According to BRU, a PSB should be seen as a comprehensive environment. Its main principles can be summarised as follows:

- universal accessibility (geographic);
- universal appeal (general tastes and interests);
- particular attention to minorities;
- contribution to a sense of national identity and community;
- distance from vested interests;
- direct funding and universality of payment
- competition in good programming rather than for numbers; and
- guidelines that liberate rather than restrict programme makers.

The PSB is different from other broadcasters. Unlike the commercial broadcaster, the PSB is often a national broadcaster. Its mission is to cater for every person and every group in the country in which it operates. It treats its audience as citizens rather than as customers or consumers. In contrast to the PSB, the primary opinion of commercial broadcasting is to make profits. To achieve this, commercial broadcasters “need specifically targeted or niche audiences, while the public service broadcasters generally need to address mass audiences” (Teer-Tomaselli, 1994: 184).

In this study I selected only three of the eight principles of the PSB. They are as follows: (1) universal appeal (general tastes and interests, (2) universal accessibility (geographic) and (3) contribution to a sense of national identity and community. I selected these three principles because of their close relevance to my research. I contend that out of the three selected principles, the first claims that a public service broadcaster should appeal to everybody. This is very important, especially in a multicultural country like South Africa. The second principle suggests that media should be available to all the people, across geographical barriers. The last demands that the SABC should strive to create a spirit of national identity among the people of this country, which surpasses the race-cultural divisions that exists among them.

In South Africa there still exist “gross disparities in wealth, education, living standards and the denial of access to social resources which have been caused by an active process of underdevelopment through apartheid” (Teer-Tomaselli and Tomaselli in Anderson, 1996: 224). The country and its people are also divided into urban/rural, rich/poor, and literate/illiterate. And the divisions that exist in South Africa cannot be overlooked. These PSB principles seem problematic and idealistic because of the disparities mentioned above, and they make the possibilities of a single post apartheid consciousness seem slim” (Teer-Tomaselli and Tomaselli in Anderson, 1996: 224). The principles quoted earlier by Raboy will be more applicable to some racial or ethnic groups than others. How possible it is for the SABC to contribute to a sense of national identity and community becomes even more difficult to speculate on because of the disparities South Africa. Race is also a dividing element.

The sad truth about South Africa is that the PSB principles are ideals and are not easily applicable in reality. But I contend that the SABC is trying to address the above issues and is trying to contribute in a process of building one community regardless of race-cultural (and gender) lines. Broadcasting of previously ‘white’ sport on formerly known ‘black’ radio stations is one of the indicators of transformation, which in a sense contributes in nation building.



The hatred, distrust and inequalities between groups are hard to overcome overnight. The media needs to find strategies to deal with these problems. In principle a 'collective South African identity' can be created but practically it is not going to be that easy. This section is, therefore aimed at trying to understand the effectiveness of a PSB's normative principles in a South African context, particularly after 1994. I shall also try to determine how people and government use sport in the media as an 'effective catalyser' (Tenorio, 1988) which may cause these disparities to dissolve.

#### **1.4.2 Sport broadcasting as a political phenomenon**

The SABC needs to pay attention to the needs of every citizen across class, race and gender lines if it is to be a true public broadcaster. For instance, sports-wise, even other sporting codes need equal coverage even though they are not as popular as soccer or rugby. Race, gender, class and ethnicity shape the way we view sport. In this section, I want to emphasise that sport can be used as a tool to promote a national identity regardless of race, gender, class and ethnic differences. Sport broadcasting can also contribute to the promotion of democracy. Broadcasting different sport codes on radio for instance, helps not only to promote that particular code but to expose radio audiences to it as well. Consequently, people start to change their attitudes towards that sport as well as to its supporters.

Theorists such as Nauright and Chandler (1996) and Africa (1997) have written about gender differences as well as different ways in which sports-men and-women are represented. They have tried to understand the link between sport and gender relations. For instance, (Africa, 1997: 30-31) writes that:

While the racial and class aspects of the South African political and economic systems have been well documented and acknowledged, it is important to recognise that power was also in the hands of men. The 19<sup>th</sup> century British colonists in Natal ascribed to what Jock Phillips (1980) refers to in the New Zealand context as "Anglo-Saxon manhood" which promoted the image of the British colonists as being virile, loyal (to Britain and monarch) and heroic (Phillips 1989: 231). The sport of rugby assumed particular importance in the development of this style of masculinity because in addition to producing the desired attributes it also served to seal off upper class whites from blacks and lower (working) class whites.

The above-mentioned authors (Nauright; Chandler and Africa) alert us to the fact that sport and politics in South Africa are male dominated, and feel that sport should be looked at in terms of gender relations.

On the other hand, they also show that black men, particularly the working class, are the most fanatical followers of soccer in South Africa. While these debates are important in their own right, the focus of this dissertation is to look, specifically, at the current state of affairs regarding sport and sport broadcasting on radio in South Africa after apartheid rather than sport in terms of gender lines. I tried, deliberately, not to discuss the detailed gender debates, because of the scope of the dissertation, which has an optimum length of 40, 000 words. Yet, I support Nauright (1997: 20) in his argument that there is a clear need to understand the history and social conditions that have excluded South African women from fuller participation in sport, and to develop programmes and create facilities and infrastructure that will address the participation and health needs of South African women and assist them to become top class athletes. I, therefore, have considered some of the significant gender debates that some of the theorists have written about, as shown above.

#### **1.4.3 Political economy of sports in a society**

Media plays a mythologizing role through sport because it presents itself as free from cultural, racial, class and gender parameters, though these parameters seem difficult to overcome Wenner (1998). These attitudes are critically important to any assessment of cultural and behavioural change among the people of different backgrounds in this country as a result of sport coverage through media. From the point of view of functionalist theory,

[S]port is viewed as having a functional position in the wider society, reinforcing dominant mores and conventions, and enabling people to adapt to new economic and social pressures such as the requirements of work, the bureaucracy and urban living. Put simply, sport is one way in which groups adapt to changes in a social order. It is one means of socialisation and integration. Furthermore, sport is sometimes seen as a kind of voluntary forum in which social actors are able to exercise a degree of choice, flexibility and self-determination often denied them

by the inevitable disappointments and compulsory character of modern living (Jones, 1988: 4).

Socio-economic conditions shape the position of sport in society. The current political situation in a society determines the position of sport. Rugby and soccer are not exceptions. South Africa is a good example in this regard. The social composition of the population both creates and limits the audience for sport commentary and how it can function. The uneven distribution of sporting facilities, the differing quality of education between former black and white schools, the gap between rich and poor are some of the prime factors towards determining the position of sport. Different racial and gender groups understand sport differently. These disparities limit the possibilities for sportsmen and women, and impact on the functional role of sport in general. Between the availability of sports facilities to the different sections of the population and the propensity to listen to sports commentary, there is certainly a gap, but I wish to argue that there is also a connection. In order to enjoy commentary on rugby, for example, the possibility must exist that the individual or his associates play or have played it. These factors challenge the applicability of the SABC principles in a new South Africa.

Economic conditions also impact on the nature of sport. Every game, be it soccer or rugby, tends to be influenced by economic and political interests. In South Africa in the past some sports were well provided with facilities at the expense of others- distinctions being made on racial lines- and the result was that some sporting codes were affordable for particular groups of people. This shows the link between economic and political factors as well as their impacts on the nature of sport in South Africa during the apartheid era. Put simply, the economic and political position of people help determine the type of sports they can afford to play. This is more appropriate to soccer and cricket for instance because there is nothing more intrinsically expensive about rugby and soccer. Both rugby and soccer need a football and a set of goalposts. But the facilities provided for both soccer and rugby in apartheid South Africa were not similar.

Sport in recent times, mirrors those determining socio-economic conditions which surround it. The dynamic effects of commercialisation and commodity production in the



sport domain are worth scrutinising critically as they impact heavily on the nature of sport. Stephen Jones (1988: 12) has a contrasting view to the above. He demonstrates that “the people played an active role in those dynamic economic, social, political cultural and intellectual processes which often imposed limits on and sometimes offered possibilities for the transformation of sport”. Jones argues that social, economic and political factors do not have more decisive effects than individual concerns in shaping people’s choices of sport. However, my point of disagreement with Jones is that England and South Africa have distinct histories in terms of race-gender relations during the period reviewed. South Africa is very different to England both socially and politically. Therefore, Jones’s argument does not fit well in a South African context.

South Africa, besides being a multiracial, multicultural society, is economically diverse in terms of race, gender, location, educational standards and class. These differences put limitations on the manner in which people are able to play an active role in shaping the nature of sport during apartheid. Since government policies prior to 1994 encouraged differences among South Africans in terms of the attributes mentioned above, people have had to adapt to the social, economic and political positions in which they found themselves. In sport, the less affluent opted for less expensive codes like soccer for example although there is not much difference between soccer and rugby. Consequently, they formed soccer teams like *Orlando Pirates* and *Moroka Swallows* in 1937 and 1947 respectively (Nauright, 1997: 102).

The key issue is the provision of sporting facilities and the racial policies implemented at that time which separated people in terms of the colour of the skin and prevented any form of cultural integration (e.g. mixed sporting events) among different racial groups in South Africa. Among those racial policies were:

Population Registration Act of 1950 which classified South Africans as White, Coloured, Indian and African (regardless of cultural, religious and ethnic affiliations) as well as other divisive laws such as the Mixed Marriage Act (which forbade intermarriages between whites and blacks and the Group Areas Act (which prevented the different race groups from living within the same residential area, all contributed to cement racial segregation and discrimination. In addition the National Party (NP) established and maintained (often through force) a race

hierarchy with whites at the top, Coloureds and Indians in the middle and Africans at the bottom (Africa, 1997: 29).

My argument is based on this unequal provision of facilities with the assistance of the governmental racial policies in place at that time and the way in which these inequalities survive. No matter how much people would have wanted to participate in all the sporting codes, the uneven distribution of sporting facilities played a significant role in limiting access to many sports. Working class black men in particular had to participate in the sporting codes that they could afford and were allowed to participate in, like soccer. In post-apartheid South Africa awareness of these glaring inequalities is necessary to break down racial lines dividing the sports. These are some of the challenges facing South Africans at present. I regard current sport broadcasting through the medium of radio as one of the means through which the government and the media are trying to break that racial divide.

#### **1.4.4 Sports in relation to broader socio-political structure**

Sport cannot be divorced from a broader socio-political structure. Jones (1988) argues:

The study of sport...[has] to be located in the broader political economy, the assemble of economic and social relationships and values of a particular society. After all, sports are 'determined' forms of conduct, shaped by amongst other things, a society's ownership patterns, power networks and ideologies. Leisure and sports history cannot be studied in isolation or divorced from what is happening in the world outside (Jones, 1988: 3).

Sport is also a political and cultural phenomenon in a sense that it can be considered as a kind of 'deep play' in which the innermost and often hidden values of a culture can be acted out. Sport is not only a physical activity but can also be viewed as a story we tell ourselves about ourselves (Holt, in Gundlingh, Odendaal and Spies, 1995: Intro). It is a means through which racial groups identify themselves in relation to others. It is not surprising to see *Bafana-Bafana* (South African senior soccer team) attracting large numbers of black South Africans as spectators.

In contrast, the (South African senior rugby team) *Amabokoboko/Springboks* as they are affectionately called gets support mainly from the white community. The reasons for this

are not merely a matter of taste or love of the game; there is also a mythical dimension associated with it. For instance, the predominant white South African attitude about black sport in general has centred on the belief that blacks have not played 'Western' style sport for nearly as long as whites and that blacks have their own sporting culture centred on soccer and boxing that is very different from that of whites (Nauright, 1997: 47). Choice of a preferred sport has underlying meanings.

In Grundlingh's (1995) terms, sport is one of the means by which we tell ourselves and the world about ourselves. It is a way of finding our identity and of celebrating our sense of being. This varies from country to country because each country has its own history, which shapes the nature of sport and the role it plays in a society.

Vincent Mosco (1985: x) defines culture "as a contested terrain, as the site of struggles among classes over the production and interpretation of signs and symbols and expressions that define themselves and their relationship to one another". Sport is an important cultural activity in this regard because each racial group seeks to define particular codes. Nauright (1997) observes that rugby tells white South Africans (particularly Afrikaners) about themselves. Grundlingh, Odendaal and Spies (1995) argue that in the past even among the white groups in South Africa, rugby did not have a common meaning. The "English speakers are said to be fond of their rugby, Afrikaner Nationalists are often thought to be passionate about it" (Grundlingh, Odendaal and Spies, 1995: Intro). Since South Africa comprises different racial groups, rugby, or any sporting code for that matter, has varying meanings. Put simply, a particular sporting code can have different connotative meaning among different groups of people in the same country. Various factors, such as age, gender, race, location and class play a significant role in the establishment of these different meanings.



#### **1.4.5 The definition of sport and its functions in the society**

Sport can also be used to produce social and economic growth. Volkerling (1994: 8) argues that

[on] the more conservative social policy side, there is another benefit that of disciplinary control, because a sport enthusiast is unlikely to become involved in crime. Some nations use sport ideologically to show that their system of government and their lifestyle are superior to those of other nations; some use sport under the 'bread and circuses' syndrome to keep the people's minds off other negative occurrences; some nations have used it to overcome the effects of war; some Third World countries use sport to show that they are catching with the rest of the world; while other national sports philosophies have racial overtones (Dempster, 1985: 121 in Wenner (1998: 125).

These questions concerning the uses of sport demand more attention. Baker and Glavovic (1996) lay down the definitive features of sport, which include the following:

- the attributes of physical activity and the development of specific physical skills;
- the element of competition and opposition among participants or teams of participants in achieving particular end or goals; and
- the authoritative codification of a clearly defined formalised body of rules and conditions relevant to each sport, to which the participants feel morally bound to adhere.

Some sport theorists argue that the urge to develop particular physical skills and to display such skills in competition against others represents a manifestation of certain expressive needs of the social human being. In other words, such activities are undertaken primarily for their own sake. Their argument is that "true sport is undertaken by the individual for the intrinsic rewards of expressing skill, creativity reward" (Baker and Glavovic, 1996: 250).

There is no conclusive definition of sport and its functions in society. However, one may consider the following aspects of sport and its role in a society: Sport can be a useful tool in forging a sense of unity among people who are divided along racial, religious, gender and class lines. Even in a country where these differences have been intensified in various ways, sport can be used as a remedy to unite people, particularly during an

international sport events. Media can play a significant role in this project. At the same time, there is a possible misunderstanding of sport between those who are actively engaged in playing various codes and those who administer the sport. The former understand sport not as a commodity but as an activity to express individual talents and skills (though with little room to alter the existing rules of the game). The latter view sport as important for external factors, including market related factors. The government, as well as private organisations, can use sport for their specific political interests (Houlihan, 1994). For instance, the South African government, as I have shown, uses sport in an effort to forge unity in a multicultural society. The private sector usually uses sport for profit-making as its prime end. For example the *eTV broadcast* the Korea-Japan FIFA Soccer World Cup in 2002 in order to increase its viewership. That was also important for the station in terms of raising its financial status. Sport can also be an arena of cultural struggle in which oppressed groups use it as a form of symbolic resistance (Boyle and Haynes, 2000: 145).

Sport, besides being considered as a physical and entertainment activity can also help alleviate crime and raise the earning potential of an individual person. There have been criminal cases and misbehaviour involving prominent sportsmen and women, for example, Diego Maradona of Argentina. The late Hansie Cronje, Kaizer Chiefs' Jabu Pule and Eric September (all South Africans) have been guilty of crimes which range from drug-taking to match fixing and murder. Thus, participation in sport does not necessarily keep athletes from crime or misbehaviour. However, the majority of professional players seldom resort to this kind of behaviour. Sport participation helps individuals achieve the transition from being unknown to being famous. In contrast though, there have been cases in which sportsmen and women emerge from nowhere to stardom. For example, the Brazilian soccer star Ronaldo, South Africa's Lucas Hadebe, the American Williams sisters in tennis and Mike Tyson in boxing are some of them.



