

**EXPLORING THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE BROADCAST AND
DISTRIBUTION OF THE MZANSI SUPER LEAGUE IN SOUTH AFRICA**

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS
of
RHODES UNIVERSITY

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March 2021

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a critical political economy analysis of the role played by the broadcast and distribution of the Mzansi Super League (MSL), a T20 cricket tournament in South Africa, in the transformation project of Cricket South Africa (CSA). The case study methodology is based on the four-leaf clover framework developed by Ruth Teer-Tomaselli. Cricket in South Africa is often viewed as a white and middle-class dominated sport, and CSA has been mandated to redress the historical racially segregated sport through a transformation agenda that focuses on changing the demographics of cricket. This paper investigates how the broadcast of a cricket tournament like the MSL on a Public Service Broadcaster (PSB) can have a positive effect on transformation due to the increased access and wider distribution. The broadcast regulations acknowledge this, as is seen in the introduction of ICASA draft regulations seeking to make more sport available on PSBs. The South African sports broadcast landscape is dominated by MultiChoice's SuperSport, which has acquired a monopoly on sports broadcasting. The South African Broadcast Corporation (SABC) cannot compete, given its financial difficulties. A fall-out between CSA and SuperSport meant the SABC broadcast the MSL tournament, which lost CSA revenue but gained it a bigger audience. This thesis uses lived experiences and examples to illustrate that despite a financial loss, the wider media distribution of cricket will have positive effects on transformation that could counter the financial loss, especially if CSA creates new streams of income so that it relies less on broadcast revenue. In the current climate, however, compounded by internal financial and management issues, CSA cannot afford to forego the revenue from a private broadcaster and thus has no choice but to pursue a deal with a private broadcaster and lose out on the potential benefits of a wider audience.

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ACRONYMS

BBL – Big Bash League

CSA – Cricket South Africa

CPS – Critical Political Economy

GSC – Global Sports Commerce

DBE – Department of Basic Education

ICC – International Cricket Council

IPL – Indian Premier League

MSL – Mzansi Super League

PSB – Public Service Broadcaster

SACB – South Africa Cricket Board

SABC – South African Broadcast Corporation

SASCOC – South African Sports Confederation and Olympic Committee

SBS – Subscription-based Services

SRSA – Sport and Recreation South Africa (the Department of Sport and Recreation)

UCBSA - United Cricket Board of South Africa

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to acknowledge the support and contribution I received from my supervisor, Mr Rod Amner, who always encouraged me to pursue my research ideas and topics even when these occasionally went against the grain of what was expected. His open-mindedness allowed me to pursue the topic of this paper.

Secondly, I would like to thank Mr Luke Alfred, who has been invaluable in assisting me to navigate the South African cricket landscape and generously made himself available to add input whenever needed.

I am also indebted to my mother, Mrs Joanna Pettitt, who not only proofread this paper but has spent countless hours guiding me through my academic journey.

I would like to thank my parents, who sacrificed so much to give me the opportunity to pursue my studies and to my family, girlfriend and friends who have supported me throughout this journey and been pillars of strength.

A final thank-you goes to the participants in this research who willingly imparted such valuable information and reinforced my passion for this topic.

INTRODUCTION

Origin of Research

This thesis is a critical political economy analysis of the role that the broadcast and distribution of the Mzansi Super League (MSL) T20 cricket tournament plays in the transformation project of Cricket South Africa. The MSL is a South African annual T20 cricket tournament that is attempting to replicate other major T20 events such as the Indian Premier League (IPL) and the Australian Big Bash League (BBL). While T20 tournaments such as these are usually broadcast in South Africa on MultiChoice's SuperSport channels, a pay-per-view subscription service, the first two editions of the MSL were instead televised by the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), a free-to-air Public Service Broadcaster (PSB).

The origins of this research can be traced back to 2019 when the researcher, as part of his Master of Arts project, implemented an in-depth media strategy for the annual internal T20 cricket tournament at Rhodes University in Makhanda (formerly Grahamstown), South Africa. As part of the project, the researcher live-streamed 50% of the matches to YouTube, which had never previously been done for such a localised tournament. The live stream had an immediate effect on interest in the tournament. There was an increase in the size of the audience present at the physical matches in Makhanda, culminating in one of the largest audiences in the tournament's history arriving to watch the final. This was supported by a growing audience watching the live stream online.

It was apparent that wider media access to this sporting event had had a positive impact on the interest generated, resulting in the creation of new fans and an increase in the number of players interested in being part of the tournament. Witnessing this effect on a small scale, the researcher then speculated about the possible impact that wider access would have on a tournament played at national level, and more specifically, the impact the free broadcast of the MSL via a PSB might already have had on the interest generated in cricket in South Africa.

As a lifelong cricket fan who has attended several professional cricket matches both between national teams as well as domestic first-class teams, the researcher noticed that there seemed to be a significantly bigger crowd and more interest during the MSL in 2018, compared to similar domestic tournaments. While the numbers watching appeared to drop slightly in 2019, the bold

statement by the then CEO of CSA, Thabang Moroe, that the tournament was the second-most-watched tournament in the world after the IPL (Moonda, 2019b) also piqued the researcher's interest as to just why the tournament appeared to be so widely supported. When looking more closely at the stadium attendance, it was easy to identify that one of the teams, the Paarl Rocks, seemed to be getting much better attendance than the others. The reason cited for this was that they were based at Boland Park, which as Moroe put it, is a "stadium in a township", as the grounds are situated opposite the township of Amstelhof (Vice, 2019).

Taking all of this into account, the researcher wished to examine the role that broadcasting the tournament on a free-to-air channel rather than a pay-per-view channel had played in increasing interest in, and stadium audiences for, the tournament. The researcher was interested in the possible long-term effects of this increased interest in the MSL and whether this change in broadcast situation from a pay-per-view channel to a PSB could pave the way to creating greater growth in cricket in South Africa.

Moroe, in the same interview, claimed that "access is one of South African people's problems" and that this tournament was an effort to "take [cricket] to the people" (Vice, 2019). The growth of the sport is directly linked to one of the most controversial and greatest challenges faced by CSA and South African cricket, that of 'transformation'. Significant programmes have been put in place to make South African sports teams more representative of the diverse demographics of the country. Transformation across all levels of cricket in South Africa is being implemented using a quota system with specific numbers of players of colour being targeted for team composition (Penrose, 2019). There have been several debates on the effectiveness of the current system, which are covered in more detail in Chapter 5. However, Ashwell Prince, a former member of the South African national team, current coach of the domestic Cape Cobras side and a player of colour, claimed that for transformation to work "We need to authentically change the system" (Kimberley, 2020). It is in this context that the researcher will evaluate and investigate how something as simple as the broadcast and distribution of the tournament on a free-to-air platform can become a larger cog in the changing of the system and the sport, which, in turn, could aid the organic transformation of the game.

CSA is currently at a crossroads, with the 2020/2021 COVID-19 pandemic exacerbating what has already been a tumultuous few years for the organisation and the sport of cricket itself in

South Africa. The launch of the MSL in 2018 was a long-overdue step towards progress, especially since many other nations had already established high profile T20 tournaments. These tournaments have become the cornerstones of these nations' cricketing structures – they have piqued audience interest and established a pipeline for more talent in the sport. The broadcast situation in South Africa, complicated by the multiple walkouts by SuperSport during discussions with CSA over broadcasting the MSL, paved the way for the tournament to be broadcast by the SABC. Following the initial success in 2018, this broadcast situation, which is expanded on in Chapter 2, demonstrated that there is an existing audience in South Africa that were previously denied access to the sport.

The biggest factor behind any decision to broadcast this tournament is the cost involved. For this reason, this thesis takes the form of a critical political economy analysis whereby the feasibility of the broadcast and distribution of the tournament is assessed in various contexts. This is done to gain a holistic view of the role of the broadcast and distribution of the tournament for South Africa. There are several dimensions and layers to this role that need to be unpacked. Further to just making cricket more visible, generating more fans and a larger player pool, there are additional ideological narratives such as the need to transform all aspects of the game to redress the exclusivity and unavailability of the game during apartheid. This ties in with the role of sport in nation-building and promoting equality across South African society. These layers are integral to a holistic understanding of the impact of the broadcast and distribution of the tournament over and above the financial impact.

To understand the role that the broadcast and distribution of the MSL can play in growing South African cricket, the regulations regarding sports broadcasting and the reasoning for them all need to be understood, and the current and previous efforts of CSA and their success and failure need to be studied before presenting possible new alternatives. Certain organisations that have ultimately shaped the current broadcast situation will be considered, namely ICASA, as the regulatory board of communications in South Africa; CSA, as the custodian of cricket; the SABC, as the current broadcaster of the tournament; SuperSport, as the alternative broadcaster. Finally, members of the cricket fraternity involved in transformation and development projects must be involved as they provide the lived experiences of what the efforts of the CSA transformation agenda have resulted in. Understanding where they believe the broadcasting of

the tournament plays in the wider role of transformation according to their lived experiences as well as how it could aid their current work in transforming the sport will provide a first-hand account of the role the broadcast of the tournament could have.

Goals of Research and the Research Process

The goal of this thesis is to provide a critical political economy analysis of the tension between the transformational value of having the MSL broadcast on the SABC and the consequent loss of broadcast rights revenue. With the increased focus on transformation by CSA in 2020 as a result of the Black Lives Matters (BLM) movement, the researcher is attempting to gauge just how big a role the wide-ranging broadcast and distribution of the tournament can play in developing the sport across the country, thus fostering organic transformation, whilst simultaneously assessing the affordability and viability of the different options and whether it is sustainable for CSA to continue the current broadcast situation of the MSL.

To do this, the paper delves into the worlds of sports broadcasting to understand the environment and market. The growth, development and transformation of cricket in South Africa are explored and analysed to understand the pretext, core reasoning behind the projects and how they have been and currently are being implemented across the country. Input from institutions as well as people who have experienced or been impacted by these structures provides a vital perspective on the realities of cricket transformation in the country. A review of the broadcast market in South Africa is an essential focal point to understand the broadcast context as a whole before then applying it to this particular tournament.

This thesis is presented in the form of a case study using critical political economy as the framework with a four-leaf clover approach as defined by Teer-Tomaselli (2018). Teer-Tomaselli breaks down a critical political economy of analysis into four spheres or a 'four-leafed clover' which encompass the following: the Economic Sphere, the Ideological and Cultural Sphere, the Political Sphere and the Technological Sphere. The research process thus systematically breaks down each aspect of the broadcast and distribution of the MSL in terms of how it could relate to possible transformation. In doing this, several layers are broken down in order to fully understand the factors that form part of the final decision as to how the tournament is broadcast and distributed.

The precarious organisational, political and economic challenges currently being experienced by CSA and the SABC have been compounded by the economic and logistical challenges of the COVID-19 global pandemic and accompanying lockdown. As these factors limited the researcher's access to many primary research sources of information, the findings are somewhat constrained, and conclusions drawn will need to acknowledge this.

Presentation of Findings

The thesis begins by setting out the context in which the research is located. A brief history of the broadcast landscape in South Africa is located in Chapter 1, which maps out the factors that have led to the current television broadcast market. Chapter 2 performs a similar task with the sport of cricket itself. In this chapter, a brief history of the sport in South Africa is outlined, including the racialised history of the game and how it has adapted and changed over the years, culminating in the current environment in which Cricket South Africa now finds itself. These chapters are vital to understanding the broader, often unique context of South Africa, a country still haunted by a past fraught with injustice and inequality.

Chapter 3 then covers the methodology before the bulk of the thesis is laid out in Chapters 4-6. Chapter 4 involves a breakdown of the current sports broadcasting market in South Africa and what currently shapes it. This chapter focuses on the regulatory factors the govern how the broadcasting market is run. This is done not only to provide clarity about the market, but also to understand the underlying factors that have shaped these regulations, how they are influencing the market and what the limitations are. A number of different documents are analysed in this chapter as the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA) is attempting to change the current market quite radically. The reasoning behind this is broken down as it ties in closely with what this paper is aiming to explain.

Chapter 5 looks in detail at the transformation policies and efforts of CSA. In this chapter, different transformation documents are broken down to understand how transformation has been implemented by CSA, where it has worked and where it has not. It also reviews how CSA is trying to change its approach to how the promotion of access, of which broadcast and distribution of the MSL is a form, can play a vital role in the overall transformation agenda.

Chapter 6 is a detailed discussion of findings and takes the information garnered from Chapters 4 and 5 and links it to the primary information gained from members of the cricket fraternity in the Eastern Cape and a high-profile author and the ex-acting CEO of CSA. The presentation of findings is split into the different spheres of Teer-Tomaselli's four-leaf clover (2018) where each aspect of the critical political economy is discussed with direct reference to the case study of the MSL.

The Conclusion brings together the different factors and spheres in a holistic analysis of the broadcast and distribution of the tournament concerning the transformation project of CSA to ascertain the most feasible option for the broadcast and distribution of the MSL in the current climate.

CHAPTER 1: THE CRITICAL POLITICAL ECONOMY OF TELEVISION BROADCASTING

Evens et al. (2013) refer to a symbiotic relationship between sports organisations and the media. From the dawn of the appearance of sport in local newspapers, sport and media have continued to grow in a mutually advantageous relationship where sporting organisations have benefited from the increased publicity, resulting in larger crowds and increased ticket sales, while the media has benefited in terms of increased circulation and, in turn, targeted advertising (2013: 14). The introduction of television reshaped the political economy of sport entirely and added a layer to the relationship between sport and media. Sports organisations initially feared a decrease in attendance and with it, reduced ticket revenue. Regulations were put in place that allowed sports organisations to charge 'licence fees' for live coverage, which would compensate for the predicted decline in attendance. This saw the birth of sports television rights (2013: 15).

Although sports broadcasting was initially dominated by Public Service Broadcasters (PSBs), the liberalisation of European economic and media markets during the 1980s gave rise to the development of commercial operators who quickly began to see the value of the advertising revenue from sports broadcasting that had resulted from the significant increase in the number of viewers of the PSBs. As a result, major corporations began to outbid the PSBs for exclusive television rights, causing a seismic shift in television broadcasting dominance away from PSBs towards private commercial broadcasters. As PSBs are mostly state-funded and are mandated to create and broadcast a wide variety of content, there are limited funds available for purchases such as television rights.

In the USA, sports broadcasting had already taken off, with the 1961 Sports Broadcasting Act heralding a new dawn. The new practices that originated after the introduction of this law saw media revenue in the National Football league (NFL) rise from \$4,8 million to \$166,6 million within the space of 20 years (Quirk and Fort, 1992 cited in Evens et al., 2013). As technology began to change, with the addition of satellite television and multichannel subscription services providing the foundation for increased sports offerings, pay-TV quickly overtook PSBs in both the USA market and, notably, the European market, which PSBs had traditionally dominated. The increased revenue from sports broadcast rights had two important results. Firstly, it allowed commercial broadcasters to outbid and financially overpower PSBs in each country's regulatory

framework and thus establish pay-TV stations as the dominant sports broadcasting players in the market. Secondly, it also resulted in a significant increase in revenue for sports organisations themselves, much more than sponsorship and matchday ticket revenue. Sports organisations, in turn, became more reliant on television broadcast revenue to sustain the professional sporting realm that had grown alongside this increase in financial power, to the point where Evens et al. argue that it “produced an unhealthy dependence on lucrative television income.” (2013: 17)

The shift to professionalism in sport can be characterised as a move away from sports-as-a-game to sports-as-a-product. The commercialisation of sport can be attributed primarily to the introduction of television broadcast rights and the consequent increase in advertising and sponsorship revenue. The mediatisation of sport has caused an evolution in the global sports market and sport itself. Sport has been changed by “repackaging the product as a mass-mediated spectacle that helps to serve the commercial goals and strategies of major media companies” (Evens et al., 2013: 23).

The critical political economy of communication locates its roots in the study of political economy, a tradition of economic analysis that examines the way in which the production, distribution and consumption of resources impact our human existence (Hardy, 2014: 4). Mosco (2009) defines political economy as “the study of the social relations, particularly power relations, that mutually constitute the production, distribution and consumption of resources” (2009: 24). While Mosco provides a relatively simple and straightforward conceptualisation of political economy, both Hardy (2014) and Teer-Tomaselli (2018) agree that the rapid change in technologies and the unprecedented expansion of the technical sphere owing to the digital revolution mean that, whilst a useful framework, political economy is no longer diverse enough to analyse modern-day media formally. In the case of television broadcasting, it is no longer merely the study of the relations that affects the production, distribution, and consumption of professional sport as a product because sport is multi-layered. Barnes (200, in Rowe, 2004b) argues that professional sport, although often driven by commercial gain and opportunity, has an inherent “democratising effect which in turn develops a sense of ‘collective consciousness’ for citizens” (Evens et al., 2013: 52).

According to Teer-Tomaselli (2018), political economy is located in multiple disciplines, including politics, economics, communication and cultural studies which are encompassed by an

umbrella term of political economy in critical theory (2018: 132). She argues that the ‘critical’ aspect inherent in political economy makes it unsuitable within a ‘scientific’ or ‘neutral’ approach towards media studies and that political economy as a way of thinking was never meant to be centred on neutrality (132). For Hardy, critical political economy is in line with a Marxist critique of capitalism whereby there is an unequal distribution of power in the arrangement of media, which is continuously sustained (Hardy, 2014: 6). Teer-Tomaselli opines that critical political economy of the media is another example of the idea that social sciences can never be ‘value-free’ (2018: 132) and that it will always foreground concepts such as “justice, equality and democratic values”. This is an important counter to the capitalist system, which can prioritise economic benefit and maintenance of power at the expense of human rights’ promotion (Hardy, 2014). Teer-Tomaselli notes the contributions of the Frankfurt School and refers to Karl Marx’s *Das Kapital (Capital)* as being central to the development of a new conceptualisation of critical political economy (2018: 132). She also notes the progressive work done by Hardy and supports the conceptualisation of critical political economy as an unequal distribution of power that sustains such inequities. She maintains that if we are to use Hardy’s definition, we must be cognisant that central to the claim of the paradigm is the idea that “different ways of organising and financing communications have implications for the range and nature of media content, and the ways in which this is consumed and used” (Hardy, 2014: 8). This would imply that the current structures are not immutable and can be tweaked and amended to change content type and delivery and, in turn, change the effect of their consumption on people.

Murdock and Golding (2005) delineate four aspects that define political economy approaches of analysis. The first is that they are holistic by nature, with critical political economy being interrelated between the various spheres as defined above. Second, they are historical and emphasise an assessment of the long-term effects or changes in the various roles of the different parties (2005: 6). The third aspect is that the balance between private and public entities as well as interventions remains central. Finally, analysis must go beyond ‘technical issues of efficiency’ to always bring the ideas of justice, equity and the public good to the fore and that simple economic factors must never remain the only narrative (2005: 6). The above aspects are crucial to this research project as every aspect and motive regarding decision-making or justification must always be analysed and perceived in a holistic, ‘big picture’ framework that aims to

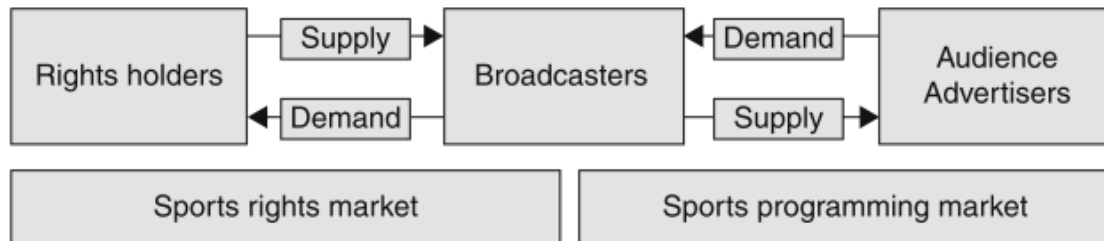
promote practices that can find the best gain across multiple segments. In the case of the Mzansi Super League as a cricket tournament, there are factors to consider beyond simply where the most significant economic gain can be found.

