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Imagining the South African 'self': post-apartheid constructions of 'nationhood' in South African Sports Illustrated magazine

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Chapter 1: An Introduction

1.1 Framing the study

The emergence of South Africa from a minority ruled, racially discriminatory regime to a representative constitutional democracy, necessitated the re-configuration of South African citizenship and 'identity'. Not only was it seen as important for the purposes of negotiating the complex political transition, but also for the purposes of redefining the perception of the South African state within the international community and for South Africans themselves. South Africa had understandably, due to discriminatory practices and sometimes brutal repression of those lobbying for equal rights, become a jilted and tainted country in the eyes of its international counterparts. The new dispensation began to develop strategies to counteract this negative image, essentially dynamically building a discourse of post-apartheid 'identity' based on the acknowledgement of diversity within the context of an environment of tolerance, inclusivity and equality.

However, the racial striations and prejudiced classificatory structures embedded during the apartheid regime remained prominent elements of discourse. It became imperative, if the idea of a new conception of South African 'nationhood' was to emerge, that the aforementioned discursive structures be adopted and re-aligned. The most distinctive of these modes of representation was the proposal of the 'rainbow nation', a discourse that began to emerge strongly in a key locale of the South African cultural demarcation, namely sport.

Peter Alegi (2010: 128) speaks to this in his book *African Soccerscapes: How a continent changed the world's game,* saying:

> ...Mandela and the government of national unity turned to sport to build a new and inclusive sense of "South African-ness" in a sports-obsessed country with eleven national languages and deep racial and economic divisions.

The motif of the 'rainbow nation' proved a useful and fluid discursive structure, used in numerous spheres for defining what it meant to be 'South African'. Alegi (2010: 127) points out that the 'rainbow nation' theme was placed in the public space and consciousness by Archbishop Desmond Tutu by way of the Freedom Charter of 1955 which highlighted the need for collective and equal ownership of South Africa regardless of race. The construction

of the new South African state as the collaborative, co-operative dazzling colour, in the metaphorical visible light spectrum found articulation in the form of sport and its events.

Two seminal events illustrate this point. The first and most well known is that of the 1995 Rugby World Cup, which saw Nelson Mandela don a Springbok jersey with the clear intention of highlighting the reconciliatory project of the new government. Ashwin Desai (2010: 1) underlines this by honing in on the underlying message of the gesture:

> Rugby, the symbol of Afrikaner nationalism, at once became the sport that would help catalyse the building of a 'rainbow nation' predicated on a common identity, a common sense of 'South Africanness'.

The second occasion where the 'rainbow nation' mode of representation was emphasised came less than a year later with the final of the African Nations Cup football tournament in 1996. Peter Alegi (2010: 128), points to the event as important in the insertion and re-enforcement of the thesis of the 'rainbow nation', with South Africans seemingly accepting and internalising the idea of a 'new' South Africa. Furthermore, the government and associated institutions began to recognise both the obvious political value of hosting and participating in such events, but also the economic incentives attached.

Sport in post-apartheid South Africa had become a site of re-defining South African 'nationhood' and had become a cultural, socio-political and economic commodity. The central focus of the study occurs at this critical juncture of cultural commodification and is the analysis of how the central tenets of 'new South African nationhood' have been infused into prominent sport governing body/ organisations' institutional discourses as well as popular culture in the form of *South African Sports Illustrated* magazine. The organisational discourses are drawn from the three most prominent sporting codes governing bodies, namely Cricket South Africa (CSA), the South African Football Association (SAFA) and the South African Rugby Union (SARU). Further, the discourse of the multi-sport and Olympic organisation the South African Sports Confederation and Olympic Committee (SASCOC) is examined. What the study seeks to establish is where and if sites of tension exist between the discursive structures found in the official and popular discourses, 16 years after the first democratic election and 20 years since re-admission to international sport. In essence it is an exploration of how the intangible and fluid concept of 'South Africanness' is enacted in the context of sport related discourses.

1.2 Aim

The primary aim of the study is to critically interrogate the modes of representation and discourse construction of post-apartheid South African 'nationhood' and 'identity' as promulgated by *South African Sports Illustrated* (SASI) magazine, read against and compared to institutionally mediated and constructed discourses on sport and South African 'identity'.

The study intends to elucidate nuances within discursive structures, semiotic modalities and sites of divergent and contested meaning construction (Fairclough, 2009: 164). This includes attention being given to prevalent thematic elements within prominent discourses such as transformation, equity, culture and development, all within the context of sport.

The analysis seeks to show how the embryonic, somewhat essentialist, proposition of the 'rainbow nation' pluralism and multiculturalism thesis has been interpreted, developed, re-configured and articulated in varying discursive contexts. The examination will attempt to identify the key sites of discursive struggle and alignment. Ashwin Desai (2010: 2) echoes the key premise of the study, namely the engagement and contestation of South African 'identity' and 'nationhood':

> While the aftermath of the 1995 World Cup it appeared that everyone could be part of a 'talismanic club of equality' (*Cape Times 26 June 1995*), the challenge of redress and change would see sport become, over the next decade and a half, an arena of intense engagement and contestation.

1.3 Rationale

There is a general consensus that South Africa made the transition from minority governmental rule to a democracy on the 27th April 1994, with the advent of the country's first democratic elections. This followed a lengthy process of negotiations involving various stakeholders, after the unbanning of the African National Congress, on 2nd February 1990, and the release of Nelson Mandela, on 11th February 1990. South Africa had been banned from competing on the international sporting scene under the apartheid regime. However, with the move towards democracy the restrictions were gradually lifted. This saw the

country's return to the international stage in 1992 in a number of prominent sporting codes, including football, rugby, cricket and athletics.

Sport was actively harnessed as a key element of post-apartheid state discourses of 'nationhood' and South African 'identity'. President Nelson Mandela actively integrated sport into the nascent cultural lexicon of post-apartheid South Africa. He adeptly employed the rigid and stereotypical racially classified 'identities' promoted under apartheid for the purposes of constructing a discourse of 'nationhood' that highlighted inclusive multiculturalism via the platform of sport. Annie Coombes (2004: 3) suggests the approach, often described as the 'rainbow nation', to be the dominant mode of mediating 'nationhood' during Mandela's tenure as President. Sport and sporting events became seminal in the promotion of state discourses. As Janis van der Westhuizen (2008: 51) proposes, government policy could be translated into popular culture and inform the development of South Africa's democratic cultural narrative.

Literature exploring the incorporation of 'nationhood' in state/institutional discourses on sport in the South African context is established, for example in the work of Janis van der Westhuizen (2008) and Ashwin Desai (2010), but remains underdeveloped. The predominant approach can be summarised as the conception of sport as a cultural and political sub-theme within the body of literature, as opposed to the primary focus of interrogation. In addition, the focus is predominantly on the political paradigms of sport as an inference for wider socio-political concerns, notably transformation and redress. At present, literature pertaining to the sports media and sports organisations paradigmatic frame of post-apartheid 'nationhood' construction does not appear. Further, little work has been done exploring and comparing organisational/institutional discourses on 'nationhood' and those of the media, especially in the context of post-apartheid South Africa. This speaks to the point made by Nick Couldry (2004: 1) who argues that media studies as a discipline has become detached from the object of its study, by both being too closely aligned to and at the same time distant from the media. He describes this approach as the 'myth of the mediated centre' in which the media is seen as the central point for viewing or accessing 'social realities'. What Couldry advocates is both a theoretical and epistemological shift that underlines a broader field of analysis and engagement with different disciplines. Such engagement is important in order to highlight and consider the context of media texts and discourses and for Couldry this means a move

away from viewing the media as the central component of the analysis. Couldry states (2004:12):

> But, as yet, there has been no systematic engagement between the relevant branches of philosophy (ethics, political theory) and media sociology. This debate is much needed, and requires a cosmopolitan perspective that takes seriously the role of media discourses in constructing the (often merely national) contexts for particular types of politics and their hidden exclusions (Isin, 2002).

The *South African Sports Illustrated* (SASI) study follows this line of argument, acknowledging the need to examine media discourses within a wider context and measuring the propositions of the media against those of alternative institutions. Further, it is an engagement with more than media representation as the 'imagined social' and attempts to dispel the notion of discursive closure in media discourse. It is a study that aims to expose the nuances of 'identity' articulation and inherent instability present in discursive interpretations of such 'identity. The SASI case study can thus both contribute to the wider debate on media discourse and provide an incorporative and balanced analysis within the field.

1.3.1 Why *South African Sports Illustrated*?

SASI magazine operates and is informed by the popular cultural narrative relating to sport and its events. The publication occupies a unique position within the South African market, as it is the only general sports title currently available. Further Denis McQuail (2005: 31) identifies magazines as a hugely significant form of print publication media, due to their diversity, subject specific nature and high commercial value. Further McQuail (2005: 31) says, "At key moments in some societies particular magazines have played important social, cultural or political roles." SASI has been on South African news stands for 24 years and is a derivative publication of *American Sports Illustrated,* which was launched in 1954. Undoubtedly its market longevity and iconographical heritage imbue SASI with a perceived authority and cultural weighting. The magazine alludes to this in their 2010 online rate card[1] stating:

[1] South African Sports Illustrated. 2010. 2010 – Rate Card. *Sports Illustrated South Africa*. [Online]. Available: www.simag.co.za. [12 August 2010]. Appendix 7: pp.178.

> Sports Illustrated is an iconic brand recognised the world over. At its core, SI is a storyteller. The magazine has been satisfying South Africans' need for a multi-sport read for 23 years now, and is still going strong. By matching timeless images with brilliant writing, SI tells stories of triumph and failure; of the transcendent moment and the haunted history; stories of individual glory and team fractiousness, of the devastating injury and inspirational recovery… these are the stories of sport. SI is the magazine that tells them.

According to the South African Advertising Research foundation's figures for average issue readership of newspapers and magazines, SASI had an average readership of 496 000 people per month between July of 2009 and June of 2010. This represents 1.3% of the South African adult population[2]. SASI also repurposes and replicates the content from its print edition on its website, www.simag.co.za, which receives 286 000 page impressions per month and 25 000 unique users per month[3]. It rates third in terms of readership for monthly sports titles, behind the Kaizer Chiefs Football Club monthly publication, Amakhosi, with 1 788 000 readers and Soccer Life 442 which has figures of 776 000 readers in the same period with both being specialist football publications. The most read sports magazine in the country is the fortnightly football title Kick Off with 2 926 000 readers. SASI therefore sits within the top four most read magazine publications within the sport genre and is the only publication to present content related to more than one sporting code. This is especially important in that it possesses the potential to provide a more representative sample of South African sport as it incorporates discourses from various sporting fields and possible incarnations of 'nationhood' as well as 'identity' associated with particular sports. Further, there is a link between sporting codes and specific notions of 'identity', constituents for which emanate from the segregationist and classificatory legislation dominant under the apartheid regime. This sport 'identity' is closely bound to racial categories with rugby and cricket considered to be sports associated with the 'white' community while football is viewed as a traditionally 'black', working class sport. Dale McKinley (2010: 80) points out that this correlates directly to the

[2] South African Advertising Research Foundation. AMPS® 2009A: Average Issue Readership of Newspapers and Magazines. *South African Advertising Research Foundation.* [Online]. Available: http://www.saarf.co.za/amps-readership/2011/Magazine%20&%20Newspaper%20Readership%20Jun11.pdf. [7 June 2012].

[3] South African Sports Illustrated. 2010. 2010 – Rate Card. *Sports Illustrated South Africa*. [Online]. Available: www.simag.co.za. [12 August 2010]. Appendix 7: pp.178.

policies of the apartheid government which saw both financial backing for rugby and cricket as well as the exclusion of non-white individuals from active participation in these sports. Football on the other hand received very little state support either economically or socially and was promoted as an ancillary and inferior sport reserved for the 'black' community.

The readership demographics of the publication indicate that 60% of readers are between the ages of 16 and 34, with 30% being 35 or older. The LSM brackets of the readership show that 76% of readers fall within LSM 8-10. The racial make-up of SASI's readership shows that 53% of readers are white, 23% black, 19% coloured and 5% Indian[4]. Many would point to these figures as a vital factor in determining editorial policy and subsequently the selective construction of meaning. In addition, the readership figures may indicate an interaction between the publication and its 'imagined' reader which remains static and non-negotiated. In other words, no process of re-defining the 'imagined' reader in the post-apartheid context may have occurred. The important question to ask would be both why and how such a relationship exists in the context of the country's demographics and post-apartheid South African society.

With the market position of the publication, being the only multi-sports magazine, it has the ability to rearticulate discourses relating to transformation, 'identity' and equity in sport, and thus notions of 'nationhood'. By establishing the modes of address present in SASI one can discern the publications' prevailing discursive position adopted in relation to 'identity' and 'nationhood'. Stuart Hall's (1981) concept of meaning creation via articulation suggests that context is critical to the production of meaning. In addition, he acknowledges that certain articulations have the potential to be more pervasive as they operate from positions of power and privilege. For Hall this can be and is prohibitive for the possible re-articulation of meaning. Hall's conception of the communication process, especially the domination of certain articulations, infers that meaning construction can be fixed and remain monolithic with certain contexts. In the case of post-apartheid South Africa the examination of SASI will establish if a dominant mode of address can be determined and if this articulation diverges

[4] South African Sports Illustrated. 2010. 2010 – Rate Card. *Sports Illustrated South Africa*. [Online]. Available: www.simag.co.za. [12 August 2010]. Appendix 7: pp.178.

significantly from governing organisation discourses of post-apartheid South African 'nationhood' in the context of sport.

To conclude, sport in the post-apartheid era has been actively incorporated within organisational/ institutional, including state, discourses for the purpose of articulating South African 'nationhood'. These discourses have also used sport as referential to and indicative of social, political and economic issues, especially those of transformation and equity for the purposes of redressing apartheid inequality. The case study seeks to examine how and if these discourses have been appropriated, challenged, re-configured or confirmed by a prominent sports media publication that has existed both prior to and after the end of apartheid.

1.4 Research questions

1. What articulation of 'nationhood' and national 'identity' can be discerned in SASI and the sport organisation discourses?

    1.1 How do SASI and the organisations establish legitimacy and discursive power?
    1.2 How does the SASI representation and construction of 'identity' compare with that of organisationally mediated discourses and what possible reasons exist for the divergence or convergence of articulation?

1.5 Methodology

This section will highlight the areas of data selection, sampling and collection. Further, the research design of the study is outlined and described. The section also notes the methods of analysis that have been used in the examination of the material. This includes adequate focus being given to the primary theoretical concepts that support the methodology and its practical implementation.

1.5.1 Research design

The study employs a qualitative methodological approach to the analysis, primarily due to the variant and multifaceted nature of the elements to be explored. The subject matter being

investigated is of a sociological, political and cultural nature, with particular focus on the construction of meaning within discourse. In addition, the study attempts to understand the interaction between institutions, popular culture and the representation of the abstract concepts of 'nationhood' and national 'identity'. A qualitative framework provides the necessary structure in which to analyse and interpret such phenomena. The structure emphasises the idea that the manner in which humans make sense of their environment and construct meaning is of primary importance and a nuanced process. This is illustrated by Van Maanen (cited in Merriman, 2009: 13) who states:

> Qualitative research is "an umbrella term covering an array of interpretative techniques which seek to describe, decode, translate, and otherwise come to terms with the meaning, not the frequency, of certain more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the social world. "

Merriman (2009: 13) adds to the point by arguing that the central concern of qualitative research is analysing the 'meaning people have constructed' for the purposes of making sense of their experiences and surroundings.

The methods to be used in the study are drawn from the two prominent epistemological traditions within the qualitative frame, namely constructivism and interpretivism. In order to critically interrogate 'identity' articulation and representation the use of an approach that foregrounds the manner in which meaning is created, developed and interpreted with the social sphere is most applicable. An interpretivist position fulfils the criteria as within both SASI and the organisational discourses distinct markers of how each defines and interprets the notion of 'new' South African 'nationhood'. Alan Bryman (2004: 266) makes this point by proposing that with an interpretivist position the "...stress is on the understanding of the social world through the examination of the interpretation of the world by its participants." In the case of the study, SASI and the sport governing bodies are viewed as such participants; however acknowledgment is given to the subjectivity involved in the examination brought by the author. The discussion and analysis aims to highlight certain discernible elements of 'identity' construction present in the discourse but does not lay claim to ontological truth. The constructivist tradition introduces the concept that phenomena such as culture and organisation are constantly shifting according to the actions and interpretation of individuals, often referred to as social actors. From a constructivist perspective people are seen to be actively involved in developing and sculpting culture and meaning. Potter (1996: 98, cited in

Bryman, 2006: 19) points to this, "The world...is constituted in one way or another as people talk it, write it and argue it." Alan Bryman (2004: 22) maintains that the choice of research method must be clearly merged with and connected to the prominent research concerns of the study itself. The intention is to ensure that this is the case and that all aspects related to the central research questions, namely how 'nationhood' and national 'identity', are constructed within popular and institutional/organisational discourse are adequately addressed.

1.5.2 Data collection and analysis

For the purposes of this study three distinct sets of data have been used. The first is that of the SASI publication itself, which is subject to critical discourse analysis (CDA) and a visual semiotic analysis. The second is that of documents from the governing bodies for three of South Africa's most prominent sporting codes. The sporting bodies examined are the South African Football Association (SAFA), The South African Rugby Union (SARU) and Cricket South Africa (CSA). In addition, the multi-representational Olympic sports body, the South African Sports Confederation and Olympic Committee (SASCOC) is included. These organisations have been selected due to the overall popularity of the sports they administer and the significant public profile associated with these sporting codes. In order to provide consistency the documents included are similarly themed. For each organisation the text that has been selected is that of the organisational overview, history and mandate, generally semantically described as 'About Us'. All texts can be viewed in *Appendix 2* on page 163. The reason for this selection is that the texts represent the most accessible and foremost discourses proposed by the governing bodies. All of the documents have been examined using CDA. A third data set consists of a semi-structured interview with Ami Kapilevich, editor of SASI magazine. The data from the interview is used to contextualise the discussion.

1.5.3 Sport governing body documents

In order for the study to be adequately grounded and to provide further insights on the discursive constitution of 'nationhood' and 'identity' in the context of sport it was necessary to examine the documents of South African sport governing body organisations. With sport having formed a prominent component within the rhetoric of nation-building political discourses, the documents serve to illustrate how such discourses may have been incorporated into administrative and governing institutions. Further, the documents provide

an example of an alternate discourse for comparison with that which is presented in SASI, which seeks to investigate if congruencies between the two can be noted. The South African sport governing bodies from which these documents have been drawn are highlighted on page five in the introduction of this section. However, a summary is listed on the below and can be found in full in *Appendix 2* on page 163.

Sport governing body/organisation documents:

i. Cricket South Africa (CSA)
    a. About CSA

ii. The South African Rugby Union (SARU)
    a. Rugby in South Africa

iii. The South African Football Association (SAFA)
    a. Introduction to the South African Football Association

iv. South African Sports Confederation and Olympic Committee (SASCOC)
    a. History of SASCOC

1.5.4 Parameters of the SASI publication analysis

The data sample of SASI extends from June 2008 to June 2010, incorporating 25 issues. There are two reasons for this choice. Firstly, the sample consists of material that provides a significant volume of content for analysis. Secondly, the time frame is significant in that it marks the period 16-18 years after South Africa's re-admission to international sport, the two year time frame leading up to the 2010 FIFA World Cup and 15-16 years after the election of a democratic government, a suitable period of time for the development of post-apartheid sporting paradigmatic representations referential to 'nationhood' and 'identity'.

The interrogation of SASI consists of two primary areas. The first is that of the cover text, with particular interest in the editorial inclusions articulated in the teasers, headers and

footers. The second area of examination is the cover image. McQuail (2005: 349) highlights the role of the visual saying:

> Visual images are inevitably ambiguous and polysemic, but they have certain advantages over words. One is the greater denotative power when used deliberately and effectively. Another is their capacity to become icons – directly representing some concept with clarity, impact and wide recognition.

Further, the text and image constitute distinct representational systems that produce and operate within discourse. The cover of a magazine is the primary point of interaction with the recipient/reader and often the site where 'meaning' is contested, or in other words, the place where the dominant mode of address and paradigm is structured and represented most explicitly. In addition, due to the magazine being sold in sealed packaging, the cover exists almost in isolation or as a stand -alone entity referential to the magazine content. The study of the aforementioned elements is conducted by critical discourse analysis (CDA) as outlined in section 1.5.6 of this chapter and a visual semiotic analysis as illustrated in section 1.5.6 of this chapter.

1.5.5 Parameters of the SASI interview

It is critical for the study that the producers of the publication being analysed be consulted and engaged with. This takes the form of a semi-structured interview with SASI editor Ami Kapilevich. The process of organising and conducting the interview proved slightly challenging as well as time consuming and thus a decision was taken not to extend the interviewing process to include other SASI staff members. Mr Kapilevich was prompted to answer questions based on specific topics and themes, but was given the opportunity to steer the discussion based on his knowledge and opinions. The broad question framework and interview schedule used for the interview is included as *Appendix 8*. This method was chosen due to its flexibility which provides for the interviewee to contribute information that may not be forthcoming in a more directed/structured approach. This is supported by Alan Bryman (2004: 321) who describes the semi-structured method as both flexible allowing for greater interviewee contribution and at the same time as framed appropriately and contextually relevant. The interview aimed to gain insight into the editorial policies and decisions as well as the operation of representational paradigms. Critically it establishes how the publication

itself views the ‘imagined’ recipient of its content and how the magazine deliberately positions itself within discourses of post-apartheid ‘nationhood’.

1.5.6 Data analysis

Method of critical discourse analysis

The study uses critical discourse analysis (CDA) to interrogate the SASI publication and sport governing organisation/ body documents. The approach has been evaluated according to its relevant suitability and theoretical grounding and chosen as the method of analysis due to its multi-modal and multi-disciplinary nature, suitable for investigating the primary questions of the study. Teun van Dijk (2009: 300) states that CDA is essentially interested in establishing the nature of structures, strategies and properties present in text and other forms of communication that perpetuate certain relations of power and dominance.

The study requires that text, images and strategies/structures of meaning production (including ideology/power/dominance) be scrutinised to elucidate how meaning is constructed and reproduced within discourse and how this may affect relations of power. Teun A van Dijk’s socio-cognitive approach has been chosen due to his framework providing for a concept of discourse that operates on both a macro and micro level and takes into account the influence of power. This intersection of large and small scale propositions will allow for the closer scrutiny of their joint operation and influence on issues such as symbolic ‘nationhood’. Van Dijk’s (2009: 64) proposition of the ‘discourse-cognition-society triangle’ underlines cognition as critical in understanding forms of interaction, discourse and communication. Van Dijk says (2009: 64):

> This means, among other things, that I am also interested in the study of mental representations and the processes of language users when they produce and comprehend discourse and participate in verbal interaction, as well as in the knowledge, ideologies and other beliefs shared by social groups.

In addition, he constantly reiterates the need for context and the acknowledgement of critical factors influencing or framing discourse, for example history, culture or economics (2009: 65). This is critical when considering the socio-political and historical factors influencing the discourse of ‘nationhood’ and ‘identity’ in South Africa.

The study utilizes van Dijk's (2009: 66) concept of the 'context model', which in his definition consists not of an environment or social structure, but, rather a subjective mental construction/ representation and definition based on a specific communicative situation. Van Dijk (2009: 66) succinctly explains this, "...context models mediate between discourse structures and social structures at all levels of analysis." The concept of the 'context model' is critical to the approach in that it represents the mechanism of mediation and control between discourse and society. Van Dijk (2009: 73) underlines this by describing the context model as:

> ...a mediating cognitive device that is able to represent the relevant structures of the social situation, both locally (micro) as well as globally (macro), and that at the same time is able to control discourse, the mental processes of production and comprehension and its situated variation.

The model enables a speaker to make appropriate discourse selection in a given communicative situation. Therefore, says van Dijk, context models are able to dictate the nature of genre and the style of text and talk (2009: 73). His main focus is on the functioning of text and discursive formations, which is a key element of the SASI cover analysis.

This analysis makes use of van Dijk's (2009: 68) theoretical model which can be summarised in five key steps:

a. Analyse 'semantic macrostructures' which are the intentional elements of discourse and the most readily internalised. In other words what themes and representations dominate on the SASI cover.
b. Analyse the production of local meanings, which derive from subjective selections made by speakers/producers based on macro themes.
c. Establish and interrogate the 'event models', which are the libraries of mental reference used by language users to interpret information. These models are subjective, contribute to discourse construction and comprehension, construct understanding of 'reality' and are flexible.
d. Isolate the 'context models' that control and drive local meanings. In other words what is the environment and context of discursive production that influences meaning. For example mutual knowledge or the situated 'identity' of the participant.

e. Examine possible group/collective representations present in the SASI discourse. Do they constitute a discursive dominance indicative of the functioning of certain ideology to entrench unequal power relations?

The method allows for a flexible framework of study that highlights the contextual functioning of discursive acts, both socially and politically as well as on a macro and micro level. Further, it elucidates possible power relations within a given discourse van Dijk (2009: 79), speaks to this point:

> ...social representations, including attitudes and ideologies, are often mediated by mental models in order to show up in discourse, and such discourse has social effects and functions only when it in turn contributes to the formation and confirmation of social attitudes and ideologies.

Visual semiotic analysis

As previously mentioned the nature of the study requires a blended approach to address its key elements satisfactorily. In relation to the SASI publication itself, the cover image is of critical importance and a notable prominent feature. It follows therefore that it should be scrutinised sufficiently and within a framework designed to appropriately address its visual constitution. This is addressed by the work of Gunther Kress and Theo van Leeuwen (1996) who propose a structured approach to the reading of visual design and communication. Their thesis draws parallels with the work of W.J.T Mitchell (1987) *Iconology: image, text, ideology* who argues that images must be conceived of as a language and mechanism of representation. In addition, Mitchell (1987: 9) points out that images are not simply signs but should be considered 'actors on a historical stage' where that history is indicative of mankind's evolution to manipulating images to represent their version of the world.

Kress and van Leeuwen's method suggests that visual analysis can be conducted by focusing on standard compositional structures of images via which meaning is produced. They argue this to be standardised, with Kress and van Leeuwen stating (1996: 4):

> The dominant visual language is now controlled by the global cultural/technological empires of the mass media, which disseminate the examples set by exemplary designers , and, through the spread of image banks and computer imaging technology,

> exert a ‘normalizing’ rather than explicitly ‘normative’ influence on visual communication across the world.

For Kress and van Leeuwen, representation consists of individuals creating signs in which an object/entity is to be illustrated within a complex and specific cultural, social and psychological frame. In addition and in divergence with traditional semiotic theory, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 7) suggest that the ‘stratum of the signifier’ and ‘stratum of the signified’ are relatively independent and not joined by the ‘sign’. The sign is a ‘motivated conjunction’ of signifiers (forms) and signifieds (meanings) according to Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 7). Further, Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 13) maintain that visual design comprises two main functions. The first is ‘ideational’ and relates to the representation of the world via how an individual interacts with his/her environment and how this he/she may perceive it. The second is an ‘interpersonal’ function which sees the performance of social interaction as social relations.

In viewing images as a language Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:15) introduce the idea of the ‘grammar of visual design’, which guides their method of analysis. For the purposes of the SASI analysis three areas of their approach will be employed. Firstly, the identification of ‘patterns of representation’ that are used to establish how experience and perception thereof is encoded in a visual paradigm. Secondly, ‘patterns of interaction’ that deal with the construction of the visual with specific reference to the dynamic between those who create and those who subsequently view the text. Lastly, what Kress and van Leeuwen (1996: 15), drawing on Halliday, call the ‘textual’ function, which is constituted by coherence between representative and communicative acts forming a meaningful whole. These approaches have been chosen, along with their accompanying models of analysis, due to their suitability in analysing the SASI cover and its constitutive elements. The models of visual semiotic analysis are outlined on the following page with further elaboration in the appendices section of this study.

Patterns of representation

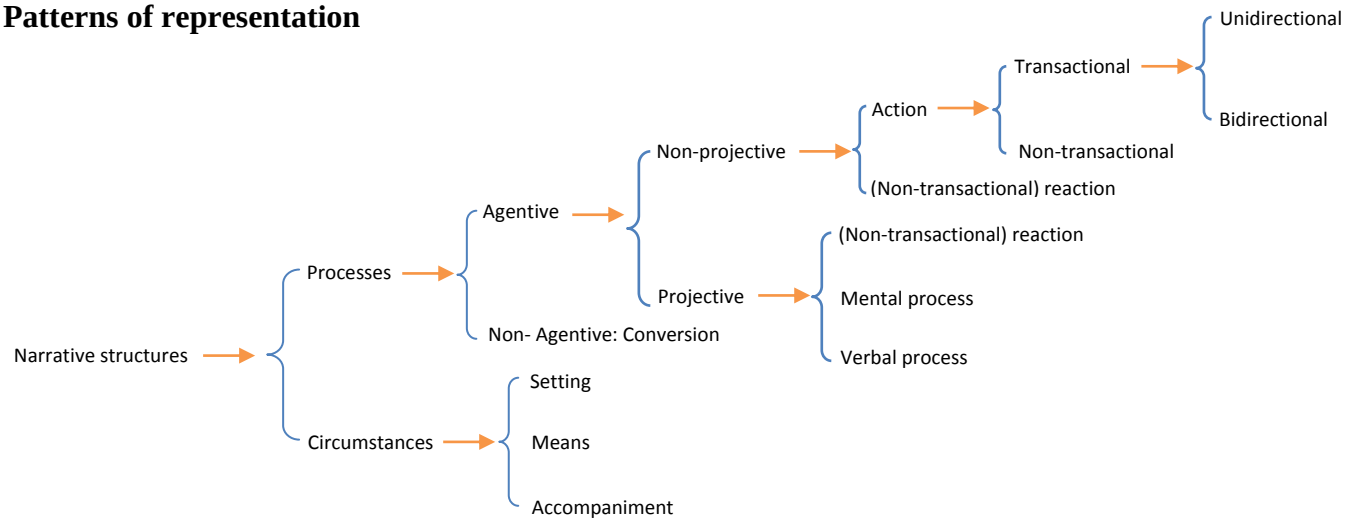


Figure I: Narrative structures in visual communication (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 74). A summary of the distinctions, as outlined by Kress & van Leeuwen, can be seen in *Appendix 3* on page 171.

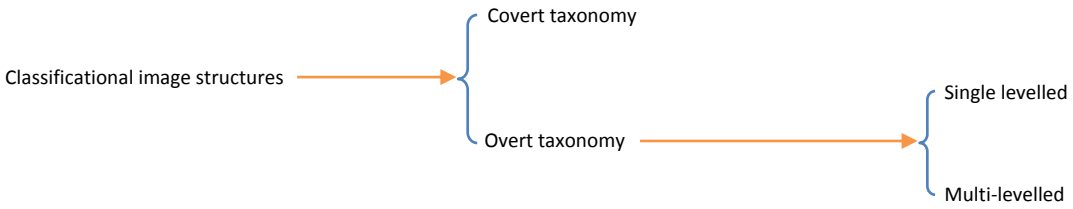


Figure II: Classificational image structures (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 87). A summary of the distinctions, as outlined by Kress & van Leeuwen, can be seen in *Appendix 4* on page 174.

Patterns of interaction

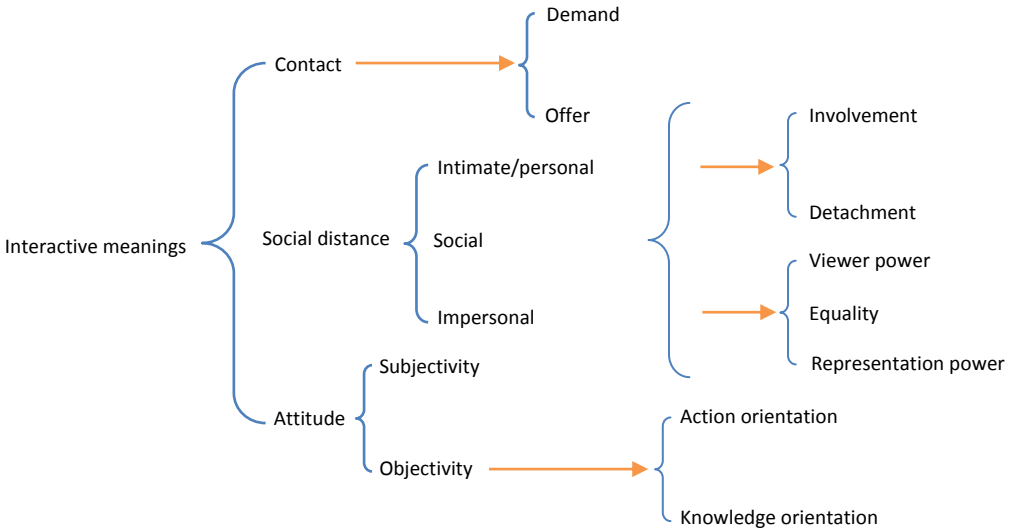


Figure III: Interactive meanings in images (Kress & van Leeuwen, 2006: 149). A summary of the distinctions, as outlined by Kress & van Leeuwen, can be seen in *Appendix 5* on page 175.

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter focused on the key introductory elements of the study and its contextualisation. Sport and its related events have been employed as modes of communicating political discourse into a cultural form within the post-apartheid South African context. The primary concern is how these discourses represent the idea of a 'new' South African 'identity' and concepts of 'South Africanness'. This extends to the nature of the articulation of 'nationhood' in a prominent sports media publication in the form of SASI in comparison to the official /organisational discourses version of 'nationhood'. Furthermore, the chapter identifies the key facets of the study including the primary aim, central research questions and rationale. The latter sought to highlight the positioning of the study within a wider context and the possible contribution that such an analysis may make. Lastly it has outlined

the key facets of data selection, sampling and collection. The chapter has also explored the various methods of analysis to be used in examining the material. Attention has been given to discussing the theoretical underpinnings of the methodology as well as its practical application in the context of the study. In chapter two the investigation and discussion of notable literature is undertaken. This is broadly divided into sections on nationalism, the 'nation', post-apartheid 'nationhood' and 'identity', South African sport, popular culture in South Africa and South African magazine studies. Further, the chapter outlines the theoretical framework that underpins the study.