#### **1.4.6 The myth of nationhood**

The concept of 'nation' is not self-evident. Wenner (1998: 122) defines the term 'nation' as referring to a oneness of imagination that binds citizens to states without the everyday apparatus of repression. It is a means of identification with persons and places beyond the perceptual horizon (Wenner, 1998: 122). Hans Kohn (1945:8-9) has defined nationalism as referring to "our identification with the life and aspiration of uncounted millions whom we shall never know, with a territory which we shall never visit in its entirety". Nations, paradoxically, are pronounced upon and manufactured at the same time as their authentic existence is already assumed (Guinhard, 1987), an ontological dilemma. Nationalism becomes even more important where underdevelopment along racial lines has been constitutionalised. South Africa needs this sense of nationhood if we want our democracy to last. Sport has the potential to unite people who have been divided along the racial, class and other lines. Through sport, a sense of nationhood among the millions of South Africans is created. This is how sport unites people, making them speak with one voice, especially during the international sporting events, and the media is used to create this sense of nationalism, even if it hardly exists in reality.

Myths constitute an important aspect of nationalism and nation building. Indeed,

Myths are not total delusions or utter falsehoods, but partial truths that accentuate particular versions of reality and marginalize or omit others in a manner appealing to deep-seated emotions... Critically, myths disavow or deny their own conditions of existence; they are forms of speech that derive from specific sites and power relations, but are passed off as natural and eternal verities. National sporting myths lend themselves particularly well to this apparent timelessness falsehood out of the invention of tradition' Hobsbawn and Ronger (1983) quoted in Wenner, (1998:121).

A good example was Nelson Mandela's attempts to use prominent sporting personalities in mythologizing and forging unity in historically diverse communities, such as in South Africa. Africa (1997: 17) explains:

Mandela has recognised the sporting arena as one which has the potential to unite South Africans from diverse backgrounds. He shrewdly used his wholehearted support of high profile South Africans such as Elana Meyer, Josia Thugwana, Bruce Fordyce, Hezekiel Sepeng (athletes), Neil Tovey, Doctor Khumalo, Mark Fish (soccer), Vuyani Bhungu, Brian Mitchel, Thulani "Sugarboy" Malinga

(boxing), Francois Pienaar, Chester Williams (rugby) and Paul Adams and Hansie Cronje (cricket).

This is not to suggest that former President Mandela has been insincere in his support of these athletes, but rather that he has recognised the strategic position that they occupy and he has endeavoured to use this as a means towards realising his goal of a united South Africa (Africa 1997: 17). This was a strategic move in forging a unified South Africa in the eye of the international community. While I support Mandela's wholehearted support for the athletes mentioned above, the impression I get from this, however, is that the prime aim was to create a united and harmonious South African nation where it hardly existed.

Much was written about the presence of Mandela at the 1995 Rugby World Cup that was held in Durban. The greatest significance of that moment was the way in which the media tried to create a mythologizing, or rather a symbolic unity, where such unity was just coming into being. However, as Wenner (1989: 121) continues:

We are not suggesting that media audiences of sporting events are autonomously programmed. Meaning is always negotiated in the semiotic process, never simply inexorably from above by an omnipotent author through an absolute code. We are claiming that the homological media are deeply implicated in deciding 'what the people get'.

The argument is that people use the media to generate unity or nationhood in various ways. Through media, people develop a mythologized notion of common purpose where it does not necessarily exist. Sport is one of mechanisms through which this ultimate objective is reached. Ironically, issues like race, gender and class play a pivotal role in allowing or denying that possibility. People are not passive in the process of coding and decoding media messages. The viewers' (or listeners') backgrounds shape their interpretation and understanding of the game (Fiske, 1996). Viewers' interpretation of the text of a particular media message often postulates a possible tension between the structure of that text, which necessarily bears the dominant ideology, and the social situations of the viewers, which may position them at odds with that ideology. Therefore, a process of reception (decoding media text) then becomes a process of negotiation between the viewer and the text (Hall, 1993). This interpretation often differs from the

initial intended message at the point of production since production and reception of the media message are not identical though they are related: they are differentiated moments within the totality formed by the social relations of the communicative process as a whole (Hall, 1993: 93).

The above reality demands that we look at how the myths of nationhood were created in the past as well as how they are now created. How can the difference between the two illustrate something about radio broadcasting of sports events and the changing function of the Public Service Broadcaster (PSB) in South Africa? How do these myths of nationhood tie into the SABC's mandate? These questions will be discussed further in the following chapters. At this point it is possible to highlight the contention that radio broadcasting of sports events in a new South Africa contributes to the myth of nationhood in the current South Africa, a theme which will be fleshed out in the following section.



## **CHAPTER 2**

### **2.1 Building a New South Africa**

In this section my aim is to assess the notion of nation building through sport. Since South Africa is a democratic country and comprised of people with different cultural, racial and class backgrounds, a sense of comradeship or nationhood and togetherness is important if we are to celebrate our democracy. In terms of my view that all facets of society, including our sports, should reflect the political position of the new, democratic Africa, the aim of this section is to highlight some of the barriers this project of nation building will have to overcome. It is the contention of this dissertation that the time for segregated sport has passed and post-apartheid South Africa needs desegregated sports. On the other hand, while our sport demands this desegregation process in order to pave the way for a harmonious, integrated South Africa, issues of race, culture, class and gender determine the limitations and possibilities for the success or failure of this project.

Desegregated sport has the potential to unite South Africans across class, race and cultural lines but depends on the recognition and reconciliation of these potentially divisive conditions, which are embedded in the historical composition of the country that started in 1948 “when the first Nationalist government came to power and began its programme of legislation which legally enforced the segregation of sport” (Nauright, 1997: 118). Soon after these divisive laws were implemented by the National Party (NP) “at the same time a movement began amongst blacks towards non-racialism and ultimate national unity in soccer began” (Nauright, 1997: 118). The success or failure of integration influenced by conditions that extend beyond the actual playing fields.

The chapter below traces the origins of soccer and rugby in South Africa. I have provided a brief historical view of the games, their development and how they eventually helped the previous government in dividing South Africans in terms of race, class, gender and ethnic attributes. I shall also examine the ways in which these sporting codes (soccer and rugby) were mythologized as belonging to blacks and whites respectively. By providing this historical account, I hope to show that divorcing sports from history is impossible and that a new definition of sport is necessary in a new South Africa.

My aim is also to show that these sporting codes have been heavily influenced by the economic, ideological, political and cultural conditions existing in South Africa over the years. Brought on by invasion, conquest, settlement, capitalism and race- and gender-based social ideologies, these factors have shaped the contours of modern South African society, as well as social practices such as sport (Nauright, 1997: 6). I further hope to demonstrate that unpacking the origins of these sporting codes will show why a new South Africa needs to re-examine the connotative meanings these codes have at present. The assumption is that these sports played a role in the mythology of segregation, in the period until 1948, and of apartheid between 1948 and 1990.

Lastly, understanding the historical origins of these codes, I hope to show why *Ukhozi FM* gives soccer much more coverage than rugby, as well as why *Umhlobo Wenene FM* does likewise. However, I contend that *Ukhozi FM* has tried to include rugby in a post-apartheid period to increase its support as well as to stick to the SABC mandate as a national broadcaster. That is to educate, entertain and inform the citizens of this country. Consequently, these radio stations use sport to maintain consistency and provide variety in terms of their sport broadcasting. Norberg (1996: 4) defines consistency as successful programming which fulfils listener expectations that in turn are based on what the stations has done in the past. It is the uniform pattern created by the various elements used to build programmes, even to the placement of advertisements, use of jingles and station identification. While expectancy, created through consistency, is a basic principle of programming, there is also a need for variety in that consistency. The SABC as a national broadcaster needs this variety for providing contrast within a programme like sports programmes for instance. However, the radio stations must be careful in getting the balance between the two said principles. They should guide against losing listeners as a results of failing to balance the two principles, which may result in a station losing listeners. Fourie (2001: 406) concludes that, “it is much harder to regain a lost listener than to keep existent listener”.

It seems important to assess the behavioural change in people's mindsets regarding these sporting codes, since the crux of the matter is that there is nothing essential in soccer and rugby which render them more or less suited to a particular race group. A state where support for particular sports is not racially determined is highly desirable. This will take time and effort from all the people concerned, at all levels. All forms within the society (including the media in the form of radio) should strive towards achieving this objective, which is necessary in a democratic South Africa. The bigger question is how do the government and the media (radio in particular) facilitate the process of nation building. As well as what impacts do those attempts by both the media and the government have on ordinary South Africans. Those issues regarding attempts and impacts of sport broadcasting on radio will be discussed in the following chapters.

## **2.2 A brief history of South African football<sup>1</sup>**

It is worth looking briefly at the history of football in South Africa, its development as a male-dominated sport, as well as the way in which it became a political and economic platform for some black elite by mid 1900s. John Nauright (1997) argues that

Football is played and watched by more South Africans than any other sport...For although cricket and rugby union have been promoted as possible unifying sports for the new post-apartheid South Africa, it is football that resonates most strongly with the great majority of black South Africans and also with some whites. While rugby union remains popular in the townships of Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and East London and its nearby areas, football is overwhelmingly the most popular sport among black South Africans, particularly in the urban areas (Nauright in Armstrong and Giulianotti, 1999: 189)

There are many possible reasons for this soccer popularity among black South Africans. Soccer's popularity could, perhaps, be linked to the broad social and political response to the different facets of the impacts of capitalism on South African society, which drew a large number of African men to the cities between 1930s and 1960s. They played soccer in the urban places in order to relax after long tiring working hours.

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<sup>1</sup>In this paper I used the term soccer to refer to association football, because in some countries like the US, football refers to other codes like rugby.



Africa (1997: 31) makes a comparative assessment of sport ethics among black and white South Africans. He notes that from as early as the 19<sup>th</sup> century, sport has played an important role in the construction of South Africa's social fabric. It gained its popularity a few decades after the turn of the twentieth century because of its use as an escapist activity or antidote to the possible ills of urban society. For black men in particular, sport could be viewed primarily as a way in which workers relaxed when away from the rigors and humiliation of work situations. However, for whites, in addition to being a means for relaxing, sport also acquired a political agenda. By 1976 sport policies, which protected the bourgeoisies hegemonic aspirations, sport would function to differentiate racial and social classes and in doing so encourage conflict rather than solidarity between classes (Roberts, 1989: 18).

Lastly, the black elite also viewed sport as a potential source of prestige and power and sports administration became a key area where educated black men could exercise political, economic and administrative control. Soccer was apparently a desirable activity for the emerging capitalist society to help them deal with the pressures created their working lives.

### **2.3 Development of professional soccer and SA politics**

The first known soccer team in South Africa was the white club Pietermaritzburg County established by white settlers in the Natal colony in 1879. Three white Natal clubs, *Natal Wasps*, *Durban Alphas* and *Umnjeni Stars*, formed the first football association in South Africa in 1882 called the *Natal Football Association*.

Football, originally imported from Britain to Natal, "came to Johannesburg from Natal where it gained in popularity during the 1890s. Early black clubs developed in Ladysmith and Pietermaritzburg after men there had seen British soldiers playing the game during the 1890s" (Couzens in Armstrong and Giulianotti, 1999: 191). Rapid urbanisation (1868-1902) brought on by the mineral revolution brought educated men together in substantial numbers, first in Kimberley and then in Johannesburg, the two key centres in the emergence of modern sporting forms among Africans (Nauright, 1997: 55-56).

Before and after the apartheid period (1948-1990), there has always been a link between football and politics. Some black political figures have utilized the popularity of football for the pursuit of their personal political agendas. “Many people who were prominent in the African National Congress (ANC) elites were involved in football administration and James “Sofasonke” Mpanza leader of the Orlando squatters movement of 1946 had played football with Rev Sivetye at Adams College” (Couzens, 1983). By the middle of the twentieth century soccer had developed as the most popular sport among black South Africans. Viewed during the liberation struggle by many people as a sport belonging to a particular class and race group, football’s popularity may well have helped the careers of some political leaders.

Its (soccer) popularity in the townships provided a unique opportunity during the apartheid years for political leaders address mass audiences without the necessity of trying to obtain a permit, which for many anti-apartheid groups was not likely to be granted anyway (Armstrong and Giulianotti, 1999: 199)

By 1970s and 1980s groups like the Black Consciousness Movement led by Steve Biko and later the United Democratic Front (UDF) often used football for political reasons as well. The politicians used the occasions of football matches to address audiences, thus pursuing their political aspirations (Lewis 1992/3).

In summary, soccer has a rich history among black South Africans. Over the years the game of soccer has moved way from being a social activity to a more political and ideological battlefield. This chapter shows that Natal Province adopted this game of football earlier than any other province in South Africa. Nauright (1997) has shown that soccer was imported from Britain and it spread to other areas such as Witwatersrand from Natal, where it gained enormous popularity. He also demonstrated that the first professional known club was a white club and therefore disapproved the myth that soccer is a working class or black sport only. The point is that soccer was gradually regarded as being for blacks because of the popularity it had and has with the black masses.



## **2.4 History of soccer versus ‘black’ radio stations**

This soccer history explains why soccer games often enjoy more coverage on radio stations that are predominantly followed by blacks. It is not surprising why rugby remains the less popular sport on these radio stations. However, from the point of view of the normative theory of the media, rugby broadcasting on black radio stations is important if the *SABC* wants to retain its normative objective to educate, inform and entertain the public and thus appeal to everybody, at the same time creating a sense of nationhood among the people of South Africa. Comparatively, there seems a clear understanding why soccer appeals more to black radio stations compared to rugby and other sport codes like tennis and cricket. This is not static though, as people are getting more exposed to other codes which were less popular among blacks in the past. It is not surprising, therefore, to see predominantly black radio stations including those other codes into their sporting slots, particularly after 1994. This is not to say soccer has always been the sole sport supported by black South Africans, as the history of rugby below shows.

## **2.5 A brief rugby history and its relation to SA politics**

Like soccer, rugby also gained popularity in Natal towards the turn of nineteenth century. By 1870s, it was a popular sport among the white communities in Natal. “It [rugby] was introduced in Natal at least ten years after its introduction into the Western Cape. This took place in and around Pietermaritzburg area in 1870” (Morrel, 1996: 93).

Studies (Grundlingh, Odendaal and Spies 1995 and Africa 1997) have shown that in the Eastern Cape rugby has enjoyed black support for years. From the inception of the sport in nineteenth century, some blacks in the Eastern Cape Province have been exposed to the game more than other provinces in the country. In his research on black rugby in South Africa, Odendaal (1995) highlights the Western Cape and Eastern Cape as areas where rugby was played on a competitive level by blacks in the late nineteenth century.

The Western Coloured Rugby Union (WPCRUC) was formed in 1886 and the Eastern Province Native Rugby Union (EPNRU) was formed in 1905. Nevertheless, few Africans in other provinces like Natal played rugby. Those who did had come from the more traditional black rugby-playing areas of the Eastern Cape and Western Cape. Odendaal, therefore, make

nonsense of the myth that rugby is not the culture of blacks and that they (blacks) only played soccer (Africa, 1997: 34-5).

Spies (1995: 84) states that by 1915 rugby had effectively displaced soccer as the major winter ball amongst the settlers in Natal. Because blacks did not play rugby (until much later) in Natal, the sport became exclusive domain of whites who aspired to an upper class status. This snobbery led to a general breakdown between rugby and soccer fraternities. The antagonism between the two sports soon extended to supporters as well. And as time progresses, the policy of racial segregation and discrimination initially introduced by the early colonists and more aggressively pursued by the National Party (NP) when it assumed power in 1948 encouraged racial divide through sports.