Teer-Tomaselli's most useful contribution is her adaption of critical political economy as a method of analysis into what she terms 'the four-leaf clover' (2018: 133). She notes that within critical political economy, alongside the primary aspects of the political and economic, as the name suggests, technology and ideology should be incorporated for a more well-rounded approach (2018: 133). She paints the relationship in the form of a Venn diagram, with every aspect equally important whilst connected by one fundamental aspect – power. This is a useful method of analysis that endorses Murdock and Golding's holistic conceptualisation that the economy cannot be separated from the political, social and cultural aspects of life (2005: 6). The political spheres are accented in this research because they hinge on the regulation and the governance of the media and how this affects the relationship and operational workings of public and private broadcasters, both central to this thesis. However, the ideological/cultural spheres influence the political; regulations are in place to protect and promote aspects of democracy, freedom and social justice which are defined by cultural factors (Teer-Tomaselli, 2018).

Within the sports media market, the economic sphere can be represented using a diagram of supply and demand between various parties, including the rights holders, broadcasters and the audience/advertisers (Evens et al., 2013). Figure 1 depicts the sports broadcasting market, which features rights holders (sports leagues) and broadcasters, and then the sports programming market, which is the relationship between the broadcaster, the audience and advertisers. Within the sports rights market, the demand and supply of the rights holders are crucial to the broadcaster agreements and the money negotiated in the deals. The more demand there is for a tournament or league's rights, the higher the bid; this has caused an immense shift in the rights market as privately owned broadcasters have continued to outbid each other, leaving PSBs behind. This demand is influenced by the demand from the audience and the advertisers:

the higher the demand, the more incentive there is for the broadcasters to obtain a favourable deal, thus driving prices higher.

Figure 1: The sports broadcast market (Evens et al, 2013: 39)



Critical political studies emphasise the political and cultural aspects within an economic framework. Democratic culture that promotes equality, diversity and social cohesion between citizens is central to the cultural aspect, which in turn informs political regulation that keeps the economic dimension in check. Evens et al. conclude that sport can be very powerful in terms of creating cultural and social upliftment alongside commercial imperatives. They argue that despite the inequalities that can be present in specific instances, sport can still bridge social divides. They posit that for there to be a positive effect on the social cohesion of citizens, “sports have to be widely available and accessible for their potential positives to be maximised for society as a whole” (2013: 67). The use of sport for the purpose of nation building has been widely documented and rests on the idea of a common national identity and, with it, national unity (Carroll, 2012: 14). Sporting mega-events aid nation-building “by creating the cultural events and institutions through which the national identity is established” (2012, 14). South Africa and the 1995 Rugby World Cup are often used as an example of such a nation-building story, with Höglund and Sundberg describing the use of sport in a post-Apartheid era as the “harbinger of peace and reconciliation in South Africa” (2008: 814). The role of sport in nation-building and as a tool of social cohesion is a major contributing factor towards the stringent regulations introduced in the television broadcast market to ensure the economic benefits of professional sport are continuously balanced by the possible social and cultural benefits that are related to the political sphere.

Sport is inherently social and can promote social cohesion and upliftment, something that continues to be demonstrated and used in South Africa. Nelson Mandela emphasised, on many

occasions, the capacity sport has as a means of communication that transcends any cultural and language barriers. In one of his most famous speeches during the 2000 Laureus World Sports Awards, Mandela perfectly captured the role of sport in the world, which has particular relevance to South Africa:

Sport has the power to change the world. It has the power to inspire. It has the power to unite people in a way that little else does. It speaks to youth in a language they understand. Sport can create hope where once there was only despair. It is more powerful than governments in breaking down racial barriers. It laughs in the face of all types of discrimination. (supersport.com, 2020)

Evens et al. cite the United Nations and the European Union's positions on the role sport plays in physical, mental and social health (2013: 55). It must also be noted that whilst sport can contribute to social cohesion, there are also many examples of how sport, particularly professional sport, has become a platform for antisocial, violent behaviour and discrimination, usually relating to the actions of sports fans. Evens et al. cite football hooliganism and, in South Africa, the controversial reaction to implementing quota systems to redress inequitable racial representation in sport in the apartheid context (2013: 61). Despite this, it could be argued that sport has far more potential for social upliftment than social division.

This research project is premised on the concept that promotion of social and cultural cohesion extends to the transformation policies implemented to attempt to bridge the racial inequality that has always marred South African sport. The project employs the Teer-Tomaselli four-leaf clover of analysis (2018). First, in the economic sphere it interrogates the sport broadcasting market and the specific financial concerns and viability of the Mzansi Super League tournament, and its possibilities for growth. This includes a review of whether short- and medium-term losses of broadcast revenue would be offset by the opportunity for other possible long-term revenue streams, such as the advertising that would come with a growth in audience. The political sphere relates to the relationship between the state and the media in terms of the regulations that guide the sports broadcasting market.

The technical sphere relates to the physical broadcasting and distribution of the tournament, which links directly to the economic and political spheres. The technical sphere can be viewed as the physical capacity by the different broadcasters to broadcast the tournament itself. Infrastructure, capacity and technological advancements play a key role in terms of

differentiating between the options available to Cricket South Africa through SuperSport or the SABC. The internet also plays a role in the technical sphere as tournament highlights and live updates on social media could play a vital role in the distribution of the Mzansi Super League. This would be affected by the digital divide between those with data and those without. A review will also be done in this section of how to make best use of the online distribution opportunities available and whether Cricket South Africa could itself take ownership of the online distribution or whether it would be done through media organisations like the SABC or SuperSport.

Finally, there is the ideological/cultural sphere which has a very close link to the political sphere. The cultural and ideological sphere deals with the content that the media is producing and with “issues of representation, identity and language” (Teer-Tomaselli, 2018: 136). In the context of the project, this sphere will examine the value the broadcast of the tournament has for the possible audiences in terms of promoting transformation and democratic values such as equality in terms of equal access. The link to the political sphere comes in the underlying causes that shape the political sphere in terms of the regulations and laws that govern the media. The political sphere, embodied in the regulations set out by the governing body, attempts to create an economic and social system that promotes key aspects of the ideological and cultural spheres, whilst being financially viable and making use of the technical sphere to adapt to modern-day media possibilities.

CHAPTER 2: THE SOUTH AFRICAN CRICKET CONTEXT

Background of Cricket in South Africa

In South Africa, sport has been intensely politicised along racial lines, with rugby and cricket white-dominated historically, while soccer was black-dominated (Smith, 2016).

Cricket was a significant part of British imperialism and for decades “confirmed the privileged position of the white Anglo-Saxon male over ‘other’ races in South African society” (Allen, 2008: 458). During the 20th Century, the sport began to grow and was played by members of all races. However, the right and privilege to represent South Africa were limited to white South Africa (Desai and Nabbi, 2010). This division was institutionalised to the point where there were separate governing bodies, with the South African Cricket Union (SACU) controlling operations of white cricket while the South African Cricket Board (SACB) managed black cricket. On 29 June 1991, as South Africa began to attempt to undo the long-term effects of apartheid, these boards were absorbed into one regulatory body called the United Cricket Board of South Africa (UCBSA), which later became Cricket South Africa (CSA), the current custodian of cricket in the country.

One of the key aspects that the UCBSA had to address was the lack of black representation, not only in the national team but in all structures of the sport: coaching and administrative, alongside playing. A comprehensive ‘development plan’ was launched to promote the racial transformation of the sport across the country. By 1997, there were already complaints about the lack of meaningful transformation due to factors such as the lack of facilities and coaching for young black players compared to their white counterparts (Desai and Nabbi, 2010). The transformation issues ran much deeper than a simple ‘quota’ system that required a certain percentage of teams to be of a particular race. Cricket had always been associated with exclusionary colonial and apartheid political regimes, with national representation reserved for whites. Therefore, the lack of black access to the sport was compounded by an inherent resistance towards the sport itself.

Haroon Lorgat, a former CSA president and then convenor of the selectors for the national team, spoke about the need to change the culture and accessibility of cricket if it were ever truly to transform:

Black schools don't have proper systems and structures in place. Black players start with a disadvantage, and the use of 'elite schools' should be a short-term thing. Cricket is a culture that has to take root, and for this to happen we have to take cricket to the people ... [But] cricket bodies cannot do this on their own. We need an integrated approach between the UCB and Government. At the moment, Government demands that sports deliver black players. This is difficult because there may be talent in black areas, but the structures are in white areas (Desai and Nabbi, 2010: 183).

Some 26 years after democracy, cricket remains a sport reserved for the elite schools in South Africa, with fewer than 50 of the country's 6 000 schools having produced a South African national player (Noorbhai, 2020). According to Noorbhai (2020), there has not been a single player from a township or rural school who has gone on to play for South Africa unless they migrated to a boys-only or private school. Alongside inadequate facilities and coaches, Noorbhai alludes to the lack of an enduring sporting culture as playing a significant role in this statistic.

Formation and Broadcasting of the Mzansi Super League

In 2018, Cricket South Africa (CSA) launched the Mzansi Super League (MSL), a T20 tournament modelled on the Indian Premier League (Brickhill, 2018a). The origins of the Mzansi Super League were embedded in a long road littered with financial mismanagement and administration failure. The dawn of the tournament can be traced back to 2017 where, in response to the success of the numerous T20 league across the world, such as the Indian Premier League and Big Bash League in Australia, Cricket South Africa announced its intention to stage a tournament branded the T20 Global League (Muller, 2017). The tournament was touted as the saviour of South African cricket as it would provide enough financial assistance to stop South African players from leaving the shores and ensure cricket's continued survival as a sport in South Africa (Muller, 2017). Despite having the player squads ready and various contracts with team owners and other stakeholders in place, the T20 Global League collapsed a month before it was scheduled to start, with the failure to secure a lucrative broadcasting deal being a key reason for the tournament's failure (Muller, 2017).

The tournament was then pushed back to 2018. However, as relationships broke down with various parties, Cricket South Africa was forced to abandon the tournament, which would eventually cause it a loss of US\$14 million. In its place, a new-look tournament was announced, the Mzansi Super League, with CSA owning the majority shareholding in partnership with

SuperSport, South Africa's biggest private sports broadcaster and part of the DSTv satellite television service owned by MultiChoice (Moonda, 2018).

Having SuperSport on board as the tournament broadcaster was a key financial move by CSA, given that television rights income makes up the biggest revenue source in sports tournaments (Noll, 2007). The failure of the erstwhile T20 Global League was largely attributed to the lack of a television broadcast partner.

While SuperSport was initially supposed to be the MSL tournament's broadcast partner, the internal issues that have continued to plague CSA eventually led to the broadcaster's withdrawal as an equity partner. SuperSport CEO Gideon Khobane issued the following statement:

The discussions on the in-principal shareholding agreement terminated on 23 July, 2018. We have therefore decided to discontinue negotiations about shareholding. We are, however, engaged in constructive discussions with CSA regarding the broadcast of the event. (Vice, 2018)

The already strained relationship between SuperSport and CSA eventually led to a breakdown of the deal to broadcast the event. Surprisingly, the cash-strapped public broadcaster, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), was awarded the television rights for the tournament (Brickhill, 2018b). CSA CEO Thabang More hailed the decision as a "landmark moment for cricket in South Africa" (Mphahlele, 2018) and spoke of accessibility as a key feature of the deal:

For the first time, South Africa's premier public broadcaster will have exclusive rights to a major cricket event, and this is very much in line with CSA's vision of making cricket a truly national sport of excellence that is accessible to all. (Mphahlele, 2018)

The details of the partnership were not explicitly disclosed. Just one month before the announcement of the partnership, the SABC had disclosed an annual loss of R622m (Grobler, 2018), while CSA revealed it was expecting a R40m loss during the tournament (Xabanisa, 2018). The partnership between CSA and the SABC was said to have a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) that would run for three years, with SABC chief operations officer Chris Maroleng being adamant that the deal was structured so that there was no commercial risk to the SABC, inadvertently making it apparent that it had not paid for the broadcast rights.

What I can say is that it is a lucrative opportunity for the SABC, The challenge in the past was that we didn't acquire rights in a way that allowed us to derive commercial value. We aren't in a position to disclose the commercial aspects, and we are in a partnership with CSA that is commercially viable. The partnership has been done in a way that doesn't expose the SABC to commercial risk. This also presents us with a framework that can help us conclude rights in the future that doesn't expose the SABC to risk. (Tshwaku, 2019)

The broadcasting of the MSL on the SABC was ground-breaking. During the 2017 RamSlam, the T20 cricket competition that was the precursor of the MSL, and which was broadcast on SuperSport, DStv viewership for a match peaked at 109 824 (Houwing, 2017), whereas 1,3 million people viewed each of the first four MSL matches on the SABC in 2018. The MSL tournament was labelled a “product for the people” by CSA CEO Thabang Moroe, who described its availability on a free-to-air channel as “revolutionary” (News24, 2018).

If the tournament had been broadcast on SuperSport, viewership would likely have been limited to those with a DStv premium subscription which includes access to SuperSport channel 202 (now SuperSport Cricket), the channel usually dedicated to cricket (DStv, 2020). According to the report by MyBroadband (Vermeulen, 2020), an estimated 1,7 million households have premium subscriptions and would therefore have had access to the tournament. Importantly, not all 1,7 million subscribers pay for the service to watch cricket, and so it is unlikely that SuperSport would have topped the 1,3 million viewership that was recorded on the SABC. Potential viewership via the SABC is indicated in research by ICASA (2020), which shows that terrestrial television is available to 82,2% of South Africans, while access to subscription services extends to just 12,61%.

The importance of watching cricket in building a following and growing the popularity of the sport is demonstrated in the United Kingdom (UK), where cricket originated. Since test cricket broadcasting of the English cricket team migrated away from a PSB, which is free to air, to a paid service, there has been a substantial drop in the number of active players. According to Dr Babatunde Buraimo, a Senior Lecturer in Sports Management at the University of Liverpool, viewership of test cricket in the UK went from a peak in 2005 of 8,4 million people on Channel 4, a free-to-air service, to just over 500 000 on SkySports, a paid service, in 2015 (Ingle, 2015).

This coincided with a 32% decline in the number of people 16 years or older actively playing cricket in the same time frame (Ingle, 2015).

This is a good example of the tension between the public service mandate of PSBs like the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and the commercial power of private broadcasters in wrestling for the right to broadcast live sport. For the majority of the last century, the BBC and ITV (both PSBs) held a monopoly over live sports broadcasting and were free to broadcast sporting events without fear of losing audiences, given the lack of a competitor (Smith, 2017). During the 1990s, however, Rupert Murdoch disrupted this market entirely with the launch of the BSkyB (now Sky) satellite television service.

With huge budgets and top-of-the-range technology, Sky quickly dominated the UK sports broadcasting landscape by acquiring rights to the main sports leagues such as the English Premier League, international cricket, Rugby Super League and Rugby Union, to name a few. By the mid-1990s, Murdoch and Sky had established a ‘virtuous circle’ of profitability purely through the acquisition of sports rights (Smith, 2017: 205). To maintain any sort of live sports broadcaster offering, the BBC and ITV rely on government policy which prevents certain events deemed ‘of national interest’ from being sold only to private broadcasters. Legislation makes it possible for the PSBs still to access such events (Smith, 2017).

The rise of satellite television, the ascendance of free-market economic policy, and the ability of media companies to derive income directly from consumers through subscriptions have together broken the PSBs’ monopoly and limited their ability to continue offering live sports broadcasting. The BBC is the best-funded PSB in Europe (Smith, 2017). However, it does not have the financial power to compete with private broadcasters for television rights. Today, the BBC relies on a policy of listed events in UK legislation to retain its access to certain events (Smith, 2017).

A similar scenario has happened in South Africa. The Independent Communications Authority of South Africa Act No. 13 of 2000 (ICASA, 2008 cited in Smith, 2016) either keeps certain sports events of ‘national interest’ on free-to-air channels or, at least, proscribes pay television from obstructing the ability of free-to-air services to gain access to certain events.

SuperSport has dominated the television broadcast rights landscape for decades (Smith, 2016: 77). Ngconde Balfour, Minister of Sports and Recreation in 2003, criticised the move of live sports away from the SABC, stating that it was “an unfortunate reality that the majority of South Africans have for years been denied this right [to access national events on television]” (Smith, 2016: 76).

Smith (2017) also notes the continued division of sports audiences along racial lines. With soccer being the favoured sport of black South African audiences, it inevitably commands the biggest audience compared to those of cricket and rugby, which are comprised of a largely white audience who, in a South African context, remain mostly middle class and have proportionally much higher access to pay-TV (2017: 11). In 2007, SuperSport secured exclusive rights to the Premier Soccer League (PSL), South Africa’s largest soccer competition, which caused a massive outcry from fans as the deal would exclude a large portion of the population from watching the tournament. COSATU (the Congress of South African Trade Unions) was vehemently against such a deal, stating that the PSL would then be limited to only the “small elite of rich TV viewers while depriving millions of the working class of the opportunity to follow their favourite sport” (Smith, 2017: 75). As a result of this opposition and several legal battles, SuperSport was forced to enter into an agreement with the SABC and the PSL whereby the SABC would sub-let the rights from MultiChoice for a portion of the matches of the tournament (Smith, 2017).

This illustrates the tension in the South African television broadcasting landscape, with there being a significant gap between those with access to pay-TV and those without. Smith (2017) goes on to argue that MultiChoice has made it virtually impossible for any PSBs to compete with SuperSport and that most of the sport that is provided by PSBs is due to constant intervention from the South African government or through the creation of a hybrid commercial free-to-air channel as is the case with e.tv. ICASA openly acknowledges the ‘disparities between rich and poor’ and uses it to justify such interventions. It emphasises the role the legislation can have on wider transformation in South Africa and states that “exposure to more sporting codes by historically disadvantaged individuals and communities will accelerate the transformation of the sporting codes themselves” (ICASA, 2008: 6 cited in Smith, 2016).

ICASA released Draft Regulations in 2018 to broaden the definition of sporting events deemed to be of national interest to “an event that does not necessarily involve a Senior National team but appeals to the majority of the South African populace” (ICASA, 2018). One reason for this is to give significant portions of South African citizenry access to more sporting events by aiming to balance financial gain against the size and diversity of the audience. Responses were written by several parties, including CSA, the SABC, SuperSport, the Department of Sport & Recreation and the International Cricket Council, which will be reviewed in Chapter 4. However, all parties had major reservations about the proposal.

As already noted, cricket, a minority sport with a colonial and apartheid history marred by racial exclusion, has always been largely inaccessible to the majority of South Africans. This is compounded by MultiChoice’s monopoly over broadcast rights. Today the SABC has limited-to-no access to South African or global cricket events despite the ICASA regulations (News24, 2019).

Crisis of Administration in Cricket South Africa

CSA as an organisation has been under pressure for a few years now, with 2020 becoming a watershed year for the embattled association. The struggles of the organisation date as far back as 2017, where the initial T20 tournament that preceded the creation of the MSL, the Global League T20, failed spectacularly, marking the beginning of a long road of instability for Cricket South Africa. The years that followed the failure of the initial tournament eventually saw the suspension of then Cricket South Africa CEO Thabang Moroe towards the end of 2019 and the launch of a forensic report into his administration (Moonda, 2019b). This came in the wake of cancellations from key sponsors Standard Bank and Momentum (Mnganga, 2019), who demanded to know the reasons for the failings of the organisation, as well as the banning by CSA of several high-profile journalists (Tshwaku, 2019). As a result, CSA made a slew of changes, including the changing of the national coaching structure and the appointment of a new acting CEO, Jacques Faul (Moonda, 2019a).