Chapter three examines the selected documents of the sport governing/administrative bodies. The analysis focuses on the primary discursive propositions within the discourses and the manner in which these infer 'nationhood' and 'identity' in a post-apartheid context, with particular reference to how the organisations cast their political and social role. In chapter four the focus shifts to the examination of the discourse of SASI magazine. The chapter investigates the propositions, both visual and semantic, made by the publication in demarcating South African 'identity' and 'nationhood'. This includes attention being given to relations of power, discursive authority and the speaker-author communicative exchange.

Lastly, chapter five of this study highlights the continuities and discrepancies in the discourses of SASI and the sport governing organisations. Points of similarity are discussed including the claims made by both to power, authority and legitimacy within the discourse. The disparities of the discourses also receive attention, notably the different takes on gender, race and class as constituents of 'identity'. Finally, the chapter posits possible reasons for variances in conceptions of South African 'nationhood' and 'identity' as well as some possible future areas of research.

Chapter 2: Literature review and theoretical framework

2.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines, critiques and explores literature relating to the two central tenets of the study. First, is the area of 'nationhood' and national 'identity', specifically within the context of post-apartheid South Africa. This will however incorporate texts and sources not necessarily related to South Africa, but pertinent to the study. Secondly, to contextualise the study and provide supplementary information, literature relating to contemporary South African sport and popular culture will be consulted. The chapter will frame the SASI study in the context of current literature.

Further the chapter proposes a theoretical framework dealing with the fundamental concepts and theoretical traditions that have been drawn on for the purposes of this study. These are divided into three distinct sections. The first is representation, the second focuses on concepts of 'identity' and national 'identity' and thirdly the theoretical propositions from selected fields have been studied, in order to allow for a more holistic approach to the study. The fields consulted are cultural studies, sociology, philosophy, discourse studies and history.

2.2 Literature review

2.2.1 'Nationhood' and the 'nation'

A prominent area of the study is the concept of 'nationhood' and national 'identity'. It is a field that possesses a well developed and comprehensive array of literature and texts, exploring various facets of the topic. It can be argued that South Africa is in a state of 'identity flux', where national discourses and meaning are being re-defined as well as negotiated. South Africa has, what can only be called, a fractious and dislocated historical narrative. In many cases, this was entrenched and exacerbated by the dictation of law aimed at subjugation and domination. Thus, post-apartheid concepts of 'nationhood' are often sites of construction and struggle. For the purposes of this study literature focusing on two essential themes will be consulted. Firstly, theories and perspectives on the 'nation' and 'nationhood' will be dealt with. The second is that of literature focusing specifically on post-apartheid South African nationalism, 'nationhood' and 'identity'.

To begin, it is useful to borrow from Madianou (2005: 8) who proposes that two distinct traditions of theories of nationalism/nation and identity can be seen. These are primordialism and modernism. The premise of the former subscribes to the idea that nations are firmly rooted in historical traditions, customs and ethnic identities. As Atsuko Ichijo and Gordana Uzelac (2005: 51) argue, "A nation, according to primordialists, is a naturally occurring social grouping often marked by cultural features such as shared language, a single religion, shared customs and tradition and shared history."

The primordialist tradition comes to the fore in the work of Ernest Renan. Renan (1994: 17) describes the 'nation' as being made up of two distinct components, namely the past and the present. He suggests that traditions and forms of common cultural expression form the basis of a 'nation', resulting in a form of cohesive heritage. In other words, a sense of 'identity' is created in the present by constructed heritage. Weber (1948: 171) advocates a similar concept with the idea of political power exerting influence over structures that promote the 'nation' and as he says, 'steer common conduct' and thus foster a sense of community. This is by no means a linear and homogenous process and occurs at various social and cultural levels as well as within different environments.

Eisenstadt & Giesen (1995) lean more towards the ethnosymbolic strand of the primordialist school of thought. There is an acknowledgement of the modern nature of the 'nation' but a firm emphasis on its construction via historical symbolism. Their approach hinges on how constructs, both cultural and social, are communicated and disseminated. Eisenstadt & Giesen (1995: 77) suggest that this occurs via 'social carrier groups' who employ symbolic codes, which are primordial, conventional and cultural, of collective 'identity'. This frame of reference then informs the construction and maintenance of collective 'identity'.

Anthony Smith's (2001: 13) definition of the concept of a nation alludes to the constituent elements required for its existence and ascribes to a symbolic and primordialist theoretical perspective. Smith describes the nation as ,"a named human community occupying a homeland, and having common myths, and a shared history, a common public culture, a single economy and common rights and duties for all members." He does however concede that this is an 'ideal' definition and may not take into account the more complex nature of certain 'nations' in which multiple ethnicities, languages and cultural traditions may be present. Smith (2001: 15) describes these instances as 'polyethnic nations' in which individuals may relate to both ethnic and national identities concurrently. This position is

instructive in the case of South Africa as it bears resemblance to the ethno-symbolic nationalism and race based 'identity' which can be described as 'polyethnic' or multicultural, reflected in the constitution of South Africa highlighting 11 official languages and tolerance and respect for various religious denominations. It is, however, limited in that it does not provide a sufficient interrogation of the nuanced elements and complexities of national 'identity'. It views the nation as historically concrete as opposed to malleable and dynamic.

An alternate perspective is offered by modernism which postulates that the 'nation' is a more contemporary concept introduced through modernity and the development of the nation state. From a modernist angle, the 'nation' is a constructed concept that draws on myths, selected 'common' historical discourses and cultural elements. Within the modernist paradigm it is suggested that myths, history and culture are often developed and controlled by the political and cultural elite for the purposes of defining a 'nation' and its 'identity'. In approaching the study of SASI and institutional text, the modernist theoretical paradigm would be most appropriate given the context of the post-apartheid South African state which actively pursued the creation of new national 'identity' via a nationalist discourse which, to a certain extent, countered that of the previous regime. Adrian Hastings (1997: 9) citing of Ernest Gellner (1964: 168) makes the point stating, "Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist."

Benedict Anderson (1991) is one of the more well known advocates of the modernist paradigm. His seminal text *Imagined Communities* proposes that the concept of the nation state can be traced to the late eighteenth century, which he suggests saw the rise of nationalism due to fundamental social and political changes. Anderson suggests that this primarily stems from the decreasing influence and power of both the church and monarchical dynasties of Europe as well as the dissolution of traditional community structures. Anderson's view is that the 'nation' and its associated 'identity' is an abstract and imagined concept with an ideological inclination. Critically he suggests that the 'imagined community' should not be judged as either false/genuine, but rather on how it is imagined. He suggests that the development of print capitalism, and by implication the media, were one crucial element in fostering of an imagined national community. Anderson states (1991:44), "These fellow-readers, to whom they were connected through print, formed, in their secular, particular, visible invisibility , the embryo of the nationally imagined community." Anderson's views are further elaborated and explored in the theoretical framework of this study.

The work of Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (1983) is also instructive and drawn from the modernist frame. In *The Invention of Tradition* Hobsbawm's synopsis is that the 'nation' and national 'identity' are created by the perpetuation of 'traditions' by the state and its institutions. He suggests that invented traditions, including associated phenomena, symbols and acts, are seminal in relation to the idea of the 'nation'. Hobsbawm contends that such traditions and symbols are a form of social engineering exhibiting characteristics suggesting they are both innovative and deliberate. Hobsbawm (1983: 14) proposes that the modern conception of nations almost inevitably consists of an invented or created component and therefore careful attention must be given to invented tradition in order to understand the nation. The work of Hobsbawm and Ranger form part of the theoretical framework of the study and is further clarified under the theory section of this chapter.

Anthony Giddens, another modernist theorist, is primarily concerned with the administrative and political structures governing nations and subsequently determining the parameters of 'nation' and its cultural expression. Giddens (1985: 120) alludes to the fact that such structures are largely prescriptive and engage in coercive practices, describing the 'nation' as a 'bordered power-container' where articulation of community would be clearly demarcated and enforced by the state. In addition, the modernist perspective on the 'nation' underlines heterogeneity, which Walker Connor explores in 'When is a nation'. Connor (1994: 158) says that a number of key conditions contribute to the dissemination of a 'national consciousness' and that it is an uneven and differential process usually occurring in more affluent sectors of society. These conditions are literacy, geographical location and access to information. Thus, individuals and communities will not relate to or incorporate the same concept of the 'nation' universally. Certain historical factors, through modernity, most notably colonialism have also been prominent in the development of the 'nation' especially in Africa. Crawford Young (1994: 225) says colonialism had, "...a profound impact upon cultural self-definitions in the societies concerned." Further, he argues that colonial African states were subject to practices and ideology related to classification that promoted divisive 'identity' based on ethnicity and race as well as unequal access to resources. South Africa has, according to Young (1994: 228), been subject to the process even more vigorously than other states due to the ethnic and racial classification system of apartheid.

The role of the media in representing and articulating certain 'identities' of the 'nation' has also been examined. Mirca Madianou (1995: 16) suggests that two distinct theoretical strands of this literature can be seen. Firstly, technological determinism, which advances the

idea that media is pervasive and dominates 'identity' construction through the use and standardisation of language, or as Madianou (1995: 16) argues, "strong technologies/weak identities", which Nic Couldry (2004) points out often proves to the Achilles heel of media analysis in that too much prominence and importance is given to media. The second strand is that which Madianou (1995: 18) calls 'textual determinism' in which the primary point of interest is the manner in which media content and structure contribute to the maintenance and promotion of certain 'identities'. Both of these theoretical propositions are modernist in their conception, however, in the context of the SASI study it is the 'textual determinism' stance suggested by Madianou that resonates as the central research focus concerns the manner that mediated content produces and legitimises preferred 'identity'. Further, the approach removes the omnipotent agency given to the media in the technological determinism thesis and allows for a more contextual reading.

2.2.2 Post-apartheid nationalism, 'nationhood' and 'identity' in South Africa

The study of post-apartheid South African nationalism, 'nationhood' and culture is a work in progress, with scholars making contributions to a debate and dialectic that is evolving. A number of key propositions and standpoints can however be observed. These can be broadly summed up as a critique of an idealistic multiculturalism, the foregrounding of the historical stratification of 'identity' in South Africa based on race as a central determinant and the complexity of the political, social and cultural propositions within the post-apartheid context. The literature dealing with these themes is applicable to the study in that they contextualise and highlight key factors as well as considerations for the discussion of 'new' South African 'identity'.

Sarah Nuttall and Cheryl- Ann Michael (2000) highlight the inherent contradictions present in the critique and analysis of post-apartheid South African culture. They suggest that the construction of separation and segregation as an ideology meant that 'identity' became inextricably fixed by such demarcations. For Nuttal and Michael (2000:6) the 'rainbow nation' is a concept aligned with multiculturalism used to structure cultural politics or as they describe it about 'polite proximities, about containment'. A similar argument is presented by Sarah Britten (2005:5) who posits the idea that multiculturalism and inclusivity were central to the constructed myths of the 'new' South African 'nation' and in keeping with the

legitimate ‘new’ state narrative. This mirrored, according to Britten, fundamental political and social shifts taking place within post-apartheid South Africa.

Neville Alexander’s (2001) position on the ‘new’ South African ‘nation’ and ‘identity’ reflects an allegiance to the historical stratification of ‘identity’ thesis. For Alexander, South African ‘identity’ is inextricably and permanently tethered to race and racial classification, a hegemonic paradigm. Alexander (2001: 86) makes this point critiquing the notion of the ‘rainbow nation’ stating, “Archbishop Tutu’s mythical ‘rainbow nation’ is, thus, a brave attempt to make a virtue out of necessity.” Jeremy Seekings (2008) argues similarly, proposing that South African ‘identities’ still remain significantly racially defined, both socially and culturally, by the classification system of apartheid. Seekings (2008: 1) says:

> South Africans continue to see themselves in the racial categories of the apartheid era, in part because these categories have become the basis for post-apartheid ‘redress’, in part because they retain cultural meaning in everyday life. South Africans continue to inhabit social worlds that are largely defined by race, and many express negative views of other racial groups.

Ivor Chipkin (2007) addresses the issue of ‘identity’ and ‘nationhood’ in post-apartheid South Africa slightly differently to Alexander and Seekings in his work *Do South Africans Exist?* Chipkin (2007: 1) argues that critiques of African nationalism are few and far between. For Chipkin (2007: 1), African ‘identity’ and peoples were defined by the nationalist resistance to colonialism. Chipkin contends that the definition of South African people became inextricably interlaced with the politics and culture of nationalist struggle. Chipkin (2007: 2) says, “Even if there are traces of other notions of what the term ‘the people’ means (clannic for example), the image of the South African nation looms large in the political imaginary”. Chipkin notes that in the post-apartheid context, with the advent of democracy, the discussion on the definition of ‘identity’ revolved around the notion of South African authenticity and the constitution of ‘the people’, notably as national subjects and citizens. He argues that citizens are produced through the ideological propositions of democratic institutions while national subjects emerge from the pursuit of democracy via nationalist movements. The strength of Chipkin’s work lies in his highlighting of the key constituents, including possible contradictions, in the production of a South African ‘identity’ , notably the juxtaposition of ‘citizens’ and ‘national subjects’ and their possible conflation.

The complexity of the post-apartheid South Africa socio-political landscape is further addressed by Annie Coombes (2004). She explores the nuances involved in the representation of visual culture and new national narratives, which include depictions of public memory aimed at developing notions of 'community' and 'nation'. Coombes (2004: 4) illustrates this in relation to the idea of 'community':

> In addition, further difficulties have arisen in South Africa, as elsewhere, since the rhetoric of "community" is the result of a genuine attempt to incorporate a more representative multicultural diversity in many aspects of public life but can also be a slipshod way of "managing" the more contradictory and potentially troublesome aspects of cultural and political diversity.

Coombes (2004: 3) proposes that two distinct approaches to the idea of the South African 'nation' can be discerned post-apartheid. Firstly, the discourse of the 'rainbow nation' as proposed by the presidency of Nelson Mandela, one that focused on multicultural inclusivity and reconciliation. Secondly, the 'African Renaissance' of former president Thabo Mbeki, configured to establish South Africa on the continent and underscore the inclusive use of the term 'African' (Mbeki, 1996). Coombes argues that Mbeki's narrative increased the focus on 'race' and 'ethnicity' as a means for establishing 'community' and 'nation', negating the process of developing a consistent national narrative.

Naturally an attempt to formulate a more fluid concept of cultural constructs in South Africa, means not only acknowledging the way in which they had been manipulated and fixed, but also, avoiding the pitfalls of convenient theoretical models which would allow new concepts to emerge. This is shown by Robert Young in relation to hybridity. Young (1995: 23) says hybridity, "...becomes a third term which can never in fact be third because, as monstrous inversion, a miscreated perversion of its progenitors, it exhausts the difference between them." Thus, Nuttall and Michael (2000:6) argue that the term creolization should be used to describe and reflect post-apartheid culture and 'identity' as the term '...carries an inflection beyond mutilculturalism and hybridity' which they suggest to be more a more accurate description.

The paradox of the post-apartheid socio-cultural sphere is that it is both fluid and at the same time stratified by history. This means that although certain cultural forms, such as 'identity' may appear to be malleable this flexibility is still bounded, due to both local and global

influences. Kristina Bentley and Adam Habib (2008:5) underline the inherent contradiction within the post-apartheid sphere:

> South Africa is simultaneously undergoing an economic integration into the global economy and a political transition away from a politics of the racial where rights are being extended to social groups that were previously disenfranchised. The current national structural context both supports and inhibits the goal of 'unity in diversity' that defines the spirit of South Africa's Constitution.

It is at the coalescence of the aforementioned political, social and economic factors that active 'identity' articulation takes place, both those that are advanced and those that are suppressed. The foregrounding of race and the racial cannot be ignored. Bentley and Habib (1998: 9) are of the opinion that in new ideological structures promoted by the state, including by politicians from the anti-apartheid movement, '...socially constructed racial identities constitute the cultural blocs on which society is configured'. The use of racially stratified categories for defining 'identity' have been criticised by many including Khehla Shubane (1995, cited in Bentely & Habib, 1998: 9) who observes that such fixed concepts can result in the development and justification of an elite within disadvantaged groups. Yet such conceptions of 'identity' can still be seen and the the work of Jane Starfield and Michael Gardiner (2000) alludes to this in their analysis of the manner that concepts of citizenship emerge and manifest in the context of the local community and government in Soweto. They argue that the discontinuity of 'identity' among local residents led to conflict with local government. It is an 'identity', they suggest, informed by the apartheid creation of artificial geographical spaces based on essentialist ethnic 'identities'. These 'identities' became synonymous with disempowerment and subordination, which finds fertile ground for expression in contemporary conflict between government and citizens.

Pallo Jordan (2000:66) suggests that constructive debate around economics politics and culture will only occur accompanied by an understanding of how so many such discussions are reduced to simplistic racial dichotomies. Starfield and Gardiner (2000:70) underscore the irony evident in South African society in that the majority of the population have been disempowered and consigned to marginal and minority positions in culture. This is a central consideration when attempting to assess a sense of national 'identity', especially within popular discourses and cultural forms such as sport.

Janis van der Westhuizen (2008: 45) argues that many of the representations of South African 'identity' are advanced by the state and political elites. He suggests that this occurs with the use of major sporting events and celebrity achievement for the purpose of reconstructing 'identity'. This reconstruction takes the form of translating official policy into popular culture, seen as a more accessible form of communication. The 1995 Rugby World Cup held in South Africa is one such example, as van der Westhuizen (2008: 51) illustrates:

> With its leitmotif of bringing the 'world in union' and the 'Rainbow Nation', free from the vestiges of apartheid, the choice of governmental support for a sport that historically symbolized the interests of whites played centrally into the transition discourse on reconciliation.

National 'identity' construction and articulation is also never a static process and is often very particular to an historical locus. Generally the concept of national 'identity' is not bound by singularity and is not essentialist by nature. Naturally certain symbols, myths and discourses may dominate, but they are often an amalgam. This is upheld by Bentley and Habib (2008: 10), "National identities are by their very definition always holistic, incorporating other more particularistic identities". For them the single most critical factor in determining a national dimension to 'identity' or South Africaness, is human agency, a conscious decision of self-definition.

The allusion to conscious self-definition by Bentley and Habib, is tempered by the work of Steven Robins (2005) who looks at the concepts of citizenship and culture in a post-apartheid context. His debate hinges on the notion that although political and economic changes have occurred, they have not significantly filtered down to the periphery and marginal spaces of society. It is marginalised 'identities' which Robins (2005: 6) says occupy ambiguous positions in the public sphere and are seldom allowed platforms for expression. Robins (2005:2) position can be seen in his identification of limitations relating to South Africa's democracy:

> A particularly sobering aspect of the South African transition to democracy has been the growing recognition that, while South Africa has one of the most progressive constitutions on the planet, the actual realisation of these constitutional rights has not lived up to expectations. Although there have been considerable gains in terms of 'first generation' human rights – political and civil rights, such as freedom from

> discrimination on the grounds of race, gender, sexual orientation, religion etc. – the same cannot be said concerning the realisation of 'second generation' socio-economic rights.

A discernible trend in numerous of the studies and analyses mentioned is the highlighting of race and cultural stratification, with particular reference to the apartheid racial classification system, and the foregrounding of the politicised nature of 'identity' in South Africa. In essence the spectre of apartheid looms large in the imaginings and musings on post-apartheid 'identity'. Such approaches are valuable in that they illustrate some key considerations when considering post-apartheid national 'identity' and contextualise the discussion by grounding it within certain parameters, for example visual culture or the socio-economic sphere. However, this being said, to a certain extent such debates neglect to address how 'identity' is represented, constructed and fixed in distinct contexts within South Africa. Further, in certain cases the inferences that can be drawn from the studies related to 'nationhood' and 'identity' are limited because this aspect is often a secondary concern, with minimal attention given to its possible fluidity, and influenced by what can be described as an element of racial determinism. The SASI study draws on the perspectives outlined in the literature, but also attempts to address aspects which are underdeveloped, most notably by placing primary emphasis on national 'identity' in a definite context. Further, the reading, analysis and comparison of popular and institutional texts adds an alternate perspective to the study which may explicate issues that have remained somewhat unexplored, particularly how national 'identity' is constructed within specific discourse. The literature brings to the fore notable elements of 'nationhood' and the 'nation' namely cultural symbolism and imagined heritage.

2.2.3 South African sport

Sport and its social, political and cultural positioning/functioning within South African society are central to the inquisition of national 'identity'. Sport has been appropriated into various discourses aimed at fostering 'nation building' and jingoism in contemporary South Africa. In addition, sport has become a site of discursive disagreement and contestation. Some have argued that it has become the barometer of South African reconciliation, democracy and social redress. This point is made by Ashwin Desai (2010: 2) who posits that although the 1995 Rugby World Cup represented an active harnessing of and re-appropriation of oppressive national symbols, namely Springbok rugby, it also heralded the start of robust debate as to the development and trajectory of sport in the country. Desai says (2010: 2),

"...the challenge of redress and change would see sport become, over the next decade and a half, an arena of intense engagement and contestation." This included political policy formation, social debate and the production of cultural capital through sport.

Desai is of the opinion that two broad approaches can be discerned. The first is that of transformation that emphasised the restructuring of both sport and society, with broad based mass empowerment. The second, being that of reconciliation with the aim to encourage cooperation with a view to integration into the world economy. In other words, an environment must be created in which investment and economic growth is facilitated. It is the latter option that Desai argues came to prominence. He further suggests that the focus on macroeconomics has simply entrenched an already fragmented sporting landscape that became increasingly divided along class lines. He is however quick to note that this binary is a simplistic representation and that many nuances exist that should be explored, including that of changing race, gender and class configurations (2010: 7). He illustrates this with Goolam Vahed (2010: 176-215), with a comprehensive analysis of South African cricket charting the development programme of the United Cricket Board of South Africa and transformation targets for the South African national team and the intricacies of each. One cited example is that of the increasing rift developing between the 'mass participation' approach to transformation and that of established, more elite schools producing cricketing talent. Desai and Vahed (2010: 188) sum this up by saying:

> Should there be a rethink on the use of elite schools, and perhaps the establishment of cricket 'homes' in Soweto and other townships across the country where well resourced schools are also established?

Undoubtedly such issues warrant attention and importantly play a role in forming concepts of 'identity' via sport. The initial post-apartheid rhetoric and proposition of the 'equal access to opportunities' would need serious introspection and revision. It is at the intersection of such discourse that individual 'subjects' are cast and vie for meaning within institutions, society and the cultural lexicon.

Ashwin Desai and Devarsha Ramjettan (2008:289) explore the imbrications of sport and politics by examining how the two have been combined and their relationship to citizenship. This is done with particular reference to laws and policies aimed at addressing historical inequality. They suggest that the imposed racial identity seen under the apartheid regime is still evident in the post-apartheid state and in the project of the 'rainbow nation'. Desai and

Ramjettan reference Massimo d'Azeglio;s (1996:257) famous quote relating to Italy , which posited that once Italy had been created it would be necessary to create Italians. In South Africa the project draws similar parallels. However, as Desai and Ramjettan (2008:289) point out, it occurs with added considerations:

> In South Africa given the history of apartheid, the making of South Africa is not a process of simply developing a national consciousness but is also overlaid with policies of redress designed to confront the legacy of the past.

Such policies are particularly evident in sport, with re-aligning and transforming sport to be more reflective of the racial demographics of the South African population. Desai and Ramjettan acknowledge that this has natural implications for the nation-building project and senses of 'identity'. For them the laws that inform policy production aimed at sport transformation insist upon using race as a form of affirmation rather than class. This they say has resulted in policies that are effectively beneficial only at the middle and upper levels of South African society.

In addition, the use of race based quotas in sport has itself resulted in a dialectic that serves to add further complexity to discourses of the 'nation' and 'identity'. Desai and Ramjettan hold the opinion that the use of quotas for the composition of national teams has produced a polemic which pits the supporters and opponents of the policy against one another. The former promulgate the argument that the non-selection of players from historically disadvantaged backgrounds amounts to discrimination, while those in opposition advance the idea that 'quota players' are of lesser skill and as such disadvantage the team in competition. Critically what the debate brings into focus is the reliance on racial categories promoted under apartheid as the barometer of transformation and an apparent shift in 'identity'. Desai and Ramjetta believe that race will always likely be the 'litmus' test for transformation. However, by highlighting and re-articulating notions of 'otherness' and 'difference' a fractured sense of the 'nation' begins to take shape and is intimately connected to centres of political power.

This point is brought into contrast by Erasmus (2001), who argues race to be omnipresent. Erasmus (2001:392) says, "It [race] is always there because, whether we like it or not, we are still living in the shadow of the history of colonialism, segregation and apartheid, and their cultural and political aftermath". Desai and Ramjettan (2008:304) suggest that the privileging or race, especially in sport, will likely remain due to the influence of the growing

black middle class constituency, with an emphasis placed on race, that underpins the ANC led governments political power. It is, according to Desai and Ramjettan, sometimes a 'commonality of class interest' in a sport that drives conceptions of citizenship and 'identity' in post-apartheid South Africa rather than the marker of race. They point out that in other cases, like mass-sports, a sense of commonality may result from a celebration and acknowledgment of masculinity when a national team achieves success.

The idea of developing a collective 'identity' through sport is a prominent feature of post-apartheid political and cultural discourses. Ashwin Desai (1998:314) critiques one such site of construction, in the form of football and South Africa's integration into the international football community. This integration occurred at the same time as European leagues were developing an international market for football, both for players and supporters. For Desai the central question remains whether or not the concept of the 'global player' implicates the influence and power of national narratives, especially those related to 'identity'. Desai introduces the concept of cosmopolitanism which inherently suggest a loosening of the influence of the nation-state to a more global arrangement of free trade and liberal democracy.

The idea of a cosmopolitan global society would seem to Desai to be rather naive and idealistic, a point he shows is supported by Mouffe (2005: 106 cited in Desai, 1998:314):

> To believe in the possibility of a cosmopolitan democracy with cosmopolitan citizens with the same rights and obligations, a constituency that would coincide with 'humanity' is a dangerous illusion. If such a project were ever realised, it could only signify the world hegemony of a dominant power that world have been able to impose its conception of the world on the entire planet and which, identifying its interests with those of humanity, would treat any disagreement as an illegitimate challenge to its 'rational' leadership.

For Desai, football and its governance on a global level, alludes to a hegemonic arrangement of power, with Europe and International Federation of Association Football (FIFA) at its centre. It represents a highly unequal distribution of resources and power. Thus, players and supporters appear to form part of neo-imperial project with sport as the main commodity, in which their 'identity' is subsumed within the wider hegemonic discourse.

It is in the language used to frame the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa, says Desai (1998:329) that such relations of power lucidly reveal their presence. Desai speaks to this, "While the bid was proposed as 'Africa's turn', the language by leading commentators quite easily sought to divide the continent between 'real' African and 'pseudo' Africans. Sport and in particular football represents a space controlled by those with control of discourse and the accompanying capital resources. Nauright (2004:1334) makes this point,

> ...it is clear that the international organisation and presentation of sport serves the interests of global, national and local elites – the cosmopolitans. Sports spectators are increasingly removed from the sporting product...

It follows then that the representation of the global citizenry of football is merely a vigilantly tended construct used to promote the interests of a minority, in which players are commodified and supporters are consumers reinforcing inequality. Representations often employ over simplified and essentialist markers of national 'identity' are harnessed such as the Vuvuzela in South Africa and the tri-color of France. For Desai, global football is equivalent to global apartheid (2008:333), which has implications for both the concept of the 'nation' state and its incarnation of collective 'identity', which in the case of South Africa includes the hyper-racialised and ethnic identities.

The position of sport within the South African cultural narrative is well illustrated by the book, *Invictus*, by John Carlin. In it he investigates and highlights the positioning of the 1995 Rugby World Cup held in South Africa within the context of political change and transition. He suggests that it represents a critical juncture in the mediation of memory and 'collective identity' in South Africa. The central tenet is that former President Nelson Mandela had identified the tournament as an opportunity to entrench his 'rainbow nation' discourse and instigate a process of 'identity' creation, sans the rigid racial classification system that had afflicted apartheid. However, in order to do so he would have to make use of these manufactured 'identities'. He would endorse and then repatriate the negative symbolism of South African rugby, namely that of a white dominated, discriminatory and exclusory sport, with the inclusivity of 'multicultural' South Africa. In so doing Mandela acknowledged the social prominence of sport and implicated it as implicit in 'identity' creation. Carlin (2008: 4) illustrates this point:

> ...he explained first how he had first formed the idea of the political power of sport while in prison; how he had used the 1995 Rugby World Cup as an instrument in the

> grand strategic purpose he set himself during his five years as South Africa's first democratically elected president. To reconcile blacks and whites and create the conditions for lasting peace....

This is a point that is reiterated by David Black and John Nauright (2008), who chart the course of South African rugby history with credence given to its role in defining discourses of power and dominance, within various contexts. This includes within post democratic South Africa where they explore the role of sport in the 'nation building' project and the symbolism of sport in the political dialectic of South Africa. In her review of the work, Zine Magubane (1998: 225) states:

> The analysis they offer of the complexities of the relationship between sports and the consolidation of national unity is a finely nuanced rendering of the immense potential for nation building contained in the symbolic politics of sport and victory....

Goolam Vahed (2001) further underlines the role of sport in the process of post-apartheid 'identity' casting, in his analysis of the cricket match fixing scandal of former national captain Hansie Cronje. Vahed (2001: 260) highlights the emphasis placed on sport by the South African government, especially the recognition of its political symbolism, while contrasting this with the 'racial identity politics' that coalesced during the investigation and hearings. He argues that the divisive 'racial' classifications of colonialism and apartheid still figured prominently, which extended to media coverage of the event. Further, Vahed (2001: 275) says that despite the national symbolism of sport and 'collective memory' paradigm promoted the contradictions and inequality of post-apartheid South African society, "...is perpetuating and creating separatist identities and making it difficult to forge a united national culture, notwithstanding the attempt to use sport for the 'mythic enactment' of a collective South African identity."

Norbert Kersting (2007) postulates similarly to Vahed, in relation to national 'identity', sport and the South African hosting of the 2010 World Cup. He highlights the role of 'nation building' in the construction national 'identities', but, is quick to point out the complexities involved. Kersting (2007: 287) states:

> South Africa has one of the most complex national identities. Different current identity narratives exist. Mostly the divisions between the 'self' and 'the Other' are

> regarded as a phenomenon within the country characterised by cleavages in ethnicity and race...

Kersting notes that sport remains a key component of articulated South African 'nationhood', despite the inherent heterogeneity of the society. He suggests that the use of patriotism generated by sport, especially large events, should be directed towards distinct strategies of positive social change and 'identity' creation. Kersting is supported in his claims of the political significance of sporting events by David Black (2007: 261), who highlights the role of such events in the promotion of symbolic politics and the signalling of narrative change. It is, in his view, the perfect platform to instigate political strategy, however, this is not without its pitfalls, which can include uneven distribution of resources and obfuscated rhetoric.

Finally, there is the added dimension of 'identity' negotiation via sports media itself. Jurgeir Fjeld (2000:393) explores the interaction and relationship between sport, marketing and their active participation in attempting to construct notions of post-apartheid South African 'identity'. Fjeld uses the example of the 1998 FIFA World Cup, the first football world cup South Africa had participated in, and the manner in which it was framed and presented by the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC). Fjeld draws on Eric Hobsbawn's theory of invented national traditions, suggesting that the 1998 World Cup was seen as an opportunity to construct such traditions and develop new iconography and symbolism representative of the post-apartheid 'nation'.

Fjeld focuses on the broadcast of South Africa's opening match against France, which he calls the 'moment of symbolic dissemination'. Fjeld's analysis brings to the fore the incorporation of symbolic tropes drawn from the discourse and ideology of the 'rainbow nation' during the broadcast. He cites the rhetoric of the presenters as an element of symbolic inscription, highlighting the fact that during the broadcast the use of the collective noun 'we' and 'our boys' referring to the national football team and fans alike was frequently used. Fjeld (2000: 395) argues that this dismantles the separation between the two groups and adds acquiescence to the idea that national football team embodies the 'nation'. The game was therefore framed as a national collective dialogue and activity which transcended the boundaries of space and time calling into being a 'community'.

Fjeld also points out that the broadcast also included advertisers and he (2000:398) maintains an existent congruency exists between this narrative level and that of the SABC's framing of

the' national story'. The commercials broadcast during the course of the game did not uniformly appeal to the idea of the 'nation' as a central theme, but Fjeld suggests that more than half did. One example he notes is that of a stationery company that attempts to appeal to audiences by linking their product, a music tape, to the project of the 'new nation'. This is constructed, according to Fjeld, by the use of a prominent Kwaito artist and multiracial actors, ending with a proclamation of kwaito being the 'sound of the new South Africa'. This seemingly confirms the assertion of Blain, Boyle and O'Donnell (1993:45) who uphold that television perceives sport to be a way of growing audiences by 'forging points of identification with the viewer'.

Often, says Fjeld, there is an attempt to link the development of the 'nation' with a particular product or service. Fjeld insists that sport itself is not merely an idle conduit through which discourse passes, but engages in a mutually beneficial exchange which includes attracting supporters, audiences and players with politics and the market underpinning national narratives. In fact, Fjeld (2000:399) points out that viewer ratings appear to increase when national 'identity' is interpolated with sport and its symbolic dissemination via broadcast. He reiterates his perspective, "The alliance between nation and sport is motivated by the partner's common need for exposure."

Hundley and Billings (2009: 8) explore a similar issue in relation to American sport and related events, but their insights speak to and can be used within the South African context. They contend that there are a myriad of interpolated elements contributing to and framing the process of representation. These would include socio-political and cultural modes of address. In addition, the pervasive nature of sports media means that innumerable individuals are interacting with 'identity' constructions that may speak not only to nationality, race and gender but also to other aspects such as religion, sexual orientation, political beliefs and economic class. These may even adopt more simplistic binary forms, illustrated by the work of Michael Butterworth, where the framing of national 'identity' predicates the existence of the 'other'. Butterworth (2009: 149) illustrates this with reference to the American sport film *Miracle* in which he maintains that 'identity' is constructed around the representation of the former USSR as the symbolic other and nemesis of America, drawing on popular themes from the Cold War. Butterworth describes this approach as showing the Soviets as 'Godless, communist machines' whose primary aim is to threaten American society and culture. The ice hockey game between the two is narrated as a symbolic struggle for dominance in which the evil 'other' is heroically defeated.

