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MEDIA COVERAGE OF THE ARMS DEAL BY *THE STAR* AND *SOWETAN*

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A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Media Studies.

Johannesburg, 2010

ABSTRACT

This research report looks at the coverage of the Strategic Defence Procurement Package by two South African daily newspapers: *The Star* and *Sowetan* and ANC president Jacob Zuma alleged involvement to determine whether or not the media were 'bias' in their coverage. Using a qualitative approach (thematic and semiotic analysis) as well as a case study approach, this looks at codes and themes within headlines, news articles and editorials for tone (negative or positive), placement (fore-grounded and back-grounded voices and views), emphasis and interpretation, political crisis as well as Jacob Zuma's image/ personality.

Apart from the media representation of the arms deal, this study also analysed how Jacob Zuma used the media to get his message across to the public through the analysis of political speeches for signs of political rhetoric and this include his response to the charges against him, reactions of both his allies (those who openly support him), opponents (whom this study has categorized as those calling for his trial) and organisations or agencies that are considered 'neutral'- the National Prosecuting Authority and its investigative unit, the Directorate of Special Operations (DSO) (which brought the charges against him), State advocates and the Court.

The critical political economic theory, theories of representation and theories of political communication and mediatised politics, provided the tools with which the issue of bias could be presented and argued.

The eventual analysis was that the issue of bias is highly subjective. What may be seen as 'bias' in one paper, may not be the case in another newspaper as discussions on issues of media journalism have moved away from 'bias' and lean more towards issues of 'objectivity'. Jacob Zuma's interaction with the media is seen as reciprocal but not as free/ amicable since the media, although independent, still relies on official sources for its news. In conclusion, the study stresses that although involvement in the arms deal scandal is not unique as seen from past records especially where arms procurement involved government-to- government transactions, the political and economic impact of the arms deal industry, especially on third world countries cannot be ignored and the challenges that the media increasingly face in trying to access 'confidential' documents in what seems to be an increasingly corrupt, man-eat-man society cannot be ignored too.

DECLARATION

I, Rague, Anne- Marie, confirm that the work submitted my own unaided work except where I have explicitly indicated otherwise. It is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters in Arts in Media studies, graduate School for the Humanities and Social Sciences, University of the Witwatersrand – Johannesburg.

I certify that it has not been submitted for any other degree or examination at any other university.

_____ _____

Signed **Date**

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First and foremost, I would like to thank Almighty God, whose wisdom and direction were very central to this project.

Secondly, I would like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Sarah Chiumbu, for her guidance and constructive criticism throughout the stages of this research project to its final completion.

Lastly but not least, to my family and friends, especially Janeske Botes and Jennifer Maina whose words of encouragement gave me the resolve to, ‘make the last dash after the long marathon’.

DEDICATION

To all my family and friends who have made it possible for me to pursue my studies; my mother Rosebella Simiyu your prayers saw me through some challenges, my sister and her family (Mr. and Mrs. Kaisha) and my uncle Mr. Vincent Rague, your financial help and encouragement during my studies, and lastly but definitely not least, my uncle Geoffrey Simiyu, for giving me a second home. Thank you all for believing in me. I would not have made it without your sacrifice and patience.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABC	: Australian Broadcasting Corporation
ABC	: Audit Bureau of Circulation
ADS	: Altech Defence Systems
AFP	: Agence France Presse
AIPPA	: Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act
AMPS	: All Media Products Survey
ANC	: African National Congress
ANCYL	: African National Congress Youth League
BBC	: British Broadcasting Corporation
BMF	: Black Management Forum
CDU	: Christian Democratic Union
CNN	: Cable News Network
COSAS	: Congress of South African Students
COSATU	: Congress of South African Trade Unions
CPI	: Corruption Perception Index
CSVR-	: Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation
DA	: Democratic Alliance
DSO	: Directorate of Special Operations
DSTv	: Digital Satellite Television
ECAAR-SA	: Economists Allied for Arms Reduction- South Africa
IACC	: International Anti-Corruption Conference
ICASA	: Independent Communications Association of South Africa
IDASA	: Institute for Democracy in South Africa
IONT	: International Offers Negotiating Team
ISS	: Institute for Security Studies
KBC	: Kenya Broadcasting Corporation
KZN	: Kwa Zulu-Natal
LSSA	: Law Society of South Africa
MISA	: Media Institute of South Africa
MEC	: Member of the Executive Committee
MTV	: Music Television
NAFTA	: North American Free Trade Agreement
NPA	: National Prosecuting Authority
NUMSA	: National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa
PM	: Propaganda Model
PSAM	: Public Service Accountability Monitor
SABC	: South African Broadcasting Corporation

SACP	: South African Communist Party
SAPA	: South African Press Association
SANDF	: South African National Defence Force
SDPP	: Strategic Defence Procurement Package
TI	: Transparency International
T-SA	: Transparency- South Africa
UDM	: United Democratic Movement
U.K	: United Kingdom
UNSC	: United Nations Security Council
U.S.A	: United States of America
ZBC	: Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation

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CHAPTER ONE

1.1) INTRODUCTION

> *To people in South Africa and millions around the world who supported the struggle against apartheid, it is incomprehensible that the ANC government's first major decision was to buy warships and warplanes when there is no conceivable foreign military threat and when the real threat to the consolidation of democracy is poverty. Instead of houses, schools and clinics being built, instead of money to tackle AIDS, South Africa bought submarines (Crawford-Browne 2004:329).*

This statement by Terry Crawford-Browne, Chairman of the South African Affiliate of Economists Allied for Arms Reduction- South Africa (ECAAR-SA), addresses the contentious issue of the Strategic Defence Procurement Package (SDPP)- or 'arms deal' as it has become widely known- which cost South Africa millions of dollars in public funds. Ever since it emerged that there were 'irregularities' in the procurement of defence equipment by the African National Congress (ANC) led government, the arms deal scandal has received substantial media attention, with several senior government officials and businesspeople being implicated, among them former ANC chief whip Tony Yengeni, businessman Schabir Shaik, and Jacob Zuma, the then deputy president of the ruling party.

Although the 1999 exposé by the South African weekly newspaper *Mail & Guardian* set in motion a train of events that led the Directorate of Special Operations (DSO) also known as the Scorpions,[1] to investigate Schabir Shaik and Tony Yengeni's involvement in the scandal, attention was drawn to Jacob Zuma, who was also the then deputy-president of the country, after it was revealed that Schabir Shaik[2] (who was also his close associate and financial adviser), tried to solicit a bribe from Thint, the local subsidiary of French arms company Thales, on his behalf (Institute for Security Studies 2004). Subsequently, Jacob Zuma, was implicated in the controversial arms deal involving contracts totalling R30 billion ($ 5billion;£ 2.5 billion), to modernize the

[1]The DSO was launched on 1st September 1999 and comprises of prosecutors, special investigators, crime analysts, crime information gathering specialists and forensic accountants. It was established as a direct result of the government's commitment to establishing an effective body to investigate and prosecute serious crimes in South Africa. The objective of the DSO is to prioritize, investigate and prosecute serious and organized crime that threatens the South African democracy and economy. This includes complex financial crime, syndicated organized crime and high-level corruption affecting business integrity and state administration. The core business of the DSO has been layered by a selection of investigations, where racketeering, money laundering and the forfeiture of the proceeds of crime form the main activities (www.assetrecovery.org).

[2] Schabir Shaik was convicted of fraud and corruption in connection with the above mentioned arms deal.

South African National Defence Force (SANDF) (*BBC News*, 28th December 2007). This was the country's largest ever post-apartheid deal involving companies from Germany, Italy, Sweden, Britain, France and South Africa.

Even before the allegations of corruption were made, the spending of billions of dollars on new fighter jets, helicopters, submarines and warships was controversial in a country where millions live in poverty and critics also pointed out that there was no credible threat to South Africa's sovereignty to justify the spending. The investigations on Jacob Zuma focused on allegations of conflict of interest, bribery and process violations in the purchasing of equipment (*Daily News*, 20th December 2007; *News24*.com; and *BBC* news.com, 28th December 2007).

As a result of Shaik's conviction, the then South African President and leader of the ruling ANC, Thabo Mbeki, chose to 'relieve' Jacob Zuma of his responsibilities as his deputy on the grounds that his standing was compromised (Southall 2003; Berger 2002), a move seen by some of Zuma's supporters as a political conspiracy by the President. This resulted in a feud that saw a split within the ANC, pitting Zuma's supporters against Mbeki's supporters. The eventual ascension of Jacob Zuma to the leadership of the ANC was not without its controversies as allegations of corruption in connection with the controversial arms deal scandal hang over his head. Despite all this, Jacob Zuma rose above these challenges to assume the leadership of not only the ruling party, but also that of the Republic of South Africa.

Due to the heightened media coverage surrounding Jacob Zuma from the time the scandal was first reported, this study seeks to analyse how two South African daily newspapers namely, *The Star* and *Sowetan* reported on the controversial arms deal scandal, focusing on the ANC President. In addition, because politicians have come to rely more and more on the media, using various communication techniques to communicate via different media channels, this study also looks seeks to highlight elements within the two dailies that shed light on the different media communication strategies the ANC leader may have used to put his message across.

1.2) PROBLEM STATEMENT

The presence of the media in our daily lives cannot be ignored as we see and hear it all around, be it through the radio, television, newspaper or internet, a factor more evident in liberal democracies that allow for diverse media channels that offer differing views and opinions, especially those concerning the political elite. The media form an important link between the politicians and the public because it is mainly through the media that the activities (both public and private) of politicians are made known, especially if those activities are seen as a threat to the political, economic and social welfare of the communities that the politicians are supposed to represent.

In some cases, the media's exposure of corruption has led to the resignations of the political leaders implicated or involved. For example- that of U.S President Richard Nixon's connection with the infamous Watergate scandal and the resignation of German Chancellor Helmut Kohl as honorary chairman of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) party, after it was alleged that he accepted non-declared donations which he hid in a

secret Swiss bank account. However, this is not always the case, as has also been observed; for example- the case of the Clintons who were alleged to have taken illegal loans to facilitate the development of the White-Water project in Arkansas, rumours that the Yeltsin family in Russia accepted bribes in exchange for rewarding a renovation contract to the Swiss Company, Mabetex; suspicion that Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi bribed judges to cover up his tax evasion and in South Africa, President Jacob Zuma charged with corruption for his alleged involvement in the sale of arms to the country by Germany and France.

As Yankova (2006:51) notes, with these scandals, one would expect that Clinton, Yelstin, Berlusconi and Zuma faced a similar destiny to that of Nixon and Kohl. Empirically seen, however, the outcomes of these scandals could not have been more diverse; President Clinton remained in power and was subsequently re-elected; Prime Minister Berlusconi's government collapsed in 1994, but Berlusconi came back to politics with a vengeance in 2001; Yeltsin resigned unexpectedly on the eve of the millennium, but he ensured the succession of a loyal secret service man, Vladimir Putin, and Jacob Zuma rose to the leadership of the ANC even before he was to appear in court on charges of corruption in connection with the arms deal scandal, charges which were later dropped.

These case studies, Yankova (2006:51) opines, force one to question why similar scandals tend to destroy the career and public image of some politicians in some countries but leave other's public images unscathed. In Lowi's (Yankova 2006:51) terms, "why is it that a political scandal in one country will make hardly a ripple, even when fully exposed and defined as a scandal, when in another country it is treated as an event of regime shattering importance"?

From a media perspective, some scholars such as Shah, Watts, Domke and Fan (2002:339) attribute this to the media's emphasis on the framing of certain issues such as the economy and general policy performance. Others argue that media sensationalism and bias are the core factors as they relegate important issues to the back of the public's mind, and instead, occupy themselves with the personalities and images of political leaders, thus drawing attention away from more important issues (Balkin 1998; Kellner 1995). Others argue that the media is simply carrying out its watchdog role by exposing the corruption in the first place (Fiske 1992; Bird 1996:216).

Apart from arguments on the media's influence on the outcome of political corruption, others argue that the differences in the outcome of the scandals on politicians' careers and images could be attributed to the ways in which politicians use the media to communicate with the public. Just like the media depend on politicians for their news stories, so too, do the politicians rely on the media to get their message across and due to technological advances that have affected the structure and functioning of the media, they have to constantly come up with the most effective ways of doing so.

Despite being dogged by scandals (he was previously acquitted of rape charges in connection with a sex scandal in 2006), Jacob Zuma has managed to rise above the negative shadow that seems to follow leaders whose pasts have been tainted with corruption, to the highest seat in the land, the presidency of South Africa. It is within

this context that this study seeks to analyze how the two dailies mentioned previously, reported on the arms deal scandal and Jacob Zuma's alleged involvement, in an attempt to gain a better understanding of the factors that influence the dynamic relationship between the media and politics. In addition, this study also applies the concept of political communication in its analysis of the newspapers articles in an attempt to identify the communication methods that Jacob Zuma may have used to relay his message(s).

1.3) AIM

Political leaders, by virtue of their position in society, are always rich fodder for the media and their views are used to gauge public opinion. The ANC president has been at the centre of intense media attention, firstly, by virtue of his prominent position, and secondly, due to the magnitude of the charges against him. Based in these two factors, this study seeks to analyze two things.

Firstly, how the *Sowetan* and *The Star* have reported on President Jacob Zuma's alleged involvement in the arms deal scandal; secondly, how Zuma handled press coverage of his implication in the arms deal scandal. By analyzing the above two issues, this research hopes to determine whether or not Jacob Zuma's survival of the arms deal corruption scandal was influenced by media 'bias' or his handling of the media through effective communication strategies such as public relations and image-building.

In order to determine the above, the following questions will be used as a guide;

1.3.1) RESEARCH QUESTIONS

1) How have the *Sowetan* and *The Star* reported on the arms deal and Jacob Zuma's alleged involvement?

2) Using the *Sowetan* and *The Star* as sources of analysis, which political communication strategies or tactics did Jacob Zuma make use of to get his message across to the public?

1.3.2) HYPOTHESIS

Jacob Zuma's public image is positively affected by a combination of 'favourable' media representation, and/or his media tactics (or political communication skills).

1.4) RATIONALE

Until recently, corruption was presented as a phenomenon characteristic of developing countries, authoritarian regimes, or at the outside, 'Mediterranean" societies in which the value system favoured clientelism, vertical relationships and neopatrimonialism. Aside from this observation, political corruption appears to be on the increase, taking on new forms, rather than decreasing or being eradicated. Countries with a long democratic

tradition such as the United States, France, Belgium and Great Britain have all experienced a combination of headline-grabbing scandals and smaller-scale cases of misappropriation (Della Porta and Vanucci 1999:6).
According the Institute for Security Studies (ISS) (2004), study of the prevalence of corruption (the abuse of entrusted power for private benefit) in South Africa is, as is the case in most countries, relatively new, having only reached prominence by the mid to late 1990s. Social scientists have started to grapple with the effect that corruption has on effective democratic governance in South Africa. Such inquiry primarily with a focus on the public sector, but increasingly also the private sector (and to a limited extent, civil society), has tested the nature and extent of corruption through both quantitative and qualitative research (Institute for Security Studies, 2004).

Using the Transparency International (TI) corruption index, countries are rated by their Corruption Perception Index (CPI) scores which range between 10 (highly clean) and 0 (highly corrupt)[3]. For example, from 1980-1997, Transparency International corruption ranking trends put the above mentioned countries between the range of 8- 8.5(Transparency International, 2007). Denmark, New Zealand and Sweden share the highest score at 9.3 for 2008, followed immediately by Singapore at 9.2. At the rear is Somalia at 1.0, slightly trailing Iraq and Myanmar at 1.3 and Haiti at 1.4 (Fin24.com).

For South Africa, which is a relatively new democracy but nevertheless still considered one of the most industrialized and liberal countries in Africa, Transparency International Corruption index showed fluctuating figures: showing a negative trend from number 33 in 1997 to 51 in 2006 (Transparency International 2007). Although this improved markedly in 2007, putting the country 43rd place among the 180 countries assessed, latest reports show that South Africa has slipped to position 54 in the Transparency International Corruption Index giving the country a score of 4.9 in 2008 compared with a score of 5.1 the previous year, putting it just above Italy and Seychelles and just below Latvia and Slovakia (www.sagoodnews.co.za).

But as Hodess (2001:9) notes, despite the evidence that is available and strong demands for justice, prominent world leaders who are suspected of corruption prove difficult to prosecute and convict, something Blindell (2003) attributes to the fact that corruption (or white collar crime) is substantially less visible that many other types of crime and this is perhaps the reason why it has not been attacked with the appropriate vigour. Furthermore, in most cases, it is also difficult to investigate as it is often subtle and perpetrated by cunning people who know the system as all participants are usually willing parties who together, have an interest in concealing it, therefore, there are fewer conscious victims and witnesses to it. Nelken (1994:1) also adds that the study of the distribution and frequency of white collar crimes is made problematic by the fact that most white-collar crimes are not included in the official statistics which serve as the basis for debates about 'the crime problem'.

In South Africa, Camerer (2009:9) notes that there is very little dedicated academic research on corruption and its controls (Lodge 1998; 1999, Bauer 2000; Mattes & Calland 1996; Camerer 1997; Kalombo 2005). Most contributions to understanding corruption in post-apartheid South Africa tend to come from policy rather than academic researchers- for example, NGOs such as the Institute for Security Studies (ISS), Institute for

[3] Transparency International, the global civil society organization leading the fight against corruption, brings people together in a powerful worldwide coalition to end the devastating impact of corruption on men, women and children around the world. (www.transparency.org)

Democracy in South Africa (IDASA), Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR), Transparency-South Africa (T-SA), and the Public Service Accountability Monitor (PSAM), have all contributed to the policy literature on the topic and addressed corruption by conducting surveys, issuing reports, hosting seminars and presenting papers at international conferences.

Camerer (2009:86) also adds that since the majority of citizens, including policy makers, report that they receive their information about corruption from the media, analyzing the type of information about corruption that is available to the public domain is one step towards developing a profile on corruption as these types of studies do not report on actual levels of corruption but rather present an overview of how the print media reports on corruption. Furthermore, Andvig et al. (cited in Camerer 2009:9) also posit that investigative journalists are in many ways in a better position to collect data than social scientists as the public exposure gives them a larger supply of informants meaning that stories from the media are important sources of information also for social research on corruption when it comes to establishing facts.

Consequently, by carrying out an analysis on media coverage of the arms deal scandal, this research seeks to add to the literature available on media coverage of political scandals. In addition, this research hopes to contribute to the field of political communication and the media by analyzing how Jacob Zuma, who was implicated in the arms deal scandal, used the media to get his message across to the public.

1.4.1) RATIONALE FOR FOCUSING ON JACOB ZUMA

December 2007 marked a turning point in Jacob Zuma's political career. Firstly, it was the month he was elected president of the ruling ANC, and secondly, it was also the month the National Prosecuting Authority (hereafter referred to as NPA), decided to reconstitute legal proceedings against him in connection with the controversial arms deal scandal. This was a scandal whose initial trial collapsed in 2006 after the prosecution said it was not ready to proceed (www.news24.com). Zuma's involvement and subsequent charges of corruption which included fraud, bribery, money laundering and racketeering, represents what Fine (1997:298) refers to as a "breach of institutional trust", whereby the particular actions of an individual come to characterize an institution. The allegations against Zuma subjected him to public scrutiny as his actions were seen to represent the institution which in this case, is the government.

In addition, the allegations against him drew attention to his leadership capabilities which require qualities such as integrity and honesty, especially after his appointment as president of the ANC qualified him to run for the presidency of the country. Although his corruption trial would have forced him to resign as the party's president, and thus jeopardize his chances of vying for the country's presidency, this was not the case as he not only retained the top post in the ANC, but also went on to win the general elections in 2009 to become the country's third democratically elected president.

Despite allegations that saw the trial and eventual conviction of his financial adviser, Schabir Shaik and ANC Chief Whip, Tony Yengeni, Jacob Zuma has enjoyed some degree popularity especially among other prominent politicians. With the corruption allegations hanging over his head how did the media write Zuma's story?

1.5) BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.5.1) THE ARMS DEAL

The arms deal scandal had its roots in the Cold War and the apartheid system and was shaped by the nature of the arms business which grew out of the arms race which now bestrides the global economy. More directly, the arms scandal was shaped by the arms policies of the Apartheid State which fed off the Cold War and, as there, militarists exaggerated the 'communist threat' to justify its obscene misadventures. (Crawford-Browne 2004:329) It is an internationally accepted principle of commercial law that contracts tainted by corruption are null and void. In 2002 Transparency International identified armaments as the most corruption-prone industry (Crawford-Browne 2004:331).

In the case of the South African arms deal, there would seem to have been external influence on government-to-government contracts. Germany would win many contracts thanks to pressure by former Chancellor Helmut Kohl, reflecting the political influence in Germany of the steel industry and related armaments industry. Britain and Sweden would win warplane contracts, the rationale being that BAe systems offered South Africa's Denel the opportunity to 'piggy-back' into the international armaments market (Crawford- Browne 2004:331).

Under no circumstances, it is suggested, can the arms deal be considered to have complied with the constitutional criteria of Section 195 regarding basic values and principles governing public administration or Section 217 regarding procurements, which declare:

> *When an organ of the State in the national, provincial or local sphere of government, or any other institution identified in national legislation, contracts goods or services, it must do so in accordance with a system which is fair, equitable, transparent, competitive and cost-effective (cited in Crawford- Browne 2004:331).*

Reports to the Cabinet sub-committee responsible for the arms procurements, made by the International Offers Negotiating Team's (IONT) 'affordability study', confirm that the ministries were warned about the foreign exchange and other risks inherent in the arms deal, and the effects that these would have on government's ability to meet social and economic priorities such as education, housing, health and welfare. Despite such warnings, the Cabinet signed the arms deal contracts in December 1999 (Crawford- Browne 2004:332).

1.5.2) THE CASE OF JACOB ZUMA (How the Case against Shaik implicated ANC president Jacob Zuma)

When he was still deputy-president of the ruling ANC, Jacob Zuma addressed the 9th International Anti-Corruption Conference (IACC) in Durban on 5th October 1999 pointing out that,

> "*There is a need to continuously send a message to those who thrive on corruption that we have the will to deal with them decisively. The extent of corruption in all spheres of our lives has touched us, even as we conclude this conference an act of corruption is being committed elsewhere…"* (Institute for Security Studies; September 2004).

As the allegations surrounding him, his financial advisor Schabir Shaik and certain French arms peddlers have once again shown, corrupt relationships, particularly those in large sector procurement deals, involve both public servants in the South and large multinationals in the North.

The *Sunday Times* (24th October 2004) provides an overview of state's charge sheet, as filed in the Durban Regional Court that includes a breakdown of all payments Schabir Shaik made on then Deputy President Jacob Zuma's behalf while he was Member of the Executive Committee (MEC) for Economic Affairs and Tourism in Kwa-Zulu Natal (KZN) and later as deputy president. (www.suntimes.co.za).

The charge sheet alleges that Zuma received R1.161 million from Shaik and his company, NKobi Holdings between 1st October, 1995 and 30th September, 2002. During this time Zuma's duties included promoting the interests of business impartiality as MEC of Economic Affairs and Tourism for the KZN provincial government, from May 1994, leader of government business in Parliament from June 1997 and deputy president of the ANC from December 1997 and later attending Cabinet meetings related to the arms deal. Zuma's impartiality comes into question during 1997/1998 period when South Africa requested offers from potential suppliers of military hardware (Institute for Security Studies, September 2004).

On May 11, 1998 Thomson CSF (France) and Altech Defence Systems (ADS) in joint venture partners with German Frigate Consortium, submitted an offer for corvettes. Zuma used his influence as cabinet minister when cabinet chose the German Frigate Consortium as preferred corvette supplier on November 18, 1998 (www.suntimes.co.za).

An article in the *Mail & Guardian* (29 August- 4 September 2003) that questioned the shareholders of Nkobi Holdings and with the assistance of a former Shaik employee blew the whistle, led investigators to the March 2000 encrypted fax in which a Thomson/ Thales representative told his colleague about Zuma's 'confirmation' of an alleged request for a R500, 000 annual bribe. Subsequent 'evidence' found at Thomson offices in Midrand that seemed to corroborate the request, led to the Scorpions' focus on Jacob Zuma's role in the arms deal. The documentation obtained seemed to indicate a *prima-facie* corruption case against Shaik, Thomson/Thales or some of its employees, and Zuma (Institute for Security Studies; September 2003).

The Scorpions eventually announced that whilst there was *prima facie* evidence, it would not prosecute Zuma. They also complained however, about the lack of co-operation by French authorities (*Business Day* 25th August 2003 cited in Crawford-Browne 2004: 335). Although at the time, Mbeki's action (announced in a broadcast to the nation)received overwhelming plaudits from within significant sections of the ruling ANC and throughout the media, within days however, the party's national working committee issued Mbeki a sharp rebuff by confirming Zuma in his post as party deputy president (Southall 13th October 2008).

Zuma's strength, adds Southall (13th October 2008) lay in the fact that he had become head of a coalition of the aggrieved, spearheaded by the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the South African Communist Party (SACP). These groups were the ANC's partners in the "tripartite alliance" and have been very vocal in calls for the corruption charges against Jacob Zuma to be dropped, sighting political conspiracy by certain quarters of the government.

1.6) THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

This section provides a brief introduction to the theories used in this study; the critical political economy of the media (which also incorporates the propaganda model), theories of representation, as well as theories of political communications and mediatised politics are discussed.

1.6.1) CRITICAL POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE MEDIA

There are notable contributions to political economy by several scholars such as Karl Marx, who argues that the ruling class that has the means of production (economic power) also has the power to determine the means of mental production. Antonio Gramsci relates the Marxist approach to hegemony arguing that the dominion by the ruling class is not by force, but rather, by cohesion and contributions. On the other hand, Althusser opines that dominion is multifaceted, with several cultural institutions (schools, the church, the media) playing a part in determining the means of mental production (McChesney 2000:4).

The approaches to the critical political economic theory McChesney (2000:110) states, incorporates two main dimensions- firstly, it addresses the nature of the relationship between media and communication systems on one hand and the broader social structure of society on the other and secondly, it looks specifically at how ownership, support mechanisms (e.g. advertising) and government politics influence media behaviour and content.

Furthermore, this study also looks at the propaganda model by Herman and Chomsky (2002:2) which focuses on inequality of wealth and power and its multilevel effects on mass-media interests and choices, tracing the routes by which money and power are able to filter out the news fit to print, marginalize dissent, and allow the government and dominant private interests to get their messages to the public.

In this model, the five filters- media ownership; advertising; use of sources; flak and anti-communism/ neo-liberalism- as outlined by Herman &Chomsky (2002: xi), are also discussed, as well as their relevance to this study. The propaganda model compliments the critical political economic theory that delves into the 'hidden' forces behind news content, looking at issues of ownership and control, revenue(e.g. through advertising channels), and addresses the manner in which media organisations cover news stories.

This study therefore examines how the *Sowetan* and *The Star* reported on the arms deal scandal bearing in mind the makeup of the media industry in South Africa which like those of other developed countries, does not operate in severely constrained conditions but at the same time, is not free from certain rules and regulations.

In addition to the propaganda model, this study also incorporates a discussion of propaganda techniques by Severin & Tankard (2001:111) such as; *Name calling Glittering generality*; *Transfer*; *Testimonial*; *Plain Folks*; *Card Stacking*; and *Bandwagon.* Although more common during campaign periods, the propaganda techniques mentioned above are adopted in this study as they help in analysing the techniques used by both the media and politicians during coverage of the arms deal.

1.6.2) THEORIES OF REPRESENTATION

The theoretical framework also discusses the theoretical foundations of representation, which lie in cultural studies. According to Grossberg (1993:177) representation is linked to the concept of ideology, which in essence means that every society maintains its continuing existence, its institutions and structures of power, by 'getting people to accept a particular way of thinking and seeing the world that makes the existing organization of social relations appear natural and inevitable'. Consequently, the importance of the media as producers of meaning is highlighted, linking representation to Althusser's argument that they (the media) are powerful ideological institutions'.

According to Newbold, Boyd-Barrett & Bulck (2002:261), representation offers a critique of the media's construction of reality by referring to the relationship between the ideological and the real, emphasizing the need to draw a clear distinction between reality and the images or texts that the media convey through their representation.

Newbold, et al. (2002:259), approach representation as a way of conveying certain signs and symbols that can claim to stand for, or re-present some aspect of 'reality' such as objects, groups, places, events, social norms, cultural identities and other abstract concepts which may be in the form of speech, writing, as well as still or moving pictures and are constructed using various mediums. Different writers emphasize different aspects of this process, but what seems obvious to them is that representations are selective (simply in the sense that out of a large amount of information, very little is being actually presented by the media), limited or framed and mediated (Grossberg et al. 1993).

In this case, media's reconstruction of reality is 'guided' by certain regulations, whether they are formal (such as government policy) or informal (such as self-censorship). The institutions that formulate these regulations do so to maintain a 'status quo'. Thus how the media represents Jacob Zuma is guided not only by the editorial policy of the two dailies but also by socio-economic factors (e.g. advertisers and owners) who have a say on what gets out to the public. In addition, this component also discusses issues of 'bias' as it relates to representation, looking at concepts put forward by McQuail (cited in Street 2001:20)) namely; partisan bias, propaganda bias, unwitting bias and ideological bias.

1.6.3) THEORIES OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION AND MEDIATISED POLITICS

Last but not least, the theoretical component of this study looks at the liberal democratic theory and its link to the concept of political communication and mediatised politics, looking more specifically at the foundation of the liberal democratic theory which Walter Lippmann (cited in Graber 2000:36)) argues, can be manufactured, making citizens subject to manipulation rather than being allowed to make rationale choices. This study looks at techniques employed by the political establishment (or political actors), to get and keep the public's attention.

1.7) METHODOLOGY

The methodology in this study incorporates a qualitative approach as well as a thematic approach to the analysis of selected news articles from *Sowetan* and *The Star* dailies to determine whether or not the factors discussed in the theoretical section had any influence on the content and extent of coverage of Jacob Zuma's alleged involvement in the arms deal scandal.

Under thematic analysis, the two dailies were analyzed for statements in front-page news articles, headlines, lead stories and regular news reports about the allegations of corruption levelled against Jacob Zuma, focusing on placement (fore-grounded and back-grounded statements), tone (positive, negative or neutral) of words and phrases within the articles, news as interpretation, emphasis (repeated coverage), as well as news sources. Qualitative content analysis will help in drawing out details and specific elements of the data that the two dailies deem most important.