After this turmoil, CSA experienced a very positive opening few months of 2020 with stability and optimism alive within the organisation. It was at this time that the initial research background for this project was being prepared. Since then, there has been further disarray within CSA, with the situation reaching crisis proportions due to further boardroom politics.

The entire Board of Directors, including the acting CEO, Faul, and chairman, Chris Nenzani, have resigned from the organisation; the South African Sports Confederation & Olympic Committee (SASCOC) has threatened to get involved; and the Department of Sport and Recreation sent a letter of demand to the organisation following the negative results of the Fundudzi forensic report released in 2020 (Moonda, 2020b).

The Fundudzi report, which was released in November, proved to be a key moment in the CSA administration timeline as it became the basis for several structural changes within the organisation, including the appointment of an interim board of directors that was mandated to review the entire organisation and try and restabilise it (Ray, 2020). The damning report brought to light the mismanagement by three high-ranking administrators, namely CEO Thabang Moroe and Chief Operations Manager Naasei Appiah, who have both been dismissed by CSA, as well as company secretary Welsh Gwaza, who was suspended by the interim board (Ray, 2020). The interim board also suspended another acting CEO, Kugandrie Govender, who replaced Faul in September 2020, over allegations of misconduct. In the report, a key aspect of the findings was the MSL rights deal, with GSC coming under intense scrutiny due to payments not made and a lack of due diligence before the rights deals were signed (Ray, 2020).

Despite a positive start in 2020, CSA has since become an organisation in disarray with no clear path forward. It is now searching for a way to re-establish itself not only from a political and administration point of view but also financially, as the years of financial mismanagement outlined in the Fundudzi report have now been compounded by the tough economic climate caused by the COVID-19 pandemic where CSA has derived very little income.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Epistemological Background

This research project finds itself in the ‘critical realism’ realm that Hardy (2014) argues is central to all critical political economy studies. Critical realism relates to interpretivism which initially made a move away from positivism. While positivism understands the world as external, the school of thought believes that there is a single objective reality (Hudson and Ozanne, 1988). Interpretivism makes a shift away from this thought and argues that truth and knowledge are subjective and therefore offers the possibility for many different truths (Elster, 2007). Critical realism places itself in the school of realism which assumes that “there is a material world external to our cognitive processes which possesses specific properties ultimately accessible to our understanding” (Garnham 1990: 3). Hardy (2014) argues that this reality is only accessible through concepts and discourses that aid our understanding of complex situations and ideologies. Realism is in many ways a response to positivism in social studies as it allows for a new realm of possibilities not possible under the positivist structures, which hold that there must be ‘objective’ facts and an ultimate truth (Hardy, 2014: 18). This is difficult in social research where there are too many variables and complexities to achieve such.

Critical realism, as noted previously, locates itself within a realist and interpretivist epistemology, according to Easton (2010) and holds that there is a reality that exists independently of its human conception. It supports philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche’s contention that we can never know facts but rather only perspectives and that there is “no limit to the ways the world can be interpreted” (Nietzsche cited in Berger, 2016: 41). A key aspect is the concept that “social phenomena are intrinsically meaningful, and hence that meaning is not only externally descriptive of them but constitutive of them” (Sayer, 2000: 17); essentially, that meaning is there to be understood rather than measured or counted and that it will always require a certain level of interpretation. The best way to understand critical realism is to understand that social reality must be seen as “an open stratified system of objects with causal powers” (Morton, 2006).

To better understand this meaning, critical analysis identifies formal social and cultural structures that work in the background at shaping a final situation or case. Easton (2010) provides an overview of critical realism that has three layers: the empirical, the actual and the

real (2010: 123). Within the empirical domain, Easton explains there are events that can be observed by researchers which occur as a result of underlying mechanisms (social and cultural structures). Easton further explains that within the actual domain, there are many events that occur that cannot be observed for a variety of reasons or which are interpreted differently. There is, therefore, an aspect of interpretation within critical realism; however, while interpretivism as a philosophy focuses on the meanings that people derive from events, critical realism focuses on the underlying factors that cause such events. Because analysing the same data using different lenses will inevitably result in different results (Woodside & Wilson, cited in Easton, 2010), it is important to use a strong theoretical background to create a lens appropriate for the analysis of the specific data for a specific case.

In this project, that lens will be critical political economy, which foregrounds a promotion of equality and freedom as core democratic principles.

The Research Context

The research was conducted in a difficult context and one that has been even further affected by COVID-19. The key participant and subject in the research is Cricket South Africa (CSA), which is in the middle of an administration crisis, as described in Chapter 2.

When this research project was begun in early 2020, CSA was experiencing a significant level of stability not seen in many years. A tumultuous situation now exists within CSA which has resulted in major structural changes. The relevance and timing of this research project thus make it well placed to inform policymaking going forward. The issues experienced at CSA, however, did affect the researcher's access to, as well as the quality of, information obtainable from CSA. The researcher had to be very conscious of the current situation in the method of approach and the selection of candidates for interview given the difficulty of access within the organisation. Whilst the situation at CSA is complicated, there is a turning point for CSA on the horizon and all other parties, namely the SABC, SuperSport, the fans and those connected to the game, are waiting to see what new direction the organisation will take. The timing of this project is thus ideal to gain valuable insights from conversations with these stakeholders.

The Project as a Case Study

The research was carried out in the form of a case study that combined several research methods.

Simons (2009: 21) defines a case study as:

an in-depth exploration from multiple perspectives, of the complexity and uniqueness of a particular project... in a 'real life' context. It is research-based, inclusive of different methods and is evidence-led. The primary purpose is to generate in-depth understanding of a specific topic... to generate knowledge and/or inform policy development, professional practice and civil or community action. (2009: 21)

Stake, in his book *The Art of Case Study*, from which Simons draws, emphasises that case study is the “study of the particularity and complexity of a single case, coming to understand its activity within important circumstances” (1995: xi). In this case, the project assessed the broadcast, distribution and consumption of the MSL within a critical political economy framework. This was done with multiple perspectives solicited from a range of the parties involved: CSA, broadcasters and legislators/politicians, and members involved in the grassroots development of cricket. The aim of the research meets Simons’ definition as it aims to understand the complexity within the MSL broadcast situation. It is hoped that the research will, in turn, be able to generate new knowledge with the potential to inform future decisions or be used to shape discussions surrounding the topic.

If research questions, in general, are defined as the pursuit of asking who, what, where, how and why, then case study research focuses on the who and why, with “operational links needing to be traced over time, rather than mere frequency or incidence” (Yin, 1994: 18), making it a more scientific and positivist approach. Simons further breaks down case studies into several categories, which include ‘intrinsic’, ‘instrumental’ and ‘collective’, among others (2009: 21). The current study takes the form of an ‘intrinsic’ case study which by definition has an “intrinsic interest in the case itself” (Simons, 2009: 21) rather than an ‘instrumental’ case study, which is used to “explore an issue or research question determined on some other ground” in order “to gain insight or understanding into something else” (Simons, 2009: 21); or a ‘collective’ study, where several cases are used to formulate a collective understanding (Simons, 2009).

In this research, the MSL and the relationship between its broadcast and distribution on the transformation agenda of CSA is the key focus as the researcher is studying it as a singular, unique scenario rather than as a possible example of other implementations. Whilst there was

potential scope for an ‘instrumental’ side to the study, if the results and data provided could be applied in other situations, this would only be at a very basic level. This is because, as highlighted earlier, the growth and transformation of South African sport are unique in that no other major sporting powerhouse nation has such a history of racial subjugation. As such, this thesis focuses entirely on the MSL within a localised project, and while it might draw basic comparisons with broader literature, South Africa as a context should always be treated independently. The uniqueness of the case also makes it inappropriate for a ‘collective’ case study that seeks to combine multiple cases.

The Case Study Design and Research Questions

Eugene Bardach argues that in policy research, “almost all likely sources of information, data, and ideas fall into two general types: documents and people” (2009: 69). This project is qualitative in nature and follows the above approach, including both a document analysis and qualitative interviews and focus groups.

The design of the project was significantly impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic and consequent lockdown restrictions in South Africa. As a result, the researcher’s timeframe was greatly reduced, and the movement restrictions caused by lockdown legislation made it impossible to include more members of the general public to provide a fans’ perspective. Therefore, specific individuals involved in grassroots cricket were selected for interviews where the researcher could ensure in person that the focus group discussions took place in controlled conditions and the necessary COVID-19 health procedures were implemented.

The overarching aim for this project is to critically explore how the distribution of power within and between the political, economic, cultural/ideological and technological spheres impact on decisions around the organisation and financing of the broadcast and distribution of the MSL. In doing so, the core tension between the cultural and ideological imperatives of transformation and the economic values generated through pay-per-view distributors in the context of an ever-changing broadcast landscape is analysed. This tension is explored through the vantage points of the different stakeholders within the tournament, such as CSA as the tournament organisers, SuperSport and the SABC as potential broadcasters, ICASA as the regulator for broadcasting in South Africa, as well as players and coaches involved in cricket development within the Eastern Cape. The latter can provide first-hand instances of what is being assessed within the ideological

and cultural spheres and whether, in their view, free-to-air broadcasting would manifest a better cricketing culture that could grow an inclusive interest within the sport and aid transformation. Furthermore, the attitude of the organisations towards the impact that the broadcast of the MSL can have on transformation is assessed.

The following questions are used to guide the research:

- Is it viable to keep broadcasting the MSL on the SABC?
- How does the tension between the transformation imperative and financial strain of CSA manifest in decisions around the broadcast of the MSL?
- To what extent does the broadcast of the MSL aid the government nation-building project and promote cultural and social development?
- What is the South Africa government's attitude towards the media distribution of sports tournaments, and how does that shape regulations?
- What access do South African have to cricket, and how can the broadcast of the MSL change this?
- How can continued access to such a tournament promote the growth of cricket as a previously minority-dominated sport?
- Can access in the form of media representations improve cricketing culture and have a positive effect on transformation?
- How does access to media promote the organic transformation of the sport as a whole?
- How will the proposed ICASA regulations impact the tournament's distribution?
- What are the factors behind CSA going against its stated intention of keeping the MSL on SABC?

Data Gathering Methods

Document research

The value of document research is noted by Dvora Yanow:

Document reading can also be part of an observational study or an interview-based project. Documents can provide background information prior to designing the research project, for example, prior to conducting interviews. They may corroborate observational and interview data, or they may refute them, in which case the researcher is 'armed' with evidence that can be used to clarify, or perhaps, to challenge what is being told, a role that the observational data may also play. (Yanow, 2007: 411)

In creating a framework and preparing for the interview process, the researcher analysed a host of different documents as well as articles and reports that together created an outline not only of what was at stake for each party but their official documented standpoint as well as the regulations around them.

From a regulatory point of view, all official ICASA acts that have been written into South African law were analysed to understand what the regulations are, have been and are attempting to move towards from a broadcast perspective. These documents include No. 36 of 2005: Electronic Communications Act, which has since had some minor modifications. As recently as November 2020, these regulations were redrafted to further regulate the broadcast competition within South Africa. The proposed amendments of 2020 are a useful update in terms of the successes and failures of the Act and why there needs to be further regulation to decrease the dominance of private broadcasters. Supporting documents to the Act and recent draft and the official responses to the proposed regulations by both CSA and Multichoice are also included. These responses provide a first-hand account of the two parties' positions in terms of the benefits and drawbacks of the current situation and illustrate the attitudes of the parties towards an increased role of PSBs within South Africa. The response from CSA is of particular interest as it includes a brief discussion on the tension of the MSL's broadcast situation that this project seeks to interrogate and thus not only validates the research question but also provides a useful reference as to the stance of CSA at that specific point.

To provide a solid understanding of the transformation project within CSA, the various official transformation policies not only of CSA itself but of the Sport and Recreation South Africa are analysed. This outlines the transformation agenda and its aims, which provide useful context as to CSA's stance on the issue and what it has done so far. The possible transformation gains from the MSL broadcast situation are the crux of the project, and therefore transformation needs to be well mapped out.

Finally, both Multichoice and the SABC's editorial policies are reviewed to fully understand how the decision to either broadcast or not broadcast the MSL aligns with their policies and vision.

Interviewing

In-depth qualitative semi-structured interviews were initially going to be set up to include SABC SuperSport and CSA. However, the researcher faced multiple challenges in trying to finalise personnel for these interviews, which resulted in the interviewees having to be adapted. A semi-structured interview means that while the researcher has a written list of questions, there is an effort to obtain the 'casual quality' of unstructured interviews where the approach is more conversational and the researcher is able to move away from the questions to acquire more holistic information (Berger, 2016: 280).

The selection criteria were that the members had to either be actively involved in the current decision-making process or have been part of either the current or previous meetings and discussions regarding the organisation's position with respect to the broadcast situation and decision. In addition, members involved in the CSA transformation project were interviewed to gain insight into the everyday reality of the transformation project and the factors that play into the overall strategy.

Byrne (2011:180) argues that qualitative interviews are beneficial in "accessing the individuals' attitude and values". In this project, the researcher used the information generated from the document research and focus groups to help guide in-depth, qualitative interviews with CSA, the broadcasters and the regulators/politicians. The researcher probed the interviewees' values and attitudes concerning the complex factors that shape the allocation of MSL broadcast rights. The researcher used an interview guide for semi-structured interviews, allowing for interjections and follow-up questions by the interviewer (Deacon et al. 1999: 65). This facilitated an in-depth understanding of the tensions involved in the decision-making process within and between the

four leaves of the political economy clover from the parties' different vantage points and an appreciation of the relationships between the stakeholders.

As stated earlier, the researcher found it difficult to bring all the parties to the table. SuperSport, whilst initially willing to be part of the research, eventually pulled out, citing that the research would require the organisation to divulge sensitive information regarding the nature of its partnerships and thus made staff unavailable to answer any of the researcher's questions. The SABC agreed to be part of the thesis as well before halting all communication with the researcher. This could have been due to the precarious situation in which the SABC found itself during the research, with multiple protests happening as a result of proposed job cuts (Mashego, 2021). CSA also became a difficult avenue to pursue due to long-standing administrative issues that resulted in multiple changes in key personnel who would have been suitable for the interview. However, the researcher did manage to arrange an interview with ex-acting CEO Jacques Faul who had recently vacated his role as a result of the internal upheaval.

While short on primary sources that have been embedded within the cricketing and media structures of South Africa, the researcher managed to secure an interview with Luke Alfred, an experienced sports journalist who has authored books about cricket in South Africa whilst also being a consultant at CSA for a time. Alfred was able to provide an in-depth view on a variety of factors that have impacted the MSL, especially with regards to its broadcast and distribution. He has documented much of South African cricketing history and provided some crucial insight into the sport's spread and the forces that are impeding the transformation agenda.

Focus groups

The researcher had originally planned to conduct focus groups with a representative sample of ordinary citizens. However, due to the COVID-19 pandemic lockdown restrictions, the researcher has been confined to conducting online research. Since the digital divide excludes many potential participants, the researcher was unable to assemble a genuinely representative sample to interview using online research methods. The researcher instead hosted focus groups using purposive sampling to include members involved in various development teams and structures within the Grahamstown Cricket Board and Graeme College, a CSA Focus School situated in Makhanda. As noted by Berger (2016), focus groups follow a semi-structured

interview approach with predefined questions used to guide what is ideally a free-flowing conversation.

These participants have a “significant relation to the research topic” (Tonkiss, 2011) and the focus group allows access to the “lived views and experiences of individuals immersed within the field” (Qu and Dumay, 2011: 238). This helps to explore the potential role of free-to-air access in transformation and growth at the grassroots level.

Data Analysis Methods

The best method to interpret and find value from the above documentary research and interviews is through a process of descriptive and evaluative coding that seeks to “help identify common themes and topics that may emerge from the interview transcripts; these common themes will help researchers see what is important to informants and what is secondary” (Berger, 2016: 294). In the research findings, the themes that arose are discussed within the application of Teer-Tomaselli’s four-leaf clover. The coding process follows a similar method to that employed by Owen (2014), where the conceptual framework is used as a starting point to then identify specific information across both the documents and the interviews and organise them into categories and sub-categories. Some categories are as simple as the advantages and disadvantages of the different broadcast methods from different perspectives such as financial, transformational and developmental. Descriptive coding is particularly important as this “summarises in a word or short phrase, most often as a noun, the basic topic of a passage of data” (Owen, 2014: 15) and thus assists in narrowing down a range of topics into well-defined categories. Through the use of coding, the documents and interviews are presented in a two-sided ‘for and against’ results section that frames the project to demonstrate what the possible effects would be for the CSA transformation project. Importantly, the research project does not seek to recommend which broadcast situation is best but rather attempts to provide an overview of the advantages and disadvantages and identify circumstances to which they are best suited. It is an attempt to capture the kind of critical political economy analysis outlined in the framework to understand all the different forces in play. These relationships are constructed in terms of a power dynamic to understand the core tensions of the broadcast and distribution of the MSL and the different values of equity and equality attributed to them.

CHAPTER 4: THE SOUTH AFRICAN BROADCASTING ENVIRONMENT AND LEGISLATION

A quick overview of the television sports market in South Africa will immediately identify the dominance that pay-TV broadcaster MultiChoice has across the country and particularly in sport. A large part of its commercial strategy since its inception in the 1980s has been the extensive coverage of national sporting events (Smith, 2016). The pattern of MultiChoice's meteoric rise parallels that of Sky. The first step of M-Net, MultiChoice's terrestrial pay-TV service, was the acquisition of exclusive rights to the Currie Cup, South Africa's leading rugby competition (Smith, 2016). Once the international boycott of South African sport ended, MultiChoice continued to flex its financial muscle by acquiring rights to major international sporting events such as the Cricket World Cup, amongst others.

MultiChoice continued to acquire more and more sporting rights until, as noted in Chapter 2, DSTv controversially bought the rights to the Premier Soccer League (PSL), the South African first division soccer league. Smith (2016) cites this event as a prime example of the continued dilemma between sports organisations' pursuance of a financially more profitable broadcast deal with a pay-TV broadcaster at the expense of reaching a wider audience, or the pursuance of a free-to-air broadcast agreement to ensure the biggest audience possible. Such was the backlash to the PSL television deal that a new agreement was made between the PSL, MultiChoice and the SABC whereby the SABC sub-leased certain rights to the league from MultiChoice.

This agreement demonstrates the difficulties that the SABC has in attempting to compete with MultiChoice. The SABC has continuously had to rely on intervention by ICASA in various policies to ensure continued access to sporting events that would otherwise exclusively belong to MultiChoice. Such interventions are based on the Electronic Communications Act 36 of 2005, which explicitly addresses such situations. Chapter 10 of this Act, which is titled 'Competition Matters', speaks to the need for a competitive environment aimed at preventing any single entity from achieving total monopoly in a pro-competitive market. The Act itself must ensure that it has comprehensive "regulations defining the relevant markets and market segments, as applicable, that pro-competitive conditions may be imposed upon licensees having significant market power where the Authority determines such markets or market segments have ineffective competition"

(ICASA, 2006: 84). To counteract such dominance, Section 60 is devoted to restricting subscription broadcasting services in particular:

Subscription broadcasting services may not acquire exclusive rights that prevent or hinder the free-to-air broadcasting of national sporting events, as identified in the public interest from time to time, by the Authority, after consultation with the Minister and the Minister of Sport and in accordance with the regulations prescribed by the Authority.
(ICASA, 2006: 76)

The above legislation clearly prohibits entities such as MultiChoice from obtaining exclusive rights or preventing free-to-air services such as PSBs like the SABC from having access to national sporting events. Smith (2016) attributes these regulations to direct recognition of the role that access to such sporting events plays in social and cultural development in South Africa. He goes on to argue that the regulations have been decisive in ensuring that key events such as the 2010 FIFA World Cup are broadcast free to air, within certain limitations: for example, pay-TV broadcasters can still obtain the exclusive rights to events, providing they then sub-lease the rights to free-to-air entities such as the SABC who in turn may not air these events live but rather as delayed live or live repeat broadcasts (Smith, 2016: 78).