The NP developed the apartheid policy which legalised segregation and structured relations of racial inequality. Legislations such as Population Registration Act (1950) which classified South Africans as Whites, Coloureds, Indians and Africans (regardless of cultural, religious and ethnic affiliations) as well as other divisive laws such as Mixed Marriage Act (which forbade inter marriages between whites and blacks) and the Group Areas Act (which prevented the different race groups from living within the same residential area), all contributed to cement racial segregation and discrimination (Africa, 1997:29)

These divisive laws made it impossible for South Africans to have similar interests to rugby and soccer because people were ideologically categorised according to colour of the skin. I contend that these apartheid policies affected every aspect of South African society including sport. However, by 1960s some sportspersons and sports administrators opposed racial divisions in sports. For instance,

The South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SAN-ROC) opposed South Africa's participation in international sport on the ground that South Africa was racist. In the 1970s, the South African government introduced multiracial or multinational sport in which different groups could compete against each other. This sporting change was not accompanied by any other changes in SA politics and after playing in multiracial events, the players had to return to their apartheid lives (Africa, 1997: 17)

Spies links the game of rugby to class and race. It is possible to see the origin of rugby-white, black-soccer relationships. It is on this basis that the history of these sporting codes (rugby and soccer) is worth noting. Though both were imported to South Africa from Europe, they were used for specific ideological and political ends. As a result, each

code has had different connotative meaning for South Africans of different racial and cultural backgrounds, particularly during the apartheid regime. Indeed, sport “has more often been an element of a broader and more comprehensive political strategy” (Houlihan, 1994: 209).

In this brief historical account I hope to show that a new entry point into the roles soccer and rugby play in a new South Africa is important. I want, furthermore, to argue that these sports carried ideological meanings that had to do with race, especially during the apartheid era. It seems important to assess how such sports, racialised over the years, can be used to unite the people of South Africa. In short, how can soccer and rugby be deracialised and how possible is it for the people to accept that change? In doing so, I have attempted to assess the use of radio as a popular medium in trying to understand whether sport does unite people or not.



## CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH FINDINGS

### 3.1 State of South African sport

Below are some of the comments by different people who participated in the research on sport broadcasting on radio in South Africa since 1994. These views are critical, because people of different cultural, linguistic, educational and economic backgrounds expressed them. Most of the interviewees were drawn from SABC personnel (commentators, managers, and journalists) as well as listeners of both *Ukhozi FM* and *Umhlobo Wenene FM*. The comments of Mr Nelson Mandela on the state of development in rugby, and the degree of integration within the national (rugby) set-up said that he was optimistic about the progress that has been made in terms of addressing the racial divides after 1994 have also been included. According to Mr Nelson Mandela, the ANC-led government has made a great job in terms sport progress. However, this progress has encountered some pockets of resistance, which are rooted mainly from the legacies of the apartheid regime.

I am very happy with the progress that has been made but we must always remember that when you had been under minority rule for such a long period, in tense racial divisions in almost every field, it is not easy now to normalise the situation and to get everybody to accept the democratic values and structures which had been formed. But I am convinced and happy about that. We have made such great progress. There are still pockets of resistance and we must wipe them out and act very strongly against them. But the dominating picture is that we have united black and white in this country. And when I speak of blacks I mean Africans, Coloureds and Indians. We are now starting to speak with one voice (Nelson Mandela, courtesy of *MetroFm Sport Centre*, 19<sup>th</sup> February, 2002), See the appendix.

There are some few (pessimists), listeners for both radio stations in particular, though, who feel that there is a lot that needs to be done to achieve unity through sport in this country. For example, Miss Nomonde Mgqwashu<sup>2</sup> and Mr. Sibuselaphi Mathonsi (*Umhlobo Wenene FM* and *Ukhozi FM* listeners respectively), who have expressed scepticism about the whole notion of a Rainbow Nation brought about through sport because the state of sport in South Africa is not parallel to the political position of the country. Mgqwashu insists that there still exists a gap and a clash in terms of cultures between blacks and white South Africans and that the inclusion of rugby into black radio stations adds no value. It is just a means of adjustment to a democratic South Africa that

we live in. Mathonsi, though, pessimistic about the success of rugby in crossing racial divide believes that *Ukhozi FM* could be influential in teaching its listeners about the game of rugby by having more workshops to teach people about rugby” (See Appendix).

The common problem, according to this group of people, is that sport is still divided along racial lines, from the management level, technical level and down to players’ levels. Rugby, for example, was highly criticised by most listeners for remaining a white sport because it is predominantly run and professionally played by whites at national level. Until, this reality has changed rugby as a sport cannot unite people of South Africa. Mr. Mlindisi Dlamini (*Ukhozi FM* listener) for instance argues that only soccer has the potential to unite people across racial line “because soccer is being followed or supported by various racial groups unlike its counterpart rugby, which is dominantly supported and headed by whites. Black people mostly deem rugby as a racist sport, which excludes people because of their colour” (Refer to Appendix at the end).

Contrarily, studies like Grundlingh, Odendaal and Spies (1995) as well as Africa (1997), for instance, have shown that a significant number of black people have played and still do play rugby, particularly in the Eastern Cape. Therefore, it is vital that rugby should reflect this reality but this is not the case according to this group of people (pessimists). They argue that the state of South African rugby at national level does not reflect the racial demographics of the country. This is problematic in the promotion of democracy because everybody in South Africa should feel represented in every sport code including rugby. On the *Metro FM Sport Centre* one of the listeners and a former black rugby player, Xoliswa from Ngqamakwe, for example argued that South Africa has got good black players who can represent South Africa at Springbok level. The only problem South Africa has is that:

The white coaches in the provinces do not want to give our boys a chance. They do not even want to nurture our boys so that they can blossom in the talent of rugby. That is the main problem we have. Even the sponsors which are there for rugby, though they see there are some black clubs which can play better rugby, they don’t even consider to put their money at the back of those players so that we

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<sup>2</sup> An UWFM listener interviewed in Port Elizabeth in July, 2002.



can see our well representative Springbok team (courtesy of *Metro Fm Sport Centre*, 19<sup>th</sup> February, 2002, See the appendix).

Xoliswa, although, commenting on Metro FM radio station but stresses a general view from certain sector of listeners and media personnel. While many of the sport personnel interviewed at the SABC were optimistic about the position of sport, some listeners such as Mr. Mlindisi Dlamini were less optimistic about the inclusion of rugby and soccer in these stations. Dlamini argues that “black people hate rugby because of the racist attitude it has towards black people” (MA student, University of Natal and *Ukhozi FM* listener). He goes on to say that things could get better “when rugby can be controlled by a mixture of both groups (black and white); then we may have more black people changing to support rugby in KwaZulu-Natal in great numbers as much as soccer is” (Refer to Appendix).

There are many black rugby teams that have accomplished black players but due to the politics that exists in South African rugby, these teams struggle to secure sponsorships. They do not get (good) sponsorships and their players are not paid adequately. Mr. Zolani Bhongco (*Umhlobo Wenene FM*) agrees with these listeners, stating that for the past years the “white people of this country viewed rugby as belonging to them, which is not the case. Rugby belongs to everyone just like South Africa belongs to everyone who lives in South Africa” (Refer to Appendix). Bhongco argues that “[w]e must have a fully representative squad in terms of our rugby and I [optimistically] think we will see that sooner than later” (Refer to Appendix) . Lastly, Mr Nelson Mandela shares the same sentiment with the above listeners (and some media personnel). Mandela in an interview with *Metro FM* argues that though we have made such great progress, there are still pockets of resistance and we must wipe them out and act very strongly against them. He notes that

Africans, Coloureds and Indians have been marginalized for long time. They have not been exposed to training even now that the opportunities have been opened. There is still a great deal of complaints in all the sections of sports, in soccer, rugby, cricket, hockey etc. Those sports are still, to a very lot extent, dominated by the white minority and we want that the structures should be representative or should have all sections of the population in proportion to their



numbers. But of course, we pay attention to training, giving opportunities to everybody (See the appendix).

These sentiments put the issue of race and class on top of the agenda of sport intergration. Whether these listeners (and sport personalities and politicians) are correct in their analysis is open to discussion. Perhaps they are referring to what John Brewer (1992: 353) calls sectarianism, which he argues, “can be viewed as a system of beliefs through which a social group differentiates itself from a perceived other, primarily through religious difference” (Boyle and Haynes, 2000: 118). They further argue that sectarianism operates in three interrelated levels: in the domain of ideas, in individual behaviour and when its values become embedded in the social structure of any society (Boyle and Haynes, 2000: 118). However, inequalities that exist in sport are strongly influenced by the racial differences that have been in existence over the years and not necessarily by the religious differences mentioned by Boyle and Haynes. Sectarianism does exist particularly in a sporting code like soccer, where a particular group of supporters view themselves as having particular distinctive features compared to other teams supporters. However, in South Africa these beliefs are not as strong as those which Boyle and Haynes (2000) refer to in the case of Scotland. While Boyle and Haynes’s sectarianism differs from South Africa in terms of its context and applicability, even in South Africa where little sectarianism is visible, the media has played a role. This was true, particularly during apartheid period, in naturalising and mythologizing sport along the racial divides.

It is clear that the state of sport in South Africa (rugby in particular) challenges the relevance of sport (rugby) broadcasting on ‘black’ radio stations and the role sport plays in unifying people. I insist that transformation on sport must be transparent in order for people to understand sports better, feel represented as true citizens of this country and to understand each other’s interests as people of South Africa.

### 3.2 Sport as a unifying tool

The question still remains as to whether sport brings South Africans together or not. Varying views emerged in this research regarding this question. Mr Bhekinkosi Ngema<sup>3</sup> (*Ukhozi FM*) insists that sport does bring people together, especially during the international events like the Soccer and Rugby World Cup events. Vicky Masuku (*Ukhozi FM*) also shares the opinion that South African whites are starting to attend soccer games in the Premier Soccer League (PSL), although their numbers are small. Even the sport manager and sport announcer at *Umhlobo WeneneFM*, Mr Lizo Gqomfa and Zolani Bhongco agree that sport brings people together in South Africa and elsewhere in the world. Gqomfa argues that “definitely, without any doubt sport unifies people. Like in music, music unifies people so sport does the same. Especially, if you play sport in a friendly manner. Sport builds friendship irrespective of where you come from. It can be different races or nations but through sport they can be unified” (Refer to Appendix). On the other hand Bhongco cited both the Rugby World Cup (1995) and Africa Cup of Nations (1996) victories as evident to South Africans’ support to both national team, and that those events showed South Africans solidarity and unity brought about sports. He insists that

It was the Rainbow nation that supported Bafana Bafana. And Bafana Bafana deserved that and they went on to win the cup because of the support that they got from the Rainbow nation and not only because soccer was regarded as blacks’ sport. But because South Africa was free and everyone was free to go and support Bafana Bafana. And who can forget 1995 when the Springboks won the Rugby World Cup? It was one of the huge successes in terms of our government that we have ever had in our country. And as the former president said, “It is a unifying factor and no one can deny that”. I do not know any words that can sort of put more facts into that other than that it happened here in South Africa (Refer to Appendix at the end).

There are no statistics available or given at the time of writing in either radio station on the correct figures for the match attendances. However, these commentators were judging by the number of people that they observe as they go to the stadium to broadcast on

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<sup>3</sup> Mr Bhekinkosi Shadrack Ngema is also a sport journalist and commentator on *UkhoziFM*. The whole debate was recorded in an interview that was held 2001. Also see appendix I

soccer and rugby. In both these successful rugby and soccer events, both stations were there, broadcasting live all the games involving South African teams. The live broadcasts do not only inform the South African public about what is happening on the playing fields but also teach the public about the rules of the games. The live commentary adds to the entertainment these codes bring to people in addition to other forms of media such as television that enjoys both audio-visual advantages.

### **3.3 Sport programming on radio as a solution**

The interviews conducted have shown that there are different positions in terms of the role sport plays in South Africa. On the one hand some people (Mr. Sibuselaphi Mathonsi, Mr Zolani Bhongco, Thanda Ndlovu, Lizo Gqomfa and Vicky Masuku, to mention the few, feel that sport in general does bring people together regardless of their cultural, economic and other divides. On the other hand some people such as Miss Nomonde Mgqwashu and Mr Mlindisi Dlamini (Refer to Appendix) disagree. Mlindisi Dlamini. For example cite both the current national soccer and rugby teams and argue that they are not yet as truly representative as they are supposed to be. That is where the importance of broadcasting sports such as rugby and soccer comes in. Radio as one of the popular medium in South Africa can play a major role in assisting in the promotion of democracy and unity. Radio's popularity and affordability can introduce less popular sport codes to people. Subsequently, people will tend to understand sports in a broader informed manner, making them understand other cultures, which would bring consequently about harmony amongst the different races in South Africa. This is my personal opinion, though, which goes in line with some of the comments made by some of my interviewees such as Mr Gqomfa and Mr Bhongco (both *Umhlobo Wenene FM* personnel), Mr Ndlovu and Miss Masuku (*Ukhozi FM* personnel) as well as Mr Mathonsi and Mr Mnqolo (*Ukhozi FM* and *Umhlobo Wenene FM* listeners respectively).

I contend that whatever reasons may be in prohibiting sports in bringing about unity, radio medium used effectively towards this objective can play a significant role. Radio is by far still the most affordable form of media in South Africa. In addition media alone (in a form of radio) cannot succeed in bringing about unity and democracy. Unity and



democracy needs a holistic approach to it. The government, as well as the business sector which according to Mr Bhongco (*Umhlobo Wenene FM*), must treat all the sporting codes in the same way. The business sector needs to change its approach to sports in a new South Africa. Bhongco argues that in the past years,

The sponsors were easily available then, during the apartheid era, because if they don't come back then it would tell us, it would be an indication to us that they don't want transformation. And if they don't want transformation they must come clean because we don't need them. They have got the money. They must help the kids. They must not look at the colour of the kids. They must help the kids (Refer to Appendix).

The sponsors need to avail themselves and assists in nurturing the kids, especially in the rural areas. If they don't that, that would indicate a remnant of the apartheid ideology that perpetuated racial division, even in sports. The importance of the business sector is very critical in the current sporting fraternities. This was evidence in 2002-2003 Premier Soccer League (PSL) season when two teams decided to sell their franchise (resulted in them losing their PSL status) because of lack of sponsorships. These teams were Free State Stars and Ria Stars<sup>4</sup>. These teams are black-owned and predominantly composed of black players. However, I do not suggest that racial composition was the reason for them not acquiring sponsorships. Kaizer Chiefs, also black owned and predominantly black in composition, have acquired a number of sponsors. However, the possibility that there is a racial element in the sponsorship competition cannot be dismissed. Racism may destroy the good image South Africans want to create of South Africa in the eyes of the international world.

### **3.4 Sports programming some similarities and differences**

In terms of sport broadcasting, both *Ukhozi FM* and *Umhlobo Wenene FM* have sporting slots almost every day. During these sporting slots they cover sport into different categories: from match previews, match reviews and live commentaries. For example, Mr. Zolani Bhongco (*Umhlobo Wenene FM*) mentioned that at *Umhlobo Wenene FM*

We have sporting slot almost every day. We have them on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. That's between 20:30 and 21:30. Then on Friday in

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<sup>4</sup> Free State Stars and Ria Stars lost their Premiership status before the 2002/3 season commences. Refer to the appendix for details.

our international Hit Parade, we have sort of previews and reviews of what is taking place during the weekend and what has taken place during the past week and of course Saturday mornings in our sport and entertainment we have the same, that is previews and reviews; interviews mixed with entertainment of course. And of course Saturdays and Sundays in the afternoon between 14:00 and 18:00 where we have mostly live sport commentaries from various sporting codes like from various stadiums wherever they are taking place (See Appendix).

In a telephonic interview, Mr. Thanda Ndlovu (*Ukhozi FM*) as well as Mr. Bhongco (*Umhlobo Wenene FM*, See Appendix) both agree that their respective stations cover most sporting codes. They cover tennis; soccer and the other sporting codes that are not on top like the others.

Their listeners share a common understanding of soccer, since blacks almost everywhere in South Africa support soccer. However, the two radio stations differ in terms of their listeners' understanding of rugby. Unlike most of *Ukhozi FM* listeners, a substantial number of *Umhlobo WeneneFM's* listeners understand, follow and even play rugby. The reason is that *Umhlobo WeneneFM* is located in the region/province, which as I have claimed earlier, has a long and rich black rugby history. And “[t]oday the Eastern Cape Province is virtually the only place in the country where rugby has a popularity rivalling soccer amongst Africans” (Grundlingh, Odendaal and Spies, 1995: 34).

Both stations agree that their audience is complex and therefore there is a need to cover almost all the codes available, including the less popular codes, like rugby. And with this comparative approach, I hope to have gathered a general but not conclusive view of the role sport plays in a post-apartheid South Africa from the point of view of *UkhoziFM* and *Umhlobo WeneneFM* radio stations as well as their listeners.