2.2.4 Popular culture, cultural analysis and 'identity' in South Africa

Cultural analysis in South Africa, especially in the case of 'identity', requires vigilant monitoring of the historical legacy of the field, dominant political discourses and an intellectual flexibility to thwart the use of concepts that result in essentialist and ahistorical readings. Carolyn Hamilton speaks to this when discussing the development of public intellectual discussion in South Africa. Hamilton (cited in Nuttall & Michael, 2001: 15) says:

> ...terms masquerading as analytic categories frequently serve as racially charged labels and in which caricatures and categorisations in cultural debate lead to a defensive retreat from public intellectual engagement.

These pseudo-analytic categories, to which Hamilton refers, come to the fore in cultural debates and critique. One example is that of Okwi Enwezor, in his work relating to the development of a post-apartheid South African 'identity'. Enwezor (1997:23) states, "...the ability of the post-apartheid nation to imagine a new identity has to do with the ideological battle...over the control of the black body." He continues by positing that the project of the 'rainbow nation' is unsustainable due to the 'appropriation of the black body' by white artists. This not only foregrounds the use of race as a prominent signifier but also 'stymies' the debate into a limited stratified framework of race based identity politics (2000:22).

Robert Thornton introduces an alternative perspective for the direction of cultural study in post-apartheid South Africa. He proposes that its primary function is to critique possible hegemonic control of 'mass' or 'popular' culture especially in relation to ideological control of race, class, gender and nation (2000:29). The idea of 'popular' culture implies transience and fluidity and also a space in which 'identity' is negotiated and contested. As John Fiske says, "Popular culture is the culture of here and now, not of always and forever." However, 'popular' culture does not operate in an ahistorical vacuum without contextual touchstones. Articulations, practices and productions take place within a specific historical context that is subject to the influence of power, dominant discourses, political ideology and contested meanings within discourse.

Within the post-apartheid sphere a number cases of sub-cultural 'identity', in some cases previously marginalised forms, have been explored. Oren Kaplan's (2000) study of the performance art of Samson Mudzunga is one such example. Kaplan notes that although Mudzunga is both perceived by many and casts himself as occupying a position of cultural

marginality, he both resists and perpetuates this structure. For Kaplan, Mudzunga consciously positioned himself within the discourse of the 'rainbow nation' as a 'development agent' and ambassador for traditional African 'identity'. The work of Simon Stephens' (2000) interrogation of the emergence of kwaito music and Desiree Lewis's (2000) perspectives on the television game show Jam Alley are further examples of such 'identity' spaces. What both of their work shows is the emergence of ideas about 'new' South African 'identity' as constructed and represented in popular cultural forms. Stephens (2000:273) believes that kwaito music forged new notions of 'identity' especially in the context of urban black youth, with new channels of expression open for it to be developed and expressed. Stephens (2000:259) describes kwaito as a 'truly post-apartheid musical form' based on the 'capital manipulation of culture, commodity aesthetics and diversification'. Desiree Lewis (2000: 158) proposes that South African game shows, including Jam Alley, may not overtly incorporate prominent discourses but are marked by core social and cultural processes. Lewis also points out that the shows were broadcast within the context of a re-configured broadcasting landscape which aimed to provide more politically, linguistically and intellectually variable content. This was closely aligned to the 'rainbow nation' rhetoric and discourse. Both Lewis and Stephens highlight the multiplicity of' identity' and the adoption of cultural forms which may not be drawn from within a South African context, indicative of the re-induction of South Africa into the global cultural economy.

The intersection of numerous cultural forms can be seen as somewhat of a hallmark of spaces and sites of 'identity' articulation in post-apartheid South Africa. For the SASI examination this is of importance as the magazine represents a similar space, where cultural forms coalesce and interact, to articulate particular 'identity'. The benefit of the work of Kaplan, Stephens and Lewis for the SASI study is the acknowledgment and interrogation of the multi-faceted cultural spaces in which individuals operate in the post-apartheid era. It illustrates the changing morphology of 'identity' depending on context and the access to discourse. However, such studies do tend to focus on sub-identity spaces and do not incorporate the wider consideration of 'nationhood' and related discourses.

2.2.5 South African Magazine studies

Given that the SASI study focuses dominantly on the magazine as discourse and the prominence of certain representations, it would be remiss not to note the work which has been previously completed in the field. The study of magazines in the South African context is an established field with scholars focusing on various facets and elements present in magazine publications. There is however, a thematic and theoretical similarity in many of studies that have been conducted, with the primary focus being on race and gender.

The aforementioned is evident in the work of Vera Schneider, Kate Cockcroft and Derek Hook (2008) entitled *The Fallible Phallus: A discourse analysis of male sexuality in a South African men's interest magazine*. The study investigates the manner in which male sexuality is represented and constructed in Men's Health magazine in monthly feature articles that focus on sexual behaviour and practices. They note, "One area that has received both local and international attention is the way in which men, their bodies, and conceptions of masculinity are represented in various forms of media." (2008: 137). This observation is also applicable to work done analysing and discussing the construction of the female body in various media, which can be seen in the work of Tom Odhiambo (2008). Odhiambo's article *The Black Female Body as a 'Consumer and a Consumable' in Current Drum and True Love Magazines in South Africa*.

Lindsay Clowes also (2008) tackles the theme of male gender construction coupled with race in *Masculinity, Matrimony and Generation: Reconfiguring Patriarchy in Drum 1951–1983.* Clowes contention is that the Drum magazine perpetuated Western ideals of masculinity through the attempted challenging of prominent racial discourses present in South Africa. Clowes (2008: 179) states:

> I suggest that Drum's claim that black males were indeed men, was made through highlighting and condoning practices that demonstrated similarities and continuities between subordinate black and dominant white versions of manhood.

Antje Rauwerda (2007) shares a similar area of interest to Clowes. In Rauwerda's work, *Whitewashing Drum Magazine (1951–1959): Advertising Race and Gender*, he proposes that the advertising in Drum Magazine during the period attempted to represent an urban, modern

and energetic black culture in the context of apartheid. However, Rauwerda (2007: 402) is of the opinion that the articles and advertisements interacted to create messages imbued with racial content. He suggests that they asserted the idea of celebrating blackness while at the same time equating this with activities associated with white privilege.

It is not only the male form and masculinity that has received attention in the field of magazine research, but equally, the representation of women has also been addressed. Tom Odhiambo (2008) explores the idea that the female form in South Africa has been transformed into a commodity and part of modern consumerist culture. Odhiambo (2008: 71) draws on the work of Nuttall (2004: 431), who proposes that a hallmark of post-apartheid South African culture is the emergence of the 'consumption and presentation of the body', which she calls 'self stylization'. Nuttall also argues that literary texts, including magazines, play a significant role in shaping self-styling. She uses Y magazine as an example in reference to the development of a newly emerging black middle class 'identity' in post-apartheid South Africa. It is a position that is supported by Sonja Narunsky-Laden (2003: 1) who says:

> By promoting `aspired to', not necessarily `given' states of affairs, consumer magazines have provided valid ways for black South Africans to devise new ways of doing things in life, enabling them to access new resources and strategies directed at the social and individual production of selfhood.

For Odhiambo, Drum and True Love magazine are illustrative of the exploitation of the black female form in the way they have incorporated advertising aimed squarely at consumption, which manipulates the black female body. Odhiambo (2008: 72) states:

> Popular magazines such as Drum and True Love seem to have unquestionably accepted the role of purveyors of advertisements in which the black female body embodies both the value of the commodities that 'it' advertises, as well as offering itself as an object of consumption. The black female body is therefore used to promote consumption while it simultaneously becomes a consumable itself.

Annabelle Mooney makes a similar point in her paper (2008) *Boys Will Be Boys: Men's magazines and the normalisation of pornography*. It is her contention that men's magazines

have, in their representation of women, normalised pornography. She suggests that one of the key mechanisms used to do so is by making such representations 'normal' and 'usual' through interaction with the reader. This interaction includes the apparent legitimising of the representations as 'real'. Mooney (2008: 248) argues that it amounts to little more than objectification in which women are passive actors, indicative of hegemonic gender norms. Mooney (2008: 262) argues this point:

> Women are not represented as "fully social subjects" because they are not considered to be fully social subjects, even by publications produced for them. Women are not yet human and this is the central problem.

What the authors cited above illustrate is a certain orthodoxy of approach to analysing representations in South African magazines, with race and gender being dominant markers. This includes cases where 'identity' is discussed and analysed. This is certainly not to imply that the work is in any way flawed, but that the SASI study offers a slightly different perspective and may be able to contribute to the field in a positive way. The analysis of a popular media publication read in conjunction with institutional texts attempting to bring to the fore representations of national post-apartheid 'identity' is at present undefined in the literature. It is within this area of literature that the SASI study will be able to contribute.

2.2.7 Conclusion

In summation, the literature highlights certain key components of 'nationhood' and the 'nation'. These are the use and construction of cultural symbolism, heritage and practices to represent 'nationhood' and the inferred 'community'. The SASI study, as outlined in the theoretical framework, will draw more heavily on the modernist approach which asserts that the idea of the 'nation' is relatively recent and often forms part of state/institutional asserted discourses. This is the case in post-apartheid South Africa, which comparatively speaking is in the very early stages of national 'identity' construction. Further, the role of the media in the process is as an active contributor to the promulgation of distinct constructs of 'identity' which may or may not be congruent with those of institutional discourse as presented in official organisational documents.

Further, the literature alludes to a post-democratic South African ‘nation’ and ‘identity’ which is envisaged as dichotomous in which historical social fragmentation competes with an idealistic state discourse of multicultural inclusivity and underlying power relations, which comes to the fore in various contexts and guises. Factors such as race and class inequalities figure prominently as the chief proponents in negating ‘nation’ building and affecting a sense of South African ‘identity’.

The aforementioned literature demonstrate the positioning and prominence of sport within the political, social and cultural discourses present within post-apartheid South Africa and on a wider scale. Sport and its related activities are linked to concepts of ‘nationhood’ and ‘identity’ in various ways and illustrate the potential for conflict over meaning and articulation. What the texts do not however reflect is a critique of concurrent and intersecting discourses of sport in post-apartheid South Africa. Certainly allusion has been made to policies, ideology and laws, but a study at the intersection between popular and state/institutional discourse in South African sport is still undefined. It is in this way that the SASI study will attempt to provide insight and contribute to the body of work aimed at investigating cultural, political and social formations and the implications for ‘identity’ in South Africa.

2.3 Theoretical framework

2.3.1 Introduction

Due to the multifaceted nature of the study it is necessary to consult a number of key theories that can elucidate its core elements. Firstly, emanating from the cultural studies tradition is the seminal work of Stuart Hall (1997) on representation and signifying practices, with specific focus on the concept of the circuit of culture. Hall's insights are of particular interest for the study due to the prominent emphasis given to the concepts of representation and signification in the production of meaning.

Secondly, appropriate attention must be given to the theories and concepts of 'identity', drawing on the work of Louis Althusser, Jacques Derrida and Stuart Hall. The use of this combined approach is due to the fact that the concept of 'identity' itself is a contested space encompassing varied perspectives, meaning and interpretation. This is underlined by Paul du Gay (2007: 2) who describes the need to acknowledge that the term 'identity' is often employed as a blanket term that can obscure the large number of complex and context specific discussions that occur. Du Gay (2007: 3) points out that there are certain foundational theoretical strands all of which will be consulted for this study to provide a more holistic viewpoint on the concept of 'identity'. The first theoretical thread to which Du Gay refers is that of language, ideology and discourse, the second approach is that of psychoanalysis, with the third being a socio-historical focus.

Lastly, given that a significant aspect of the study incorporates the idea/concept of 'nation' and 'national identity', there is a necessity to consult pertinent theories of nationalism that focus on these central issues. In this light, the work and central thesis developed by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (1992), namely *The Invention of Tradition*, will be drawn upon. Their work provides the theoretical apparatus to investigate and discuss the development of a 'national culture' and the constituents thereof. In addition, the theory of 'national identity' and the 'nation', as proposed by Benedict Anderson (1983) in his thesis *Imagined Communities*, forms part of the core theoretical framework of the study.

2.3.2 Representation

Stuart Hall's proposition of the construction of meaning within the representational system of language and discourse provides a suitable and stable theoretical base for the study. His concept of the interactive 'circuit of culture', *Figure A,* illustrates in an overarching manner, the complex interplays at work that contribute to the process of meaning production. Hall (1997: 1) posits that culture is inextricably linked to and constructed by 'shared meanings'. It is at the sites of representation and transmission of concepts and ideas, including that of 'identity', where these meanings oscillate and integrate. For Hall culture is constituted by processes and practices that enable the production of meaning/s. Hall (1997: 2) highlights this point by saying, "Primarily, culture is concerned with the production and exchange of meanings – the 'giving and taking of meaning' – between members of a society or group." This too, is a central tenet of the study, in that the meaning/s emanating from South African sport as 'culture' produced by certain practices may actively contribute to the construction of the perception of a South African 'identity'. Hall also points out that 'shared meaning/s' are by no means rigid and singular, they are in fact fluid and multiple. In other words, there are many ways in which representation and construction can be viewed and thus internalised as meaning.

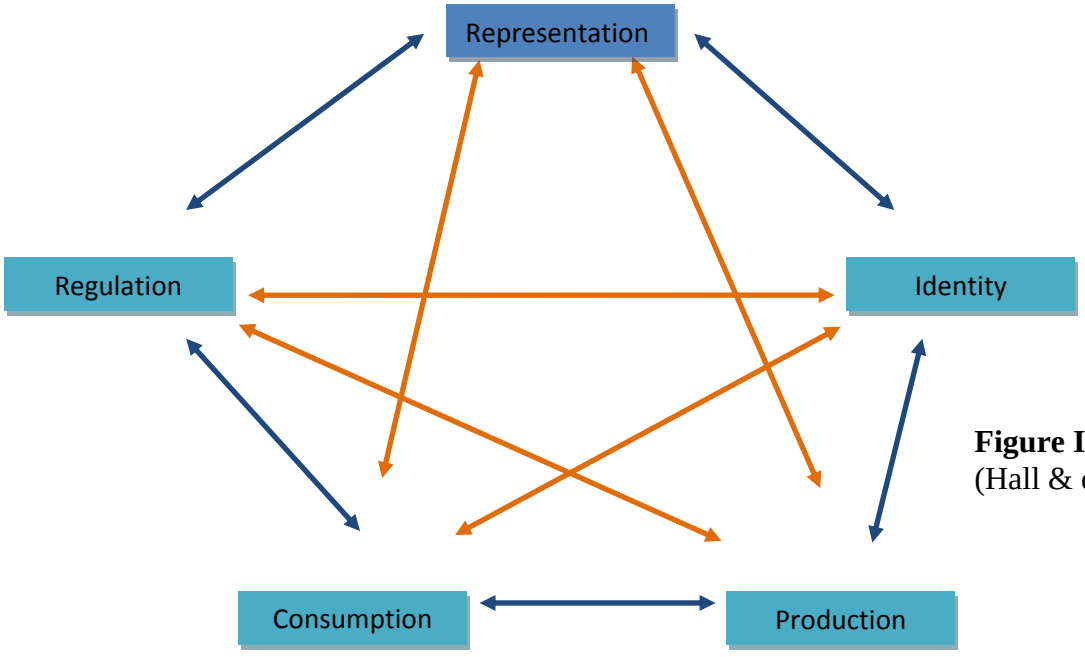


Figure IV: The circuit of culture (Hall & du Gay *et al*, 1997)

As the circuit of culture suggests there are many areas and sites of meaning production and in some cases these may be fraught with discordance and conflict or in others stability and

consensus. Much depends on the context and the nature of the relationship of the producer and recipient. Hall (1997: 3) articulates the influence that this may have on 'identity' by saying:

> Meaning is what gives us a sense of our own identity, of who we are and with whom we 'belong' – so it is tied up with questions of how culture is used to mark out and maintain identity within and difference between groups.

This 'identity' may and can exist at all points of meaning production within the circuit of culture each of which may influence the other. Essentially, the study of SASI is an exercise in investigating how, where and in what form this may occur in relation to an extrapolated South African national 'identity'. This includes the analysis of symbolic practices that speak to and may influence the production and interpretation of national 'identity'. As Hall (1997: 5) says:

> Indeed, it is difficult to know what 'being English', or indeed French, German, South African or Japanese, means outside of all the ways in which our ideas and images of national identity or national cultures have been represented. Without these 'signifying' systems' we could not take on such identities or indeed reject them and consequently could not build up or sustain that common 'life-world' which we call a culture.

Hall advocates an understanding and approach to representation that benefits from the insights of both the constructionist/structuralist conception of meaning, as articulated by Ferdinand de Saussure and Roland Barthes via semiotics, and the philosophical reconfiguration as explored by Jacques Derrida and Michel Foucault with the discursive approach. The study consults both theoretical concepts, within the blended framework advocated by Hall. Semiotics allows one to establish the parameters of basic representation via language and image, this can then be expanded to the analysis of discourse, discursive formations, power/knowledge and what Foucault describes as the 'regime of truth' (cited in Hall, 1997: 49). For Foucault, knowledge is linked to power, which permeates and operates at all levels of existence, and when the connection between the two is well established, leads to the development of authority and a claim to truth. Furthermore, he argues that this 'truth' could manifest itself in reality and confirm its own statement (cited in Hall, 1997: 49). This is important for the study in that it helps to interrogate possible preferred representations of 'identity' that are linked to powerful discursive positions that claim legitimacy or truth and

control knowledge pertaining to said 'identity'. Foucault introduces the idea of the 'regime of truth' as a discursive formation, which is not absolute, but maintains a claim to, or monopolised authority of 'truth'. This is illustrated by Foucault (cited in Hall, 1997:49) himself:

> Truth isn't outside power... Truth is a thing of this world; it is produced only by virtue of multiple forms of constraint. And it induces regular effects of power. Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics' of truth; that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true, the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned...the status who are charged with saying counts as true.

All the aforementioned factors and perspectives constitute the ingredients and system in which concepts of 'identity' are developed. Hall (1997: 2) speaks to this point by saying:

> In the semiotic approach, representation was understood on the basis of the way words functioned as signs within language. But, for a start, in a culture, meaning often depends on larger units of analysis – narratives, statements, groups of images, whole discourses which operate across a variety of texts, areas of knowledge about a subject which have acquired widespread authority.

Representational paradigms, which are used as 'libraries' of pre-determined reference for meaning, as by conceived of by Thomas Kuhn (1997: 78), are an important element in the conceptual framework of the study. The analysis of possible paradigms of representation may elucidate elements of 'identity' construction and presentation. Furthermore, the concept of the 'other' described and discussed by Stuart Hall and most notably by Edward Said in his seminal text *Orientalism* (1978) introduces the notion of limited and restrictive 'identity' representation. This restrictive 'identity' is particularly notable in relation to racial representation and the production of what Hall (1997: 228) describes as, 'preferred meaning' or the construction of meaning for a particular recipient. This may include stereotyping as a practice of representation, which emanates from a position of power where access to discourse is controlled.

2.3.3 Identity

Identity representation and construction is a pivotal element of the study. This requires a meaningful engagement with and consultation of the work of theorists on the topic. Informing this consultation is the idea of 'textual determinism' in which the 'identity' represented by both the publication and organisational documents through content selection and structure is a critical factor. Louis Althusser approaches the topic of 'identity' in manner consistent with textual determinism highlighting the importance of language, ideology and discourse. Althusser (2007: 33) explores the concept of individuals as subjects via ideology. More specifically, that of the duplicate mirror- structure of ideology and the interpellation of individuals as subjects. The premise of his perspective is that ideology exists because of the subject and whom it subjects. Ideology can only operate in a context where a defined subject 'category' exists.

Althusser (2007: 33) states, "...all ideology hails or interpellates concrete individuals as concrete subjects, by the functioning of the category of the subject." This relates directly to notions of 'identity' in that the subject who is 'hailed' will acknowledge the subject category and thus form an understanding of their position or self. In essence, ideology acts as the enlister, the individual subject enlists with minimal autonomy present, develops understanding of self and subsequent submission to this understanding. This happens simultaneously and perpetuates the overall process functioning of ideology. As Althusser (2007: 31) says, "In the interaction of this double constitution exists the functioning of all ideology, ideology being nothing but its functioning in the material forms of existence of that functioning." For the SASI study, Althussers' model is used to assess the ideological propositions made by the publication, as well as within the state and organisational discourses, and subsequently how these affect the casting and hailing of the 'subject' and who the ideal hailed 'subject' is. The mode of address shapes which 'subject/s' are called to participate in the prescribed exchange.

A socio-historical slant on the concept of 'identity' is employed by the study and introduced by Michel Foucault. Foucault (cited in Hall, 1997: 49) proposes the idea of discursive practice/formations in their relation to the production of knowledge and power, within a given context. For Foucault, discourse is a system of representation that, through practices and rules, produces meaning. Further, discourse controls the manner in which one is able to talk about a particular subject and knowledge of the subject in a given historically specific

context. Although much of his work aimed to explore the institutional functioning of the aforementioned, its validity for the study of 'identity' remains useful. Foucault's work allows for the examination of the representation of 'identity' as manufactured within a given discourse, relative to both power and knowledge within an historical context. Foucault's work speaks to illustrating how knowledge and meaning produced by discourse creates a positioning for the subject, in the case of the SASI and organisational discourses, the ideal South African sportsman/woman/citizen standing for South African national 'identity'. Thus, one can only understand the discourse if one is part of it and subject to its power. Hall (1997: 56) makes this point:

> Individuals may differ as to their social class, gendered, 'racial' and ethnic characteristics (among others), but they will not be able to take meaning until they have identified with those positions which the discourse constructs, subjected themselves to its rules, and hence become the subjects of its power/knowledge.

Stuart Hall (1990), following Foucault, offers a perspective on 'identity' that highlights its fluid and positional nature. For Hall 'identity' can never be stable and in the context of collective 'identity' even more so within modernity. Thus, collective 'identity' is conceived of differently according to a given context or as Hall (2007: 17) puts it, "...never singular but multiply constructed across different, often intersecting and antagonistic, discourses, practices and positions". In addition, these 'identities' often come to the fore institutionally and are indicative of prevalent power relations. For Hall, both collective and individual 'identity' is marked by differentiation and contested meaning.

Emanating from the language, ideology and discourse tradition of thought on the concept of 'identity' is Jacques Derrida. Derrida interrogates 'identity' with his proposition of 'Différance'. Derrida links the idea of difference as temporization and difference as spacing (2007: 87). Using the work of Ferdinand du Saussure he underlines the idea of language as being a system of differences, with difference existing both as an element of language exchange and as an effect of this exchange. Derrida points out that difference within language does not spontaneously materialise in complete form, but oscillates between inscription and prescription. Derrida (2007: 87) states clearly, "Différance is the nonfull, non-simple, structured and differentiating origin of differences." In other words, an element is constituted by what it is not, carries the mark of its past and already allows for interpretation of what it may be in the future. In addition, Derrida (2007: 87) argues that differences are the result of

the production and deferral by différance, which are both spacing (space of time), for the present to be itself, and temporization (time of space). He suggests hypothetically therefore that 'identity' and awareness of self only come into being within the inscription of language and différance. He also puts to rest the notion of independent consciousness to the subject by saying (2007: 92):

> Just as the category of the subject cannot be, and never has been, thought without the reference to presence as hupokeimenon or as ousia, etc., so the subject as consciousness has never manifested itself except as self-presence. The privelege granted to consciousness therefore signifies the privilege granted to the present.

Identity and concepts of self are inextricably bound by the system of language and signs within discourse. Discourse in this case is used in its linguistic conception. The 'subject' cannot be present simply to itself and requires difference, or, in other words, the play of differences within the system to exist. Derrida underlines this point (2007: 92), "Thus one comes to posit presence – and specifically consciousness, the being beside itself of consciousness - no longer as the absolutely central form of being but as a 'determination' and as an 'effect'." Derrida's insights are applicable to the study in the sense that they point to the fluidity of both the construction and representation of 'identity'. Further, Derrida's concept provides an interpretative framework for 'identity' that sees it as essentially determined and effected by discourse.

The work of Althusser, Foucault and Derrida help to locate and focus the analysis of 'identity' as presented in SASI and proposed by official organisational documents. Both refer to the importance of symbols and signs in marking 'identity' and both emphasise the contextual nature of the operation of such codes. Drawing on these concepts clarifies how and in what context SASI, state and organisational discourses produces certain cultural cues/symbols and 'différance' that contribute to a version of South African national 'identity'.

Taking into account all aforementioned perspectives on representation and 'identity' a number of key factors are clear. Both representation and 'identity' are intimately connected to the context of their creation, the power relations of that context and are marked by difference and fragmentation as a result. The result of this instability is that at any given point one catches as glimpse of a manipulated conception of 'identity' that is already in a state of flux. The study aims to analyse how the publication looks to fix the construction of one such

'identity' as presented by SASI and in the discourse of the organisational documents, with an acknowledgement given to unstable and transient nature of 'identity'.

2.3.4 Nationalism and 'national identity'

Another tenet and consideration of the study is the exploration of the concept of a 'nation' and the manifestation of 'national identity'. As a result it is necessary to make use of and include theories of nationalism and the 'nation' that specifically deal with the aforementioned issues. The two most prominent of these, both within a modernist framework, are the work of Benedict Anderson (1991) and Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (1992). Both explore the manner in which the 'nation' and 'national identity' may be formed, produced, reproduced and articulated.

Benedict Anderson (1991) is a prominent advocate of the modernist perspective on the 'nation' in his work *Imagined Communities*. At the core of his thesis is the idea that the 'nation' developed as a modern phenomenon from the dissolution of traditional societal structures and communities within modernity. This dissolution included the transformation of culturally embedded socio-cultural structures, most prominent of which were religious communities and the dynastic monarchy. In addition, print innovation allowed individuals to conceive of themselves, most notably via standardised language, in new ways and created the necessary channels for transmission of collective 'identity'. This, say Delany and O' Mohany (1994: 92), speaks to the most basic of human needs and is the primary premise of society itself. For Anderson (1991: 4) the 'nation' is a social construct and 'nation-ness' is itself a cultural artefact that is actively brought into being within history.

Anderson (1991: 5) says of the 'nation, "It is an imagined political community and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign." Anderson's referral to imagination speaks directly to his proposition that to a certain extent people perceive of themselves and construct their 'identity' based on belonging to a created sovereign community, abstractedly defined. He maintains this to have deep cultural roots, which include bureaucratic administration, geography and most importantly the creation of standard vernacular language. Critically, with language and the technical means for its reproduction, namely books, newspapers and other publications introduced a more modern conception of simultaneity. This concept perceives time as constituted by both past and future in an instantaneous present (1991: 24). This allows for the development of a cognitive framework in which the act of reading

becomes ceremonial and individuals internalise the idea that their actions are replicated by others and hence the constitution of a 'community'. Anderson (1991: 35) makes this clear by proposing that reading, for example of a newspaper, re-assures people that the 'imagined' world represented via discourse is actually rooted in reality. This, contests Anderson, is a critical aspect of the modern 'nation' and 'national identity', especially in an era of rapid communication which has changed traditional social interaction between individuals. Following Anderson, the media, especially print media, would naturally form part of the mechanism of 'identity' representation. John Thompson (1995: 126) seemingly concurs in reference to the role of the media in the process of 'nation' creation saying that print publications allowed for the development of communities in which traditional face to face social interaction was no longer necessary and access to the public sphere was unhitched from the geographical constraints of location.

The work of Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (1992) in, *The Invention of Tradition*, follows a similarly modernist approach to the examination of national 'identity'. Hobsbawm says that nations are conceived of, understood and articulated based on certain accepted and incorporated fictional traditions promoted by the 'state' and subsequently adopted by 'citizens'. These 'traditions' are then interwoven into the socio-cultural fabric and thereby inform the assertion of 'identity'. Hobsbawm (1994: 76) reiterates this point:

> And just because so much of what subjectively makes up the modern 'nation' consists of such constructs and is associated with appropriate and, in general, fairly recent symbols or suitably tailored discourse (such as 'national history;), the national phenomenon cannot be adequately investigated without careful attention to the 'invention of tradition'.

In essence the 'state' fulfils the role of mediating and creating traditions for the purposes of fostering collective 'identity'. Hobsbawm refers to (1994: 83), 'founding acts of the new regime' that influence symbols and tradition as well as notions of 'nationhood' and citizenship. These can be common national experiences, events or 'state' endorsed discourse, all of which affect the concept of a 'nation' with a unified 'identity'.

Hobsbawm maintains that the institution of 'invented tradition' may derive directly in response to significant social, political and cultural change where people attempt to create relatively stable social forms. Importantly, he makes a clear distinction between custom and 'invented tradition', underlining that they are not equivalent. Traditions, including those that

are invented, are characterised by invariance and fixed formalised practices (1992: 2). Hobsbawm's model also suggests that 'invented tradition' is more likely to occur in situations where a rapid transformation within a society has occurred. This necessitates the formalization of new traditions, often initiated by a single influential individual, in order to facilitate the building and reproduction of new cultural forms. A contention of this study will be that such traditions were developed under South Africa's new democratic government and in some cases were intimately linked to sport, fragments of which may be present in the discourses to be analysed. Hobsbawn (1992: 14) is unequivocal in his assessment that 'invented traditions' are essential in relation to the idea of the 'nation' due to their connection to symbols, rituals, images and ceremonies that explicitly signal legitimate national membership. Hobsbawn (1992: 14) describes the 'invention of tradition' as social engineering that is 'both innovative and deliberate'.

2.3.5 Conclusion

This section has elucidated the theoretical concepts and traditions that have been drawn on during the course of the study. Three key areas of focus are identified, namely representation, 'identity' and the 'nation' / 'national identity'. Further, incorporating theoretical structures from different fields to facilitate a more holistic perspective and analysis is necessary. The critical fields are those of cultural studies, sociology, philosophy, discourse studies and history. The section has also briefly introduced and peripherally analysed the major concepts present within the theories and how these will be used and incorporated into the study. In the following chapter the sport governing organisations' documents are discussed and interrogated to explore the major discursive propositions with particular reference to 'identity'. The chapter focuses on the dominant conception of 'identity' and the manner in which this is achieved, including the establishment of legitimacy and power.

Chapter 3: The official administrative discourse

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will explore the major discursive propositions within key selected documents of the governing/ administrative bodies of the statistically most popular sporting codes in South Africa. In addition, the examination seeks to expose the dominant mode of representation of post-apartheid South African 'nationhood' and 'identity' as encapsulated in the casting of the organisations political and societal role as well as the positioning of the South African 'subject'. This will be achieved through the use of the socio-cognitive approach conceived by Teun van Dijk, as outlined in the methodology section of the study. Each organisations' documents are scrutinised simultaneously and concurrently under the aforementioned categories of van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach. This allows for a more salient discussion and comparison of the key texts and points to how the organisations frame the concept of 'nationhood' and the 'identity' of the athletic 'subject'. The documents selected from each organisation / governing body are similar in content and structure so as to provide consistency and a more accurate comparative study. For all of the sporting codes a text outlining a self proposed role, description and position for the governing establishment are consulted. These texts and discourses are closely related to and representative of an interpretation of state endorsed constructions of post-apartheid 'nationhood', most notably the thesis of the 'rainbow nation'. Peace Kiguwa (2006: 325) notes that it remains important to consider both the constructions of post-apartheid South African 'identity' and the way in which these are interpreted, the context of their production and what categories they may include or exclude.

The analysis will firstly look at the conscious and deliberate promotion of the organisations in the public space which aims to ensure the communicative appropriateness of the discourse. Following this, the chapter concentrates on the contextual aspects of the texts and how the governing bodies establish their legitimacy and dominant discursive position for articulation. Having investigated the architecture of discursive power the major themes and propositions, including ideological invocations, of the discourse are explored, highlighting the manner in which the governing bodies conceive of their role within broader South African society and how the post-apartheid socio-cultural landscape is presented. This establishes the parameters

for the expression and enunciation of South African 'identity', which is a crucial aspect of the study. The first major proposition addressed is the idea that both South Africa and the governing bodies are transformed entities and unified by virtue of their post-apartheid sphere of operation. Further, they are depicted as the custodians and representatives in society of such transformation. Secondly, the discourses bring to the fore a strong iteration of their post-apartheid context and the notion that affiliation with the key principles of the 'new' South African state, most notably the redress of inequality, is a pre-requisite for 'identity' and membership. In order for the governing bodies to underscore their power and relevance, sport is presented as a key cultural and political component of the 'new' South Africa indicative of the 'nation's' health. By assuming the role of guardian and owner of certain sporting codes the organisations bolster their position. The last major theme that comes to the fore is the presentation of South African sport, and by implication South Africans, as world class and at home within the international community, something denied to the country under apartheid. Taking into account all the themes, legitimating of the discourse and embedded discursive power, the chapter discusses what implications these may have for 'identity' and 'nationhood'.

3.2 Constructing the context for communication

With the unbanning of the ANC and the commencement of negotiations with a view to establishing South Africa as a multi party democratic state, the need to establish unified sporting structure became more pressing. The sporting sanctions that had prevented the country from participating in international competition were lifted and thus the administrative and political structures for the management of South African sporting codes needed to be either modified or newly created. The process not only required the construction of frameworks for administration but also the redress of the structural inequality within sport entrenched under the apartheid regime. Justin van der Merwe (2010: 146) notes that the race policies affecting sport became legislated in the 1950's in order to align with the apartheid government's primary policy of separate and unequal development. Thus, sporting competition involving teams and athletes of different races were banned and non-white participants were not allowed to represent South Africa in international competition. Government and corporate investment in sport was largely reserved for white participants, governing organisations and facilities. Over a period of 40 years, 30 of which saw the country banned from the international arena, South African sport was not only culturally and socially

divisive, but also artificially manufactured and demographically lopsided. Ashwin Desai (2010: 18) talks to this point saying," Apartheid rather than introducing segregation in sport, worked to codify and institutionalise these relations."

The prevailing inequality in South African sport certainly warranted attention during the negotiation and unification discussions. However, it was to a certain extent, relegated to a lesser status when tempered with the requirements of abrupt reintroduction to international competition. Van der Merwe (2010: 149) sums up the difficulties confronting both administrators and politicians during this period:

> On the one hand, they quickly realised the potential for sport and sporting events to elevate the country's profile internationally, and engage in some much-needed nation-building and developmental feats. On the other hand, it was clear that long-term structural measures would have to be implemented to make South African sport more representative of the nation as a whole.