The specifics surrounding the sports broadcast regulations can be found in Notice No. 275 of the Electronic Communications Act, referred to as the ‘Sport Broadcasting Services Regulations, 2010’ (ICASA, 2010). These regulations determined the criteria for ‘national sporting events’ (2010: 5), which were any event “involving a national team or an individual; a semi-final and final of a national knockout competition; or an opening game, semi-final and final of a confederation sporting event” (2010: 6). Using this formula, a list of events was thereby identified, which are displayed in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Listed national sporting events per the ICASA 2010 Regulations

Sport	Events
Multi-sport events	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Summer Olympics • Paralympics • Commonwealth Games • All Africa Games
Soccer	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All matches involving the national team that are part of ‘a confederation sporting event’ (i.e., not ‘friendly matches’) • FIFA World Cup – all matches involving the national team, the opening game, semi-finals and final • African Cup of Nation – all matches involving the national team, the opening game, semi-finals and final • COSAFA Cup – all matches involving the national team and the final • CAF Champions League final • CAF Confederations Cup finals • Telkom Charity Cup – semi-finals and final • MTN Supa 8 Cup – semi-finals and final • Telkom Knockout – semi-finals and final • Nedbank Cup – semi-finals and final
Rugby	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All matches involving the national team that are part of ‘a confederation sporting event’ • IRB Rugby World Cup – all matches involving the national team, the opening game, semi-finals and final • Super 14 Rugby – matches involving a South African team and the final • Currie Cup – semi-finals and final
Cricket	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All matches involving the national team that are part of ‘a confederation sporting event’ • ICC Cricket World Cup – all matches involving the national team, the opening game, semi-finals and final • ICC T20 Cricket World Championships • MTN 40 – semi-finals and final
Athletics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Comrades Marathon • Two Oceans Marathon
Boxing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • International Boxing Federations (championship fights involving a South African)

FIFA: Fédération Internationale de Football Association; COSAFA: Council of Southern Africa Football Associations; CAF: Confederation of African Football; IRB: International Rugby Board; ICC: International Cricket Council.

Sources: ICASA (2010) cited in Smith, 2016

For cricket, most of the events of national importance in the table were international tournaments or matches that involved the national team (the Proteas). The MTN 40 was a previous domestic List A cricket tournament that no longer takes place. Under these regulations, next to no domestic cricket matches were deemed to be of national interest, and MultiChoice was, therefore, able to obtain exclusive sports rights to domestic matches without any obligation to the SABC. The regulations would therefore have had no bearing on the broadcast and distribution of the Mzansi Super League (MSL) unless it had been tabled as having the same level of importance as the MTN 40 competition. Even then, only the semi-final and final would likely have fallen into the category, meaning just three domestic cricket matches would have been deemed to be of national importance under these regulations.

Smith argues that the above regulations did little to broaden access to sports events. MultiChoice continued to grow and dominate the broadcast landscape, and he notes that in 2013, they accounted for 95% of the pay-TV market in South Africa (Smith, 2016: 79). The lack of competition resulted in calls for ICASA to reassess these regulations to create more competition in the broadcast sector, a call that was endorsed by the Communications Minister Dina Pule in June 2013 (2016: 79), that then paved the way for the draft regulations that were announced in 2018.

On 14 December 2018, ICASA declared its intentions to amend the 2010 regulations and invited various parties to submit responses to the proposed amendment by the end of May 2019. The amendments included a drastic restructuring of the list of events to make even more sporting events available to the general populace of South Africa rather than just those with paid DStv subscriptions. A very slight but deeply significant change in the proposed amendments was an addition to ‘National Sporting Events’, where ICASA introduced a category labelled ‘Sports of National Interest’. The difference between the two is subtle and yet has major ramifications: ‘National Sporting Events’ are those that include a South African national team or an individual representing South Africa, whereas ‘Sports of ‘National Interest’ encompass “an event that does not necessarily involve a Senior National Team but appeals to the majority of the South African populace” (ICASA, 2018: 7). This amendment suddenly opened up the previous list of protected events to a much wider range of events that can, in theory, now be included and even ‘protected’ for free-to-air services to broadcast.

The reasoning behind such a change is captured in two amendments of Regulation 2. The objective of the 2010 regulations is as follows:

- (a) Regulate the broadcasting of national sporting events in the Republic;
- (b) Determine the criteria to be used in the listing of national sporting events;
- (c) Identify and list national sporting events; and
- (d) Provide a dispute resolution mechanism. (ICASA, 2010: 5)

Regulation 2 of the 2018 Draft Regulations changed as follows:

- (a) Regulate the broadcasting of national sporting events in the public interest, within the Republic; and
- (b) Determine the criteria to be used in the listing of national sporting events;
- (c) Identify and list national sporting events; and
- (d) Provide a dispute resolution mechanism.
- (e) Reach a wider audience and to strike a balance between audience and revenue. (ICASA, 2018: 8)

Of interest here is the change in the wording of sub-regulation (a) to include the concept of the ‘public interest’ as well as the addition of sub-regulation (e) whose aim is to ensure that broadcasting must broaden its reach whilst maintaining a balance between income and audience (ICASA, 2018: 8).

This sub-regulation supports a key contention in this project, which is that free-to-air services inevitably have the capacity to reach larger audiences and that the major counterargument to free-to-air services is revenue generation. This sub-regulation is an admission by ICASA that given the democratic principles of South Africa, which embrace the need for a pro-competitive environment, a balance must be struck between the need for higher revenue generation and a wider audience. The 2018 Draft Regulations contained a radical change in the list of sporting events which now included different categories and extended across a number of different sporting codes and competitions.

Table 2. Listed national sporting events per the ICASA 2018 Draft Regulations

Group	Events
A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. Summer Olympics; B. Paralympics; C. FIFA World Cup (Soccer); D. Africa Cup of Nations (Male and Female Soccer); E. Rugby World Cup; F. ICC Cricket World Cup; G. ICC T20 Cricket World Championships; H. International Boxing Federations; I. National Netball; J. Commonwealth Games; and K. International Association of Athletics Federation (IAAF)
B	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. Super 14 Rugby; B. All Africa Games; C. COSAFA Cup (Soccer); D. CAF Champions League (Soccer); E. CAF Confederations Cup (Soccer); F. Charity Cup (Soccer); G. Supa 8 Cup (Soccer); H. Knockout (Soccer); I. Soccer Championship Cup; J. Currie Cup (Rugby); K. Two Oceans Marathon (Running); L. Comrades Marathon (Running); M. Domestic Boxing Tournaments; N. Premier Soccer League; O. Domestic Cricket Championships; and P. Premier Hockey League
C	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A. Ice Hockey; B. Tennis; C. Water Polo; D. Dance; E. Martial Arts; F. Wrestling; G. Indigenous Games; H. Basketball; I. Volleyball; J. Squash;

	K. Chess; L. Gymnastics; M. Varsity Sports; N. Gold; and O. Motor Sport
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COSAFA: Council of Southern Africa Football Associations, CAF: Confederation of African Football

Source: ICASA, 2018

A critical political economy framework stresses the promotion of democratic values and social justice. These are both cited by ICASA as key reasons for the new regulations in article 1.6 of the 2018 Draft Regulations:

The Draft Regulations advance equality, human dignity through access to sport of National interest to all citizens. This will further ensure that sports continue to promote social inclusion, equity and sustainability by ensuring that even minority sports are given prominence on broadcasting system to create opportunities provided by sports for the current generation as well as generations to come. (ICASA, 2018: 14)

The new regulations would no doubt facilitate a significant increase in the availability of sport to the South African populace due to the new-found prominence of the free-to-air services. The inclusion of Domestic Cricket Championships in Group B events would mean that the MSL would be made available to free-to-air services by legislation, thus preventing MultiChoice from obtaining exclusive rights to the tournament if it were to get involved.

The above rationale provides a useful reference as to ICASA’s position regarding the broadcast environment in South Africa. ICASA believes that more needs to be done to assist free-to-air services to compete with subscription-based ones to broaden viewership. They also believe that access to sports broadcasts is not only crucial to promote social inclusion but it is vital to the long-term sustainability of sport. Therefore, this builds on the idea that growth and equity can be directly linked to access, a concept intrinsic to the possible effects the MSL broadcast distribution can have on the transformation project.

Responses to Draft Regulations

Following the release of the proposed regulations in 2018, a number of sporting federations issued official responses. For the purpose of this research, the responses made by CSA, SABC

MultiChoice, SRSA and the ICC will be considered to capture their standpoint and attitude towards the proposed regulations and the value of free-to-air broadcasting.

Sport and Recreation South Africa endorsed the reasoning and the principles of the proposed regulations, noting that the new amendment to the events that the public service broadcaster and subscription-based services (SBS) must broadcast “will contribute significantly to the growth and development of these codes” (SRSA, 2019: 14). However, the organisation stressed that certain aspects of the regulations could negatively affect the commercial value derived from such broadcasts for the PSBs. SRSA supported the shift towards making more sport available to PSBs to the extent that in its recommendations, it advocated for a ring-fenced budget/funding at the SABC to allow the broadcaster to acquire the rights to the national sporting events. SRSA even advocated for a dedicated sports channel for the SABC with a “strong biasness [sic] to local content than international” (SRSA, 2019: 20).

The SABC welcomed the regulations' intent but noted specifically the financial implications, as per the regulations, of being expected to broadcast Group A events rather than having the first preference. The SABC's response included a recommendation that more funding is made available for the public broadcaster and that the concept of exclusivity in sports rights should be upheld, given its commercial value (SABC, 2019). The SABC stressed that it did not have the financial capacity to be obligated to broadcast so many events and instead recommended that broadcasting these events should be optional so that certain events could be identified and targeted, with PSBs getting first preference on acquiring such rights ahead of SBSs. The SABC noted their mandate to serve the public interest by acquiring these rights but argued that without major funding from the state, it would not have the capacity to function in the new regulations.

Given that MultiChoice's domination of the market was essentially the cause of the amending of these regulations, it was only to be expected that the Draft Regulations were met with a fierce and overwhelmingly negative response from that organisation. MultiChoice took a dramatic standpoint in the opening point of its response, stating that the ‘unintended’ result of the Draft Regulations would be a “South African weekend without soccer, rugby or cricket” (MultiChoice, 2019: 1), implying the regulations would cause the demise of South African sports broadcasting. MultiChoice stated that the viability and even survival of sports bodies is intrinsically linked to television broadcast revenue (2019: 2). MultiChoice did recognise the nation-building aspect of

sport in South Africa and acknowledged certain events should remain accessible but cautioned ICASA to “regulate no more than necessary to achieve clearly defined policy objectives” (2019: 2). MultiChoice’s argument was centred on protecting the sports bodies themselves, given that it currently outbids any interested party and thus ensures the maximum amount of income that a sports body can derive from selling these rights. MultiChoice then insisted that the newly suggested demands for PSBs to broadcast such a wide range and number of events would be too great for them to handle, not only from an operational point of view in terms of programming time but also financially. MultiChoice stated that “free-to-air broadcasters are unlikely to be willing or able to afford the cost of acquiring the live rights to the very wide list of sports now proposed” (2019: 3).

While the argument for sustainability in sporting codes does have merit, given that the SABC had stressed issues surrounding the affordability of obtaining the television rights that would be expected of it, MultiChoice’s argument that the regulations had functioned effectively to that point is not so clear cut. MultiChoice suggested the existing regulations had had a positive effect, with the following results:

- 23.1 Investment in Sport has grown
- 23.2 Many local sporting codes have survived, even in tough economic conditions
- 23.3 Many more sporting events have been broadcast
- 23.4 Most listed events have been broadcast on free-to-air services
- 23.5 Viewership of sports programming and channels has grown (MultiChoice, 2019: 6)

Whilst at face value, one cannot dispute most of the above points, there is an interesting argument that while investment in sport has grown, development has remained slow, especially in terms of the transformation agenda and the change in sporting culture. A key reason for relooking these regulations was that development and transformation had occurred too slowly, despite the apparent positives caused by MultiChoice’s dominance in the market. Point 23.4 is important as it admits that ‘most’, not ‘all’, listed events had been broadcast free-to-air. In many ways, this is an acknowledgement of the barriers that MultiChoice has previously erected against the SABC’s broadcasting of such events. There have been numerous battles between the SABC and SuperSport (MultiChoice) regarding the broadcast situation where the regulations in place have forced SuperSport to sub-license listed events, such as the 2019 Rugby World Cup, and yet these have almost not been broadcast by the SABC (SABC, 2019).

There is no doubt that the economic viability of sports bodies is a key feature of the television rights argument; however, MultiChoice's argument that its commercial strategy is for the good of sport in South Africa can be considered somewhat far-fetched given its disputes with the SABC over the broadcast situation of listed events in the past. MultiChoice, as a for-profit entity, will inevitably pursue the course that is commercially the most favourable, rather than one that relates to these Draft Regulations.

Finally, CSA and the ICC also submitted responses to the Draft Regulations. CSA vehemently objected to the proposed regulations, citing a lack of clarity, a lack of due process and an overreaching of authority by ICASA. It also held that the regulations would have a "detrimental commercial and sporting impact on CSA and cricket in South Africa" (CSA, 2019: 2) and that such regulations could be deemed "inappropriate government interference" (CSA, 2019: 2), which is against ICC policy and could result in the suspension of CSA by the international federation. The two latter reasons are the most relevant to the current discussion and are a stark depiction of the current role of television broadcasting rights in CSA itself.

CSA also outlined a similar argument to MultiChoice's surrounding the financial impact the Draft Regulations would have in terms of the financial viability of the sports body. The organisation included sponsorship revenue in this argument as it maintained that CSA was "reliant to a very large degree on broadcasting" (CSA, 2019: 15). To demonstrate the importance of television broadcast revenue for the organisation, CSA claimed that in 2018, 69% of its revenue was derived from broadcast revenue, with 83% of all CSA revenue derived from sponsorship and broadcast revenue combined. This was a marked increase from 2017, when 31% of CSA revenue derived from broadcast partnerships. This highlights the importance of television rights revenue for CSA and shows that regardless of the broadcaster, it is essential that CSA has lucrative television right deals in place to ensure financial sustainability. CSA further suggested that advertising revenue is often reliant on and "greatly enhanced by the presence of a reputable, capable and reliable broadcasting partner" (2019: 16), implying that the SABC was not reputable, a position backed up by CSA's outline earlier in the report of the financial and administrative issues the SABC had suffered. The financial gain derived from pay-TV broadcasters in CSA's set-up and the financial loss that could be incurred by lowered television revenue is clearly demonstrated and is most pertinent to this thesis.

CSA claimed that “sports federations are uniquely and best placed to decide how and to whom to sell their broadcasting rights and to balance the generation of both revenue and exposure” (2019: 19). Therefore, the sports body argued that it was best placed to decide how to grow the game in the broadcast market and thus achieve its mandate as the custodian of cricket in South Africa. CSA then claimed that its strategy considers the balance between revenue and exposure, using the example of the MSL itself:

CSA has worked hard to achieve this balance by selling its broadcast rights to domestic cricket exclusively to MultiChoice, selling its broadcast rights to the Mzansi Super League exclusively to SABC and by ensuring that all international bilateral cricket taking place in South Africa is available both on subscription television and free-to-air. (CSA, 2019: 19)

With the above statement, CSA openly recognises the value of free-to-air broadcast distribution for the exposure and growth of the game and puts on record that it is not solely revenue-driven by using the sale of rights of the MSL to the SABC as an example. This is a crucial standpoint by CSA as a decision to move away from such would require a great deal of justification and reasoning after it has formally acknowledged the dilemma and made a commitment to reach a compromise to achieve balance.

Finally, the ICC backed up the positions of both CSA and MultiChoice by also reinforcing that the revenue generated from current broadcast rights was vital to the growth and sustainability of the game itself (ICC, 2019). It too focused on the concept of exclusivity as being the most important aspect for monetisation of broadcasts by both pay-TV and free-to-air services to guarantee high levels of revenue generation. The ICC stated that it wanted the game to grow but was cognisant of the potential negative effect of the Draft Regulations on the current climate, as summarised in the following passage:

The ICC reiterates its desire to widen access, enhance viewership and promote fan engagement, but remains deeply conscious of the importance of private broadcasters and their investments to the commercial and development model for cricket. The inability of private broadcasters to fairly and competitively leverage and monetise the rights licensed to them would be likely to have grave implications for the growth and future of the sport of cricket in South Africa. (ICC, 2019: 6)

All the responses to the Draft Regulations mapped out both the current system and the major implications of the changes proposed. The tension between financial viability and growth of

sport is contained in all responses, and there is little argument that wider access and distribution through broadcast plays an integral role in the growth of sport. However, there are arguments not only about the viability of cricket in a diluted television rights market, but also the potential negative impact cited by CSA, the ICC and SuperSport on growth itself in terms of funding for grassroots development. There is an argument that any decrease in revenue would have adverse effects on development projects due to a consequent lack of funding, even if the wider distribution promoted a larger following.

The above responses were evidently well-substantiated as ICASA then released a new set of Draft Regulations in 2020 that cut back considerably on the previous proposal. ICASA still maintained that the inequality of the television broadcast situation needed remedying but admitted that it was “keenly aware that the sports industry relies on the sale of broadcasting rights as the biggest source of their revenue” (ICASA, 2020: 15). ICASA thus released a less radical and more achievable set of changes that sought to “give effect to the provisions of section 60 of the ECA whilst considering the competing concerns of the financial sustainability of broadcasters and ensuring increased access to national sporting events is provided to most of the South African population” (ICASA, 2020: 15). These regulations were called the Draft Sports Broadcasting Services Amendment Regulations, 2020. In essence, ICASA is attempting to take a step up from the 2010 regulations but in a way that maintains the viability of sporting organisations.

One of the most significant amendments in the 2020 Draft Regulations is removing the different categories and decreasing the number of events listed. Instead, the original idea of having one list of sports events of national interest is retained, but the list of events has been modified to make it more relevant in the current economic setting.

Table 3. Listed national sporting events per the ICASA 2020 Draft Regulations amendments

Group	Events
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> a) Summer Olympic Games; b) Paralympics; c) Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) World Cup; d) Federation Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) Women’s World Cup e) Africa Cup of Nations f) Rugby World Cup; g) International Cricket Council (ICC) World Cup; h) International Cricket Council (ICC) T20 Cricket World Championships; i) Netball World Cup; j) Commonwealth Games; k) International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF) World Championships; l) Super Rugby; m) All Africa Games; n) Council of Southern Africa Football Associations (COSAFA) Cup; o) Confederation of African Football (CAF) Champions League; p) Athletics q) Confederation of African Football (CAF) Confederations Cup; r) MTN 8; s) Telkom Knockout; t) Nedbank Cup; u) Currie Cup; v)) The Association For International Sport for All (TAFISA) World Sport for All Games

Source: ICASA, 2020

While in the 2018 Draft Regulations, domestic cricket championships were listed as Group B events, there is no mention of domestic cricket in the new framework. Instead, the only cricket that would have to be made available for PSBs is the ICC World Cup and T20 World Cup events, which are two global tournaments that happen every four years, and events involving the national team which fall under regulation 4 “a confederation sporting event involving a senior national team or a national sporting representative” (ICASA, 2020). A “National Sporting Event” is also newly defined in the regulations as “a sporting event that is deemed to be of national interest and includes the South African Senior National Team or National Sporting Representative” (ICASA, 2020).