### **3.5 Rugby broadcasting and its relevance on *Ukhozi FM* and *Umhlobo Wenene FM***

Elsewhere in this paper, it is said that our media should reflect the political status of the current South Africa. Following from this, the SABC as a national broadcaster needs to restructure its programmes in order to be in line with the democratic post-apartheid South Africa as well as to maintain its prime mandate to inform, educate and entertain the

citizens. Since education is part of the stipulated mandate of the SABC sport, broadcasting of various sporting codes on radio stations serving predominantly black listeners is even more important. “ Our listeners like to learn new things in life. That is why they welcome the broadcasting of rugby on our station (*Ukhozi Fm*) because they want to know more about the game of rugby”, insisted Vicky Masuku (sport commentator, *Ukhozi Fm*)<sup>5</sup>. The implication is that media have the potential to teach the people about new sporting codes that are not at present popular. It is not surprising, therefore, that some people commend the media and media personnel for exposing/teaching them about the new sports. “I developed the interest in cricket because of the influential commentary by *Umhobo Wenene FM* sport commentator, Zolani Bhongco. Now, I can tell you about the ins and outs of the game (cricket) other than soccer”, said Loyiso Mngqolo (*Umhobo WeneneFM* listener). These are some of the positive sentiments these people put forward, particularly about rugby broadcasting on ‘black’ radio stations.

Six sport journalists and commentators (four from *Ukhozi FM* (Mr. Thanda Ndlovu, Mr. Bhekinkosi Ngema, Mr. Welcome Nzimande and Miss Vicky Masuku; and two for *Umhlobo Wenene FM*, Mr. Zolani Bhongco and Mr. Lizo Gqomfa) were convinced that rugby broadcasting is becoming more relevant. They maintained that since their respective radio stations serve complex audiences, there is a need to broadcast all the codes available in the country, and thus, appealing to everybody. For example, Mr. Lizo Gqomfa denies the fear of losing their audience because of including rugby in their sports broadcasting. According to Mr. Gqomfa, the inclusion of rugby is important for the development purposes, and thus will in fact increase the number of listeners. This is not surprising taking into account the history of black rugby in the Eastern Cape Province. Most of their listeners understand rugby almost as well as soccer.

However, questions of the relevance of rugby produced mixed answers from listeners, especially *Ukhozi FM* listeners. While most of them supported the inclusion of rugby in

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<sup>5</sup> Vicky Masuku gave this information in a telephonic interview on May 21, 2002. Other information can be found in the Appendix I.



the programmes of radio stations catering for black audiences for the purposes of supporting and strengthening democratic principles in South Africa, some of them such as Mlindisi Dlamini disagree. This group still regards rugby as a game suited to white people, and therefore, to be broadcast on 'white' radio stations. They regard the inclusion of rugby into their stations as "just a diversity thing because people like different things", argues Mlindisi Dlamini. On the contrary, Mr. Loyiso Mnqolo (*Umhlobo Wenene FM* listener) believes that although rugby still remains a 'white' sport, it should be included in former 'black' radio stations "because most people in South Africa don't understand it (rugby)".

Generally, rugby broadcasting on these two radio stations is important and relevant in order to increasing diversity in terms of programming and in order to educate, inform and entertain the public. Broadcasting rugby on these radio stations plays a major role in breaking the racial divide that has been perpetuated by the media and apartheid policies in the past. This approach is even more important in KwaZulu-Natal because this province has a different history of black rugby. The understanding of rugby amongst the *Ukhozi FM* listeners is very limited compared to *Umhlobo Wenene FM* listeners.

The views above reveal that that radio broadcasting still remains a powerful educational tool which could improve and elevate public taste (McDonnel 1993: 89). Radio has the potential to expose people to different sporting codes and helps in developing the interest in these sporting codes. By so doing, the radio medium thus educates listeners through entertainment or sports. McDonnel's views put the question of soccer/rugby relevance in *UkhoziFM* and *Umhlobo WeneneFM* into perspective. Whether soccer is more important or relevant to the majority of *Ukhozi FM* and *Umhlobo WeneneFM* listeners is not important. What is important is that the media (radio) provide listeners with a range of sporting codes, some of which need not be popular. It is not surprising, therefore, that *UkhoziFM* has made efforts to introduce sports like rugby to its listeners. The prime objective is to entertain and educate its listeners to this particular code. This is one of the underlying reasons for the introduction of rugby into these radio stations.

The views mentioned above also illustrate few things about the medium of radio in a society. Radio has a tendency to reflect the political, economic, class and other elements of present-day South Africa. During apartheid, radio was used to popularise the ideologies of the previous regime. Broadcasting rugby and soccer on *UkhoziFM* and *Umhlobo Wenene FM* is much appreciated because the project of nation building through sport is still underway and may be achieved. The SABC in the past divided sporting codes according to different channels, which catered for people of different classes, races and languages. Through this process the media (the SABC in this instance) assisted in dividing people along lines of colour, class and culture. As Boyle and Haynes (2000) maintain that,

Mediated discourses of sport play an important part- at times more crucial than others- in reproducing, naturalising and even constructing values, attitudes and sometimes prejudices which circulate in wider society. It is also important to recognise that often particular ideological formations of identity exist in and around sporting sub-cultures, for example the often masculine culture which surrounds sports such as football.

My study, like Boyle and Haynes' (2000), looks at how international sport coverage of soccer and rugby through the medium of radio often carries with it a broader political agenda. Sport and its audiences at national level often become a focal point for an expression of a range of collective identities. This process can call into question the complex relationship that exists between discourses, which circulate in the media about sport and its collective power. The medium of radio, because of its affordability and flexibility remains the most popular form of communication and therefore a key to the attitudes and interests of most people. It is not surprising therefore that for politicians this medium remains central in achieving their political agendas. However, "to use sport as a form of simple political manipulation by powerful interest groups in society, to which people succumb, is both simplistic and patronising, and it ignores the contradictions and struggles that exist within all supposedly national cultures" (Boyle and Haynes, 2000: 145). Put simply, to ignore the potential role that the media can play in overcoming or loosening these antagonisms (often intensified by racial policies and prejudices in South Africa) would be a sign of short-sightedness or naivety. It is not surprising why some people still feel that rugby still remains a 'white' sport and soccer 'black' sport in this

country. These socially constructed prejudices can be overcome through media (radio in this instance) provided people of all races and classes try to do so collectively.

While the media (radio in particular) may be a key site in the constituting and reconstituting of various discourses, it is not necessarily the primary definer of either discourse or aspects of identity. It is important to situate media coverage in detailed contexts of interpretation. This does not negate the power, importance and role that the media can play in helping to make sense of a group's collective identity, but may simply alert us to the fact that this influence will vary depending on the specific influence of a range of other factors at a particular moment in specific social circumstances (Boyle and Haynes, 2002: 148-150). However, celebrating the power of the media to define the faith of people's consciousness would also be misleading and simplistic. People do not necessarily respond passively to the influence of the media. They integrate media influences with their own personal experiences, which are shaped and determined by their cultural, racial and other backgrounds. That is why some elements in South African society are not receptive to change. Racial sentiments are strongly determined by the history of our society, making it difficult for the media to fulfil mandates imposed by the government or regulatory bodies like ICASA for instance. Studies, like the present show that the search for national unity is underway but various factors are needed in order for this project to succeed.

The economic and political situation in South Africa makes the broadcasting of these sporting codes even more necessary. As an immediate and cheap medium of communication, radio is a powerful tool in shaping the masses' mindsets and pointing them in a particular direction. In Mr. Nelson Mandela's words, "South Africans are starting to speak with one voice" (See appendix 2). I want to argue that broadcasting rugby on 'black' radio stations is important because it challenges the historical racialisation of sport into 'black-soccer', 'white-rugby'. This racialisation will gradually disappear since radio is a popular medium in South Africa. South Africans will start to understand and subsequently like both soccer and rugby almost similarly, thus breaking this racial stereotype regarding both codes.



### **3.6 Sports and politics in the post-apartheid South Africa**

My study has shown that the government is playing a significant role in making sure that the position of sport changes as the country itself changes. The majority of respondents in the interviews undertaken commend the current Sports Minister, Mr. Ngconde Balfour, as doing a good job. This in itself intensifies the hope that through collective efforts from all the stakeholders at all levels, the search for nation-building will produce a positive outcome. In fact, there have been instances where evidence of the success can be traced: the 1995 Rugby World Cup and the 1996 Soccer African Nations Cup, when the prominent politicians as well as the whole nation at large supported a single team, South Africa.

The sense of 'us' and 'them' was abandoned during these sports events, and the media have always been active in making this possible. By using media to celebrate these heroic moments of the nation, like the presence of the former national president Mr. Nelson Mandela during both the soccer and rugby events, a sense of national identity is created. Sports, therefore, do have a role in uniting South Africa. With political, social and economic factors changing over time, the role of sport in South Africa also changes. However, there is a room for improvement in some people's attitudes towards sport in general. There are people who still tend to racialise sports, and hinder the process of creating a unified South Africa. One may hope that sooner than later, we will reach that state where we would all talk with one voice, as the former president Mr. Nelson Mandela insists we should do.

### **3.7 Radio and its function in a new South Africa**

This study has claimed that radio still remains a popular form of communication for the majority of black South Africans. Its affordability and flexibility make it more appealing than TV to working class black communities in the country. By using this medium the stakeholders (government and media people) are assured of achieving their objectives more easily. The use of radio in broadcasting these codes is a way of breaking the stereotypical belief that rugby and soccer belong to whites and blacks respectively.

Consequently, radio can be used as a form of changing people's mindsets, which is important for the purposes of building a democratic, unified South Africa. In addition, radio has the potential to change with the changing South African environment. That is, radio can adopt post apartheid ideologies, which are different from those of the apartheid period. This study has also shown that rugby and soccer broadcasts are relevant during the process of bringing about a democratic South Africa. Rugby broadcasting is even more important in KwaZulu-Natal because *Ukhozi FM* audiences are not acquainted with rugby in the same way as *Umhlobo FM* listeners are in the Eastern Cape Province are.

This study has shown that while there is still a need for a collective effort in the project of nation-building, the majority of people in South Africa are optimistic that this project would one day be a reality. For instance, the media personnel (Mr. Zolani Bhongco, Bhekinkosi Ngema and Miss Vicky Masuku, for example) expressed positive views on the relevance of soccer and rugby broadcasting on their respective stations, as well as the roles these codes play in a post-apartheid South Africa. Perhaps these people are resorting to the ethics of the media industry that they are working in. Most of them saw positive things about the state of soccer and rugby during the post-apartheid South Africa whereas the majority of listeners (particularly *Ukhozi FM* listeners) saw no progress or change.

In short, the views of the majority of listeners of *Ukhozi Fm* radio station show that they are still reluctant to accept rugby as 'their' sport because they see particular sports as racist with media playing a significant role in this regard. For example, Mr. Mlindisi Dlamini (*Ukhozi FM* listener) feels that "soccer is being followed or supported by various racial groups, unlike its counterpart rugby, which is dominantly supported and headed by whites" (See appendix 1). He argues that "black people mostly deem rugby as a racist sport, which excludes people because of their colour". He cites the incident of the Minister of Sports, Mr Ngconde Balfour, when he intervened in the case of players' selection for the rugby national team as testifying to the argument that rugby is still run along racial lines. These points of views are important because they put the issue of transformation in sport into question. This is also problematic in terms of rugby broadcast on 'black' radio stations.

One section of listeners sees rugby broadcasting as important in exposing audiences to different less popular codes while other sections of the audience see it as less relevant.

Mr. Loyiswa Mngqolo (*Umhlobo Wenene FM*) feels that between soccer and rugby, the former can play a role in the notion of nation building because “rugby is still a white man’s sport”. He also argues that the broadcasting of rugby in black radio stations is the way to go because that “gives a new dimension to the listeners and the radio station”. However, since radio is a cheaper medium of communication one can hope that such pessimists’ views (like Mlindisi Dlamini’s) will change in the near future, and that rugby broadcasts on these ‘black’ radio stations will be seen as relevant. I contend that sport (rugby) broadcasting on ‘black’ radio stations is important in the context of building a united democratic South Africa. It is also important in addressing the mandates set for the SABC as national broadcaster. In addition, racial sentiments regarding sports (rugby) broadcasting differ from region to region. People from the Eastern Cape understand and enjoy rugby broadcasts on *Umhlobo Wenene FM* whereas people from KwaZulu-Natal do not enjoy rugby broadcast on *Ukhozi FM* in the same way as their counterparts do in the Eastern Cape.

What is also evident in the above sentiments is that there still exists a distance between rugby and soccer in terms of support. There still exist ‘us’-‘them’ disparities, although things are getting better. The majority of listeners to these radio stations still see rugby as a ‘white’ sport and soccer as a ‘black’ sport. However, this differs, depending on the individual listener’s background and present location.

In contrast, most media personnel interviewed and prominent politicians like Mr. Nelson Mandela, see progress in terms of changing this stereotype of rugby and soccer. It appears that there is a glimmer of hope that even those who are sceptical about change and adhere to past ideologies are starting to change. There is some optimism that in the near future, South Africa will be truly unified and that radio will play a significant role in making that a reality. But this demands a clear picture in terms of the state of sport in South Africa. Sports must be a true reflection of the position of South Africa in the post-



apartheid era. I want to add also that unless transformation in sport is transparent for every citizen of this country, sport broadcasting will even be more important in the promotion of democracy and national identity. The views above reveal that although transformation in sport is taking place it hasn't been quick and transparent enough to cater for every citizen of this country. Some people still categorise sport along racial lines because they don't see enough transformation taking place in sport at higher (national) levels.

## **CHAPTER 5: FINAL COMMENTS AND CONCLUSION**

In this study I employed a process of comparative analysis in attempting to assess the validity and relevance of sports broadcasting on radio stations in South Africa. Initially, the main objective was to assess the relevance of broadcasting rugby on two radio stations, *UkhoziFM* and *Umhlobo WeneneFM*, taking into account the earlier and persisting misconception of rugby as a 'white' sport. This was deliberately undertaken for the understanding of how sports broadcasting on radio can contribute to an ongoing process of nation building during the post-apartheid period. This dissertation also included views regarding the nature of sport in a new South Africa. This was done because looking at the role sport broadcasting on radio without looking at the debates surrounding sports in general would not be enough. A look at the nature of sport set to highlight the possibilities and limitations it causes in the process of nation building itself. Consequently, my study looked at the role radio can play in the process of democratisation and unity through sport broadcasting, as well as how political, economic and social issues hinder that process.

I made great efforts to obtain views from different people (media personnel, listeners and politicians) who differ according to location, age, class, education and income to get a general view of the role this particular sporting codes (rugby and soccer) can play in this ongoing process. It also emerged as the research goes on that one can not get a general view as to how the African view rugby in a post-apartheid by looking at one province KwaZulu-Natal, as initially intended. This is because the understanding of rugby in KwaZulu-Natal is different from that in the Eastern Cape, for instance. These regions have a different rugby history and the view of rugby in general. That is how the comparative approach to *Ukhozi FM* and *Umhlobo Wenene Fm* rugby and soccer broadcasts came into being because these stations serve people of these two regions or provinces.

Below are some conclusions one draws from the feedback to this research. I do not, however, claim to have gathered conclusive views about the nature of sport and its role in a democratic South Africa. Hopefully, further studies may follow, studying the

relationship between sport, politics and wealth in South Africa, as well as the state of transformation in South African sport. I wish to emphasize, though, that radio is still more accessible and affordable for the majority people in South Africa as mentioned in the previous chapter. Using radio for both political and ideological ends is therefore still as necessary as it was during the apartheid era. Assessing how people exploit this form of media for political objectives still remains important in a new South Africa as it was in the past.