Van der Merwe also argues that sport was given an 'inconsequential domain' during the negotiation process which meant that the entrenched imbalances simply passed unattended into the post-apartheid environment. Coupled with the aversion of certain administrators to shift political control, the adoption of a coherent transformative agenda stalled. Van der Merwe (2010: 149) describes the trend in post-apartheid sport as one of 'cosmetic forms of transformation' dominated by discourse, or viewed more cynically, a discursive advertorial aimed at placation rather than action.

It is not the intention of this study to discuss and debate the policies of transformation in sport or their relative success, but rather how the South African 'nation' and associated 'identity' is cast within the discourses proposed by the governing and administrative bodies of South Africa's most prominent sporting codes. However, it is necessary to properly contextualise the environment in which they were originally conceived and iterated. For Ashwin Desai and Ahmed Veriava (2010:28) it was a context in which a discontinuity of opinion and discourse surfaced, particularly within sports organisations that were merging under the banner of a democratic South Africa. Desai and Veriava characterise the position as one in which reconciliation was given precedence over redress while the opposing view questioned this modus operandi suggesting redress as a pre-requisite condition for reconciliation. Such tensions no doubt influenced the manner in which the competitor/ athlete were and are cast within governing body discourse and the representation of the respective sporting codes

within the public sphere, both locally and internationally. Sport provided the new South African dispensation with cultural and political capital to promote the 'ideal' ambassador of new 'nationhood' to an international audience.

Naturally it is important for the organisational texts to be communicatively appropriate and ensure that the discourse is not alien to the intended recipients. For the sport governing bodies' discourse the context of the communication covers two domains, namely that of political governance and that of sport as a cultural artefact/commodity. This is embedded in the wider environment of the post-apartheid South African state. The manner in which the texts are constructed, being both succinct and based on general overview, allows for a variance in local setting which may include the organisations' website, printed programmes, annual reports or corporate brochures. The organisation adopts the position of chief communicative agent promoting its legitimacy, political power and imperatives. These are to be understood in the context of the complex socio-political configurations of post-apartheid South Africa, including socio-economic and cultural inequality related to structural discrimination. The intended recipients of the text are not directly addressed but inferred as individuals who would have an interest in South African sport and culture with a view to possible investment through the 'correct channel'. Another implied reader is the 'new' South African 'citizen' who is asked to confirm the authenticity and official nature of the discourse while recognising the role of the organisations in transforming the 'nation' in which they reside. There is to a certain extent a presumption that the recipient would concur with opinions and positions held by the organisations on redress and their relative success in implementing such changes.

The overarching and variant themes that are presented in the texts allows for them to be understood within a number of discursive domains, including that of governance, democracy, globalisation, economics, justice and culture. The genre selected by the organisations is appropriate for the communicative situation, most notably the narrative prose and structure adopted. This is a more accessible and less formal way of presenting policy and governing principles. This also informs the lexical choices which in the case of the documents are suitable for the genre that is used. The propositional construction of the discourse allows for the primary communicative function, namely simultaneously stating and requesting the acknowledgment of the organisations' authority and post-apartheid legitimacy. The discourses do bare the characteristics of what Michel Foucault (1980 cited in Hall, 1997:49) would describe as the interdependency of knowledge and power as produced by discursive

formations. When considering the historical context of the documents and the position of the organisations the ability to control and dictate the structure of knowledge becomes apparent. Distiller and Steyn (2004: 1) argue similarly in relation to individual subjectivity, stating, "...the power to define is the power to create." This is true of the governing organisations who establish the parameters and demarcations of knowledge related to their activities, their sporting code/s and their role in South African societal transformation. There is an extent to which the text presumes and presupposes knowledge that may exclude certain recipients. This includes reference to South Africa's political transition, the architecture of the apartheid regime, the prevailing inequities of post-apartheid society, South African specific sporting events and policies aimed at redressing disparity such as Black Economic Empowerment (BBE) and the sporting team quota system. Critically, the absence of this knowledge acts favourably for the organisations as the recipient would have less information by which to assess their claims. Notably, especially with regards to redress and transformation, the organisations state intent of implementation, but no discussions or debate on flawed or failed strategy.

3.3 Establishing authority and ownership of sport

An appropriate locus to begin unpacking the dominant discursive trends of the organisations is to focus on documents proposing and describing their function and or role. These documents synthesise the central topics and themes presented by the speaker/s and or author/s. Some of the notable characteristics of the discourse found in the documents are the succinct nature of the prose and narrative structure they adopt. In many cases the documents are also seemingly designed to communicate in a number of differing communicative contexts, be they for the supporter of a given sporting code or a corporate brochure used to solicit financial investment. The descriptive categorisation of the discourse or consciously controlled topic/theme is also consistent between the various organisations, signalling the most critical information present within the text. In the case of this study the documents to be consulted are 'About CSA'[5] from Cricket South Africa, 'About SAFA: Introduction to the

[5] Unknown. 2011. About CSA. *Cricket South Africa*. [Online]. Available: http://www.cricket.co.za/csa_articles.aspx?id=1. [30 September 2011]. Appendix 2: pp.163.

South African Football Association'[6] from the South African Football Association, 'Rugby in South Africa'[7] as proposed by the South African Rugby Union and 'The history of SASCOC'[8] composed by the South African Sports Confederation and Olympic Committee.

The first major proposition and theme that emerges from the documents is a clear demarcation of the administrative and political jurisdiction, and hence legitimacy, of the organisation's sphere of operation. This is particularly notable in the CSA and SASCOC documents, where this is stated in the first paragraph of the text. Each represents itself as the sole and legitimate custodian and governor of the sporting code/s it is involved with. CSA intentionally covers all possible facets of the game so as to provide discursive closure, meaning that room for interpretation or questioning of authority is effectively quashed. This is illustrated by the statement, "Cricket South Africa (CSA) is the controlling body of all activities of the game in South Africa, both amateur and professional, and for men and women."[9] This is mirrored and iterated similarly by SASCOC who state, "The South African Sports Confederation and Olympic Committee (SASCOC) is the controlling body for all high performance sport in South Africa..."[10]. Not only do the statements attempt to underpin legitimacy but are also a patent marking of the distribution of power and the control of the discourse. It is the suggestion that the organisations are not only the custodians and guardians of the sporting codes they administer, but in fact the owners with the accompanying rights that this implies.

The approach taken by SARU in establishing a dominant discursive position and noting its sphere of operation is arguably more subtle than the CSA and SASCOC proposition. The semantic construction is carefully maintained and developed so as to imply the pivotal role of

[6] Unknown. 2011. Introduction to the South African Football Association. *The official website of the South African Football Association*. [Online]. Available: http://www.safa.net/index.php?page=introduction. [30 September 2011]. Appendix 2: pp.167.

[7] Unknown. 2011. Rugby in South Africa. *Official home of the springboks*. [Online]. Available: http://www.sarugby.net/content.aspx?contentid=19255. [30 September 2011]. Appendix 2: pp.165.

[8] Unknown. 2011. History. *The South African Sports Confederation and Olympic Committee*. [Online]. Available: http://www.sascoc.co.za/the-organisation/history/. [30 September 2011]. Appendix 2: pp.167.

[9] Unknown. 2011. About CSA. *Cricket South Africa*. [Online]. Available: http://www.cricket.co.za/csa_articles.aspx?id=1. [30 September 2011]. Appendix 2: pp.163.

[10] Unknown. 2011. History. *The South African Sports Confederation and Olympic Committee*. [Online]. Available: http://www.sascoc.co.za/the-organisation/history/. [30 September 2011]. Appendix 2: pp.169.

SARU in both the governance of the sporting code and contribution to South African sporting and political culture. SARU seeks to establish a rapport with the recipient/audience by casting itself as a partner to the game of rugby rather than an authoritarian or controlling figure. SARU represents itself as inextricably linked to rugby and certainly all the positive associations this denotes such as camaraderie, sportsmanship, teamwork and righteous battle. According to SARU this position not only entails looking after 'the game' but also making a valuable contribution to the socio-political development of post-apartheid South African society. In so doing SARU adopts the character of a heroic leader, pioneer and crusader for the rights of South Africans, which shores up the claim to both lawful control and power. This is epitomised by the statement, "Both the South African Rugby Union (SARU) and the actual game of rugby have been at the forefront of change on the South African sports scene over the past ten years..."[11]. SARU does not however elaborate in detail as to what sort of changes the organisation has been actively involved in. However, they do allude to their adaptive and evolutionary nature. This is, using the sporting trope 'playing field', in particular reference to changes and challenges in their environment of operation with an informed postulation that this likely refers to racial transformation in both governance and participant structures. A notable inclusion in the text is the reference to rugby as a sport that has attained consistent international success and is globally competitive. SARU state, "Rugby is also one sport in which South African teams compete with – and regularly beat – the top teams from around the globe"[12]. By its association with the game it aims to further bolster the perceived importance of SARU and represent the position of the organisation as superior to its counterparts.

The proposition of authority and legitimacy attained via the premise of being the sole proprietor of a sport also comes to the fore in the SAFA document. The semantic structure employed bares resemblance to that of SARU, however draws power and influence from a different source. SAFA seeks to align itself with the rhetoric and discourse of the anti-apartheid movement, signalling a distinct political affiliation espousing equality and democracy. SAFA represents itself as a product and creation of the negotiated unification

[11] Unknown. 2011. Rugby in South Africa. *Official home of the springboks*. [Online]. Available: http://www.sarugby.net/content.aspx?contentid=19255. [30 September 2011]. Appendix 2: pp.165.

[12] Unknown. 2011. Rugby in South Africa. *Official home of the springboks*. [Online]. Available: http://www.sarugby.net/content.aspx?contentid=19255. [30 September 2011]. Appendix 2: pp.165.

process of post-apartheid South Africa. As such the organisation is inherently validated and heralded as critical for the progression of South Africa's most popular sport. This is illustrated by the introductory sentence, "The South African Football Association was incorporated on 23 March 1991 following a long unity process that was to rid the sport in South Africa of all its past racial division."[13] This fits well with one of the dominant political discourse of the post-apartheid state in which nation-building and transformation with a view to equal representation and redress in society were brought to the fore. This is shown by Garth Stevens, Vijé Franchi and Tanya Swart (2006: 12), "The strategy adopted by the new dispensation was characterised by several efforts at aligning its policies and institutions within an overall ethos of non-racial national unity." SAFA portrays itself as an agent or institution actively involved in the process of transformation and responsible for the health of football, or as the text puts it,"... set South African football on the road to a return to international competition."[14]

Semantically the texts of each organisation include elements aimed at articulating the notion that the documents are both authentic and authoritative. Each organisation takes a semantic stance which aims to demarcate the boundaries of the discourse implicating contesting narratives or assertions as both peripheral and without endorsement. In the context of CSA, the choice of two words are central to this position, namely 'controlling' and 'supreme'. Although both are used to explicitly refer to the administrative and governance function of the organisation the implications are equally important. Claims to 'control' allude to notions of influence, power and official authority. When joined conjunctively with the clarification of 'supreme' the aforementioned assertions are solidified and bolstered significantly. Further, a self-description of being 'supreme' conjures up ideas of superiority, truth and quality as well exclusive and or ultimate knowledge. Being 'supreme' is a characteristic apportioned to CSA and therefore it is able to create a discursive environment in which the power of discourse rests almost exclusively with the organisation. The discursive direction is hence regulated and controlled via the established inalienable power developed by CSA.

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[13] Unknown. 2011. Introduction to the South African Football Association. *The official website of the South African Football Association*. [Online]. Available: http://www.safa.net/index.php?page=introduction. [30 September 2011]. Appendix 2: pp.167.

[14] Unknown. 2011. Introduction to the South African Football Association. *The official website of the South African Football Association*. [Online]. Available: http://www.safa.net/index.php?page=introduction. [30 September 2011]. Appendix 2: pp.167.

Similar markers can be distinguished in the SASCOC text through the use of the word ‘controlling’ in combination with a description of the extent of said control with the adjective ‘all’. The intimation is that the control and authority possessed by the organisation is pervasive and totalitarian. The reader/recipient is, to a certain extent, reduced to passivity as the participation within the discourse is strictly patrolled. SASCOC is therefore the chief narrator for both itself and the sports which it governs. A further element used by the organisation to promote a sense of textual authenticity is the inclusion of the word ‘protection’ as a description of one of its key functions. Although it is used in reference to sporting symbols and emblems, which appeal to certain essentialist conceptions of national identification, it casts SASCOC as patriotic and, in a sense, heroic. The result is that the organisations’ implied power appears to emanate from a sincere and legitimate source while at the same time removing the negative connotations associated with control such as authoritarianism or fascism. Less overt selections are made by SARU to communicate a similar sentiment. By prefacing the document with reference to the Springboks as the ‘national team’ and directly referencing potential readers as supporters the organisation co-opt authority. It is a strategy that relies heavily on the contemporary connotative meanings that Springboks invoke, including that of prominent player in transformation and nation building based on the well cited 1995 World Cup tournament and victory. As the ambassador and official representative of the Springboks, SARU fulfils the criteria of chief discursive practitioner. SAFA imply the authenticity of their discourse through the choice of one decisive word, namely that of the attributive noun ‘consensus’. The attribution is to the formation of SAFA and in so doing embeds authority by virtue of a general agreement and judgement to do so. Consensus additionally denotes and references a component of democratic governance, specifically the right to exercise power based on the endorsement of majority approval.

3.4 Constituents of the organisational 'identity' thesis

3.4.1 We represent a transformed and unified South Africa

With the laying of the powerful base structure of legitimacy and discursive dominance the organisations are able to iterate further propositions as the chief textual orator. The second major theme that is communicated by all four organisations is that of both their role in and connection to the unification as well as transformation of sport. This extends not only to the sporting codes but implies a wider socio-political operation or programme aimed at rectifying structural inequality. This is to be expected, perhaps even a pre-requisite for operation, of organisations borne of South Africa's negotiated dismantling of the apartheid dispensation. Ashwin Desai and Ahmed Veriava (2010: 51) make this point in relation to Swimming South Africa:

> Much of the transformation taking place within SWIMSA is reflective not only of South African sport generally, but also emergent social struggles of post-apartheid South Africa that revolve around the search for a balance between immediate demographic representivity in all social spheres, including sport, and the building of the necessary infrastructure for the sustainable transformation of society.

The aforementioned proposition is contained in the second paragraph of the CSA document, which illustrates its perceived importance. Not only does CSA describe the formation of the body from the unification process, but also cites well known political figures such as future South African president Thabo Mbeki as being centrally involved. The intention of the inclusion is seemingly to promote the notion that CSA is well placed to fulfil its mandate, given the stature of those who contributed to its development. A significant aspect of this mandate, as articulated by CSA, is that of redress and racial transformation within the sport, something that CSA points out stating, "It brought to an end and a process of enforced separation on racial grounds that had existed for well over a century..."[15] CSA underline the inequality or racial separation against which they rally by citing an example of the discrimination it engendered. This is done by relating the story of Krom Hendricks, a

[15] Unknown. 2011. About CSA. *Cricket South Africa*. [Online]. Available: http://www.cricket.co.za/csa_articles.aspx?id=1. [30 September 2011]. Appendix 2: pp.163.

cricketer who was denied the opportunity to represent South Africa due to his race at the end of the nineteenth century. This discursive inclusion is used to appeal to the recipient to recognise both the human character of the discrimination and the significant duration of such practices of exclusion. Further, it is to highlight the position of CSA as the guard against such practices and the builder of a new environment for cricket. This line of argument and proposal is continued within the CSA document where it is stated, "How different South Africa's cricket history might have been had Hendricks' inclusion been permitted. It would have provided opportunities for others, many of whose names will never be known."[16] The implication of this statement is that South Africa would have enjoyed both a more prosperous and positive sporting history had discriminatory practices not been employed. It also suggests a stance of resignation on the ability to alter such events and lament lost opportunity, but implies that the ideal 'different' history referred to can be created by CSA in the post-apartheid context.

The theme of unification and racial redress can also be seen in the discourse presented by SAFA. It has been mentioned that this is a significant aspect in the way SAFA legitimises its position, however, it extends further to the central role of the organisation in acknowledging and reconfiguring structures intended to embed inequality. This is most notable with the sentence:

> It was only natural that the game finally be united as the sport of football had long led the way into breaking the tight grip of racial oppression, written into South Africa's laws by its successive apartheid governments.

SAFA introduces the idea that the organisation, via its association with the sport of football, had been active in the anti-apartheid movement and invested in the process of de-segregation. This legacy, it is seemingly implied, will continue to form a central facet of the SAFA mission which draws much impetus from unification. Football in post-apartheid South Africa is however marked by a disparate history in relation to transformation and racial representation. Dale McKinley (2010: 83) outlines that although football did not require significant attention in terms of racial transformation of players on the pitch, this is closely linked to the policies of the apartheid government itself, which had inherent repercussions.

[16] Unknown. 2011. About CSA. *Cricket South Africa*. [Online]. Available: http://www.cricket.co.za/csa_articles.aspx?id=1. [30 September 2011]. Appendix 2: pp.163.

He describes it as indicative of a "...longstanding social, economic and political peripherisation of the game of soccer alongside an exactly opposite approach taken to the country's other major sports." McKinley advances his argument saying that although football was able to take on the symbolic mantle of a formidable and victorious nemesis of apartheid the policies of the apartheid era government ensured deep structural inequality. These are referred to by McKinley (2010: 83) as fundamental 'transformational deficiencies'.

The prominent focus on transformation and redress as themes are also given attention by SARU. The discourse presented in the SARU document can best be described as meticulously constructed and done so with a degree of obfuscation. Illustrative of this is the second sentence of the fifth paragraph which says[17]:

> For rugby to be a national sport it must appeal to – and be played or watched by – a significant percentage of the South African population. SARU has formulated a growth strategy that covers both participants and supporters, and a number of activities are already underway to meet these objectives.

What is noteworthy is that no direct reference to apartheid, discrimination, equality or transformation is made, it is merely implied. It would be speculative to propose possible reasons for this choice of a proverbial nod to the issues. Perhaps it is seen by SARU as a way of communicative simplification. What it does however do is divorce SARU from the negative context and associations of apartheid and invokes a new landscape in which 'strategy' and 'objectives' form the pillars of action for the organisation. Another postulation is that the semantic strategy of SARU may be connected to the role that rugby assumed in the apartheid era as a sport symbolising oppression and discrimination. In his description of the 1995 Rugby World Cup, Ashwin Desai (2010: 1) describes the Springbok emblem as a symbol of Afrikaner nationalism, something which SARU would likely attempt to distance itself from. Despite attempts to subvert and re-define the Springbok symbol as one of unification and nation building the fractious history of rugby appeared to have remained, even within the much vaunted 1995 Rugby World Cup winning team. This is highlighted by Mark Keohane (cited in Desai: 2010, 61) who describes an interchange between James Small and Chester Williams of the 1995 Springbok team, with the former saying to the latter, "You

[17] Unknown. 2011. Rugby in South Africa. *Official home of the springboks*. [Online]. Available: http://www.sarugby.net/content.aspx?contentid=19255. [30 September 2011]. Appendix 2: pp.165.

f*****g k****r...why do you want to play our game? You know you can't play it..." Such animosity does little to bolster the notion of unity and equitable transformation within rugby, a connotation SARU would not want to be related to.

In the case of SASCOC the macro proposition of transformation and redress is not omitted. It is represented as a central concern and critical to organisational success. This is done by first listing the seven key responsibilities of the organisation followed by a description of the structure of the organisation and its primary mission. This duty is stated as[18]:

> The Founding Members of SASCOC have unequivocally pledged to unite and commit themselves towards an improved system based upon the principles of equal opportunity, non racialism and non sexism for all persons, and have dedicated themselves to ensuring equitable development at national and representative level...

The responsibilities, composition and mission of the governing body are overtly linked by the structure of the discourse, signalling a co-dependence. SASCOC makes direct reference to race, equality and development which is an acknowledgement of the disparate bequest of apartheid and the requirement for transformation in high performance sport. The 'unequivocal' statement of intent for a principled approach articulated by SASCOC is also referential to the connotations associated with a key word in the organisations' title, namely Olympic. Justin van der Merwe (2010: 150) makes this point:

> Thus the dominant narrative of the modern Olympic movement, much like the transformation process in South Africa, is synonymous with the realisation of equality and non-discrimination.

Participation in the Olympic Games was and is still viewed as the most prominent environment in which to showcase both a country's competitive sporting ability as well as its cultural and political health. In a sense, it is a symbolic articulation of national 'identity' and 'nationhood' and this requires careful maintenance.

From a semantic perspective there are choices made in the documents that emphasise the concepts of restitution and redress and the participation of the organisations in ensuring their implementation. This is done by pre-supposing that development and transformation are the pivotal imperatives required to achieve social parity and remedy the imbalances engendered

[18] Unknown. 2011. History. *The South African Sports Confederation and Olympic Committee*. [Online]. Available: http://www.sascoc.co.za/the-organisation/history/. [30 September 2011]. Appendix 2: pp.169.

under apartheid. What this strategy also promotes is the idea that political, cultural and social power is vested in sport and its administration. Therefore, the sports organisations make a claim to be agents of positive social change. Both CSA and SARU demonstrate this approach by using the word 'transformation' and its association with dynamism and action with the ultimate goal of achieving fundamental change for the better. What the organisations also do is ascribe 'transformation' to policy, intimating officialdom and not only a discursive commitment to the ideal. The 'transformation' imperative is clarified as aimed to address 'inequalities' and create opportunities for previously marginalised communities.

SARU develop the concept further by incorporating the word 'success' into the discursive structure, implying that the viability of the organisation relies on staving off failure in the implementation of transformation. With the insertion of this clause SARU elevate the importance of the issue and re-assign it from being a mandate to that of a critical imperative. This is extended, in the case of CSA, to incorporate reference to 'representation' and the requirement of the national cricket team to reflect the prevailing demographic configuration of South African society. Representative teams that reflected the transformative agenda highlighted by CSA were also sites of confrontation and contestation. Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed (2010: 189) illustrate the often fraught and complex nature of cricket's administration during the 1990's saying:

> The racial composition of the national teams stimulated a myriad of struggles to both pursue transformation and stymie it. The most public of spats were around the composition of the national team. And often there was much more at play than the stories that entered the public domain.

SASCOC's allusion to the process of redress and restorative social justice can be seen by the inclusion of the words 'equitable development'. This aligns the organisation with wider post-apartheid political discourse on transformation and also argues the point that SASCOC have adopted a rational, informed and fair modus operandi for instituting developmental structures. For SASCOC there is also an indication that such development can only be regarded as effective if 'national' and 'representative' level are congruent with wider South African society. SAFA also speak to this point including the semantic selections of the word 'provide' in combination with the word 'structures'. These choices reference the concept of development based on a strategic and ordered operational plan. It is also a plan that intends to

incorporate, according to SAFA, 'all levels' which introduces the proposition of an egalitarian and ethical organisation striving for the achievement of principled goals with attention being given to all sectors of society. There are pragmatic reasons for all the aforementioned inclusions, which is not surprising when one acknowledges the political nature of sports administration. It is a point made by Justin van Der Merwe (2010: 155):

> ...politicians and administrators had to settle down to the nitty-gritty of transformation – reversing discriminatory practices of the past, and speeding up the processes of transformation – by adopting a bottom-up approach.

A notable feature of the texts, which endorses the iteration of redress and transformation, is the incorporation of semantic structures that hint at the democratic and cohesive nature of the organisations. CSA refer to the 'unification process', SAFA preferring the term 'consensus' and SASCOC describing its intention to 'unite'. It implies a fundamental connection to a founding tenet of the 'new' South Africa that of the assimilation of previously artificially demarcated communities under the umbrella of tolerance, progress and equality. Thus the organisations posit that they are rightful members of the new dispensation. Garth Stevens, Tanya Swart and Vijé Franchi (2006: 12) sum up the premise on which such assertions are based:

> In 1994, the general elections signalled the formal end to the apartheid regime and ushered in a new political era in South African history. The achievement of voter rights in this landmark event represented one of the first opportunities for all South Africans to participate in the democratic culture that has become the global benchmark of the ways in which democratic nation states operate.

By appealing to and harnessing the significance afforded to South Africa's political transition the organisations attempt to reiterate their suitability as custodians of their respective sports, but also as participants in shaping the cultural sphere of the 'new' South Africa. SARU make a similar statement by directly referencing the 'new' South Africa and stating their commitment to its success. This would intimate their involvement in the democratic 'project' which includes redress and establishing structural equality. SARU subsequently cite certain key areas, including 'training' and 'education', that it concentrates on with a view to improving the organisation and by proxy wider society. Notably, these areas bear close resemblance to those promoted by the state as crucial to developing post-apartheid South African society. This can be interpreted in terms of a proposal made by Natsaha Distiller and

Melissa Steyn (2004: 1) in which 'inherited structures' are manifested by reference to the 'South African nation' articulated by cultural performances, of which sport would be one example. They further outline what can conceivably be seen to define the founding doctrine of the sport governing bodies under scrutiny, saying:

> South Africa has passed through colonial history, formalised apartheid, and its official demise. It is now a 'new' nation working to forge something that is informed by the past, and that seeks to transcend it.

The proposition of a restructured transformative society is inherently ideological. It speaks to the ideology of democratic governance in which the ideal is an egalitarian society based on the values of equal representation, consensus, inclusivity and transformation. Another element of this governance is the acceptance of and involvement in the market economy to ensure democratic sustainability. To borrow from Ivor Chipkin (2007: 14) who suggests that the citizen is a subject of democracy, the organisations' induction of democratic ideology seemingly hails and references the ideal 'citizen'. This proposition is also allied to the ideology of race and ethnicity as determining identities in projects of social, political and cultural restitution.

3.4.2 We are South African and post-apartheid

By emphasising certain fundamental tenets of the post-apartheid state, such as redress, unification and transformation, the third major theme that is presented in the discourses of the governing bodies is the stress placed on identification with and referencing the concept 'South Africa/n' as well as the post-apartheid context of the organisations. Each organisation promotes a similar stance in linking the two as co-dependent and mutually inclusive. In other words, in order to assert 'South Africaness', one must also cite and reference the political production process of the post-apartheid state. This includes the unification of previously disparate organisations and communities with a view to engineering transformative equality. The governing bodies cast their function and role as that of alteration agents. Lucy Holborn (2010: 118) discusses the issue of sport and racial transformation in relation to press coverage saying:

> Inequalities, both racial and social, across all of society were caused by the apartheid regime and therefore redressing those imbalances in sport is an important part of

> improving race relations in general. That racial transformation in sport is still being discussed is therefore not a sign that no progress has been made, but rather shows that the pace of change is perceived to be indicative of racial transformation in society in general.

There is a discernible trend within the discourses of the organisations to assert an official hybrid concept of 'identity' based on the post-apartheid political thesis of cultural pluralism. However, this is marked by allusion to the racial and ethnic categories introduced under the apartheid regime and accompanying structural inequities. Herman Wasserman and Sean Jacobs point this out saying:

> However, identity construction in post-apartheid South Africa does not only take place as creolisation or hybridity. Exclusionary notions of identity, based on race and ethnicity, are still operative among certain sectors of post-apartheid South African society.

The paradigmatic articulation of exclusionary and essentialist categorisations of identity can be seen within the text of the CSA document in reference to the transformation policy of the organisation and its mandate for addressing structural inequality. It reads:

> This document recognizes the fact that, although now all South Africans are equal under the constitution, serious inequalities still exist in terms of creating opportunities and providing facilities and adequate coaching for cricketers of colour.

Firstly, the statement clearly demarcates the position of CSA within the context of a democratic state, post the watershed 1994 election and the adoption of the new South African constitution. Secondly, it is indicative of the imbrications present in the use of the term 'South Africans'. It is on one axis a denotative of equality indicative of an egalitarian socio-political dispensation. On the other axis however it is tethered to, although somewhat euphemistically in this case, the legislated racial categories of apartheid espoused by the Population Registration Act of 1950. It is not as counter intuitive or contradictory as it may initially appear, something that is noted by Lee Stone and Yvonne Ersamus (2010: 3):

> ...the post-1994 government has introduced legislative measures aimed at rectifying economic and social inequalities created by the past, but which inherently requires the existence and use of racial categories.

The association and membership of post-apartheid South Africa comes to the fore overtly in the SARU text. The organisation not only asserts its contextual sphere of operation as being post-apartheid South Africa but that it is genuinely invested in the 'project' of transforming the country. This can be seen at a number of junctures in the document, firstly the listing of transformation as the first of the four 'key imperatives' of SARU. Secondly the inclusion of the sentence, "SARU is committed to the new South Africa"[19] is indicative of a conscious effort by the organisation of aligning themselves with the predominant political parlance of post-apartheid discourse, namely the 'new' and pioneering nature of the state. SARU underpin this position by claiming an almost evangelical and ecclesiastical function in addressing past injustice, saying, "SARU is providing light to an arena [sport] previously shadowed by political challenges."[20] Read broadly it has the effect of converting SARU from that of a sport governing organisation to socio-cultural institution of importance. This speaks to a perspective presented by Ruth Tomaselli (2008: 90) who argues that people are likely to place themselves within a multitude of identities that coalesce. These identities are usually based on definite considerations and are comprised of 'networks of cohesion' with distinct rituals, narratives and mythology. It is as one such network of belonging that SARU casts itself and with added membership of the broader 'new' South Africa.

The approach taken by SAFA in communicating the notion that the organisation is 'South African' and post-apartheid is less direct than that of CSA and SARU, but nonetheless not neglected. Much of the initial section of the document concentrates on the genesis of the organisation from various bodies and the somewhat fraught process of negotiation which this entailed. This marks the symbolic birth of SAFA as a distinctly post-apartheid institution with a primary aim of restoring the image of South African football and by implication the country, amongst the international community. This re-integration is afforded particular significance illustrated by inclusions such as," South Africa's membership of the world governing body, FIFA, was confirmed at the FIFA Congress held in Zurich in June, 1992."[21]

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[19] Unknown. 2011. Rugby in South Africa. *Official home of the springboks*. [Online]. Available: http://www.sarugby.net/content.aspx?contentid=19255. [30 September 2011]. Appendix 2: pp.165.

[20] Unknown. 2011. Rugby in South Africa. *Official home of the springboks*. [Online]. Available: http://www.sarugby.net/content.aspx?contentid=19255. [30 September 2011]. Appendix 2: pp.165.

[21] Unknown. 2011. Introduction to the South African Football Association. *The official website of the South African Football Association*. [Online]. Available: http://www.safa.net/index.php?page=introduction. [30 September 2011]. Appendix 2: pp.167.

This not only serves to bolster the organisation's credibility but also mark and connect it with the idea of South African citizenship and 'identity' acknowledged globally with the 'imagined' football community. It is also indicative of the re-integration of South Africa into the modern neo-liberal economy with the commercial imperatives inherently present in sport. Justin van Der Merwe (2010: 149) describes these as 'prevailing pressures' that may result in organisation placing the competitive and mercantile interests above those of transformation or development. It is perhaps not surprising that SAFA prioritise the listing of various national football teams' achievements at international competitions above their statement of intent for development. It is not until the second last paragraph that SAFA make reference to this mandate saying, "Behind the scenes, SAFA has worked long and hard to provide the structures to take football to all levels of the South African community."[22] This suggests that the transformation mandate is of concern, but not necessarily a primary component of the image the organisation wishes to communicate, namely that of an organisation of international renown.

A similar take on the theme is evident in the SASCOC text. Significant emphasis is placed on highlighting the role of the organisation in effectively preparing and facilitating the participation of the South African team in various international multi-sport events. This is exemplified by the statement[23]:

> In terms of the Memorandum of Association the main object is to promote and develop high performance sport in the Republic of South Africa as well as and to act as the controlling body for the preparation and delivery of Team South Africa at all multi-sport international games including but not limited to the Olympics, Paralympics, Commonwealth Games, World Games and All Africa Games.

SASCOC advocate the idea that a pre-requisite of being able to compete at an international level requires the guardianship and advancement of high performance sport on a national level. However, the ultimate goal remains competitive success and the international recognition this may bring. SASCOC highlights its affiliation to and as an institution of South

[22] Unknown. 2011. Introduction to the South African Football Association. *The official website of the South African Football Association*. [Online]. Available: http://www.safa.net/index.php?page=introduction. [30 September 2011]. Appendix 2: pp.167.

[23] Unknown. 2011. History. *The South African Sports Confederation and Olympic Committee*. [Online]. Available: http://www.sascoc.co.za/the-organisation/history/. [30 September 2011]. Appendix 2: pp.169.

Africa by regularly referring to its context as that of the 'Republic of South Africa'. By using the full designation of the name it seeks to emphasise the totality of 'identity' and citizenship. It is a conception of citizenship with a distinct local-global polemic in which the assertion of such may become an essentialist exercise of national anthems, colours and flags. SASCOC additionally imbricates the possible constituents of such 'identity' by alluding to its post-apartheid heritage narrating the conditions for and factors around its creation as well as noting the date of its inception.

3.4.3 We are a sporting nation

The last major theme and topic that is presented within the documents is that of sport as a prominent aspect of South African culture and a demarcation of 'identity'. This has been noted by many writers and scholars previously. Ruth Tomaselli (2008: 91), in her discussion on the public service broadcasting environment in South Africa, notes that sport has become closely linked to the expression of 'national pride' and that when the various teams participate in international competition it is a matter of 'national' importance. This is in keeping with Eric Hobsbawm's thesis relating to the institutionalization of sport and its competition in the late nineteenth century. Hobsbawm (1992: 300) maintains, "Both mass and middle-class sport combined the invention of tradition in yet another way: by providing a medium for national identification and factitious community." The enactment of this identification and community is dependent on the crucial clause for entry, namely sport.

The presentation of sport as politically and socially prominent can be seen in the first line and paragraph of the SARU text. It invokes the concept of a distinct, yet incorporative, imagined community within a post-apartheid context unified by support for and participation in the game of rugby. SARU state emphatically[24]:

> South Africans are rugby mad. On any given match day, men, women and children can be seen wearing rugby jerseys and revelling in the green and gold, the colours worn by the Springboks, South Africa's national team and current holders of the World Cup.