Therefore, within the new framework, there is no provision that would ensure that the MSL would be available on a PSB as a broadcast or delayed-live broadcast. This is a radical step backwards from ICASA, as, despite wanting to be more aggressive in its approach, it has had to acknowledge that the current television broadcast market and sports market would not be sustainable within the original framework and hence has had to be changed. The 2020 draft regulations also contain another amendment of Regulation 2. Previously the regulation read

- (a) Regulate the broadcasting of national sporting events in the public interest, within the Republic " (ICASA, 2018: 8)

In the 2020 draft regulations, this would now become:

- (a) (a) Regulate the broadcasting of national sporting events, as identified in the public interest, within the Republic. (ICASA, 2020)

The inclusion of the wording “as identified in the public interest” links directly with the listed sporting national sporting events and thus removes any confusion over which events are in the public interest as it explicitly states that these sports would be the ones identified in the regulations. The original 2018 Draft Regulations have had to be watered down to ensure the ‘sustainability of the market’: the reduced approach in the 2020 Draft Sports Broadcasting Services Amendment Regulations thus clearly demonstrates the core tension of this research project, which is that in an ideal scenario, these events would all be free-to-air to ensure as much equality as possible across the Republic but this does not reflect the harsh reality of the market.

CHAPTER 5: THE CRICKET TRANSFORMATION PROJECT IN SOUTH AFRICA

Cricket South Africa, as the custodian of cricket in the country, is tasked with the development of the sport. Within a South African context, as elaborated earlier on, racial transformation remains the focal point of development - cricket teams across all age groups and levels should be more reflective of the country's demographics.

Successive ANC governments have promulgated various transformation policies to correct Apartheid and create a new deracialised and more equal society. According to Desai (2016) there were two main transformation approaches available to the UCBSA (now CSA), which mirrored the suggested post-apartheid economic reform approaches. The first was a 'reformative' approach that prioritised reconciliation and cooperative governance - a top-to-bottom approach with an emphasis on high-performance centres and a change in the racial composition of national teams, which would 'naturally' trickle-down transformation to lower levels of sports development. It was hoped that through higher levels of international competitiveness, increased revenue would then enable money to be invested into development programmes and that "black players would emerge sooner or later" (Desai and Nabbi, 2016: 138). The second was a 'transformative' approach, based on the idea of 'growth through redistribution', premised on a bottom-up mass-based approach. It would have meant mass participation in cricket and a redistribution of resources across the country. This would eventually have created a foundation where transformation and growth would organically occur.

Desai (2016) argues that from 1990 to 1998, the initial transformation policies were based on a 'reformative' project which yielded a minimal amount of successful development, placing great pressure on the UCBSA. According to Desai, there were limited changes in the racial make-up of provincial and amateur sides. The national side continued to be dominated by white cricketers with no shift towards genuine deracialisation of the sport. As a result, the UCBSA released a Transformation Charter in 1999, which stated that:

operating in an African context reaffirms our moral and historic duty to ensure that South African cricket grows and flourishes among the truly disadvantaged of our society, who come mainly from black-African communities. (Desai, 2016: 42)

The Transformation Charter included ten transformation ‘thrusts’. The third of these thrusts specifically states that the body’s mission is “ to bring cricket to all people of South Africa and facilitate a culture of non-racialism” (UCBSA, 2004). The cricketing body’s transformation policies have changed over the years, with various successes and failures continuously shaping its approach. For the purpose of brevity, only the current policies will be explicitly analysed here. However, the analysis will include SASCOC’s current Transformation Charter for South African Sport as CSA is obliged to align its policies and strategies with this Charter.

According to the preamble of the Transformation Charter, the delivery of sport across South Africa must be done in a way that ensures that the following is achieved:

- Increased access and opportunities for ALL South Africans, including women, persons with disabilities, youth, children and the elderly to sport and recreation opportunities.
- The socio-economic benefits of sport are harnessed.
- The constitutional right to sport is recognised. (SASCOC, 2012: 4)

The Charter maps out the aim and design of transformation within South African sport and notes four key dimensions of “reframing, restructuring, revitalisation and renewal” (SASCOC, 2012: 6) to establish an environment where sports are as accessible to as many people as possible without any discrimination across any race, class or geographic location. SASCOC’s strategy is mapped out in the following introduction.

The essence of a sport transformation strategy has to be multi-dimensional and focused on changing demographic profiles on and off the field of play, ensuring equitable access and resource availability, skill and capability development on and off the field of play. (SASCOC, 2012: 10)

SASCOC noted that a successful transformational project cannot be narrowly based but must instead be a broad-based community-involved strategy. This is because ‘reformative’ approaches were focused on the accelerated development of individuals to fix a short-term shortfall of representation at the highest levels of the sport. While this achieved some success in ensuring that specific racial ‘quotas’ were met on a national level, SASCOC noted that this was a short-term solution that would not be sustainable and which created additional problems. Instead, it argued, broadening the base of involvement in sports across both rural and urban communities

would influence the “existing image and perceptions about sport on a wider basis within the broader South African society” (2012: 11). This is especially important for cricket, which has always been viewed as a minority sport traditionally reserved for white South Africans.

According to SASCO, a commitment to greater player participation and a larger audience would also be more attractive to the corporate world, which would be key to funding such development. Increased and equitable growth in participation in the sport, together with its transformation in the popular imagination, is explicitly linked to its economic development. The commitment of each national federation to the transformation processes would be monitored through the use of a scorecard system to evaluate the growth of diversity, development, and international competitiveness. Poor scorecard performances could lead to government action against sporting federations, including funding cuts and even sanctions that would prevent national sides from competing in international events.

The Transformation Charter shaped the SRSA’s 2015-2020 Strategic Plan, which had a simple vision of achieving an “active and winning nation” together with the following mission:

To transform the delivery of sport and recreation by ensuring equitable access, development and excellence at all levels of participation and to harness the socio-economic contributions that can create a better life for all South Africans. (SRSA, 2014: 10)

The plan reflects several different Acts and Bills to create an overarching guide on successfully transforming sport in the country. It also includes mandates from the United Nations and policies central to the worldwide running and administration of professional sport. It references the White Paper on Sport, a document created by the SRSA to guide the various sporting development structures to create a thriving sports eco-system in South Africa for “an active and winning nation”. The White Paper mentions the role that broadcasting has to play in sports development. The values and input of the White Paper guided the ICASA draft regulations discussed at length above. The White Paper terms sports broadcasting as a ‘strategic enabler’ within the development of sport and states there is a “direct correlation between broadcast coverage and the commercial funding of sport” (SRSA, 2011: 40). The White Paper admits that without television coverage, sports codes have little to no chance of becoming economically sufficient, and therefore, it suggested a revised list of agreed sport for local listing. What it does not note, however, is the difference in revenue generation between private and public broadcasters.

An important theme in the SASCO and SRSA documents is that growth and transformation hinge on community access. There is an admission that previous narrow-based policies had limited success and that to ensure genuine transformation and development in cricket, there must be an increase in the number of individuals involved both on and off the field. Those following and interested in the sport are as important as those participate in it.

In the CSA's 2015 Transformation Philosophy and Plans document, the following was set out as methods to achieve its overall transformation aims.

- The systemic transformation from the grassroots, which creates access and provides sporting and social support, is the only real and sustainable route to transformation.
- Changing the national team, the public display of cricket, doesn't result in fundamental transformation; and rewards but a few, while leaving the majority excluded.
- Change at the top is not redress; it creates short-term comfort, but does not widen the pool of players, and results in long-term exclusion.
- Real change comes from the bottom. (CSA, 2015: 4)

The CSA document is player- and administrator-orientated in its approach to transformation. A SWOT (strength-weakness-opportunity-threat) analysis in the document sets out factors limiting the achievement of CSA's goals. Under weaknesses is a damning statistic that 90% of South Africans do not have access to CSA structures. Interestingly, this figure aligns with ICASA's finding that just 12,61% of the population have access to subscription broadcasting services (ICASA, 2020: 14). CSA also notes as major threats the poor growth of cricket in disadvantaged communities and an over-reliance on TV rights as a revenue source (CSA, 2015: 13). An opportunity that CSA identified is growing support in black African communities.

Table 4. CSA transformation targets (CSA, 2015: 8)

Dimensions	Targets			
	2017	2018	2019	2020
Mini Cricket				
1. Participation growth (Base of 114 000 kids)	120 000	126 000	132 600	139 000
2. Growth in schools (base of 5584)	5 800	6 100	6 400	6 700
3. # of Mini cricket players into each HUB per year	16	16	16	16
HUBS and RPC				
1. # of players per HUB into Provincial Age groups	3	3	4	4
2. # of matches played per age group team	20	20	20	25
3. Increase number of HUBS to (base 57) (Pending government assistance)	58	59	60	61
Youth Cricket (schools)				
1. # of Black (BA) players per Provincial team	7 (3)	7 (3)	7 (3)	7 (3)
2. Minimum average Score on the Quality of Opportunity report per Provincial age group teams	3	3	3	3
SA U/19 & TAP (Talent Acceleration Programme)				
1. # of Black players within the SA U/19 team	8	8	9	9
2. # of BA players playing in ≥ 70% of the matches	2	3	3	4
Provincial Academies				
1. % of Black players within each Provincial Academy	50	50	55	60
Club Cricket				
1. % of Premier league clubs complying to Pres Plan	25	25	30	35
2. Minimum average # of Black players per team in Club Champs	2	2	3	3
Senior Provincial cricket				
1. Minimum average number of Black players per team (match)	6	6	6	6
2. Minimum average number of BA players per team (match)	3	3	3	3
3. Minimum average score on the Quality of Opportunity report	3	3	3	3
4. # of BA performances above the benchmark	2	2	3	4
Franchise Cricket				
1. Minimum average number of Black players per team (match)	6	6	6	6
2. Minimum average number of BA players per team (match)	3	3	3	3
3. Minimum average score on the Quality of Opportunity report	3	3	3	3
4. # of BA players above the benchmark performance	3	3	4	5
National Academy				
1. % of Black players within the National Academy	60	60	70	70
SA "A" programme				
1. % of Black players within the SA "A" programme	55	55	60	65
Coach Education				
1. % of Black coaches within CSA & Member structures	60	60	60	60
Match Officials				
1. % of Black active nationally accredited umpires	25	30	30	35

According to the document, the CSA aimed to be representative of the country across all its levels, including players, employees, coaches and officials. As can be seen in Table 4, it outlined some very ambitious targets for an organisation that has admitted it has no access to 90% of the

population, especially poorer black African communities. The overall target for the end of 2020 was to have a minimum 60% black representation within the majority of the CSA's structures. To achieve this, CSA noted it needed to expand its reach and gain access to more than just 10% of the population. The over-reliance on television rights suggests that CSA's financial restructuring was overdue. This explains its current predicament. If television rights were less vital to the sustainability of the organisation, it could be more flexible about television rights arrangements. The overarching emphasis is on the need to grow the sport in black African communities, not just in terms of player participation but in general; a concept backed up by the Transformation Charter.

As will be further discussed in Chapter 6, a major obstacle to the transformation of cricket in this country is the lack of an enduring cricketing culture in black communities in South Africa due to a past of deliberately racialised policies. Cricket has been present in communities across all races in South Africa since the 20th Century. However, before the dawn of democracy, the cricketing structures were deliberately kept separate, which negatively impacted the diffusion of the sport across the country (Kaufman and Patterson, 2005). The deliberate separation of non-racialised cricket and racialised cricket continued to put up barriers to access to the sport.

Despite its middle-class origins, cricket has diffused across all segments of society in the West Indies and India to become the dominant sport in the Caribbean as well as Sub-Continental Asia. Kaufman and Patterson (2005) argue that the British colonies used cricket as a "civilising and socialising agent" and therefore actively encouraged the game across schools and churches to continue deepening the British legacy in the area. The entrenched hierarchy in the Caribbean allowed for the creation of a segregated but inclusive cricketing culture, with the sport accessible across all races and backgrounds (2005: 102). While the clubs and teams were "stratified along color and class lines," such was the confidence of the white elite in their hierarchy that there was room for interaction and competition between these sides (Kaufman and Patterson, 2005: 92). As a result, teams had the chance to beat other teams of different status, with the incentive to gain higher status through performance on the field. Kaufman and Patterson note that while this did not change the social order, participation and success in the sport symbolically emulated a higher status or position in society (2005: 102).

Kaufman and Patterson (2005) explain that the origins of Indian cricket can be linked to a specific group, the Parsi, who, to reinforce their suitability as brokers with the British Empire, became very active in the game, with their success further inspiring the Indian elite Hindu and Muslim populations (Kaufman and Patterson, 2005: 102). There was still a large amount of segregation which, ironically, helped grow the game in many ways. The audiences were split into “Europeans and Indians, commoners from elite” (Kaufman and Patterson, 2005: 102), and competition was built on a fierce rivalry (Majumdar, 2002). Initially reserved for the upper and middle classes, lower-class players were recruited by those higher in the social hierarchy to fill in for teams, thus creating a doorway for Indians of ‘lower social strata’ to access the game (Kaufman and Patterson, 2005: 102). Significant investment was poured into the game by the Indian elite. Simultaneously, a strong rivalry also began to evolve between England and India, which developed into the popularity the sport enjoys today. According to a study by the ICC, there are one billion cricketing fans across the world, 90% of which are in the Sub-Continent, the bulk of whom are from India (ICC, 2018).

In South Africa, there has been a deliberate separation between black and white cricket; before 1991 cricket was deliberately racialised for the better part of a century, leading to the difficulty in transforming the sport. While cricket was thriving across all levels of society in the West Indies and India during the late 1900s, to name two prominent examples, South Africa had been banned from the international arena as a result of its racial policies. According to Desai, a key reason for this is that cricket has a deep root of “racist exclusion in relation to blacks” in South Africa, and he claims that “most black South Africans developed a deep hatred of South African teams” (2016: 178). While this is a brief outline of a very complex issue, this is the key factor in explaining the lack of a universal and enduring cricketing culture across South Africa, which is further explored through the testimony of the research participants in Chapter 6.

The lack of a cricketing culture is important because the financial restraints that hinder the progression of cricket development are continuously outlined by CSA. While finances are no doubt a massive hindrance to the development of young players and increased exposure to the game in South Africa, the examples of the West Indies and India above demonstrate how a game that has traditionally been reserved for the white middle class managed to successfully diffuse into all aspects of society and transcend boundaries in countries that faced similar financial

constraints. In terms of GDP per capita, South Africa ranks higher than India and lower than Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, as well as Barbados (the three most represented countries in the current West Indies national squad) (Worldometer, 2021). However, according to the CIA World Factbook, South Africa has a smaller percentage of the population living under the poverty line than India, Trinidad and Tobago and Jamaica (Indexmundi, 2020). This broadly illustrates how cricket can still thrive across all communities in poorer countries where there are high levels of poverty and lower income levels for ordinary citizens.

Overall, the transformation documents have mapped out a few key strategies. Firstly, funding is crucial for the sustainability of mass access programmes. Television broadcast rights are noted as a major source of revenue – high revenues derived from television rights lead to further financial injection into programmes by organisations such as CSA. If CSA is to achieve its goal of permeating across all demographics and truly transform the sport, it needs to be readily available to as many people as possible. There also needs to be a concerted effort to remedy the underlying attitude towards cricket and foster a love for the game and an enduring cricketing culture. This would go a long way towards CSA reaching its goal of producing more players and officials of colour and generally deracialising a game that has been highly racialised for the majority of its existence in the country. Thus, mass access to cricket is key to development – the more people with access, the larger the participation and, in turn, the broader the base in which CSA can then develop the sport. Ingle (2015) identified that even in the United Kingdom, the most established cricketing ecosystem globally, the move away from showing cricket on a PSB resulted in reduced participation in the sport. Mass distribution could result in higher participation and could also lead to spectator interest in, and support for, cricket. The core tension of loss of revenue is continuously being pitted against the potential wider range of access, with every trade-off having a potentially detrimental effect on another aspect of transformation and development.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

This chapter aims to provide a preliminary understanding of the South African cricket broadcasting context through the lens of Teer-Tomaselli's four-leaf clover approach to critical political economy. A section is dedicated to each of the four leaves, which then provide the basis for the conclusion. The discussion considers all of the information gathered from the various resource documents together with feedback from the focus groups and interviews with key individuals where this was possible.

Economic Sphere

The first 'leaf' in Teer-Tomaselli's approach is the economic sphere. South Africa operates within a capitalist economic structure, and CSA thus has a commercial imperative to remain financially viable. CSA has always been very vocal about the importance to the sustainability of the organisation of television broadcast revenue. In an interview conducted on 21 November 2020 (Appendix A), ex-acting CEO of CSA, Jacques Faul, stated that broadcast rights are the "single biggest income generator" and that these, depending on the year, can contribute "anything from 55% to 70% of your total income". According to CSA (2019: 15), broadcast revenue accounted for 69% of total revenue in 2018. In the interview on 21 November 2020, Faul emphasised that international tour matches and series involving the men's and women's teams generate the most income rather than domestic tournaments such as the Mzansi Super League (MSL):

[The] rights that generate the most income are your international rights. So, it's your incoming tours that generate the big income. Within the South African context, you'll never get a lot of rights for a domestic product. (Faul, interview, 2020)

While the CSA would gain more financially from the sale of the MSL television broadcasting rights to SuperSport compared to its current partnership with the SABC, the amount that would be raised pales into insignificance compared with the value of broadcast television rights for international matches. In the 21 November interview, Faul also confirmed that CSA was in talks with SuperSport once again, although SuperSport had walked away twice in the early stages of negotiating to buy the rights to the tournament in 2020. This was despite the fact that in 2019, CSA had confirmed it had signed a 'commercially more viable' deal with the SABC, implying that rights were sold to the SABC rather than gifted as they had been in 2018 (Moonda, 2019).

According to Moonda (2020), the cost to the CSA of staging the tournament amounted to R200 million over two years, a sum too large for the organisation to handle itself. In the interview on 21 November 2020, Faul confirmed that the MSL did indeed cost CSA R200 million to stage and that CSA was making a yearly loss of R100 million on the tournament as a result of losing both television revenue and sponsorship revenue due to the absence of a current title sponsor.

When interviewed on 21 November 2020, Faul said that CSA's target for the MSL was to limit the yearly loss to R45 million. He confirmed that the SABC had increased its offer for the rights to televise the tournament in 2019, but the value of these rights was still not in the same league as that offered by SuperSport. In the same interview, Faul further explained that CSA had based its original strategy on the wider broadcast reach of the SABC driving up the value of the tournament itself, making it more commercially viable from the perspective of sponsorship and advertising revenue.

Your broadcasting relates directly to the number of eyeballs on the product, which you then can sell for more because that's what cricket sport sells – exposure. So, if SABC can give you six times more [exposure] than SuperSport, technically you are supposed to also charge six times more for a product [when broadcast] through SuperSport ... Now, due to regulations, some of the product has got to be on both [broadcasters]. They've got to be on SuperSport, and they've got to be on SABC, and that means a lot [of exposure] for us. ... But then again, SuperSport provides you with solid cash to pay for things. (Faul, interview, 2020)

Faul was saying that because SuperSport does not offer as much exposure as the SABC would, CSA could, in theory, charge SuperSport a premium for exclusivity in order to counterbalance losing out on the larger exposure they would get with an alternate broadcaster. Unfortunately, as the SABC cannot compete financially with SuperSport, CSA is forced to continue partnering with SuperSport. It could be argued that CSA is not getting adequate compensation for the number of viewers they are losing in terms of reach. This is why CSA needed to be creative with the agreement with the SABC to attempt to find a financially favourable deal whilst reaching a bigger audience.