In this paper I argue that sport is part of the broader social, economical and political structure because these factors shape the nature of sport in a given historical moment. For example, sport in an apartheid South Africa mirrored and reflected the ideologies and interests of the ruling class at the time. In the second chapter I looked at the history of soccer and rugby in South Africa. I tried to show how these sporting codes developed in South Africa and how they were shaped by ideological and racial factors at the time. I argued that these sports carried ideological meanings that had to do with race during the apartheid era. The historical view of the introduction of soccer and rugby in South Africa highlighted the importance of assessing how soccer and rugby, that have been racialised over the years, can be used to unite the people of South Africa after 1994. The assumption is that though sport and its role in South Africa has changed after 1994, there still remains a need to look back at the South African history because divorcing sport from history is impossible. The historical awareness of South African sport and South African history in general is worth noting, as it is the prime factor towards this resistance towards change.

The political transitions that have taken place in 1994 have shaped the position of our sport, to meet the ideological needs of a new South Africa. The media (radio in particular) are playing a significant role in promoting unity through sport. People are exposed to different codes that are not popular to them. This exposure shapes their understanding of those sporting codes. Subsequently, people start having understanding of those codes, begin to support them and start changing their mindsets and attitudes



towards those codes. In this process, through sports broadcasting radio contributes in an ongoing process of nation building.

The study has also shown that though people accept change, but there are pockets of resistance towards change. Understandably, this group of people still sees soccer as 'black' sport and rugby as 'white' sport because of the misconceptions created over the years in South Africa. Nevertheless, given consistent exposure to different comparatively (less popular) codes like rugby on radio their mindsets will change. Failure to do so may cause a problem in the process of building a new South Africa through sport.

In conclusion I have found that black communities in South Africa view rugby differently depending on their location, linguistic, cultural and other backgrounds. Its inclusion to 'black' radio stations receives mixed feelings. On the one hand listeners accept its inclusion for the purpose of maintaining the SABC mandate (inform, educate and entertain). The radio medium is recommended in this regard. On the other hand listeners still see the inclusion of rugby as just a 'diversity' thing because they cannot relate to it. They still regard rugby as 'white' sport. Comparatively, the later group of listeners is smaller in proportion.

I insist the inclusion of rugby on 'black' radio stations such as *Ukhozi FM* and *Umhlobo Wenene FM* is important in a new South Africa. In this regard, the medium of radio plays a major role in the changing of people's mindset. But for both rugby and soccer to be understood and supported evenly by every race group various factors need to be taken into consideration. The issue of transformation in sport is one of them. Transformation of sports needs to be transparent to everybody. The inclusion of rugby on 'black' radio station is very important in the building of a new South Africa, and is one of the means through which the media and the government try to break the racial divide that has existed over the years.

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## **APPENDICES**

### **APPENDIX 1**

#### **QUESTIONARE FOR THE LISTENERS**

**14/04/2002**

**1. WHAT IS YOUR NAME?**

My name is Mlindisi Dlamini from Richmond, KwaZulu-Natal.

**2. OCCUPATION?**

I am a student at the University of Natal, Durban. I'm doing a MA degree in IsiZulu Programme.

**3. WHAT IS YOUR FAVORITE RADIO STATION? WHY IS THIS THE CASE?**

Ukhozi FM is my favourite radio station. Firstly, because it is broadcasting in my home language Zulu. Therefore, it gives me more information as compared to other radio stations that broadcast in English which sometimes broadcast for more Westernised community.

**4. HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN LISTENING TO THIS STATION?**

I have been listening to this station since I was young because my parents have been listening to it as well.

**5. ARE YOU INTO SPORTS? IF YES OR NO, WHICH SPORTING CODE(S) DO YOU LIKE MOST? WHY ARE SO INTERESTED TOWARDS THIS PARTICULAR SPORT?**

Yes I am into sports. Soccer is my favourite sport, for it releases me from my stressful times after long exhausting days of the week when I had been working hard for my studies.

**6. DO YOU PARTICIPATE IN THIS SPORTING CODE MENTIONED ABOVE?**

Of course, I participate in soccer although at amateur level.

**7. WHAT ROLE DO YOU THINK SPORT PLAYS OR CAN PLAY IN SOUTH AFRICA?**

Soccer amalgamates different types of persons, different in race, tribe, character-wise, economically as well as status-wise. For example, the ex-president of South



Africa, Dr Nelson Mandela use to come and watch *Bafana Bafana* team when it plays with other countries.

**8. ABOUT YOUR FAVORITE STATION, WHICH SPORT WOULD YOU RECOMMEND BE BROADCAST VERY OFTEN? WHY DO YOU THINK THIS SPORT IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN OTHERS?**

Soccer for the reasons I stated above, soccer might be one of the contributive sports that bring peace in this country. However, animosity might be evoked as well, looking at the incidents and of Kaizer Chiefs and Orlando Pirates where we have had fans quarrel and fought.

**9. BETWEEN SOCCER AND RUGBY, WHICH ONE DO YOU THINK CAN PLAY A ROLE IN THIS NOTION OF NATION BUILDING IN A NEW SOPUTH AFRICA?**

Soccer because soccer is being followed or supported by various racial groups unlike its counterpart rugby, which is dominantly supported and headed by whites. Black people mostly deem rugby as a racist sport, which excludes people because of their colour. Remember the incidence of the Minister of Sports, Mr Ngconde Balfour, when he intervened in the case of players' selection for the rugby national team.

**10. CAN RUGBY HELP IN THIS PROJECT OF NATION BUILDING?**

Rugby cannot help in this project of nation building due to that it looks like whites are still willing to have rugby remaining exclusively dominant of whites. That on its own is racist. Therefore, no unity can be done by such sport. That is to say, it has nothing to do with nation building.

**11. WHAT IS YOUR TAKE OF THE INCLUSION OF RUGBY AND SOCCER INTO YOUR STATION PROGRAMMS?**

I really think the inclusion of rugby in my station is a just diversity thing. Because people like different things, rugby should be included though rugby has no vast support from the blacks.

**12. DO YOU THINK THESE SPORTING CODES HAVE ANY RELEVANCE TO MOST OF THE LISTENERS OF THE STATION?**

Between soccer and rugby for example, the former has much relevance to its listeners because since the beginning of the broadcasting of radio *UkhoziFM*, listeners always

been involved in soccer as their favourite sport while rugby was then a white people's sport.

**13. WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE REASONS FOR THE ANSWER ABOVE?**

It was due to the fact that black people were still oppressed and were disallowed to participate in sports or in other sport except soccer.

**14. HOW DO YOU THINK THE LACK OF INTEREST AMONG MOST OF THE LISTENERS TOWARDS THIS PARTICULAR SPORT CAN BE RESOLVED?**

When rugby can be controlled by mixture of both groups, black and white then we may have black people changing to support rugby in KwaZulu-Natal in great numbers as much as soccer is.

**15. FROM SOME OF THE LISTENERS YOU MAY KNOW OF, WHAT IS THE FEEDBACK LIKE TOWARDS THE INCLUSION OF THESE SPORTING CODES MENTIONED ABOVE, PARTICULARLY RUGBY AS A FORMER 'WHITES' SPORT?**

People hate rugby because of racist attitude it has towards black people

**16. WOULD YOU SAY THAT THE INCLUSION OF RUGBY INTO YOUR STATION HAS PRODUCED POSITIVE EFFECTS? THAT IS, IS THE INCLUSION OF THIS SPORT A GOOD MOVE OR NOT?**

I would say yes. Because that few people need to listen to their favourite sports irrespective of their minority status. Therefore, the incorporation of rugby into *UkhoziFm* is a sign of South Africa. To entertain the whole of audience, one has to provide the variety of sports.

**17. WHERE DO YOU SEE YOUR STATION IN TEN YEARS TIME REGARDING SPORTS?**

I see it being an enormous station because of time and devotion it has when it comes to sports

**18. WOULD THESE SPORTING CODES HAVE THE SAME IMPORTANCE AS OF CURRENT MOMENT?**

No, it would not. I think as time goes on, the importance of rugby in radio *UkhoziFm* will elapse. Rugby inclusion is more political rather than being didactic or

entertaining, for the reason that democracy is of diversified community, therefore, has to serve as such.

## **QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE LISTENERS**

**WHAT IS YOUR NAME?**

Mnqolo Loyiso

**OCCUPATION**

Student

**WHAT IS YOUR FAVORITE RADIO STATION? WHY IS THIS THE CASE?**

Umhlobo Wenene

**HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN LISTENING TO THIS STATION?**

More than 23 years of my life

**ARE YOU INTO SPORTS? IF YES OR NO, WHICH SPORTING CODE (S) DO YOU LIKE MOST? WHY ARE SO INTERESTED TOWARDS THIS PARTICULAR SPORT?**

No., Soccer, I understand it; I'm also most familiar to soccer because of the mass following that soccer enjoys

**DO YOU PARTICIPATE IN THIS SPORTING CODE MENTIONED ABOVE?**

No I don't.

**WHAT ROLE DO YOU THINK SPORT PLAYS OR CAN PLAY IN SOUTH AFRICA?**

That of uniting the nation.

**ABOUT YOUR FAVORITE STATION, WHICH SPORT WOULD YOU RECOMMEND BE BROADCAST VERY OFTEN? WHY DO YOU THINK THIS SPORT IS MORE IMPORTANT THAN OTHERS?**

Rugby because most people in South Africa don't understand it.

**BETWEEN SOCCER AND RUGBY, WHICH ONE DO YOU THINK CAN PLAY A ROLE IN THIS NOTION OF NATION BUILDING IN A NEW SOUTH AFRICA?**

Rugby because it's still a white man sport.



CAN RUGBY, IN PARTICULAR, HELP IN THIS PROJECT OF NATION BUILDING?

If its followers and administrators can change their way of thinking and unite the nation  
WHAT IS YOUR TAKE OF THE INCLUSION OF RUGBY AND SOCCER INTO YOUR STATION PROGRAMMS?

I feel that is the best way to go, because it gives a new dimension to listeners and the radio station.

DO YOU THINK THESE SPORTING CODES HAVE ANY RELEVENCE TO MOST OF THE LISTENERS OF THE STATION?

They do relate to the people and they do play these sporting codes.

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE REASONS FOR THE ANSWER ABOVE?

Commentators and the way they comment on these sporting codes.

HOW DO YOU THINK THE LACK OF INTEREST AMONG MOST OF THE LISTENERS TOWARDS THIS PARTICULAR SPORT CAN BE RESOLVED?

By edging public to participate especially the youth, using our radio stations can help resolve this problem.

FROM SOME OF THE LISTENERS YOU MAY KNOW OF, WHAT IS THE FEEDBACK LIKE TOWARDS THE INCLUSION OF THESE SPORTING CODES MENTIONED ABOVE, PARTICULARLY RUGBY AS A FORMER 'WHITES' SPORT?

They are more interested and happy about the whole process feeling that it's about time we unite our nation.

WOULD YOU SAY THAT THE INCLUSIOON OF RUGBY INTO YOUR STATION HAS PRODUCED POSITIVE EFFECTS? THAT IS, IS THE INCLUSION OF THIS SPORT A GOOD MOVE OR NOT?

Definitely yes and people are going to watch rugby games, it is a good move to integrate our societies through our media which is radio this time.

WHERE DO YOU SEE YOUR STATION IN TEN YEARS TIME REGARDING SPORTS?

They will have been able to cover all sporting codes including Hockey and tennis.

WOULD THESE SPORTING CODES HAVE THE SAME IMPORTANCE AS OF CURRENT MOMENT?

I hope so because we are living on a volatile society these days and we may not know what might come up and be of interest to people.

**THANKS VERY MUCH FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE**

### **Questionnaires**

1. Sibuselaphi Mathonsi
2. Unemployed
3. My favorite radio station is Ukhozi FM Sterieo  
The reason is that it is in my language which is isiZulu and it give listerners detail nwes and different storts and development programs.
4. Since was a little boy, it was the first station I knew.
5. Yes I am, soccer is the most favorite code. The reason may be that of involving myself into it, as a soccer player.
6. Of coarse yes, in my spear time I play soccer.
7. Sports can unite people especially, because SA is a multicultural country, so sport can play a very crucial role in uniting S. Africans.
8. I think soccer is a chosen sport, with only one reason that, Ukhozi FM it most listeners are black S. Africans particularly those people who understand Zulu, Xhosa. So with this regard soccer is mostly followed by black S.Africas.
9. I think both can participate in the nation building with one reason, that ruby now is open for every one, we have now blacks involved in ruby, even at schools ruby is a sport that is mostly used. With soccer as I said is regarded as a black S.African sport, they both can build nation in terms of multicultural toleration in S.Africa.
10. Of course since ruby is open even to black, that where different culture can merge.
11. It is a very good development, and it show that Ukhozi is the station that do a lot of research and see that black now they follow ruby and they are not only followers but participating fully to the sport.
12. Is I said before that, ruby and soccer are followed by Ukhozi listeners since ruby is now open even to blacks in S.A.
13. Before blacks were not participating in ruby, but since S.A got independent every one is allowed to participate to any sport.
14. The solution could be that of having workshops to teach people about ruby and even at schools ruby must be played by young S.A future generations.
15. Yes people are not very interested in ruby, but since there is the inclusion of blacks in ruby, they now show a little interest.
16. It is a good move, because the station familiarize people with ruby culture, like knowing what is a try and penalty in ruby.
17. I think it would be more advanced in sports interest, since most listeners are most favoring sports.
18. No: ruby is behind soccer if we compare the two.

## APPENDIX 2

19/02/2002

### Radio Metro Sports Centre (An interview with Nelson Mandela)

**Robert Marawa:** I must say you are looking very strong indeed and the nation was holding its breath and we are glad that you have won your battle against cancer.

**Nelson Mandela:** Thank very much because of your support and many others.

**RM:** Otherwise are you feeling strong?

**NM:** Yes. I'm feeling very well.

**RM:** The reason for bringing you here on *The Sport Centre*. You have been held in the political as having spearheaded a great number of achievements. And I think also that one issue that's been overlooked has been your achievements on the sporting front since 1992 coming back into the unification as far as the sporting codes are concerned. You are the leading figure and in one or the other *MetroFM* Sports Centre would like to salute you for that particular contribution and hence today we decided to call you to join us.

**NM:** Thank you

**RM:** Looking at 1995, the rugby world cup many people saw you there, you broke ranks, you wore the captain's jersey for the first time. It was the packed Ellis Park Stadium and the people said thought, wow, a president in a captain's rugby jersey. What prompted to that move?

**NM:** Well as you know, rugby has been the religion especially for the Afrikaners in this country. We have to unite the country and to use rugby for the purpose of mobilizing the entire country. And that is why I took particular precaution to be with the boys before the match started. I in fact had been with them right from the beginning of that tournament in Cape Town when South Africa played the Australians. I spoke to Francois Pienaar and the rest and said that the team that wins this first context, this match will go right to the end. And I was happy that that was achieved. But the main purpose of me coming out to take the important role was because, sport generally in particular, especially that time, was the main instrument of mobilizing the community and uniting them so that, when we (unclear) to try and (hammer act) a political solution, we should have massive support.



RM: Are you happy now with the state of development in rugby, the state of integration, the involvement of the formerly disadvantaged black players within the national set-up?

NM: I'm very happy, indeed but we must remember that the whites in this country had been in power for more than three and a half centuries and before 1994, we used sport for the purpose of transformation. And it played a great deal of importance. I'm very happy with the progress that's been made but we must always remember that when you had been under minority rule, for such a long period in tense racial division in almost every field, it's not easy now to normalize the situation and to get everybody to accept the democratic values and structures, which had been formed (unclear) by those values. But I'm convinced and happy that we have made great progress. There are still pockets of resistance and we must wipe them out and act very strongly against them but the dominating picture is that we have united black and white in this country. And when I talk of blacks I mean Africans, Coloureds and Indians. We are now beginning to speak with one voice.

RM: You obviously put your popularity; you almost put your job on the line, when it came to the whole issue of the springbok emblem. I know that the national sport council, there were meetings shuttling up and down, Dzaneen and so on, You took a bold step at that time you were saying that the springbok emblem depicts racialism and it depicts what Danny Cravin back in the days said no black player will ever wear this, what made you stand so fondly behind this emblem?