[24] Unknown. 2011. Rugby in South Africa. *Official home of the springboks*. [Online]. Available: http://www.sarugby.net/content.aspx?contentid=19255. [30 September 2011]. Appendix 2: pp.165.

It is an attempt to promote a panacea post-apartheid community devoid of racially stratified categories in which membership is assumptive on the basis of citizenship. In addition, it advances the notion that rugby and South Africa's penchant for it is linked to the success of the sport. Rugby becomes a distinct form of cultural capital in which the Springboks embody and represent the 'community'. This represents a particular conception of imagined community with definite stylistic elements. As Benedict Anderson (1991: 6) points out, "Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined." The stance taken by CSA is marginally different but bears similar hallmarks in apportioning influence and significance to cricket and its activities. CSA is described as an organisation aimed at promoting a better sense of 'national identity' through the sport of cricket. One of the pre-determining factors, according to CSA, for the creation of such a community would be the development of under-resourced communities. Once such provisions are instituted a newly formed unified community in which cricket becomes the 'truly national game' and hence marker of 'identity' becomes possible. CSA seemingly propose that a tenuous form of unity has been created, citing national team success and notable players while at the same time noting the divisive nature of the game under apartheid. This does not however preclude the imagination of a cricket 'community' that demarcates national 'identity'. This is pointed out by Anderson (1991: 7):

> ...regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship.

Therefore, despite the legacy of discrimination and disparity within the game of cricket CSA still promotes with pride the achievement of the post-unity teams and players.

The depiction of sport as cultural and political currency with the influence on 'identity' is discernible in the approach taken by SASCOC. The organisation is deliberate in the manner it connects itself to the broad concept of South Africa and as a global ambassador for this 'community'. This is embodied in the statement describing SASCOC's role to '...act as the recognized national entity for the Republic of South Africa'[25]. This speaks to the globalised

[25] Unknown. 2011. History. *The South African Sports Confederation and Olympic Committee*. [Online]. Available: http://www.sascoc.co.za/the-organisation/history/. [30 September 2011]. Appendix 2: pp.169.

cultural and economic context of competitive sport, a wider community into which SASCOC seeks to gain approval and membership. What is notable is that explicit mention and attention is paid to the commercial aspect of sport, with SASCOC stating another of its functions to be, "...to ensure the overall protection of symbols, trademarks, emblems or insignia of the bodies referred to in 1g within the Association's jurisdiction." Hobsbawm (1992: 12) makes reference to such symbols as being intimately connected to the enactment of traditions or rituals and hence a sense of community. A case can be made that this also reflects what Sonja Narunsky-Laden (2008:129), who cites Foster (1997), describes as the 'commercial technology of nation making'. The mode of operation is one in which mass consumption is a large factor in constituting national entities and a hallmark of post-apartheid South Africa. Although not directly linked to the mass media, which is at the centre of the thesis advanced by Narunsky-Laden, the symbols referred to by SASCOC, including emblems and trademarks, form part of the larger commercial project of 'identity'. Narunsky-Laden argues (2008: 129) that with the 'commercial' technology of national 'identity' production individuals are able to:

> ...activate processes of objectification through which they come to constitute a sense of themselves as sharing a proliferation of discursive patterns, images and objects. In so doing, South Africans (will) come to believe that collectively they constitute 'a nation' which exists, as it were, 'outside themselves'.

It is in the constitution of 'images' and 'objects' that the insignia and symbols to which SASCOC refers that identification with 'community' and 'nation' materialises. An example of one such symbol is the 'national' flower the Protea used as a team emblem for South Africa.

The aforementioned speaks to the ideological proposition of community, more specifically with unconscious reference to the Anderson's (1991) conception of the nation as an imagined community. The approach adopted by the organisations can be defined as a form of jingoism invested in the idea of nationalism as an ideology in and of itself, a viable socio-cultural configuration. For Anderson (1991:6) the nation is however an 'imagined political community' with its basis in cultural systems expressed in standardised administrative languages producing a collective 'national consciousness'. This results in a sense of membership of a communal and limited social entity, in which specific sports are a prominent

marker. This speaks to Eric Hobsbawn's (1992: 300) perspective on sport and its relation to the 'nation', "The rise of sport provided new expressions of nationalism through the choice or invention of nationally specific sports, Welsh rugby as distinct from English soccer..."

3.4.4 We are South African and world class

Although the organisations do much to construct and maintain their primary subject position as South African, they do situate this within an international context. This can be seen by CSA who point to participation in 'official internationals' while SAFA describe the playing of 'international matches'. SARU outlines a similar stance depicting rugby as a South African sport that enjoys international success and is globally competitive. What such statements implicitly communicate is the validity, firstly of the organisations' and their sport, but also of the legitimacy of the cultural configuration/product of the 'new' nation. This legitimacy speaks to the idea that the 'new' South Africa has once again been given a seat at the international community table, when previously the country had been viewed as a pariah and was heavily sanctioned. One of the significant sanctions was the banning of South Africa from international sporting competition for more than 30 years, which underlines why the re-integration is highlighted by the organisations. Adrian Guelke (2005: 195) aptly sums up the issue:

> The ANC's decision to facilitate South Africa's entry or re-entry into international sporting competition made it possible for South Africa's sporting isolation to end ahead of the complete dismantling of apartheid and the transition to democracy. It also meant that sport could be used to promote political change during the transition itself.

What the inclusion of the 'international' and 'competitive' thesis also does is serve to note South Africa's participation in a globalised economy, both cultural and financial. The 'new' South Africa and its sport come to represent an exportable commodity for consumption. This correlates with what Ashwin Desai (2010: 3) calls the reformative approach to transformation in sport. The central thrust of this strategy was to give priority to garnering investment and once again participating in the neo-liberal global economy. Desai cites Martin Murray (1994: 24), from his notable text *The Revolution Deffered: The Painful Birth of Post-Apartheid South Africa,* describing the hallmarks of the reformative project as being exemplified in

economic policies with the:

> ...twin objectives of restoring business confidence and attracting foreign investment seemed to swamp all other considerations.

This is supported by Distiller and Steyn (2004: 7) suggesting that the state assumed the role of negotiating a place for the 'new' South Africa in a global economic setting. They argue that this included active creation and marketing of a 'national unity', of which sport it can be said is a notable trope.

3.5 The implications for national 'identity' and the 'nation'

The conception of national 'identity' presented in the sports organisation documents is first and foremost implied. There are certain elements and facets that are noteworthy however. Firstly, the organisations' conception of the 'new' South Africa draws on elements of the thesis of multiculturalism and hybrid 'identity'. At certain points it overlaps with the essentialist doctrine of the rainbow nation metaphor popularised during the period after the 1994 elections, most evidently in the case of SARU. It suggests a unification of previously disparate groups under the guidance of sport, groups which are inadvertently defined according to the racial classification system instituted under apartheid. Pumla Gqola (cited in Distiller & Steyn, 2004: 1) points out that in the construction of the 'rainbow nation' difference becomes essentialised and the nuances of power involved in raced and gendered 'identities' are removed. The organisations claim to represent the citizens of a deracialised society, however, the sub-text, especially in relation to transformation and redress, suggests otherwise. It denotes a pre-occupation with race as a primary identifier of 'identity', even if this is done euphemistically. Narunksy-Laden (2008: 142) supports this point arguing:

> On the matter of re-racialisation, I would like to point out that although inherited identity markers such as race and ethnicity have far from disappeared or been rendered discursively or functionally obsolete in South Africa, newly relevant constructions of racialised identity are becoming increasingly perceptible, acquiring their own social and symbolic capital, and promising to motivate new forms of social change.

The salience and pervasiveness of race in the context of post-apartheid socio-political discourse can result in the bounding and muting of identity. Identity creation thus becomes

one-dimensional process in which the facade and construction of race obscures possible nuances. This is particularly evident in the case of structural restitution and addressing inequality. Pierre de Vos (2011: 4) highlights this position in relation to South African law, saying:

> By recognizing these categories and by dealing with them as if they are a given – normal, essentialist, unchanging and unchangeable – and by failing to challenge the hierarchical assumptions underlying the deployment of these categories, the law can do immense harm even in the name of wanting to do good; even when the law is aimed at addressing the effects of past and ongoing racial discrimination and racism.

It can be posited that much of the nation building rhetoric of the post-apartheid state leant heavily on the ideology of race to promote an ideal nation in which multiple 'others' coalesced and intersected yet maintained definite 'identity' boundaries. This can certainly be discerned in the sports organisations' conception of the 'new' nation. Yunus Ballim (2011: 1) suggests that in the post-apartheid era race continues to dominate understandings of 'identity' and social institutions. He describes the pre-occupation with race as a 'persistent tyranny' with distinct discourses and rules which are more often than not internalised and represented. He does however argue that raced 'identity' may in the long term be able to emancipate the concept of 'identity' as redress and transformation occur. In essence, raced 'identity' is a necessary concept in South Africa in order to dismantle the inequality created under apartheid. This speaks to the concept of 'strategic essentialism' or voice of the subaltern articulated by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1998: 78) in which limited and simplified identities are asserted for the purposes of achieving distinct objectives, most notably forging a new 'identity' within the post-colonial state. In South Africa this collectivization and grouping of raced based 'identity' for the purposes of transformation and addressing inequality fits the bill.

The representation of 'identity' that is cited in the organisational discourses is closely aligned to reiteration of certain foundational myths of the post-apartheid state. Myth is used in this context as described by Hall (2005: 125) as 'connotations which have become hegemonic'. These myths include the eradication of social and economic inequality, transformation, reparation, progress and racial harmony. These are to a certain extent taken as given in the documents or at least in stages of advanced development. Further, the discourses imply that the negotiation process and unification which resulted in the formation of the organisations

mirror that of the wider political changes of South African society. As discussed previously in this chapter the unification has been represented as consensus and by establishing the discursive power in the discourse the organisations can structure their account as definitive, limiting the extent of interpretation. In other words, a valid account and narrative of the political transition in South Africa, as well as in sport, is provided which fixes subject positions. Garth Stevens (2006: 304) in his analysis of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission points to similar assertion:

> Under the rubric of reconciliation, a country divided by the social , economic, racial and political policy of apartheid was asked to forge a nationalism (and therefore national identity) based on consensus on how the apartheid past was to be remembered.

The organisations under examination do imply certain preferred readings of the post-apartheid nation, generally for favourable self representation, based on notions of cultural pluralism. The discourses do however acknowledge the legacy and influence of apartheid on this 'identity' and the connotations this brings to bear. The governing bodies inhabit an uneasy setting in which the 'subject' position is in a state of flux, on one hand proposed as diverse, modern and progressive. On the other hand tethered to the identities based on the exclusionary classifications operative under apartheid. Although Nuttall and Michael (2000) suggest that creolisation represents the true state of South African culture and that race is given too much salience in the discussion, it does remain pervasive as illustrated by the documents analysed. Stevens, Swart and Franchi (2006:13) suggest that discourses purporting the deracialisation of South Africa have effectively obscured the interrogation of race and associated constructions. Goolam Vahed, Vishnu Padayachee and Ashwin Desai (2010:254) cite a pragmatic example, based on a case study of the Kwa-Zulu Natal Cricket Union (KZNCU), of the complexities involved in post-apartheid 'identity' and race:

> What the present case study does show is that the struggle to challenge white dominance has not laid the basis for an abiding non-racialism. Rather, in the case of the KZNCU it has fuelled tensions between Indians and whites, between Indians and Africans, and among Indians of various ethnic and religious backgrounds. This indicates quite starkly the challenges involved in building a common national identity while pursuing redress.

Not only does this example illustrate the tensions present in post-apartheid society, it also highlights how apartheid racial identities, namely racial categories, are tacitly accepted as valid identifiers and subject positions in the context of an academic case study. This speaks to the existence of limited and closed spaces of 'identity' construction with minimal option for redefinition and manoeuvre. Although outwardly constructing incorporative national narratives the ever present anxiety of uncertainty flows within the organisational discourses. Viewed as a performance of post-apartheid cultural 'identity' and a nation-building discourse the discursive imaginings of the governing bodies have seemingly been infiltrated by uncertainty and instability. Peace Kiguwa (2006: 327) reiterates this point:

> Nation-building discourse with its implied categories of exclusion and racialised constructs as such, often finds itself caught up in a web of contradiction and ambiguity in its construction of a non-racial and new South Africa.

Ideally the organisations attempt to conceive of a South African nation that is transformed, egalitarian with the unanimity of consensus of the majority of citizens. However, this is tempered by an acknowledgement of the inequities and discrimination inherited from the apartheid dispensation. For the governing bodies the idea of South African nationhood is that of a negotiated space in which meaning remains contested. South Africa from their perspective is a multi-cultural and pluralist environment in which unity is intimately connected to transformation based on and defined by exclusive racial identities. This suggests that South African remains a country in which many 'nations' reside within a meta-nation , each seen as ideal by the corresponding imagined community. Sport is cast as a cultural molasses which can bind the disparate 'identities' for the purposes of marketing the 'new' South Africa, in spite of the inherent tensions in this process that the documents imply.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed and interrogated the major discursive propositions within the documents of the governing/ administrative bodies with particular reference to 'identity'. The organisations first and foremost attempt to establish their legitimacy and discursive power. This is done in number of key ways. Firstly, the organisations ensure that the texts are communicatively appropriate and accessible in a number of variable contexts. Secondly, there is the establishment of the position of sole narrator and custodian of knowledge. Lastly,

and perhaps critically, discursive power is cemented by clearly demarcating their role as the sole legitimate administrator and guardian of their respective sporting code.

With the foundation of legitimacy and power established the organisations articulate a number of consistent themes across all the texts. The first is that the context of their operation and therefore a key component of 'identity' is a politically, culturally and socially transformed post-apartheid South Africa. Further, they overtly state their role as agents of such transformation and social redress. This mandate is also bolstered by the implication that their stewardship of sport is critical to South Africa due to its importance in the fabric of society and addressing certain societal problems. The 'nation' is cast as a sporting nation where sport is a matter of national importance and immense pride. It is an ideological proposition of an imagined community in which membership is defined by affiliation to a certain sport or the very least a sense of national commonality in the performance of various national teams. The organisations do not neglect to mark South Africa as a distinct political entity within the global context, which extends to sporting success. It is implied that sport was a significant factor in South Africa being re-integrated into the international community.

The texts do include reference to the political and social history of the country. In fact racial redress, transformation and reconciliation are prominent elements within the discourse. These are however couched in the distinctly post-apartheid thesis of the multicultural rainbow nation. The organisations seemingly conceive of a well developed South African 'identity' in which reparation, redress, transformation and the unification of disparate communities are key features and also well developed. However, the racial classifications promoted by the Population Registration Act of 1950 still pervade concepts and constructions of 'identity'. For the sporting organisations South African 'identity' is caught in a state of flux between an egalitarian, incorporative transformed 'identity' and an 'identity' held ransom by the shadow of apartheid racial classification. Sport is seen as a cohesive force that could possibly mould a more incorporative 'identity' that moves into a space beyond essentialist race based subjectivity. To a certain extent this draws inspiration from state endorsed discourses aimed at promoting the development of new democratic state. In the following chapter the focus shifts to how a popular multi-sport media publication, namely *South African Sports Illustrated,* interprets and constructs South African 'identity' from what are arguably similar constituents. Further, the analysis will explore the prominent discursive themes, the establishment of legitimacy and power as well as how the publication deals with the socio-political considerations of the post-apartheid era. It is an exploration aimed at uncovering the

possible congruencies and disparities between the magazines iteration of ‘identity’ and that of sporting organisations.

Chapter 4: *South African Sports Illustrated* magazine

4.1 Introduction

This chapter will focus on how SASI defines the demarcations and boundaries of both inferred South African 'identity' and the role the publication takes in establishing this thesis. This will include the isolation and discussion of the major propositions which are evident in the discourse, both semantically and visually. Firstly, attention will be paid to the construction of the communicative exchange between speaker/author and the recipient, including relations of power and the dominant mode of address. The semantic inclusions of the text, that imply meaning and structure concepts of 'identity', form part of this discussion. Following this the ideological and semantic proposals of the publication and the way in which they aim to legitimate the magazine are examined. By establishing power and authority within discourse SASI is able to represent certain discernible themes which require discussion. The first is the identification and demarcation of both the publication, and by implication author/s, and reader as South African. The second suggestion that can be inferred is that sport is an activity dominated by men where women are to be acknowledged for their aesthetic appeal rather than athletic ability. The last theme that comes to the fore in SASI is the promotion of cricket and rugby as the preferred sporting codes in the country and the insinuated 'identity' this suggests. Finally, the analysis interrogates what influence the aforementioned factors and themes have on concepts of 'nationhood' and 'identity' in post-apartheid South Africa, including the promotion of a preferred 'new' South African 'nation' and the markers of this 'identity.

A useful point of departure for the analysis of SASI is to consider the representational system proposed by Stuart Hall in the circuit of culture. Critically, it links the essential aspects of the study, namely representation and 'identity' within the context of a model that stresses their interconnectedness with production, consumption and regulation. It is the latter three areas and their operation as well as manifestation in discourse that will come under closer scrutiny in this chapter. The manner in which these elements interpolate to establish markers and

signposts of ‘identity’ and heavily weight representation is central to the discussion of the post-apartheid South African imagination.

It must be noted however that the analysis is by no means an attempt to suggest that a quintessential South African ‘identity’ exists or can be definitively set in a given context. It is rather a discussion aimed at illustrating certain fundamental and discernible elements of the aforementioned ‘identity’ within the discourse of popular culture as presented in a prominent media text. It is these constituent fragments that prove instructive in understanding how ‘identity’ is represented and regulated.

Due to the various notions and understanding of discourse it is necessary to establish what concept is employed and underpins this study. Discourse, in the case of SASI, refers primarily to the use, context of and construction of language on the cover of SASI, both text and image. Thus, the study is interested in the communicative event and interaction presented in both text and image. As outlined in the methodology, the process of analysis is one that draws from the critical discourse studies (CDS) paradigm, notably the sociocognitive model outlined by Teun van Dijk. Ruth Wodak and Michael Meyer (2009: 2) summarise the essential trajectory of adopting CDA saying:

> CDA is therefore not interested in investigating a linguistic unit per se but in studying social phenomena which are necessarily complex and thus require a multi-disciplinary and multi-methodical approach.

It is such ‘social phenomena’ of which ‘identity’ forms part and, as discussed in the theoretical framework, the concept of ‘identity’ is necessarily complex. This complexity can only be interrogated adequately with discourse viewed as socially constructed and managed. With the SASI study, the views of Wodak and Fairclough (cited in Wodak & Meyer, 2009:5) are instructive in their underlining that CDA sees language as ‘social practice’. Critically they point out:

> That is, discourse is socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned – it constitutes situations, objects of knowledge and the social identities of and relationships between people and groups of people.

The significance of the imagery cannot be underestimated either, as pointed out by WJT Mitchell (1989: 9) who asserts that images are not simply a sign, in the traditional linguistic understanding of sign, but are in fact more akin to the role of an actor on an historical stage

endowed with status. He further suggests that images permit and allow individuals to conceptually develop to being able to represent themselves in the world and in their own likeness as opposed to the religious cosmology of man/woman in the likeness of God. This paradigmatic perspective is developed further by thinkers like Michel Foucault (cited in WJT Micthell, 1989:11) who maintains that images are fundamentally critical to the 'order of things' or knowledge of the world.

4.2 Defining the communicative context

By its very nature the conception of 'nationhood' and national 'identity' is firmly embedded in discourse and representation. Further, both are inherently ideological with the inference of the exertion of power. This is a position advanced by Hall and Du Gay (1996: 4) who maintain that identities are constituted both within representation and discourse. They also advocate that the historical context of production and discursive formations and practices couched in centres of power are critical to understanding identities. Importantly Hall and Du Gay acknowledge the role of the imaginary and contrived in 'identity' construction, however, are quick to note that this does not negate the social and political command that such constructions have.

Considering the factors discussed above, the sociocognitive approach proposed by Teun van Dijk, is a critical tool for analysis that can interrogate these issues. Van Dijk (2009: 64) says of his method:

> ...I am also interested in the study of mental representations and the processes of language users when they produce and comprehend discourse and participate in verbal interaction, as well as in the knowledge, ideologies and other beliefs shared by social groups.

It is in the coalescing of knowledge and ideology within structures of discourse that concepts of 'identity' reside and emerge. Van Dijk suggests that these elements become more apparent when considering the role of cognition and mental models in representation. These are the intentional and conscious elements of a discourse that are controlled by the speaker (2009: 68). In investigating SASI it is important to gauge how the publication publically and consciously projects itself, with reference to its context and environment.

It is critical for SASI to establish and maintain its relevance, including discursive position, by constructing context appropriate discourse. This is dependent on the deliberate and pragmatic language choices, including genre and style which allow for the text to be accessed by the intended recipient. Further it is crucial for a successful interchange between author/producer and reader/recipient. Context models are, according to van Dijk (2009: 73), the mediator between discourse and society. In addition, they are pragmatic in nature. These can be divided into three broad criteria. The first is the spatiotemporal setting of the communicative event and interaction. Secondly, there are the participants involved in the communicative process which encompasses identities, roles, relationships as well as goals, knowledge and ideologies. The final category is that of ongoing social action which is dynamic and adaptive (2009:73).

Firstly, in the case of SASI, it is necessary to establish the context of the communicative exchange and event. The sphere of operation for the text is that of sport as an aspect and element of South African culture within the paradigm of a neo-liberal capitalist market economy. There is also the more localised context to consider, which in this case consists of the print media environment and the niche magazine genre. SASI fulfils the role as the initiator of the communicative exchange and this includes that of writer and author. SASI casts itself as an omniscient authority and narrator of sports stories, associated issues and athletes. The second participant in the exchange is the reader or addressee. SASI frequently references and addresses the 'reader' directly by using the term 'you', which is more an acknowledgement than a marking of the reader's 'identity'. However, this is mitigated by the inclusion of 'us', 'our' and 'we' connected to the concept of South Africa and South African. The constituent factors of the author's conception of South Africa are not explicitly discussed, interrogated or clarified. It is used in a sense of assumed stability, consensus and thus implicit 'identity'. It seeks to establish a rapport or relationship between the publication and reader. The underlying motive of the communicative action is to hail potential readers and secure an investment in the magazine as product.

When viewed in totality the SASI text shows adaptive qualities according to the communicative situation and context models. This can be seen by the fact that it can be understood within the context of sport, South African culture and the modern geo-political structures. SASI adheres to the magazine genre in the conventions of content presentation. For example, the use of font size to indicate the hierarchy of content, the use of alliteration in the abstracts/teasers and the use of abbreviation when referring to both South Africa and

athletes. This also indicates that the lexical selections are consistent with the genre to which SASI belongs. SASI semantically acknowledges the primary objective of the communicative event, which is the reporting of and narration of sports stories, events and athletes' profiles with a view to procuring investment from a potential reader. Therefore, SASI semantically and pragmatically constructs a position of authority, discussed previously, and closely aligned to power in order to bolster its position within the discourse. SASI does presume that the reader/addressee has a certain amount of specialist sports knowledge, both in relation to athletes and sporting codes. This allows the publication to further reiterate its claim to exclusivity and superiority. In some instances, for example the November 2009[26] cover, no specialist knowledge is required with the communicative action firmly based on the promotion of sexualised femininity. SASI does not significantly alter the structure or framework of the communicative act, but alters content in order to ensure relevance. This is done through reference to topical sporting events or prominent sporting news. Naturally this remains relevant for a certain limited time period, meaning that the spatiotemporal setting alters to remain relevant.

Naturally the representation in SASI is subjective but needs to correlate somewhat with the manner in which readers remember and understand the events and topics, in other words the alignment of mental constructs. This can be presumptive on behalf of the magazine, for example the focus on cricket and rugby tours as opposed to football. Event models are central to the way in which people recall and interpret 'reality', whether it is contemporary or more retrospective. This constructionist approach to the narrative representation of events is present within the SASI discourse, for example, 'Classic! Windies '92 Flashback. Relive SA's return to Test cricket'[27]. What SASI also attempts to do is guide 'personal experience' by implying they have information which may enhance or alter the perspective of the reader. Terms like 'exclusive' and 'special' indicate this. It speaks to the age old adage of 'knowledge is power'. This would certainly alter the comprehension of discourse and subsequently the position of the subject.

There is a definite sense that SASI makes intentional use of the incomplete nature of discourse, particularly related to its semantic construction for the purposes of cementing its market position and authority. This can be seen by the use of words such as 'ultimate', 'definitive' and 'complete'. Certainly in the context of a market economy this would be an

[26] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, November 2009, Edition 143. Appendix 1: pp.155.
[27] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, April 2010, Edition 148. Appendix 1: pp.160.

imperative for SASI which is indicated not only by the spatiotemporal specificity of the content but also the amount of information placed on the cover. On average this consists of 11 to 13 abstracts or teasers per cover, of which at least half are generally connected to South African sport or athletes. This is indicative of the hailing of the reader to invest in the notion of a South African sporting community and 'identity'. It bears resemblance to Benedict Anderson's (1991) thesis in *Imagined Communities* that print capitalism enabled individuals to think of themselves in relation to others and create a sense of a common, albeit abstract, environment. Anderson (1991: 6) underlines this further by saying of the 'nation':

> It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.

The 'image of their communion' to which Anderson refers is actively pursued and constructed by SASI, or at least a version thereof. In essence it is the incarnation of SASI's perception of South African 'identity' / community embedded in the context of sport, with an invitation made to prospective members via discourse, with the explicit use of 'us' and 'we'. These propositions attempt to reference what is assumed as shared knowledge and group ideology between publication and reader. The shared knowledge in the case of SASI is that of sport and its litany of associations, as well as South African history, politics and society. Many of these have been explored in the dominant themes and topics outlined earlier in this chapter. What is important to note is that SASI structures its discourse with the intentional inclusion of preferred meaning and it would seem a distinct concept of the imagined recipient of the text. This 'ideal' addressee would be someone who invested in the same ideological propositions made by SASI, which includes the statement of hegemonic masculinity, an essentialist propagation of femininity and the prominence of traditionally middle class exclusive sporting codes. Ami Kapilevich describes the imagined reader of the publication as a white male in his early thirties, with disposable income, from a privileged middle/ upper class background who gravitates towards rugby and cricket.

There is evidence to suggest the existence of discursive dominance in the form of reiteration and predominant propositions in the SASI text. These recurring submissions seemingly outline and dictate the terms of membership of the community or group. This is further refined by the aims, acts and relations to the 'other' of the said group. The relation to the 'other' is a sentiment echoed by Judith Butler (cited in Hall & Du Gay, 1996: 15) who Hall

says , "...makes a powerful case that all identities operate through exclusion, through the definition of a constitutive outside the field of the symbolic, the representable...". SASI is fairly direct in establishing the 'membership devices' which define the parameters of the community, namely being a rugby or cricket playing white male 'South African' with a subscription to the sexualised subject position of woman. This is an 'identity' firmly rooted in the essentialist racial identifiers attached to sport under the apartheid dispensation. Dale McKinley (2010:81) makes this point outlining that the systematic socio-political engineering and related legislation in sport sought to create racial segregation and inequality. He says of the 'white establishment' using:

> ...all means at their disposal, including the extensive powers of the apartheid state, to promote and support (white) sports such as rugby and cricket as well as to suppress and control the social, economic and political reach and impact of the (black) sport of soccer.

It would appear that such notions and essentialisms have been deeply entrenched in the SASI proposal of the 'nation'. South African football remains an ancillary sporting code plagued by deficiency and ineptitude, in cases where it is mentioned by the magazine. For the most part however it is completely absent from the SASI narrative. Further, SASI strongly implore the addressee to acknowledge the magazine as the leader and authority figure of the group, with the inherent permissions required for the control of access to and production of knowledge. SASI does allude to or proposes a philanthropic motivation behind its production, namely informing and enlightening 'South Africans' as to the 'actual' stories and secret of sport and athletes. When one considers the context however, it becomes more obvious that SASI is involved in a salubrious act of preening and self-promotion for the purposes of shifting units.

4.3 Establishing discursive dominance as the exclusive expert

The SASI online rate card[28] is particularly instructive and illustrative of the conscious semantic selections aimed at promoting the magazine as the custodian of exclusive knowledge. The document, entitled *Our Mission Statement*, succinctly synthesizes the fundamental positioning of the publication, a veritable semantic blueprint of proposition. It has been previously quoted in the rationale section of this study but will require reiteration for the purposes of discussion. It states:

> Sports Illustrated is an iconic brand recognised the world over. At its core, SI is a storyteller. The magazine has been satisfying South Africans' need for a multi-sport read for 23 years now, and is still going strong. By matching timeless images with brilliant writing, SI tells stories of triumph and failure; of the transcendent moment and the haunted history; stories of individual glory and team fractiousness, of the devastating injury and inspirational recovery… these are the stories of sport. SI is the magazine that tells them.

The primary aim of the rate card statement is to establish the legitimacy of the publication via the allusion to the success of the magazine and editorial philosophy. This is not unusual when one considers that the text is used in the context of a rate card to attract possible investment. However, it does indicate how the publication would ideally like to be perceived. The proposition is that SASI is both universally acknowledged and appealing. Further, it is suggested that it commands a certain degree of respect. This can be inferred from the first sentence of the statement, most notably with the use of the word 'iconic' and the phrase 'recognised the world over'. The implication is that the magazine occupies an esteemed position and is of a high quality. This is starker when one considers the etymology of the word 'iconic' and its association with esteem, reverence and importance.

The idea of SASI as a legitimate and authoritative text finds further expression on the cover of the publication. It is closely connected to SASI's process of reinforcing and building its discursive position. The magazine structures many of its abstracts and teasers with a view to establishing a dominant standing within the discourse. SASI continuously promotes the

[28] South African Sports Illustrated. 2010. 2010 – Rate Card. *Sports Illustrated South Africa*. [Online]. Available: www.simag.co.za. [12 August 2010]. Appendix 7: pp.178.

notion that it has both specialised knowledge, information and the access to this. This is exemplified by the use of text such as 'New Bok management – why they were chosen, what they will do'[29], 'Secret behind Proteas pace – Why Morkel and Steyn are so quick'[30], 'Joel Santana – The real story behind his appointment' [31]and 'Exclusive – Inside the IPL'[32]. Another way SASI communicates its qualification and authority on sports related subjects is achieved through the use of direct quotes in reference to athletes and sports personalities. Examples include, 'Steyn - "This is the last time you will see this Bok team play together'[33] and 'AB – "Fearless is a good word"[34]. This denotes a connection or relationship between the magazine and the athletes which readers are allowed vicarious access to. In a sense the magazine sets itself up as the athletes' agent or representative. When combined with claims to authoritative knowledge and insight, illustrated by the frequently used "Definitive guide" and "The ultimate" prefacing guides to tournaments or players, SASI deliberately constructs a position of power.

Semantically SASI is more overt in its claim to power with the repetitive use of the word 'exclusive' used in relation to the magazine's content, be it athlete interviews, information on team tactics or feature articles. The implication is that SASI possesses knowledge of greater importance than others, be that the reader or rival publications, and that it is the sole proprietor of this information. Certainly it could be argued that this deliberate reference to exclusivity is a ploy, admittedly somewhat idealistically, to establish, maintain and then grow patronage. However, the intended and presupposed meaning does not negate its more negative implication, that of exclusion. Exclusivity brings with it notions of the 'other' or non-included or as the *Shorter Oxford English dictionary on historical principles* (1956) definition states, "...not admitting of existence or presence of, not including, excluding all but what is specified". Certainly a case can be made for this in relation to South African football and to an extent women in sport, as discussed later in this chapter. This also extends to the selection of cover subject/s who fall predominantly within a defined racial demographic construction, namely white.

[29] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, June 2008, Edition 126. Appendix 1: pp.138.
[30] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, August 2008, Edition 128. Appendix 1: pp.140.
[31] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, September 2008, Edition 129. Appendix 1: pp.141.
[32] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, May 2009, Edition 137. Appendix 1: pp.149.
[33] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, September 2009, Edition 141. Appendix 1: pp.153.
[34] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, October 2009, Edition 142. Appendix 1: pp.154.

Another important semantic inclusion made frequently by the magazine is the word 'expert'. The primary inference is that SASI has the necessary skill and experience to report on and discuss a multitude of topics in the field of sport. Additionally and perhaps tellingly in this case, referring to expertise and being 'an expert' is an allusion to authority and by association, power. The position adopted by SASI suggests a configuration in which the knowledge represented is closely aligned to an untainted and encompassing 'truth'. It does bare resemblance to Foucault's notion of the 'regime of truth' (1980) in that it proposes specific ways of understanding South African sport and 'identity'. However, it differs from Foucault's thesis in that the concept of 'identity' remains an abstraction and therefore knowledge pertaining to it does not find application in a physical sense, as suggested by Foucault. SASI's implied power is not so much about regulation and constraint, but certainly about promoting a definitive version or conception of post-apartheid South African sport, society and the 'identity' this infers. It would be misplaced to argue that this would definitely produce tangible real effects if and when the knowledge is applied, especially when measuring the relative weight of influence of the magazine. This given, the publication can be viewed as a litmus paper of the existence of a dominant discourse and one that may converge or diverge from that of institutionally regulated discourse.

SASI's dual propositions of exclusivity and expertise both make claims to validity and truth. In isolation statements purporting the exclusive and the expert are somewhat unsubstantiated. It is the use of a supporting cast of semantic devices however that creates the foundations for such claims. This is illustrated by the oft repeated words 'real' and 'reveal/revealed'. SASI seeks to underline the authoritative nature of its narration and by using the adjective 'real' as a prefix to content involving topical sporting issues and stories. One citeable example is 'Joel Santana: The ***real*** story behind his appointment'[35] on the cover of the September 2008 issue. The presupposition is that SASI covers and provides information that is factual and rooted in 'reality'. This perspective is bolstered when considering the definition, by *Shorter Oxford English dictionary on historical principles* (1956: 1665) of real as "...whatever is regarded as having an existence in fact and not merely in appearance, thought, or language, or as having an absolute and necessary in contrast to a merely contingent existence." The idea of SASI as factual, non-fictional and a trustworthy source of information is also underscored with the use of the words 'reveal' and 'revealed'. Both endorse the perception that SASI possesses the

[35] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, September 2009, Edition 141. Appendix 1: pp.153.

ability to unearth and then present information or knowledge that would otherwise not have been known, principally to the reader. Both of the words are etymologically linked to omniscient power in that their definition does include, according to the *Shorter Oxford English dictionary on historical principles* (1956: 1726), "...made known by divine or supernatural agency." This may not be an intentional element of discourse employed by SASI but it does indicate that the publication may view itself as the agency, with accompanying power, referred to by the definition.