In essence, CSA gambled that the monetary value of television rights with SuperSport would be limited to a once-off rights fee, whilst the flexible agreement in place with the SABC meant that CSA had the potential to negotiate to receive a portion of the advertising revenue itself as the

increased South African television audience offered the potential for more marketability. This gamble failed, however, as confirmed by Faul.

Faul flagged that the South African domestic cricket competitions operated at a loss and were subsidised by various other revenue streams. He commented that the MSL would be no different and argued that the MSL would never, for the foreseeable future, become a money generator and that CSA needed to be in a situation where the league reached a ‘palatable loss’ (Faul, interview, 2020).

... you need a loss that dips under the R50 million bracket, to my mind, then you can play it... I think we were very naive to think it'll be a money generator. I don't think we've got the economy for that. I think if you have a competition that's affordable, or affordable loss, that promotes cricket; it's part of the pipeline. You can get maybe as close as you can to break even; that'll be great. (Faul, interview, 2020)

Faul also acknowledged the potential impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the sponsorship market, which could cause it to shrink by between 20 and 30%, and noted the consequent need to control the cost of the MSL. He highlighted the importance of having a domestic T20 competition but acknowledged it could not be a ‘Rolls Royce’ event because of the economic challenges both in South Africa and globally (Faul, interview, 2020).

From an economic sphere perspective, then, CSA's biggest challenge is to work in a framework whereby the tournament can operate at an affordable loss. Given that the MSL currently runs at an annual loss of R100 million, there is no doubt that a larger portion of television income is required from a broadcaster to offset this, but the acquisition of a title sponsor is also key.

In September, then acting CEO of CSA, Kugandrie Govender, publicly confirmed that the organisation had secured a title sponsor for the tournament before it was postponed and that they had signed a five-year deal (Malepa, 2020). She also said it would inevitably take time before the MSL became financially viable.

But now we are on the right path again. Let's not forget that the Indian Premier League broke even in year 10, the Australian Big Bash broke even in year six. So, I think the MSL will break even a lot sooner than that. (Malepa, 2020)

The apparent signing of a title sponsor is already a large step towards sustainability and thus towards profitability. CSA owns the entire product of the MSL, which has so far been both a

blessing and a curse. From an immediate sustainability point of view, a partnership with SuperSport would have been more beneficial. However, in terms of profitability, CSA's sole ownership of the tournament means that should the showpiece become successfully monetised through marketing to a larger audience, CSA would reap maximum benefits, which would aid its goal to continue developing the sport.

CSA has argued that the revenue derived from broadcasters supports its transformation programmes which Jacques Faul alluded to in the interview:

If SuperSport funds broadcasts and tournaments, then you actually have more money available to develop the game. That's your issue as well. So, you can have everything on SABC and get no income, and that money has got to come from somewhere. So, you eventually would literally have to cut development programmes to have the luxury of people just seeing the game. And you need that in the balance. If Mzansi loses R50-million [rights income from SuperSport] because we want it on SABC, that's R50-million less that can develop the game a year and develop facilities and equipment... Broadcast rights rake in money that can be made available for other programmes. (Faul, interview, 2020)

However, there are other potential forms of revenue. Speaking in the focus group discussion held on 16 November 2020 (Appendix B), the president of Rural Cricket South Africa, Leon Coetzee, said there needed to be much bigger financial input from the South African Government and not just CSA.

When the previous government-built [Model C] schools, you had cricket fields, you had rugby fields. You had all the resources, all the facilities. If the school is built now, you've got nothing. And that's where Government falls short. They need to provide resources. (Coetzee, discussion, 16 November 2020)

While CSA is the custodian of cricket in South Africa, SRSA is responsible for providing sporting facilities to the public (including schools). At the same focus group discussion held on 16 November 2020 (Appendix B), Lewis Manthatha, a member of Black African Cricket Clubs (BACC), noted that federations and business alone do not have sufficient revenue to provide the necessary facilities: "We definitely need the public purse," (Manthatha, discussion, 16 November 2020).

Faul affirmed that while the importance of television revenue is vital, the MSL will always be considerably less valuable compared to international broadcast deals. Further, as Faul mentioned,

the value in the MSL is not purely financial. Therefore, there is no immediate need for the tournament to become self-sustainable. Instead, it should move towards a ‘palatable loss’ (Faul, interview, 2020).

CSA could be closer to reaching such a position with a title sponsor, even with the SABC as its broadcast partner. However, as mentioned by Faul, SuperSport broadcast television revenue for a tournament like the MSL can vary from R40 million to R60 million, which covers more than half the tournament’s current losses. There is no doubt that a loss of revenue for CSA would impact the funding of development programmes trying to support the transformation agenda. However, it has been acknowledged that CSA alone will never be able to fund the transformation of the sport completely and that the state needs to play a major role in providing facilities (CSA, 2015).

The importance of facilities in the transformation project is highlighted in the CSA transformation plan. According to CSA, 100 000 children between the ages of eight and 12 play cricket on a weekly basis, thanks to the Mini Cricket Programme (CSA, 2015). Although 53% of these children are black Africans, CSA acknowledges that the major challenge comes in the next stage of development as the players begin to participate in the full version of the game in school leagues, which requires the “full might of traditional facilities” (CSA, 2015: 7). CSA notes the lack of adequate facilities at schools, which is why CSA created hubs and Regional Performance Centres to allow school children who do not have the facilities in their school system to access the facilities required to participate in the full version of the sport. CSA partnered with SRSA to fast-track the growth and transformation of cricket in schools, demonstrating the importance of other organisations in providing facilities to allow for the successful development and transformation of the sport at school level (CSA, 2015). Thus, with respect to the provision of facilities, it is apparent that CSA needs assistance from other organisations and bodies such as the SRSA as it cannot carry the cost burden alone.

In an interview on 25 January 2021, former CSA media consultant and prominent sports journalist Luke Alfred argued that CSA needs to diversify its revenue streams as it is not sustainable to rely only on television revenue:

Cricket South Africa should not be wholly reliant on broadcast rights revenues wherever those broadcast rights revenues are coming from, [no matter] whether they're coming from locally or internationally, and what format they're coming from. Cricket South

Africa should actually be operationally and commercially savvy enough, and they should thin-slice the rights they do have over other platforms. (Alfred, interview, 2021)

Possible online revenue from CSA's own digital media output is discussed in further depth as part of the technical sphere. As Alfred noted, the South African broadcast landscape is unique, and it is risky to rely on it as a primary source of income. In the same interview, Alfred commented that it took Australia's Big Bash League seven years to achieve financial viability. He suggested that multiple strategies would need to be employed to alleviate financial pressure before sustainability is achieved (interview, 2021). He cites the example of other cricket bodies in promoting multiple revenue streams:

There are all kinds of things that other associations around the world do to make money, and we should not be putting all our eggs in the broadcast rights basket. We should be looking towards other funding solutions: merchandising, sponsorship. (Alfred, interview, 2021)

In summary, Faul emphasised the importance of broadcast revenue as a whole to CSA but noted that the MSL television rights would be small scale compared with international tours (interview, 2020). This over-reliance on television broadcast revenue is flagged by Alfred (interview, 2021), who suggests that to be able to escape such dependency, CSA should leverage other revenue streams to cope in a reduced television broadcast revenue situation, which in terms of the proposed ICASA rulings (outlined in the Political Sphere section) could become a reality in the future.

It is apparent from the focus group discussions and interviews that the MSL is a financial burden that CSA can ill afford given its current situation. However, there do seem to be some possible scenarios where the financial impact could be mitigated.

There is no doubt that a loss in broadcast revenue for CSA would impact the money available for use in development programmes to build facilities and provide equipment. In terms of the development programmes being used to achieve transformation in cricket, the loss in revenue from a different broadcast deal can only be justified if CSA can motivate that the wider reach gained can offset this loss in revenue.

Ultimately, CSA needs to work towards what Faul (interview, 2020) termed a 'palatable loss' for the MSL. It needs to find new streams of additional revenue to supplement that derived from

broadcast rights. If this were to be achieved, the broadcast rights agreement (with either a private or public service broadcaster) might not be as big a factor in making the MSL a financially viable tournament. If the Australian Big Bash League (BBL) and the Indian Premier League (IPL) examples are used as benchmarks, CSA has up to 10 years from the first edition of the tournament to achieve this balance.

Teer-Tomaselli's four-leaf clover approach to a critical political economy (2018) enabled the identification of the economic factors to be considered by CSA through this focus on the economic sphere. It also brought to light the need for the government to play a bigger role in providing facilities and equipment as a platform on which to develop the sport (Manthatha, discussion, 16 November 2020). In a South African context, the role played by sport in nation-building and sociality also needs to be factored in, and CSA must consider how it can develop a cricketing culture that extends beyond just the provision of facilities and the like.

Factors identified in this analysis of the economic sphere extend beyond a simple monetary value. While the economic situation will always play a dominant role, it is now necessary to consider the ideological and cultural aspects of the debate to identify the value that access to the sport can have in its wider development and transformation, beyond simply providing cricket facilities, equipment and personnel.

Ideological and Cultural Sphere

Critical political economy emphasises the idea that social justice, equality and other democratic values play a major role in the power struggle of the organisations reviewed. Teer-Tomaselli identifies four areas – the clover leaves – as a framework for analysis (2018). With CSA having once again pushed development and transformation to the top of its agenda, examining the MSL within the framework of what Teer-Tomaselli identifies as the cultural and ideological sphere becomes paramount as free-to-air broadcast is critical to the development and, in turn, the transformation of cricket across South Africa.

There are many facets of this sphere to unpack. It is essential to assess how cricket is viewed and consumed in South Africa and to what extent access to the sport has influenced this. 'Access' is a broad term that can include whether or not the average South African can play the sport, thus requiring access to practice facilities or fields, as well as whether they can consume it. Methods

of consumption include the media, e.g. television, newspapers etc., or watching the sport live in local communities or schools. Access can thus be defined as the ability to be part of the sport in some capacity. Once the manner in which cricket is viewed and consumed has been established, a case can then be developed for possibly changing the current landscape to impact the future development and transformation of the sport. This is not limited to simply increasing the diversity, representation and number of the players, but also the transformation of officials and fans across different racial groups, genders, social classes and so forth.

In terms of the perception of cricket and access to the sport, Alfred (interview, 2021) stated his belief that cricket is not a minority sport in South Africa. He said cricket had been a multiracial sport for 150 years with “deep roots in all South African communities” during the Apartheid era. However, multiracial cricket was intentionally marginalised prior to 1994.

Focus group discussions were held on both 10 and 16 November 2020 (Appendix B) with a selection of individuals in the Eastern Cape who are, or have been, involved in a cricket development structure, whether as a player, an official or a coach. The effect of the marginalisation that Alfred noted (interview, 2021) was clearly demonstrated in these focus group discussions, where access to the game was debated at length. A recurring theme was that cricket was never introduced to the discussion participants in their own homes. Instead, they experienced the sport through various outside mechanisms, with school being the predominant one. Lelethu Cekiso, a junior provincial cricketer, said in the focus group discussion that he came from a “soccer-dominated household to an extent where I'd actually be forced to go play soccer, which [was] something I really, really hated,” (Cekiso, discussion, 10 November 2020). This experience was backed up by Bongolwethu Draai, another ex-provincial cricketer, who was also part of that same focus group discussion.

In each of these cases, there was little to no cricket in the community, both in terms of facilities at which to play the sport and in terms of cricketing culture, with cricket having limited popularity in the community. Other sports dominate both at home as well as in the wider community. Access to cricket was the overriding issue that affected the members of the focus groups, and it was clear that in their communities, cricket was never a priority. The participants in both the focus group discussions lacked access to cricket in terms of facilities and personnel, in terms of exposure to the game through media representations and in terms of personal

interactions given the absence of or disregard for the sport in the community. The lack of cricket fandom meant that the participants did not get exposed to any forms of the sport.

Sinenjabulo Gogwana, a provincial women's cricketer, related how she was only introduced to the sport by chance at the age of 15, as netball was the primary sport available to her:

For the girls' side, they used to play netball. I tried to play netball, but it was not my thing. So, there was a coach who came to our school when I was in Grade Nine and introduced cricket to us, for both girls and boys. (Gogwana, discussion, 10 November 2020)

Gogwana grew up in Khayelitsha, a township in the Western Cape. A chance encounter with a coach led to her selection for the Western Province Under-19 squad for the annual South African provincial tournament when she was just 15 years of age. This example speaks to the limitations of the current landscape in South Africa, where cricket continues to be difficult to access outside of private and former Model C schools such as Graeme College in Makhanda in the Eastern Cape, the school that Cekiso attended.

In terms of the role played by television broadcasting in promoting the sport's exposure, current President of Rural Cricket South Africa, Leon Coetzee spoke about how South Africa had gone backwards since he was at school when cricket was shown more on the SABC.

I think broadcasting wise, South Africa's actually lacking. We are really far behind the rest of the world because I think we're basically focused more on test cricket. I mean, if you take cricket back, when we first started broadcasting cricket on TV, we had SABC, broadcasting cricket when we joined world cricket. And lots of people had the opportunity to watch test cricket. You could actually put a TV on at school. You didn't need to have a pay channel at school then, to watch cricket. And I think from that perspective we've been very lacking. Currently, I think I watch more T20 cricket than 50-over cricket. Test cricket, you'll watch two hours on day one ...and then on the fifth day, if there's something going on. But besides that, it's very limited. (Coetzee, discussion, 16 November 2020)

SASCOC transformation policies emphasise the need for “equitable access, development and excellence at all levels of participation” to “harness the socio-economic contributions that can create a better life for all South Africans” (SASCOC, 2018: 10). The focus group participants considered access and exposure to the sport through television broadcasting as being critical for growing the passion people have for the game. The consensus in both discussions was that the

aim should be to grow a following where the sport reaches every citizen with a television set regardless of their socio-economic standing, their profession or their school. Focus group participants pointed to the fact that children are inclined to want to replicate the heroic feats of others. Ubiquitous broadcasting helps citizens of all races and cultural backgrounds to aspire to be like the cricketers 'heroes' to whom they are exposed.

Faul (interview, 2020) remarked on the positive effect that the broadcasting of the MSL on the SABC had in reaching a larger audience. Faul said, "Reaching communities outside the pay channel reach is massive. That is where you want to grow the game. So, introducing new fans to the game, that's where you want to go" (Faul, interview, 2020). He spoke of the concept of creating 'local heroes'. The broadcast of tournaments like the MSL is often responsible for highlighting stand-out performances that create these heroes. An example of an MSL player success story was when Nono Pongolo grabbed headlines with several notable performances for the Jozi Stars, including a match-winning showing against the Durban Heat (Shah, 2018). Pongolo hails from Langa, a township in Cape Town, which has also been responsible for producing South African national player, Temba Bavuma (Holme and Alfred, 2015).

Alfred expanded on this:

Just seeing your heroes on television, if you don't have access to satellite television, if you don't have access to digital is ... a form of hero-worship in the first instance. Little boys want to be Kagiso Rabada or AB de Villiers. (Alfred, interview, 2021)

The way heroes can create a following and love for a sport that inspires people to become part of the game was captured perfectly by Lewis Manthatha, a member of Rural Cricket South Africa and a product of the Soweto Cricket Club. In the focus group discussion on 16 November 2020, he commented:

It speaks to questions of identity and culture. And the fact that people who'd have access, they'd see the guy next door. I know for a fact that for boys from Soweto Cricket Club, to see Wandile Makwetu, or to see Nono Pongolo, or any of those guys, Temba Bavuma, or Kagiso Rabada playing on that [TV], had a major, major impact, not only in keeping those who are playing entertained, and actually developing their passion for the game but also bringing in new people into the game. Bringing new youngsters into the game. For some of us who played rugby and cricket in the early 90s, we watched on TV - you

assimilated the game of cricket and rugby through SABC1, SABC2 and SABC3. (Manthatha, discussion, 16 November 2020)

In the same discussion, Coetzee elaborated further, describing how he was inspired by a specific moment that he watched on television while growing up and how it had come full circle with the Mzansi Super League.

We [South Africa] created a sense of role models. And those guys that played - I wanted to become a Jonty Rhodes. What World Cup was it, where he dived a lot? He ran out Inzamam-ul-Haq. I mean that kind of scenario actually created so many positive attitudes, and a positive mindset towards the game, towards cricket. But I think a major thing for having Mzansi being showed on SABC3 was it actually went into the rural areas. It actually reached more people. Adding to what Lewis said, the culture was actually transferred to another section of the community and society. And people had the opportunity to come together in one house, one TV, one game. And they identified with South Africans. (Coetzee, discussion, 16 November 2020)

The two quotes above illustrate the impact that access and exposure to cricket on television had on them as young cricket fans.

Teer-Tomaselli, in defining what is to be analysed in the cultural and ideological sphere, refers to Mosco's (1996) conception of ideology in critical political economy which "takes a dialectical approach of conceiving of reality as made up of both what we see and how we explain what we see" (Mosco, 1996: 2 in Teer-Tomaselli, 2018). This means that reality is not merely just what we consume and see through media representation, but also how each individual interprets this and how it relates to every unique circumstance that then shapes how they mould their own reality. Every individual will perceive reality differently and, concerning media, interpret what they often unconsciously consume concerning their prior experiences and attitudes, which ultimately shapes the meaning that they derive from it.

The act of consuming cricket on television extends beyond seeing players playing a sport to how each individual interprets what they are seeing. A fan who has grown up playing the sport, understanding it thoroughly and watching lots of it on television, will consume that sport differently to someone who has never played it and is watching it for the first time. These differences determine the relationship that a viewer builds with what they see and whether they can or cannot relate to the players and product.

Watching a match and seeing people or players with whom one can identify in some way creates a deeper connection to the product and the player or team becomes symbolic of that connection. This is how the simple act of watching a game of cricket can create an entire life goal or path in ordinary citizens, where they want to emulate what they are watching to achieve what the people to whom they can relate have achieved. This creation of sports heroes and heroism then starts them on the journey of becoming part of the game. Bogdanov (2011) argues that sport and national identity are inextricably linked and that a national sport team or an individual can foster a sense of national pride amongst members of a nation. Knock-on effects include increased participation in the sport and increased numbers of television and match audiences and fans. According to research cited in Bogdanov (2011), individuals who have strong team identification are more persistent in their commitment to a team. This relates to the idea that the stronger the connection to the individuals or teams within the sport, the more dedicated individuals and fans are to committing to the sport in terms of participation and consumption.

Another theme that came out of the focus group discussions (Appendix B) was that increased popular support of cricket could play a large part in building support networks for the next generation of players and officials. This not only includes increased participation in the sport but also support for a child at home. Lukhanyo Tshongweni, another product of Graeme College in Makhandla and a member of the Rhodes University Cricket 1st team, remarked in the discussion that an increased audience and following in cricket through seeing it on television could help 'validate' the aspirations of the next generation.