1.8) RATIONALE FOR CHOOSING THE TWO DAILY NEWSPAPERS

While a plethora of media forms exist in South Africa, this research report specifically addresses the media form of newspapers. Since their inception, newspapers have been influential mediums used to communicate to large numbers of people. They provide a window into the daily life of communities, nations, and the world and a written record of what is important to a given society at a particular moment in history (Lovaas 2008:29).

The *Sowetan* and *The Star* have been chosen because of their substantial national and regional readership and circulation figures, which reflect the national scope of their coverage. Apart from the above factors, these dailies are published by some of South Africa's leading media houses, which will help in analyzing how the political – economy of the media affects or determines the content or angle of coverage of senior political figures.

The Star is a daily newspaper owned by Independent Newspapers with a readership of 616,000 and circulation of 171,542. Published in Johannesburg and distributed throughout South Africa with the most sales in Gauteng, The Star newspaper was once aimed exclusively at the white market but today, over 50 percent of its readers are black www.southafrica.info.

The wide reach of the daily newspaper means that the opinions of the paper are shared by a vast majority, thus influencing their decision- making process. Furthermore, the economic independence enjoyed by *The Star* could mean that it does have the economic muscle to confront issues that would otherwise be perceived as being 'too sensitive', and hence fulfilling its democratic watchdog role.

The Sowetan has a readership of 1.54 million and circulation of 118,261, also aimed at an English-literate black readership and as stated by National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa (NUMSA)[4] - September 9, 2004, the newspaper caters to the views of the working class.

Owned by Avusa (formerly Johnnic Communications),a leading South African company with tentacles in every nook of the media and entertainment industries, the economic freedom enjoyed by *Sowetan*, like *The Star*, enables it to report on 'sensitive' issues such as scandal and wrongdoings by political leaders (www.southafrica.info). However, despite the economic muscle, both dailies are governed by regulations and factors (e.g. media laws) that eventually determine what gets published.

1.9) RATIONALE FOR CHOOSING THE TWO PERIODS

The periods of analysis were from; the months of December 2007 and January 2008- this period marked the ascendancy of Jacob Zuma to the leadership of the ruling ANC, technically putting him in the race for the country's presidency and it was also the period in which he was charged with corruption in connection with the arms deal trial.

The second phase comprised of the months of August 2008 and September 2008- this period saw Jacob Zuma appear in court on corruption charges, which were dropped, thus technically clearing him to run for the country's presidency. This period is also crucial because it saw the split of the ruling ANC and eventual resignation and recalling of President Thabo Mbeki (who has been accused of orchestrating the charges against Zuma), along with key cabinet ministers- this period is crucial too because it also puts to light the split within the ruling party, pitting pro- Mbeki supporters against pro- Zuma supporters, thus questioning the 'popularity' of Jacob Zuma- is it only within his known allies (i.e. Cosatu, SACP and ANCYL) or is it also from other political leaders?

[4] Numsa is the biggest metal-workers trade union in South Africa with more than 260 000 members. It is an active affiliate of the Congress of South African Trade Unions [Cosatu], the biggest trade union federation in South Africa which is a member of the tripartite alliance consisting of ANC Youth League, SACP and the ruling ANC. Numsa is the biggest trade union (except in Eskom) in all national bargaining forums where it is involved www.numsa.org.za).

This crucial point will then lead to a discussion on Jacob Zuma's leadership capabilities vis a vis his moral obligations in light of the corruption charges of which he has not been cleared. The different qualitative methods discussed in this chapter will provide an analysis of the different aspects.

1.10) CONCLUSION

This introductory chapter outlines the aim, rationale, and problem statement of this study. A brief introduction to the theories as well as the methodology used and how they are linked is also discussed.

Chapter two covers the theoretical framework, offering an in-depth discussion of the critical political economy of the media theory, looking at how political, social and economic factors influence media content. Under critical political economy, this chapter also discusses the propaganda model as it relates to present day South Africa and its media landscape. In addition, cultural studies and its link to media representation is also discussed, looking more specifically at the aspect of 'bias' and how its different elements could be incorporated into news stories. The liberal democratic theory is also discussed in its relation to the concept of political communication and mediatised politics, looking specifically at how politicians use the media to get their message across to the public.

Chapter three looks at the literature review, delving into previous research on the coverage of prominent political leaders involved in official corruption, paying special attention to arguments or issues surrounding media framing of political scandals as well as the external and internal influences that scholars argue, determine this framing (or representation) and the outcome this has on the career and image of the political leaders implicated. In addition, this chapter looks at research done on political communication aspects such as image-building with the aim of highlighting communication strategies identified by the scholars and how effective they are.

Chapter four discusses the methodology used in this study and constitutes a discussion of data analysis techniques, looking at qualitative content analysis, and a thematic analysis; methods of data collection such as sampling, as well as data interpretation of articles collected from both electronic and hard copies of the *Sowetan* and *The Star*.

Chapter five consists of two sections; the first section is on the presentation of findings where the results from the analysis of articles are presented in tabular form, according to the categories and sub-categories spelt out in the methodology chapter. The second section is on the analysis and interpretation of the findings, giving a discussion of the findings using the theories discussed in chapter two, to determine whether or not the results have answered the research questions and hypothesis presented in chapter one.

Chapter six is the concluding chapter which also incorporates the recommendations which are dependent on the outcome of the study and its relation to the hypothesis.

Appendix A and B are samples of articles from *Sowetan* and *The Star* respectively.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1) INTRODUCTION

Having established the foundation for this study in the first chapter in which the theoretical framework was briefly mentioned, this chapter goes on to provide an in-depth discussion of the theories, critiques by scholars, as well as their relevance to this study.

The media have a unique twin role in our lives. On one hand, they create and distribute many of the symbolic and cultural resources we require to make sense of the social world we inhabit from the language we speak to the identities and institutions which constitute our social life. On the other hand, the media are also major institutions in the economic and political fabric of our societies as they provide the vehicle for advertising which connects the world of production to that of consumption.

This twin role makes the world of communications and the media a diverse and complex one that demands a range of intellectual and disciplinary perspectives- one that this study hopes to address through a discussion of the critical political economy of the media (or communication). In addition, this chapter also discusses theories of representation, looking at issues of bias and how they relate to media coverage of political issues; as well as the liberal pluralist theory as it relates to the concept of political communication and mediatised politics, looking at how political actors interact with the public via the media.

2.2) CRITICAL POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE MEDIA

The general study of political economy draws on eighteenth century Scottish enlightenment thinking and its critique in the nineteenth century. For Adam Smith[5], David Ricardo[6] and others, the study of economic issues was called political economy and was grounded in social theory. Smith defined political economy as the study of "wealth" (material goods) or the allocation of resources and was concerned with how mankind arranges to allocate scarce resources with a view toward satisfying certain needs and not others (Wasco 2005:26).

Further, political economy focused on the production, distribution, exchange and consumption of wealth and the consequences for the welfare of individuals and society and more specifically, the study of capitalism as a system of social production. Classical political economy evolved as capitalism evolved, adding Karl Marx and Frederick Engels' historical materialism and class analysis in the nineteenth century, emphasizing radical critique of the evolving capitalist system through a moral stance in opposition to the unjust characteristic of that

[5] Adam Smith was a Scottish philosopher who became famous for his book *The Wealth of Nations*, which had a profound influence on modern economics and concepts of individual freedom. His lectures as professor of logic at Glasgow University covered the fields of ethics, rhetoric, jurisprudence and political economy. (www.lucidcafe.com)

[6] David Ricardo was an English economist who gave systematized classical form to the rising science of economics in the 19th Century. (www.britannica.com)

system. Karl Marx put emphasis on the central role of class struggle in the dynamics of capitalist development (Wasco 2005:26).

Although as Radebe (2006:18) notes, Karl Marx never talked about the mass media in particular, the concept of the mass media in Marxism emanated from his contested argument that; the class which has the means of production (or material force) at its disposal, consequently also controls the means of mental production (or intellectual force), so that the ideas of those who lack the means of mental productions are on the whole, subject to it (Marx and Engels cited in Curran 1982).

As Radebe (2006:18) notes, the interpretation of Marxism in media theories is the cause of fierce arguments amongst Marxists who substantiate their interpretations of Marx and media differently. Their common view is that the media are institutions that are inherently sheltered into the power structures and act mainly in the interest of the dominant institutions of society. They differ in their determination of the media and on the nature of the media's power (Curran, 1982).

Consequently, the debate on Marxist media theories has given rise to several approaches such as the structuralist, culturalist and the political economic approaches (Gurevitch, Bennett, Curran and Woollacott, 1982). Althusser, a leading voice in the structuralist approach, criticized the economic determinism approach, arguing that domination was multifaceted, whereby the ideological State Apparatuses- the media, religion, the family, culture, law, and society- all exist to create, maintain, and sustain ideology in society and give individuals a sense of identity and understanding of reality (Lapsley and Westlake, 1988). Althusser's notion of interpellation allows the Marxist structuralists of the media to explain the political function of the media, arguing that the power of the media lie in media contents (texts) which position the subject in such a way that texts and representations become internalized as reflections of reality (Lapsley and Westlake, 1988).

Another group, the Culturalists, follow Althusser's structuralism and his rejection of economism but they go further by pointing out the experiences and influences of sub-groups in society. Culturalists put the media within the framework of the society which they see as inherently complex and view the media as a powerful device in shaping public perceptions (Curran 1982). They also follow Gramsci's theory of hegemony[7] to imply the dominance of one social class over others. They argue that the dominant class has the political and economic power and therefore, the ability to project through the media, its way of seeing the world and in the process, make subordinate classes accept its view as natural (Hall, 1982).

[7] Hegemony not only refers to political and economic control, but also the ability of the dominant classes to project its own way of seeing the world so that those who are subordinated by it accept it as '**common sense**' and '**natural**' (Cultural hegemony). Hegemony involves willing and active consent. Common sense suggests Geoffrey Nowell-Smith (cited in Alvarado & Boyd-Barrett 1992: 51), is 'the way a subordinate class lives its subordination' .Thus, for Gramsci, people who are not economically powerful can engage in a struggle over ideas and are not always dominated.

A political approach to media (and culture) centres more on the production and distribution of culture than on underlying texts or studying audiences. The references to the terms "political" and "economy" call attention to the fact that the production and distribution of culture takes place within a specific economic and political system, constituted by relations between the State, the economy, social institutions and practices, culture and organizations such as the media (Golding and Murdock 1997:200).

For Golding and Murdock (1997:205), the obvious starting point for the political economy of mass communication is the recognition that the mass media are first and foremost industrial and commercial organizations which produce and distribute commodities.

As Radebe (2006:21) notes, the advocates of the political economy school argue that media content and the meanings carried by it are determined by nothing but the economic base of the organizations in which they are produced (Curran, 1982). To them, all other things are subordinate to the economic base, as the commercial media is forced to cater for the needs and demands of advertisers and owners (those who pay for the overheads). They argue that the media disguise the economic basis of class struggle and that ideology becomes a convenient path through which the struggle is 'wiped out' rather than the basis of the struggle (Curran, 1982). By this, they imply that the media mask the economic basis of the class struggle and hide behind ideology which in actual sense is not the cause of struggle but a convenient tool to deal with the struggle.

Critical political economy of communication emerged as scholars working in sociology and economics became increasingly aware of the significance of mass media and communications. It had become apparent that communication had become a major business, and mass communications equated to mass consumption and hence, the media were at the core of social and economic dynamics. In addition, the development of and political conflict over the State regulation of broadcasting brought the political dimension of communications to the fore (Golding and Murdock 1997: xv).

According to Golding and Murdock (1997:73), the Critical Political economy approach is different from the political economy as it explains how political, social, and economic factors relate to the internal and external dynamics of media organizations. This theory is comprehensive in the sense that it takes into account the holistic nature of the media industry and links it to issues of action and structure in an attempt to discern the real constraints that shape the media industry. Thus, while the theories of Marxism look at the State structure's control over the agent, the critical political economic approach looks at the internal (journalistic practices and internal economic influence) and external (political, social, and economic influence) factors that determine the functioning of the media in society.

2.2.1) INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL FACTORS THAT DETERMINE THE FUNCTIONING OF THE MEDIA IN SOCIETY

2.2.1.1) Modes of Production

Technological advancement means that media texts and images can be relayed faster and through diverse mediums, forcing the media to restructure how it operates. For example, many newspapers and television channels have internet sites where their audiences can access the latest news updates or access the archives if

they need to get information. In this way, news organizations can extend their reach to an even wider market and thus increase their circulation, which translates to a growing economic base. This factor will be used in this study to determine whether modes of production within the *Sowetan* and *The Star* had any influence on the representation of ANC president Jacob Zuma and his alleged involvement in the arms deal scandal.

2.2.1.2) Issues Around Ideology

Schiller (1989:33) notes that all media messages are "commodities and ideological products, embodying the rules and values of the entire market system that produced them".

The commercialization of the media means less space, less chance for background discussion, even greater reliance on a handful of agency sources, greater passivity, less risk-taking, and the evacuation of politics. News becomes a means of handling social change, a comforting reaffirmation of the existing order and any threat is explained away as temporary, deviant and inconsequential. Underlying conflicts of interest and political processes are reduced to a necessary concentration on the arresting mythologies of the superficial drama of legislative life. These limitations are part of the demands of commercial information production in a situation of economic pressure (Golding and Murdock 1997:25).

This component is relevant in this study as it provides the tools needed to analyze news articles on Jacob Zuma to determine whether or not the two dailies were slanted in his favour and thus down-played the magnitude of the scandal to the public. It helps in determining whether the two dailies' reporting of the arms deal scandal was superficial or intense.

2.2.1.3) The Role of the State and the Political Elite in Influencing the Media

To better understand the media, we also need to understand the political environment in which they operate. The government in all nations serves as an organizing structure that can to varying degrees, constrain or promote the free activity (or agency) of the media. This relationship between political forces and the media raises important questions about the limits of "free speech", the impact of economic interests, and the appropriate role of government (Croteau and Hoynes 2003:78).

All governments, because they understand the political and social importance of the media, develop some policies aimed at regulating and controlling them and the methods they use vary. Some nations have taken direct authoritarian control of media through state ownership and the banning of opposition media, but most nations engage in media regulation that is non-authoritarian in nature combining government influence with free market forces. For example, the 1996 Telecommunication Act, transformed US radio through deregulation. Government policies can also detract from the media, such as through censorship, as recent journalistic restrictions in Zimbabwe under the 2002 Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act (AIPPA) illustrates.

In other cases, the State chooses to withhold information from the press on the grounds of 'national security'. Although this is true in some cases, others such as Watergate used it more to hide information that would damage President Nixon's image and political career. In Britain's political and constitutional scandal of 1992 also known as the Matrix Churchill affair, conservative government ministers, on the grounds of public interest immunity, used the right to refuse to disclose public documents in the trial involving a number of defendants who were prosecuted for the unlawful export of defence equipment to Iraq (Tumber 2004:1127).

Another important aspect as put forward by Lovaas (2008) is the use of public relations techniques by the political establishment to control the amount and content of information that gets to the media.-Applying this component to the South African media landscape offers a discussion of the political environment in which the media operates. This component will help in determining the factors (be they direct government control through set out laws or on the grounds of national security) that influence how the media covered the arms deal scandal and in turn, how Jacob Zuma used his position of leadership to influence the media's coverage the corruption scandal.

2.2.1.4) Ownership effects on the Normative Functions of the Media

In the context of the critical political economic approach, Croteau and Hoynes (2003:40) argue that media ownership is central to the economic organization of the mass media, the assumption being that media owners influence content and form of media products by their decision to hire or to fire, to fund certain projects and to give media platform to certain speakers. Media owners can compromise journalism by cutting newsroom budgets- less money for investigative reporting than sensational features, entertainment and sport.

According to Bagdikian (2004) one of the clearest trends in media ownership is its increasing concentration in fewer and fewer hands with organizations such as print, electronic, telecommunication and publishing being owned by either an individual or group of individuals- or what is referred to as conglomeration-in which the owner controls the medium, its production and distribution channels (vertical integration), or where media companies operate and control a collection of other companies that may operate in highly diverse business areas (horizontal integration) (Croteau and Hoynes 2003:40).

In the U.S print media industry, the newspaper chains, Gannet and Knight Rider purchased 19 papers from Thomson Newspapers and acquired the Central Newspapers chain in 2001. In the same year, the Tribune Company purchased the Times Mirror Company, publishers of the *Los Angeles Times, Newsday*, and the *Baltimore Sun* (Croteau & Hoynes 2003:38).

In South Africa, Tomaselli & Teer-Tomaselli (2008:173) argue that the process of media concentration and convergence resembles the situation in any overly developed Western media market with only four press companies in the country namely; News24- a large empire built on the holdings of Naspers and augmented with a prosperous daughter- company, Digital Satellite Television (DSTv) - a subscription platform with branches throughout Africa, the Middle East and parts of China, as well as a large range of magazines and newspapers in both English and Afrikaans such as *True Love*, and *Die Burger*.

Caxton, which took up ownership of the magazine and newspaper giant Republican Press with regional newspapers such as *The Citizen*, *Bona* and *Farmers' Weekly*, which control a large percentage of the local advertising revenue in every region. Independent Newspapers, formed from the sale of Argus Group of companies to the Irish media tycoon, Anthony O'Reilly, who also owns the Irish Independent Newspapers Group- it has newspaper titles such as *The Star*.

And lastly Avusa (formerly Johnnic Communications), formed through the sale of Times Media Group with as both magazine and newspaper titles such as *The Sunday Times*, the *Sowetan* and *Financial Mail* Tomaselli & Teer- Tomaselli (2008:173).

Although there are advantages to these aspects of media ownership such as; reduction of costs and increased profits, efficiency and down-sizing of human resource requirements, and advertising opportunities; concentration of media ownership results in a rise of corporate media that promote a capitalist hegemony because they are also beneficiaries. In addition, concentration of ownership also means that one person/few people wield too much power –for example, according to *Businessweek*, Australian-born billionaire Rupert Murdock has satellites that deliver Television programs in five continents, all but dominating Britain, Italy, and wide swaths of Asia and the Middle East; he publishes 175 newspapers, including the *New York Post* and *The Times* of London; in the U.S., he owns the *Twentieth Century Fox Studio*, *Fox Network*, and 35 TV stations that reach more than 40% of the country. His cable channels include fast-growing Fox News, and 19 regional sports channels (www.americanprogress.org).

This concentration affects access, participation, and agenda setting as the media are seen as elite institutions where alternative views that may affect corporate media's business interests (diversity and plurality) are marginalized, resulting in freedom of expression being restricted to the business elite at the expense of citizens and the state. For example, Italian Prime Minister Silvio Berlusconi's investment company controls Italy's three biggest private television stations and opponents say that Italian voters cannot escape blanket coverage favourable to Berlusconi (www.news.bbc.co.uk).

The aspect of ownership offers an important tool for analysis in terms of how the different factors of ownership (such as conglomeration) affect the media's reportage of the arms deal scandal. Through the analysis of chosen articles in the two daily newspapers, this study hopes to determine whether or not the amount of coverage they accorded the ANC president Jacob Zuma would be construed as bias or just the media informing and educating the public on the serious issues surrounding the arms deal scandal.

2.2.1.5) Media Funding and its Effects on Media Content

The news of today is typically regarded as just another commercial product as the large corporations and media houses are expected to turn a profit by attracting audiences that owners expect and that advertisers demand. One result has been an increased emphasis on entertainment and celebrities on the network news, putting emphasis on attracting and entertaining consumers rather than informing citizens, thus compromising on the quality of both print and broadcast journalism as media organizations compete effectively on commercial criteria (Bourdieu 1998). Ways of funding and financing media are a result of the political and economic choices and

decisions in the arena of media policy and regulation. In turn, such choices are influenced by the ideologies of those who have the power to shape society (elite politicians and businesspeople).

According to Golding, Murdock and Schlesinger (1986:175), most media houses are business enterprises heavily dependent on advertising for revenue and as a result, their news content will most likely harbour signs of bias or favouritism towards certain business (and by extension political) sectors. In most instances, printing information that is deemed too 'sensitive', that could jeopardize the credibility of the business and political sector could lead to libel suits or withdrawal of their main source of revenue. This eventually leads to what Tiffen (1999:206) describes as the 'muzzled watchdog' role of the media whereby the media is willing but unable to perform its role as watchdog due to external constraints such as restrictive laws, especially those leading to defamation.

Focus on commercialization as well as the relationship between corporate power and the state by Kellner (1990); McChesney (2000) explains how the media industry is largely a business owned and controlled by private individuals and conglomerates. Journalism is in a sense, the property of those individuals and conglomerates and they are free within the law to dispose of and use it as they like. Journalists are employees, strongly influenced by those who own or control their organizations (McNair 2003: 99). For example, media mogul Rupert Murdock openly voiced his support for Britain's Prime Minister Tony Blair during the 1997 elections. In Italy, Italian Prime Minister Berlusconi used his influence as media owner to gain easy access to the media and by extension, the voting public.

2.2.1.6) Internal Media Dynamics

Despite the economic and political constraints on the media, those who help create media products make a series of choices about what to make and how to produce and distribute the final result. As Croteau and Hoynes (2003:121) state, they are not simply cogs in the media machine- they do not churn out products precisely in accord with what our understanding of social structure tells us they should. A sociological perspective suggests that we cannot look at media products in a vacuum but instead, we should see media products as the result of a social process of production that occurs within an institutional framework.

Although this component requires a deep understanding of the inner workings of a media organization, this study will attempt to discuss internal media functions as they relate to the main objectives spelt out by the two dailies to determine whether their actual news content is reflective of these objectives.

The production perspective highlights the fact that mass media products are non-floating texts; they do not just appear out of thin air. They are the result of a complex production process that, in turn, is shaped by a variety of social structural forces that operate on various levels, some affecting the industry as whole, some affecting particular actors or groups of actors within the industry (Croteau and Hoynes 2003:34).

These factors create what Herman and Chomsky (2002:1) refer to as a world of concentrated wealth and major conflicts of class interests which as whole, entertain, amuse, inform and inculcate individuals with the values,

beliefs, and codes of behaviour that will integrate them into the institutional structures of the larger society- and fulfilling this role requires systematic propaganda which is entwined in the propaganda model.

2.2.2) THE PROPAGANDA MODEL

While the emotionally charged issues of propaganda and media control may seem to run contrary to notions of individual freedom and proclaimed principles of democracy, control of the media and propaganda tactics are arguably just as common in many of today's democracies as they were in past regimes. Although propaganda, mind control, indoctrination and the 'duping of the masses' continue to be associated primarily with repressive regimes, the quest to influence, manipulate, peddle and ultimately win over the hearts and minds of fellow citizens has been with humanity since the beginning of time and does not require a repressive regime (Lovaas 2008:9).

The propaganda model that Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky lay out in their book, *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media (1988; revised edition; 2002),* represents a significant analysis of media performance in a democracy. The authors question basic premises of democracy and the free press, by focusing on the inequality of wealth and power and its multilevel effects on mass media interests and choices. It traces the routes by which money and power are able to filter out the news fit to print, marginalize dissent, and allow the government and dominant private interests to get their message across to the public (Herman and Chomsky 2002:2).

Herman and Chomsky formulated the propaganda model with the United States in mind, with the purpose of highlighting how propagandist the U.S mass media are, how they systematically fail to live up to their self-image as providers of the kind of information that people need to make sense of the world and how they can understand the media's function in a radically new way (Herman and Chomsky 2002:2).

However, Klaehn (2009:52) notes, recent research has shown that the Propaganda model has international resonance with scholars from Canada, the U.S.A and Europe having demonstrated the model's applicability to a diverse range of issues and topics such as the 'War on Terror' and the near-genocide in East Timor. In this study, the propaganda model has been adapted to the discussion of the print media in South Africa, within the context of the arms deal scandal (political corruption).

As Tomaselli & Teer-Tomaselli (2008:173) argue, the structure of the media in South Africa leans more towards that of the U.S, hence the factors used to support the claims made by the propaganda model can also be used to explain the nature of the media dynamics in South Africa.

In addition, Klaehn (2009:49) also argues that the Propaganda model emphasizes qualitative exploration of the boundaries of debate. Sources, emphasis, placement, fullness of treatment, context, tone and evident range of debate on central issues and topics are observable dimensions of media discourses that may be qualitatively assessed when utilizing the model to undertake detailed media analysis. This aspect makes the model even more relevant to this study as it links this component to the data analysis of the articles as they are analyzed according to theme, tone, placement and news sources.

In their propaganda model (hereafter referred to as PM), Herman &Chomsky (2002:630) outline five filters that they use to explain the conditions that determine the final media text or image that gets out to the public- these are; media ownership; advertising; use of sources; flak and anti-communism/ neo-liberalism.

2.2.2.1) Media Ownership

Contrary to the notion that the media are free of any internal or external influence, media organizations are profit driven corporations and rely on the 'outside world' for their revenue. In addition, the media industry is dominated by fewer and fewer corporations as globalization brought forth higher and higher concentrations of private ownership of the media. Furthermore, media are not value free but rather are vehicles through which certain ideologies are promoted, more so on behalf of other influential voices such as politicians. Besides having enormous resources and market share, corporations seek to influence the 'public sphere.' Ownership, it is generally accepted, entitles the owner to special rights and influence (Lovaas 2008:18).

For example, in the United States, 50 firms dominated and controlled the majority of the mass media in 1983 but by 2003 that number had dropped to 5. In South Africa, media ownership has become similarly concentrated- in 2002-2003, three corporations accounted for 17 of the 19 main daily newspapers in the country (89% of the market), and 12 of 13 weekly newspapers. (92% of the market) (Lovaas 2008:18).

Examining the US media, Edward Herman and Noam Chomsky (2002:630) in their propaganda model argue that ownership is the first filter that news and information go through before they reach an audience. According to the authors, wealthy individuals and corporations own the top-tier, or 'agenda setting,' media. These individuals and corporations naturally have a vested interest in maintaining the current status quo by virtue of their wealth and position within society.

These individuals and corporations work tacitly together with the institutional structures of government, international finance, and other businesses to ensure their position within the economy and society. Furthermore, board members, investors, and their business interests share common interlocking social, political, and economic interests with one another, such as their ideal market conditions or degree of government involvement(Herman and Chomsky 2002:631).

The end result is that agenda setting news will reflect the interests and desires of media owners and those who finance them. Hence, this study seeks to determine how *Sowetan* and *The Star* under their larger media corporations, act as filters and censor the news in order to serve the interests of the elite, especially since the main focus of this study is Jacob Zuma, a prominent political figure whose ideologies are bound to be articulated via the media.

2.2.2.2) Advertising

As opposed to previous times when newspapers relied on sales for their revenue, recent periods have seen a shift towards more and more reliance on advertising. As a result, newspapers would not publish information that would be damaging to their corporate 'clients'. Therefore, in order to satisfy the needs of advertisers in one hand

and readers on the other, newspapers 'water-down' their reporting of sensitive issues and at the same time give readers limited information.

The research of Bagdikian (1983) and Schudson (1984) shows that advertising follows affluence and that the desires of advertisers are of a higher importance than that of the readers. Advertisers spend billions of Rands to promote products, and will take no chances about who will see their advertisements (Bagdikian 2004). By means of surveys and computers they establish with some precision, the income, education, occupation and spending habits of newspaper and magazine subscribers and broadcast audiences (Bagdikian 2004).

The greater the pressure on newspapers, magazines and broadcasters to increase their profits, the more they push not just for larger audiences, but for higher quality audiences, as each newspaper, each magazine, each broadcast station insists to the major advertisers that it has the highest-quality audience (Bagdikian 2004).

In South Africa, the media market tends to cater for the economically well off: the elite white minority (Dlamini 2003) and nowadays also the upcoming black middle-class. South African newspapers, like their global counterparts, have to target a class of readers that is being chased by most advertisers; they have to identify people with enough disposable income to buy the products of their advertisers. Because newspapers rely on advertisers for over 60% of their revenue, they have no choice but to be sensitive to the needs of those advertisers (Croteau & Hoynes 1997 cited in Berger & Kanyegerire 2002). To reach a more affluent reader, content has to be geared to interest such readers.

2.2.2.3) Dependence on Sources

This factor also contributes to restricting media performance. Due to technological advances, journalists are forced to come up with on-the-hour news stories and as a result they spend less time on investigating a story. This demands forces the media to rely on readymade sources for news stories and more often than not, these are government, judiciary and professional experts- this reliance also results in one-sided reporting (or bias)' (Herman and Chomsky 2002:18).

Through this filter, this study will analyze the range of sources that the two dailies sought for their news reports and opinions on the arms deal and how they perceived Jacob Zuma's involvement to determine whether or not this is/ or could be construed as 'bias'.

2.2.2.4) Flak/Negative Feedback

More often than not, when the media report on issues that threaten the economic and political bases of society (such as corruption); they are met with hostility and in some cases, legal action. This could be counted as a loss on the part of the media because apart from expensive court cases, the media could be denied access to the same sources for any information in the future. As with the case in the advertising filter, this also leads to self-censorship, watering down of serious political and economic issues (sensationalism) or framing of issues in more favourable ways (bias) (Herman and Chomsky 2002:26).

According to Klaehn (2009:44), the model's fourth filter element also brings the concept of power into play, stressing that dominant institutional actors possess the requisite social-political power to exert subtle or not-so-subtle control over patterns of media performance.

2.2.2.5) Anti-Communism/Neo-Liberalism

The model's fifth filter was originally 'anti-communism' but has since been modified and broadened to refer to dominant ideological elements. It may play out in different ways at different times, contingent upon specific time/place contexts, and is extremely broad (as are many other concepts within the social sciences, such as hegemony and/or patriarchy, for instance) (Klaehn 2009:45).

Commenting more recently on the propaganda model, Noam Chomsky (cited in Lovaas 2008:20), states that the anti-communism filter is a sub-case of something more general- fear. He states that people have to be frightened to believe that the State will protect them. The 'war on terror', the war on drugs, and the fear of losing out economically (free trade) are all examples of attempts to arouse fear, shape understanding, and direct or build support for campaigns. One of the new thrusts is the uncritical belief in free market neo-liberalism. Nevertheless, neo-liberalism is incorporated in the recent analyses and discussion of the media.