Further, semantically constructed elements that function to reiterate and support SASI's power and authority thesis can be seen. The most notable element is the use of the superlative. Adjectives and adverbs are deployed denoting a quality, usually to the greatest extent, related to an athlete, event, sporting code or topic. These are both negative and positive. Examples include 'toughest', 'biggest', 'ugliest' and 'best'. The effect is to portray the magazine as dealing only with the most important information, subjects and qualities. It also positions SASI as beyond reproach in their assessment due to the categorical and unqualified nature of the use of the superlative. Another important and constant inclusion by SASI is the use of the adverbs 'How' and 'Why' as a prefix for content and stories. For the most part the words are used in a rhetorical sense in that SASI implies that they are privy to the definitive answer which is available to the reader should they buy or read the publication. This advances SASI as an apparent repository of and reference for knowledge, an oracle of sorts which draws a parallel with the idea of an omniscient agent of revelation.

To bolster the position of rightful authority and claim to power SASI suggests that there approach to the narration of sports stories is balanced and fair. This is done via the mechanism of using binary oppositions in relation to common sports themes. The first example that can be cited to illustrate the point is the use, in conjunction with one another, of the nouns 'triumph' and 'failure' to describe the stories SASI covers. A further demonstration of this point is the inclusion of the phrases 'devastating injury' and 'inspirational recovery' which are contrasted with one another. The implication is that SASI is a publication with integrity that can be trusted as they do not shy away from the less optimistic and sanguine aspects of sport. SASI apparently tries to balance the initial statement of renown and prestige, in that the magazine subscribes to a simple, authentic and age old philosophy for success, namely storytelling. This conjures associations of humility, simplicity coupled with a sense of community and group affiliation. It suggests that despite the success of the publication it remains grounded and true to its primary mandate. With SASI making

the proposition that its role is one of narrator, it invokes the notion of the reader and attempts to establish a basic rapport. The final sentence of the paragraph of the online rate card document[36], 'SI is the magazine that tells them', seeks to cement the magazine as the custodian of a multitude of sports stories, which denotes both the exclusivity and superiority SASI appeal to.

4.4 Components of the SASI 'identity' proposal

4.4.1 We are 'South African' just like you

Within the SASI texts there is an overt identification with the community they claim affiliation to and are in a relationship with. The proposal is that the 'identity' of both the reader and magazine is South African. The statement '...the magazine has been satisfying South Africans...'[37] links the publication in a positive manner with the reader and imagined community while clearly stating that a relationship exists between the two. SASI's self-casting as South African and the sharing of this socially cohesive communal trait with the 'reader' finds articulation in the textual and visual content of the covers. SASI editor Ami Kapilevich underlines this position as being linked to the view that sport in South African culture remains central to the transcendence of the countries divisive history. However, he does concede that SASI is also seen as a form entertainment and escapism from the inherent tensions of post-apartheid South African society, most notably race relations and the politicisation of sport. Thus, according to Kapilevich, editorially SASI attempts to balance their narrative between addressing issues such as redress and transformation in sport and content that doesn't focus on these factors. The magazine ostensibly highlights as their foremost concern South African sporting narratives.

Admittedly, little clarification or explanation is given as to what constitutes South Africa/n and the 'identity' to which they subscribe. This connection is further underlined by the frequent inclusion of and reference to South Africa (noun) or the abbreviated form, SA, in numerous titles as well as teasers. Some examples include, 'SA Rugby players dominate the

[36] South African Sports Illustrated. 2010. 2010 – Rate Card. *Sports Illustrated South Africa*. [Online]. Available: www.simag.co.za. [12 August 2010]. Appendix 7: pp.178.
[37] South African Sports Illustrated. 2010. 2010 – Rate Card. *Sports Illustrated South Africa*. [Online]. Available: www.simag.co.za. [12 August 2010]. Appendix 7: pp.178.

Top 14'[38], 'SA Poker pro – he came third and won R21 million'[39] and 'British Open: SA's charge for the claret jug'[40]. The same effect is also achieved through the use of South African team nicknames such as the 'Boks' (South African rugby team) and the 'Proteas' (South African cricket team). The assertion of a South 'Africaness' or 'identity' by SASI is augmented by the use of the pronoun 'our' and 'we' in relation to South African teams and athletes, which introduces the idea of a 'community' to which both the publication and reader belong. There is an intentional identification with the cultural and political concept of South Africa and 'South Africaness' which can be seen in the masthead or main header of the magazine which is comprised of 'Sports Illustrated' in a large bold font in upper case, with 'South Africa' added in much smaller font as supportive, but , sub-head. This seemingly hints at the fact that there is a passing acknowledgment given to South Africa as context, but that SASI is not restricted by this and has a prominent global field of operation. More credence is lent to this assertion by that fact that the 'South Africa' sub-head does not appear consistently on every issue and becomes conspicuous by its absence. It appears to be a case of SASI representing South Africa, and by implication the 'reader', in and to the world.

Visually the magazine underpins both the notion of a SASI and reader relationship as well as the South African context of this exchange. The use of the vertical angle plays an important role in definition of power relations between the producer, image subject and viewer. This can for example be seen on the covers of the August 2008[41] and July 2009[42] editions of SASI. SASI generally makes use of the eye level angle which promotes the notion of equality and assumed membership of community. The image may suggest a form of equality between subject/viewer/ producer but the semantic selections, seemingly contradict this. What does remain clear is that the viewer/ interactive participant is not afforded the upper hand or power. In no instances is a high angle used in the composition of the cover image. This maintains the integrity of the represented participant in whose perceived importance and power SASI has a significant stake. There are, however, instances of the use of a low angle, notably August 2008[43] and December 2009[44]. In these instances the represented participant is seen a superior and as having power over the interactive participant.

[38] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, January 2010, Edition 145. Appendix 1: pp.157.
[39] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, October 2008, Edition 130. Appendix 1: pp.142.
[40] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, July 2008, Edition 127. Appendix 1: pp.139.
[41] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, August 2008, Edition 128. Appendix 1: pp.140.
[42] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, July 2009, Edition 139. Appendix 1: pp.151.
[43] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, August 2008, Edition 128. Appendix 1: pp.140.

Most significantly Kress and van Leeuwen (2007:145) underline that the use of the frontal angle, most prominent in SASI, is the 'angle of maximum involvement'. SASI uses this compositional structure deliberately to address the viewer in various ways, always actively, to enter into the communicative act and associated communal South African 'identity' in which the roles or participants are both explicitly and implicitly defined. All the subjects in SASI face the camera and look directly at it. This is a form of direct address in which an overt attempt is made to connect with the viewer. This constitutes what Kress and van Leeuwen (2007:118) define as a demand. The primary intention is to create a rapport with the viewer and encourages participation in a relationship, albeit imaginary. The nature of the relationship is determined largely by the expression and pose of the subject/s in the image. The predominant pose and facial expression adopted by the subject/s involves a stoic, cold, detached and in some ways aggressive character. This is present on 15 of the 25 covers and in all cases the subjects are male, speaking to the traits associated with masculine expression involving power, violence and bravado. The adoption of this pose establishes a relationship in which the viewer is seen as inferior in the relationship. This is certainly consistent with the notion of athletes and sports personalities as exclusive and the quintessential expression of masculinity. It also draws a parallel with SASI's claim to power and authority, a position consolidated by the use of such imagery.

On only two occasions namely, March[45] and April[46] of 2009, are the subjects smiling. This is indicative of a social relationship, not necessarily involving absolute equality however. The use of the close shot in March 2009 proposes a level of intimacy, again underlining SASI's relationship with the personalities and giving viewers the inside knowledge. Interestingly these images are accompanied by content that is not directly related to competition or sporting events, but rather success, for example, 'Why we won'. The viewer is invited to partake in a pseudo-relationship and share in the triumph, which is implied to be South African success. The major proposition can be summed up in the following way: SASI invites the reader to gain guest access to the exclusive and imagined community of a South Africa defined by sport in which athletes represent the ideal incarnation of members and SASI fulfils the role of gatekeeper and power broker in the equation.

[44] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, December 2009, Edition 144. Appendix 1: pp.156.
[45] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, March 2009, Edition 135. Appendix 1: pp.147.
[46] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, April 2009, Edition 136. Appendix 1: pp.148.

The image composition on the cover of SASI is also indicative of a reactional process. The human subject making direct eye contact forms the vector underlined by Kress and van Leeuwen as critical in the creation of a reactional situation. In the context of SASI this reactional interaction does not take place between the subjects on the cover, but between the reacter and addressee or reader. Kress and van Leeuwen (2007:75) state the reacter, hereafter referred to as the cover subject, to be, 'the active participant in a reaction process is the participant whose look creates the eyeline'. In a sense the cover subject acts as a SASI proxy to address or hail a potential reader to invest in the exchange. At this stage of the transaction the reader fulfils the role of the phenomenon or focus of the cover subject. If the image was not accompanied by the text on the cover it could certainly be defined as a non-transactional process in which the reader can interpret the image in various ways.

With the presence of textually defined boundaries it is made more explicit as to whom the cover subject is looking at. This is underpinned by that fact that the cover subject occupies multiple modalities, including that of Sayer and Senser, through the use of direct quotes and enlarged teasers attributed to the subject in the image. This can for example be seen on the cover of the December 2009[47] edition, in which John Smit occupies the role of cover subject via the eyeline vector and Sayer/Senser with the inclusion of the direct quote "Winning is addictive". This is also illustrated by the October 2009[48] cover in which AB de Villiers is connected to Utterance 'Fearless is a good word'. Although this conception of the Sayer/Senser is a slight departure from Kress and van Leeuwen's inclusion of a 'dialogue balloon' or 'thought bubble' the quotation marks ostensibly operate similarly.

The result of this composition is detailed as the creation of a mental and verbal process. The former links the Senser, in the case of SASI the proxy cover athlete, and the phenomenon or reader. The verbal process is responsible for the connection of the Sayer and the Utterance, which is achieved through the use of attributed quotes. The result is that the subjects depicted in the cover image take on the role of persuasive agent for SASI and bolster the credibility of the publication. The premise can be summarised thus, is a reader more likely to purchase a magazine with an image of the SASI editor on the cover or one that portrays the South African national rugby captain? What is also notable is that the process takes place within a definite context and this is visually coded by the setting. One of the features of the setting (2007:75), with particular reference to photography, is the softer focus placed on it. For the

[47] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, December 2009, Edition 144. Appendix 1: pp.156.
[48] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, October 2009, Edition 142. Appendix 1: pp.154.

most part the setting on the covers of SASI is a single colour which is usually matched thematically with a sport uniform or clothing or alternatively is neutral. On only three covers is an actual location used, namely December 2009[49] that of Newlands rugby stadium and November 2008/2009 that of an unidentified beach. The overall effect of avoiding locations is that it brings into starker focus the main subject of the image. This includes some of the smaller details which play a role in defining the context and underpinning certain propositions.

The promotion or visual identification of South Africa/n is illustrated by nine of the covers in which the subject/s of the image is dressed in the South African national kit of their particular sporting code. Examples include the covers of October 2008[50], January 2009[51] and October 2009[52]. Naturally this inclusion may require specially indexed knowledge related to sport, however, it is reasonable to assume that due to the presence of the identical image in numerous other settings outside of the SASI discourse it will have established a fixed visual frame of reference. It's inclusion by SASI is an allusion to the concept of a South African nation and 'identity' which it references. Used in conjunction with the semantic choices, for example 'SA', 'us', 'our' and 'we', aimed at establishing the notion of a commonality or community. The importance of such symbolism cannot be dismissed, something which is noted by Eric Hobsbawm (1993: 11) with reference to Firth (1973: 341) who states:

> The National Flag, the National Anthem and the National emblem are three symbols through which an independent country proclaims its identity and sovereignty, and as such they command an instantaneous respect and loyalty. In themselves they reflect the entire background, thought and culture of a nation.

The last observation of the statement certainly applies in the case of SASI as the Protea emblems on the rugby and cricket shirts were adopted post-apartheid and are used referentially to the 'new' South Africa. However, they are juxtaposed with the Springbok which is an emblem that has its roots in the apartheid regime and has often been viewed as a symbol of exclusion. It was intimated earlier in this study that this association may have been usurped by the 1995 Rugby World Cup in which Nelson Mandela harnessed the politically symbolic power of the emblem for the express purposes of nation building.

[49] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, December 2009, Edition 144. Appendix 1: pp.156.
[50] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, October 2008, Edition 130. Appendix 1: pp.142.
[51] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, January 2009, Edition 133. Appendix 1: pp.145.
[52] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, October 2009, Edition 142. Appendix 1: pp.154.

There is a definite ideological stance taken by SASI in that nationalism is seen as an ideology and the idea of the 'nation state' as a tangibly existent entity or limited 'imagined' community. Sport is overtly linked to the South African 'nation' by the use of the term South African, the nicknames of South African teams, the use of the communal 'us' and we' and the juxtaposition of South Africa with other nation states as sporting competitors. The intimation is that sport is merely an extension of warfare between nations in a battle for pride and honour. It speaks directly to the notion proposed by Benedict Anderson (1991) of the Imagined Community as created in and through modernity. SASI ascribes to the concept of the 'nation' as a community connected by geographical location, common cultural practices and beliefs and as politically sovereign with distinct boundaries. Anderson (1991:7) speaks to this point by maintaining that the 'nation' will always be conceived as limited. Anderson says, "...because even the largest of them [nations], encompassing perhaps a billion living human beings, has finite, if elastic, boundaries, beyond which lie other nations." It is this limitation that allows for the imagination of the 'other' nation used as an oppositional protagonist within the discourse. The protagonist is often represented in an essentialist manner, for example 'Poms'[53] referring to English citizens or 'Aussie'[54] for Australian citizens, with the binary opposition offering an oversimplification which innately suits the conventions of the SASI cover content.

The intention of SASI's presentation of the 'nation' is closely discursively controlled and bounded. It is the attempt to establish a 'community', which consists of readers, that has distinct material value to the publication. Ami Kapilevich acknowledges that content selection is influenced by both sporting events in the calendar as well as aligning this content with other media offerings, most notably satellite television broadcasting. Kapilevich points out that this content symbiosis aims to capture a distinct readership demographic who are economically well off. It can be suggested that the SASI conception of said 'community' is artificially weighted, especially when one considers the binary oppositions brought into play. Stuart Hall (1997: 235) cites the work of Jacques Derrida in this regard, with Derrida proposing that the poles of a binary were always in the favour of one dominant side, which has implications for the relations and distribution of power. With SASI this power resides with the authors/writers of the publication to present their conception of 'South Africa' as dominant and normative. Further, as suggested by Butler (cited in Hall & Du Gay, 1996: 15),

[53] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, December 2009, Edition 144. Appendix 1: pp.156.
[54] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, March 2009, Edition 135. Appendix 1: pp.147.

'identity' often operates through the process of exclusion and the creation of subject positions outside of the centre. The fact that this 'identity' is both manufactured and fictional is not necessarily the most critical factor. Benedict Anderson (1991: 6) makes this point saying, "Communities are distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined." SASI occupies the proverbial throne in this regard as it is able to determine both the style of imagination and the terms of the represemtation.

4.4.2 In South Africa men are to be admired, women to be desired

The dominant thesis of SASI's representation of sport and associated participants is of a predominantly masculine pursuit associated with violence, warfare and battle. In some instances the war and battle analogy is extended to incorporate the appeal to 'national pride' and a competition for supremacy between sovereign states. This can be seen from abstracts and teasers such as 'Ready for battle', 'Mission Australia II: Mickey reveals our ODI battle plan'[55], 'World Domination'[56] and 'Inside Schalk's head – how he goes from chiller to killer'[57]. The juxtaposition of the South African 'nation' and the competitor nation 'other' speaks to a statement made by Benedict Anderson regarding the significant influence and weighting given to the concept of 'nation'. Anderson says (1991: 3), "Nation-ness is the most universally legitimate value in the political life of our time'. It would certainly not be a misapprehension, either theoretically or practically, to argue that Anderson's view could be extended to the socio-cultural sphere as well. In the case of SASI, the postulate of the South African 'nation' is used as a given with a definitive tangible existence.

SASI's foregrounding of the male figure and underlining of sports masculine inclination is also apparent in the choice of cover images. Of the 25 issues, six issues feature women on the cover. Comparatively 26 male athletes are presented over the course of the same period. More critically, only two of the women, namely Maria Sharapova on the August 2009 cover and Ana Ivanovic on the June 2008 cover, who appear on the cover are competitive athletes, with the rest being models or cheerleaders. It would be disingenuous to underplay the significance of this fact when read in conjunction with the textual elements that accompany

[55] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, December 2008, Edition 132. Appendix 1: pp.144.
[56] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, August 2009, Edition 140. Appendix 1: pp.152.
[57] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, October 2008, Edition 130. Appendix 1: pp.142.

the images. Headlines include, 'Beauties of sport special issue'[58], 'Beauties of sport: Sexy Sharapova'[59], 'Tennis stars strip off'[60] and 'Cheerleaders: In the changeroom with the Sharks' flasher girls + NFL's hottest Pom-Pom babes'[61]. The assertion is that women in sport are generally to be acknowledged, not for their sporting skill or prowess, but their aesthetic and physical appeal. Women in sport appear in the SASI text to function and are defined as a subject of the male gaze. Autonomy and power within the discourse appears to have been rescinded for women.

The proposition made by SASI exhibits elements that are consistent with Mary Talbot's (2010: 160) work on the enactment of masculinity. Firstly, she notes that masculine 'identity' is produced and manufactured by discursive practices within distinct historical contexts and institutionally formed. The most prominent form or enactment of this 'identity', according to Talbot, is hegemonic masculinity which is maintained by consent and is normalised through practice. Talbot says of hegemonic masculinity that it '...has all the force and obviousness of common sense'. In addition, and critically, Talbot (2010: 160) underlines the key signposts of hegemonic masculinity saying:

> Some of the key concepts, practices and relations surrounding hegemonic masculinity in industrialized societies are rationality, heterosexuality, hierarchy, dominance, violence and being 'the breadwinner'.

A further indication of the enactment of hegemonic masculinity and the subjective isolation of the feminine comes to the fore in the semantic selections used to describe female athletes. They are cast as actors to be described in terms of their physical attributes and aesthetics, for example 'beauties' and 'hooters'. Further, their role appears to be defined as bounded to sex and the sexual, with autonomy or self-narration revoked. This can be seen in with the inclusion of words such as 'sexy', 'hottest' and 'babes'. This bares some of the hallmarks of a particular conception of femininity, which Talbot (2010: 137) argues to be wholly related to sexualisation. Talbot says (2010: 137), "The way women look is vitally important: the success of social relationships hangs on being desirable, and being desirable is all about visual impact." She also suggests that this has come to the fore in mass media, notably in women's consumer magazines. This mode of representation can be adopted and find

[58] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, June 2008, Edition 126. Appendix 1: pp.138.
[59] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, August 2009, Edition 140. Appendix 1: pp.152.
[60] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, August 2009, Edition 140. Appendix 1: pp.152.
[61] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, September 2008, Edition 129. Appendix 1: pp.141.

articulation in essentialist adaptations within more masculine oriented discourses, such as SASI.

The depiction of woman on the cover of SASI is consistent with Mary Talbot's (2010:139) thesis of enacting consumer femininity and participating in the construction of the identity. It is instructive that over the course of 25 issues, SASI dedicates five covers to women who are wearing revealing clothing and posing suggestively to accentuate physical features. As Talbot says (2010:138), "In this view women are not only turning themselves into 'sex objects'. They are actively involved in self-creation". In the cases where women are presented on the cover, they pose coyly, seductively, smile and in some cases pout. This can be seen on the November 2008[62] cover and January of 2010[63]. In certain instances, for example November 2009[64], they are not fully clothed and the expression of the subject suggests an acknowledgement of this fact consistent with a subordinate and sexualised role. The viewer is seemingly requested to participate in a relationship in which they are to admire and desire the said subject. Interestingly, SASI uses either medium shots or medium long shots for these images, which implies a veritable distance as well as a balance between the social and possibly impersonal nature of the imaginary relations. The intimation is that the women are to be viewed as aesthetically pleasing essentialist objects, but largely devoid of personality. This makes realistic social/personal relationships with such subjects improbable for the viewer. In other words, SASI strictly controls the access and power relations in the communicative exchange. What may also be suggested is that in both the case of representation of women and men, SASI subscribes to a definite convention that allows ease of access and identification for the viewer. Kress and van Leeuwen (2007:126) support this assertion saying, "Patterns of distance can become conventional in visual genres."

The publication takes up a definitive ideological position on gender both within sport and in the wider societal context. SASI foregrounds masculinity and its performance as the dominant mode of expression and representation of sport. This includes the association with competition, violence and success. As previously mentioned, hegemonic masculinity as proposed by Talbot (2010) underlies much of the context of SASI and is in essence a project in consolidating the position of power via acting the role. Talbot (2010:162) illustrates this:

[62] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, November 2008, Edition 131. Appendix 1: pp.143.
[63] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, January 2010, Edition 145. Appendix 1: pp.157.
[64] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, November 2009, Edition 143. Appendix 1: pp.155.

> However, media manifestations support masculine power. It seems likely that such fantasy images help men to draw on and rework aspects of hegemonic masculinity. They give men some investment in, some access to, the patriarchal dividend.

Not only does hegemonic masculinity see the prominent positioning of the male subject and active enactment of the gendered identity, it naturally implicates the role of women in the exchange. With SASI this sees a distinct subjugation of women to the role of supporting cast and sexualised identity. Talbot (2010:140) intimates that this is indicative of the use of sex and sexualised femininity as a commodity for the purposes of consumption. These identities are presented as normalised and self evident within the context of SASI, despite their obvious discursive construction. This is a point underlined by Pierre Bourdieu (2001: 9) who argues that masculine dominance is often adopted as self evident and is not interrogated or as he puts it 'dispenses with justification'. Further Bourdieu notes:

> The social order functions as an immense symbolic machine tending to ratify the masculine domination on which it is founded: it is the sexual division of labour, a very strict distribution of the activities assigned to each sex, of their place, time and instruments.

SASI's reiteration of this position indicates a presumption that readers, the community defined by 'we' and 'our', share similar perspectives. It is a totalitarian ideological proposition in the case of SASI with a stance of non-negotiation over the fluidity of the boundaries of definition for the placement of the subject. It is this subjectivity that links to 'identity' and the readers understanding thereof. Stuart Hall (1996:6) elaborates on this point, saying:

> Identities are thus the points of temporary attachment to the subject positions which discursive practices construct for us. They are the result of a successful articulation or 'chaining' of the subject into the flow of discourse...

Although SASI clearly demarcates the limits of 'identity' and removes any apparent manoeuvring for self-determination it explicitly ascribes to the modernist ideology of individualism and personal autonomy for success and ultimately power. This appears to be a contradiction. However, SASI fosters the idea of individualism with the structures and boundaries of the discourse. In other words, athletes and 'South Africans', explicitly male, are able to achieve success in sport through individual effort and self-determination but

within the context of masculinity and the dominance or suppression this affords. This success is linked to the 'nation' in that the athletes are afforded the role of ambassador embodying the desired characteristics of the ideal citizen. Within the paradigm of sport the desired 'identity' that is affirmed is one in which the male individual competes, beats and wins against others, often at all costs. Loss or defeat is an impediment and clear sign of flawed character to be shunned as an element of 'identity'. Judith Butler's (cited in Talbot, 2010: 125) asserts that gendered identities are in essence a performance or choreography. Operating from this position it is not disingenuous to propose that this would extend to other aspects of 'identity' as well, including the performance of a distinct construct of South African 'identity' viewed as the ideal for an imagined recipient. Talbot (2010: 145) makes this point:

> Media discourses are one-sided, with one group of people doing most of the talking/writing. Their addressees are a mass audience; formed of individual people, of course, but no known to them as such. Producers of mass media discourse have to guess whom they are addressing.

Thus, SASI would assume the role of script writer and director of the performance of South African 'identity' with reference to the perceived reader/recipient.

4.4.3 South Africans play cricket and rugby

The final dominant premise that is identifiable on the SASI cover is that rugby and cricket are the most successful of the professional sporting codes in South Africa, while local football remains a poor relation plagued by ineptitude and dubious quality. Firstly, this can be seen in the selection of athletes for the cover image. Over the course of 25 issues, rugby players feature on 13 editions, both individually and in groups. Cricket players also receive exposure featuring on five of the editions. The only edition of the magazine to feature images related to South African football, is that of June 2010, and in this case it was in combination with 10 international football players. The images are revealing and the case for this proposition is also bolstered by titles such as 'Bafana SOS: Is it just too late'[65], 'Parreira exclusive: Bafana's fitness worries me'[66] and the veiled criticism of 'The PSL finally grows up – Hope

[65] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, December 2009, Edition 144. Appendix 1: pp.156.
[66] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, March 2010, Edition 147. Appendix 1: pp.159.

for SA Soccer'[67]. Comparatively speaking abstracts such as 'If you can't play rugby in SA, you can't play rugby'[68] and 'World Domination – Heyneke, Mexted and Div on building a Bok legacy'[69] and 'Smith (SA cricket captain) exclusive "Why we won & how we'll keep winning"'[70], underpin the idea that South African rugby and cricket are both competitive and globally renowned. South African football is largely absent in the narrative and discourse constructed by SASI and when included, is not positively represented. It is noteworthy that in the month of the 2010 FIFA World Cup, June 2010[71], undoubtedly the most significant sporting event held in post-apartheid South Africa, that South African football players did not feature prominently on the cover. The only visual nod given to the national football team is a thumbnail sized picture of midfielder Steven Pienaar and the teaser 'Bafana Bafana Report'. Further, despite the football theme of the cover and prominence of the event it still shares cover space with rugby with the header 'Springbok Season Analysis'. This certainly does warrant attention as it subverts and seemingly excludes what is generally considered to be conventional logic regarding football and its popularity in South Africa. Dale McKinley (2010: 80) makes this point saying:

> For the better part of the past century, the most popular sport in South Africa (in relation to both public entertainment and active participation) has been soccer. From its initial introduction into South Africa as a sport played almost solely by the propertied (white) gentry, soccer quickly became by the turn of the 20th century, the sport of choice amongst the black population and white lower classes.

The SASI position on rugby and cricket is exemplified by Kress and van Leeewen's (2007: 79) proposition of the taxonomy of relationships between participants and what the nature of the relation is. They describe this as a taxonomy, in which participants will either adopt the position of subordinates with respect to one or other participants who is thus the Superordinate. This is particularly applicable to SASI in the case of covers that feature more than one individual, which occurs on four occasions over the course of the 25 issues. The image composition of July 2008[72], February 2009[73], February 2010[74] draw a parallel with the

[67] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, March 2009, Edition 135. Appendix 1: pp.147.
[68] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, June 2009, Edition 138. Appendix 1: pp.150.
[69] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, August 2009, Edition 140. Appendix 1: pp.152.
[70] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, March 2009, Edition 135. Appendix 1: pp.147.
[71] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, June 2010, Edition 150. Appendix 1: pp.162.
[72] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, July 2008, Edition 127. Appendix 1: pp.139.
[73] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, February 2009, Edition 134. Appendix 1: pp.146.
[74] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, February 2010, Edition 146. Appendix 1: pp.158.

visual characteristics of covert taxonomy which proposes equivalence between subordinates. Hallmarks of this structure include symmetrical composition where subjects are placed at an equal distance from one another, are the same size and orientated in the same manner. This can be clearly seen in the case of all three of the aforementioned covers in which the athletes chosen as subjects illustrate these characteristics. In addition, they are photographed against a neutral background and decontextualised apart from the clothing that they wear, which only in the case of July 2008[75] is the South African national kit.

The major motivation for the use of this image composition is to indicate a classification system in which the order established is in a sense naturalised. In the case of SASI this proposes the idea of two distinct groups or communities, in which the members are on an equal footing. These can be identified as South African national cricket and rugby team representatives and provincial rugby team participants. It is the equivalence shown in the images which allows for the establishing of group relations. This is not to say however that there is not the inclusion of a Superordinate position. In the case of SASI it is a subtle composition that proposes the identity of the Superprdinate. Kress and van Leeuwen intimate that this is primarily done by placing the Subordinate/s under the Superordinate in a vertical taxonomy. Although the SASI configuration appears horizontal, when viewed from above there is a clear hierarchy that emerges. This is achieved visually by foregrounding one athlete/subject who is seen in full and obscures those behind. July 2008[76] sees South African rugby captain John Smit take the position while on the cover of February 2010[77] South African rugby player Morne Steyn occupies this position. This proposes a classificational hierarchy which can be summarised as follows, South African national rugby players, notably white, are top of the taxonomical structure. What is also notable in the relations established in the SASI classificational system is the location afforded to non-white participants. In each case these subjects occupy subordinate and peripheral positions and perhaps more importantly do not feature outside of the group images. Over the course of 25 issues only three non-white individuals feature on the cover and never alone, these are Makhaya Ntini[78] in July 2008, Tendai Mtawariwa[79] in February 2009 and Bryan Habana[80] in February 2010.

[75] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, July 2008, Edition 127. Appendix 1: pp.139.
[76] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, July 2008, Edition 127. Appendix 1: pp.139.
[77] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, February 2010, Edition 146. Appendix 1: pp.158.
[78] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, July 2008, Edition 127. Appendix 1: pp.139.
[79] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, February 2009, Edition 134. Appendix 1: pp.146.
[80] South African Sports Illustrated magazine, February 2010, Edition 146. Appendix 1: pp.158.

It is not misplaced to note that the aforementioned reflects the striated and rigid 'identity' markers promoted under apartheid. It speaks to the continued assertion of distinct power relations based on race and the absence or minimal presence of an 'other'. Frantz Fanon (2008:191) argues that such an absence is affront on basic human dignity and refusal to acknowledge validity. The distribution of power results in non-white individual's exclusion/inclusion at the behest of the dominant 'identity'. Fanon says, "His human worth and reality depend on this other and on his recognition by the other." This configuration is aligned with the fundamental tenets of apartheid legislation that aimed to deny the rights of citizenship of non-white individuals. As Nancy Clark and William Worger (2004: 62) point out:

> Apartheid had been implemented inside South Africa through an intricate series of laws and regulations carefully constructed to separate races into a hierarchy of power with all groups subservient to white rule.

The idea of separate 'raced' communities also extended to cultural expression and social activities, including sport. The focus on cricket and rugby by SASI also invokes notions of a distinct and raced South African 'identity'. Under the apartheid regime, cricket and rugby were articulated as sporting codes preserved for the white population of the country. This included actively preventing non-white individuals from representing South Africa and competing against white participants, discrimination which also extended to the provision of infrastructure. Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed (2010:177) make a similar point saying:

> In South Africa cricket came to represent British class ideology in relation to Afrikaners and racist exclusion in relation to blacks. While all South Africans played cricket, white players represented South Africa.

With a large amount of investment by the state, both economically and culturally, diverted to rugby and cricket the sports were well placed to re-integrate competitively into the international environment. The rapid pace of South Africa's re-admittance into competition meant much of the structural, cultural and economic disparity that accompanied them remained to be addressed. Subsequently the 'identity' of the South African national teams, especially rugby and cricket, remained largely white but with the endorsement of being post-apartheid and by proxy of administrative consensus, unified. The paradigm of cricketing and rugby success seemed to be validated and crystallised early in the democratic era by the performance of the South African cricket team reaching the semi-finals of the World Cup in

1992 and the South African rugby team winning the 1995 World Cup. SASI seemingly still ascribes to this thesis and accompanying white male subject as the dominant representative of South Africa, in other words not much has changed since the 1950's. SASI editor, Ami Kapilevich, argues that the choice of cover athletes and their associated sporting code is pragmatic rather than political. He maintains that it is based on the popularity of the individual athlete/s amongst the SASI readership which has a direct correlation to sales figures. This extends to the sporting code as well, with an undeviating relationship between SASI copies sold and the relative success of the sporting code on the cover. This, Kapilevich says, is one reason why South African football is not regularly featured, as the performance of the national team has not been particularly noteworthy in recent years. Taking this into consideration it can still be suggested that the political manoeuvring of the apartheid state in engineering social and racial inequality in sport continues to permeate conceptions of South African society and the privilege engendered for certain groups. It is a point made by Dale McKinley (2010: 81):

> ...soccer became the bête noir of the racist white establishment, who successively used all means at their disposal, including the extensive powers of the apartheid state, to promote and support (white) sports such as rugby and cricket as well as suppress and control the social, economic and political reach and impact of the (black) sport of soccer.

Kapilevich counters citing that the South African football teams failure to qualify for the African Cup of Nations in 2010, their performance at the same tournament in the first round in 2008 and their qualification for the 2010 World Cup by virtue of being hosts. For Kapilevich, the major impetus in content selection is profitability and the economic viability of the publication brought about, he says, by sporting success. However, this does not negate the predominant 'identity' finding regular expression on the magazine cover and in the choice of content.

4.5 The implications for 'identity' and 'nationhood'

The themes outlined in this chaper hint at the major ideological propositions and attitudes of the publication, including an allusion to the social group/ community of their operation, namely South Africans. Interestingly the text seems to demarcate the publication as outside of 'South African', as a producer operating within a wider, inferred international context but representing South Africans. This not only sets up the dynamic of producer and consumer as outlined in Hall's circuit of culture but defines roles and the discursive structure and formations. Zygmunt Bauman's (1996: 18) insight on 'identity' is useful to consider in this context. Bauman maintains that 'identity' stems from an inherent need to avoid uncertainty and provide a means or framework by which people can place themselves in a given context and relate to others. Identity is also described by Bauman as a postulate without an actual material existence. Bauman (1996: 19) says of 'identity':

> Identity is a critical projection of what is demanded and/or sought upon what it is; or, more exactly still, an oblique assertion of the inadequacy or incompleteness of the latter.