NM: No, the reason was that it was something emotional. It's not easy to win that battle when people think not with their minds but with their feelings. And I thought it would be very good to combine the two, the springbok emblem as well as the Protea, and we succeeded in that but unfortunately, in the first trial, the springbok was above the Protea and some of the people complained that this is not what we have (unclear) but we were able to discuss the matter and to have the Protea on top and the springbok below. But it is an achievement of which we ought to be proud.

RM: obviously with the happy news, still tacking about rugby, came probably the lowest ebb. This is from a personal perspective now with the likes of Dr Louis Luit, taking you as president, taking you to court, I remember 19<sup>th</sup> March, 1998 I think it was some sort of

constitutional history, the fact that the head of state was now been drawn back into the court of law to answer to this thing. How did it make you feel at that particular time?

NM: Well, some members of the cabinet and my advisors, including my legal advisor who is a very top legal expert, advised me not to obey the (unclear), to go and challenge it in court. I said we have a duty in this country, especially at that time, to make sure that the judiciary is respected and I say that let me go they will regret it. And that is what happened because it was clear to me that the supinar was issued to me in order to humiliate a black judge. And I went there determined to maintain our dignity and to teach those who think or still think they can humiliate us that instead of us being humiliated, they will be humiliated. And the final result of the case was that all those who wanted to humiliate me we humiliated.

RM: But it started off as well with the judge, judge William de Villiers, many people called him part of the old order. He was the one that actually opposed the racial integration of the Pretoria bar at that time. And the line of questioning under-cross examination that you had to get through and yet you object several times and say, "This gentleman is asking me the same question in a different manner", what did you make of that?

NM: No, I expected all that. Nothing happened which I did not expect. I was once a lawyer myself and I knew the tactic, especially because Mr. Mare is one of the most devastating cross-examiners in this country. I would not allow him to get on stride and that is why I would say that when I was as young as yourself I used the same trick. You would not that trick with me. You repeat the question I've answered it. It doesn't matter in what different form you put it but I will not answer it again.

RM: What do you make of Dr Louis Luit today?

NM: Well it was unfortunate that he ended the way he did. But I think more of the positive things he did because we worked with him very well with Steve Tswete in trying to form a single body to run rugby as we did, for example, soccer, cricket and hockey. And he did very well and once I condemn him for what he did, nevertheless I do not forget the pioneering role that he played next to Danny Craven.

RM: You also raised concern when Francois Pienaar was subsequently dropped as a captain after forming a very strong bond (unclear) know that you have invited him to the



union building, you had coffee with him then, because you felt that he had something that a lot of individuals didn't have at that time moving away with the past and linked with that came the comments made by Andre Magraaf that resulted in him being expelled. That was a bit of shaky ground that you were developing at that stage?

NM: No, that was unfortunate because that was one of the best sportsmen in the country. And I still believe that that young man, Francois Pienaar, has got a place in our history he may still play an important role.

RM: As part of the transcripts as well that came through from the case I know that you alluded to the fact that one of your heroes in sport Hansie Cronje, what happened with Hansie at the time where were you, what did you make of it and what do you feel about Hansie today, do you think Hansie do you think he still has a role to play in cricket?

NM: When you ask me to see him I agreed because all of us at one time or the other, some of which were fundamental and notwithstanding what he did, I hope that one day he'll come back and help in cricket because he was a great cricketer and he was a great captain. And I think of him with fond memories and that's why I saw him when he wanted to see me.

RM: I know that you were obviously (unclear) about why (unclear) been dropped and they used the example like (unclear) and then they went on to Neil Tovey, who today for your information, has been sacked as AmaZulu FC coach. That is, Neil Tovey, who was at the time the captain of Bafana Bafana when you also wore his jersey at the First National Bank (FNB) Stadium. So once again, you were being a president of the country, but also breaking away from what we know presidents to be in ties and shirts. You were comfortable and you were there as well to help the course, making sure that the cup of which we are hosting in the country stays in the country.

NM: Yes, you are quite. No, you must remember that for the world to be staged in SA was an unprecedented event in view of the fact that also the entire world boycotted about the SA and its sport streams. Now in 1992, as you know, I went to Barcelona because our Sport Council had sent me there to go and sit with the Olympic Committee and because the first stream as you remember, there were few blacks. The overwhelming majority were whites. Therefore, Sam Ramsamy and others said I should go to Switzerland to go and persuade the Olympic Committee to take more, especially blacks, to double that



number to sixty. The president of the Olympic Committee said, “Yes we will do that on condition you are here during the Olympic games”. I said I have a very heavy programme I can’t they said, “No my friend to concentrate on your programme and then to do with the number that we have given you without doubling it. But if you come we will of course double it”. So I had no alternative but to go.

RM: Obviously, the names Holihlahla Dalibonga Madiba Mandela were your proper names but then your teacher decided ‘Hey you have got to have a Christian name somewhere and that is where Nelson came in”

NM: That is true. In those days they valued English names and I had no alternative because when I went there I had my African name but then the lady teacher said noo you must have an English name. And she said, “As from today you are Nelson”.

RM: And until today we still hold on, very dearly, to that particular name. Maybe that’s why some of the names you find around are pretty strange like Exhaust and Terminator (laughs). Moving away from those particular sporting codes now and looking at soccer, Your impressions of football, where we are today, given where we have been in the past before, and in particular the leadership that is in charge in taking of taking soccer a step further.

NM: Well, I think that we have got great leaders, coaching and great players. And one of the things that pains me is that ...the coach being nailed left right and centre, and reading that being the leader in South Africa if you are in charge of football to bring about some sort of serenity to the masses that probably over expect from the athletes that are playing there? What would your message be because we are about three months away from the World Cup.

NM: Well, all I would do is to retain the material that we have and try to improve it. There is nothing better than to give constructive tips to any group of people because when you praise people genuinely and point out their mistakes they can do better than their best. This is what we should try and do to motivate our sport people.

RM: The sports Ministry comes under fire from time to time. I know that you worked in conjunction with the Minister Steve Tswete, then as the Minister of sports at the particular time, you said, “Hey, that guy if you expect anything from him it would be like trying to move Tablemountain., very steady, very fine in his beliefs, do you think South

Africa, given some of the new answers that people come up with saying that there is no need for a Sports Ministry, what is your understanding of it?

NM: No, there is definitely need, especially in our country, because black players (Africans, Coloureds and Indians) have been marginalized for a long time. They have not been exposed to training even now that the opportunities have been opened, there is a great deal of complaint in all the sections of sports, in soccer, rugby, cricket, hockey. Those sports are still, to a very lot extent, dominated by the white minority and we want that the structures should be representative, should have all sections of the population in proportion to their numbers. But of course, we pay particular attention to training, giving opportunities to everybody. One of the disadvantages of black players, whether you're talking about Indians, Coloureds or Africans, is that they do not have the resources to be able to afford good food, so that, they can distinguish themselves into sport fields. Even the places where they stay, there is a lot crime and gangsters. And if a man is going his best, the surroundings in which he stays should ensure that he is going to sleep comfortable, and he is going to know that his children will go to school without the danger of molestation. We have not yet reached that situation but we are on the way there.

RM: Obviously, in the sporting fraternity, the whole issue of well-being, and the whole issue of health, I know that as far as HIV-Aids is concerned number one ambassador, you have been preaching to people countrywide to be responsible citizens, sportsmen and women out there your message to them?

NM: Well, all I can say is that our young people, firstly, must pay great attention to education because it is the best weapon our young people can have. It is not only a question of competition inside our country. And today, quite a lot of young people have degrees others have got senior degrees, others are like Dr. Cravin, who have two Doctorates. They must try to have the best qualifications because apart from competing in South Africa, they have to represent us in World bodies today and with young people who are highly educated. And I would, therefore, urge our young people to take their education very seriously, especially now that we have business people, both black and white; Afrikaans and English, who are prepared to provide, to sponsor students both at high school and at universities and businesses doing exceptionally well in that regard

apart from what the government is doing but business is doing a fine job in ensuring that children have got the means to go to school. Have got the good schools, good clinics and hospital. Tomorrow, I opening with Nicky Openhaimer a hospital which was built by the salvation army in the thirties, but now it was falling apart but I spoke to the late Herry Openheimer, who was a very generous and remarkable man, extremely wealthy but very humble and he agreed to spend quite a lot some to rebuild that hospital. We are opening it tomorrow. I have invited the Deputy-President, Jacob Zuma as well as Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Minister to be present.

RM: Looking as fat as you are Tata we know that we have to let you go now, any hope of a return into the ring as a boxer?

NM: No, unfortunately, there is no opportunity for unemployed pensioners to go back to the ring.

RM: Tata, thank you so much and wishing you good health as you step out of our MetroFM studios and I would like to thank in your presence for making sure that everything falls into place. Its been good joint venture that has succeeded very much and I think your presence here, definitely embracing *MetroFm*, especially the Sports Centre. Thank you very much for your time.

No, Very good. If you want me to come back again, just take her (wife) to a Restaurant and give her very nice food.

RM: Wouldn't that be called, in sporting terms, match fixing?

NM: Sometimes match fixing is very good.

RM: Thank you very much there. That is Holihlahla Dalibunga Madiba Mandela, thanking him so much for joining us here on MetroFM Sports Centre giving us some insight and definitely enjoying every bit of what he had to say in terms of inspiration

**(continues)**

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Welcome back if you are wondering where you are at: Its *MetroFM* Sports Centre on Tuesday. My name is Moreo Senyane, my two special guests, Vuyiswa kunta, rugby analyst joining us all the from Cape Town and Sobantu Dlangalavu. He is in Johannesburg, a former rugby player himself. And corners here in his (unclear) as far as rugby is concerned. Gentlemen, welcome back. Starting with you Sobantu, I know that



Mr. Kunta, made a comment that when they were watching rugby this past weekend or even throughout amadoda there in Cape Town, mostly, they are fascinated by the play of new Zealand because of skill, the flair, short passing and stuff like that, now the comment made by Harry Viljoen that he's little bit concerned that when we go forward there is no creativity?

Sobantu Dlangalavu: actually, the problem is it might differ than we want to admit or sarfu wants to admit. Take (unclear) and (unclear) those are flanks Ok, those are two different players. Those were two white players but if you look at (unclear) or take George Ferangen from Australia, he does not go and tackle only but he goes with a mind, with a body and he knows where to find a centre, you know what I'm saying? Our guys, they go they want to tackle you and kill you (the Springboks). With the guys (unclear) is because of style. It's a flair. It would be difficult for a soccer person to understand me when saying there is a flair in rugby. You take, maybe people recognize this guy called (Grgan/ unclear)

Vuyiswa Kunta: And this young man who played for New Zealand on Saturday at fly half, the one who was born in Durban?) Andrew Morton)

Sobantu: He is wonderful. Look at that try he created from the penalty sport, from that penalty side.. he saw that the Springboks were down. The gab that he took made a try. That's a kind of flair we talk about. Look at Peter Alatinni, the chance he was given. He was about six metres away from the line. But because he has got flair, he has got skill, he made a try out of nothing. But, if it comes to our guys, for instance may be Vuyiswa will disagree with me, I am not convinced that Butch James is played in a right place. When does this young man from Western Province with a ball that has gone right down from the centers? Look at Wall, he is a good wing but he is not getting balls unless it catches him by chance out of (unclear). It's a kind of problems deeper than we want to admit as Springboks people that there is a problem. And do you know where is the answer Moreo? It's with black players. Because the players that they have now, who can make things happen, is Kinstart. Unfortunately, he is the only one. It comes then, to your question, Is he a number 8 or a center in a current crop of players that the Springbok has?

Vuyiswa: No (unclear) attacking center Sobantu.

MS: I just want to move forward here and look at the whole issue of saying there is a problem within South African rugby and the powers that just do not want to accept it. As Sobantu, you have identified the problem saying that, fine we have robust players within rugby, something that we really need but probably we should have a combination of tough and hard tackling and bring in a lot of skilful players. And as Sobantu, you are saying that bringing in black players, that is the solution. So to Vuyiswa now, if we cast our net wide, because I remember talking to Songezo Nayo one day, talking about the lack of black players into the Springboks, he, mentioned in his own words, we don't have a critical mass as far as black players are concerned. That is why when Thando Manana picks up the injury and is out, Sepaka picks up, the whole country cries and says, " You see now it like they are playing foul and stuff like that. Do we have players that we robe in now into the Springbok teams and perform well?"

Vuyiswa: Well Moreo, let me just go back about 90 seconds. When we used to play at Langa High School here we used to project the future of South African rugby. We used to say, "These positions where you just need a big guy to push in the scrum, that was before forwards also became creative. The way that all blacks are playing now is just to get five boer boys to play there. But half back, it's got to be a darky or (unclear) because yibo o-clever (they are clever). I seriously worked very serious stereotype thinking. And you would say, "Ok, you can get some of these English or Afrikaans boys to runs on the wings because some of them are sprinters. Again, the wings were not as involved the, and as creative as young guys like (unclear) and Hall are now. When we used to take the ball, put it under the armpit, close his eyes and go for the corner flank finish". I think Sobantu got the point when he says, abodarky (blacks) they bring a certain (unclear) to something they do. They do it with that kind of (unclear) uyaboona (you see). I still think, though, that you do need a guy at number 6, who is going to do the damage to the opposition. I'm sorry, may be this is a bit outdated. You need a destructive tackler at number 6 (unclear) a loose forward he has got to be like that. So Fox is fine there. But the point is, those schools that used to produce guys like Nelvine, Chis Soka out in Williamstown now, like Zola Dana, Peter Mkatha, take Skhumbuzo Oliphant, Eric Majola's younger brother, now if you needed a guy to unlock a defensive pattern that was closed at outside center, Dion Kaiser and Snayman together would not qualify to wash his underpants. You ask anyone



who was in rugby from the time this guy was at high school in the early 1960s to the time when he was a Springbok in the early 70s. so when our schools stop playing rugby and some of them stopped playing sport period, than, you had only this individual and that individual and the pressure that we as the rugby fraternity have to put is on our school to say, "Don't close the gate of the school at 12 on Wednesday and Friday and go and say it's sports day". Play get the youngsters to play. If you don't have the capacity to coach, ask guys like Joe Skoeman, Joe Pondo and I don't know if tante Qondoo would have the time or would be up to date at this point with coaching techniques but we are therer for this game.

Sobantu: You know bra Vuyiswa. I would go further and say, maybe you do not necessarily mean you need a team side to coach these bots. As long as, I heard for instance a person I used to admire and grew up loving rugby because of him, was a guy, he might not know it. It was in the 70s early 80s called (Dumo) in the Easter Cape. He was a lively center. He played for Rawkers in the Eastern Cape then he went on to play in Swallows in Mdansane. He was a boss in the center. He would unlock any defence. We knew that if he was in the field he would unlock the defence. Those are the guys that we would say, "We'll contract you, we want you to develop rugby in schools". But the other point is that, when they look for black rugby players, I'm not saying you should concentrate in those two provinces, but they look in wrong provinces.

Vuyiswa: Exactly, because the passion is not there.

Sobantu: AS Sobantu who grew up in Soweto and went to a Parktown Boys in Jo'burg, that is not Sobantu, who grew up liking rugby and seeing rugby daily. I would have grown up liking soccer then I convert because I liked rugby or my teacher feels I can play rugby. But if you go to these natural provinces that grew up playing rugby daily, I'm telling you, you would unnest talent. I know, for instance in Cape Town, between Zebras, Deasy Boys and the whole lot of local clubs, I 'm telling you, you would pick up 3 or 4 good rugby player. Those teams at KwaLanga Vuyiswa. I went down there during Easter weekend. They had a tournament in kwaLanga stadium. I drove all the way just to go and watch rugby and I saw rugby.

Vuyiswa: Tell me something Sobantu, give me your evaluation of this young man who played for a national under 23 team last year at fly half, Sonwabo Mjesha. What do you



think of how he is playing now? And how do you think he would show up if he played behind a dominant pack rather than Eastern Province tag?

Sobantu: You know what, he would do well because a good fly half needs a good tight five. He would do well because a fly half should not get. A fly half should be a playmaker. I think, if he can be protected, you saw what happened, how Old black, they brought Ian McDonalds in difficult situations. And McDonalds will deal with Bbutch. He would do well Vuyiswa but he would need protection, he would need guidance and he would need an advice from Vuyiswa Qunta who would talk to him in isijika to say, "Look moena, play this way, play this was". Because Viljoen wouldn't understand where it comes from the culture you see. But I think he would do well behind a good tight five.