Neo-liberalism, which refers to the set of national and international policies that call for business domination of all social affairs with minimal curtailing force, is almost always intertwined with a deep belief in the ability of the market to use new technologies to solve social problems far better than alternative courses. The core argument of neo-liberalism policies is ultimately a call for commercial media and communication markets to be deregulated (McChesney 2000).

Whereas previously, media systems were primarily national, in the past few years a global commercial-media market has emerged. This global oligopoly has two distinct but related facets; first, it means the dominant firms-nearly all U.S. based-are moving across the planet at breakneck speed with the aim of capitalizing on the potential for growth abroad and not get outflanked by competitors since the U.S. market is well developed and only permits incremental expansion.

Second, convergence and consolidation are the order of the day as specific media industries are becoming more and more concentrated, and the dominant players in each media industry increasingly are subsidiaries of huge global media conglomerates. The global media market has come to be dominated by seven multinational corporations: Disney, AOL Time Warner, Sony, News Corporation, Viacom, Vivendi, and Bertelsmann. None of these companies existed in their present form as media companies as recently as 15 years ago yet today, nearly all of them will rank among the largest 300 non-financial firms in the world for 2001. These major corporations have interests in film, television networks, book publishing, commercial magazine publishing and worldwide satellite broadcasting (McChesney 2000). Likewise in South Africa, the four major media corporations have interests in the book publishing, magazine publishing and the film industry, resulting in media concentration.

All in all, the five filters within the propaganda model compliment the critical political economic approach to media as it offers a critique on the underlying factors that the Critical Political Economic theory seeks to address. Through their five filters and other theories, Herman and Chomsky question basic premises of democracy and freedom of the press, garnering serious criticism and reflections.

2.2.3) CRITIQUES OF THE PROPAGANDA MODEL

According to US media scholar Robert Entman (1990), the propaganda model has "serious analytical flaws" and argues that the "hypothesis is too narrow to support the broad thrust of the model." He argues that since the authors only provide a few examples of *worthy* and *unworthy* victims, the hypothesis is uncertain and goes on to say that Herman and Chomsky write as if the media wilfully suppressed a self evident truth.

Another source of criticism is from the Philip Schlesinger, a media scholar from the United Kingdom who contends that Herman and Chomsky do not offer theoretical grounds on how the different filters interact with each other and is also concerned about the whether the model is *generalisable* (his italics) to other industrial democratic societies. His views are also shared by critics such as James Curran, Peter Golding, Graham Murdock, and John Eldridge (Lovaas 2008:20).

Other critics posit that newspaper editors make judgment calls on stories everyday and they, not a propaganda model, are the ones who chose or select stories. According to Lovaas (2008:21), under this model, if one was interested in how the news is formulated and disseminated, one would need to study the psychological profile of editors to determine how they come to believe certain issues are newsworthy while others are not. The PM argues that the five filters work to sift or 'pick' the news, not editors.

According to US media scholar Daniel Hallin, (cited in Lovaas 2008:21), the PM does not effectively address the role of professional journalism where news organizations have been critical of the government, citing the media's criticism of President Reagan's foreign policies in Central America as an example. Despite these instances, this study seeks to highlight how economic, political and technological factors limit the 'maturing nature of professional journalism' due to pressure put on the media to produce on-the-hour news stories, thus not allowing journalists to develop their investigative skills.

In addition, some academics and journalists question the 'accuracy' of the PM stating that if it were accurate then all news would be one-sided. However, Corner (cited in Lovaas 2008:21) states that the model projects, if not always explicitly, reflects a totalizing and finalizing view of the media's content. The authors note that the model is not all-powerful and that a variety of factors need to be assessed when looking at media performance. However, Lovaas (2008:22) argues that the model is not a fixed system that works one hundred percent of the time but is fluid and can lead to predictions—not guarantees—about media performance.

According to Canadian media professor Graham Knight, the PM is skewed as it tends to overlook the interests of the ruling class. In addition, he argues that the model represents the relationship between the ruling class and the people as an ideological struggle where the people are easily manipulated by the ruling class. Despite this criticism, posits Lovaas (2008:22) the model does not assume that the audiences are a homogenous group and

states that its creators (Herman and Chomsky) put forth the idea that there is diversity at all levels, both at the top and the bottom.

Kurt Lang and Gladys Engel Lang (cited in Lovaas 2008:22) from the University of Washington (US) raise several concerns that: the PM only has one major function- the "manufacturing of consent"; the sampling and coding procedures utilized are political and anecdotal; the model is of a *one-way* flow of content filtered by gate-keepers; the proofs (paired examples) are selective; and the model does not address media openness and conflicts within modern political parties.

2.2.4) HERMAN AND CHOMSKY RESPOND

Herman (2004) responds to the charge that the PM is 'deterministic' by arguing that the critics fail to show that the system is not logically consistent, operates on false premises, or that the predictive power of the determining variables is poor. He further argues that the PM deals with extraordinarily complex sets of events and only claims to offer a broad framework of analysis …the critics stick to generalities and offer no critical detail or alternative model; when they do provide alternatives, the results are not impressive. Chomsky states that no formal substantive studies of the propaganda model have been able to refute it.

In a lecture earlier in April of 1989, he discussed the PM and how only foreign policy examples were studied and how that can give the impression that foreign policy issues are treated differently than domestic issues. He dismissed this notion and stated that the media is the same with domestic issues. In retrospect, he said that they should have used a domestic issue to further clarify their model. In the 2002 updated version of *Manufacturing Consent*, the authors highlight domestic issues such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the US healthcare debate of 1992-1993, and the coverage of US chemical industries.

With regards to the issue of the people being easily manipulated, Klaehn (2009:53) notes that Herman and Chomsky make no claims regarding audience effects, not does it take media audiences or ruling-class interests for granted. It is concerned merely with the extent to which media discourses are ideologically inflected in relation to structural dimensions of power and it affords ways of easily 'testing' the substantive predictions it advances.

Herman and Chomsky (2002) go further and argue that the elite go to great lengths to influence public opinion through spin-doctoring and public relations and add that influencing public opinion is an ongoing process. Consent is typically negotiated and must be actively won and re-won (hegemony) over time (Klaehn (2009:53).

2.2.5) REFLECTIONS OF THE CRITICAL POLITICAL ECONOMIC APPROACH

Recapping on the relevance of the Critical Political Economic approach to this study- because the main topic touches on an issue of political, economic, social and cultural dimensions (ANC president Jacob Zuma alleged involvement in an arms deal scandal that cost millions of Rands, and its implications on him as a leader) - the holistic nature of this theory will aid in highlighting elements within selected news articles from the *Sowetan* and *The Star*. By analyzing the news articles against this theoretical background, this study seeks to draw a

broader conclusion to the various dynamics that come into play within the media industry. Furthermore, the critical political economic approach pays close attention to historic processes and how the media are implicated in the structures of society and power in different stages of history (Golding and Murdock 2000). In the case of the arms deal scandal, the media constantly reminds readers of the development of the case, from the time it was first reported and the resultant shifts within the political establishment (e.g. when ANC leader Jacob Zuma was first charged and the rift within the ruling ANC).

2.2.6) PROPAGANDA DEVICES

Lee and Lee (cited in Severin and Tankard 2001:111) mention seven propaganda devices that are used to garner support for a political cause or establishment;

Name calling- is used to make us reject and condemn the idea without examining the evidence and is used in politics and other areas of public discourse. For example, terrorist and terrorism have been used by the United States to portray Arabs- the result is that all Arabs are regarded as terrorists regardless of their political, religious and social beliefs (Lee and Lee cited in Severin and Tankard 2001:111).

Glittering generality- this is associating something with a 'virtue word' and is used to make people accept and approve something without examining the evidence. For example, calling a proposed law a "right to work" might be an effective way to get the law passed; who would oppose the right to work? (Lee and Lee cited in Severin and Tankard 2001:111).

Transfer- carries the authority, sanction and prestige of something respected and revered over something else in order to make the latter more acceptable. For example, minor presidential candidate from Chicago named Lar Daley used to campaign in an Uncle Sam suit (Lee and Lee cited in Severin and Tankard 2001:111).

Testimonial- concerned with having some respected or hated person say that a given idea, program or product or person is "good or bad"- this is a common technique in advertising and political campaigning (Lee and Lee cited in Severin and Tankard 2001:111).

Plain Folks- is the method by which a speaker attempts to convince his audience that he and his ideas are good because they are "of the people", the 'plain folks'. For example, Clinton's polling expert, chief strategist, and media consultant agreed to construct a new image for Mr. and Mrs. Clinton as "an honest, plain-folks idealist and his warm and loving wife" (Lee & Lee in Severin & Tankard 2001:119).

Card Stacking- involves the selection and use of facts or falsehoods, illustrations or distraction, and logical or illogical statements in order to give the best or worst possible case for an idea, program, person, or product. For example, for decades, many governments regularly jammed foreign shortwave radio broadcasts to ensure that their people got only the "official" version of events, while enforcing censorship of outgoing information (Lee & Lee, cited in Severin & Tankard 2001:119).

Bandwagon- the propagandist attempts to convince the public that all members of a group to which it (public) belongs are accepting his program and that the public must therefore follow the crowd and "jump on the bandwagon". For example, bandwagon is often used in wartime to convince people that everybody is making sacrifices for the war effort, even to the extent of sacrificing their life (Lee & Lee, cited in Severin & Tankard 2001:123).

Although more common during campaign periods, these propaganda techniques are adopted in this study as they constitute the same elements in news media- the politician and the media.

2.3) THEORIES OF REPRESENTATION

We live in a media saturated world and as O'Sullivan *et al.,* (1998:1-15) put forth, the continuous flow of images and information from the media is the most important source of people's understanding of the world around them and those who live in it. How the media represents the world determines people's perception to it.

According to Chandler (2002) and Hall (1997), representation is the process by which signs and symbols are made to convey certain meanings. These signs and symbols as mentioned briefly in chapter one, under methodology, can claim to stand for, or represent some aspect of 'reality' such as objects, groups, places, events, social norms, cultural identities and other abstract concepts and may be in speech, writing, as well as still or moving pictures and are constructed using various mediums.

2.3.1) CULTURAL STUDIES

More than other types of production, the cultural industries are involved in the making and circulating of products, that is, texts that have an influence on our understanding of the world. Debates about the nature and extent of this influence comprise, in the words of a valuable survey of the concept, the contested core of media research (Corner 2003:376).

As Hesmondhalgh (2007:3) concurs, we are influenced not only by informational texts such as newspapers, broadcast news programmes, documentaries and analytical books, but also by entertainment through films, television series, comics, music, and video games which provide us with recurring representations of the world and thus, act as a kind of reporting. Just as crucially, they draw on and help to constitute our inner, private lives and our public selves; our fantasies, emotions and identities and contribute strongly to our sense of who we are, of what it means to be a woman, or a man, an African or an Arab, a Canadian or a New Yorker, straight or gay. For these reasons alone, the products of the cultural industries are more than just a way of passing time- a mere diversion from other, more important things (Hesmondhalgh 2007:3).

Thus, media representations are intertwined with questions of power and ideology because the process of giving meaning to events suggests that, potentially, there are multiple definitions of reality. Media are cultural sites where the ideas of the powerful are circulated and where they can be contested. The contested debate of political influence on news media is that news media are in fact, ideological; the selection of issues, stories, and sources is inescapably value laden (Hall 1982:63).

Furthermore, Hesmondhalgh (2007:3) states that most texts that we consume are circulated by powerful corporations and they, like all businesses, have an interest in making profits. They want to support conditions in which businesses in general, especially their own, can make profits. These large corporations do not operate in a vacuum, but rather, within a broader multi-faceted sphere that, as explained in the critical economic approach and propaganda model, include the economic, political, social and cultural dimensions.

Through the media, these different dimensions try to exercise their dominance, more often than not, through subtle ways (ideological devices), such as media laws and policies, public relations tactics, (as shall be explained in the political communication component of this study), or pressure from the economic base of media organizations.

Representations, note McQueen (1998) and Dyer (1985) are selective, limited or framed and mediated and add that how members of society see themselves, how they are viewed, and even treated by others, is determined to a great extent by their media representation- representations which Boyd et al. (2002:261) argue, are linked to the relationship between the ideological and the real.

2.3.2) MEDIA AND IDEOLOGY

Grossberg et al. (1998:177) maintain that the media's representation of reality is linked to the concept of ideology, which in essence means that every society maintains its continuing existence, its institutions and structures of power, by 'getting people to accept a particular way of thinking and seeing the world that makes the existing organization of social relations appear natural and inevitable'. In contemporary society, the media are probably the most important producers of meaning, 'when they make claims about the way the world is, they become powerful ideological institutions' (Grossberg et al. 1998:182).

Althusser (1971:23) concurs, by stating that ideology achieves this state of 'normalcy' partly by obscuring real connections and replacing them with a picture of social relations that overemphasize individual freedom and autonomy, which During (1995:187) notes, encourages individuals to make sense of the world by flattering their sense of importance and autonomy within it.

When scholars examine media products to uncover their "ideology", they are interested in the underlying images of society they provide. In this context, an ideology is basically a system of meaning that helps define and explain the world and that makes value judgment about that world. Ideology is related to concepts such as worldview, belief systems, and values, but it is broader than those terms as it refers not only to the beliefs held about the world but also to the basic ways in which the world is defined (Curran & Gurevitch 2000).

When we examine ideology of the media, we are not so much interested in the specific activities depicted in a single newspaper, movie or hit song as in the broader system of meaning which these depictions are a part. Media scholars are often interested in assessing how media content compares to the "real world", how different groups in society are portrayed and how they may change over time because they contribute to the ways in which we understand the roles of those groups in society. Therefore, instead of assessing the images and making

some judgment about levels of realness, ideological analysis asks what these messages tell us about ourselves and our society (Croteau and Hoynes 2003:160).

Applying this approach to how the *Sowetan* and *The Star* covered the arms deal scandal and how they represented Jacob Zuma, this study hopes to highlight how the two dailies framed the scandal against an evolving political landscape (the tension between Thabo Mbeki and Jacob Zuma and their respective supporters, and the eventual split within the ANC).

In addition, this approach compliments the holistic component of the critical political economic approach as they both allow for an analysis of the development of the media's coverage of the scandal from the time it was first reported, thus making it possible to monitor or identify any changes (if they occur) in how the media approaches issues that affect the socio-political segment of society.

2.3.3) MEDIA AND HEGEMONY

The key theoretical concept that animates much of the contemporary study of ideology of media is hegemony. Drawn from the work of Antonio Gramsci (Croteau and Hoynes 2003:166), an Italian Marxist who wrote in the 1920s and 1930s, the notion of hegemony connects questions of culture, power and ideology. Gramsci argued that ruling groups can maintain their power through force, consent, or a combination of the two (Croteau and Hoynes 2003:166).Gramsci noted, however, that power can be wielded at the level of culture or ideology, not just through the use of force. In liberal democratic societies such as the United States, force is not the primary means by which the powerful rule. Gramsci's work suggests that power is wielded in a different arena-that of culture, in the realm of everyday life- where people essentially agree to current social arrangements (Croteau and Hoynes 2003:166).

Consent is the key to understanding of Gramsci's use of hegemony, which is exercised through a kind of cultural leadership. It is something that is won as ruling groups in a society actively seek to have their worldview accepted by all members of society as the universal way of thinking. Institutions such as schools, religion, and the mass media help the powerful exercise this cultural leadership since they are the sites where the ways of thinking about society are produced and reproduced.

Hegemony operates at the level of common sense in the assumptions we make about social life and on the terrain of things we accept as "natural" or "the way things are". Common sense is the way we describe things that "everybody knows", or at least should know, because such knowledge represents deeply held cultural beliefs and Gramsci reminds us that one of the most effective ways of ruling is through the shaping of commonsense assumptions (Croteau and Hoynes 2003:166).

Sociologist Stuart Hall (1982:64), the leading voice of British cultural studies, has provided a sophisticated analysis of how mass media institutions fit into this conception of hegemony. He argues that mass media are one of the principal sites where the cultural leadership, the work of hegemony, is exercised. Media are involved in what Hall calls "the politics of signification", in which the media produce images of the world that give events particular meanings.

Media images do not simply reflect the world, they re-present it; instead of reproducing the "reality" of the world "out there", the media engage in practices that define reality. As Hall (1982:64) puts it, "Representation is a very different notion from that of reflection. It implies the active work of selecting and presenting, of structuring and shaping; not merely the transmitting of an already existing meaning.

Relating this to the South African scenario, this study seeks to determine which aspects of the scandal the two dailies have put more emphasis on and which have been relegated to the back, and how the media relays this in a way that looks normal.

2.3.4) ISSUES AROUND REPRESENTATION

In order to represent 'reality', codes and conventions of presentation have to be used (Dyer cited in Newbold et al. 2002:264); without them, media texts can hardly be expected to be understood by audiences. The 'reality' it portrays is always in at least one sense fundamentally biased, simply by virtue of the fact that an issue is first identified as newsworthy, then framed within a certain context (Schlesinger 1978).

Kaid et al (1991) suggest that we may view political 'reality' as comprising three categories;

1) We may speak of an objective political reality comprising political events as they actually occur
2) There is then a subjective reality- the 'reality' of political events as they are perceived by actors and citizens and critical to the shaping of the second category of subjective perceptions;
3) The constructed reality, meaning events as covered by the media (McNair 2003:13).

According to O'Sullivan et al. (1998:1-15), the two concepts most commonly used to discuss representation are 'bias' and the 'stereotype' and for the purposes of this study, only the concept of 'bias' will be discussed as it touches on issues of the debate between 'objectivity' and 'bias' (favouritism) in news coverage.

According to O'Sullivan, Hartley, Saunders, Montgomery and Fiske (1994: 299-300), stereotypes are, "the social classification of particular groups and people as often highly simplified and generalized signs, which implicitly or explicitly represent a set of values, judgements and assumptions concerning their behaviour, characteristics or history".

Stereotypes, according to Burton (2002:133), are simplified representations of human appearance, character and beliefs which has become established through years of representation in the media, as well as through assumptions in everyday conversations and adds that it is a distortion of the original type because it exaggerates as well as simplifies.

Dennis (cited in Lester 1996: ix) looks at stereotypes as useful devices because they are easily understood and make a clear, if unfair and at times hurtful, point and through them, notes Entman (1996:9), the media avoids having to carry out a careful analysis, thus evading the need to think anew about situations and people.

Instead of expressing diversity and difference between members of a group or community, Taylor and Willis (1999:41) argue that stereotypes, by the nature of their simplicity, focus on broad similarities and identifying characteristics. For example, nationalities (such as Nigerians), the disabled (such as the visually impaired) and race (such as Arabs) are given group classifications so that; so all Nigerians re drug-traffickers, all visually impaired people have super senses of touch and hearing and all Arabs are members of Al Qaeda.

From a social science perspective, attention is drawn to the work of sociologist Claude Levi Strauss (cited in Fourie 2001:472), whose view is that the nature of human kind is to think, interpret, and make sense of the world and others in terms of binary oppositions. In addition, the French structuralist, semiotician and social critic, Roland Barthes' (cited in Fourie 2001:472) view that we think about and interpret our world and others according to socially constructed meaning and values.

Levi-Strauss draws our attention to the incidence of binary oppositions and the role of myth in human thinking. In binary oppositions, the meaning of something depends on its opposite: "good" and the meaning of the concept "good" is dependent on "bad" and meaning of "bad". His point of departure was that a collective practice of laws, rules and values direct the individual's thinking and behaviour. Furthermore, society's (or a culture's) collective existence, thinking, values and uses, shape the individual and determine his/her individuality. He thus concluded that each society could in a unique way give expression to binary oppositions (in their ways of thinking, literature/theatre, behaviour) such as good/bad, rich/poor, belief/disbelief, order/chaos, hate/love, human kind/nature and so on.

On the other hand, the term 'bias' at a common-sense level, refers to the tendency to depart from the straight and narrow.' Bias' in news and information means the systematic inclination to favour 'one side in a dispute, or to favour one interpretation or to sympathize with one cause' (Street 2001:17). Arguments about 'bias' tend to be most commonly articulated in political terms when a newspaper, channel, programme or reporter is accused of being too left or too right wing (Brunt & Jordin 1982:141).

While arguments about the precise efficacy of the media's political output continue, there is no disagreement about their central role in the political process, relaying and interpreting objective happenings in the political sphere, and facilitating subjective perceptions of them in the wider public sphere. For this reason, notes McNair 2003:13), media 'biases' are of key political importance. Political bias seems sometimes to be the only important issue in the relationship between politics and mass media. It is the one topic which is guaranteed to ignite the anger of politicians and their media advisers (Street 2001:15).

Some 'biases' may be attributed to constraints and limitations on the newsgathering process while others are the product of choices made to support a political party or idea. Newspapers in Britain and most other capitalist societies are relatively open about which political parties they support- as in the case of Rupert Murdock's support for Tony Blair- although some seek to maintain the appearance of neutrality (McNair 2003:13).

While the extent and direction of media 'bias' will vary in a modern democracy, the fact that it exists entitles us to view media organizations as important actors in the political process. Between the sending of a political message and its reception by an audience, something happens to it. It gets altered in various ways, consciously,

or as a consequence of the media production process so that its meaning and hence impact on an audience may change (McNair 2003:13).

The claim that the media are biased, begins with the idea that the practices of journalists and editors result in articles and programmes that favour one view of the world over another; providing sustenance for one set of interests while undermining an alternative. These interests may be those of particular corporations they depend on for income; or they could be those of a particular ideology (Street 2001:17).

'Bias' is one of the few terms used in common-sense conversation about the media that also derives attempts by scholars to understand media content. Charges of 'bias' are regularly thrown at the media with politicians perhaps being the most vociferous in accusing them of being partial in communicating what is happening. Individuals across the world criticize the media for its lack of accuracy or fairness in their coverage. And such accusations are usually levelled at factual forms, such as news, current affairs and documentaries (Williams 2003:123).

As Street (2001:15) notes, it is assumed that in a democracy, no one group or set of interests is systematically preferred over another; that the information available to citizens is accurate and impartial. What makes 'bias' a problem is the thought that the media can, if they distort the representation of the world, skew and thwart the democratic process. If the media systematically promote some interests and misinform the citizenry, the democratic process itself will not operate effectively. McQuail (cited in Street 2001:20-21) identifies four types of 'bias' through which the media can promote certain views over others namely; partisan bias, propaganda bias, unwitting bias and, ideological bias and they are distinguished by their place in a two-dimensional matrix.

The first dimension concerns the 'explicitness' of the bias-whether it is open or hidden; the second dimension concerns the intention behind it- whether the bias is a result of some deliberate policy or product of some ingrained, unconscious process. These aspects will be discussed as well as their relevance to this study;

2.3.4.1) Partisan Bias

Here, a cause is explicitly and deliberately promoted. Examples are editorial comments which recommend support for one political party or take sides in a policy controversy. This can take the form of explicit recommendations to vote for one party or another, or the blatant endorsement of a cause. In this study, the *Sowetan* and *The Star* are analyzed to determine whether or not their coverage of Zuma's alleged involvement in the arms deal scandal was biased or not.

2.3.4.2) Propaganda Bias

This is when a story is reported with the deliberate intention of making the case for a particular party, policy, or point of view, without explicitly stating this. Stories about 'dissident' political groups are reported in such as way as to make a particular point – about promoting hate-campaigns or inciting the public to violence). The apparent purpose of the story is to report the details, but disguise within it the thinly veiled attacks upon the 'dissident' group (McQuail 1992 cited in Street 2001:20).

2.3.4.3) Unwitting Bias

Newspapers have a finite number of pages; hard choices have to be made about what to include and what to exclude. The convention of journalism is that what appears on the front page is the most important of the day's news. The main stories are dealt with first and at length. These judgments constitute a form of bias: X matters more than Y. Although this 'bias' is explicit, it is not conscious or deliberate but rather, it is the product of ingrained routines about what is 'news' and a story's 'newsworthiness'. In this study, the arms deal scandal is given preference over other news not only due to its magnitude, but also due to the fact that it involves a prominent political leader (McQuail 1992 cited in Street 2001:21).

2.3.4.4) Ideological Bias

In this scenario, the bias is hidden and unintended, and it can be detected only in a close reading of the text, where the hidden assumptions and value judgments can be revealed. The attention is upon the 'norms' against which news is created. Incorporated in all reporting is some version of the 'norm' of what 'usually happens' or how people 'usually behave'. These assumptions are grounded in ideologies which seek to explain the way the world works, and these are themselves 'biased'. For example, a newspaper covering a story of a politician it does not support will probably put the article in the inner pages as opposed to one on a candidate it supports, which will be given a prominent place in the front page (McQuail cited in Street 2001:21).

Because the main thrust of this study is the issue of bias, applying both the explicit and hidden forms of bias discussed above will help in identifying how the two dailies chose to structure their coverage of the arms deal scandal.

2.4) THEORIES OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION AND MEDIATISED POLITICS

Politics is a phenomenon ultimately bound up with the process of communication and as Louw, (2005:13) notes, being a politician is an intensely social (communication) occupation, engaged in by those who organize and regulate social power- relationships and make decisions governing the allocation of scarce social resources. Carrying out these roles necessarily involves communicating (about choices).

2.4.1) TOWARDS A DEFINITION OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

The term political communication, notes McNair (2003:3), has proven notoriously difficult to define with any precision, simply because both components of the phrase are themselves open to a variety of definitions, more or less broad. Despite these challenges, there are some definitions that try to explain this concept;

Denton and Woodward (cited in Borchers 2002:301) define political communication as, "public discussion about the allocation of public resources (revenue), official authority (who is given the power to make it legal, legislative and executive decision), and official sanctions (what the State rewards or punishes). This definition includes verbal and written political rhetoric, but not symbolic communication acts which McNair (2003:4) argues, are of growing significance for an understanding of the political process as a whole.

Although Graber (2000) proposes a more rounded definition by stating that political communication comprises not only rhetoric but paralinguistic signs such as body language and political acts such as boycotts and protests, Denton and Woodward (cited in Borchers 2002:301) add on to their initial definition by characterizing political communication in terms of the intentions of the senders to influence the political environment. They therefore posit that; "the crucial factor that makes communication 'political' is not the source of a message but its content and purpose". Because this study is looking at how the ANC leader Jacob Zuma sought to communicate via written texts in the print media, the definition by Denton and Woodward is appropriate as it stresses the intentionality of political communication, which McNair (2003:4) defines as 'purposeful' communication about politics and which incorporates;

1) All forms of communication undertaken by politicians and other political actors for the purpose of achieving specific objectives;
2) Communication addressed to these actors by non-politicians such as voters, newspapers columnists and;
3) Communication about them and their activities as contained in news reports, editorial and other forms of media discussion about politics.

Of the three factors, the first one is most relevant to the analysis of media strategies used by Jacob Zuma as it is argued within this study that because media coverage of the ANC leader focused on a negative aspect of his career, it would then follow that he would employ certain media communication strategies with the objective of countering the negative press coverage surrounding his alleged involvement in the arms deal scandal.

The objectives of the second and third aspects are relevant to the analysis of media coverage of the arms deal scandal which have been addressed in the theories of representation and the political economic approach more specifically under issues of 'bias' and framing.

However, in the context of this study, the concept of political communication cannot be discussed further without looking into the liberal democratic theory in which the functions of the media are spelt out. These are; to inform citizens of what is happening around them; educate the public to meaning and significance of facts within the political process; act as a check on government and political institutions (the 'watchdog' role); and to serve as channel for the advocacy of political viewpoints.

It should be noted that although these factors refer to an ideal democratic system, this is not always the case due to internal and external factors as have been discussed in the critical political economic theory.

2.4.2) THE LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC THEORY

The liberal democratic theory, which emerged from the bourgeois critique of autocracy in early modern Europe beginning in the 16th century and culminating in the French Revolution of 1789, with its slogan of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, sought to replace the autocratic system of ruler-ship with what Locke and Milton (cited in McNair 2003:17) defined as a 'representative democracy' that promoted individual citizenship rights. However, through this system, the bourgeoisie class also sought to legitimize its own political power as the dominant class

of a new type of social formation, an argument anchored in the ideological discourse of hegemony (discussed in the representation component), where the political elite promote their agendas and policies in a way that will be accepted by the public.

As Italian political sociologist Norberto Bobbio (McNair 2003:17) argues, by formally requesting the consent of all citizens, elected political leaders had the right to demand respect and loyalty even from those who did not vote for them. Several critiques have emerged to challenge the ideal put forward within the liberal democratic theory such as; the failure of education to produce an informed citizenry, absence of choice in terms of ideologies and policies between political parties, capitalist power that influence media content, the most relevant to this study is the manufacture of consent.

According to Walter Lippmann (1954:245) in the manufacture of consent, politicians combine the technique of social psychology and the immense reach of the mass media. Apart from persuading and manipulation which carries with it negative connotations of propaganda and deceit, politicians also seek to conceal information from citizens sometimes for reasons of 'national security' and sometimes to avoid political embarrassment. Manipulation of opinion and concealment (or suppression) of inconvenient information are strategies emanating from political actors themselves, pursued through media institutions as in some case, journalists will attempt to publicize and expose what is hidden. Politicians also seek to conceal information from citizens sometimes for reasons of what is called 'national security', and sometimes to avoid political embarrassment (McNair 2003:26). For politicians, the rise in scandal news has led to a preoccupation with new strategies and tactics to counter negative images (Tumber 2004:1123).

2.4.3) MEDIA COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES

Perhaps the most known methods used by politicians are advertising and public relations. For purposes of this study, only the public relations aspect is discussed because unlike advertising whose intentions are exposed, this method is more confined to the internal dynamics of the political establishment since the aim of the political actors, especially those implicated in corruption, is to conceal information, not 'advertise' it. As McNair (2003:7) notes, public relations entails media and information management tactics designed to ensure a party receives maximum favourable publicity and the minimum of negative and he goes on to mention four types of activity within this concept namely; media management; image management; political marketing; internal communications of the organization and information management.

More specifically, this study applies the activities contained within the rubric of information management namely; pro-active devices such as party conferences which are designed principally to attract positive media coverage of an organization; news conferences which permit parties to (attempt to) set political agenda particularly (but not confined to) election campaigns.; and re-active devices in which parties strive for damage limitation such as the lobbying of journalists and the 'spinning of potentially damaging stories; the suppressing of potentially damaging information such as was attempted by the conservative government of John Major on numerous occasion in the early 1990s (the Iraq arms scandal) (McNair 2003:7).