Working from Bauman's position of the postulated and hypothetical thesis that is 'identity', this study is pre-occupied with analysing how SASI interprets this thesis in the context of South Africa. This has implications for the production of knowledge, which is defined by van Dijk (2009: 65) as, "Shared, sociocultural beliefs that are certified by the (knowledge) criteria or standards of a (knowledge) community." It is these beliefs and standards that find iteration and reiteration within discourse. The study ascribes to the concept of discourse proposed by Foucault as historically and culturally specific with a clear linkage between knowledge and power. Thus, the idea or subject of South African 'identity' and its material manifestation does not exist and cannot be understood outside of discourse and the production of knowledge. Knowledge, which, when in tandem with the circulation of power may result in the development of a regime of truth (1997: 49). Foucault (1980:98) is unequivocal in his summation of the effect of power on the individual and hence by implication on 'identity'. He states:

> The individual is an effect of power, and at the same time, or precisely to the extent to which it is that effect, it is the element of its articulation. The individual which power has constituted is at the same time its vehicle.

The manner in which SASI establishes power and produces knowledge has been discussed previously in this chapter. However, the individual and quintessential positioning of the subject has been largely inferred. To borrow from Foucault, it remains necessary to describe the individual articulated through power and thus the dominant conception of the 'nation' and 'national identity'. Firstly, SASI does subscribe to the idea of a 'South African' nation and community constituted by the social and cultural commonality of sport. The magazine does infer a boundary, or as Anderson (1991:7) describes it, a limitation which acknowledges the existence of other nations. What this effectively does is bolster the publication's claim to being the South African ambassador and suggesting uniqueness characterises the South African 'nation'. This is also in keeping with Anderson's (1991:26) description of the nation as being thought of as a solid community moving through history. For SASI the notable identifiers within this history are sporting events and the prominence of the athletic subject of, as Eric Hobsbawm (1992: 300) describes them, 'invented national sports', in this case rugby and cricket.

The dominant 'identity' promoted by SASI is that of South Africa as a 'nation' concerned with individualism, competition and white male athletes as national representatives. Within this concept of 'identity', power rests firmly within a masculine domain in which women are peripheral figures whose presence is for the gratification of their male counterparts and in which the physical attributes are of prime importance. SASI articulates a 'nation' in which white privilege established under both the colonial and apartheid regimes remains firmly intact. It speaks to the idea of 'nation' in which material and structural inequality is yet to be adequately addressed to produce a more representative 'imagined community'. It suggests that the racial classification system introduced under apartheid, in which non-white individuals, were subjugated and placed on the fringes of social articulation still predominates in the case of SASI. It can therefore be defined as form of subjective and essentialist 'nationhood' in which one community purports to be representative, however aims to maintain an ethnocentric 'identity'. Robert Kriger and Abebe Zegeye (2001:12) reiterate this point, "Apartheid relied on the consequences of material scarcity and the apartheid government easily imposed 'nationhood' and sub-nationhood 'from above'". They also maintain that this prevented the creation of 'viable nations' for most South Africans.

SASI is indicative of the disjuncture in 'identity' and 'nationhood' constructed under apartheid, in which inclusivity was not a feature, but emphasis on the superiority of one racial demographic was. This power, despite the political transformation, still pervades and thus

the representation of a white privileged community continues to find articulation as a viable version of the 'nation' or at least a prominent sub-national 'identity'. In a sporting context, as outlined by Ashwin Desai (2010: 3), the adoption of a reformative and reconciliatory approach to policy as opposed to fundamental transformation meant that structural as well as material inequality remained. Although sport was promoted as a communal national activity and represented as a cohesive social agent by the state in post-apartheid South Africa, certain contradictions to this proposition remain. It can be described as the transference of the apartheid 'status quo' in sport. Desai (2010: 7) describes South Africa as having two distinct sporting fields. So although South African 'identity' is viewed as closely aligned to sport and South Africa is seen as a sporting nation, it is a fractured 'identity' and sporting 'nation'. He says:

> It is also to be seen in the old white schools, with their four or five rugby fields, floodlights, Olympic-size swimming pools and highly qualified coaches. The other sporting field consists of the sandpits that pass for football pitches, the lack of even rudimentary equipment, and the erosion of organised school sport.

The continued representation and normalisation of 'whiteness' comes to the fore in SASI. It is an exclusive and limited 'identity' in which the membership criteria is closely aligned to economic and class dominance, which in South Africa is largely defined by race. Further, it suggests that power resides within the represented community, which is reflected in the demographics of the readership of SASI. It is an 'identity' based and maintained by tacit consensus in which social configurations correlate to the strongly promoted preferred 'identity' under apartheid. Grant Farred (1997: 67) argues that this socio-cultural arrangement is unsurprising in South Africa due to the terms of the political transition in which white South Africans made few material concessions or actively acknowledged culpability for the discrimination perpetuated under apartheid. This leads, he says, to a confidence and authority within the white community to assert its position in society.

In the sporting context of South African this took the form of international re-integration without redress. Ashwin Desai and Goolam Vahed (2010) argue this position in relation to the return of South Africa to international cricket, citing the opinions of administrators and politicians who felt that those who benefited from apartheid continued to do so after the unbanning of South African teams. An example is the overwhelmingly white cricket teams who toured India and the West Indies in the early 1990's. With access to the material means

and domination of the communicative exchange buoyed by the international success of previously 'white' sporting codes, such as the 1995 and 2007 Rugby World Cup wins, SASI reiterates a closely bounded 'identity' as the norm and ideal, with white masculine men occupying the apex of the 'community'. Farred (1997: 67) interrogates this stance aptly, saying:

> The demise of apartheid has universalized the franchise and installed a black government, but whites' continuing experience of entitlement has made them a separate, privileged entity. They represent, in Balibar's terms, the "ideal nation inside the nation". White South Africa's claim to its status as an "ideal" meta-nation derives from a confidence grounded in economic, military[81], and political authority.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter focused on establishing the parameters and boundaries of SASI's definition of both inferred South African 'identity' and the publication's role as custodian of this knowledge. The included analysing the major propositions made by the magazine within discourse, both on a semantic and visual level. Certain prominent themes and ideological propositions emerged through the analysis, most importantly the representation of hegemonic white masculinity as normalised, the iteration of nationalist ideology and the associated imagined community and lastly the promotion of individualism and self determination as essential for triumph.

The discussion gave attention to the relationship between the magazine and the imagined reader, in terms of modes of address, the distribution of power and context of the communication. The power resided solely with the magazine in large part due to an attempt to encourage investment by ascribing to an implicit advertorial content construction. The imagined reader and audience are also viewed in terms of market value and as investors in the publication. Alan Warde (1994: 58) explores this notion in relation to the thesis of consumer identity proposed by Zygmun Bauman. Warde points out that according to Bauman the economically well off consumer in modern Westernised societies is able to exert a certain amount of authority through the market. This is primarily motivated by the search for self-identity where consumption becomes a manner of its expression. In the case of SASI the

[81] Farred clarifies his position on white military authority by pointing to the large number of white high ranking officers in the army.

readership is disproportionately white male, reflecting the economic privilege engendered under apartheid. Ami Kapilevich notes that the single most important aspect of his role as editor is brand promotion and publication profitability. This directly influences the choice of content and the subsequent emergent narrative.

Further, the chapter defined the roles of both the interactive and represented participants in the communicative exchange, in which a form of direct address encouraging 'social' participation in the 'community' was most notable. In summation, sport is represented as an integral element of South African culture with a notable history connected to personal and collective pride with the ability to validate 'identity' and group membership that continues to bear the marks of apartheid policies which apportioned essentialist 'identity' markers in sport and wider society. White males are represented as the norm and 'ideal' sporting spokesperson for the country, while non-white individuals are mostly excluded from the visual narrative. Cricket and rugby which under apartheid received significantly more financial backing and are traditionally associated with the 'white' community, are given most prominence by SASI.

When one considers SASI as promulgating sport as tradition, the perspective of Eric Hobsbawm (1992: 9) encapsulates the essence of the chapter, and the self proclaimed mandate of SASI, by describing the first of three overlapping types of invented tradition as, "...those establishing or symbolizing social cohesion of the membership of groups, real or artificial communities". In the following and concluding chapter of the study the discrepancies and similarities between SASI's version of the South African 'nation' and that of the sport governing bodies will be investigated. Further, suggestions will be made as to possible future areas of study, the major findings of the examination and the manner in which the analysis may benefit the field of media and cultural studies.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

There is a distinct sense that the political transition of South Africa in the early 1990's has often been cast as a definitive watershed in which a draconian past was definitively cast aside in favour of incorporative and inclusive multi-party democracy. It implied a freedom of association, self-articulation and determination. This allowed for perceived cultural and social manoeuvring in which new concepts of 'nation' and 'identity' could be developed and promoted both internally and internationally. The primary question of the study was to establish what 'identity' was most apparent in the chosen discourses. What has been shown is that there is the construction of preferred readings of 'identity' that are not ostensibly 'new' but anchored in historically pervasive ideology, most notably based on race and gender. This extends to the inclusion of distinct thematic content which in the case of the governing organisations concentrates on redress, transformation, equity and a pluralist South African 'identity'. For SASI, both visually and semantically the most dominant proposal is that of an exclusory 'identity' linked to the sporting codes of rugby and cricket, with associated apartheid race determined 'identity' paradigms. These conceptions both vie for and claim legitimacy by establishing power within the discourse in which the 'imagined' recipient is not afforded a prominent position.

South Africa is seen by both the publication and organisations as a distinct ideological entity in which 'imagined communities' co-exist and in the case of SASI and the governing organisations, compete for legitimacy. In this chapter, the continuities and differences between the discourses of the magazine and organisations are elucidated. Firstly, the points of convergence are examined, most notably the claim to power, authority and legitimacy as well as the representation of nationalism as an ideology. Secondly, evident disparities of the discourses emerge and are addressed. This includes the variable takes on gender, race and associated class as constituents of 'identity'. The chapter also proposes possible reasons for these differences, some further areas of research and some final concluding comments on the findings.

5.2 Continuity and concurrence

Despite the disparity in the representation of the 'nation' and 'identity' between SASI and the governing organisations, dealt with later in this chapter, there remain certain continuities. The first and most obvious is the promotion of the ideology of nationalism and the reference to South Africa as a distinct and 'real' entity. Both encourage the participation of the reader in a vicarious relationship with a 'community' envisaged as collectively invested in the success of the 'new' South Africa globally, with sport as the symbolic heartbeat. The reader is encouraged to identify with fellow South Africans, which includes the symbols of the 'new' South Africa and references to 'we' and 'our'. Suggesting a collective ownership of the 'nation' references the 'nation-building' project with its key facets of societal integration and multiculturalism, the thesis of the 'rainbow nation'. This is strengthened by the context of the communicative exchange, one which Benedict Anderson cites as critical to the promotion of imagined community, namely text. Anderson (1991: 44) says, "These fellow-readers, to whom they were connected through print, formed, in their secular, particular, visible invisibility, the embryo of the nationally imagined community."

The second correlation between SASI and the governing bodies is their claim to definitive authority and legitimacy. This is an essential strategy for establishing the discursive parameters and establishing the power differential between producer and reader. Although the organisational discourses and that of SASI differ marginally in how they establish their dominance, the emphasis placed on exclusive knowledge and expertise remain paramount. By casting themselves as the proprietor/custodian of sport and access to this cultural commodity, both negotiate versions of 'nationhood' and 'identity' on their terms. The reader guresracialised 'identity' remains in the discursive constructions. From the organisation perspective this takes the form of addressing the unification of disparate groups and the transformation required for the production of an equitable socio-political environment. This inadvertently gives consensus to race consciousness, despite, in certain instances, deliberate steps to try and avoid semantic and visual entanglement.

When looking at SASI it becomes clear that racial 'identity' is a foundational aspect of the narrative, indicative of the material and structural wealth of a minority demographic group. Although this is proposed by SASI editor Ami Kapilevich to be pragmatic in terms of securing and maintaining sales based on Living Standard Means (LSM) figures, it does not

detract from the fact that it represents a post-apartheid societal disjuncture illustrated by the pervasiveness of an imagined exclusive embedded race based 'ideal' sub-nation. In Bauman's conception of the market (cited in Keat, Whitely, Abercrombie, 1994: 60), this extends the benefit of freedom to a limited and select few, who consume based on such an 'identity'. Further, it perpetuates an essentialist retrospective 'identity' that excludes a large number of South African citizens, which is disempowering. Stevens, Swart and Franchi (2006: 12) referencing Duncan indicate that this is unsurprising in that the post-apartheid era still reflects 'racial patterns of socio-economic privilege and deprivation'. The difficulty for the publication is that it markets itself as a representative multi-sport magazine reflecting South African sport stories. However, many of the prominent aspects of sport in post-apartheid South Africa, such as inequality and transformation do not receive attention. They are described by Kapilevich as 'political' and have been marked as unwanted by the readership of the magazine which affects the 'bottom line'.

5.3 Disparate imaginings

There is a clear divergence between the discourses of SASI and the organisations in particular discursive constructions. Firstly, SASI implicitly and, in some cases, overtly represent South Africa as a hegemonic masculine 'nation' in which strength, virility and competitive zeal are the prime characteristics. Men are positioned as the ideal ambassadors of the 'nation' with women occupying subservient and demarcated roles based on their sexuality and aesthetics. This is not inclusive of all masculinities however, but reserved seemingly for 'white' rugby and cricket playing men. There is a normalisation of 'whiteness' in the discourse, in which the imperatives of equal representation, transformation and redress are seemingly omitted. This speaks to the work of Warren Montag (1997: 291) on the Universalization of Whiteness who says:

> The secret of whiteness, as David Roediger argues, is that it is empty, defined only negatively by what it is not, a rule or norm established only after the phenomena that it came to define as inadequate or abnormal. Accordingly, in its most historically effective forms, whiteness does not speak its own name.

SASI's underlining of hegemonic white masculinity may also stem from the class and economic legacy of apartheid. Despite the political transition, white material wealth and property rights remained in place, meaning an authority and power could still be exercised.

Grant Farred (1997: 65) describes ‘white property’ as the real hegemony of post-apartheid society. With wealth and access to discourse it is easier to promote a preferred reading of ‘identity’. This preferred reading may also be deliberate in order to ensure the continued patronage of an inherently economically privileged group. Farred (1997: 71) outlines this position of privilege saying that it affords white individuals with choice and the power of response on their terms, which includes the authority of representation of the ‘other’.

The demographic of the magazine’s readership appears to bolster this claim, with over 70% of the readers falling in the highest LSM group of the country and over 50% of the readership being white. The assertion of this ‘identity’ is further reflective of the determinant influence of race, which in South Africa remains closely linked to class. The implication is that South African culture remains disjointed and characterised by isolated assertions vying for legitimacy by enacting symbols and tropes of the new dispensation. It draws a parallel with what Abebe Zegeye and Robert Kriger (2001: 1) describe as the duality of South African culture endemic under apartheid in which racially classified groups expressed cultural traditions in isolation from one another by state design. With the claim by the apartheid government to cricket and rugby as ‘white’ sports, it appears to have become a defining cultural element of community and group ‘identity’ which finds expression in SASI. It is an ‘identity’ seen as profitable with economic power residing strongly within these privileged communities. An ‘identity’ perpetuated by the primary motivation of the magazine to make money and exclude discourse that may challenge, question or highlight the artificial privilege.

A counterpoint to the SASI representation finds articulation in the organisational discourse in which a ‘nation’ based on political and cultural unanimity represents the ‘ideal’. It is an ‘ideal’ in which the diverse and disjointed nature of South African society could be incorporated into an ‘identity’ of communal respect for difference. In essence, they draw on the thesis espoused by the first post-apartheid South African state government that attempted to showcase the transformation and progress of the ‘nation’ in order to gain membership of a global community. It was a rehabilitated image which finds expression in cultural idioms that were easily accessible, hence the emphasis placed on sport. The combination of a new flag, new sporting emblems and ‘rainbow nation’ discourse formed the backbone of the new political dispensations promotional campaign. Coupled with early sporting success in the 1995 Rugby World Cup and 1996 African Nations Cup, both held in South Africa, a claim to socio-cultural dynamism was made. South Africa was seemingly a ‘new nation’ constructing a new ‘identity’.

The organisations position themselves as both active agents and administrators of societal change. In addition, they promote the organisations as the custodian of 'new' South African 'identity' on the international stage using sporting success as the endorsement of their suitability to do so and the power this infers. Further, they attempt to mark their origin as post-apartheid and democratic. This link infers the existence of 'new' South African negotiated 'identity' project in which the inequities of South Africa's past based on racial segregation inform the discourse on policy and, by inference, the 'nation'. Much of the reference to transformation and redress shares an affinity with the discourse of the state. This correlation is noted by Justin van der Merwe (2010: 149) who says:

> Whilst introducing cosmetic forms of transformation in terms of a fairly robust discourse of racial redress, the negotiations around sport did not effectively yield well –defined parameters for sport in a democratic South Africa.

Thus, although redress and unification remains a discursive imperative of the documents, the practicalities of implementation and examples thereof, remain limited to the semantic domain and ideologically idealistic. These inclusions also correlate with what Peace Kiguwa (2006: 317) asserts as key transformative structural developments of the South African state, namely the Constitution, affirmative action for redress and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. All three she maintains as seminal to nation-building projects that sought to create a unified and re-configured sense of national 'identity'. This approach to 'identity' and 'nation' is characterised by the dual assertion of negotiated multiculturalism, based on apartheid race categories, and the inherited socio-economic inequality such 'identities' infer. It is also indicative of the tacit acknowledgement of 'race' as a legitimate form of identification. Garth Stevens, Tanya Swart and Vijé Franchi (2006: 4) speak to this point saying of race:

> ...it is nevertheless consensually accepted as a tenacious social construct that continues to evolve with great elasticity to shape social relations, subjectivities and configurations of personhood.

Sport arguably became a symbol and barometer of societal development, a newly configured 'invented tradition' used as a projection of the ideal imagined 'nation'. However, as outlined in chapter 3 of this study, the reality was much more complicated than the duality of a before and after scenario. Sean Jacobs (2003: 31) makes a similar point saying:

> Observers worldwide have often marvelled at the apparent consensus achieved between the major protagonists, and it was indeed a massive undertaking. However, the awe with which the transition is regarded may also tend to obscure some of the continuities in South African society, particularly economic inequality.

The governing bodies ensure that they state their commitment to the equality of gender and the multi-faceted transformative 'identity' of the 'new' nation. The discourses do not exclude reference to the political, economic and social challenges that continue to exist in South Africa. However, their stress is on a negotiated space for 'identity' creation where redress is a membership clause for access. They do not however delve into the possible discursive quandary this may produce and the contradictory elements of such a thesis. The first is the idolatry of the 'imagined community' which is seen as liberated from the confinement of apartheid 'identity' markers. However, in so doing it gives credence to the social stratification engineered under apartheid by acknowledging and naming ethnicities and race, despite their constructed nature. It can be argued as an attempt to develop aesthetically driven difference in which sub-groups can continue to assert limited and closely maintained 'identities' protected and endorsed by the constitution. The differing formation of 'identity' taken by the publication and organisations, speak to Todd Gitlin's (1998) concept of 'public sphericles' as opposed to a hegemonic public sphere. Gitlin (1998: 168) points out the limitations of the public sphere analogy saying:

> It is first of all singular: it is *the* sphere, not *a* sphere. The unity image is also pleasing. The rounded sphere displays a perfect symmetry. The sphere looks the same from each point on its surface. It permits no privileged vantage point. No direction is superior to any other direction.

This is certainly not the case with SASI and the organisations and, using the perspective of Gitlin, they seem to constitute separate and somewhat contesting 'sphericles' or segments within the public domain vying for superiority and recognition. They draw from similar constituents but come up against one another in terms of the meaning apportioned to sport in post-apartheid South Africa and the 'identity' this fosters. It may be a case of economic imperatives squaring off against a socio-political transformative agenda.

5.4 Same language, different books

What the discourses of SASI and the sport governing bodies encapsulate is the discontinuity of 'identity' negotiation in a new socio-political dispensation. The organisational discourse, with links to the state in terms of governance imperatives, reflects the liberal nature of the constitution, state endorsement of a pluralist culture and egalitarian transformational agenda. Sport, as a significant aspect of the culture, was employed as a representation of policy implementation, development and success. Sport performed not only an ambassadorial role abroad but within the country. Justin van der Merwe (2010: 155) asserts that although this approach began to institute a sense of stability of 'identity' with initial sporting success and organisational transition, the practical implications of transformation began to take their toll on the 'rainbow nation' epithet. Resources in previously advantaged communities remained just that, while in communities where economic and social development was required the status quo began to dig its heels in. Inevitably essentialist notions of 'identity' began to find re-articulation bolstering the constructed limits of apartheid imaginings. Creating a 'nation' out of economically and socially 'unequal nations' remains a significant blockage in public discourse. It is the tension of the duality of 'identity' fluidity and 'identity' fixation with race. These disparities are what Sean Jacobs (2003: 37) refers to as the 'continuities of apartheid to post-apartheid'. Stevens, Swart and Franchi (2006: 5) support this point using the work of Gumede who say:

> In South Africa, Gumede (2005: 30) notes that one of the major challenges of the new state in the aftermath of the 1994 transition was to 'craft a new nation from the ruins of 300 bloody years of apartheid and colonialism, while at the same time overcoming the hangover of crippling poverty, unemployment, and inequality between predominantly rich whites and poor blacks.

This can be seen in the SASI text, which, although editor Ami Kapilevich says does not contain deliberate political content inclusion, is inherently political. It represents the prevailing privilege and economic power of post-apartheid society as residing in a similar locus as in apartheid.

The disparity and inequity of post-apartheid South Africa infiltrate both SASI's and the sport governing bodies' representation of the 'nation' and 'identity'. Further, the rigidity of racial categories of 'identity' definition remains pervasive, even in cases where cultural pluralism is

advocated. SASI and the governing bodies represent differing interpretations of the thesis of South African citizenship. For the sports organisations transformation, unity and redress are essential pre-requisites for the effective development of the 'nation' despite their emphasis on utopian multiculturalism. For SASI, it is a case of representing a limited and privileged 'identity' legitimated by sporting success and seemingly omitting reference to the structural and material inequality of both South African sport and society. The magazine may display the symbols and emblems of the 'new' South Africa but at the same time attempts to normalise a sub-identity in which exclusivity prevails. It pre-supposes the presence and consensus of cultural commonality based on race and shared investment in sport. David Wilkins (1996: 6) makes a similar point in his discussion of Appiah's analysis of the racially designated cultural identity in America, by maintaining that Appiah asserts no cultural 'identity' can simply be ascribed to racial identities based on presumed commonality. The same would likely hold for South Africa.

5.5 Final thoughts

The examination has brought into stark relief some of the prominent features and issues of post-apartheid culture and 'identity' construction. These include the parallel articulation of divergent narratives incorporating the same cultural capital of sport, appealing to the notion of successful and world renowned 'imagined community'. How the community is imagined may differ but makes use of the limited out of the box identities sculpted by the architects of apartheid. While the organisational discourses iterate notions of dynamism and renovation, the SASI text contradicts this meta-narrative by subverting these claims. By representing an 'identity' drawing influence from economic and material wealth, the suggestion is that within sport and by proxy society very little effective change has occurred. SASI adopts the role of the organisations' Achilles heel of the flawed implementation of redress and trasnfomation. It brings to the fore an 'identity' in which whiteness does not acknowledge its privilege or existence and remains cocooned attempting to ignore significant socio-cultural imbalances. It is represented as a 'nation' within a 'nation' seemingly aiming to extricate itself from the discriminatory foundational aspects of its power. The study also reveals the over-determination of 'race' as identifier and the equation and conflation of 'race' and class. It is also illustrative in microcosm of continued social disparity. It reveals the determination of neo-liberal capitalist imperatives in decision making, be it the selection of content for SASI or the advertorial semantics of the governing bodies. First and foremost, the 'nation' is a

brand to be sold even in saccharine, essentialist and limited imaginings or to limited imagined 'communities'.

The study has attempted to bring a new angle to the field of media and cultural studies, by reading media texts and discourse within a wider socio-political context. Notably this centred on the cross reading of the magazine and the sport governing body documents, which revealed the various ways in which the concept of the 'nation' and 'identity' were approached and articulated. Further, the study aimed to explore numerous aspects of the discourses including the visual, semantic and ideological in order to produce a more inclusive and in depth take on the core issues under investigation. The elements and themes that emerged from the study were not viewed in isolation from one another and took into account the possible and probable socio-political and cultural constituents that influenced their expression. This can be viewed as a departure from a more media-centric paradigm and epistemological position that focuses predominantly on how certain elements are represented in media, without delving into the underlying factors for such discursive trends and viewing media as apart and detached from wider society. What this study has aimed to achieve is to situate and interrogate discourses that share a distinct overarching commonality and compete for dominance within the public domain.

The study opens up numerous questions that are yet to be fully addressed or answered. This includes the influence of media and state discourses on the positioning of the individual discursive subject and the implications for personhood. Another area of interrogation is the role of commercial media in engaging with and representing public political and social debate. Further, an in depth examination of sport, its coverage and representation as a valid form of public knowledge warrants debate. In the cultural sphere of South Africa greater analysis should be done on why there is a continued emphasis on the salience of race in 'identity' with particular reference to the emergence of a new enfranchised South African middle class. With regards to further examinations in sport the transformation and redress programmes instituted by sporting organisations have received limited attention, in evaluating their implementation and the media coverage thereof. An opportunity exists to contribute to the literature of South African sport in that previous work has focused on the national or international realm, as opposed to a local level, with the accompanying inference for issues of governance and socio-political development. A full exploration of sport and its linkages to the public and private sphere in South Africa and the manner in which it exists and vies for influence concurrently with other forms of cultural capital would prove

interesting. The role of the media in this process is also of critical importance, especially when one considers perspectives that oversimplify this function as being able to transcend political and cultural differences, which this study has somewhat mitigated.

In conclusion, the study has illustrated that South African culture and discourse remains negotiated in various ways and various settings. It not only reflects the inequities of South African society but also highlights the positive aspects of the post-apartheid era, which include a hard fought battle for re-admittance into the international community and the investment, albeit disparate, in the concept of a new 'nation'. It speaks to the need to continue campaigning for the eradication of social and economic injustice. Further, it shows the ghost of a system designed to offend and deny human dignity and while one should acknowledge its presence it should not be allowed to bind one in perpetual suspended animation. Risk and bravery may be required to begin to adequately dismantle psychological and cultural relics. In a sense, a forthright and measured engagement with Walter Benjamin's (cited in Anderson 1991: 161) Angel of History is imperative to enact effective cultural and societal change. As Anderson (1991: 161) says, "But the Angel is immortal, and our faces are turned towards the obscurity ahead." So, although South Africans must always remember and acknowledge the negative effects of colonialism and apartheid, there must be a turning ahead in which seeming obscurity can be moulded into more incorporative representation or as Abebe Zegeye and Ian Liebenberg (2001: 320) describe it, "...a new mutant culture *en route* to a more democratic and inclusive, commonality-directed society that yet celebrates its diversity in peace...".