Because in a lot of black homes, cricket was a very expensive sport. They don't see it; they don't understand why you want to be playing this game. But now, if your mom and your dad are also able to see it on TV, and you can say, "That guy went through this cricket academy that I'm at - he went through these structures. He also, at my age, was playing under 16 in whatever provincial side." So, it validates. And I think there was also that aspect, where it validated some of the kids' dreams in the households through their parents also being able to see this cricket that this kid is speaking about. (Tshongweni, discussion, 16 November 2020)

Parents' lack of understanding and consequent lack of support of young cricketers in the development stages is a major obstruction, according to Bongolwethu Draai, who himself suffered a very similar situation despite achieving so much in the sport as a provincial cricketer. He articulated this in the focus group discussion on 10 November 2020:

My father's never seen me play. Ever. Not once. I play my matches in Bathurst and he's never been to watch once. He doesn't care about the sport because he doesn't really know enough about the sport. So again, it boils down to getting the boys access, getting the boys opportunity. And then, only then, will we grow the sport. (Draai, discussion, 16 November 2020)

Another participant in the first focus group discussion asked to remain anonymous and is referred to as Participant 1. Participant 1 played cricket at a provincial level and also represented Nelson Mandela University in Gqubherha in the Varsity Cup competition. Participant 1 has a similar story about his father's involvement with his cricket ventures:

Playing EP, I think my dad watched me once. That was like a T20. That was a curtain-raiser ... between, I think, the Warriors playing the Cobras. So, we played province under 19. And that's the only time the man watched. I don't blame him. Growing up, no-one played cricket around him. No one really made something out of cricket. So, speaking from amongst the black communities, it's very foreign. The support system is also instrumental, and that comes to understanding. Parents seeing their children succeeding. People coming from similar backgrounds succeeding. (Participant 1, discussion, 10 November 2020)

Both these anecdotes speak to a side of transformation and development that often gets lost. To achieve true transformation, there needs to be a deeper change at the root of the sport rather than just a certain number of representatives in a team. As demonstrated above, an underlying support system and the creation of an enduring cricket culture could be as important in the CSA transformation project as the development programmes that produce the players themselves. The CSA transformation project does a lot of groundwork to generate interest in, and understanding of, the game. While acknowledging the concept of heroes above, the support structure that needs to be in place to foster the desire to pursue cricket is very important. As Participant 1 noted in the focus group, despite there being more local, relatable cricket stars like Mbulelo Budaza and Jon Jon Smuts who have gone on to play franchise and national cricket, youngsters from the town in which he grew up would “rather be a Percy Tau [soccer player] who's from Pretoria, somewhere.”

Participant 1 attributed this lack of cricketing culture to a lack of coverage and media exposure (discussion, 10 November 2020). Manthatha, in the focus group, also spoke at length about

cricket culture and used the Indian and West Indies cricket teams as examples of developing countries where a deep cricket culture has been created:

The Indians have used the medium of cricket not only to liberate themselves, but to empower themselves. They literally stole the game out of the hands of the English and made it an Indian game. West Indies, the same scenario. And African American people in the Windies are not necessarily rich. But the question we might be asking ourselves is, how did they make the game of cricket part and parcel of their culture? And part and parcel of their identity, and who they are? (Manthatha, discussion, 16 November 2020)

The Indian situation is very interesting as India, alongside the West Indies, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka, continues to be a prime example of how a sport that was once the preserve of middle- and upper-class white society has spread across all spectrums of society. The extent to which cricket has become so popularised in India, as Manthatha noted in the focus group discussion on 16 November 2020, is supported by Astill (2013), who states that the sport has become a vital aspect of national unity:

No other British legacy in India, save perhaps the English language, has proved more popular or enduring than cricket. Nothing unites Indians, in all their legions and diversity, more than their love for it. (Astill, 2013: IX)

According to marketing data company Statista, almost 13% of citizens in India regularly participate in cricket in some form, which translates to an estimated 169 million people participating in the sport in India (Statista, 2018). This demonstrates how cricket has permeated the whole of Indian society and become the most popular sport in the country. According to Astill (2013), the cultural aspects of national unity and cultural belonging are a major reason for the rise in popularity of the sport and the large number of participants. This demonstrates how the development of an enduring sporting culture can greatly increase the participation and audience of the sport in question, which in turn will inevitably breed better players and teams. If South Africa were to have 13% of the population participating in cricket, then there would be 7,1 million people participating in the game, which would have a profound effect on the standard of the sport and its social transformation.

Continuing with the soccer vs cricket analogy that was prevalent throughout the focus group discussion on 16 November, Manthatha talked about the effects of the pervasive soccer culture in the country:

You don't have to teach young kids in South Africa to play soccer. That naturally happens at homes, it is built into our society. That is now what we've done with rugby - that's not what we've done with cricket.” (Manthatha, discussion, 16 November 2020)

In the earlier focus group discussion on 10 November 2020, Participant 1 spoke about a similar concept where the environment in which heroes are created is directly influenced by media exposure. Participant 1 uses the example of the amount of media coverage of soccer that is available compared to cricket:

If you look at the... Chiefs playing Pirates, you'd hear about it on radio. So, you'd hear about the game, the build-up. And then, on Monday, [it] would be MTN Soccer Zone, where they'll still be speaking about the game. And then, Thursday night... The Preview. Sports at 10. So, even the news would be hyping... Growing up, you want to wear jersey number 10 for Pirates like a Lekoelea, or something like that... it becomes a culture. (Participant 1, discussion, 10 November 2020)

In summary, in terms of the ideological and cultural sphere concerning the Mzansi Super League, access to the game is clearly of paramount importance to its growth. The examples and anecdotes from the focus group discussions reveal some of the obstacles faced in the cricketing world in South Africa. In the focus group discussion held on 16 November 2020, Coetzee noted the decrease in the amount of cricket available on television and how quickly that severed the tie to the game.

Analysis of the ideological and cultural sphere reveals that although physical development programmes are crucial to accelerating and achieving transformation, the media still plays a major role in taking the game to the masses. This is essential to ensure the development of support structures in communities that will help foster a healthy environment whereby the next generation is not impeded in their development by a lack of understanding of the sport in their families, communities and broader society. It also has a symbolic value in promoting a previously white minority sport's inclusivity, as has more successfully occurred with rugby in South Africa. As seen with rugby, the bigger the sports event, the more prestigious and valuable it becomes in terms of nation-building.

To achieve this, the focus group participants and interviewees continuously emphasised the issues of access in terms of facilities and coaching as well as the development of a cricketing

culture in South Africa. This culture can be achieved through the creation and dissemination of relatable heroes for youngsters through media exposure.

Political Sphere

In the four-leaf clover, the political sphere “covers issues of the state and media” as well as “regulatory arrangements and governance” (Teer-Tomaselli, 2018: 134). The political sphere encompasses the current regulations that govern the broadcast rights situation in South Africa, as outlined in Chapter 4 in the discussion of the ICASA policies. The political sphere also includes the relationship between the state and the media, which is expressed through the current regulations and the proposed changes, which can be used as a benchmark to gauge the attitude of the state towards both public and private media entities.

The Electronic Communications Act 36 of 2005 guides the policies that were explored thoroughly in Chapter 4 whereby the state, over time, has had to continuously intervene in state-owned vs private media affairs. While upholding the principles and property rights of a free market economy, the state will always continue to support state-owned media, such as the SABC, because of its role in disseminating universal information services to the South African populace.

As already noted, MultiChoice dominates the satellite South African television landscape. The only way to access large swathes of sports coverage is through a DStv subscription, which affords viewers access to SuperSport. To counter this, the ICASA policies, as guided by the 2005 Electronic Communications Act, attempted to promote competition and prevent a complete monopoly of sports broadcasting in South Africa. Current ICASA regulations and the 2020 draft regulations all aim to keep sport available on PSBs.

As previously discussed, sport is highly politicised in the South African context. This is a driving factor behind the ICASA legislation that prevents any private broadcaster from obtaining exclusive rights to certain sporting events of national interest. The state recognises the value of sport broadcasting, not simply for its entertainment value but also its developmental, transformational, cultural and symbolic value. There is, however, still a recognition of the monetary value that accrues to sport through the sale of broadcast rights to private broadcasters. Thus, the state is continuously trying to find a middle ground to ensure that sport is as accessible

as possible whilst still being financially stable. ICASA articulated this underlying factor in the proposed regulations as a desire to “reach a wider audience and to strike a balance between audience and revenue” (ICASA, 2010). The socio-cultural and ideological factors that provide underlying reasons for the consistent revision of the legislation are well articulated in the White Paper document on sport released by the SRSA (2011). In the preamble of the document, the role that the government would like to play in South Africa is defined in the following passage.

The social benefits include an overall improvement in the quality of life and physical, mental and moral well-being of a population. Furthermore, successful athletes serve as role models for the youth of the country, as achievers, as unofficial ambassadors, and as individuals committed to equality and fairness in competition. Because of its visibility, sport can play an enormous part in redressing gender and race inequalities as well as discrimination against people with disabilities and marginalised groups. (SRSA, 2011)

The SRSA goes on to state that “sport is one of the most important cohesive factors in uniting the entire nation” (2011: 13). This plays a major role in the approach that ICASA has then taken to achieve the overall goal by the South African government of promoting the many benefits of sport, of which nation-building and unity are two key ones. The ICASA regulations back up this ideology as they attempt to ensure that the distribution of professional sport is done to achieve these objectives rather than just promoting financial growth. There continues to be a second agenda attached to sport from a government perspective, of which ICASA has to remain cognisant when rolling out these policies, as the distribution of sport through the media enables citizens to become part of any sporting success.

The importance of this was echoed by President Cyril Ramaphosa when referencing the Springbok World Cup Victory in 2019, some 24 years after Nelson Mandela first used the Rugby World Cup victory by the Springboks in 1995 to begin mending bridges in society. President Ramaphosa reminded the South African public just what these victories can mean for the country:

This historic win has been achieved with the passionate support of more than 57 million South Africans who have been inspired by the Springboks’ performances throughout the tournament. This is a moment of inspiration for all South Africans in all avenues of life and all sectors of our society. It is a moment that is embedded forever in our national memory. (Nkanjeni, 2019)

The ICASA regulations are multi-layered. Firstly, they provide checks and balances that attempt to promote a free-market and prevent a monopoly of the market; these have largely been unsuccessful. Secondly, and perhaps most importantly, the regulations attempt to ensure that those who cannot afford to access paid media services are not unduly discriminated against whilst still recognising the financial realities in a society as unequal as South Africa. There is, therefore, a continued ‘tug of war’ between using the private sector to better fund and improve the sporting environment of the country whilst still making sports content widely accessible, especially to those who were previously denied access. If there was no access to sports distribution for PSBs, then the effect of nation-building and social justice would be hampered by the lack of access to the sporting achievements such as the 2019 Rugby World Cup victory mentioned above. With this particular example, the regulations that were explored in Chapter 4 were a major factor in ensuring that the World Cup final was available on the public service broadcaster, which saw an estimated 1,6 million South Africans watch the match on SABC 2 alongside the peak audience of 915 000 that viewed the game on SuperSport.

Currently, there is nothing in ICASA’s 2020 draft regulations that would in any way restrict the move of the broadcast of the MSL from the SABC to SuperSport. Because domestic cricket tournaments were included in the expanded list of sporting events of national interest, ICASA’s initial draft regulations would have created a framework where the MSL would have had to be made available on free-to-air services. However, as a result of the various submissions, particularly those of MultiChoice and CSA, which stressed the financial importance of having deals in place with private broadcasters to be sustainable and better fund transformation and development programmes, the list was restricted. Despite cutting back on such an aggressive approach, there definitely appears to be an attitude at ICASA that more needs to be done to foster a more competitive broadcast environment in the country to try and reduce the monopoly that MultiChoice currently has in South Africa.

The 2020 draft regulations, whilst not yet in effect, represent a further step towards more stringent regulations than are currently in place and which would, in theory, enable the SABC to better compete with MultiChoice and maintain a wider offering of sport on television. The cultural value of the widespread distribution continues to be the government’s drawcard to justify the attempt to increase the availability of sport on PSBs to aid the nation-building

objectives cited by governmental departments such as SRSA. The initial regulations included the concept of delayed broadcast or highlight packages being made available to free-to-air services in cases where the private broadcasters had obtained rights. This could provide a potential bridge between giving access to the content to wider sections of society whilst still enabling federations such as CSA to generate revenue through large broadcast deals. This concept was endorsed by Faul, where he commented that “a better option is probably limiting the content that goes through SABC... a highlight package” (interview, 2020) although he could not answer whether CSA or SuperSport would ever be willing or able to try such an arrangement.

In terms of the political sphere, there is nothing concrete in any of the current regulations that would directly influence the MSL's broadcast situation. However, it is obvious that the ideological and cultural aspects mentioned earlier in this chapter continue to shape the reasoning for ICASA's push to amend these regulations. The need to balance revenue and audience is the tension we have identified between the economic sphere and the cultural and ideological one. From a political perspective, through ICASA, the government needs to grapple with how such a balance can be achieved to use the distribution of media products to address the concerns raised in the ideological and cultural sphere whilst remaining viable and still promoting a free market. ICASA has signalled its desire for a more aggressive regulatory strategy to give free-to-air services the ability to compete with private broadcasters. However, the harsh reality of the market has forced them to scale back their ambition. What the draft regulations did do, however, is to accentuate the importance of PSBs in distributing sports content to wider audiences to achieve the socio-cultural goals of transformation and nation-building, among others.

Technical Sphere

The technical sphere presents interesting possibilities for CSA. Satellite television is popular across South Africa. According to MultiChoice, 13% of South Africans have access to a DStv bouquet (De Villiers, 2019), while it is estimated that through satellite television, 29,4 million people per week view SABC 1 (ICASA, 2019). Should the MSL tournament continue to be broadcast through a free-to-air service such as the SABC, it could be accessed by 82,2% of South Africans who have access to terrestrial television (ICASA, 2020), an estimated 13% or 7,1 million people if it were available to all DStv subscribers, or else just 1,7 million people if limited to those with DStv premium subscriptions. Regardless of which avenue CSA explores in

terms of the channel broadcast, terrestrial television offers a very good mode of transmission of the product to the audience. Another mode of transmission that has not been significantly explored is that of online.

Like many parts of Africa, South Africa has an extensive mobile user database with smartphones bringing greater connectivity to sub-Saharan Africa (Teer-Tomaselli, 2018). The rise in popularity and use of smartphones and the increased digital presence of fans online presents an interesting opportunity for CSA. According to a report in 2020, smartphone penetration has surpassed 90% in South Africa (Mzekandaba, 2020), whilst according to Statista, internet penetration has surpassed 50% and social media users in South Africa number around 22 million. While not quite equalling the numbers of satellite television consumers, the ever-growing digital footprint in South Africa could undoubtedly offer new possibilities to CSA. Teer-Tomaselli (2018) states that “new technologies provide new opportunities for capital to make greater profits” (2018: 136) which in this case could be viewed as the spike of smartphone and internet access resulting in greater numbers of social media consumers.

When SuperSport is the primary broadcaster of a sporting tournament or event, its coverage extends beyond the live production of the match to TV magazine shows, highlights packages and more, which are also made available online. By contrast, the SABC offers none of these. In terms of the MSL, this then means that CSA bears responsibility for media production over and above the live production of the tournament. For this reason, CSA established an official MSL YouTube channel and website. The YouTube channel has already had a reasonable amount of success: it has garnered a subscriber base of 87 000, and several videos have been viewed over one million times (YouTube, 2020). In total, the channel has had 14 million views and represents a different method not only of transmitting content but also of raising revenue as YouTube videos can be monetised. Interestingly, according to social media analysis website Social Blade, the SuperSport YouTube channel is the fourth biggest South African channel in terms of subscribers and has had 444 million video views. If CSA were to replicate any of this success with the Mzansi Super League channel, it would be a major coup for the organisation, both in terms of financial gain and viewership.

Cricket South Africa is perhaps guilty of not having leveraged the full capabilities of the technical sphere compared to some other cricket organisations across the globe. The official CSA

YouTube channel has 150 thousand subscribers, a fraction of their national cricketing counterparts such as England (4,5 million subscribers), West Indies (1,62 million subscribers) and Sri Lanka (2,5 million subscribers). In 2014 Cricket Australia established a division of the organisation that is dedicated to media production, called CA Digital Media (Roper, 2014). The division is responsible for producing a multimedia product for all Australian cricket, headlined by CricketAustralia.com.au. It includes a YouTube channel with 7,4 million subscribers and a massive total of three billion video views. The value of CA Digital Media has been a hotly contested topic for Cricket Australia, with players having been in dispute with the federation over the lack of remuneration deriving from the digital revenue. Cricket Australia, in 2017, denied that there was any revenue from digital media (Pierik, 2017). However, the Australian Cricketers' Association challenged this and claimed in a report that the digital media revenue was as much as \$40 million over five years (Ramsey, 2017). Ed Miles, YouTube's head of sports partnerships in Asia Pacific (APAC), noted that Cricket Australia was one of several partners with YouTube who were using the online platform to reach greater audiences and diversify their revenue streams:

Many federations and broadcasters are working with us in many different ways, which is hedged to their strategy or their objectives upfront. I hear a lot about 'incremental reach', 'incremental revenue' and 'a better understanding of our fans'. These are the types of briefs that we receive. (Impey, 2020)

Regardless of the veracity of Cricket Australia's claims that no revenue is generated from its digital media, there is a big opportunity for CSA to invest more in the digital realm in terms of the distribution and potential monetisation of the MSL. CA Digital Media has proven that there is a huge demand for cricket content online and that YouTube and other social media platforms can be used to great effect in a distribution strategy. The fact that SuperSport is one of the largest YouTube channels in South Africa reiterates that there is a market for online sporting video content that CSA could tap into. For example, both of SuperSport's most viewed videos are cricket videos, with the most viewed video, labelled 'AB de Villiers' fastest 100 of all time', having been viewed 50 million times (YouTube, 2020).

The biggest issue with digital media is ownership of the rights, which would depend on the deals struck with CSA's various broadcasters. For example, over the years, the highlights of CSA's local domestic tournaments broadcast by SuperSport have been limited to the SuperSport

YouTube channel. Highlights of the Mzansi Super League were posted on the MSL's own YouTube channel, which would suggest that the current deal with the SABC allows for the tournament itself, owned by CSA, to post the highlights, rather than the tournament broadcaster. Irrespective of the limits of each deal, from a technical point of view there is, alongside the satellite transmission of the tournament, significant potential for greater distribution and even for possible new revenue streams by using online media from which CSA could profit.

CONCLUSION

Summary of Findings

In an attempt to summarise and analyse the broad outcome of the findings from the various sources, there are some notable aspects that need to be acknowledged:

- Firstly, that the South African broadcast context is unique in that there is a private broadcaster (MultiChoice) that has a monopoly within the country but is also very importantly embedded within South African sport itself.
- Secondly, the public broadcaster (SABC) is in financial turmoil and does not have substantial capital or resources to compete with the private sector and MultiChoice.
- Thirdly, Cricket South Africa is in a precarious position with multiple issues both in the boardroom and financially. This has created a situation where CSA decisions are largely based on trying to remain afloat and rectify past issues. This has limited CSA's ability to look at a broader-based approach to television broadcast rights in recent times.
- Finally, the core tension of the role of sport from social-cultural and ideological standpoints, in terms of righting the wrongs of the past and building towards promoting equality and nation-building, is a vital aspect of any conversation regarding transformation, and especially within a critical political economy analysis.

These are all important factors to note in a critical political economy analysis when assessing the landscape that ICASA is trying to regulate and manage. Looking across the four leaves of the critical political economy clover as defined by Teer-Tomaselli (2018), which have now been analysed, the two overriding themes are the value of access to the sport and the financial sustainability of that access. The advantages and disadvantages of the battle between the free-to-air broadcast vs pay-per-view of the Mzansi Super League can now be summarised.

The findings highlighted in the analyses of the ideological and cultural sphere and the political sphere point to free-to-air access of the Mzansi Super League being a crucial part of any potential transformation of cricket as a sport. The focus groups and interviews clearly outlined how important it is for a sport to become universally popular and accepted; in terms of this study,

the MSL thus needs to be accessible to all households regardless of the financial situation of the householders.