In order for a message to be communicated effectively, political actors have to choose words and phrases that are appropriate to the purpose and occasion. As Beard (2000:18) points out, language is a means of communication, a means of presenting and shaping political argument which is ideological in that it comes from a series of beliefs. Language is not something separated from the ideas it contains but the way language is used says a lot about how the ideas have been shaped. When analyzing the language of a political text, therefore, it is important to look at the way the language reflects the ideological position of those who have created it (Beard 2000:18).

2.4.3.1) Political Speeches

As Beard (2000:35) notes, making speeches is a vital part of the politician's role in announcing policy and persuading people to agree with it (the manufacture of consent) and singles out the use of political rhetoric. Cockcroft and Cockcroft (cited in Beard 2000:35) define rhetoric as the 'art of persuasive discourse, with the word discourse referring to both spoken and written communication. Politicians nowadays tend to make most of their speeches to invited audiences of their own supporters at events such as party conferences and party rallies. Atkinson (cited in Beard 2000:38) also notes that one of the most common means of eliciting approval is the use of what he calls a 'list of three' which in political speeches, can be simple repetition such as in Tony Blair's sound bite during the 1997 general election that his main concern was, Education, Education, Education- or it can be of different words that have a general and similar meaning- for example, Nelson Mandela's words during his first speech on his release from prison in 1990;

> "Friends, comrades and fellow South Africans, I greet you all in the name of peace, democracy and freedom for all".

Atkinson argues that the three -part list is attractive to the speaker and listener because it is embedded in certain cultures as giving a sense of unity and completeness.

In addition to the three-part list is the use of contrastive pairs where two pairs are in some ways in opposition but in other ways use repetition to make the overall effect- for example, Nelson Mandela's speech; "I stand before you not as a prophet but as a humble servant of you, the people…we have waited too long for our freedom. We can no longer wait". Mandela contrasts 'not being a prophet' with 'being a humble servant' with the negative coming before the positive as it usually does with pairs so that the stress can be on the positive part (Atkinson cited in Beard 2000:39).

2.4.3.2) Metaphors and Metonyms

Metaphor refers to when a word or a phrase is used which establishes a comparison between one idea and another- the most common feature is the use of war language/ battle narrative when referring to the activities of politicians. Metonymy involves replacing the name of something with something connected to it, without being the whole thing (Beard 2000:41).

However, apart from the more 'serious' approach to political communication, Louw (2005: 17)also posits that politicians must learn to work within the dimension of image- making, hype and mythology. This involves stimulating an atmosphere of excitement or enthusiasm, a sort of 'false' belief which Louw (2005:19) argues, might be myth and ideology as discussed in the representation component.

Street (2001:96) also adds that another way in which politicians try to present themselves is as 'cool'. This is not just a matter of being popular, but of being popular in a certain way- they want to be stylish in the way that stars of popular culture are stylishly 'cool'. The reason politicians want these associations derives from the general cultural value placed on 'cool', and the notion of 'authenticity' associated with it. 'Cool' represents being in charge and in touch. For example, film stars like Arnold Schwarzenegger sharing the stage with politicians like George Bush; Nelson Mandela filling an entire issue of *Vogue* or President Clinton playing the Saxophone on *Music Television (MTV* (Marshall 1997:9) In recent years, politicians have assumed the role of popular culture celebrities, which means that a politician's taste in music can assume as much importance as do their policies or their values (Street 2001:273),a perspective linked to representation where the media texts are conveyed either through an informative or an entertainment platform (Hesmondhalgh 2007:3).

As Louw (2005:173) argues, celebrities are famous because they are media personalities- their fame derives from having their image constantly in the public domain. Celebrities appear important because the media make them important. Marshall (1997:9) goes on to add that the culture industry learned to package aspects of personality into celebrity form. These packages are scripted to have maximal audience appeal, which makes them bankable commodities within the culture industry. However, in democratic political systems, the whole concept of political communication is seen as reciprocal; Firstly, political actors must use the media in order to have their messages communicated to the desired audience through political programmes, policy statements, electoral appeals, pressure group campaigns and acts of terrorism- this is effective only to the extent that they are reported and received as messages by the media audience (McNair 2003:12).

However, having looked at these various factors, this section would be incomplete without a look at the models of political communication formulated by (Szymanska (2004:18-22). These models form the basis of the theoretical deliberation of political communication; the first assumes; *the dominion of mass media transmissions over politics*; which is linked to issues of bias discussed under representation; the second approach looks at; *the supremacy of politics over the media*; the third model is characterized by the assumption of; *the reciprocal independence of the media and politics;* while the fourth looks at the media and political state as a *symbiotic relationship entwined in the concept of mediatisation.*

As mentioned earlier, the concept of mediatisation is an inherently process- oriented concept. As Schulz (1998:88) notes, "mediatisation relates to the changes associated with communication media and their development- it implies a process through which core elements of a social or cultural activity assume media form.

Mediated politics views the media as the most important vehicle of information and communication between the governors and the governed (Borchers 2002:298). In such a situation, people depend on the media for information about politics and society, just as politicians and other powerful elites, depend on the media for information about people's opinions and trends in society and for reaching out to people (Strombick 2008:230).

2.4.4) A MODEL OF POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

2.4.4.1) The Supremacy of Politics over the Media

Under this concept, Szymanska (2004: 18-22) posits that due to limitations on time, money and the requirements of deadlines creates a thirst for readily available, reliable flow of information. Government agencies and politicians, correspondents, eager to satisfy the cravings of the news organizations, make news available on a regular basis in a form that the media can easily understand. This need gives power to high-level government officials and access to them is a scarce resource and they control journalists by granting or denying access. They typically favour journalists from leading news outlets over those from less prestigious-less predictable-publications. They thereby help maintain the advantage in news gathering held by already established leading institutions and they help solidify class distinctions among journalists – (gutter press vs. main-stream media) (Schudson 2003:138**).** In the case of the arms deal scandal, the information is determined by what the political actors decide to share/ convey to the public.

2.4.4.2) The Dominion of Mass Media over Politics

In democratic political systems the media function both as transmitters of political communication which originate outside the media organization itself, and as senders of political messages constructed by journalists. The role of the media with regards to political organizations and the audience is crucial. First, political actors must use the media in order to have their messages communicated to the desired audience- political programmes, policy statements, electoral appeals, pressure group campaigns and acts of terrorism have a political existence- and potential for communicative effectiveness- only to the extent that they are reported and received as messages by the media audience. Consequently, all political communicators must gain access to the media by some means, whether legislative, as in the rules of political balance and impartiality which govern British public service broadcasting or by an appreciation of the workings of the media sufficient to ensure that a message is reported (McNair 2003:12).

Washington Post columnist Colman McCarthy (Schudson 2003:18) observed that a major abuse in the media is not that the reporters slanted the news but that they could choose from a wide range of stories. There is no question then, that members of the media have some autonomy and authority to depict the world according to their own ideas. They do not simply 'transcribe' to a set of transparent events.

Borchers (2002:306) identify ways in which the media report on candidates. They note that mediated politics is a melodrama, and moral justice is at the heart of most melodrama- the trials of the virtuous, calumny of the villainous, good rewarded, evil punished. These representations pit one politician against another- portraying one as virtuous and another as villainous.

2.4.4.3) The Reciprocal Independence of the Media and Politics and; 2.4.4.4) The Symbiotic Relationship Between Media and Politics

In this present day and age of media saturation, the media in increasingly being used as a tool that links politicians and the public. Politicians find themselves increasingly reliant on the media to get their messages across to the public and the media in turn, rely on politicians for news stories.

Reliance on government officials however, does not guarantee favourable news. According to Protess et al (cited in Sanders & Canel 2006:454), political scandal reporting is the 'journalism of outrage', where reporters claim to seek to reveal wrongdoing and bring about change and as Waisbord (2004:1087) adds, scandals might also illustrate views that it is a post-modern world in which mediated signs have replaced (political) reality and that politics has moved from traditional to mediated agoras.

Despite good image building, reports of misdeeds by politicians always finds its way into the media and hence the public. As Waisbord (2004:1087) argues, in order to stay ahead, news organizations will search for news stories that sell and if Cabinet members, ambassadors and foreign attaches, military chiefs and members of the judiciary are typically the subject of news, they are more so when they are in trouble, fire accusations, offer justifications, contradict themselves or are caught red-handed committing crimes such as tax-evasion, bribery.

News about official wrongdoing enjoys a substantial coverage over other news about wrongdoing because it fits standard journalistic principles about the newsworthiness of official actions. As mentioned earlier, acts of political corruption are instigated by the political actors themselves; hence, the mentioning of Jacob Zuma each time the media reported on the arms deal scandal. With the intense media coverage on him, this study seeks to determine whether or not he employed any communication strategies that helped draw attention away from the corruption charges against him and whether this could be seen as having influenced his rise to the presidency of the country.

2.5) CONCLUSION

This chapter has outlined the theoretical framework that guides the study- Critical Political Economy of the Media, theories of Representation and theories of Political Communication and Mediatised Politics. This study uses the theories to highlight the role of the media in reporting on political news, especially news that involves political corruption and the way in which politicians use the media to communicate with the public. The theories of representation have been discussed within ideology and hegemony stressing the fact that the media are cultural industries and their content therefore, includes elements of the broader social, political and economic environment. The theories of political communication and mediatised politics have also been discussed with the aim of highlighting the relationship between the media and the political establishment.

The proceeding chapter looks at the literature review, which offers a discussion into previous scholarly work into the role of the media in the coverage of political corruption with the aim of explaining the need for more research on this aspect of the media.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1) INTRODUCTION

Having established the theoretical framework that will guide this study, the relevant literature will also be looked at to determine emerging or existing trends surrounding media coverage of political corruption.
This chapter is divided into two sections; after providing a brief definition and background on political corruption (referred in the first section as white collar crime), the first section looks at previous research on media coverage of various political scandals, looking at the factors that determine how the media covers scandals, the context within which these scandals occurred, and how this affected the public images of the politicians involved.

The second section looks at previous studies on political communication, focusing on how the politicians implicated in corruption use political communication strategies such as public relations strategies and political rhetoric and the effects this has on their public image.

3.2) A DEFINITION OF POLITICAL CORRUPTION

Since Edward Sutherland first introduced the concept of white-collar crime in his 1939 presidential address to the American Sociological Society, it has come to define a major field of sociological inquiry.[8] When Sutherland gave his famous speech, crime was seen as a problem of immigrants and the urban poor, but, over the years, criminologists have slowly come to accept his claims about the importance of the crimes of the powerful and privileged (Coleman 1987:406).

Sutherland (1961:11) defined white collar crime as, "a crime committed by a person of respectability and high social status in the course of his occupation". Consequently, this definition excludes many crimes of the upper class such as most of their cases of murder, adultery and intoxication since these are not customarily a part of their occupational procedures, and the confidence games of wealthy members of the underworld since they are not persons of respectability and high social status. Although Sutherland's definition received a lot of criticism, (see Akers 1996:229; Vold and Bernard 1986:227-229; Bernard and Snipes 1995) it has come to be used as the

[8] American sociologist, Edwin Sutherland's presidential address in 1939 on "White Collar Criminality was published in the *American Sociological Review* in February, 1940, Volume V, No. 1, and developed later into the volume on White Collar Crime. Here Sutherland has analyzed "white collar crime" to augment his hypotheses attributing the causes of crime to social phenomena rather than to "received" biological and emotional characteristics within the criminal. In this address the argument was made that many business and professional men commit crimes which should be brought within the scope of the theories of criminal behavior.

umbrella term under which other forms of official crime/ corruption fall- crimes such as fraud, embezzlement, bribery, insider trading, money laundering, be it political, civic or corporate.

While there are different definitions to describe corruption- Girling (1997:1) who opines that corruption represents the normative perception of capitalist excess; and Rose-Ackerman (1999:113) who describes corruption as a relationship between the State and the private sector, where State officials are sometimes the dominant actors and in other cases, private actors are the most powerful forces- the focus of this study is on political corruption, which Hodess (2001:3) defines as the abuse of entrusted power by political leaders for private gain, with the objective of increasing power or wealth.

Despite the numerous definitions, an attempt to classify scandals has been fraught with difficulties and as Williams (2003:7) readily concedes, the hub of the problem of studying scandal systematically is the problem of definition. Although this study assumes a thematic approach to the review of literature, there are instances where the issues discussed will overlap between one theme and the other. Due to the numerous offences that fall under white-collar crime (such as bribery, insider trading, and fraud), no two scandals are exactly similar, and they occur in different political contexts and as Waisbord (2004:1074) adds, they are about different subjects, trigger different political and media processes and elicit different public responses.

Political scandals are recurrent phenomena in modern democracies as there seems to be a never-ending stream of politicians whose sexual affairs, financial wrongdoings or abuse of power are revealed in public. A growing number of literature clearly shows that there is much to learn about the function of democracy, and the changing relations between media and politics, by analysing the preconditions and characteristics of different scandals (Thompson 2000; Tumber & Waisbord 2004).

As mentioned in the introduction section 1.4, there is very little research on media coverage of political corruption from an African perspective, this despite the fact that incidences of corruption among the political establishment are rife. Looking at South Africa, Camerer (2009:9) also adds that there is very little dedicated academic research on corruption and its controls, listing NGO's that have contributed to literature on corruption. Whatever academic literature that exists post 1994 deals mainly with the nature, extent and perception of political corruption and the institutional capacity of anti-corruption agencies to address the problem. From a media perspective, Radebe (2007) examines media coverage of the arms deal scandal with emphasis on the South African media during the transition from Apartheid to democracy.

In their comprehensive media study of corruption, Landman and Associates (2002:5) sought to determine; what makes a case of corruption appear in the print media? Why have these cases come to light and not others? What makes a case of corruption newsworthy? However, despite this study that examined news articles over a 14 month period, they state that media reporting of corruption was not their study's chief focal point but rather, it used media reports as sources of information.

As mentioned in section 1.4 of the introductory chapter, the majority of citizens, including policy makers, report that they receive their information about corruption from the media, analyzing the type of information about corruption that is available to the public domain is one step towards developing a profile on corruption (Camerer 2009:86). These types of studies do not report on actual levels of corruption but rather present an overview of how the print media reports on corruption. Furthermore, Andvig et al. (2000:36) also posit that investigative journalists are in many ways in a better position to collect data than social scientists; the public exposure of journalists gives them a larger supply of informants meaning that stories from the media are important sources of information also for social research on corruption when it comes to establishing facts, as proved by one of the leading researchers in the field of corruption Alan Doig (1995).

Consequently, by carrying out an analysis on media coverage of the arms deal scandal, this research seeks to expand in the little literature available on media coverage of political scandals, especially those involving high-level corruption, from an African perspective. More specifically from a South African perspective, this study seeks to determine how the South African media, one of the most diverse and developed on the continent approach the issue of political scandal with the aim of determining whether or not there exists any elements of 'bias'.

In addition, this research hopes to contribute to the field of political communication and the media by examining the media communication strategies that ANC leader Jacob Zuma used the media to get his message across to the public.

3.3) FACTORS THAT DETERMINE HOW THE MEDIA COVERS SCANDALS

3.3.1) MEDIA SCANDAL AND INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALISM

The resignation of President Richard Nixon during the Watergate scandal resulted partly from the investigative work of two *Washington Post* reporters, Robert Woodward and Carl Bernstein. Helping to bring down a president made them stars. They made an impression on a whole generation of journalists (Sanders and Canel 2006:453). After Watergate, journalists, especially those covering national news, became more sceptical and wary of politicians manipulating them. The press actively tried to expose government abuses, one consequence of this has been more negative political reporting. While demanding a more open and honest government, reporters sought out the mistakes, inconsistencies and ethical faults of political leaders (Sanders and Canel 2006:455).

Sanders and Canel (2006:453) state that reporting scandal can upset the sometimes cosy world of political reporting, disrupting the normal pattern of what Bennett (cited in Sanders and Canel 2006:453) has described as the 'indexing' of coverage to the range of news expressed by mainstream government sources. The analysis of the reasons for scandals usually overlaps with analysis of corruption and the proximity (and often confusion) between these two issues is not coincidental. Klitgaard (1988) opines that corruption is the abuse of public office for private ends; scandals, on other hand, result from the publication of information about corruption. As

political scientist Theodore Lowi (cited in Tumber and Waisbord 2004:1032) wrote, scandals are "corruption revealed".

In their study on the proliferation of scandals in the media, Tumber and Waisbord (2004: 1031) state that scandals have not been unusual in the histories and democracies around the world. The political evolutions of many different countries, certainly some more than others, are packed with revelations of corrupt actions committed by public officials (Tumber and Waisbord 2004:1031). If corruption is as old as politics, scandals are not novel developments either but rather what stands out is the periodical eruption of scandals. Scandals appear to be recurrent rather than sporadic events, the norm rather than the exception, occurring in countries with diverse political systems, media systems, economic standards and levels of corruption.

Tumber and Waisbord (2004:1143), argue that the intervention of the media, and more precisely the development of investigative journalism, has played an important role in making scandals a significant part of the political culture in Western democracies and they cite the resignation of U.S president Richard Nixon as a culmination or high point of investigative journalism. Journalists are usually credited with the public exposure of scandal and this is presumably the moment at which they show the power they have over public figures and institutions.

Molotch and Lester (1974:110) proposed the definition of scandal as one pole in the seesaw game between political sources and reporters over who controls the agenda (Schudson 1992 cited in Liebes and Blum-Kulka 2004:1153). Accordingly, in routine news, the daily bread and butter with which the political establishment feeds the press, sources are on top and scandals are the exceptional cases in which journalists have access to the anti-normative actions of the powerful carried out covertly. When they unveil the image of public figures would seek to hide, the balance tilts to the side of the journalists (Liebes and Blum-Kulka 2004:1153).

Some journalists would argue that all journalism worthy of the name carries with it a duty to ask questions, check facts, and investigate (Foot 1998:81). Although Sanders and Canel (2006:453) agree, they also add that 'investigative journalism', especially when applied to the investigation of political scandal, carries a moral charge and requires an investment in time and resources which sets it apart from other kinds of reporting. Political scandal reporting is the 'journalism of outrage', where reporters claim to seek to reveal wrongdoings and bring about change (Protess et al. 1991cited in Sanders and Canel 2006:454).

From Schultz's (1998:17) perspective, the 'journalism of outrage' is central to the watchdog function of the Fourth Estate, often presented as a cornerstone of liberal democracies not least by journalists themselves- a view also shared by Altschull (1994) who states that this watchdog role ensures checks on government and aids in rectifying abuses of power and adds that the presence of a press that maintains some autonomy from government is required for scandals. For example, in his study, Waisbord (2004:1072-1074) examines scandals that plagued the administration of President Carlos Saul Menem of Argentina in 1990 and discusses the linkages between scandals, media and citizenship and suggests that media publicity is central for scandals to unfold.

In November 1995, the media revealed that the sale of 75 tons of armaments to Ecuador was actually a 'minor' business of a larger operation; the sale of 65,000 tons of weapons to Croatia in 1991. Although the government of Argentine president Carlos Menem rejected any responsibility, and the Venezuelan government also denied any involvement, the newspaper *Clarin* threw a bombshell by publishing a decree signed by Argentine President Menem and several ministers approving the sale of weapons to Panama and Venezuela.

Apart from *Clarin*, which turned into a flag bearer of the scandal, throwing various punches at the government, two other equally influential Buenos Aires newspapers covered the story- *La Nacion* devoted substantial coverage to the arms scandal and *Pagina/12* also covered the scandal but it confronted several problems – working for a newspapers that repeatedly pounded on the government, the Armed forces and the judiciary, reporters lacked fluid contacts with the sources in those institutions that would have offered exclusive information (Waisbord 2004:1086).

Waisbord's (2004:1077) emphasis is on the exposure of these scandals by the media and maintains that violations of existing laws became scandals only after the media publicised them. Although Argentina apparently followed international rules and declared itself neutral, the arms scandal unfolded after it was reported that the government had been involved in actions that breached existing laws.

In times when publicity is synonymous with mediated publicity, the media wield unmatched power in converting secret acts of wrongdoing into scandalous actions. The rise of scandal politics would have been unthinkable without the growing centrality of the media in Argentine politics. The entering of expressions such as *media politics, mediated candidates, and mediated justice* in the country's political vocabulary attests to a process in which publicity has lately become associated with media attention (Camps & Pazos 1999).

In the United States, the Iran-Contra Affair was a clandestine action not approved of by the United States Congress. It began in 1985, when President Ronald Reagan's administration supplied weapons to Iran -a sworn enemy - in hopes of securing the release of American hostages held in Lebanon by Hezbollah terrorists loyal to the Ayatollah Khomeini, Iran's leader. It was not until 1986 that word got out about the secret transactions through the Lebanese magazine *Ash-Shiraa* that published a series of articles in November of the same year that exposed the weapons-for-hostages deal. On November 18th, 1987, the Congress issued a report on the affair that stated the president bore "ultimate responsibility" (www.u-s-history.com).

Despite the vigour of investigative reporting witnessed in the 1960s and 1970s, Tumber and Waisbord (2004:1144) note that there has been a decline and according to Stempel, Weaver and Wilhoit (2003) today's journalists are less inclined to think that the investigation of official misdeeds is one of the key functions of the press. For example, Tumber and Waisbord (2004:1144) argue that the U.S press, once noted for its intense investigative reporting in the 1960s and 1970s, has lately been criticized for being influenced by powerful interests *(political influence)* and abandoning hard-hitting reporting. Other studies have charged news organizations for ignoring or downplaying government and corporate malfeasance during the Reagan and Bush administrations, particularly the Savings and Loan and Intra-Contra Scandal *(media tabloidization/ sensationalism)* (italics mine) (Herstgaard 1988).

3.3.2) MEDIA, SCANDAL AND POLITICAL INFLUENCE

However, due to the competition within the media industry and the pressure to release up-to-date news more frequently, the media are forced to rely on sources that have a steady supply of news- one of them being the political establishment. Politicians, by virtue of their status in society will always be sources of news for the media, be it during parliamentary proceedings, or on other official duty. These sources are established by official authority, by social status or by commercial success and their organised structures, with spokespersons and a regular scheduling of statements, making them the most convenient sources for journalists to monitor (Fowler 1991:22).

As mentioned earlier, the media's dependence on official sources does not always guarantee a smooth flow of news, especially when the media seeks information on government malfeasance. The reporting of scandals can upset the sometimes cosy world of political reporting, disrupting the normal pattern of what Bennett (cited in Sanders and Canel 2006: has described as the 'indexing' of coverage of the range of news expressed by mainstream government sources.

Sociologist Silvio Waisbord (2004:1084) notes that official wrongdoing is another form of official news and is more likely than other forms to become the subject of journalistic investigations but despite the fact that journalists may have rumours, leaks or near-certain knowledge of government's misdeeds, they cannot go to print within the conventions of the story without first getting confirmation- this proves challenging when the media is confronted by government's secrecy and overuse of 'classified' categories for government information.

Scandals that deal with official corruption such as the arms scandal, almost inevitably originate in elite machinations. Only elites are likely to have sensitive information about state secrets and illegal operations, only elites have fluid access to newsrooms and are capable of attracting reporters' curiosity. President, cabinet members, judges, prosecutors, and members of congress are not only subject of news but also provide raw information to newsrooms to manufacture news (Waisbord 2004:1084).

Although the media has been at the forefront of investigative reporting, this trend is slowly fading away as media houses find it increasingly difficult to carry out in-depth investigations. News organizations are less interested in exposing corruption on the count that investigative reporting is expensive, does not increase sales, causes legal and financial headaches, and enrages powerful officials (Doig 1997; Schultz 1998). The ebbing of investigative journalism however, has not driven the press in the U.S and U.K away from scandalous stories. On the contrary, Watergate has changed forever the relation between the press and politicians, by assuming a position of adversarial reporting (Tumber and Waisbord 2004:1145).

As Fourie (2001:264) adds, the media are often blamed for almost everything that can go wrong with politicians frequently accusing the media of misrepresenting them, lying and wrongfully criticising them, resulting in the politicians either threatening to or actually constituting libel suits against them. For example, the media's revelations of the arms scandal in Argentina disarmed official explanations and expectedly angered the Menem government, which brought a lawsuit against *Clarin* and insisted on maintaining its innocence (Waisbord 2004:1072-1074).

In the United States, Katherine Graham of the Washington Post Company once stated that when the *Washington Post* was reporting on the Watergate story, the Nixon administration attempted to intimidate the journalists by, among other things, bringing about campaigns to suspend television station licenses (Tyson 1987:24).

In Australia, the country's then Prime Minister Wran was investigated by the *Four Corners* programme, *The Big League* on 30th April 1983 for allegations about his possible involvement in the pervasion of justice in the Kevin Humphries fraud case, his immediate reaction was one of outrage and disbelief. He threatened to sue the Australian Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) for defamation and government officials were whispering about sums of millions of dollars to compensate for one of the grossest libels in Australian history (Tiffen 1999:132).

Apart from political influence, structural changes in the ownership of media companies, editorial caution in response to financial pressure, disinterest in allocating human and monetary resources, and court decisions that made exposing political corruption a costly and troublesome venture have discouraged news organizations from engaging in investigative reporting that laid the ground for scandals in the past (Doig 1997; Schultz 1998). Apart from adversarial reporting, notes Waisbord (2004), tabloidization has also tilted journalism towards chasing scandalous news.

3.3.3) MEDIA AND TABLIODIZATION

Tabloidization, according to critics, fuels scandal news by pushing news organization to chase titillating stories of corruption, full of drama and devoid of substance, signalling the erosion of journalistic standards where rumour replaces rigour, sensationalism replaces substance and voyeurism replaces veracity (Bok 1998).

Eskröm and Johansson (2008:6) argue that a scandal published in the media is not only about disclosure (and investigative journalism), but also about dramatization, story-telling and alterations. Political scandals fit perfectly into news and media culture in which the offering of what is shocking and spectacular, sensational and abnormal is the most fundamental strategy for attracting and fascinating a presumptive audience. Media content shows an absence of serious debate, providing a platform for political propaganda containing only meaningless slogans, making the audience disinterested and cynical about politics.

In addition, journalists of all varieties begin to act as sharks when they 'smell the blood' in what Larry Sabato (cited in Maurer 1999) refers to as a "feeding frenzy". Sabato points to the Watergate scandal as the watershed event in creating the phenomenon of feeding frenzies, shifting the orientation of reporting from description to prescription.

Wasserman (2008:789) looks at tabloidization in South Africa and notes that unlike the struggle by broadsheets to catch-up with international trends in newspaper convergence (including j-blogs, video clips on websites and cell phone news services); the tabloids have turned the local media landscape upside down. He gives an example of the *Daily Sun* which was launched in 2002 and is now the biggest newspaper in the country with just below 500,000 copies and 3.8 million regular readers (according to the Audit Bureau of Circulation and All Media Products Survey released in February 2007).

Wasserman goes on to explain the popularity of the tabloid media as being able to create a platform where the concerns of the citizens (such as HIV/Aids, lack of service delivery and crime could be voiced), factors which the newspaper stated in a commentary on its front page, were reasons for Jacob Zuma's popularity as he addressed these issues whereas Thabo Mbeki did not (''Where Mbeki Went Wrong!'', *Daily Sun* 28 November 2007). In this case, the tabloid media is seen not as an avenue for conveying sensationalist stories but rather, one through which contentious issues can be raised and discussed.

Another important factor that cannot be ignored is the economic environment in which media organizations operate. According to Golding, Schlesinger and Murdock (1986:175), most media houses are business enterprises heavily dependent on advertising for revenue and as a result their news content will most likely harbour signs of bias of favouritism towards certain businesses (and by extension) political sectors.

3.3.4) MEDIA SCANDAL AND ECONOMIC INFLUENCE

Despites these run-ins with the political establishment, Tiffen (1999:20) notes that as the media have become larger, their investigative prowess and their political impact has also grown and due to their economic power, large media corporations are at the forefront of driving issues they deem as important. The owners of large media houses are key players in the domestic and international capitalist economies within which they operate. They support the economies in which they operate and preserve socio-political systems which allow them to go on generating profits and at the same time, be critical of the government (Bennet 1990 cited in Sanders and Canel 2006:453).

Tumber and Waisbord (2004:1143) add that by exposing corruption in government and other institutions, the news media may alter the direction of public policy and can cause people to be removed from office. In their study on newspaper coverage of scandals, Puglisi and Snyder's (2008:1) focus on recent and salient political scandals in the United States involving members of Congress and top State-wide officials and involved a prominent federal or State investigation. They found that many resulted in indictments and felony convictions.

Consequently, newspapers also contribute to scandals by setting the political temperature; editorials that exonerate or call on authorities to resign indicate the position of influential voices. For example, in the case of the Argentine arms deal scandal, it would be hard not to conclude that the newspaper *Clarin's* call for the resignation of then Defence Minister, Oscar Camilion was directly responsible for bringing him down a few weeks later, but coming from Argentina's largest and most influential daily, it should not be ignored as the expression of powerful actors.

Clarin's position was particularly telling considering that Camilion was formerly linked to the newspaper as a member of the *Movimento de Integracion y Desarollo*, the party that had a powerful influence on the newspaper for decades (Waisbord 2004:1079). Apart from instances where the media out rightly exercise their influence such as in the case of the *Clarin* newspaper in Argentina, some scholars relate this influence to how the media presents the news to the public.

3.3.5) SCANDAL AND MEDIA FRAMING/ AGENDA SETTING AND REPRESENTATION

Research has shown that news coverage can focus public attention on particular topics and, in so doing, alter the mix of cognitions that are most readily accessible when forming political judgments (Dalton, Beck, and Huckfeldt 1998; Domke, Shah, and Wackman 1998; Iyengar, Shanto and Kinder 1987; Krosnick and Brannon 1993). Iyengar (1991) and Zaller (1992) contend that people form attitudes in response to particular features of the information environment. Emphasis on certain issues in news coverage is thought to prime the public to focus upon those considerations as standards for social judgment and in addition, much research has demonstrated that citizens' evaluations of politicians are susceptible to such priming effects (e.g., Goidel, Shields, and Peffley 1997; Just et al. 1996; Mendelssohn 1996).