MS: If you want to contribute to the Programme, the lines are open now on 0891103377. I'm having Sobantu and Vuyiswa here talking about the game of rugby and breaking the stereotype. The stereotype is that rugby is a white men sport but listening to these two gentlemen there is nothing like that. And as the Superior Knowledge trade exchange, these are some of the stereotypes we are breaking. I pose the question but the gentlemen decided to give me a bit of history as far as availability of players is concerned. Let us now welcome Xoliswa. You want to contribute as far as black players are concerned in the game of rugby

Xoliswa: Exactly buti (brother) I want to talk about that. I want to say, first of all, high to Mr Qunta. I think he knows me from Cape Town. I'm coming from Ngqamakwe. What I want to say, Mr Qunta, we must not bid about Butshes here. We have got players who can play in the Springbok team. We have got black people who can play there. The only problem we have is that, the whit coaches in the provinces do not want to give our boys a chance. They do not even want to nurture our boys so that they can blossom in the talent of rugby. That is the main problem we have. Even the sponsors which are there for rugby, though they see there are some black clubs which can play better rugby, they don't even consider to put their money at the back of those players so that we can see our well representative Springbok team.

Vuyiswa: But at club level Xoliswa, your club is very well financed by black business admittedly.

Xoliswa: No, not that well financed. It's just that we are the individuals who like rugby

and want our boys and brother to play rugby because they are talented. Not that we have got finance. We have (unclear) up from our pockets to make that rugby available to the people.

Sobantu: it pains my heart when (unclear) the grounds I used to play to, my local team there is Young Fighters. If we (unclear) we would go out and go watch Sobantu aboWandi and the whole lot of guys that would play rugby. The whole village, they know this, you kook and at 12'oclock you go down to the grounds. Today there is no such. Boys are drinking, there is a whole lot of problems. After the unification of rugby, rugby in the local village died.

MS: Ok gentlemen, I just want to pose a very important question. We had caller Mr Xoliswa very concerned that there are black players but unfortunately, the corporate world is not playing ball as far as sponsoring the black is concerned. Now we have, for instance, a transformation process within SARFU. And we know that Mr Sonezo Nayo, he is the transformation manager. We have heard the minister of sport and recreation Mr Ngconde Balfour talking about very interesting things like this particular one. And I am coming back after this: "a Holy cow for certain individuals. Moreo, it's just that you are rubishing the situation Moreo. We cannot say we are having a transformation. In fact, the minister of sport has a duty and responsibility to be assertive on these matters of transformation, You are wrong I will keep on interfering, especially when it comes to transformation" (Balfour).

MS: Ok gentlemen, before you respond to that, and let's take the caller from Cape Town that is Brian, Brian

Brian: Hi Moreo

MS: I'm fine how are you my friend

Brian: And good evening to your guests. Moreo, there are just two points that I want to bring in. In 1995 when the Springboks won the rugby world cup, I was not supporting them. I was supporting the All Blacks. I was very surprised that they actually won the cup. One thing is that I did not identify with the South African rugby team, with the players that were playing, also with the exposure to the black players in South Africa. As your guests as put it through, we have always had black players that are playing rugby in all the provinces from the past. I don't see the point that we don't have or we didn't have

good black players that could play up to the level, up to the Springbok level, up to representing the country. Even at the moment I do not actually identify to the South African side. I do not see myself watching and supporting the South African side. I really cannot identify myself to them

MS: Brian, what will convince you to start supporting the Springboks? What will, possibly, change your mind as far as that is concerned?

Brian: What will possibly change my mind to actually support the game, to support the rugby team, is that: Firstly, this notion that Mr Viljoen just said that he has put four rugby black players to play in the South African side, that is null and void. It doesn't matter. There are a lot of black players that can play better rugby that can represent our country. That will have identification on a Springbok side. The Springbok side must have a representation of a demographics of the country. And I support the South African soccer squad because it's got a representative of every thing. I would like to support the rugby team as well. But it needs to have all the colours, all the players that are there that can play, that we know can play.

### **APPENDIX 3**

#### **Umhlobo WeneneFM**

#### **Interviews- with Zolani Bhongco and Lizo Gqomfa**

Mzwandile Dladla (MD): Just for the record, can you give me your short description

Zolani Bongco (ZB): OK, My name is Zolani Bongco. I am a senior announcer and a sport commentator at Umhlobo Wenene FM.

MD: Do you have any sporting slot in your station? What sport do you cover most and why?

ZB: Yes we have some sporting slots. Actually we have sporting slot almost every day. We have them on Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday . That's between 20:30 and 21:30. Then on Friday in our international Hit Parade, we have sort of previews and reviews of what is taking place during the weekend and what has taken place during the past week and of course Saturday mornings in our sport and entertainment we have the same, that is previews and reviews; interviews mixed with entertainment of course. And



of course Saturdays and Sundays in the afternoon between 14:00 and 18:00 where we have mostly live sport commentaries from various sporting codes like from various stadiums wherever they are taking place.

MD: What sport do you cover most and why?

ZB: Well, I am proud to say that we as Umhlobo Wenene we are the station that covers most sporting codes compared to any of the other African language services. That means we cover cricket and rugby; we cover athletics; boxing; we cover tennis; we cover soccer and we cover the other sporting codes that are not on top like the others. But we do cover those sporting codes, especially regionally and locally. But even internationally when it comes to (UNCLEAR) but the reason why we do cover those sports is because we feel that our listeners are in need of those, especially when they are live.

MD: What do you think these sports are important in your station. And what are the long term objectives for this station regarding the broadcasting of these sporting codes that you have just mentioned?

ZB: I presume you mean are we going to sustain or maintain the status quo in terms of doing the sport presentation? I think it is quite important because, of course, we do have television these days but without radio. I mean as radio sport commentators, we are talking to people who are blind. All our listeners, as far as I am concerned as a radio broadcaster, all our listeners are blind. They can't see. So we have got to take them to Ellis Park if you are doing something at Ellis Park. You have to take them to Orian Theatre if there is boxing in Orian Thetre. They must be there even if they are staying at their homes. So there is no way that ewe can not sustain and maintain our codes.

MD: What role do you think sport, like soccer and rugby can play in a new South Africa?

ZB: Well, there is a proven fact. It has played a major role so far. Two big examples, huge examples. We had Africa Nations Cup taking place in South Africa (1996) and South Africa won (Bafana Bafana). It was the Rainbow nation that supported Bafana Bafana. And Bafana Bafana deserved that and they went on to win the cup because of the support that they got from the Rainbow nation and not only because soccer was regarded as blacks' sport. But because South Africa was free and everyone was free to go and support Bafana Bafana. And who can forget 1995 when the Springboks won the Rugby World Cup? It was one of the huge successes in terms of our government that we have

ever had in our country. And as the former president said, “It is a unifying factor and no one can deny that”. I do not know any words that can sort of put more facts into that other than that it happened here in South Africa.

MD: But looking to that 1995 Rugby World Cup, regarding the attendance, the spectators, if you looked at the spectators most of them were whites and there was no/or few blacks attending, can you still say that rugby did unite people?

ZB: I agree with you that there were few blacks and the reason being that the black South Africans, in terms of our culture, have been isolated for quite sometime. It is not easy to find 50% of whites and 50% of blacks in a huge stadium like Ellis Park suddenly. But things are changing. We have got administrators who are now black taking administration in rugby which is so called a whites sport. And I do not agree with that. Because I grew up in the Eastern Cape, we have played rugby and rugby has been played in the Eastern Cape for many; many decades. So as far as I am concerned being a Xhosa speaking person, I not being tribalistic or racist, but the fact of the matter is growing up in the Eastern Cape region which has a rich history of rugby and rich history of cricket. I do not have a problem with that because as I said, it is a proven fact that there is no black sport in South Africa and there is no white sport in South Africa. All we need to do is to have all of ourselves the opportunities and given those opportunities we can all play. And the results are there for everyone to be seen because you have white guys playing soccer for the national squad and no one complains. You have blacks playing rugby for the national squad. Yes, you will still have complaints because some people do not want to change their minds. But they will have to change because the country has changed.

MD: Now taking soccer and rugby for instance, taking into account the number of supporter, the demographics in terms of support, which one you think can best achieve this project of nation building?

ZB: Well, all of them. Rugby; soccer; cricket and even netball. I have got a feeling that sport generally is a unifying factor and we have got to be unified. Like we are talking cricket, we are talking soccer. Mostly, those sport codes are played my men. But what about netball? What about hockey? We have this Ntloko girl who plays hockey for the national squad. We still to have more of Ntloko girls playing hockey. And as you know, from now, there are schools. The so-called former Model C schools our kids they do play



hockey. And they will one day represent this country. It is going to take sometime but we are getting there.

MD: Umhlobo WeneneFM listeners and rugby, what is the relationship between the two?

ZB: You can not divorce the two. Talk Umhlobo Wenene you talk rugby. Talk Umhlobo Wenene you talk cricket. Talk Umhlobo Wenene you talk sports actually. Even soccer, we do not look at ourselves as the people who do rugby as the most sporting code or cricket. It is just that soccer is the most supported sport but rugby and cricket. They demand it. I'll tell you if we, as Umhlobo Wenene do not broadcast rugby or cricket you will find our listeners coming to toyi toyi outside the building and demanding that we broadcast those because as I said, that is their history. They have played cricket and rugby from way back. And Umhlobo Wenene, which was born to be Radio Bantu from 1960, we have been broadcasting cricket and rugby from 1960, from the inception of this station. So we will never take off these sports.

MD: Where is this rugby history coming from just a general opinion because if you look at KwaZulu-Natal, if you look at the UkhoziFM listeners, if you go to the remote areas of KZN you will hardly hear people talking about rugby but here in Eastern Cape rugby has gain a huge support?

ZB: I think it is the demographics of the country, it is the geographical situation of the country, the historical situation of the country, which is something that one can never run away. We were born to be doing that and we actually can not claim to be thee people because historically I was wrong for people to say these can do these; those cannot do that. Look in terms of developments today. UkhoziFM does rugby, the other radio services like the Tswanas; the Sothos, the Shangaans; the Vendas and the Pedis they are all welcome to do rugby. And I can tell you they are coming into the fore and they are learning and are learning fast. The reason being not only the stations but the pressure is being put by the development situation in the whole of this country because the country says we have to develop the sport codes all over the country but make sure that we do more development from those particular areas which come a long way like the Eastern Cape. That's why I feel the Eastern Cape should be given (UNCLEAR) in terms of fast striking the development. But don't forget we have got guys from the Zulu nations, huge



guys, big boys who can be lock forwards, who can play everywhere. So we need those guys. So rugby is not Xhosa, rugby is not Zulu, rugby is not white. That is why I was saying rugby is South Africa. We should take rugby to all over the show.

MD: From these development programmes what are the challenges, if any, do you encounter or these development bodies come to you and say we have these and those problems or challenges that we have to face?

ZB: Well, it's like the political situation here in South Africa. Everyone is claiming that the government is not doing anything. Some claim the government is slow in terms of delivering. Some claim the government is doing something because we can see it happened. Ten years ago you wouldn't see what you seeing today. As a sport commentator, as a well-travelled sport commentator I am seeing things happening. I must be honest. But I believe we only need to pick up the pace. The delivery is there but we need to pick up the pace. Talk in terms of cricket development, we need to pick up the pace and even in rugby we need to pick up the pace. There is something happening. But as I say, all we need to do is to pick up the pace. If it was a five-year plan make it a two-three-year plan. If it was a ten-year plan, make it a five-year plan. I think we can do that because we have the infrastructure, we have the facilities. Take them to the people. We have a good Sports Minister in South Africa, I believe, Mr Ngconde Balfour is doing a good job, who is accessible to everyone. And all we need is good administrators, who will pick up the pace. And of course, we need discipline from our youngsters, boys and girls. They must be disciplined because without discipline, we will give them everything but those facilities and the infrastructure will just stay there and roared and be wild elephants and we do not need that situation. Discipline is most important. They must go there and make use of the facilities and make sure that South Africa wins at the end of the day.

MD: What is your comment on the South Africa Rugby team in terms of racial demographics inside the squad because I believe at the moment we have only two black players in the team? What do you think is the cause of this? And what suggestions can you propose in addressing this problem?

ZB: The cause of it all is apartheid. No doubt about it because the whites of South Africa believe that rugby belongs to them. It is not the case. Rugby belongs to everyone just like

South Africa belongs to everyone who lives in South Africa. as I said, all we need is to fast track and pick up the pace in terms of development and make sure that we have more Africans playing rugby. I know this could sound a bit tribalistic or racial. Yes, we do have the so-called Coloured people in our rugby team today, which is appreciated of course because they did not stand a chance years ago. But they are there but I think we need more Africans so that it could be a South Africa/ Springbok/Amabhokobhoko, which will be representative of South Africa. we need to have African, I mean Africans like myself and you; Xhosas, Zulus, Tswanas, Sothos and all that stuff. We need to have the so-called Coloured people even if we have the Indian guys who I do not think have played a major role in terms of rugby. Maybe, it's their culture. I do not have a problem then. If we can have one good guys, it's fine they can pick up. We have them the so-called whites. We must have a fully representative squad in terms of our rugby and I think we will see that sooner than later.

MD: Yes, you are right we can do all that but if the administrative body like SARFU is not being transformed I don't think our efforts as South Africans would succeed. So who do you think should interfere in making sure that SARFU does our country justice?

ZB: Well, I think firstly, it should be the people, the communities themselves. And when I am talking about the communities I am talking about the teachers, I am talking the parents, I am talking the school kids of course. We have got to make our efforts clear. Kids must make their efforts clear. They must indicate to us that they really want to play. Teachers must get their acts together, help the kids from school because that is where it starts. If you do not take it from the roots you are not going anywhere. Parents, of course, must help out, from both the school level up to tertiary and administration level. The former players, we have greats here. The guys who used to play rugby, and I am talking rugby. Black guys, they are called the former Springboks. We need those guys to come and help our kids play rugby. They must come out of the closet. Come and help. It is no use sitting and being armchair critic and not doing a thing. People must come out and do something. People must volunteer even without payment. I know the economical situation is not viable at present but people must come out and do something. Then, of course as I said before, we have black administrators who are black in terms of (UNCLEAR). We have a black president, back CEO and all that stuff. Of course, we



have whites and it is not a problem it must be a united South Africa, which exactly what is happening. I know some whites are running away now. They are running away, the players are running away, some of them, because they cannot handle the pressure of being controlled or told what to do by blacks. Let them go, it is not a problem. If they do not belong in South Africa, let them go. It is fine. We are going to do what we have to do for the South Africans and mainly we are doing it for our kids because this South Africa belongs to us and we will make sure that it happens. And as radio sport commentators, as radio stations, it is our duty to make sure that we take from that development position, from school level, teachers, parents, everybody to talk out and come out of the closet and do what is best for South Africa.

MD: What about the economic situation of the country? I heard some comments that people (blacks), even if they want to play rugby but it very expensive compared to soccer for instance. The issue of infrastructure and economic issues surrounding South Africa, the unemployment issues and so on, don't you think these also contribute to the level of rugby not being that popular among black South Africans?

ZB: I'll tell you what, if you look at rugby and compare it to cricket, the latter is very expensive than rugby because rugby is not that expensive. Cricket will be more expensive because you buy a cricket bat for I don't know! You go to basketball, that sport is also expensive. But to me that's not the issue. The issue is talent. We have got to nurture the talent that is there. The economical side of it will come thereafter. That is where our government and our administrators have got to be involved and, of course, mainly the sponsors must not run away because we have black administrators. The sponsors were easily available then, during the apartheid era, because if they don't come back then it would tell us, it would be an indication to us that they don't want transformation. And if they don't want transformation they must come clean because we don't need them. They have got the money. They must help the kids. They must not look at the colour of the kids. They must help the kids.

MD: What is the way forward regarding the status quo of sports in South Africa?

ZB: The way forward to me is quite easy: Let us get on there, let us get working all of us together. If you want to criticise, criticise but constructively. Don't sit down and criticise, otherwise you keep your mouth shut. That is the way forward. The future is very bright.