The idea of media representations and how every individual consumes these representations is vital in shifting the rhetoric away from cricket being white and middle class to being a game that can be accessed and supported by all. We have seen in the Indian example how the game has managed to permeate all aspects of society to become a part of India's national identity. The broadcast of cricket plays a major role in ensuring that the players and sport can be accessed by the whole population, who can then begin to foster a unique relationship with the sport depending on how they interpret it. Providing access to the MSL tournament and making it available to the general population will increase interest in the form of creating heroes, as Alfred (interview, 2021), Faul (interview, 2020) and members of the focus groups (discussions, 10 and 16 November 2020) all suggested. It will also begin to grow a cricketing culture mentioned by Participant 1 in the focus group discussion held on 10 November 2020 as paramount to creating a support system to foster future participants. This continues a discourse well established by Noorbhai (2020), who claimed that a lack of enduring cricket culture was equally responsible for the fact that no international cricketer from South Africa has come from a rural school due to the lack of facilities. Just 50 schools from 6000 schools across the country have produced a national cricket player. If this is ever going to change, there needs to be appropriate access to the game across all levels, which includes being able to watch tournaments like the Mzansi Super League.

The fact that millions of viewers tuned in to the first edition of the MSL tournament in 2018 clearly demonstrate that there is a large appetite for cricket in South Africa. While it is far too early to assess the impact that the MSL could have on growing the game, it certainly seems to support Alfred's contention that the game has permeated many different sectors of society (interview, 2021). However, as the focus group discussions suggested, this has been on a limited scale.

Transmission of the MSL tournament by a free-to-air broadcaster can undoubtedly be a catalyst for the development of local heroes to whom all South Africans can relate. Alfred mentioned that the blend of international cricketers and local talent in the MSL produced "an attractive short-form game, which is accessible and sexy" (interview, 2021). The tournament in 2019 featured 108 players, of whom 90 were South African. Local 'heroes' like Nono Pongolo, who, despite

coming from very humble backgrounds, reach the summit of the sport, become role models that the next generation of South Africans need, and the MSL is the perfect platform on which to showcase their success to all South Africans.

The initially aggressive rulings by ICASA under the guise of attempting to “advance equality, human dignity through access to sport of National interest to all citizens” to “further ensure that sports continue to promote social inclusion, equity and sustainability” (ICASA, 2010: 14) support the contention that access in the form of media representations is integral to transforming cricket in South Africa. This was well backed up within the sociological and cultural discussions described in Chapter 6. It also links directly to the critical political economy pillars that aim at prioritising democratic values such as equality and social justice. The broader-based distribution of the MSL will promote the development and transformation programmes. Still, the key argument remains whether the financial trade-off between access and the accompanying financial loss can be justified in the broader spectrum of achieving transformational success.

From a financial point of view, Faul confirmed that the CSA is in desperate need of revenue to remain sustainable. This is why talks were held to move the broadcasting of the MSL to SuperSport in 2020 (Faul, interview, 2020). With the tournament currently making a R100 million annual loss, the broadcast deal with the SABC, even with the reworked deal in 2019, is simply not enough to cover the costs, and as a result, CSA has had to try and move back towards SuperSport. Faul (interview, 2020) admitted that SuperSport pays R40-60 million for a domestic tournament, which is not an exceptionally substantial amount within the greater context of financial revenue for CSA; however, it could almost halve the losses of the MSL tournament for CSA. At face value, it appears to be a simple conclusion that the broadcast of the tournament on SuperSport is the only viable option.

This situation could potentially change if CSA were to pursue alternative revenue models as Alfred suggested (interview, 2021). An important factor to keep in mind is that because of the turmoil within CSA, the organisation lost a R10m-a-year sponsorship from Standard Bank in 2020 (Malepa, 2020). Momentum, another long-term sponsor, opted against renewing its sponsorship contract in 2020, stating it was “not satisfied with the current state of affairs at CSA regarding governance and other reputational issues” (Moonda, 2020). CSA has, however,

managed to secure new sponsorships, including a title sponsor for the MSL, although the sponsorship value has not been disclosed.

If the CSA boardroom issues had not had such major repercussions, the MSL tournament losses might have become manageable. Faul (interview, 2020) mentioned that the MSL would not necessarily ever be a huge money generator and that CSA was keenly aware of how it took up to 10 years for the BBL and IPL tournaments to break even. It can be argued that if CSA began to pursue alternative revenue sources, which Alfred (interview, 2021) said was long overdue, the organisation could work towards a situation where it reached a palatable loss. This could even occur without the broadcast income from SuperSport should CSA opt not to partner with the pay-per-view channel. Where losses from the staging of the MSL tournament can be reduced, the argument that the tournament has value in transforming the game whilst still being financially viable then holds more weight.

Key obstructions to the transformation of the sport that have been noted have been the lack of facilities and a lack of access concerning media representations or even the sharing of knowledge of, and enthusiasm for, the sport within communities. Beyond the ability to play the sport or having the facilities to play the sport, there appears to be difficulty in having any sort of relationship or connection to cricket as a sport as it has no standing in many communities due to the dominance of other sporting codes such as soccer.

CSA, in its response to the ICASA 2018 draft regulations, claimed that portions of the money that it earned from major broadcast deals with SuperSport are directly fed into its grassroots development programmes. Thus, the choice of the pay-per-view channel rather than the PSB then becomes another trade-off between access in the sense of being able to watch the sport vs access in terms of being able to participate in it. What was also noted was the failure of SRSA and, to a degree, the Department of Basic Education (DBE) in assisting in the provision and maintenance of cricketing facilities. Manthatha, who has been involved with grassroots programmes, claimed in the focus group discussion on 16 November 2020 that facilities and development needed “the public purse.” CSA itself noted that it required partnerships with SRSA and DBE to provide adequate facilities across the population (CSA, 2015). It can therefore be argued that CSA, while possibly sacrificing financial capital to build facilities by not choosing SuperSport as the MSL broadcast partner, could still provide a foundation to grow the sport by

ensuring it is available through alternative avenues through the media to make the game an integral part of communities and households.

In the technical sphere, it was also mentioned that a possible revenue source, as well as a method of distribution for CSA, could be a greater emphasis on its media production capacity. The 87 900 subscribers of the MSL YouTube channel are a clear indication of the potential of this platform to raise additional revenue and broaden distribution of the tournament. The digital platform also provides another medium for promoting cricket and making it available to a population who, through mobile phones, is gaining more access to social media and online products. This would lessen the financial burden CSA is currently carrying and improve its distribution of the game to a greater extent than broadcasting it on satellite television could achieve.

The financial problems being experienced at CSA run deep, and therefore it is difficult to justify turning down a possible major revenue source such as SuperSport. However, in a situation where a public broadcaster is better funded and not in the current financial disarray being experienced by the SABC at present, there could eventually be a scenario whereby it would be feasible to broadcast the MSL tournament on a free-to-air service as part of an intentional strategy to transform the game rather than being necessitated by the lack of alternatives, as is currently the case. The social and cultural benefits of such a situation cannot be overstated, and the commitment to making this a reality in the future is seen in the progressive policies that government entities such as ICASA and SRSA would like to put in place. While the implementation of these policies is hampered by the current incapacity of both the SABC and CSA, CSA remains under pressure to make the game available to the masses and, regardless of the immediate decision for the broadcast of the MSL, will need to work towards making more cricket available on PSBs.

Conclusion

This thesis has attempted to apply a critical political economy analysis to the case study of the broadcast and distribution of the Mzansi Super League and its role in the Cricket South Africa transformation agenda. With so many different factors and organisations involved, the study began with a brief overview of the historical context of both the broadcast landscape within South Africa and the sport of cricket itself. With a past blighted by racial segregation and discrimination, cricket in South Africa has a sombre history of being highly racialised, and

Cricket South Africa was thus mandated to rectify this. The transformation of the sport needed to comprehensively change the way cricket was not only played but consumed in the country to redefine it within a democratic South Africa.

A review was undertaken of how cricket is viewed and consumed currently and ways in which it has changed or stayed the same since the dawn of democracy in 1994. The broadcast landscape is dominated by a constant grappling between the cash-strapped South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and private channel SuperSport (a division of MultiChoice). As the SABC continues to struggle financially, so does SuperSport's monopoly and dominance of sports broadcasting continue to grow, to the point where it dominates almost all sports broadcasting in South Africa.

As part of the attempt to transform the sport across different demographics, CSA has needed to find ways of disseminating the sport to all sectors of society. Due to a fall-out between CSA and SuperSport, the MSL tournament was broadcast on the SABC, which highlighted the value of wider distribution and showed that increasing the audience of the sport could have profound effects on the long-term transformation objectives of CSA.

The South African government continues to use sport as a means of building bridges between different communities and as a nation-building mechanism, based on the premise of Nelson Mandela that "sport can unite people in a way little else does (SuperSport, 2020). The acknowledgement that wider distribution is good for development and transformation can be seen in the actions of the Independent Communications Authority of South Africa (ICASA), which is aggressively trying to rework broadcast regulations to give more power back to PSBs and limit the monopoly that private broadcasters have in the country.

From a critical political economy analysis point of view, the various factors were then broken into different spheres which collectively would suggest the benefits of the different broadcasting solutions to the MSL.

This thesis has found that there is a large amount of value in the distribution of the MSL on a PSB such as the SABC, with profound long-term effects on the transformation objectives of the CSA. With the framework demanding that the financial situation needs to be assessed within the broader objectives of promoting democratic values such as equality and social justice, the

obvious route that CSA need to pursue is to continue broadcasting the MSL tournament on the SABC. The viewership figures to date and the reaction from the general public has demonstrated the desperate need for cricket to be more accessible for it to grow.

The reality of the current financial climate makes this decision much more complex, however. Cricket South Africa has suffered significant financial losses in previous years due to a number of incidents, such as the failure of the Global League T20 tournament, which the MSL subsequently replaced. As a result, the organisation is desperate to make the MSL, an important tournament for CSA, as financially sustainable as possible, as this has not been the case since the tournament's inception. While it is accepted that it takes many years for a tournament of this nature to become self-sustaining, with the COVID-19 pandemic and the effects of the subsequent lockdown exacerbating an already precarious financial situation, CSA is being forced to accelerate this process. Alongside that, the SABC's financial situation is equally, if not grimmer, making it impossible for the state broadcaster to begin to match the broadcast revenue offered by SuperSport.

As a result, CSA will lose too much revenue if it does not reach an agreement with SuperSport because the SABC does not have the financial capital to compensate CSA for the broadcast rights to the MSL tournament. This makes it much more challenging to stay with SABC based on other advantages such as increased viewership as there is a much larger gap between the revenue from SuperSport as the broadcaster compared with that from the SABC than would be the case were the SABC to be in a position to offer some type of revenue for the rights.

CSA initially attempted to come to an alternative arrangement, but as can be seen by its renewed negotiations with SuperSport in 2020, this arrangement was evidently not viable. It can, therefore, be assumed that in the current climate, CSA cannot afford not to move to the private broadcaster. It has also been argued that even without the current financial situation at the SABC, CSA would still need a major revenue source which could be derived from several different possible streams of income that the organisation is not currently pursuing, as alluded to in the technical sphere analysis in Chapter 6.

In conclusion, it is evident that in the current climate, especially given how COVID-19 has negatively impacted all the organisations in question, CSA is not able to actively continue using the SABC to broadcast the MSL tournament. While this situation might continue regardless, if a

deal cannot be struck with SuperSport, it is not what CSA would want. Until the organisation finds itself in a position where the MSL can reach a palatable loss, it is inevitable that CSA will continue to pursue a move back to a private broadcaster.

This thesis has identified that if CSA is to accelerate its transformation objectives in the long term, it is essential that the PSL tournament and other cricket coverage be available on a PSB to reach wider audiences. To do this, a restructure of CSA's current financial system needs to occur, with more streams of income being pursued to diversify the sources of income and decrease the reliance on broadcast rights. If it were able to attain this position, CSA would then be in a place to justifiably turn down the probably higher broadcast income from a private broadcaster like SuperSport to reach more people via a PSB, thus building a bigger audience and growing the sport at all levels in the name of transformation.

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APPENDIX A

Qualitative Interview Schedule 1: Cricket South Africa

The value of free to air services in promoting cultural citizenship within South Africa: A critical political economy case study of the broadcast and distribution of the Mzansi Super League T20 cricket tournament.

The questions included in this interview address the current broadcast and distribution of the Mzansi Super League T20 cricket tournament. Written consent must be provided by you (participant) that you voluntarily took part in the interviews. Interviews will take place during a scheduled remote session. You will be asked for a convenient time that will suit you to be interviewed. After completion of the interview, the researcher will transcribe the interview, contact you and ask for you to verify if that which was transcribed is in fact that which you said during the interview. You will be asked to give consent that this was in fact what you said during the interview and that the researcher can use this information for this study. At any time after the study was completed, you have the opportunity to enquire about the results and findings of this study.

The following questions will be asked during the interview conducted with you. All interviews will be recorded with a voice recorder to ensure that the correct version of your interview is transcribed.

Questions CSA

1. Why did SuperSport not broadcast the first two editions of the Mzansi Super League?
2. What have been the benefits of having the Mzansi Super League broadcast on SABC for the past two years and the financial drawbacks?
3. To what degree has increased audience access to the Mzansi Super League contributed to the success and popularity of the tournament?
4. Has there been any measurable difference in the growth of fans or popularity of the sport since the start of the Mzansi Super League?
5. What role does the tournament play in growing cricket across the country?

6. Has the increased viewership translated to the crowds at matches?
7. Did the SABC pay for the rights to televise the Mzansi Super League in 2018/2019?
8. What is the role of Global Sports Commerce in the broadcast aspect of the MSL, and how does the relationship between the GSC, the SABC and CSA work?
9. What other countries is the MSL shown in and do you have the viewership figures for these countries?
10. The majority of the tournament's commercial partners are foreign companies. Is the international audience more financially valuable to the tournament than the South African one?
11. Is it true that the broadcast of the Mzansi Super League might move to SuperSport in the future? If so, what are the driving factors behind that decision?
12. Could there ever be a situation whereby the tournament is broadcast simultaneously by both matches, albeit for select matches only?
13. In 2019, in response to draft regulations proposed by ICASA about further regulating the sports broadcasting landscape, CSA stated that they were 'balancing the benefits of audience vs revenue' by broadcasting the Mzansi Super League on the SABC. Does this mean that CSA will continue to endeavour to make the tournament accessible on a free-to-air service?
14. Should the broadcast move to SuperSport, what ways can CSA continue to ensure that those without DStv subscriptions can still access the tournament?
15. Amidst the #BlackLivesMatter conversations that have been taking place in CSA, how important is it that cricket continues to be accessible at a grassroots level and what role does having access to watch top-level cricket affect this?
16. Transformation is such a key focus of CSA, has broadcasting the tournament been a key part of building a different demographic of fans?
17. In the UK, the move from test cricket from a public broadcaster to a private one saw a decline in the levels of participation in amateur and club cricket. How key is the SABC having access to cricket in South Africa to building the number of people participating in the sport?
18. Is there a risk that, by denying access to SABC, cricket continues to be an elitist sport reserved for those with access to it?

Qualitative Interview Schedule 2: Luke Alfred

The value of free to air services in promoting cultural citizenship within South Africa: A critical political economy case study of the broadcast and distribution of the Mzansi Super League T20 cricket tournament.

The questions included in this interview addresses the current broadcast and distribution of the Mzansi Super League T20 cricket tournament. Written consent must be provided by you (participant) that you voluntarily took part in the interviews. Interviews will take place during a scheduled remote session. You will be asked for a convenient time that will suit you to be interviewed. After completion of the interview, the researcher will transcribe the interview, contact you and ask for you to verify if that which was transcribed is in fact that which you said during the interview. You will be asked to give consent that this was in fact what you said during the interview and that the researcher can use this information for this study. At any time after the study was completed, you have the opportunity to enquire about the results and findings of this study.

The following questions will be asked during the interview conducted with you. All interviews will be recorded with a voice recorder to ensure that the correct version of your interview is transcribed.

Questions for Luke Alfred

1. In your opinion, is cricket still viewed as a minority dominated sport?
2. How can further access from a media point of view ensure that the sport can permeate across sectors of society where it hasn't yet?
3. What have been the benefits of having the Mzansi Super League broadcast on SABC for the past two years and the financial drawbacks?
4. Do you there been any measurable difference in the growth of fans or popularity of the sport since the start of the Mzansi Super League?
5. What role does the tournament play in growing cricket across the country?

6. Do you think the broadcast situation could have a knock-on effect in growing physical audiences and in turn the general popularity of the sport?
7. How important is it in having the MSL broadcast on SABC to try and grow the number of people actually playing cricket?
8. How much of a role does the money generated from a private broadcaster play in terms of being able to fund development programmes?
9. How important are the ICASA broadcast regulations in fostering a competitive broadcast landscape in South Africa?
10. Are the current CSA transformation efforts working?
11. To what degree is continued access to cricket essential to aiding the transformational efforts?
12. What role does the government need to play in helping CSA provide facilities in communities where there aren't any?

APPENDIX B

Focus Group Schedule

Focus Group 1:

Date: 10 November 2020

Location: Rat and Parrot, Makhanda, South Africa

Participants:

- Lelethu Cekiso – Ex-Junior provincial cricketer
- Sinenjabulo Gogwana – Ex-Junior provincial cricketer
- Bongolethu Draai – Ex-Senior Provincial cricketer and provincial coach
- Participant 1 – Ex-Junior provincial cricket and Varsity Cup cricket representative
- Participant 2 – Rhodes University 1st XI cricketer

Focus Group 2

Date: 16 November 2020

Location: Rat and Parrot, Makhanda, South Africa

Participants:

- Lukhanyo Tshongweni - Rhodes University 1st XI cricketer and coach
- Leon Coetzee – President Rural Cricket South Africa
- Lewis Manthatha – Member of Black African Cricket Clubs and former member of Gauteng Cricket Board

Questions for Discussion

1. Go around and introduce themselves and cricket background
2. Which sport/s were dominant in your home and family? What influenced these?
3. Did you have access to a television growing up and if so, was the DStv subscription of any kind or was it SABC?

4. How were you first introduced to cricket?
5. In your experience is cricket still viewed as a minority dominated sport?
6. Looking back now, what were your major limitations to your cricket development?
7. Do you feel a disjoint to the national side?
8. Do you follow local cricket, if not why not?
9. Based on your experience, how could cricket be more available across all sectors of society?
10. Do you think the current transformation efforts are working?
11. Do you think that the money generated from private broadcasting which aids funding for rural cricket development is more important than making it accessible via a free-to-air broadcaster?
12. How much of the Mzansi Super League have you watched? Are you invested in the tournament?
13. What has been your experience of the Mzansi Super League?
14. CSA is now considering moving the broadcast away from SABC, what effect could this have the development and transformation agenda?

APPENDIX C:

Plagiarism Declaration

- 1. I know that plagiarism means taking and using the ideas, writings, works or inventions of another as if they were one's own. I know that plagiarism not only includes verbatim copying, but also the extensive use of another person's ideas without proper acknowledgement (which includes the proper use of quotation marks). I know that plagiarism covers this sort of use of material found in textual sources and from the Internet.**
- 2. I acknowledge and understand that plagiarism is wrong.**
- 3. I understand that my research must be accurately referenced. I have followed the rules and conventions concerning referencing, citation and the use of quotations as set out in the Departmental Guide.**
- 4. This assignment is my own work, or my group's own unique group assignment. I acknowledge that copying someone else's assignment, or part of it, is wrong, and that submitting identical work to others constitutes a form of plagiarism.**
- 5. I have not allowed, nor will I in the future allow, anyone to copy my work with the intention of passing it off as their own work.**

Name: Stephen John Pettitt

Student #: G15P2110

Signed 

Date: 15/03/2021