For example, Park & Kociski (1995:208) observe that content analyses of network news showed that the media framed the Iran-Contra affair, with a high level of salience, as a valence issue (the Reagan administration's complicity in the secret dealing) rather than a position issue (the affair's international policy dimension).

Some scholars look at economic news coverage and the media's emphasis on the economic performance and conclude that the media's perceptions of economic conditions may help shape evaluations of presidential job performance because it gives the public a scale on which to judge the president. Scholars such as Feldman (1982); Kinder, Adams, and Gronke (1989); and Lewis-Beck (1988) have found that voters do not evaluate economic conditions through their own pocketbooks but instead focus on national economic conditions.

Thus, news media may either help "construct" a picture of the national economy through their reporting or function as a "conduit" through which economic information reaches citizens but regardless, Dalton, Beck, and Huckfeldt (1998) emphasize that coverage linking the president to economic conditions may be a predominant influence on citizens' assessments of political performance. For example, Shah, Watts, Domke and Fan (2002:321) questions the theory by political analyst Kevin Phillips (1999) who attributed Clinton's popularity on the economy, an opinion shared by political scientist John Zaller (1998) who speculated that sustained support for Clinton could be explained only by the absence of media effects- that is, opinion was anchored by Clinton's record of prosperity, domestic security and moderate policies.

However, Shah *et al*. (2002:340) argue that the strong economy and the push for impeachment is insufficient as it ignores the role of mass media in constructing and conveying these considerations- that is, it neglects journalistic choices of language and perspectives through which a story is presented to the public. They therefore advance a theory of mass opinion that recognizes that the opinions of citizens are substantially influenced by certain frames and cues contained in news coverage of key issue regimes which in their study identify to be the economy, policy performance, and scandal.

This perspective assumes that when constructing a news story, journalists must choose from among a multitude of vantage points and voices. The frames adopted by news media then contend for resonance with members of the public, who respond as motivated tacticians, striving to serve the dual goals of efficiency and self expression (Gamson 1992; Shah; Domke and Wackman 1996).

In addition, Bennet (1996) argues that there is evidence that the media treat popular leaders more favourably than unpopular ones, especially when their leadership is marred by poor economic performance. For example, the Infamous Watergate scandal of 1974 that saw the resignation of the then United States President Richard Nixon occurred against the backdrop of a faltering domestic economy.

In Britain, Prime Minister John Major's administration was viewed as sleaze ridden and suffered drops in its popularity a factor Tumber (2004:1131) examined against the backdrop of a weakening economy emanating largely from the suspension of the Sterling pound's membership from the European Exchange Rate Mechanism. The Sterling opened that day under intense pressure and despite the Bank of England's attempts to push up the rate of buying pounds with reserves of foreign currency, the pound remained under pressure. Despite raising interest rates to 12% and the 15%, the treasury realized the position was hopeless. By the end of the week the pound has fallen 6% below the old European Exchange Mechanism floor. The Conservatives, always seen as the party best able to manage the economy, lost credibility from that point and were unable to garner public opinion throughout the next 4.5 years up to the elections of May 1997 when they suffered a landslide defeat (Tumber 2004:1131).

Puglisi and Snyder (2008:1) investigate the coverage of political scandals by approximately 200 U. S newspapers during the last decade and find that Democratic leaning newspapers i.e. those with a higher propensity to endorse Democratic candidates in elections, give significantly more coverage to scandals involving republican politicians than scandals involving Democratic politicians, while Republican-leaning newspapers do the opposite.

This ideological bias or what Puglisi and Snyder refer to as 'agenda bias on scandals', is not confined to the editorial page, but also affects the news section as Bartlett (2006) notes in his analysis of the *New York Times* coverage of political scandals. He gives an example of an article ran on the front page by the newspaper, linking Republican Tom DeLay, Republican of Texas and convicted lobbyist Jack Abramoff. However, when Democrat of Louisiana, Brett Pfeffer pleaded guilty to bribing congressman Republican William Jefferson, the story appeared on page 28 of the *New York Times.* Editors and journalists enjoy considerable freedom in deciding what is newsworthy and what is not, and these choices affect the perception of citizens about which issues are relevant and to what extent (Puglisi and Snyder 2008:3)

3.4) MEDIA, POLITICAL ACTORS AND POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

In this day and age, the power and influence of the media cannot be ignored. The media have emerged to fill the power vacuum created by the declining influence of political parties and have become a pivotal corner of the candidate-image-voter triangle or a process referred to as 'the mediatisation of politics', the link between politicians and the public. (Umbrell 2005:14)

From this there has emerged the concept of mediated politics- which refers to a situation in which the media have become the most important vehicle of information and communication between the governors and the governed (Borchers 2002:311). In such a situation, people depend on the media for information about politics and society, just as politicians and other powerful elites, depend on the media for information about people's

opinions and trends in society and for reaching out to people (Strombick 2008:230). According to Louw (2005:109), when it comes to politics, journalists have an especially powerful influence because the news media lies at the heart of circulating political meaning.

For politicians, the rise in scandal news has led to a preoccupation with new strategies and tactics to counter negative images. (Tumber 2004:1123) Castells (1997:337) contented that "scandal politics is the weapon of choice for struggle and competition in informational politics, a view echoed by Blumler and Gurevitch (1995) who state that politics is now "enclosed in the space of the media". The media and other officials construct different images of the president and in a reciprocal process, how the president and other officials construct his image finds its way into the media and then to the public, and how the media portray the president may influence how other officials and public think about the president.

First, officials monitor the news to learn what other officials are up to and they also follow the news to know what the public is thinking. Crucially for the process of image-building, leaders rely on the media to carry their message to the public. For example, Lang & Lang (1994:274) note that at the outset of the Watergate crisis, President Nixon and his staff developed a strategy specifically and directly aimed at winning the battle of public opinion in order to preserve his presidency.

In their analysis of Bill Clinton's popularity, Just and Crigler (2000:184) posit that the president's ability to survive the Republican-led impeachment process derived from the positive image he was able to project during the crisis- the president's image was resilient, first because it was well fixed in the public mind after an incumbency of 6 years, and second, because the public gave high ratings of his performance in office
Sociologists Gladys Lang and Kurt Lang (1983) argue that despite media tactics used by politicians, scandals or reports of misdeeds by politicians always find their way into the media and hence the public.

Blechinger (1999:46) analyses the strategies of Japanese political elites to cope with corrupt scandals and notes that when exposed by the media, they would either blame someone close to them (secretary; aide) for involving their name in the scandal or they would resign from office. For example, the exposure of the Recruit scandal which had involved the pre-float sale of highly profitable shares in Recruit Cosmos (a property company) to almost all leading Liberal Democratic Party and many opposition politicians, led within a few months to the resignations of Prime Minister Takeshita, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Finance Miyazawa, Minister of Justice Hasegawa, among others. These resignations, argues Blechinger (1999:46) were welcomed by the party leadership as a means of calming public outrage and of curbing any intention on the part of the media of pursuing their investigations further.

Another strategy employed by the political elite was to resign their seat in parliament, but remained as members of the Diet[9]. In many cases a politician would give up affiliation with a particular political party and would register as an independent, in order to avert further damage to the party. This strategy can be interpreted as signalling to the public that corrupt behaviour was regarded as a problem of the individual politicians concerned

[9] This is the Japanese Parliament that consists of the House of Representatives and the House of Councilors. Members of the Diet are elected by the Japanese People (www.japan-guide.com).

and was in no way related to the political party to which they belonged. In addition, if the charges of corruption against them attracted public criticism and affected their ratings in nationwide polls, the politicians would also opt to keep a low profile for some time and focus on constituency work before making a political come back (Blechinger 1999:47)**.**

Applying more drastic measures, prominent politicians whose names are exposed in political corruption scandals did not simply deny any allegations in meetings with the press, but increasingly took legal action against the media carrying such reports. For example, in the 1996-1997 Izui Sekiyu Shokai bribery scandal- In the fall of 1997, oil trader Jun'ichi Izui wrote an article that was published by the monthly magazine *Bungei Shunju*, in which he claimed to have paid ¥77 million in political donations to the then LDP Political Affairs Research Council Chairman Taku Yamasaki. He further stated that he had helped Yamasaki to become Minister of Construction in the Miyazawa cabinet in 1991. Yamasaki denied these accusations and filed a lawsuit against the publisher of the magazine, demanding a printed apology and ¥10 million in damages (Blechinger 1999:49).

However, in terms of crisis management and image control, the political party to the politician implicated in corruption belongs, would issue a statement and issue disciplinary action which Blechinger (1999:50) argues would send a signal to the Japanese voters that its members consider corrupt behaviour a serious crime and do not tolerate it. For example, on 4 April 1997 the House of Councillors adopted a resolution calling on House member Tatsuo Tomobe to resign from office and only one member voted against the resolution.

3.5) CONCLUSION

This chapter has looked at previous research on media coverage of political scandal, looking at various factors that scholars and other researchers argue affect the ways in which different media choose to cover political corruption. In addition, this chapter also looks at discussions on political communication and the elements that scholars argue influence the relationship between media and the political establishment.

The following chapter discusses the methodology used in analysing chosen articles from the *Sowetan* and *The Star* with the aim of determining the way in which the arms deal scandal was reported.

CHAPTER FOUR
METHODOLOGY

4.1) INTRODUCTION

As mentioned in the theoretical framework, representation is the process by which signs and symbols are made to convey certain meanings and the literature review looked at previous works on the issue of media and its coverage of political corruption. Consequently, in order to understand how the above mentioned factors determine the media's representation of certain phenomena or issues, the appropriate methods need to be applied.

4.2) RESEARCH DESIGN

This study makes use of a mixed method approach, utilizing both qualitative and quantitative content analysis, (under which thematic analysis and semiotic analysis fall) of selected news articles from the *Sowetan* and *The Star*.

4.2.1) Mixed Method Approach

Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004:19) define mixed methods research is the class of research where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative research techniques, methods, approaches, concepts or language into a single study. In the case of this study, quantitative content analysis was used to present the findings in tabular format and pie charts, while qualitative content analysis was used to 'explain' (put into words), the results obtained from the quantitative research. For example, if the articles on Zuma and his allies fore-grounded, while those featuring his opponents or neutral sources are back-grounded, this would appear higher in the graph (quantitative) and its meaning (in this case, fore-grounded translates to favourable coverage) would then be explained qualitatively.

Yutachom and Khumwong (2004:4) outline strategies that are associated with the mixed method approach;
Sequential procedures: in which the researcher seeks to elaborate on or expand the findings of one method with another method. The researcher may start with qualitative method for exploratory purpose and follow up with quantitative method for generalizing results to a population. Alternatively, the study may begin with a quantitative method in which theories or concepts are tested, followed by a qualitative method involving detailed exploration with a few cases or individuals.

Concurrent procedures: in which the researcher converges quantitative and qualitative data in order to provide a comprehensive analysis of the research problem. In this design, both forms of data are collected at the same time and then are integrated in the interpretation of the overall results.

Transformative procedures: in which the researcher uses a theoretical lens as an overarching perspective within a design that contains both quantitative and qualitative data. This lens provides a framework for topics of interest, methods for collecting data, and overcomes or changes anticipated by study.

As noted by Greene et al.(1989), there are five major purposes or rationales for conducting mixed methods research: (a) triangulation (i.e., seeking convergence and corroboration of results from different methods and designs studying the same phenomenon); (b) complementarity (i.e., seeking elaboration, enhancement, illustration, and clarification of the results from one method with results from the other method); (c) initiation (i.e., discovering paradoxes and contradictions that lead to a re-framing of the research question); (d) development (i.e., using the findings from one method to help inform the other method); and (e) expansion (i.e., seeking to expand the breadth and range of research by using different methods for different inquiry components).

In the case of this study, a sequential procedure was used, presenting the findings in quantitative format first before providing an in-depth analysis of the findings using semiotic analysis. Both the quantitative and qualitative aspects help in highlighting elements within the articles covered by the *Sowetan* and *The Star* that would in turn, help in determining whether or not there were elements of bias in their reporting of the arms deal scandal and Jacob Zuma's alleged involvement. In addition, using both methods helps in 'confirming' and offering a solid analysis of the findings.

4.2.2) Advantages of mixed method approach

According to Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004:21) words, pictures, and narrative can be used to add meaning to numbers and likewise, numbers can be used to add precision to words, pictures, and narrative- in this case, semiotic analysis is used to explain the tables and graphs.

This approach can also provide quantitative and qualitative research strengths. For example, quantitative analysis allows for the testing and validating of already constructed theories about how (and to a lesser degree, why) phenomena occur- in this study, Jacob Zuma's favourable public image despite his implications in the arms deal scandal, is analyzed against previous research on American president Bill Clinton's popular public image despite the Watergate and sex scandals. Qualitative analysis allows the researcher to identify contextual and setting factors as they relate to the phenomenon of interest- in this case, this study looks at the arms deal scandal as reported in the run-up to the general elections, a crucial time for the ruling ANC and its leader Jacob Zuma and its implications on both the ANC and South Africa as a whole.

In addition, the mixed method approach can also answer a broader and more complete range of research questions because the researcher is not confined to a single method or approach and can also use the strengths of an additional method to overcome the weaknesses in another method by using both in a research study. For example, because it is difficult to make quantitative predictions while conducting a qualitative analysis, combining a quantitative approach helps in addressing this shortfall (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004:21).

Through the mixed method approach, the research can also provide stronger evidence for a conclusion through convergence and corroboration of findings; add insights and understanding that might be missed when only a

single method is used; increase the generalizability of the results and both qualitative and quantitative research, when used together, can produce more complete knowledge necessary to inform theory and practice.

4.2.3) Disadvantages of mixed method approach

The mixed method approach can be difficult for a single researcher to carry out both qualitative and quantitative research, especially if two or more approaches are expected to be used concurrently; it may require a research team. In addition, the researcher has to learn about multiple methods and approaches and understand how to mix them appropriately. Another downside is that it more expensive; time consuming and some of the details of mixed research remain to be worked out fully by research methodologists (e.g., problems of paradigm mixing, how to qualitatively analyze quantitative data, how to interpret conflicting results) (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004:21).

Despite, these disadvantages, this study employed the mixed method approach because its advantages far outweighed its advantages when it came to corroborating the findings from both a quantitative and qualitative perspective.

4.3) METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

Data for this study was collected from samples of two South African newspapers: *Sowetan* and *The Star,* for the following two periods: the months of: December 2007 and January 2008; August- September 2008.
For the *Sowetan*, the articles for the months of December 2007 and January 2008 were sourced from the newspaper's website, while articles for the subsequent period of August- September 2008 were obtained from the archival section at Cullen library in the University of the Witwatersrand, as well as SAmedia; the electronic database that holds a large volume of articles from most of the South African print media.
For *The Star* newspaper, hard copies were also obtained from the archival section of the Cullen Library while electronic copies were obtained from SAmedia, an electronic database accessed through the University's library system.

4.3.1) Sampling

Sampling is the process, or technique of selecting a suitable sample, or a representative part of a population for the purpose of determining parameters or characteristics of the whole population.

A stratified sample method was used: a stratified sample is obtained by independently selecting a separate simple random sample from each population stratum. Each group is then divided according to some characteristics or strata which are then randomly selected, given a number of units, which are then analyzed (Bertrand and Hughes 2005:184). In the case of this study; the population strata are the two daily newspapers *Sowetan* and *The Star* for the periods; December 2007-Janaury 2008 and August 2008-September 2008.

Articles within the two dailies were analyzed for any information pertaining to the arms deal scandal, more specifically those that discussed ANC president Jacob Zuma, and included statements from both his allies (Cosatu, ANC Youth League, and SACP), opponents, the courts, legal and political experts. The newspapers were not analyzed according to specific dates within the months chosen but rather, their content determined which newspapers articles would be analyzed- as a result, the sample units between the two daily newspapers are not systematic.

In order to restrict attention to articles covering the scandal itself, this study coded an article as being about the scandal if more than three of the following words, Scandal*, arms deal*, corruption*, trial*, Jacob Zuma*, money laundering*, political scandal*, and bribery* appeared in an article. The reason for this criterion was to sift out any stories that may pertain to any other scandal that was not related to the arms deal scandal.

4.3.2) Content Analysis

Berelson's (1952:18) defines content analysis as a "research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication". It is a research tool focused on the actual content and internal features of the media and is used to determine the presence of certain words, concepts, themes, phrases, characters or sentences within texts or sets of texts and to quantify this presence in an objective manner. Texts can be defined broadly as any occurrence of communicative language- as books, book chapters, essays, interviews, discussion, newspaper headlines and articles, historical documents, speeches, conversations, advertising, or theatre (Deacon et al. 1999:115).

Neumann (2006:36) defines content analysis as a technique for examining information or content in written or symbolic material such as pictures, movies and lyrics. Researchers quantify and analyze the presence, meanings and relationships of words and concepts, then make inferences about the messages within the written texts, the writers, audience and even the culture and time of which these are a part. Content analysis looks directly at communication via texts or transcripts and hence gets at the central aspect of social interaction and can allow for both quantitative and qualitative operations. (Neumann 2006:36)

In this case of this study, data was collected from archival resources in both hard copy and electronic format without having contact with the subjects under investigation. In addition to this is the fact that it is inexpensive when applied to found text, as in the case of archival and electronic news articles used in this study (Bertrand and Hughes 2005:184).

Bertrand and Hughes (2005:184) also argue that content analysis can deal equally easily with current events or past events or both (provided the evidence has survived) - in this study, the alleged corruption charges against Jacob Zuma can be analyzed against the unfolding events surrounding the scandal, to determine whether or not the charges against ANC leader are true or not.

The qualitative aspect of content analysis allows the researcher to scrutinize concealed meanings behind the textual surface and explore the hidden meanings of words in the articles under review; draw a parallel to how

meanings and interpretations affect notions of 'bias' and 'balance' in the reporting of the arms deal scandal. Emphasis will be placed on citing the themes and debates that are featured by the media in this coverage, thereby adopting a thematic analysis approach.

4.4) METHODS OF DATA INTERPRETATION

4.4.1) Thematic Content Analysis

Thematic content analysis, according to Kelly (cited in Muriungi 2006:48), is a kind of pattern finding process, where occurrence is identified by virtue of it being perceived as an underlying 'common form' found in different contexts. Neuendorf (2002) defines thematic analysis as the scoring of messages for content style or both, for the purpose of assessing the characteristics or experiences of persons, groups, or historical periods. Thematic analysis is also described by Jensen (2002:251) as an attempt to identify, compare and contrast meaning elements as they emerge from and recur in several different contexts. What distinguishes thematic coding from quantitative content analysis is the emphasis on defining each of the elements in relation to their context.

In this research, data analysis of the news articles focuses on the issues within the arms deal scandal that the media deemed important. These identified themes (patterns) are then analysed in chapter five of this study. According to Golding et al. (1999), themes tie together certain ideas, concepts and statements that are based on social knowledge and beliefs. In this study, thematic analysis enables the researcher to analyse the articles chosen according to set-out categories for easier identification of recurring and emergent views and statements that shed light on the angle of news coverage accorded ANC leader Jacob Zuma.

4.4.1.1) Selection of themes for analysis

This section adopts framing cues by three potentially important ways in which journalists may have framed coverage of the Lewinsky scandal and subsequent political fallout: (1) in terms of Clinton's behaviours and his reactions to accusations of impropriety, (2) in terms of criticisms and attacks on the president by conservative opponents, and (3) in terms of the denouncements (usually by liberals) of efforts by Ken Starr and congressional Republicans to embarrass the president and remove him from office (Capella and Jamieson 1997).

- Zuma's Image/Personality- borrowing from the analysis of the Clinton sex scandal by Cappella and Jamieson (1997); Patterson (1994) who suggest that the journalists may have framed the Lewinsky scandal in terms of Clinton's behaviours and his reactions to accusations of impropriety(which they refer to as the Clinton behaviour frame), this theme covers articles on the ANC leader's public appearances in his capacity as (i) the leader of the ANC and; (ii) during court appearances in connection to the arms deal scandal.

- Political crisis theme- this theme also borrows from Cappella and Jamieson 1997; Patterson 1994 who suggest that the Lewinsky scandal was framed in terms of criticisms and attacks on the president by conservative opponents and in terms of the denouncements (usually by liberals) of efforts by Ken Starr and congressional Republicans to embarrass the president and remove him from office.

Likewise, although not linked to his sex scandal, this approach helps in highlighting issues relating to (i) the squabbles within the ruling ANC more specifically, within pro-Zuma and pro-Mbeki supporters and also between the ANC and the National Prosecuting Authority- the organisation that reconstituted legal proceedings against Jacob Zuma in connection with his alleged involvement in the arms deal scandal; (ii) the corruption charges against Jacob Zuma and the effect they might have on the ruling ANC and on the wider socio-political sphere in South Africa and; (iii) the effects of the corruption charges on his leadership capabilities both as leader of the ruling party and South Africa as a whole.

4.4.1.2) Units of Analysis

From the articles chosen the report looked at;

Front page headlines and lead stories: Analysis of front page headlines and lead stories is important because as Muriungi (2006:48) notes, it sets the agenda for what the papers think are important current affairs for readers to engage with. Headlines attract the reader to the story and as Radebe (2006:5) notes, depending on the structure of a newsroom, headlines are written by the editors and/or sub-editors to give the reader a perspective in the story and further encourage the reader to read the story. Due to this fact, they sometimes function as opinion manipulators. If a particular topic is headlined, we usually decode this as the newspaper's 'angle' on the story. As Thetela (cited in Radebe 2006) argues, interpreting any event may be subjective and because headlines are based on the writer's or editor's subjective interpretation of events being reported, they become the significant field of analysis to discover biases.

As Van Dijk (1991:69) notes, headlines are not arbitrary or labels of news reports but rather, they formulate the most crucial words of such reports. Their position, semantic role and cognitive consequences are such that they literally cannot be overlooked. They express the major topic of the report, as the newspaper sees it, and thereby at the same time summarize and evaluate a news event. In other words, they essentially define the situation. As a result, notes Epstein (1995:34), headlines are important sites of latent meaning and it is for this reason that headlines were chosen as a unit of analysis in this study.

Headlines are made up of words and therefore they contain a language code and it is this language code which gives encodes meaning within the headline. Thus, in order to access the headline's meaning, we need to decode its language. We therefore examine both its lexical style (choice of words in the headline – paradigm), and syntactic style (the sentence patterns which organise these words- syntagm).

4.4.2) Semiotic Analysis

Semiotics, according to its founder, Ferdinand de Saussure, is the science of signs in society (Saussure 1974). For semioticians, signs consist of two parts namely, the signifier and the signified (Barthes 1973; Saussure 1974), with the signifier being the physical object that we perceive through our senses; and the signified being what the object represents (Barrat 1986:112). Bertrand and Hughes (2005) argue that meaning always represents

two interrelated levels; denotation- what a sign stands for (Chandler 2005) and connotation- a sign's associative meaning and usually involves emotional overtones, subjective interpretation, socio-cultural values and ideological assumptions (Chandler 1995).

This method is concerned with the structural relationships of representations in texts, which dwell on the hidden meaning of the visible content found within a media text (Bignell 2002). The semiotic categories of denotation and connotation and their role within representation in the wider social- political sphere are used on this study.

Media texts abound with symbols which help in communicating certain issues which form part of the ideological and cultural structure of society; hence, using semiotic analysis helps this study in highlighting the political and economic influences that determine the content of the two dailies. As Epstein (1995:29) notes, semiotics takes as its point of departure, the assumption that we do not experience reality directly, but rather through a socially produced system of signs called codes which "endow the world with meaning or significance by organizing it into categories and relationships which are not there 'naturally' (Fowler 1991:3).

For semioticians, the most important code is language and indeed, they even use language as a model for other codes arguing that codes are language –like in character- meaning that they consist of a 'vocabulary' (signs) and a 'grammar' (conventions). Mostly importantly, however, is that these codes are taken for granted and thus appear to be natural and obvious- they are learnt. Consequently, they make excellent hiding places for ideology which semiotics seeks to make visible (Barrat 1986:109). As Chandler (1995) adds, semiotics can help to make us aware of what we take for granted in representing the world, reminding us that we are always dealing with signs, not with an unmediated objective reality, and that sign systems are involved in the construction of meaning.

4.4.2.1) News and language

Connotations of the linguistic and visual signs which are presented by newspapers are central to the meaning of the news item to the reader. The connotations of news items are perceived within a coded framework and there are recognisable codes within different newspapers through the use of narrative codes.

As Gambles (1998) notes, newspapers use different linguistic codes as a means of representing the news item through the use of orally based vocabulary, and dramatic and sensational language and alliteration for emphasis. For example, in her analysis of news articles from *The Telegraph* and *The Times*, Gambles notes the following sentence which reads 'A violent cop-hating nut killed brave WPC Nina Mackay after a catastrophic catalogue of blunders by Crown prosecutors and police allowed him to roam free', which highlights the orally-based vocabulary through the use of quotes and sensational language by the use of the words 'cop-hating nut'. Alliteration for emphasis is seen the use of the words 'catastrophic catalogue' and 'scandal of psycho'.

In addition, Gamble (1998) also notes the use of linguistic codes used in news discourse. These have different connotations, depending on the structure of the sentence or news article. For example, it could be in speech, which in turn could connote familiarity, informality, and camaraderie when referring to the subject on a first

name basis or, it could connote distance, lack of sympathy, or professionalism when referring to the subject using their full names or surname.

Therefore, we need to take into account the syntactic style of the sentence. As Fowler (1991:77) points out, "syntax provides for alternative phrasings, and...Whenever in language alternative variants are permitted... different values come to be associated with different variants". The choices made with regard to syntactic style therefore have consequences for meaning. For example, a sentence can have different meaning when it is grammatically active (verbal process style) than when it is structured in inactive style. Using grammatically active language the subject is fore-grounded, which stresses involvement and responsibility while in the inactive style, the responsibility is de-emphasized by the fore-grounding of the object and back-grounding of the subject (Epstein 1995:37).

Another way in which newspapers represent news items is through the use of typographic devices to break up the text; for example, through the use of bold text, which then serves to extend the role of the headline in attracting the attention of the reader to the topic of the news story. The use of bold and one word sub-headings in the text serve to direct the reader in making meaning of the text and make blatantly obvious the points which the newspaper deem to be of particular significance to the understanding of the news item. In this study, analysis of the typographic devices will help in highlighting the role the two dailies played in their coverage of the arms deal scandal and as well as how effective they were (Gambles 1998)

Also important is the narrative of the news story- how the newspaper makes use of font size and type within the news article itself which has certain connotations. For example, the use of the same font size and style connotes authority and formality to the reader which is also demonstrated by the fairly long sentences, the correct spellings and the lack of colloquial language. According to Gambles (1998) this perhaps implies that the 'quality' press provide better news than tabloids.

However, this kind of value judgement is inappropriate as both types of newspaper are constructions of the news with the 'quality' newspapers aiming to connote authority and formality and the 'popular' tabloids aiming to connote an attitude of 'telling it how it is.' Thus both types of representation of the news items present mythic meanings. By highlighting this aspect of news discourse, this study seeks to determine whether the two dailies are affected by the factors such as modes of production and ideology as discussed in the theoretical framework.

Another important aspect in news discourse is the use of contrasted pairs or in semiotic language, the use of binary oppositions as mentioned in the theoretical framework. Just to recap on this concept as put forward by Levi-Strauss (cited in Fourie 2001:472; Lyons 1977; Bignell 1997); in binary oppositions, the meaning of something depends on its opposite: "good" and the meaning of the concept "good" is dependent on "bad" and the meaning of "bad". His point of departure was that a collective practice of laws, rules and values direct the individual's thinking and behaviour.

Furthermore, society's (or a culture's) collective existence, thinking, values and uses, shape the individual and determine his/her individuality. He thus concluded that each society could in a unique way give expression to

binary oppositions (in their ways of thinking, literature/theatre, behaviour) such as good/bad, rich/poor, belief/disbelief, order/chaos, hate/love, human kind/nature and so on. Hence, how do the two dailies structure their stories in relation to the accusations against Jacob Zuma by the National Prosecuting Authority and the relationship within the ruling African National Congress.

Although semiotic analysis can determine the meanings of news items as a result of both linguistic and visual signs used within the texts, it also offers an insight into the factors at work in the production of a news item and distinguishes the various codes which are employed by different types of newspapers when representing a particular news item. However, it cannot determine how an individual reader might interpret the representations of the news items in a real social context.

The choices made in relation to the signs and conventions are explained using the semiotic concepts of paradigm and syntagm. Paradigm refers to a range of associated signs from which possible choices are made, while syntagm refers to the way in which these signs are put together according to a framework of rules and conventions. Chandler (1995) points out that although the plane of the paradigm is that of selection while that plane of the syntagm is that of combination, both involve choices about which signs to select and how to put them together.

Although signs do signify by themselves, they should be 'read' in relation to other signs in the system. Individual signs may signal strongly to us but in the end it is always the collection of signs which add up to the complete meaning in a message (Burton 1990:27). Therefore, although connotation is a sign's associative meaning, and therefore subject to ideological assumptions and subjective interpretation, it is imperative that we consider other signs within the text merely in order to anchor or 'complete' the meaning of that text (Barrat 1986:114-116). Therefore in this study, how do the syntagmatic and paradigmatic aspects of semiotics help in explaining the structure and choice of words within the headlines and articles and what connotations do these have in relation to the wider socio-political environment.

Apart from minor differences, newspapers all share a similar format code, characterised by certain, usually unspoken, conventions, which structure meaning within the text. For example, the headline, which is signified by a larger and bolder typographical style (first-order signification), signifies the most important aspect of a particular story (second-order signification), and while this may appear natural, it is not. Such conventions are learnt and subsequently taken for granted but the headline is signified as the most important as it affects the meaning of the particular story (Epstein 1995:33).

There are many possible aspects of a news story to choose from when reporting (paradigm) yet not all will be chosen. Those that are chosen will mean something individually and also, depending on how they are put together (syntagm) within the wide context, modify the meaning of the story (Van Dijk 1985:73). Therefore, this study makes use of the paradigmatic and syntagmatic aspects of semiotic analysis to highlight how the structure of the words within the headlines and news articles, promote certain ideologies.