MD: What else would wish to add to this discussion?

ZB: I think I have just done that. But I can tell you. I am proud to be a South African and I am proud to have grown up and seen things happen like these. The history, our past, is not good but there is nothing we can do about it. One thing that a person can not do is run away from this country of ours. All we need to do is to build it, politically, socially, sportingly, and otherwise. And we will make it a better country for all of us.

MD: Zolani, Thank you very much for your time

ZB: You are welcome.

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Mzwandile Dladla (MD): Good day Sir. And just for the records I would like you introduce yourself and job description.

Lizo Gqomfa (LG): My name is Lizo Gqomfa at Umhlobo Wenene FM. I am a programme Manager at Umhlobo Wenene FM.

MD: On behalf of the station (Umhlobo Wenene), do you have sporting slots in the station? What sport do you cover most, and what could be the reason for that?

LG: Yes, we do have slots for sports. Mostly, we are covering cricket, rugby, boxing and soccer.

MD: Why are you covering these particular sporting codes?

LG: They are the most popular codes in our region. We do, to a certain extent, cover netball and tennis. But these four are the major.

MD: Why do you think these spots are important to your station and what are your long term objectives for these particular sporting codes.

LG: These sporting codes are popular in our province. From the grass-roots level. So we have to cover them and it also goes back a long way when we had rugby, even before this new dispensation, we had for instance in rugby team called Leopards, we had the **Kwarus**. Those are the sporting bodies now. And even in our schools, rugby, though now is being overtaken by soccer, I must admit soccer and cricket, but rugby played a very important role in the past, in our province. Also cricket, to a certain extent. The long-term objective is to develop these sporting cods, especially in the disadvantaged areas. So

that's why we have to keep them, to increase in our sporting codes so that our people especially in the rural and disadvantaged areas, can have access to these sporting codes.

MD: What could be your answer to someone who may come to you and say the inclusion of these 'other sport' other than soccer is not relevant to your station in terms of the audience/listeners? Is this inclusion not going to take some of your listeners away from your station?

LG: Not at all. In fact, it will increase our audiences because even at school level, the kids are taught netball volleyball, and tennis. So, for development purposes, we have to broadcast even these new codes.

MD: There is this notion called nation building through sports. Do you believe sport can play a major role in achieving this?

LG: Yes, definitely without any doubt because sport unifies people. Like in music, music unifies people so sport does the same. Especially, if you play sport in a friendly manner. Sport builds friendship irrespective of where you come from. It can be different races or nations but through sport they can be unified.

MD: I do not know much about this province because it is my first time to be here. But practically, can rugby in particular achieve this, taking into account the level attendance of all the racial groups in South Africa, can you say rugby is playing a major role in unifying the people of South Africa?

LG: Yes, definitely, it is playing a major role in our province. You remember all the rugby players who used to be GREATS. Because there was a separate, if I can go back a little bit, which was put up to accommodate our people instead of them being the Springbok status. There was a separate team called the Leopards that was set up for them. So rugby is very important in this region. It can unify people as well. Though as I said, it is sadly enough overtaken by soccer.

MD: Do you have a possible reason for this?

LG: Seeing that soccer is played by most countries, any country these days is playing soccer. I am sure our kids have taken that interest in soccer as compared to rugby. And to some people rugby is a rough game. They prefer soccer though to a certain extent soccer is rough as well but not as rugby.

MD: Do you have any statistics about the sport programmes in this station? I mean the statistics in terms of the level of support for each sporting code that you cover?

LG: At hand, I don't. But rugby, even now though it is not as good as in the past, but it depends on which teams are playing in the first place. If it is a national team the stadiums are packed. If it local teams, to a certain extent, the stadiums are packed. We are trying in this province to grow or bring back that interest that used to be there in rugby.

MD: What is the feedback like in broadcasting rugby, particularly after 1994 after the elections.

LG: The feedback is very positive, especially in the disadvantaged areas. Like places where there was no sport at all. Now that the kids attend schools in towns. They go back and set up these things and play with those kids in the rural areas and also in the disadvantaged areas. So the feedback is very positive.

MD: You also mentioned that you have black rugby teams in this province, have sometimes call them into the station and find out what challenges and difficulties they may have? I am asking this question because when looking at the rugby team national set up very few black players are there. So I presume that, either black players are not good enough or it's a racial difference that exists in the country. Do you sometimes call them and get their views on the whole issue?

LG: Yes, we do from time to time. We talk to them, we organise interviews with them and even with the Minister of Sport.

MD: What are the common challenges that they highlight?

LG: The common challenge is to get black players in the national squad and for them to be represented there and to play there because we have some who are already there. Something that was not there in the past because they do qualify. Like I said in the olden days instead of them being included in the Springbok team, separate team was formed for blacks called Leopards.

MD: About the infrastructure, are these black teams having good infrastructure as compared to white rugby teams?

LG: Not exactly, especially in the rural areas. There are no fields. In the townships the development is there. These rugby fields are being put up and are of good standard but in the rural areas they are still working on it.



MD: What is your response to this notion that we are living in an Information age where people are exposed to many kinds of media like the Internet, television and so on. What impact do you think this exposure would have on the sport broadcasting through radio medium? Don't you think the broadcasting of sporting events on TV would have a negative impact on your listenership in terms of sport?

LG: Not at all. On the contrary, radio because it is a tool and you can take anywhere. You can listen to a rugby commentary or soccer commentary. Or any sport commentary. In your car, in your bathroom, kitchen, in your garden, anywhere. That is why radio is such a powerful instrument. You can listen or use it anywhere whereas in TV you have got to sit and watch. Or any other medium you have to give full attention whereas with radio we can talk together whilst listening to sport commentary. And also if you watch in some homes because our commentaries are so good, they switch off the TV commentary and listen to radio and just watch only the action on TV. And no other medium will ever replace radio.

MD: What is your comment on this debate about the shortage of players in the national rugby team?

LG: We are encouraging that as well because we want to see more black players in the national squad because they deserve to be there. We do not want them, of course, to be there as a window dressing. We want them there because they qualify, because they have been selected on merit and not to be window dressing sort of.

MD: Do you believe we do have good black players who deserve a national call up?

LG: Yes definitely, especially in this province and the Western Cape.

MD: What is the possible reason for Eastern Cape to have many rugby supporters compared to other provinces like KwaZulu-Natal and so on?

LG: As I said earlier on, rugby was played in the olden days. Schools used to compete in rugby. From high schools, primary schools. It was started at a very low level. For example, primary schools used to play each other. Rugby was a major sport before soccer came around in our province. That is why even the national squad some of the black players that are there come from this province. We can mention some that have retired now.

MD: In conclusion, you are saying the rugby and soccer broadcasting on *Umhlobo WeneneFM* is more important?

Yes definitely, and it is growing day by day. And it contributes to the nation building.

MD: What else would you wish to add in this discussion or even in improving the standard of our rugby and soccer or sport in general in this country?

LG We are going out conducting interviews, getting there when the matches are played. Be it soccer o, rugby or boxing so that we deliver and take the sport to our people. That is what we are doing. We try by all means to be visible as a station whenever there is big match we try to be there. Whenever there are these matches for developmental purposes we are there. We conduct interviews on air and off-air and even after the match we do try and get people to get relevant people to give their comments. They phone in including the people who are experts in these sports (be it rugby soccer or cricket) to give their comments. And also to create a situation where the listeners can phone in asking some questions or maybe commenting on the match that is to played or maybe thereafter.

MD: Lastly, do you think the government is playing an important role in developing these sport codes that were not developed in the past?

LG: Of course, especially these days. The government is doing a lot to improve our sport.

MD: I am asking this question because there is this problem of sponsorship. In my research, there are concerns that most of the black rugby teams are not getting good sponsorships as compared to their counterparts. I wonder what is the government doing I addressing these issues? Even at *South African Rugby Football Union SARFU*, I am not sure whether *SARFU* is having all the racial groups comprising South Africa?

LG: Yes, all the racial groups are represented there but it is a question of what stands do they have. If their voices could be listened to I am sure we can make it. And also the government is doing it's best but unfortunately it can not force the companies who are sponsoring these sporting codes to you must sponsor rugby and you must sponsor cricket n the disadvantaged areas. It is for the government just to appeal to them to say, Please guys, for the sake of development of our sports, come in and help these teams. They are growing ad wan to build a Rainbow nation a rainbow team for our country. Please come and help wherever you can.

MD: Because even in soccer we have *PSL* teams like *Manning Rangers*, *Santos* and others, who have done very well in *the PSL* but do not have sponsorships. I personally think the government should do something, I do not know what, but to make sure that we almost equal sponsorships throughout. For example Kaizer Chiefs alone have got about fifteen or more sponsorships.

LG: Maybe it is up to us or our unions to appeal to the business people to sponsor these teams. Or maybe talk to those who are multisponsored to talk to them and ask them not to concentrate on the big teams only. But of course we can not force them but can ask them for the sake of our sport in our country.

MD: Thank you very much for your time.

LG: It's my pleasure. You welcome.

## **Mzwandile Dladla- 03 April 2002**

### **Questionnaires**

Your Name and Job description

Do you have sporting slots in your station? What sports do you cover most and why?

What do you think these sports are important to your station? What are the long-term objectives for the station regarding the broadcast of these particular sporting code(s)?

What role do you think sports (like soccer and rugby) can play in a new South Africa?

Can you regard sport as a unifying or a dividing factor to South Africans, taking into account the diversity comprising South Africa?

Taking soccer and rugby, for instance, which one do you think can best do this?



*UkhoziFM* and soccer, what is the relationship between the two? What about rugby? Does it have the same importance as with the case of soccer?

How do you explain the inclusion of rugby into *UkhoziFM*, particularly to people in the remote areas?

What is the feedback like to the sporting codes you broadcast in your station? Is there any interest developing, particularly on your audience in general?

If you were to run this station which sporting code(s) would you prefer covered and why?

What suggestions or area of improvement can you suggest in improving the status quo of sport in this country?

What are the challenges, if any, in broadcasting sport in general, particularly sports like rugby? How do you deal with those challenges?

#### **APPENDIX 4**

##### **Reduction of PSL teams**

<http://www.supersoccer.co.za/article.asp?ald=59575&sportCategory=SUPERSOCCER/SASOCCER>

PSL loses its Stars

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Posted on Monday, July 29, 2002 - 13:38

The Castle Premiership will be without Ria Stars and Free State Stars when the new season kicks off on August 2, with both sides opting to

accept the league's purchase of their franchise.

Acting PSL chairman Irvin Khoza made the announcement at the league's new offices in Doornfontein on Monday and added that the decision to reduce the league was not an easy one.

"Those teams will have the right to sell all their players but their status becomes part of our history," Khoza said.

Limpopo side Ria Stars were expected to take the payout due to their financial constraints but it came as a surprise when Free State Stars - the only Premier League side in the Free State region - came out as the other team to leave the Premier League.

"Our decision to sell was based on the offer presented to us by the PSL," said Ria Stars co-director Ria Ledwaba. "We realised that last season was the most difficult one for us in terms of a number of obligations and we have learnt that if you operate without a sponsor the possibility is that you might get relegated."

"History has also taught us that teams which were relegated in the past did not have sponsors and we did not want to be part of that history because to us relegation is failure," Ledwaba said.

"But this decision has other options where we can buy another team and bring it back into the Premier League but we have not yet decided."

The decision by Free State Stars to sell might have come at the eleventh hour following a revelation by Khoza that he had a meeting on Sunday with FS Stars chairman Mike Mokoena, who was not present at the announcement.

Five PSL teams were reportedly interested in selling their status but after intensive negotiations led by Khoza, it was the two Stars, which gave up their existence.

According to Khoza, the other teams could not get the clearance to sell from clubs stakeholders.

"One of the alternatives was to vote," he said. "A precedence set in

the past that if you want to reduce the league you must do it in an annual general meeting or special general meeting where you vote but we have discovered that in terms of our new constitution relating to business practices, cannot vote each other out of business.”

Khoza said in view of that, the league to look into other alternatives, which meant invoking a resolution taken when the Premiership was formed in 1996.

"When the Premier Soccer League was formed in 1996-97 a resolution was taken that we would start with 18 teams and down the line we would reduce the number down to 16," said Khoza.

Former PSL chief executive Trevor Phillips brought up the question of reduction of the league in 1998 but the board of governors shot down the idea at that time.

“The board felt it was not opportune at that time to reduce the league to give other teams the benefits of the new system,” Khoza said.

Since the start of the Premier division teams have benefited from the monthly grants to the tune of R300 000 a month and a reduction would have denied some of the teams which helped to establish the new league financial rewards.

But the reduction of the league was eminent as smaller teams without sponsorships. The long soccer season – especially in the years of the World Cup and African Nations Cup - also had a negative impact with players getting little or no time to rest at the end of the season.

Khoza also revealed that a recognition agreement between the league and the Players’ Union was another motivating factor in the reduction of the league.

The recent speech by Fifa president Sepp Blatter, who called on all national associations to take corrective measures in ensure that players have enough rest. This came after the early exit from the World Cup by heavyweights such as Argentina and the former world champions, France.



"The reduction of the league will also give most of the clubs time to organise their own pre-season competitions to prepare sufficiently for the new season," Khoza said. "For the first time we will have some breathing space as up till now we have been suffocating."

Due to these latest developments, the new season will only kick-off a week later to allow the league sufficient time to redraft the fixtures.

But the BP Top Eight will go ahead as planned next weekend.

<http://www.hal.co.za/HalPublic/S02-Radio/F03-RadioFrameset.asp>,  
13/08/2002

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## **APPENDIX 5**

**New population figures used from May/June 2000(RAMS 00/2).**

### **A 7 Day Audience.**

Nov 1999  
March 2000  
June 2000  
July-Dec 2000

567 Cape Talk  
65000  
55000  
65000  
92000

5FM  
1264000  
1323000  
1225000  
1388000

702 Talk Radio  
425000  
352000  
434000

372000

94.7 Highveld Stereo

797000

867000

822000

950000

African Language Services

17085000

17268000

19229000

18646000

BRFM

30000

54000

50000

66000

CKI FM Stereo

739000

605000

657000

638000

Classic FM 102.7

186000

170000

142000

115000

East Coast Radio

754000

1066000

1094000

1247000

Good Hope FM

831000

839000

812000

801000

Ikwewezi FM

836000

1088000  
1374000  
1242000

Jacaranda FM 94.2

1072000  
1117000  
1300000  
1362000

Kaya FM 95.9

544000  
508000  
603000  
785000

KFM

615000  
684000  
689000  
741000

Lesedi

3493000  
3409000  
3939000  
3813000

Ligwalagwala FM

1135000  
1123000  
1089000  
1060000

Lotus FM

401000  
397000  
388000  
480000

Metro FM

4666000  
4630000  
5661000  
5611000



Motsweding FM

2789000  
2864000  
3348000  
3121000

Munghana Lonene FM

1437000  
1240000  
1458000  
1535000

P4 Radio (CT) 100-108 FM

146000  
196000  
181000  
262000

P4 Radio (KZN) 99.5 FM

91000  
92000  
159000  
294000

Phalaphala FM

780000  
696000  
964000  
826000

Radio 2000

130000  
186000  
138000  
183000

Radio Algoa

270000  
307000  
309000  
409000

Radio Algoa / BRFM

271000  
309000  
311000

409000

Radio Bop

605000

670000

742000

655000

RadioKansel / Pulpit

518000

530000

530000

573000

Radio Oranje (OFM)

353000

404000

411000

348000

RadioSonderGrense

1552000

1361000

1472000

1542000

RMFM

147000

183000

144000

224000

SAFM

423000

482000

497000

472000

Thobela FM

2865000

2888000

3263000

2918000

Ukhozi FM

5990000

6220000  
6780000  
6664000

Umhlobo Wenene FM

4453000  
4509000  
5146000  
4753000

YFM 99.2

1284000  
1126000  
1322000  
1552000

Total Community Radio

2989000  
2733000  
3214000  
3088000

TOTAL RADIO

23833000  
23967000  
26354000  
26041000

Please note:

The above information was supplied by The Media Connection.