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Appendices

Appendix 1 – *South African Sports Illustrated* covers

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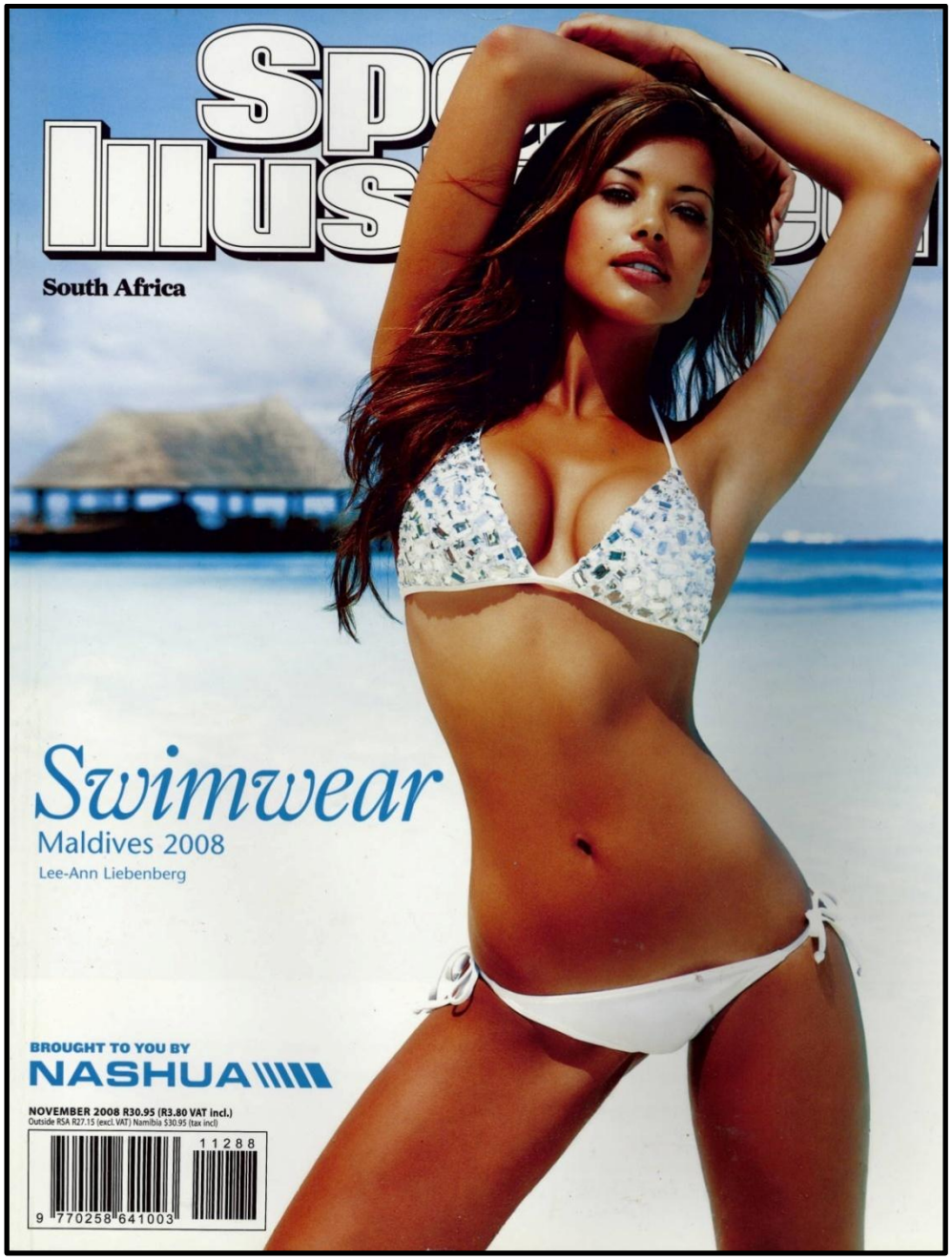
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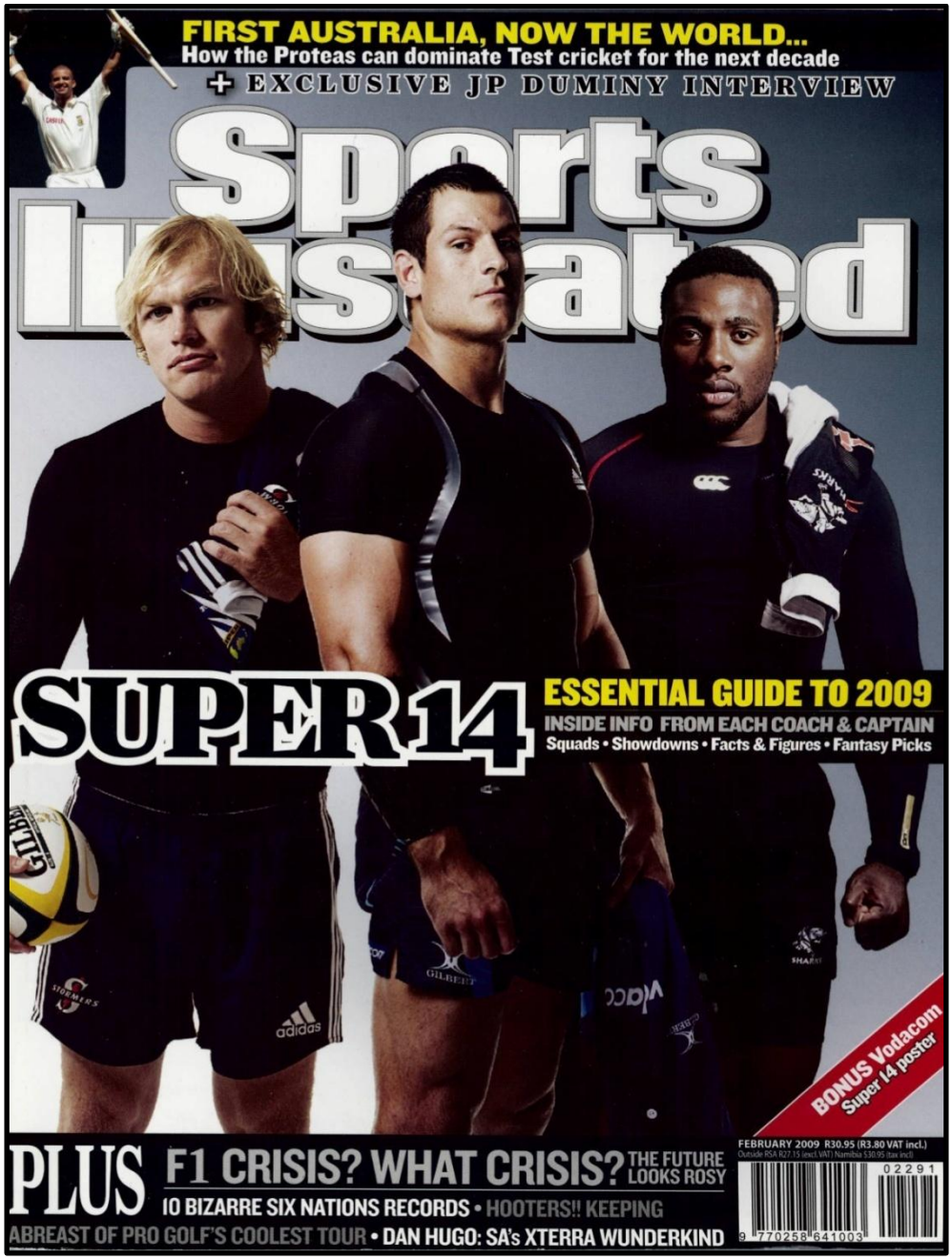
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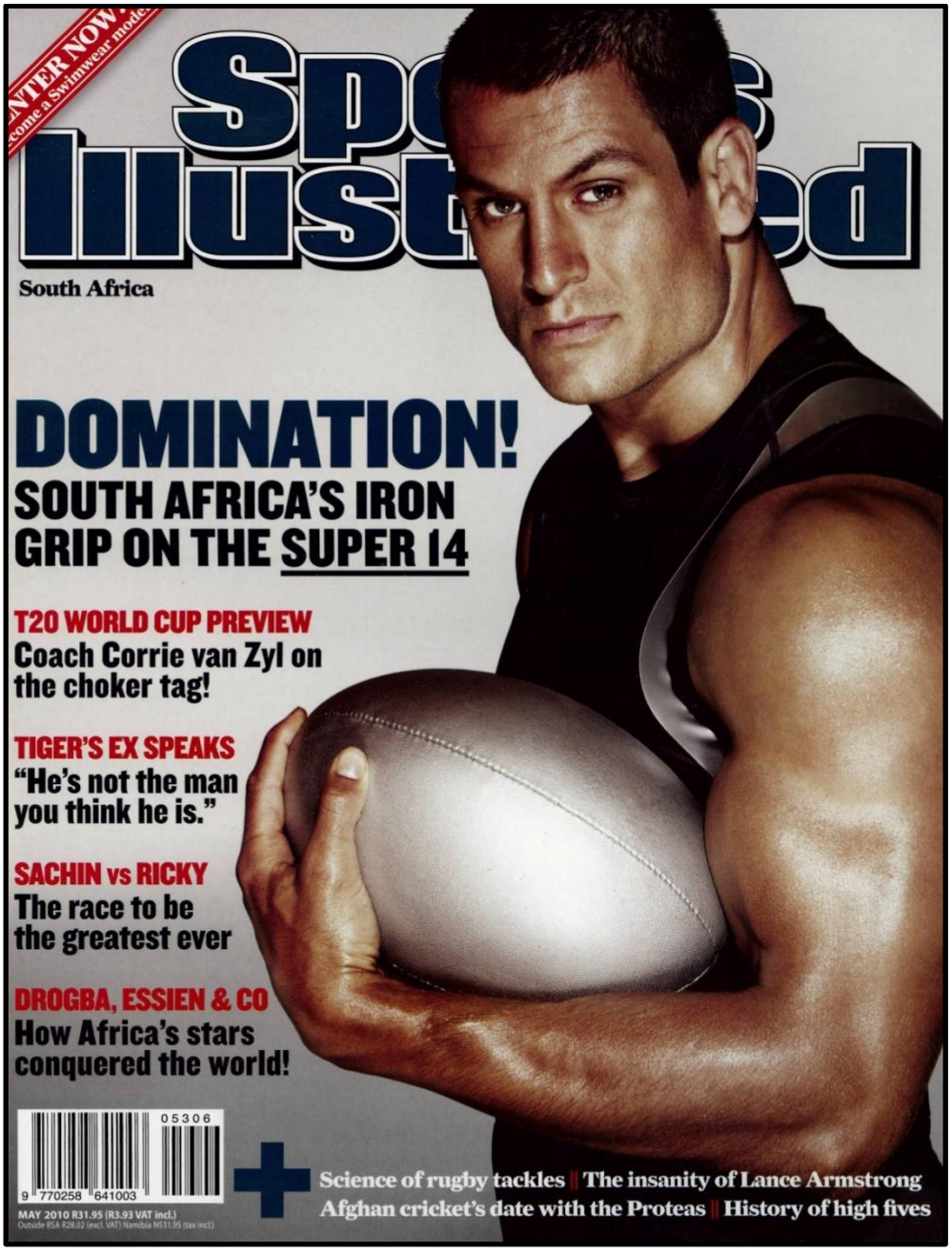
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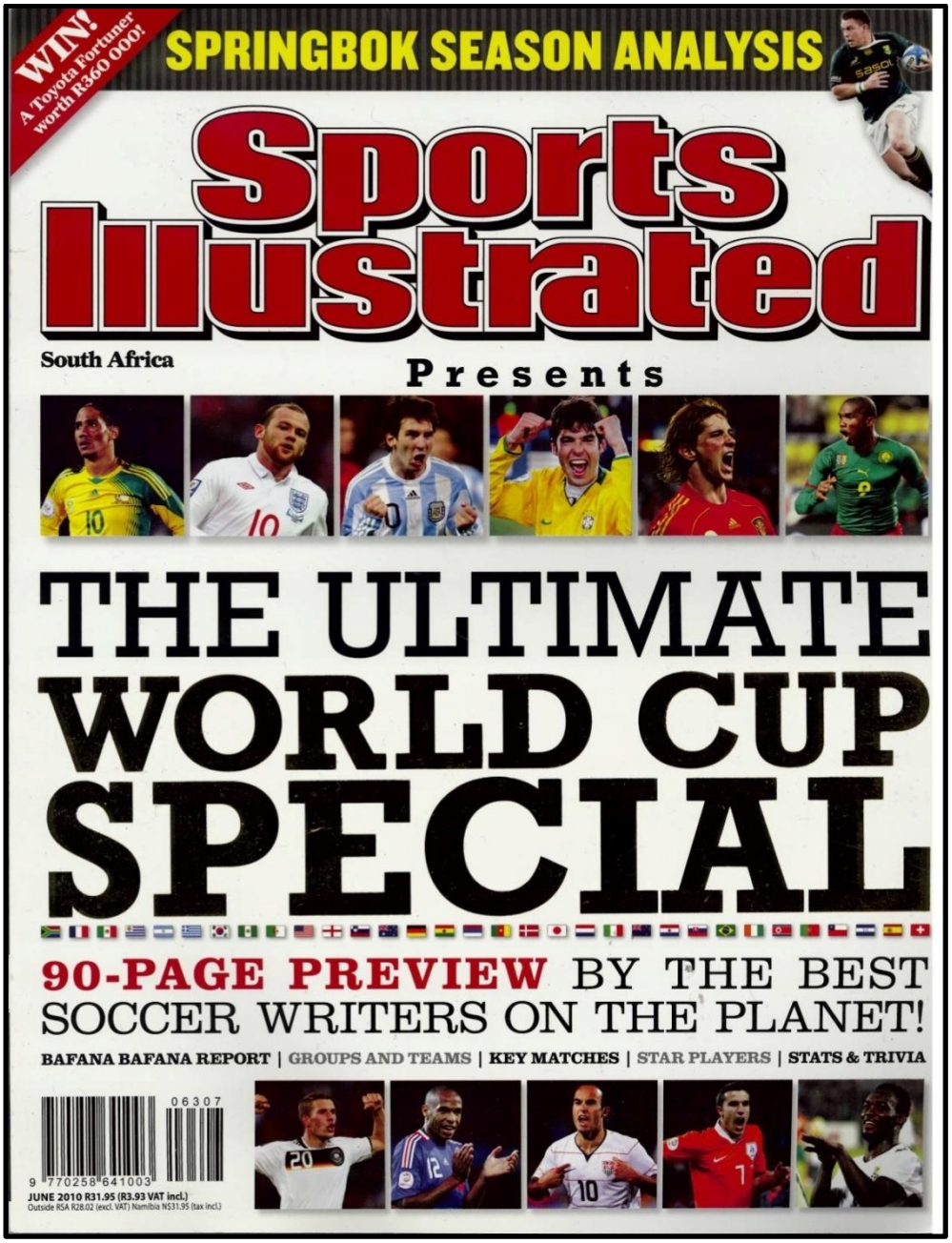
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Appendix 2 – Sport governing body/organisation documents

About CSA

CRICKET South Africa (CSA) is the controlling body of all activities of the game in South Africa, both amateur and professional, and for men and women. It initially operated under the name of the United Cricket Board of South Africa (UCB) which came into being on June 29, 1991, following completion of the unity process between the South African Cricket Union (SACU) and the South African Cricket Board (SACB).

The unification process was driven by the African National Congress (ANC) with the future sports minister, Steve Tshwete, and the former president of the country, Thabo Mbeki, playing particularly significant roles. It brought to an end and a process of enforced separation on racial grounds that had existed for well over a century and had prevented Krom Hendricks from becoming the first black South African to represent his country at cricket for the tour of England in 1894.

Hendricks' inclusion was vetoed by one William Milton, the president of the Western Province Cricket Association, who was also chairman of the national selection committee and was well connected in Cape Colony government circles. Hendricks had already proven himself on the England tour of 1892 when a combined Malay side was given an unofficial fixture against the tourists and the fast bowler took four wickets for 50 runs. Another player, L Samsodien, scored one of only two half-centuries on the tour against the tourists in the same match.

How different South Africa's cricket history might have been had Hendricks' inclusion been permitted. It would have provided opportunities for others, many of whose names will never be known. Basil d'Oliveira, for instance, would have been an obvious selection for South Africa in the early 1950s instead of having to wait until the 1960s to play for England. The UCB gradually devolved the operational side of the professional game to CSA and the latter name was adopted by both bodies in 2006 to avoid confusion and create a better sense of national identity.

The general council of CSA, consisting of the senior office-bearers and the presidents of the provincial unions, is the supreme policy-making body of South African cricket while the operational issues concerning the running of professional cricket are run by the board of directors of CSA (Pty) Ltd.

An important part of that policy is the transformation charter which is overseen by the transformation review committee. This document recognizes the fact that, although now all South Africans are equal under the constitution, serious inequalities still exist in terms of creating opportunities and providing facilities and adequate coaching for cricketers of colour. The transformation charter carries the responsibility of capacity building in all communities and thus making cricket the truly national game.

The highlight of the birth of the UCB was the smooth nature of the unification process in which the first two presidents, Geoff Dakin and Krish Mackerdhuj, played major roles and the subsequent acceptance as a full member of the International Cricket Council (ICC) on July 10, 1991. That cleared the way for South Africa to participate in the 1992 World Cup and to play official international matches at both Test and ODI level. The white South African Cricket Association had been a founder member of the ICC's original predecessor, the Imperial Cricket Council, back in 1909 but their membership automatically lapsed when they left the British Commonwealth of Nations in 1961.

Since unity, South Africa has successfully run the 2003 Cricket World Cup as well as the 2007 ICC World Twenty20 and produced two presidents of the ICC in Percy Sonn and Ray Mali. On the playing front South Africa has also consistently maintained high standards. For a very brief period it was rated the No 1 Test-playing country in the world and has been rated No 2 in ODI cricket for some time now.

South Africa reached the semi-final of the 1992, 1999 and 2007 World Cups.

Outstanding players of the 'new' era include Allan Donald, Shaun Pollock and Makhaya Ntini, who have all taken more than 300 Test wickets, while Mark Boucher is the only wicketkeeper to have made more than 400 Test match dismissals in the history of the game and Jacques Kallis and Gary Kirsten have re-written South Africa's batting records. Kallis is currently the game's leading all-rounder and is one of the legends of the game.

From the pre-unity era the names of Graeme Pollock, Barry Richards, Mike Procter and Aubrey Faulkner are among those revered around the world. We will never know what the likes of Eric Majola, Frank Roro, Eric Petersen and many, many others would have achieved had they been given similar opportunities. Makhaya Ntini, for instance, would never have had the chance to play cricket at all had he been part of the same generation as his parents and grandparents.

Rugby in South Africa

South Africans are rugby mad. On any given match day, men, women and children can be seen wearing rugby jerseys and reveling in the green and gold, the colours worn by the Springboks, South Africa's national team and current holders of the World Cup.

Both the South African Rugby Union (SARU) and the actual game of rugby have been at the forefront of change on the South African sports scene over the past ten years, and management structures and strategies in SARU have continuously evolved to keep up with changes and challenges on the South African playing field.

SARU is committed to the new South Africa, constantly emphasizing the role of the sport and the country's national teams in encouraging patriotism and instilling national pride in people from all walks of life. Rugby is also one sport in which South African teams compete with – and regularly beat – the top teams from around the globe.

SARU is the umbrella brand for:

- The Springboks
- Vodacom Super Rugby
- Absa Currie Cup
- Vodacom Cup
- SA Under 20
- Springbok Sevens
- Springbok Women

The organisation believes that continual growth is vital to the future of the sport in South Africa. For rugby to be a national sport it must appeal to – and be played or watched by – a significant percentage of the South African population. SARU has formulated a growth strategy that covers both participants and supporters, and a number of activities are already underway to meet these objectives.

The strategy includes the development and implementation of programmes to establish sustainable rugby clubs. In addition, education and training programmes are in place to develop and hone the skills of coaches, referees and administrators. An innovative junior and youth rugby policy has also been adopted to ensure the on-going growth of the game at school level.

After soccer, rugby is the most popular sport in South Africa with a following of close to ten million in a population of 44 million. With such a significant market share, SARU aims to grow the brand in a manner that will encourage more sponsorship, translating into increased turnover. With more money to put back into the sport, SARU can increase its appeal among prospective young players and create more winning teams.

Achievements

- In 1995 the Springboks won the Rugby World Cup on home soil, the first time they had ever participated in the contest. They repeated this feat in 2007 in France.
- The Springboks won the Castle Tri-Nations in 1998, 2004 and 2009. From 2012, the competition will change to the Castle Rugby Championship, incorporating Argentina.
- SA Under 21's won the International Rugby Board (IRB) World Championships in South Africa in 2002, the first time the competition was held. They repeated the feat in 2005.
- SA Under 19's became the first IRB World Champions in their age group when the competition

was open to the world in Paris in 2003. They repeated this feat as hosts in 2005.
- The Springbok Sevens team, multiple tournament winners, took the the IRB's World Sevens Series crown for 2008/09.
- The Vodacom Bulls became the first South African side to win Vodacom Super Rugby when they defeated the Sharks in the final in 2007. The Bulls, from Pretoria, won this competition again in 2009 and in 2010.

The Product

The product is rugby – the sport, its participants on the field and in the stands, the generation of future players and the maintenance of the excellent teams SARU already has in its stable.

Four key imperatives underpin SARU's values: Transformation, growth, winning and financial sustainability. These are based on the needs of all SARU's stakeholders and are inter-dependent. Therefore, success is only possible if all four are equally realized.

In a country that thrives on sunshine and sport, SARU is providing light to an arena previously shadowed by political challenges. As the teams get stronger and fans fill the stadiums, the whole country is a little better off for the spirit generated when a South African hero scores a try.

Things you didn't know about SARU

- The Springboks' first game at home was in 1891 against the British Isles in Port Elizabeth.
- The Springboks' first game abroad was against Scotland in Glasgow in 1906.
- Local rugby heroes John Smit (111), Victor Matfield (110) and Percy Montgomery (102) have played the most Tests for South Africa.
- John Smit became the most experienced Test captain of all time when he led the Boks for the 60th time in a Vodacom Tri-Nations Test against the All Blacks in Durban in August 2009.

Introduction to the South African Football Association

The South African Football Association was incorporated on 23 March 1991 following a long unity process that was to rid the sport in South Africa of all its past racial division.

Four disparate units came together to form the organisation in Johannesburg to set South African football on the road to a return to international competition after a lifetime of apartheid in soccer.

These four entities were the Football Association of South Africa (FASA), the South African Soccer Association (SASA), the South African Soccer Federation (SASF) and the South African National Football Association (SANFA), who later withdrew from the process only to return again two years later.

SAFA's inaugural conference in Johannesburg was chaired by Interim Chairman, Mr Mluleki George of the National Sports Congress (NSC). The proposal for SAFA to apply for CAF membership was taken at this congress. However, SANFA did not agree with this initiative. A Draft Constitution was accepted and referred to all Regions and provinces for further consideration and any proposed amendments were to be thrashed out on 5 May 1991. A 15-member committee was elected to office until February 1992, when elections for a permanent National Executive Committee would be held.

The process culminated in a holistic consensus of all negotiating parties on 8 December 1991.

It was only natural that the game finally be united as the sport of football had long led the way into breaking the tight grip of racial oppression, written into South Africa's laws by its successive apartheid governments.

A delegation from SAFA received a standing ovation at the Congress of the Confederation of African Football (CAF) in Dakar, Senegal in 1992, where South Africa was accorded observer status following its recognition by CAF in the same year. South Africa's membership of the world governing body, FIFA, was confirmed at the FIFA Congress held in Zurich in June, 1992.

Within a month the country hosted its first international match as FIFA World Cup quarterfinalists, Cameroon, came to play in three matches to celebrate the unity process. In September 1992, South Africa played its first junior international match against Botswana at under-16 level in Lenasia, Johannesburg and to date, the country has entered a team in each of FIFA and CAF 's competitions, from under-17 to senior national team level for men and women.

In comparison with other football nations, SAFA has achieved remarkable success with qualification for the FIFA World Cup finals in France in 1998, Korea-Japan in 2002 and in South Africa in 2010. It also became the African champions at the 1996 Africa Cup of Nations finals, which the country hosted, and were the runners-up in Burkina Faso two years later.

After a lengthy period in the doldrums of African football, the Men's Senior National Team experienced a resurgence in 2010 – 2011, experiencing a memorable 2010 FIFA World Cup campaign and moving from 89th position on the FIFA World Rankings to 38th position in May 2011 – an improvement of 51 positions in 13 months!

At under-20 level, South Africa were runners-up at the 1997 African championships in Morocco and qualified to play in the Under-20 FIFA World in Malaysia in the same year. In 2010, the Womens Under-17 National Team played in the Under-17 FIFA World Cup after a gruelling qualifying campaign.

The Womens Senior National Team (Banyana Banyana) has consistently remained among the top three national teams in Africa and qualified, in August 2011, to play in the 2012 London Olympic Games. In

the same year, the team placed fourth in the 2011 All-Africa Games in Mozambique, in what was their most successful year to date.

The country's Under-23 National Team faced a gruelling campaign in 2011 to qualify for both the All-Africa Games and the 2012 London Olympic Games, going on to place second in the 2011 All-Africa Games in Mozambique with a group of players put together at short notice due to club commitments of players who played in the qualification rounds of the competition.

At club level, Orlando Pirates won the prestigious African Champions Cup in 1995, the first club from the southern African region to take the title in more than 30 years of competition. Orlando Pirates played in the event for the first time and won the title away from home in Cote d'Ivoire to further amplify the magnificence of the victory.

Behind the scenes, SAFA has worked long and hard to provide the structures to take football to all levels of the South African community. There are now national age-group competitions from under-17 levels, more than 7,000 qualified coaches working around the country and nine provincial structures, who are further divided into 52 Regions. Additional Regions are planned in line with the changes made to municipal demarcations by the Municipal Demarcation Board.

A democratically-elected National Executive Committee provides the strategic direction for the Association. The Chief Executive Officer oversees the running of a large staff operation. Currently, in 2011, Mr Kirsten Nematandani is the fifth President of SAFA since its formation. Mluleki George served as the interim Chairman for the first year (1991-1992) of the existence of the Association. Professor Lesole Gadinabokao was the second president, serving from 1992 to 1994, while Solomon 'Stix' Morewa served as Executive President until his resignation in January 1997. Dr Molefi Oliphant was the fourth President, serving from 1997 to 2009.

The history of SASCOC

The South African Sports Confederation and Olympic Committee (SASCOC) is the controlling body for all high performance sport in South Africa and was formed as a Section 21 Company by representatives of all the sports bodies at a general meeting held on 27 November 2004.

In terms of the Memorandum of Association, the main object is to promote and develop high performance sport in the Republic of South Africa as well as and to act as the controlling body for the preparation and delivery of Team South Africa at all multi-sport international games including but not limited to the Olympics, Paralympics, Commonwealth Games, World Games and All Africa Games.

It is also required:

1. to assume those functions relating to high performance sport which were carried out by the following controlling bodies in the Republic of South Africa:

Disability Sport South Africa (Association incorporated under Section 21);
National Olympic Committee of South Africa;
South African Commonwealth Games Association (Association incorporated under Section 21);
South African Sports Commission;
South African Student Sports Union;
Sport and Recreation South Africa; and
United School Sports Association of South Africa;
2. to affiliate to and/or be recognized by the appropriate international, continental and regional sport organisations for high performance sport and for that purpose act as the recognized national entity for the Republic of South Africa;

3. to initiate, negotiate, arrange, finance and control where necessary, multi-sport tours to and from the Republic of South Africa inclusive of events between teams and/or individuals;

4. to ensure, and if necessary approve, that the bidding process relating to the hosting of international sporting events in the Republic of South Africa or any other events are in compliance with the necessary rules and regulations relating to same;

5. to facilitate the acquisition and development of playing facilities including the construction of stadia and other sports facilities;

6. to ensure close co-operation with both the government and private sector, relating to all aspects of Team South Africa;

7. to ensure the overall protection of symbols, trademarks, emblems or insignia of the bodies referred to in 1g within the Association's jurisdiction.

The Executive of SASCOC comprises a President, a 1st and a 2nd Vice President, five elected members, any IOC member resident in South Africa, one member appointed by each of DISSA, SASSU and

USSASA and one member representing the Athletes Commission.

SASCOC was formed following a long process which commenced with the formation of a Ministerial Task Team established by former Minister of Sport, the Hon Ncgonde Balfour and chaired by the CEO of the Sports Commission, Joe Phaahla. The recommendations of this task team were then handed over to a Steering Committee to implement the recommendations led by Willie Basson and with representation from all the macro sporting bodies in South Africa. The work of this Steering Committee was delegated to various sub-committees and the process culminated in the formation of SASCOC.

The various predecessor bodies of SASCOC will be dissolved during the course of 2005 and their functions, insofar as they relate to high performance sport, will be taken over by SASCOC. All other functions which relate to Mass Participation in sport will become the responsibility of Sport and Recreation South Africa.

The Founding Members of SASCOC have unequivocally pledged to unite and commit themselves towards an improved system based upon the principles of equal opportunity, non racialism and non sexism for all persons, and have dedicated themselves to ensuring equitable development at national and representative level, which ensures the implementing of co-ordinated sports procedures and policies, which would ensure elite levels of athleticism, thus allowing delivery of Team South Africa by the pooling of activities, resources, experience and expertise, as well as co-ordinating the preparation, presentation and delivery of Team South Africa to any elite high performance event worldwide.

Appendix 3 – Narrative structures in visual communication

A summation of Narrative structures in visual communication as elaborated by Kress & van Leeuwen (2006: 74).

Realizations

Unidirectional transactional action	A vector, formed by a (usually diagonal) depicted element, or an arrow, connects two participants, an Actor and a Goal.
Bidirectional transactional action	A vector, formed by a (usually diagonal) depicted element, or a double-headed arrow, connects two Interactors.
Non-transactional action	A vector, formed by a (usually diagonal) depicted element, or an arrow, emanates from a participant, the Actor, but does not point at any other participant.
Actor	The active participant in an action process is the participant from which the vector emanates of which is fused with the vector.
Goal	The passive participant in an action process is the participant at which the vector is directed.
Interactors	The participants in a transactional action process where the vector could be said to emanate, and be directed at, both participants.
Transactional reaction	An eyeline vector connects two participants, a Reacter and a Phenomenon.

Non-transactional reaction	An eyeline vector emanates from a participant the Reacter, but does not point at another participant.
Reacter	The active participant in a reaction process is the participant whose look creates the eyeline.
Phenomenon	The passive participant is a (transactional) reaction is the participant at which the eyeline is directed; in other words, the participant which forms the object of the Reacter's look. The same term is used for the participant (verbal or non-verbal) enclosed by a 'thought bubble'.
Conversion	A process in which a participant, the Relay, is the Goal of one action and the Actor of another. This involves a change of state in the participant.
Mental process	A vector formed by a 'thought bubble' or a similar conventional device connects two participants, the Senser and the Phenomenon.
Senser	The participant from whom the 'thought bubble' vector emanates.
Verbal process	A vector formed by the arrow-like protrusion of a 'dialogue balloon' or similar device connects two participants, a Sayer and an Utterance.
Sayer	The participant in a verbal process from whom the 'dialogue balloon' emanates.
Utterance	The (verbal) participant enclosed in the 'dialogue balloon'.

Setting	The Setting of a process is recognizable because the participants in the foreground overlap and hence partially obscure it; because it is often drawn or painted in less detail, or, in the case of photography, has a softer focus; and because of contrasts in colour saturation and overall darkness or lightness between foreground and background.
Means	The Means of a process is formed by the tool with which the action is executed. It usually also forms the vector.
Accompaniment	An Accompaniment is a participant in a narrative structure which has no vectorial relation with other participants and cannot be interpreted as a Symbolic Attribute.

Appendix 4 – Classificational image structures

An explanation of Classificational image structures as described by Kress & van Leeuwen (2006: 87)

Realizations

Covert taxonomy	A set of participants ('Subordinates') is distributed symmetrically across the picture space, at equal distance from each other, equal in size, and oriented towards the vertical and horizontal axes in the same way.
Single-levelled overt taxonomy	A participant ('Superordinate') is connected to two or more other participants ('Subordinates') through a tree structure with two levels only.
Multi-levelled overt taxonomy	A participant ('Superordinate') is connected to other participants through a tree structure with more than two levels. The participants which occupy immediate levels of Interordinates, while those which occupy the lowest level (if the superordinate is on top) or the highest level (if the Superordinate is at the bottom) are Subordinates.

Appendix 5 – Interactive meanings in images

An outline of Interactive meanings in images as shown by Kress & van Leeuwen (2006: 149).

Realizations	
Demand	Gaze at the viewer
Offer	Absence of gaze at the viewer
Intimate/personal	Close shot
Social	Medium shot
Impersonal	Long shot
Involvement	Frontal angle
Detachment	Oblique angle
Viewer power	High angle
Equality	Eye-level angle
Represented participant power	Low angle

Appendix 6 – The meaning of composition

A summary of *The meaning of composition* as described by Kress & van Leeuwen (2006: 210).

Realizations

Centred	An element (the Centre) is placed in the centre of the composition
Polarized	There is no element in the centre of the composition.
Triptych	The non-central elements in a centred composition are placed either on the right and left or above and below the Centre.
Circular	The non-central elements in a centred composition are placed above and below and to the sides of the Centre, and further elements may be placed in between these polarized positions.
Margin	The non-central elements in a centred composition are identical or near-identical, so creating symmetry in the composition.
Mediator	The Centre of a polarized centred composition forms a bridge between Given and New and/or Ideal and real, so reconciling polarized elements to each other in some way.
Given	The left elements in a polarized composition or the left polarized element in a centred composition. This element is not identical or near-identical to the corresponding right element.
New	The right element in a polarized composition or the right polarized element in a centred composition. This element is not identical or near-identical to the corresponding left element.
Ideal	The top element in a polarized composition or the top polarized element in a centred

	composition. This element is not identical or near-identical to the corresponding bottom element.
Real	The bottom element in a polarized composition or the bottom polarized element in a centred composition. This element is not identical or near-identical to the corresponding top element.
Salience	The degree to which an element draws attention to itself, due to its size, its place in the foreground or its overlapping of other elements, its colour, its tonal values, its sharpness or definition, and other features.
Disconnection	The degree to which a visual element is visually separated from other elements through frame lines, pictorial framing devices, empty space between elements, discontinuities of colour and shape, and other features.
Connection	The degree to which an element is visually joined to another element, through the absence of framing devices, through vectors and through continuities or similarities of colour, visual shape, etc.

Appendix 7 – *South African Sports Illustrated* online rate card



2010 ONLINE RATE CARD

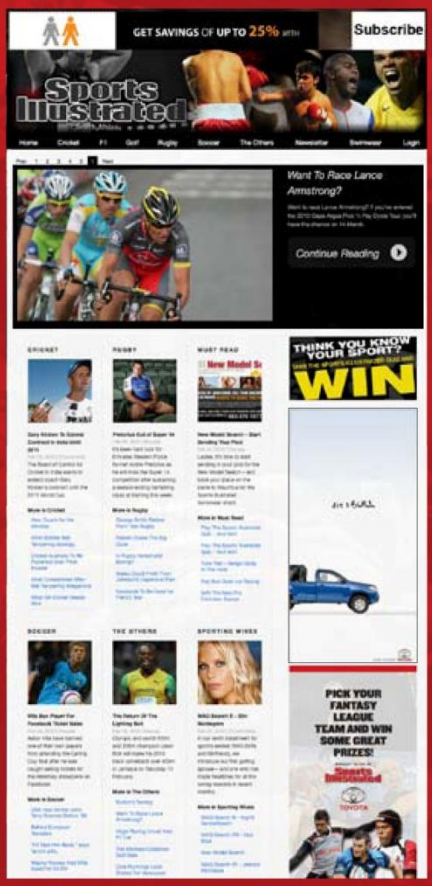
What is www.simag.co.za?

Sports Illustrated's new and improved website brings you unique, up-to-the-minute commentary from the *SI* editorial team, as well as videos of the day and behind-the-scenes action from our cover shoots with SA's most respected sports stars. Simag.co.za takes you up close and personal – something that no generic news-site can give sports fans. Being a multi-sport brand, Simag.co.za covers all sporting codes; plus, the site features the ever-popular *SI Swimwear* models – vids, pics and profiles all year round!

Content



- Expert opinion from the SI editorial team.
- Regular updates and multimedia links to the topic of the day.
- Sports Illustrated Swimwear section, complete with hot vids and free downloads.
- Dedicated sections featuring all the recent cricket, rugby, soccer, F1 and golf events. Plus polls, quizzes and forums for your comment.
- Exclusive image galleries and downloadable wallpapers.
- Follow us on Twitter, Facebook and more!



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Extra Features

- New Model Search – We invite aspiring models to send us their pictures, with the best one landing a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity in the famous SI Swimwear Edition
- Super 14 Fantasy League – Hugely popular Fantasy League game with some amazing prizes to be won
- Quiz – Weekly quiz with leaderboard and monthly winners
- Tube Test – The best sporting videos on the net at your fingertips
- WAG Search – Weekly feature searching for the sexiest Sporting Wife or Girlfriend

Traffic & reach

- Average of 25 000 unique users per month.
- Average of 286 000 page impressions per month.
- Monthly HTML newsletter that reaches 7 600 subscribers.
- As a member of the Online Publishers Association we make use of Nielsen NetRatings for website and traffic statistics, which are standardised & industry-accepted.

Sports Illustrated

2010 ONLINE RATE CARD



Demographics for SI (online)

- **81%** male. Average age 30.
- **70%** age 16-34.
- 4 times more likely than the average man to be in a managerial work position.
- **76%** LSM 9-10.
- **43%** Go to gym or do other exercise weekly.
- Sport – watching and playing it – is their number one passion.

(Info source: AMPS 2009A: SI readers who go online weekly.)

Sports Illustrated Mobile

- mobile.simag.co.za
- All the hottest sporting topics on your phone, as well as cool videos, great competitions and swimwear downloads
- Banner slots available at R15 000 (CPM – R220)

Sponsorship Opportunities

- **Newsletter Inserts** Banner insert on weekly mailer.
  Rate R5 500
- **Full Sponsorship Package** Run of site impressions, fully branded section, website advertorial & newsletter –
  Rate R18 600

CPM RATES

TYPE	SIZE	COST
Leaderboard (Max file size 39kb)	(728x90)	R350
Island Ad (Max file size 39kb)	(300x250)	R300
Skyscraper (Max file size 39kb)	(300x600)	R300

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Sports Illustrated

Appendix 8 – Interview schedule

Interview Schedule

1.Introduction

Participants will firstly be contacted by email outlining the parameters of the research and their possible role in the project. This will gauge their willingness to participate. If a positive response is received, the participants will be engaged telephonically to make the necessary arrangements for the interview. Should the interviewee indicate at any time that they require further information on the research project, it will be provided.

All aspects of the interview process will be clearly communicated to the interviewee, including the possibility of an audio recording. Should the individual interviewed request a transcript / notes from the interview to verify that it reflects an accurate record of the conversation this will be made available.

2. The interview

The interview is of a semi-structured nature with an estimated duration of no more than 60 minutes. The interviewees will be asked a number of predetermined questions (see Section 3) that will allow for the development of further discussion.

3. Questions

Introduction

1. What is your position at South African Sports Illustrated?
2. What are the areas of the publication that you are directly responsible for?
3. What are some of the day to day activities you are involved in at the publication?
4. Where do you think South African Sports Illustrated fits, both within the market of specialist publications, and in the wider print publication environment?

Publication editorial and elements

1. As a multi-sports publication, how are decisions relating to which sporting codes receive more / less coverage made?
2. With South Africans having integrated into the global sporting community, interest in international sports leagues, teams and sports personalities has increased. How does SASI negotiate the balance between South African an international content?
3. What are the determining factors in the selection of the cover sportsmen/women?

4. What factors influence the selection of the main editorial feature in the magazine?
5. How are decisions related to the cover design made, with particular reference to the selection of images, colours and layout?
6. Who, in your opinion, is/are the archetypal SASI reader/s and how much does this impact on editorial decision making?
7. Do you feel that this 'ideal reader' reflects the notion of a South African 'identity'? If so, how?

The publication : post-apartheid and nation building

1. South African Sports Illustrated magazine has been on the shelves for almost a quarter of century, what do you think the key factors that have made the publication successful are?
2. The magazine has been published both prior to democracy and post-apartheid, how has the publication, firstly, negotiated these changes and secondly developed over the 20 years since South Africa was re-admitted to international sport?
3. Do you feel that sport has played a significant role, firstly in nation building and secondly in the definition and articulation of post-apartheid South African culture and 'identity'? If so how?
4. There are a number of contentious debates around sport that continue to take place in numerous arenas. Some of the key issues are those of transformation, equity and governance. How does SASI engage with and reflect these matters?
5. What role do you feel, if any, should sports media publications play in the dialogue on culture and society in a post-apartheid context, with particular reference to the issues outlined above?
6. Do you think that SASI has been actively involved in the aforementioned dialogue? If so, how?
7. Do you feel that SASI presents a representative narrative of the current South African cultural environment, especially relating to the idea of 'South Africaness' and a national 'identity' represented through sport? If so, how?

Final Comments

1. Is there anything further that you would like to add or discuss?

Conclusion

Prior to the ending of the interview, the respondent will be asked if they would like to add anything more to the discussion or ask any further questions. Once the interview is concluded the respondent will be sent an email thanking them for their participation and re-iterating the point that they are free to contact the researcher at any stage.