4.5) DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

As mentioned earlier, the aim of this study is to determine whether or not the *Sowetan* and *The Star* were favourable in their representation of ANC president Jacob Zuma, by analysing articles for elements of bias. In this study, bias is determined (or measured) by studying the variations in the intensity with which the two dailies cover the arms deal scandal and Jacob Zuma's alleged involvement.

Lampert and Ervin- Tripp (1993:169) posit that the classification and labelling of events into discrete categories is a central part of most research on the social sciences. Categories used in this study are; Placement; Tone; News as Interpretation; and News sources.

Placement: (fore-grounded and back-grounded opinions) - the rationale for this analysis stems from the argument that fore-grounded and back-grounded information has ideological implications for the audience and hence, what people read first registers importance in their minds and they will hold it as such. The contrary applies to the back-grounded information (Chen cited in Radebe 2006:5). Placement was further sub-categorized into *Zuma and allies*; *opponents and 'neutral' sources.*

In the context of this study, *allies* refer to those who openly support Zuma during the height of investigations into his alleged involvement in the arms deal scandal.; *opponents* are those who openly called for his trial in connection with the arms deal scandal; while *'neutral'* sources are those whose views are taken from a professional point of view and who by law or convention are supposed to appear unbiased on issues of national importance such as politics and the law. In the case of placement, fore-grounded opinions and statements are regarded as favourable and hence bias.

Tone: was the coverage negative or positive- what language was used to express the opinions of the politicians, experts, the judges or courts; for example, Lott and Hassett (cited in Puglisi and Snyder 2008:10) analyze newspaper coverage when official data about various economic indicators are released. They code the tone (positive or negative), of newspaper headlines, and relate this to the partisanship of the sitting president.
Tone was further analyzed according to; *Positive tone and negative (critical) tone*. *Positive tone* is identified by the presence of words or phrases that portray Jacob Zuma in a positive light, words that describe his personality, appearance, manner of speech, and the mood surrounding him during court appearances. In this study, positive tone is classified as bias.
Negative- this is identified by statements that reflect on the scandal and its negative legal and political consequences for Zuma.

Interpretation – the use of political or legal experts to give another perspective on the arms deal scandal and its implications for Jacob Zuma. This aspect is based on the argument by Kaid and Bystrom (cited in Borchers 2002) who posit that the media do not simply report the facts as they are but instead, they include opinions from political pundits, including consultants and professors, putting their own spin on the events, rather than letting the events speak for themselves. News as interpretation was further analysed according to the opinions of; *Legal experts* and *political experts.*

Legal experts are classified as those in the legal profession who give opinions from a 'neutral' perspective. This category includes the opinions from judges, as they are by law, supposed to be non-partisan to any external ideologies, (political or otherwise). In the case of this study, this does not include the opinions of Zuma's legal counsel as they are classified as his allies/ supporters. Another source will be the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) which brought the charges against Jacob Zuma as it is classified as having done so in its capacity as an anti-corruption unit devoid of any 'bias'.

Political experts- this refers to political analysts who have extensive knowledge on political matters and hence, give their own insight on how the arms deal scandal could impact on the political landscape of the country.

News Sources- the articles were analysed to determine whether the source of news were reporters of the respective dailies or news agencies. This aspect is based on the argument forwarded by Golding and Murdock (1997:25) who state that commercialisation of the media means less space, less chance of background discussion and even greater reliance on a handful of agency sources. News sources category was analyzed according to those from major news agencies, those from reporters of the two dailies and collaborations between the two.

This category was further analysed according to news articles by *reporters from the two dailies*; *news articles by news agencies* and *collaborations* (between the reporters and the news agencies). News reporters are those the study has identified as working under the *Sowetan* and *The Star* respectively, which, within the articles are identified by their names and/ or their affiliation (for example *Sowetan/ The Star* staff reporter). News agencies are identified by their acronyms, for example Sapa, AFP, Reuters.

Analysis also focused on the work of Galtung & Ruge (cited in Bignell 2002:84) who describe the criteria used informally and unconsciously by journalists and editors, to decide which events are newsworthy and which are more newsworthy than others. In other words, these criteria form a code shared consensually by news workers which enable them to determine the degree of news value which any event has. These are;

Threshold (volume of an event), the implication of a prominent political leader like Jacob Zuma in the arms deal scandal is sure to make headline news due to the position of the leader and the magnitude and nature of the case; meaningfulness (its relevance to society): to the assumed reader, this relates to an event occurring closer to home or which is relevant to current state of affairs- in the case of this study, the alleged corruption charges against Jacob Zuma draw the attention of not only the world but the local population, to whom he should be setting a good example; continuity (the persistence of a particular story deemed newsworthy): this study looks at the present corruption allegations, against the backdrop of the previous corruption charges that were dropped; reference to elite persons: the use of the ANC leader as a case study; and reference to something negative- the arms deal scandal and the alleged corruption charges of bribery, money laundering, and racketeering. Other criteria are; consonance (the expectedness of an event); unexpectedness (like the resignation of a minister); unambiguity (an event being clearly interpretable by news codes.

By identifying the above mentioned criteria, this study proceeded to determine how the issues of placement, length and tone influenced the two dailies' choice of what is news and what is more important news.

4.6) POLITICAL COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES

This study also includes an analysis of articles from the two dailies for the presence of political (media) communication strategies that Jacob Zuma may have employed. The articles are analyzed according to;

'Serious' Politics -which addresses issues that are of relevance and importance to the political establishment and the nation as a whole- for example, issues of poverty, HIV/Aids and insecurity. In the context of this study, this will be determined through the analysis of political speeches in which aspects spelt out by Atkinson (cited Beard 2000:35) - namely; list of three and contrastive pairs.

- List of three- looks at the emphasis of words by politicians to drive home a particular point which as mentioned, can be simple repetition of words (Education, Education, Education), or it can be of different words that have a general and similar.

- Contrastive pairs- is the use of opposing statements within the same sentence to make an overall effect, where two pairs are in some ways in opposition but in other ways, use repetition. For example, Nelson Mandela's speech; "I stand before you not as a prophet but as a humble servant of you, the people…we have waited too long for our freedom. We can no longer wait". - Mandela contrasts 'not being a prophet' with 'being a humble servant' with the negative coming before the positive as it usually does with pairs so that the stress can be on the positive part (Atkinson cited in Beard 2000:39).

4.7) CONCLUSION

The aim of this chapter has been to lay out the methods of data collection and analysis used in the study. The use of qualitative and quantitative content analysis, its advantages and disadvantages have been discussed; as well as thematic analysis and semiotic analysis. This chapter has also given an interpretation of the categories and sub-categories as they apply to the nature of this study.

The following chapter consists of the presentation of findings, as well as the interpretation of findings based on the theories discussed in chapter two of this study.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

5.1) INTRODUCTION

This chapter is a precursor to the previous chapter, using the methodology outlined to analyse the articles that have been chosen from the *Sowetan* and *The Star* from the two periods; December 2007-Janaury 2008; and August 2008-September 2008. This chapter consists of two sections namely; (5.2) Presentation of findings and; (5.3) Analysis and interpretation of findings. The findings are presented under the categories first before being analysed according to the themes because it is through the categorization of articles that these themes emerge.

Under presentation of findings, the results from the two periods mentioned above are presented in tabular form, according to the categories and sub-categories mentioned in the methodology, these are; **Placement**- under which fall *Zuma and allies; opponents and neutral sources*; **tone**- under which *fall positive or negative(critical) tone*; **interpretation**- consisting of opinions *from legal experts and political experts*;; and lastly the articles are analyzed under the category of **news sources**- under which the sub-category of news *articles by reporters and news articles by news agencies* fall.

In addition, the articles were also analysed according to the following themes;

- Zuma's Image/Personality theme- which covers articles on Jacob Zuma's public appearances in his capacity as (i) the leader of the ANC and; (ii) during court appearances in connection to the arms deal scandal.

- Political conspiracy claims- this approach helps in highlighting issues relating to (i) the squabbles within the ruling ANC more specifically, within pro-Zuma and pro-Mbeki supporters and also between the ANC and the National Prosecuting Authority- the organisation that reconstituted legal proceedings against Jacob Zuma in connection with his alleged involvement in the arms deal scandal (ii) the corruption charges against Jacob Zuma and the effect they might have on the ANC and on the wider socio-political sphere in South Africa and; (iii) the effects of the corruption charges on his leadership capabilities both as leader of the ruling party and South Africa as a whole.

This section also includes the presentation of findings from the analysis of articles that contained political communication strategies/or tactics as discussed in the methodology, these are; *list of three and contrastive pairs*, -that were employed by Jacob Zuma during the two periods mentioned above. In addition, this section also analysed the articles for elements of propaganda devices as discussed by Lee and Lee (cited in Severin and Tankard 2001). These are; *name-calling, glittering generality; testimonials, plain folks and card-stacking.*

In the second part, which is the analysis and interpretation findings, the articles are analysed and discussed using the theories spelt out in chapter two (theoretical framework) and drawing on the findings of other scholars discussed in the literature review (chapter three) to help in answering the research questions as spelt in the introductory chapter;

3) How have the *Sowetan* and *The Star* reported on the arms deal and Jacob Zuma's alleged involvement?

4) Using the *Sowetan* and *The Star* as sources of analysis, which political communication strategies or tactics did Jacob Zuma make use of to get his message across to the public?

Under this section, the findings are expounded using the theory of critical political economy of the media, which also incorporates the propaganda model- this approach provides the tools with which to analyse the news articles from a broad perspective, taking into account the economic and political factors that influence how the media functions.

In addition, the findings will be discussed using the theories of representation under which issues of culture, hegemony and ideology are discussed. This helps in highlighting how political, economic and social issues are represented through the media. In addition, the different aspects of bias as put forward by McQuail (cited in Street 2001:20-21) (partisan bias, propaganda bias, unwitting bias and ideological bias) are applied to the analysis of articles from both dailies.

The overall analysis and interpretation of the articles from the two dailies against the theories of representation, critical political economic approach, helps in answering the aim of this research, which is to determine whether or not the *Sowetan* and *The Star*, were biased in their coverage of the arms deal scandal and Jacob Zuma as they provide the tools for looking at the issue of bias from a broader perspective. Could other factors such as political and economic influence have contributed to the presence of bias within the articles?

Using thematic analysis discussed in the methodology, the study is able to highlight any elements that are construed as bias within the context of this study. The encoding criteria of news stories by Galtung and Ruge (cited in Bignell 2002) such as frequency, threshold, unambiguity, meaningfulness, consonance, unexpectedness, continuity, composition, reference to elite persons and reference to something negative, help in determining the intensity of coverage of the arms deal and Jacob Zuma by the *Sowetan* and *The Star*. As mentioned earlier, in this study, elements of bias are also measured by the intensity of coverage- more coverage (emphasis) on an issue denotes bias.

Since this study also incorporates an analysis of the communication strategies used by the ANC president Jacob Zuma, this section also includes a discussion and interpretation of findings based on the theories of political communication and mediatised politics. Under this theory, the various communication techniques embedded in political speeches such as *list of three, and contrastive pairs,* help in highlighting the various dynamics involved in the process of political communication. In addition, the model of political communication as discussed by Szymanska (2004) is also used as it highlights the dynamics between the media and the political establishment.

All in all, the theories and methodologies help in answering what this research sought out to determine- whether Jacob Zuma's favourable image is as a result of media bias or the communication strategies he chose to use during the intensified media coverage the arms deal scandal.

5.2) PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

Under this section, the findings from the analysis are presented in tabular format, according to the two periods mentioned (December 2007-January 2008; August – September 2008)

Within the two periods, each table presents the findings based on the main category, with the sub-categories forming titles within the tables. Since the tables present the findings in numerical format as well as their percentage, what follows immediately after each table is a more in-depth discussion of the findings within the chosen headlines and articles, providing samples of relevant headings and statements.

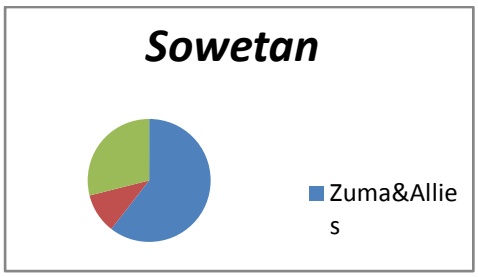
A total of 65 articles were identified as containing information on the arms deal scandal and Jacob Zuma's alleged involvement; 41 from *Sowetan* and 24 from *The Star*. A few articles were then analysed under each category and theme.

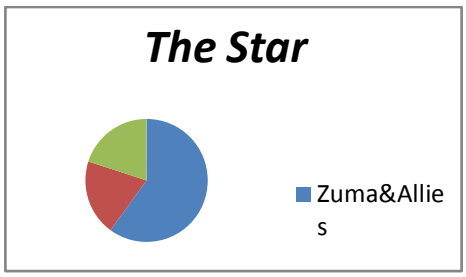
5.2.1) Analysis according to categories

Table 1: Analysis according to Placement

Newspapers have a finite number of pages and hard choices have to be made about what to include and what to exclude. The convention of journalism is that what appears on the front page is the most important of the day's news. The main stories are dealt with first and at length. These judgments constitute a form of bias: X matters more than Y (McQuail cited in Street 2001:21).

Sub-Category	Zuma and allies		Opponents		'Neutral' sources	
	No of articles	%	No of articles	%	No of articles	%
Sowetan	23	56.09%	4	9.75%	11	26.82%
The Star	9	37.5%	3	12.5%	3	12.5%





From the results, the findings show that the *Sowetan* gave prominence to the statements from Zuma and his allies with 56.09% of the total coverage; those of 'neutral' sources received favourable coverage at 26.82%; while those of opponents were almost negligible with only 9.75%. Furthermore, from the *Sowetan*, a large

number of the articles (19 out of 23) were statements from senior members of the tripartite alliance[10], while the remaining 4 articles featured statements from Zuma's legal team.

Although the number of articles in *The Star* were not as many as those of the *Sowetan*, it still featured more articles on Zuma and his allies with 9 articles(37.5%), compared to those that featured his opponents and 'neutral' sources with each receiving the same coverage (3 articles each- 12.5%).
Below is an article from the *Sowetan* that was chosen for further analysis.

***'We see ourselves in Jacob Zuma'-Vavi* (11th December 2007)**

This headline is structured using what Bignell (2002) refers to as orally based vocabulary or according to Radebe (2006:7), verbal process style. As Radebe notes, in most cases, writers of headlines use verbal process style as a way of visualizing the power the speaker has. Only the words of known people such as politicians and experts can be assigned this style as they are always quoted as speaking from a certain point of power.

The main aspect within this headline is the inclusion of the names of both the ANC leader Jacob Zuma and Cosatu secretary-general Zwelinzima Vavi. Although at a glance this statement appears to openly highlight Vavi's support for Jacob Zuma, it has far more ideological implications as both the subjects are leaders if two organisations that form part of the tripartite alliance (with SACP and ANCYL forming the remaining partners).

Furthermore, linguistic codes of news discourse are also visible by reference to the ANC leader by his full names and the Cosatu leader by his surname- as Bignell (2002) notes; this could connote professionalism by the *Sowetan* since it is reporting on statements made by senior leaders.

Cosatu is the largest trade union in South Africa and represents the rights and needs of the working class (common man) so by its leader openly voicing his support for the ANC leader, he is by extension, presenting Zuma as a supporter of the working class, as one who understands their needs. This is further reinforced by the phrase, "We see ourselves..." meaning to see one's reflection or in the case of Cosatu, seeing one's situation in another person's- in this case the working class (Cosatu) can relate with the ANC leader, who also relates with the working class. The articles itself forwards this position further by stating that, "Zuma did what he knows best-he spoke on behalf of the poor". In addition, the use of the word, 'we' could be seen to connote togetherness and unity between Vavi and members of Cosatu on one hand; and between Cosatu as a whole and Jacob Zuma on the other.

Another aspect that was seen upon analysis was that by the *Sowetan* using Vavi's words in which he addresses the ANC leader using his full names, also connotes respect by the Cosatu secretary-general; this show of respect could also be a way that the *Sowetan* 'extends' the need for the reader to respect the ANC leader.

[10] The tripartite alliance consists of Cosatu, SACP and ANC (within which is the ANC Youth League). The alliance is centred on short, medium and long term goals of the National Democratic Revolution - the establishment of a democratic and non-racial South Africa, economic transformation and continued process of political and economic democratization.

Another important aspect that cannot be ignored is the article's reference to the Jacob Zuma's perspective on South Africa's response to HIV/Aids and crime which he said, "undermined the basic rights to life and security and should be treated as national emergencies". According to Shah et al. (2002:342) research suggest that coverage of a president's general performance on policy issues plays a key role in moulding approval ratings. Iyengar 1991; Iyengar and Kinder (1987) have suggested that news emphasis on a variety of what might be termed 'non-economic' issues for example; crime, energy, defence, pollution and civil rights can influence public support for politicians by highlighting their successes and failures.

This is very significant when looked at from the broader socio-political context because Zuma is addressing two issues that have affected the South African population the most- issues that the Mbeki-led government has long been accused of adopting and off-hand approach to. This further reinforces the idea that Jacob Zuma is more in touch with the people and understands their situation.

Analysis the article using paradigmatic a concept, Chandler 1008) notes that the use of one signifier (e.g. a particular word), rather than another from the same paradigm set (e.g. respectively or adjectives), shapes the preferred meaning of a text. In this case, the headline (and hence the article) in the article analysed would have had a different meaning if it was not structured using verbal process style. For example, the use of indirect speech would have removed the ownership of the words from Vavi and moved it to the newspaper itself hence taking up an openly bias position.

***State Witness wants to set record straight in Zuma's defence: Vivian Reddy relishes chance to explain 'loans' to JZ (The Star*- 4th January 2008)**

The headline does not immediately name who the State witness is until the sub-heading which could be a way of attracting the reader to the rest of the article. The reference to the State witness using his 'nickname' Vivian connotes familiarity. This article bears contradiction because although it mentions that "Vivian" Reddy is a State witness, it also states that he is to take the stand in Jacob Zuma's defence. In addition, although he is listed as State witness, "Vivian" Reddy is also criticised by the same State for explanations he and other "fellow backers" offered in respect of payments to the then deputy president Jacob Zuma, which is reflective of the word 'loans' in inverted commas to imply that it is not very clear whether they were loans or as the article seems to inexplicitly suggest, 'bribes' (my emphasis) as the article mentions of the ANC leader having received "suspect payments" from "Vivian" Reddy, business-woman Nora Fakude-Nkuna and German businessman Jurgen Kogl.

In addition, the article does not forget to mention that one of these "Zuma backers", business-woman Nora Fakude-Nkuna is under investigation for misappropriation of funds from the Mpumalanga Economic Empowerment Corporation. By associating the ANC leader with Fakude-Nkuna and "Vivian" Reddy, the article inexplicitly suggests that the ANC leader may have indeed received bribes in connection with the arms deal scandal, thus portraying him as untrustworthy.

Examples of other articles are;

***South Africans want Zuma as President* (*Sowetan*- 11th December 2007)**

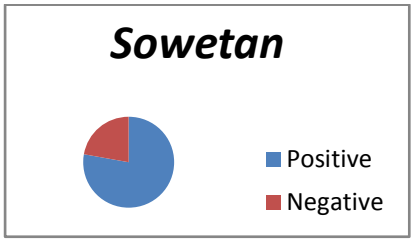
***Zuma must take over SA in 2009- Winnie* (*Sowetan*- 13th December 2007)**

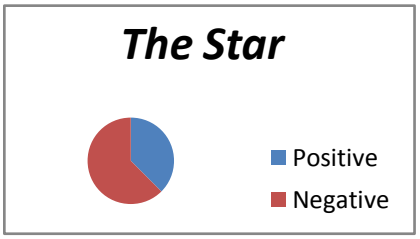
***Cosatu defends Zuma against 'new evidence' (Sowetan*- 15th December 2007)**

Table 2: Analysis according to Tone

As Bignell (2002: 87) notes, apart from noting what news discourse represents and how it represents by means of connotation, we need to consider the coding systems used by newspapers which is evident not only in their appearance (layout, headlines), but also in their linguistic registers and 'tones of voice'.

Sub-Category	Positive		Negative/critical	
	No of articles	%	No of articles	%
Sowetan	7	17.07%	2	4.87%
The Star	3	12.5%	5	20.8%





As mentioned in the methodology, tone is identified through language used by the two dailies. Positive tone is identified by the presence of words or phrases that portray the ANC president in positive light- his manner of speech, description of the mood surrounding his public appearances.

In this regard, the *Sowetan* portrayed Jacob Zuma favourably in most of the articles identified in this category (17.07%); while *The Star* had more articles that were critical of the ANC leader (20.8%); than it did articles that portrayed him favourably (12.5%)

Two articles were chosen for further analysis.

***Conference set to elevate Msholozi to cult status (Sowetan*- 19th December 2007)**

The headline expresses a spatial code which according to Kress and Lodge (1988:52) refers to the set of meaning carried by relationships between elements of a text in a vertical axis (or plane or vertical codes) which signify relations of power and degrees of importance, according to the headline, Jacob Zuma is given a higher plane of the vertical code (cult status) and thus enjoys great power.

It is also noted that the word 'Conference' occupies the syntactic subject (left-hand) position in the headline, a position which Fowler (1991:77) notes, is usually associated with an agent. The phrase, 'Msholozi to cult status', on the other hand, occupies the syntactic object (right-hand) position hence the word 'Conference' is constructed as the agent or doer and 'Msholozi' as the patient.

From this analysis, we could then conclude that the word 'Conference' is the active subject and 'Msholozi to cult status' the passive object-phrase, since it is the word 'Conference' that acts as a catalyst through which Zuma (Msholozi) ascends to the leadership of the ANC. This is also further reinforced by use of the words, 'set to', meaning that it is an activity happening at a specific place. From this we can conclude that the *Sowetan* constructs Jacob Zuma as a leader with a strong enduring appeal, where he is adulated.

The conference at Polokwane is of significance for the ANC but more so for Jacob Zuma when we consider his political journey up to this point. Over the past five years he had endured dismissal from the position as the country's vice-presidency due to corruption charges, and a sex scandal, events that would have, by convention, ended his political career but instead, he not only survived this, but gained popularity and advanced to a position of influence that gives him the support he needs at the conference.

In addition, reference to Jacob Zuma using his clan name, 'Msholozi' signifies his African identity and by extension his traditional beliefs. When looking at the article with the socio-political influences in mind, it draws the reader's attention the ANC divide that pits pro-Zuma against pro-Mbeki supporters. The Mbeki-led government as long been accused of being representing elitist (educated and 'civilised') interests while Zuma has been portrayed as a man from a humble (rural) background. Therefore by referring to him using his clan name, the *Sowetan* is inexplicitly painting the picture of a leader in tune with not only his African identity but his traditional African identity and beliefs. If Zuma is for and of the working class then the ANC is to also represent the interests of the working class since it is the one in government.

In addition, by comparing Zuma's popularity to that of soccer star David Beckham, the article implies international recognition since the soccer star is known the world over. His popularity is seen as being even greater that those of previous revolutionaries such as Che Guevara and Steve Biko and elements of sensational language are seen when the *Sowetan* refers to him as an unstoppable Zunami- likening Zuma's presence in the University town of Polokwane to a natural occurrence, a tsunami- which is cannot be controlled, implying that Zuma is unstoppable in his quest for the presidency.

***ANC's Zuma show of force: Call on NEC to attend Hearing (The Star*- 4th August 2008)**

By using the words 'ANC's Zuma', the headline lays claim to the ANC leader by occupying the syntactic subject (left-hand) position in the headline. The ANC is constructed as an agent and the position of Zuma's as a syntactic object (right-hand), symbolises the patient. On the other hand, the phrase, 'show of force' is a demonstration of the command that Jacob Zuma has within the ANC and thus puts him in a position of influence. This is further reflected in the article that names members of the National Executive Committee of the ruling party who are expected to show their support for their leader during his court appearance on charges of

corruption in connection with the arms deal scandal. Zuma is able to influence top members of the ANC to gather at one place and time for an event that does not normally evoke a positive reaction.

Although the article makes use of bold and large fonts in its headline, it is in lowercase lettering which connotes an objective standpoint, giving the story balance.

In addition, the article goes into detail, describing the preparations at and around the venue where the hearing is to be held. These include a breakdown of those expected to attend night vigils (10,000), barking bays for VIPs (100) and areas that are to be cordoned off (9).

Although at a glance, these details may seem unimportant, they connote importance and significance. As Epstein (1995:79) argues, it may not add much to our knowledge of the proceedings but it could add a lot to our understanding of it in that it creates meaning around the event. Attention to detail implies concern and therefore serves an ideological purpose. This concern could be explained using Galtung and Ruge's (cited in Bignell 2002:84) factor on threshold and reference to elite persons- meaning that importance is emphasized by the fact that the court hearing involves a multimillion rand scandal, involving a senior political leader of a party in power.

Based on the above analysis, the court appearance by Jacob Zuma as leader of the ruling ANC would either make or break his chances of ascending to the presidency of the country, an achievement that seemed almost considering that he was once dismissed as deputy- president of the country. Therefore, by describing the support he is getting in detail, this article indirectly reflects a revival of his political career.

Other examples include;

***Zuma victory celebrations start (Sowetan*- 19th December 2007)**

***Zuma won't have much time to party (Sowetan*- 20th December 2007)**

***Msholozi win euphoria glides into cell-phones (Sowetan*- 2nd January 2008)**

***ANC confirms support for Zuma (Sowetan*- 8th January 2008)**

***ANC roars for Zuma against NPA (Sowetan*- 8th January 2008)**

***Cosas students march for Zuma (Sowetan*- 22nd August 2008)**

***Crocodile concoctions and a young imbongi (The Star*- 5th August 2008)**

***Counsel to do battle over Zuma trial date: Praise singer Philani bunks school and gets a big thank you (The Star*- 6th August 2008)**

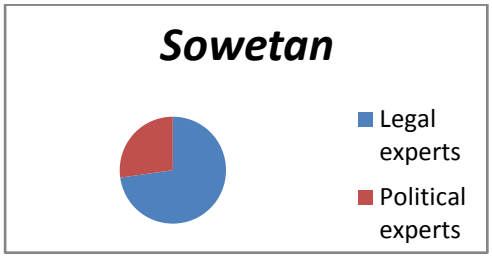
Table 3: Analysis according to Interpretation

As mentioned earlier in the methodology, the media do not simply report events as they occur but instead give their own interpretation, mostly through experts including consultants and professors, who put their own spin on

the events that take place instead of allowing them to speak for themselves. In most cases, the experts opinions are relevant to the issue under discussion/ or being reported (Kaid and Bystrom 1999:363).

A total of 13 articles were identified with a total of 11 articles from the *Sowetan*, while for *The Star*, only 2 articles were identified.

Sub-Category	Legal experts		Political experts	
	No of articles	%	No of articles	%
Sowetan	8	19.51%	3	7.31%
The Star	2	8.3%	-	0%



The *Sowetan* relied more on opinions from legal experts (19.51%) than it did on political experts (7.31%). *The Star* on the other hand did not rely very much on either of them with the opinions of legal experts found in only 2 articles.

Below is an article chosen for further analysis.

Will ANC head get the chop? NPA decision to recharge Zuma is the biggest challenge facing ruling party after the 52nd Conference (Sowetan- 31st December 2007)

The first section of the headline is metaphorical- a play on the words, 'head' and 'chop' with the word phrase- ANC head to mean the leader of the ruling party and the word-phrase, 'get the chop', meaning to get axed/or relieved. In addition, this part of the headline does not include the names of the ANC head a factor which could be analysed using Galtung and Ruge's (1973) factor on continuity which they argue could be applied to mean the persistence of a particular story that is deemed newsworthy.

In this case, due to the magnitude and continuous publication of the story by the media, it could be argued that it has been ingrained in the minds of the readers and they already know about the case and those involved hence they need no introduction. On the other hand, the omission could connote the *Sowetan*'s way of drawing the readers' attention to the article.

The structure of the first part in the form of a question also be a way in which the *Sowetan* provides a platform for debate/or speculation on the position of Jacob Zuma as head of the ANC and although the articles does not

explicitly show this, it does through the opinions of legal and political experts. This is evidenced through the statements made by constitutional law expert Shadrack Gutto, who states that the case is about, "Zuma, the ANC and the country", and that the political conspiracy claims by Zuma's supporters, "should not be taken seriously". This also includes the view by political analyst Steve Friedman states that the case needs a "political solution". By including these specific statements, the *Sowetan* is inexplicitly giving its readers a different way of looking at the charges and the scandal as a whole and also offering a balance from the statements of Zuma's allies which are dominated by conspiracy claims.

By putting forward the opinions of these two experts, the *Sowetan* is indirectly providing a platform for debate on whether Jacob Zuma should be retained or relieved of his post as leader of the ANC.

Looking at the article using paradigmatic and syntagmatic elements, if the headline had not been structured in question format, it would not have been able to include the opinions of both experts and thus, change the whole structure of the article. Since the *Sowetan* (and the media at large) strives to promote objectivity and fairness in its reporting of issues, including the opinions of experts aids in this objective.

Other examples are;

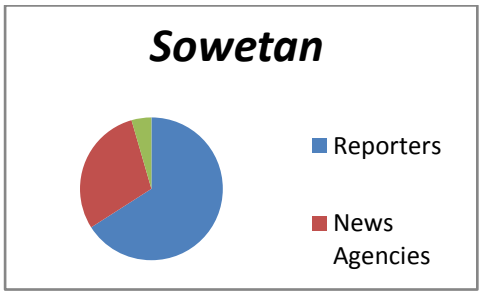
***Tone of Zuma debate worrying (Sowetan*- 5th January 2008)**

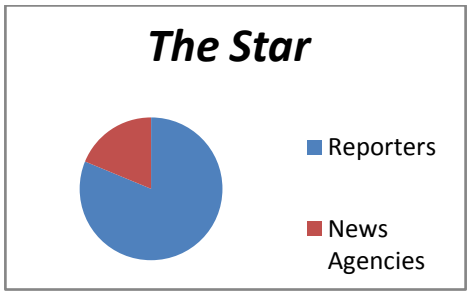
***Charges a problem (Sowetan*- 2nd January 2008)**

***Zille faces hurdles if she prosecutes (The Star*- 17th September 2008)**

Table 5: Analysis according to News sources

Sub-Category	Reporters		News Agencies		Collaboration	
	No of articles	%	No of articles	%	No of articles	%
Sowetan	29	70.7%	13	31.7%	2	4.8%
The Star	13	48.1%	3	11.1%	-	





The *Sowetan* relied more on news from its reporters than it did on news agencies or collaborations. Articles from news agencies were mainly by South African Press Association (SAPA) with 13 articles and 1 article from Agence France Presse (AFP), and in the case of collaborations, these where between the *Sowetan* reporters and SAPA which was in 3 articles.

*The Star*t also relied more on its reporters (48.1%) than it did on news agencies (11.1%) and unlike the *Sowetan*, this study did not identify any articles in *The Star* that were reported jointly by the newspaper's reporters and a news agency. However, this study found that some of the articles were written by political or legal experts not affiliated to the two dailies or any agency; ***(4th August: Number of legal arguments facing Judge).*** All in all, both dailies relied more on their own reporters than they did on the news agencies.

SAPA was the most used agency outside of articles by reporters and as Gongo (2007:77) argues, the use of this agency rather than Reuters for African news could be justified by the idea that even though this is an agency, it is situated in the continent, rather than one completely foreign to the African continent. Nonetheless, the minimal reliance on SAPA could, as Gongo (2007:77) argues, be explained by the fact that African news agencies are notoriously unable to keep up with the demands to deliver newsworthy news on time.

In addition, in the *Sowetan*, the articles by the news agencies (SAPA and AFP) are reported using indirect speech (or inactive style); for example, ***South Africans want Jacob Zuma as president*** **(11th December 2007);** ***Testing time for ANC ahead of meeting*** **(2nd January 2008)**; while those of by reporters are in active (reported speech); ***'We see ourselves in Jacob Zuma-Vavi*** **(11th December 2007);** ***Zuma must take over SA in 2009-Winnie*** **(13th December 2007);** ***Zuma case political-NEC*** **(9th January 2008).**

In *The Star*, the style of reporting is predominantly indirect; ***Zuma's lawyer denies presentations to NPA*** **(9th September 2008*); Prosecutors and defence in tangle over case*** **(11th September 2008);** with very few using direct speech; ***Cancel Zuma trial and save SA from anarchy says SACP: call for political solution to end legal woes*** **(25th August 2008)**

As Epstein (1995:37) notes, a sentence (and in this case, headlines) can have different a meaning when it is grammatically active (verbal process style) than when it is structured in inactive style. Using grammatically active language the subject is fore-grounded, which stresses involvement and responsibility while in the inactive style, the responsibility is de-emphasized by the fore-grounding of the object and back-grounding of the subject (Epstein 1995:37).

Hence, it could be argued that the *Sowetan* fore-grounded the opinions of Zuma and his allies while relegating those of opponents to the back thus promoting the political conspiracy claims by Zuma's allies since most of its articles were reported using direct speech. This factor, notes Kress and van Leeuwen 1996:126), reflects the power of the addresser and the use of this signifier typically signifies 'authority', a factor which is reflected in the articles analysed since most of them featured statements by senior political leaders. However, Gongo (2007:85) notes that putting down what others say concerning the arms deal and Jacob Zuma's alleged

involvement allows the journalist space for what may be viewed as objectivity, so that opinions cannot be said to be the journalists.

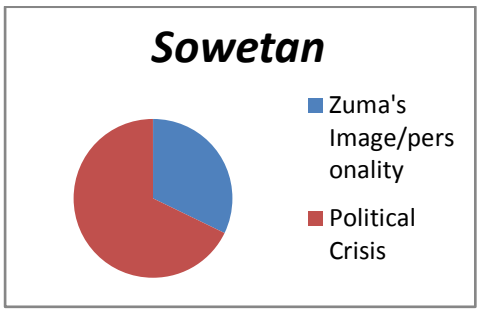
According to Kress and van Leeuwen (1996:126), indirect address masks authorial agency so as to fore-ground the story. Hence, in the case of *The Star*, it could be argued that its main objective was to relay news on the arms deal scandal to the reader, since most of its articles were reported using indirect style.

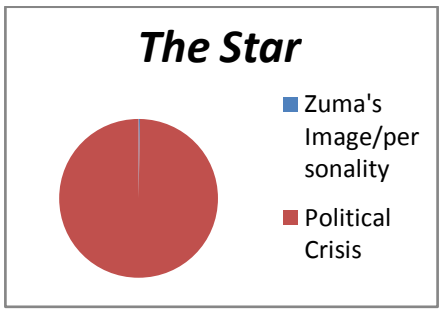
5.2.2) Analysis of articles according to themes

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the two dailies dwelt on certain issues when reporting on the arms deal scandal which form the thematic content of this study. These were; *Jacob Zuma's Image/personality*- this theme covers (i) his public appearances both in his capacity as leader of the ANC and; (ii) during court appearances in connection with the arms deal scandal.

Political crisis- this theme covers articles on (i) the ANC divide/ political conspiracy claims, which includes squabbles between pro-Zuma and pro-Mbeki supporters as well as the squabbles between Jacob Zuma's supporters and the NPA; (ii) the charges and court proceedings and their impact on the ruling ANC and South Africa as a whole as well as (iii) effects of the corruption charges on Jacob Zuma's leadership capabilities.

Theme	Zuma's Image/ Personality		Political Crisis	
	No of articles	%	No of articles	%
Sowetan	10	24.3%	21	51.2%
The Star	2	8.3%	7	29.1%





The table above shows the findings according to the themes mentioned above. In the *Sowetan*, articles reflecting these themes appeared a total of 31 times, while in *The Star*, these appeared a total of 9 times but for purposes of analysis, only a few articles were chosen.

From the findings, it can also be seen that both the *Sowetan* and *The Star* dwelt more on political crisis while *The Star* dwelt very little on Jacob Zuma's image/ personality. On further analysis, it was found that the Sowetan dwelt on more on the i) the squabbles within the ruling ANC more specifically, between pro-Zuma and pro-Mbeki supporters; and also between the ANC and the National Prosecuting Authority, that resulted in accusations of a political conspiracy levelled against the then Mbeki-led government by Zuma and his supporters (allies). On the other hand, *The Star* dwelt more on the effects of the corruption charges on Jacob Zuma's leadership capabilities both as leader of the ruling party and South Africa as a whole.

5.2.2.1) Jacob Zuma's image/personality

(i) Jacob Zuma's capacity as leader of the ANC

***JZ attacks issues with unflinching honesty* (*Sowetan*- 21st December 2007)**

Reference to the ANC leader using only his initials connotes familiarity and camaraderie. The word 'unflinching' connotes brevity or confidence and when analysed further it points to the cracks within the ruling party with Zuma's supporters forming a different entity to that of Mbeki supporters. This is further reinforced by the use of language that carries both negative connotations of Thabo Mbeki when the article compares the, 'circuitous and tentative' manner in which the former president dealt with the deep divisions within the ruling party, to the, 'open, courageous, short speech", that touched on, "all relevant points" that was delivered by his predecessor Jacob Zuma. The speech referred to in this article was Jacob Zuma's first address as ANC leader.

Within these negative connotations, there are also elements of contrastive pairs or what Levi Strauss (cited in Fourie 2001:427) refers to as contrastive pairs where Thabo Mbeki is presented as an uncaring and incompetent leader, while Zuma is portrayed as honest and courageous.

By comparing and presenting the two leaders this way, the *Sowetan* takes this opportunity (Zuma's first public address as leader of the ANC) to 'sell' him to the public as the articles goes further by touching on the way in which Jacob Zuma approached issues that affect the wider South African society. For example, by describing Jacob Zuma as having spoken, "strongly for the combating of HIV/Aids, and giving a, "strong message on crime", the *Sowetan* portrays Zuma as man concerned with the two issues that most affect the South African society, (or what Lee and Lee [cited in Severin and Tankard 2001] refer to as plain folks) - issues that former ANC leader Thabo Mbeki is accused of having an 'off-hand' approach to.

In addition, the word 'honesty' is highlighted in the headline and repeated three times within the article which reinforces the image of Jacob Zuma as one who can be trusted- this is especially significant because it is relayed to the public amid corruption allegations, thus inexplicitly suggesting his innocence on charges of corruption in his alleged involvement in the arms deal scandal.

(ii) Jacob Zuma's court appearance in connection with the arms deal scandal

***Song, dance and drama as usual outside court (Sowetan*- 5th August 2008)**

This article describes ANC president Jacob Zuma as, Relaxed, smiling and confident-looking, as he arrived the Pietermaritzburg high court for the ruling in the corruption case against him. This description of Jacob Zuma, coupled with its description of the activities of his supporters outside the court declaring his innocence, the article draws attention away from the court case (whose activities the article mentions briefly) to the less serious issues.

By use if the words, 'as usual', in the headline, the article gives the impression that the activities (of song, dance and drama) are to be expected every time Jacob Zuma makes a court appearance. In addition, this description portrays a festive mood despite the reason for the gathering, thus inexplicitly implying that Jacob Zuma has nothing to hide or worry about with regards to the corruption charges against him.

In addition, by dwelling on the activities of the supporters, the Sowetan draws attention away from the court case and thus, indirectly downplaying the seriousness of the scandal.

Other examples are;

***JZ keeps low profile ahead of conference* (13th December 2007- *Sowetan*)**

This article describes Jacob Zuma's movements ahead of the conference in Polokwane where ANC delegates would choose their next leader. The article describes Jacob Zuma as having, "handed out food parcels to orphans", before meeting with family.

5.2.2.1) Political crisis theme

(i) The ANC divide/ political conspiracy claims

Zuma Case Political- NEC (Sowetan- 9th January 2008)

From the headline, what stands out is that it is a statement made by the National Executive Committee but it does not indicate whom it is affiliated to until one reads the article where it then indicates that it is of the ruling African National Congress. From a connotative perspective, the headline reinforces earlier statements of a political conspiracy made by pro-Zuma supporters.

From the article, the *Sowetan* makes use of orally based vocabulary in direct reference to the political conspiracy claims made by the NEC against the National Prosecuting Authority. This is emphasized again in the first sentence in the article by stating that the new ANC leadership is "categorical" in its stand on the charges against Jacob Zuma as being "political inspired".

The element of binary oppositions is played out by portraying Zuma as the victim and NPA as the villain with the issue of a political conspiracy being repeated three times within the article.

***Zuma indictment politically motivated (Sowetan*-29th December 2007)**

***Cosatu defends Zuma against 'new evidence'* (*Sowetan*- 15th December 2007)**

***Cosatu warns of chaos at Zuma trial* (*Sowetan*- 3rd January 2008)**

***WE'LL KILL THE SCORPIONS: ANC to go on protesting until ruling on Zuma (Sowetan*- 1st September 2008)**

***Cosatu strike threats (Sowetan*- 18th September 2008)**

***Battle lines drawn: Mbeki, Zuma to cross swords over interference with prosecution (Sowetan*- 26th September 2008)**

***Kick Mbeki out (Sowetan*- 12th September 2008)**

***Zuma ruling fight-back looms: Mooted moves by Mbeki and Ngcuka described as 'bizarre' (The Star*- 16th September 2008)**

***Zuma push for pre-poll trial (The Star*- 5th August 2008)**

***Mbeki denies knowledge of arms probe: No need for a judicial inquiry (The Star*- 8th August 2008)**

***Zuma's lawyers in tangle with Presidency over defense ruling: too broke to commit to an April trial (The Star*- 13th August 2008)**

***State in bid to stop Zuma legal surprises (The Star*- 15th August 2008)**

(ii) The charges and court proceedings and their impact on the ruling ANC and South Africa as a whole

***ANC, at 96, must take stock of all its failures: spotlight on how ruling party deals with Zuma's criminal charges and an entirely self-made crisis* (*The Star*- 8th January 2008)**

This article was more on the critical side and upon further analysis, it was also noted that although the article criticizes both the Mbeki and Zuma factions, it first identifies the biggest challenge facing the ANC as being the, "criminal charges of fraud, corruption, racketeering, money-laundering and tax evasion facing its newly elected leader, Jacob Zuma. This is also in connection to the ANC's support for Jacob Zuma despite the corruption charges hanging over his head. By placing the acronym 'ANC' as the syntactic object (left hand) position in the headline, is constructed as the agent or doer and hence, acts as a channel through which the current crises emerged- *The Star* lays the present state of the ANC purely on the party's shoulders.

By including the age, '96' of the ANC and the phrase, "all its failures", the headline bears negative connotations and it also implies that the current crises with the corruption charges is not the only crises ever to have faced the party, neither is it the only cause, drawing the readers' attention to the party's shortcomings. In addition, the phrase "all its failures" is reinforced by the sub-heading that points to one of the failures- Zuma's criminal

charges, describing it as an "entirely self-made crisis"- the ANC's decision to endorse a candidate accused of corruption as its presidential candidate.

Being an 'old' party, it is assumed that it should be well established in terms of structure and hierarchy but by connecting the scandal to its leadership, the article implies that the party's structures are not stable enough or more so, that its members are incapable of leading or settling their differences in a mature and professional manner. This has even deeper connotations when relating it to the wider socio-political structure of South Africa, with the ruling ANC being accused of incompetence and mismanagement by the opposition with the DA being the most vocal, leading to increased unemployment and a drop in the standard of service delivery. This could also be interpreted using binary oppositions by comparing the old (and civilised) ANC of Oliver Tambo, Walter Sisulu, Nelson and other liberations giants to the present ANC, whose in-fighting the article compares to, "yet another power cauldron, where the leaders (and their respective followers) turn on each other, diluting what was once a unified battle against poverty and under-development and instead engaging in a crude (emphasis mine) conflict of personalities".

Paradigmatically, if *The Star* had structured the headline differently, the article would have had a different meaning. For example, the connotations on the crisis facing the ANC would change if *The Star* chose to focus on the ruling party's successes despite the arms deal scandal, rather than on its failures because the ANC would have been portrayed positively and competent enough to deal with any crisis. But by choosing to focus on its failure, it would be argues that *The Star* is inexplicitly calling for the resignation of the ANC president. In addition, the word 'crude' which implies unrefined/ or barbaric behaviour, and has far deeper connotations when one considers the ideology (or readership) of *The Star* newspaper. As Epstein 1995:104) notes, *The Star's* readership, unlike the *Sowetan*, is largely white and since this sector of the South African population is likely to be apprehensive about the new ANC which could make up the next government (just like it was when Nelson Mandela became president in 1994) especially since it openly displayed radical communist tendencies, the mobilisation of elements of incompetence would be seen as the newspapers way of advocating for a change in leadership style (probably to that of former presidents Nelson Mandela and Thabo Mbeki.

(iii) Effects of the corruption charges on Jacob Zuma's leadership capabilities.

***Zuma urged to take leave* (*The Star*- 8th January 2008)**

Reference to elite persons is also evident in this article which contains opinion from United Democratic Movement leader, Bantu Holomisa. In this article, the UDM leader calls on the newly elected ANC leader to step down in order to restore confidence in the democracy. The UDM leader also makes use of metaphoric language by describing the arms deal scandal as a disease that is eating into the body-politic of South Africa like a cancerous tumour.

What stands out is that the call for Zuma to step down is from members of the opposition, who openly opposed his pursuing the seat of the presidency due to the corruption charges hanging over his head. This factor also highlights the differing political views between political parties in the country, with the ruling ANC portrayed as being intolerant of democracy.

Other examples include;

***DA fears the consequences for SA (The Star*- 19th December 2007)**

***Drop bid for presidency (Sowetan*- 5th August 2008)**

5.2.2) MEDIA COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES USED BY JACOB ZUMA

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, this section on presentation of findings also looks at the second aspect of the study, the political communication strategies employed by the ANC president Jacob Zuma during the arms deal case.

As mentioned in section 2.4.3 of the theoretical framework (media communication strategies), this study applied the information management aspect of public relations. Although the other concepts (such image management and political marketing) could have been used, information management is seen as the most appropriate tool because the analysis of the strategies used by Jacob Zuma were confined to newspaper articles (written text) as opposed to visual (both still and moving images) that would have incorporated these other concepts. In addition, this section also uses political communication techniques discussed by Beard (2000:35) namely; list of three which as mentioned, can be simple repetition of words (Education, Education, Education), or it can be of different words that have a general and similar meaning, and the use of contrastive pairs where two pairs are in some ways in opposition but in other ways, use repetition to make the overall effect.

A total number of 5 articles were identified that contained excerpts from speeches made by ANC president Jacob Zuma; 4 from *Sowetan* and 1 from *The Star*.

5.2.2.1) Political Speeches

From the analysis it was seen that Jacob Zuma delivered most of his speeches during public court appearances on the pending corruption trial against him, or during formal functions such as party meetings and conferences.

For example, the article from the *Sowetan* article of 21st December 2007 titled- ***JZ attacks issues with unflinching honesty,*** in which the ANC leader gives his first party address. In addition, the ANC president makes use of contrasted pairs by referring to his rival Thabo Mbeki as "comrade Mbeki and in an effort to draw attention away from the strife within the ANC, Jacob Zuma declares that, "No one has won, no one has lost. The ANC has won". Jacob Zuma contrasts not winning with not losing, with the last part of the statement being positive to draw attention to the issue of unity within the ANC. The choice of words by the ANC leader is appropriate as it creates an image of reconciliation after the just ended and bitterly contested elections held in Polokwane that saw Jacob Zuma defeat Thabo Mbeki to assume the ruling party's leadership.

In the *Sowetan* article dated, *6th August 2008*- ***"Prison does not scare me, I have spent time in jail*-** Zuma chose to speak outside the Pietermaritzburg high court during a court appearance, where he addressed his supporters.

Just as in the previous article, Zuma also employs contrastive pairs here by portraying himself as the victim, stating that he has spent time in jail for being innocent.

Sowetan- 10th September 2008- I'll respect decision- Zuma- in this article, the ANC leader was speaking during a lecture on justice at the University of Johannesburg. Jacob Zuma chose his words well by addressing the audience using a message that was relevant to the occasion, as Borchers (2002:317) notes, personal appearance locations are carefully chosen and the speeches are artfully crafted and delivered. Although Borchers is referring to election campaigns, this factor is also relevant to this study because it entails public appearance and the need to create a certain image among the public.

By stating that will accept the decision of the courts with regards to the corruption charges against him, the ANC leader reflects a very different reaction to that of members of the tripartite alliance, who constantly accuse Thabo Mbeki of a political conspiracy. In addition, Zuma's decision goes against the norm whereby senior politicians accused/ or implicated in corruption react by intimidating the judiciary (although in this case, his allies also accuse of the judiciary of partisanship). By doing this, Jacob Zuma cuts an image of a mature leader who respects the rule of law, a very important factor in a democracy, where the independence of the judiciary is advocated.

***Sowetan*- 15th September 2008- *JZ says comrades hurt him*-** As Gronbeck (1999) argues, politics is too complicated for rational discussion. Instead, politicians appeal to their audience's emotions as a way to cut through the clutter of the media age and form relationships with voters (or the public). In this article, melodramatic elements were identified as Jacob Zuma saw himself as the victim (of injustice) by using the platform upon which he has come to be identified with,-that of song and dance- to communicate with his supporters. In this article he states (or sings) that his body is full of wounds, inflicted on him by people he grew up with, creating an image of one who is betrayed and hence innocent.

The Star*- 10th September 2008- *Conciliatory Zuma defends judiciary's role in democracy

The ANC president was speaking at the University of Johannesburg on "Access to Justice in a Democratic South Africa". This article is similar to the *Sowetan* article titled; ***I'll respect decision- Zuma***, in which the ANC leader addresses issues of the judiciary. Here, the list of three is evident as the ANC leader reiterated the ANC's belief in "the rule of law, the independence of the judiciary and the constitutional mandate of the judiciary..." all these three factors point to one thing, the role of the judiciary in a democracy. By emphasizing its role, Jacob Zuma sets out to reassure those concerned (the judiciary, legal and political experts) of his position with regards to the outcome of the court's ruling on the corruption charges against him.

The articles also talks of Jacob Zuma's address to his audience, which included ANCYL president Julius Malema- that the ruling party had pioneered the concept of an independent judiciary". This statement is very significant as it comes in the wake of threats to the judiciary (***The Star- Vow to Obliterate and opposition to Zuma: Judges threatened ahead of crucial court ruling***) by Zuma allies and supporters (including ANCYL's Julius Malema), on the judiciary should it decide to sentence Zuma. This again, highlights the tension between the ANC and the NPA (and by extension, the judiciary) When approached using the continuity factor by

Galtung and Ruge (cited in Bignell), the statement by Jacob Zuma could be seen as a rescinding of the political conspiracy claims made by his allies and a 'verbal' confirmation in a previous article published on the **5th August 2008**- ***Zuma: Push for pre-poll trial***- which talks of Zuma's lawyers, "backing down from their oft-repeated conspiracy claims.

5.2.3) SUMMARY

From the analysis and findings a very interesting pattern emerges;

Although both daily newspapers reported on the arms deal scandal, the *Sowetan* devoted a lot of coverage to the statements and opinions of Zuma and his allies with those of neutral sources following close by while those of opponents received the least coverage. Out of the total of 41 articles analysed in the *Sowetan*, 23 of them contained the statements and opinions from Zuma and his allies- this accounts for 56.09% of the articles. Out of the total of 24 articles analysed from *The Star*, 9 (37.5%) were of Zuma and his allies.

These figures may appear to be small but when compared to those of opponents and neutral sources, they more or less highlight the large differences and hence, draw attention to elements of bias within the articles. In the *Sowetan*, opinions from neutral sources constituted 11 out of 41 articles (26.82%), while those from opponents made up 4 of the 43 articles (9.75%). On the other hand in *The Star*, the coverage devoted to both opponents and neutral sources was even with 3 articles appearing from each sub-category (12.5%).

As mentioned earlier, the opinions of Zuma's allies came from senior members of the tripartite alliance which when translated using the figures provided, indirectly suggest/ or indicates that both dailies were biased in their coverage by forwarding these opinions above those of the opponents, whom this study discovered were mostly members of the opposition such as Democratic Alliance leader Hellen Zille and United Democratic Movement leader Bantu Holomisa.

However, with regards to the opinions of neutral sources, this study discovered that these were predominantly from legal and political experts, to whom the *Sowetan* gave some reasonable coverage while *The Star* evened this coverage to also include those of opponents. This aspect could also be classified under propaganda techniques discussed by Lee and Lee (cited in Severin and Tankard 2001), such as *testimonials*- through the use of senior members of the tripartite alliance voicing their support for ANC President Jacob Zuma-and *Card-stacking:* in this case, accusations of a political conspiracy by key Zuma allies, who reiterate that the charges are a political ploy (by the then Mbeki- led government) to jeopardize Jacob Zuma's presidential ambitions.

Just like the views from senior political leaders have influence, so too do those of experts whom the media rely on for credibility, as their views are regarded as knowledgeable and have the potential of influencing and guiding public opinion about an issue.

In addition, this study also identified some elements of semiotic analysis within the news articles; the use of contrastive pairs (binary oppositions) which appear a total of 9 times. In the context of this study this is identified as victim/villain factor with ANC president Jacob Zuma being the victim (of political conspiracy) instigated by State machinery led by the villain, then president Thabo Mbeki- For example, in the **29th**

December 2007 article titled; ***Zuma indictment politically motivated,*** accusations of a "politically inspired campaign" driven by a "political vendetta"- is repeated 4 times within the article.

In *The Star*, this contrastive aspect is identified in 6 of the 17 articles identified during the August – September 2008 period. In the *Sowetan* the reference to the charges against Jacob Zuma and the court case are mentioned the most during both periods. Out of the sub-categories in the emphasis table, this aspect appears 5 times during the December 2007- January 2008 period, while it appears 7 times during the August – September 2008 period.

In addition, the *Sowetan* used orally- based vocabulary, preferring to use direct quotes in its headlines and also within its articles while *The Star* used almost complete sentences in its headlines. Both dailies used linguistic codes of familiarity, uniformity and camaraderie by referring to the ANC leader using his last name (Zuma) or initials (JZ) with the *Sowetan* going a step further and referring to him using his clan name 'Msholozi'. This creates a sense of oneness and unity between Jacob Zuma and the people.

In addition, both dailies used what Gambles (1998) refers to as alliteration for emphasis for example; ***'WE'll KILL THE SCORPIONS'*** **(1st September 2008-** ***Sowetan*****) and (*****Vow to obliterate any opposition to Zuma: Judges threatened ahead of crucial court ruling*****- 11th September 2008)** the use of strong words to describe the utterances and activities of Zuma's allies.

Tied to this is the issue of encoding of news stories as discussed by Galtung and Ruge (cited in Bignell 2002:85); reference to elite persons and threshold, in the case of Zuma and his allies, draws readers' attention to the articles as they are regarded as people of high standing within society; unambiguity- the reporting of the arms deal scandal centres mostly around legal and political issues; and continuity as the *Sowetan* and *The Star* keep readers updated on the progress of the impending corruption case against the ANC president and lastly the unexpectedness (in this case, the outcome) of the case- the acquittal of the ANC leader thus qualifying him to run for the country's presidency. In addition, be dwelling on the activities of his supporters, the aspect of *transfer* as put forward by Galtung and Ruge (cited in Bignell 2002:84) is also evident.

These emerging factors will be discussed further within the wider political, economic and social order using the theories discussed earlier.

5.3) ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

This section gives a discussion and interpretation of the findings, based on the theories discussed in the theoretical framework, while drawing on previous research on media coverage of political scandals as discussed in the literature review. This chapter will start with a discussion of the findings from the two periods based on media coverage of the arms deal scandal(section 5.3.1) while the second part (5.3.2) will be a discussion of the media tactics used by Jacob Zuma.

5.3.1) INTERPRETATION OF ARTICLES FROM THE TWO PERIODS; December 2007- January 2008 and August-September 2008

From the findings in this study, what immediately stands out are the challenges faced by the media in a democracy. Much as this role requires the media to be thorough in its coverage and offer a diverse a perspective as possible, this is not always the case. As Herman and Chomsky (2002:) opine, the media are influenced by economic, political and technological factors that limit what US media scholar Daniel Hallin (cited in Lovaas 2008:21) referred to as the 'maturing nature of professional journalism'.

At a glance, the *Sowetan* and *The Star* appear to have elements of bias but on further analysis, it is highly subjective. From an ideological point of view, this could be interpreted as a class struggle between the elite (Mbeki and his supporters) and the 'common man' (Zuma and his supporters). As Schiller (1989:33) notes, all media messages are commodities and ideological products embodying the rules and values of the entire market system that produced them

With regards to coverage of the arms deal scandal and Jacob Zuma's alleged involvement, the *Sowetan* appeared to give voice to the opinions of Zuma and his allies and its tone of coverage was predominantly positive meaning that it was favourable towards Zuma, choosing to portray him as a 'man of the people'. For example, giving prominence to the views of Zuma and his allies, could be construed as propaganda bias which McQuail (1992) argues, is used to report a story with the deliberate intention of making a case for a particular party, policy, or point of view, without explicitly stating this, since the views of the allies (who it is mentioned in the analysis section, are senior members of the tripartite alliance) were fore-grounded.

For example, the *Sowetan* article of 13th December 2007 titled- ***Zuma must take over SA in 2009-*** **Winnie**, elements of propaganda bias can be identified as the use of the words in the headline reflect just one of the several issues that Winnie Mandela talks about but the *Sowetan* chooses to pick this statement and use it as headline. The above factor could also be explained using Herman and Chomsky's propaganda model in which they argue that the reliance on sources contributes to restricting media performance.

5.3.1.1) Reliance on Sources

Sources are vital to the life of a journalist by providing essential background information to write a story, garner an audience, and thus sell a newspaper. A source is generally a quote, reference, or piece of information from an individual, group, or organization and according to Whitaker (1981: 31), include parliament, local councils, the police and emergency services, law courts, royal press offices, 'diary' events which happen each year (such as party conferences or the State of the nation address) or what Lovaas (2008:19) refers to as 'beats', and other news media. These 'beats' provide a steady supply of news and information for journalists: press releases, speeches, company briefings, policy or personnel changes for instance.

Due to technological advances, journalists are forced to come up with on-the-hour news stories and as a result they spend less time on investigating a story. This demands forces the media to rely on readymade sources for

news stories and more often than not, these are government, judiciary and professional experts- this reliance also results in one-sided reporting (or bias)' (Herman and Chomsky 2002:18).

Naturally, the higher up the source of information, the more authoritative the source becomes hence, when a president or senior political leader speaks, it is deemed more important than a worker or consumer. Likewise, experts and think- tanks provide a sense of clout and certainty in the discussion of an issue or topic.

The relationship between these official sources and journalists serves and meets both the needs of media and those of the officials - official sources want to maintain their privileged position, desire and need to present themselves and their products and/ or services in a positive manner and the press often facilitate this task. For example in the *Sowetan*, 7 out of the 41 (17.07 %) articles gave Jacob Zuma favourable coverage compared with 2 articles (4.87%) that gave him critical coverage. Journalists and the newspapers' needs are met as the reliance on high placed sources decreases the cost of gathering information and conducting investigative reporting. This in turn saves time which ultimately saves money (Lovaas 2008: 110).

As Herman and Chomsky explain,

> The mass media are drawn into s symbiotic relationship with powerful sources of information by economic necessity and reciprocity of interest. The media need a steady, reliable flow of raw material of news. Economics dictates that they concentrate their resources where significant news often occurs, where important rumours and leaks abound and where regular press conferences are held (cited in Lovaas 2008).

The discourses of these groups therefore, provide the raw material for the language of news stories, since news language is parasitic on their discursive codes and ideological assumptions. Because the official sources are senior government leaders and well respected experts in the legal and political fields, their 'favourable' coverage highlights issues of ideology and how they are represented by the media. The use of sources within newspapers helps shape outcomes, perceptions and comprehension of issues.

Although this relationship serves the primary needs of both newspapers and individuals within structures of power, it comes with significant costs. According to Sigal (cited in Lovaas 2008), reporters pay a price for access- they become dependent on their official sources which combines three elements: some reluctance to offend news sources in the stories they write, considerable willingness to print whatever their sources tell them, and little or no insistence that officials take responsibility for the information they pass along. The use of sources, or lack of, often acts as a filter in shaping a story and giving only a limited view of the bigger picture.

For example, in this study, a large portion of the news articles contained statements and opinions from senior members of the tripartite alliance. In the *Sowetan* their views were reported using verbal process style which as noted in the presentations of findings, is seen as a way of visualizing the power which is assigned to the words

of known people such as politicians and experts as they are always quoted as speaking from a certain point of power (Thetela 1998 cited in Radebe 2006:64).

In addition, referring to the ANC leader using his clan name 'Msholozi' draws attention to the whole concept of African identity, promoted by the *Sowetan* whose readership is predominantly black thus drawing Jacob Zuma closer to the people because it is something they can identify. In addition, the *Sowetan*'s tone was predominantly positive meaning that its coverage was favourable towards Zuma choosing to portray him as a 'man of the people'.

Still on propaganda bias, the views of the allies are mostly of a political conspiracy claims against the Mbeki led-government thus inexplicitly promoting the same notion among the readers as Curran et al (1982) argue, the media are a powerful device in shaping public perceptions.

Golding and Murdock (1997:25) argue that news becomes a means of handling social change, a comforting affirmation of the existing order and any threat is explained away as temporary, deviant and inconsequential. In the case of the arms deal scandal, it could then be argued that the *Sowetan* downplays the magnitude of the charges against Jacob Zuma and the effects of the arms deal on the country, by choosing to focus on the political conspiracy claims (through propaganda) by Zuma's allies and any threat (to his ascending to the presidency of the country) is explained away.

Another important aspect that stood out was the use of contrastive pairs- pitting Jacob Zuma against Thabo Mbeki. Tied to the political conspiracy claims- Thabo Mbeki whom the accusations were levelled at, was portrayed as the villain (out to destroy Jacob Zuma's political career) while Jacob Zuma was portrayed as the victim (of a political conspiracy).

As mentioned earlier, the *Sowetan* was first published with the black readers in mind and as Epstein (1995:65) argues, emphasis on black (or African) identity is a more effective way of getting the readers to identify with Zuma's situation so when Zuma's 'plight' is presented against the 'shortcomings' of former president Thabo Mbeki, (***Sowetan- Zuma attacks issues with unflinching honesty***) the ANC leader is portrayed as a capable leader, while Mbeki is portrayed as aloof and incompetent.

Another example from *The Star* that shows elements of contrastive pairs (or binary oppositions);

Zuma and team in no hurry for speedy trial **(4th January 2008)**

This article quotes Jacob Zuma's lawyer Michael Hulley on the application by the ANC leader to prevent the search and seizure orders of his home and his lawyer's office in 2005 from being declared legal. The articles uses contrastive pairs, pitting the NPA (that re-instituted the corruption charges against Zuma) against Zuma's legal counsel, with Zuma's lawyer stating that his client is unlikely to take up an NPA offer to go on trial in April as opposed to the date earlier agreed on (August) – and the NPA dismissing the search and seizure application by Zuma, reiterating that it was ready to proceed with the trial.

Apart from promoting a certain view point, the reliance on official sources limits the information resource pool and what results is a regurgitating of the same issue. For example, in the *Sowetan*, two articles that appeared on separate days (31st December 2007 ***Will ANC head get the chop? NPA decision to recharge Zuma is the biggest challenge facing ruling party after the 52nd conference*** and 2nd January2008-***'Charges a problem' NPA decision to recharge Zuma is the biggest challenge facing ANC after Polokwane conference***), carried the same news story using the same sources.

As McChesney (2008:32) notes of the old saying, the media do not necessarily tell you what to think, but they tell you what to think about, and how to think about. These views, spoken from such a point of authority, are most likely to have some impact on how the readers of the newspapers perceive the arms deal scandal, especially when the media constantly relays the same message over and over again.

Reliance on official sources argue Golding and Murdock (1997:25) means that news becomes a means of handling social change, a comforting reaffirmation of the existing order and any threat is explained away as temporary, deviant and inconsequential. The discussion or confronting of conflicts of interest and political processes only touch the surface, thus rendering a form of entertainment (sensationalism) to the lives of those in authority. In view of the fact that legitimate sources tend to be restricted to political and economic elites, this bias sometimes makes journalists appear to be stenographers to those in power McChesney (2008:32).

Although on one side, it could be argued that the use of experts lends credibility to the articles as they have years of experience and evidence of their work is bound to resonate well with readers or those following the case, Herman and Chomsky (1992) argue that reliance on experts could restrict media performances and lead to one-sided reporting (bias). In the articles analysed, the opinions were predominantly those of constitutional law expert Shadrack Gutto and political analyst Steve Friedman. Apart from these two articles other articles also featured other prominent professionals within the legal and political fields. For example, top lawyer George Bizos and political analyst Ebrahim Fakir as well as retired Chief Justice Arthur Chaskalson. In this case, it could be argued that the reliance on a few experts on the interpretation of the arms deal scandal and its implications on Jacob Zuma's career and the future of the ruling ANC, was one-sided although thinly veiled in the use of prominent legal and political experts (propaganda bias).

As with most issues, there are at least two sides to the debate and ideally, a plurality of voices and sources should be represented in the press and what Herman and Chomsky (2007) term, "bounds of the expressive", where a wide range of opinions on a certain issue, are discussed. In the case of this study, the voices of Zuma and his allies were the most vocal but very little from members of the opposition such as Independent Democrats leader, Patricia de Lille, who blew the whistle on irregularities in the procurement of arms for the South African National Defence Force (SANDF).

5.3.1.2) Modes of Production

However, on the other hand, Golding and Murdock (1997:205) argue that the mass media are first and foremost, industrial and commercial organisations which produce and distribute commodities, hence, the *Sowetan's* construction of the arms deal scandal could also be explained using unwitting bias, meaning that the news content is dependent on what Galtung and Ruge (cited in Bignell 2002:84) would classify as threshold (volume of the event) and reference to elite persons.

As mentioned in the introductory chapter (1.3), political leaders, by virtue of their position in society, are rich fodder for the media and their views are used to gauge public opinion, therefore, with regards to the arms deal scandal and Jacob Zuma's alleged involvement, McQuail (1992) notes that newspapers have to make hard choices about what to include and what to exclude, and the conventions of journalism is that what appears at the front is the most important of the day's news, hence, stories on the arms deal are dealt with first and at length because, they involve a huge scandal that cost the country millions in Rands and because it also involves a senior political figure- ANC president Jacob Zuma. As McQuail (1992) argues, the bias is explicit, it is not conscious or deliberate but rather, it is the product of ingrained routines of what is news and a story's 'newsworthiness'. In addition, as mentioned earlier, due to the competition within the media industry and the pressure to release up-to-date news more frequently, the media are forced to rely on sources that have a steady supply of news- one of them being the political establishment. These sources are established by official authority, by social status or by commercial success and their organised structures, with spokespersons and a regular scheduling of statements, making them the most convenient sources for journalists to monitor (Fowler 1991:22).

Another encoding criterion is the reference to something negative which Galtung and Ruge (cited in Bignell 2002:85) argue, are more newsworthy than successes for instance. In this scenario, this is inevitable since the main news item is on the arms deal scandal which in itself is something negative.

Looking at how media texts are relayed, Herman and Chomsky (2002) point out that technological advancement has meant that texts and images can be relayed faster and through diverse mediums, forcing the media to restructure its modes of production. This development has in turn, led to an increased demand for up-to-date, on-the-hour news stories to keep the production lines open and create revenue for the organization. In addition, Herman and Chomsky (2002:) point out, the media are first and foremost, business entities out to make a profit and to do so means that they have to cut back on factors such as investigative reporting which news organisations say is time consuming and costs money. In the case of the *Sowetan*, most of the articles analysed were obtained from the newspaper's online site, which provided not only past articles, but also updated news on the arms deal scandal. These two factors mean the media come to rely more and more on readily available sources for their news information. As seen in the study, a majority of the articles featured prominent members of the tripartite alliance, political and legal experts.

5.3.1.3) Media Sensationalism

Because the media still need to produce news stories, what the public get are not in-depth reporting of issues of importance, but rather superficial stories devoid of substance and full of sensationalism. The reference to something negative (the arms deal scandal), reference to elite persons (ANC leader Jacob Zuma who is charged with corruption in connection to the arms deal scandal), threshold/ volume of the event (a senior government official implicated in corruption) and continuity (the persistence of a news story deemed newsworthy), all add up to produce headlines that will attract the reader to the main news story.

For example in the article date from *The Star*, although the title reads : ***Counsel to do battle over Zuma trial date: Praise –singer Philani bunks school and gets a big thank you*- 6th August 2008)** the main article does not touch on the young praise- singer at all but instead dwells, on the court case. Another article from the *Sowetan* (11th December 2007) titled, ***South Africans want Zuma as president*-** the heading reads like a direct declaration from South Africans but upon further analysis of the article, it reveals that only a certain percentage (36%) wanted Zuma as president.

For example, during Jacob Zuma's court appearances, the *Sowetan* describes the activities of his supporters outside the court, as 'wild celebrations' and 'night vigils'; while also describing the ANC leader favourably. ***Conference set to elevate Msholozi to cult status* (19th December 2007- *Sowetan*) *Song, dance and drama as usual outside court* (5th August 2008- *Sowetan*)**

The use of dramatic headlines is also another way that the media try to grab the readers' attention. For example, the *Sowetan* article of **1st September 2008- *WE'LL KILL THE SCORPIONS'*** is in capital letters and uses quotes to give ownership to the source of the word, who in this case is a member of the tripartite alliance, Cosatu. In addition, *The Star* article titled: ***Crocodile concoctions and a young Imbongi*** (5th August 2008) is sensationalist, dwelling on the traditional concoctions and the burning of incense by Zuma supporters outside the Pietermaritzburg High court.

In addition to sensationalism, political journalism has often degenerated to simply reporting what someone in one party says, and then getting a reply from someone on the other side of the aisle, or who takes a dissenting position within the community of official sources. This is seen from the example just given of 1st September) and several others within both the *Sowetan* and *The Star* in which Jacob Zuma and his allies are pitted against Thabo Mbeki and his supporters resulting in what *The Star* describes in its article published on **5th August 2008- *Zuma: Push for pre-poll trial: Defence refuses to accept April date*-** as an "explosive" exchange between members of the tripartite alliance and the NPA outside the court house during presentations by Jacob Zuma's lawyers.

The use of sensationalism in headlines and articles could be classified as unwitting bias which is determined by the need to attract readers. As McQuail (1992 cited in Street 2001:20) argues, newspapers have a finite number of pages and hard choices have to be made about what to include and what to exclude. The convention of journalism as discussed in the theoretical framework is that what appears on the front-page is the most important of the daily's news. The main stories are dealt with first and at length and these judgements constitute a form of

bias: X matters more than Y. this bias is not explicit but, rather, it is determined by routine about what is news and a story's newsworthiness.

Focus on these activities draws attention away from the main issue (the impending court case) and turns the reader's attention to the less serious (or trivial) matters which did more to entertain than to educate and inform. As Hesmondhalgh (2007:3) opines, because they contribute strongly to our sense of who we are, the products of cultural industries are more than just a way of passing time- a mere diversion from other more important things. This diversion does not occur freely but is instead framed to fit into the current socio-political landscape by the media players themselves.

Golding and Murdock (1997:25) also argue that commercialisation of the media means less space, less chance of background discussion and even greater reliance on a handful of agency sources. The *Sowetan* relied on its reporters and equally on major news agencies such as the South African Press Association (SAPA) and Agence France Presse (AFP).

5.3.1.4) Internal Media Dynamics

As Croteau and Hoynes (2003:121) state, the media are not simply cogs in the media machine and decision making is an inescapable part of the journalism process and some values have to be promoted when deciding what story rates front-page treatment. In the process of dwelling or emphasizing certain issues over others, the two dailies inherently put ideas into the minds of readers and as mentioned earlier, what the media emphasises is considered the most important issue.

5.3.1.4.1) Issues of framing

The coverage of the arms deal was framed amid a growing resentment for Thabo Mbeki within the ruling ANC- a factor that the media did not hide from the public. This was evident in the battle narrative already discussed where Mbeki and Zuma were pitted against each other and comparing how the two leaders approached issues. For example in the *Sowetan* article of 21st December titled, ***JZ attacks issues with unflinching honesty,*** the article describes the deliverance of the speech by Jacob Zuma as, "open, courageous, short and touching on all relevant points", unlike, the article then states, "the circuitous and tentative manner in which Mbeki dealt with the deep divisions inside the ANC" and issues of HIV/Aids, insecurity and poverty.

The main essence in news reporting is not the coverage of the story per se, but rather, the emphasis that the media will place on it was well as the tone with which it will report the story- the angle of representation/ framing sets the tone of coverage. When a journalist dares to raise an issue that no official source is talking about, he or she is accused of being unprofessional, and attempting to introduce his or her own biases into the news.

This perspective, evident upon analysis of the articles that is linked more to the production schedule and external influences, is unwitting bias, which is not deliberate as McQuail (1992 cited in Street 2001:20) argues, because newspapers have to prioritize news articles based on the structure and layout of their respective

newspapers and as such, news that is classified as 'important' is fore-grounded in order to catch the readers' attention. In the case of this study, the case involves not only a scandal of a large proportion but it also involves a prominent political leader- the magnitude or what Galtung and Ruge (cited in Bignell 2002:84) describe as the threshold/ volume of the event (the arms deal).

5.3.1.5) Media Funding and its Effects on Media Content

As mentioned in section 2.2.1 of the theoretical framework, today's news is regarded as just another commercial product where media houses are expected to make profit by attracting a select audience.

As opposed to previous times when newspapers relied on sales for their revenue, recent periods have seen a shift towards more and more reliance on advertising. As a result, newspapers would not publish information that would be damaging to their corporate 'clients'. Therefore, in order to satisfy the needs of advertisers in one hand and readers on the other, newspapers 'water-down' their reporting of sensitive issues and at the same time give readers limited information. The research of Bagdikian (1983) and Schudson (1984) (cited in Ueckermann 2005: 23) shows that advertising follows affluence and that the desires of advertisers are of a higher importance than that of the readers. Advertisers spend billions of Rands to promote products, and will take no chances about who will see their advertisements (Bagdikian 2004). By means of surveys and computers they establish with some precision, the income, education, occupation and spending habits of newspaper and magazine subscribers and broadcast audiences (Bagdikian 2004).

The greater the pressure on newspapers, magazines and broadcasters to increase their profits, the more they push not just for larger audiences, but for higher quality audiences, as each newspaper, each magazine, each broadcast station insists to the major advertisers that it has the highest-quality audience (Bagdikian 2004).

In South Africa, the media market tends to cater for the economically well off: the elite white minority (Dlamini 2003) and nowadays also the upcoming black middle-class. South African newspapers, like their global counterparts, have to target a class of readers that is being chased by most advertisers; they have to identify people with enough disposable income to buy the products of their advertisers. For example, *The Star* Editor Moegsien Williams notes, the paper targets a very specific reader- middle income, earning over R7 000, well educated, and achievers or aspirant achievers who want to improve their lives.

5.3.1.6) Media Ownership

Media ownership according to Croteau and Hoynes (2003:) is central to the economic organisation of the mass media, the assumption being that media owners influence media content by their decision to fund certain projects and most importantly, to give media platform to certain speakers. The two daily newspapers used in this study belong to one of the four major media conglomerates in South Africa- *The Star* is a daily newspaper owned by Independent Newspapers with a readership of 616,000 and circulation of 171,542, while the *Sowetan* has a readership of 1.54 million and circulation of 118,261 and is owned by Avusa (formerly Johnnic Communications), a leading South African company with tentacles in every nook of the media and entertainment industries.

These circulation and readership figures mean that the issues raised in both dailies are read by a vast majority of the population and their standing within the media industry also affects how their news stories will be affected. For example, *The Star* newspaper is regarded as a 'serious' newspaper, addressing issues in formal linguistic codes, while the *Sowetan* is regarded more 'main stream' with use of colloquial linguistic codes, has more of an entertainment approach to the reported of issues. Despite these differences in linguistic codes, the wide reach of both dailies will play a crucial role in setting the agenda for what is newsworthy and what is not.

This factor is consistent with the propaganda model where Herman and Chomsky (2002:631) highlight the domination of the media industry by fewer and fewer corporations. According Herman and Chomsky, wealthy individuals and corporations own the top-tier, or 'agenda setting,' media. These individuals and corporations naturally have a vested interest in maintaining the current status quo by virtue of their wealth and position within society. These individuals and corporations work tacitly together with the institutional structures of government, international finance, and other businesses to ensure their position within the economy and society. Furthermore, board members, investors, and their business interests share common interlocking social, political, and economic interests with one another, such as their ideal market conditions or degree of government involvement(Herman and Chomsky 2002:631).

For example, according to a report by NUMSA, the *Sowetan* is the only newspaper with a labour desk that highlights workers' daily hardships and struggles and it also has a weekly column called *Workers Assembly* which Cosatu's general secretary Zwelinzima Vavi writes. As seen from the findings, the views from Zuma's allies are predominantly from Cosatu, advocated for by its secretary general. In addition, from the analysis of the statements by these allies, this study also found that a majority of them were based on political conspiracy claims against then president Thabo Mbeki. Having seen that the *Sowetan* is read by a large number of workers, most of whom are represented by Cosatu, this study then argues that the coverage of the arms deal scandal and Jacob Zuma's alleged involvement by the *Sowetan* did contribute towards his favourable image because it portrayed the ANC leader as the victim and in addition, used the views of ANC allies to forward accusations of a political conspiracy. In addition, one of ANC's former senior leaders and a vocal supporter of Jacob Zuma, Tokyo Sexwale, is an executive director in the Mvelaphanda Group Limited, one of *Sowetan's* largest shareholders. Based on this fact, it could then be argued that the *Sowetan* would not publish information that would sour its relations with Mvelaphanda by portraying portray Jacob Zuma in an unfavourable way, thereby conforming to the demands and interests of its 'owners'

Under this aspect, this study has also demonstrated how the *Sowetan* and *The Star* under their large media corporations, act as filters and censor the news in order to serve the interests of the elite, those of Jacob Zuma and his allies.

All in all, the five filters within the propaganda model compliment the critical political economic approach to media as it offers a critique on the underlying factors that the Critical Political Economic theory seeks to address. Through their five filters and other theories, Herman and Chomsky question basic premises of democracy and freedom of the press, garnering serious criticism and reflections.

From the analysis carried out in this study, it can be concluded that 'bias' in the coverage of the arms deal trial and the campaign period in the two dailies is highly subjective (as seen from the presence of elements of propaganda and unwitting as identified by the researcher). An issue that is seen as 'bias' by one reader or in one newspaper may not be perceived in the same way by someone who supports the ideologies of the newspaper or the manner in which the issues have been addressed. Due to these differing viewpoints, the idea of investigative journalism will be seen as effective by some readers and not others. A newspaper may have investigated a story thoroughly but because its style of reporting may not sit well with certain readers, its coverage may be seen as having elements of 'bias'.

As mentioned earlier, the reliance on official sources does not always guarantee a stable flow of information especially where corruption/ scandal is involved. Politicians implicated in the scandal will try as much as possible to conceal information and stay away from the public eye. In addition, due to this reliance, official sources, especially government sources have mastered techniques of how to get the maximum exposure through the media by employing various communication tactics.

5.3.2) MEDIA COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES USED BY JACOB ZUMA

The way in which Jacob Zuma handled the press can be described using the high-power source- low power medium model or what Szymanska (2004:18-22) refers to as, the supremacy of politics over the media. In all except direct observation of news events (though perhaps to a lesser extent in the use of material from documents or written sources), newspapers are somewhat at the mercy of their source's willingness to divulge information. Government agencies and politicians, correspondents, eager to satisfy the cravings of the news organizations, make news available on a regular basis in a form that the media can easily understand. This need gives power to high-level government officials and access to them is a scarce resource and they control journalists by granting or denying access. In the case of the arms deal scandal, the information is determined by what the political actors decide to share/ convey to the public.

With regards to the arms deal scandal, Zuma had some degree of control over how the media covered the case. . For example the *Sowetan* article of 13th December 2007- ***JZ keeps low profile ahead of conference***, describes the movements of ANC leader Jacob Zuma from spokespersons and even admits that the media struggled to, "keep tabs on him" as he decided to keep a low profile, choosing instead, to spend time with family in Nkandla, but not before handing out food parcels to orphans. Media reports during this time were based on either speculation or unnamed sources.

It is also during this conference that we witness one of the many ways that Jacob Zuma strives to get his message(s) across and to reach out to the less fortunate members of society- through CDs and DVDs from which a certain percentage of the proceedings go towards the Jacob Zuma RDP Education Trust as described in the *Sowetan* article of **19th December 2007** ***Conference set to elevate Msholozi to cult status).***

In his first address as party president , after his victory and election as party president after a hotly contested election, Jacob Zuma referred to his opponent Thabo Mbeki as "a comrade, friend and brother"(*Sowetan-**21st***

***December 2007- JZ attacks issues with unflinching honesty*),** portraying himself as a mature and responsible leader.

As the trial date for the corruption hearing neared, Jacob Zuma stated that he would respect the decision of the courts – this despite the protests from his supporters for the charges against him to be dropped. **(*The Star- 10th September – Reconciliatory Zuma defends judiciary's role in democracy)***In this article, Zuma calls for restraint and a truce after numerous attacks on the judiciary by ANC Youth League and tripartite alliance leaders- Cosatu, SAPC.

Most of the time that Zuma came into contact with the media it was through his defence team, more specifically through his lawyer, Michael Hulley which seemed appropriate considering the legal implications of the scandal on his image a leader. Due to their legal background, the defence team were able to argue their client's case before the public via the press.

In order for a message to be communicated effectively, political actors have to choose words and phrases that are appropriate to the purpose and occasion. As Beard (2000:18) points out, language is a means of communication, a means of presenting and shaping political argument which is ideological in that it comes from a series of beliefs. Language is not something separated from the ideas it contains but the way language is used says a lot about how the ideas have been shaped

In the instances in which Zuma directly made any statements, they were punctuated with melodramatic elements: the ANC leader consistently maintained his innocence stating that the charges against him were a political conspiracy, accusations that were carried forward more vocally by his allies; Cosatu, ANC Youth League and South African Communist Party. In addition, in the *Sowetan* article published on 6th August 2008- ***'Prison does not scare me, I have spent time in jail'***- Zuma states that he was jailed for being innocent- emphasizing that he was the victim of the then apartheid government.

In addition, apart from addressing serious issues such as insecurity and poverty, the ANC leader also managed to inject a dose of entertainment. In the *Sowetan* article of ***Sowetan*- 15th September 2008- JZ says comrades hurt him-** although the content of Jacob Zuma's message conveys betrayal, he delivers it in song as he talks (or sings) of wounds inflicted on him by people he grew up with. This article also describes him as speaking in isiZulu, which symbolizes his connection with the common man.

According to Tomaselli and Teer- Tomaselli (2008:176) Jacob Zuma represents the populist humane face of the ANC rank and file, while Thabo Mbeki represents neoliberal economism. The default populist support accrued to Zuma who was seen by supporters to be more attuned to issues of poverty alleviation. Tomaselli and Teer-Tomaselli quote the *Chicago Tribune* that describes the ANC president as having been, "blessed with a Clintonesque common touch" (Forde 2007:20)

As Marshall (1997:203) writes, "in politics, a leader must somehow embody the sentiments of the party, the people and the State". Marshall goes on to say that the political leader, in terms of function and as a form of political legitimation, is constructed in a manner that resemble other public personalities that have emerged from

a variety of cultural activities. Entertainment celebrities, like political leaders, work to establish a form of cultural hegemony.

Although these aspects of media communication employed by Zuma emphasize the influence that the political establishment has over the media, in the broader political- economic and social environment, the relationship between the media and the political establishment is one of reciprocity. As Szymanska (2004:18-22) argues, politicians find themselves increasingly reliant on the media to get their messages across to the public and the media in turn, rely on politicians for news stories.

Apart from the media- political dimension, the media is viewed as the most important vehicle of information and communication between the governors and the governed, an aspect entwined in the concept of mediated politics (Bennet & Entman 2001; Asp 1986; Nimmo & Combs 1983). The media act as link between politicians and the public and people depend on the media for information about politics and society, just as politicians and other powerful elites, depend on the media for information about people's opinions and trends in society and for reaching out to people (Strombick 2008:230).

In this case, much as there are signs to show that Jacob Zuma had the upper- hand in some instance, it was through the media that his actions got to the public. At the end, although political actors provide the media with the content, it is the media that decides on the final outcome of the text and thus, will affect the way in which it will be received by the public.

5.4) CONCLUSION

Recapping on this study, it can be concluded that the role of the media in society and more so a democratic one cannot be ignored; democratic systems of government allow the free flow of information where the media is allowed to flourish. The role of the media to inform, educate and provide a platform for debate (public discourse) is very vital if society has to function as it has become increasingly reliant on the media for its daily news which affects how people make choices, especially political choices. However, as the critical political economic theory and the propaganda theory state, the media does not function in a vacuum but rather, it is influence by other external and internal factors such as ownership patterns in the media industry, internal media dynamics, economic pressure through advertisers, and the political elite as has been discussed in the context of the arms deal scandal.

This analysis demonstrates the media's reliance on official sources which contributes to limiting the public's perception of political corruption to sides that are favourable to government interests. All in all notes McChesney (2008:32), the reliance on official sources gives the news a very conventional and mainstream feel, and does not necessarily lead to a rigorous examination of the major issues.

In addition, representation was explained through the role of the media as cultural sites, where the ideas of the elite are constantly conveyed to the public via the media and the effect this has on how the arms deal scandal was represented. More than other types of production, the cultural industries are involved in the making and circulating of products- that is-texts- that have an influence on our understanding of the world. The best

contributions to the debate on culture suggest the complex, negotiated and often indirect, nature of media influence but of one thing there can be no doubt: the media do have an influence. Journalists are usually credited with the public exposure of scandal and this is presumably the moment at which they show the power they have over public figures and institutions (Tumber and Waisbord 2004:1143). They form discourses from which we make judgments about our societies. Most importantly, most texts that we consume are circulated by powerful corporations which like businesses, have an interests in making profits. They want to support conditions in which businesses in general-especially their own- can make big profits (Hesmondhalgh 2007:3).

CHAPTER SIX

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

6.1) INTRODUCTION

This research report sought to investigate how the South African print media covered the arms deal scandal and ANC president Jacob Zuma's alleged involvement. By analyzing articles from two local daily newspapers namely; *Sowetan* and *The Star*, this study sought to determine whether or not Jacob Zuma's favourable public image was as a result of bias in media coverage or his communication strategies.

The articles were analysed according to the following themes; placement; tone; interpretations, emphasis and news sources. Bias was determined by the intensity with which the arms deal was covered, whether the tone was positive (favourable and hence bias) or negative (critical) and the emphasis of certain sources and aspects of the scandal.

This chapter gives the conclusion to the findings and interpretation as well as the limitations to the study and suggestions for future research.

Upon analysis of the articles, what came to the fore was the complex political economic environment in which the media operate. Looking at this within the context of the arms deal scandal, this study highlights the eternal forces that are at play in the managing of political information which is more like a chicken and egg issue;

Whereas the media are the main channel through which political views are articulated and hence the politician's need for it, the media too, due to economic pressure from owners have come to rely on the political establishment for its news. In the case of the arms deal scandal, the media had the upper hand in that they acted as watchdogs by reporting it in the first place; however, due to the fact that the scandal originated from within the political establishment itself, the politicians implicated had the upper- hand.

For corruption to become scandal, it needs to the media to 'expose' it but in order for the scandal to have substantial coverage and resonance in the minds of the public, the media need more information (who were involved, how much money was involved) with which to constantly feed the public.

What the media resort to is to the reports, and 'briefings' from the courts, lawyers, experts, and sometimes the politicians themselves which eventually leads to a one-sided report. Due to these factors, this study concluded that although elements of bias existed, they were presented in different forms due to the economic and political influences. Unwitting bias was used to explain the influence of media structure and agenda-setting issues on content while propaganda bias was used to explain the consequences of relying on official sources.

As it is argued, due to reliance on official sources for communication, the political establishment has found ways of manipulating this influence to their advantage. As seen from the articles, ANC president Jacob Zuma and his political allies had the upper-hand as the sources of the news. However, the reciprocal relationship as put

forward by Szymanska (2004:18-22) the media do eventually have the final say on how the message will be relayed to the public and as such political actors find ways to maximize the time they have access to the media.

In this study, Jacob Zuma as a prominent leader and more so, one implicated in a scandal is most likely to grab the headlines. Due to the fact that most media conglomerates operate within a competitive environment, their aim is to make a profit. This mantra of profit also explains an increase in tabloid journalism in both print media and television around the world.

The financial reason for forming conglomerates is clear, it is more profitable to join forces, to synergize and not to fight each other- but at what price? The formation of trusts, cartels, and conglomerates challenges the idea in two ways; firstly, how "free" is this market really, if huge conglomerates mean that the media fall into the hands of a powerful few? When fewer and fewer people decide what is news and control the flow of news? When the hope of hearing independent viewpoints declines? When this happens, shift in ideology takes place that mostly goes unnoticed. Even in democracies where the libertarian (or even egalitarian) tradition is strong, the reduction of the marketplace of ideas inevitably leads to a new form of authoritarianism. This time it is not the State that is responsible for this state of affairs, but the media themselves, or rather, the media as a business (Retief 2002:14).

From the findings and interpretation, this study concludes that Jacob Zuma's public image was positively enhanced by a combination of favourable media coverage and his communication strategies. However, much as this report highlights the various dynamics at play in the production of media texts, this analysis only offers a very limited perspective.

6.2) LIMITATIONS TO THE METHODOLOGY

Initially, this research report set out to conduct qualitative analysis through in-depth interviews with editors and journalists of the two publications in order to give a more detailed and holistic analysis of the articles beyond interpretation alone, but this had to be dropped due to time constraints. Another limitation is that it analyses how the arms deal scandal was covered by only two daily newspapers within a short period of time. As Puglisi & Snyder (2008:) argue this may increase the risk of various biases, including publication bias i.e., the tendency to over-publish significant and seemingly interesting results and as Muriungi (2006) adds, as a sample, the period under study may arguably not offer a definite and representative analysis of the nature of the selected media's reportage of the arms deal.

A more comprehensive study would include editors and journalists of the two dailies to get a more in-depth perspective on internal media dynamics and the effect factors such as ownership and advertising have on media production schedules.

In addition, more research would involve opinions and statements of people from organisations such as the South African affiliate of Economists Allied for Arms Reduction, Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA); Transparency International and the United Nations to give another perspective on the consequences and dynamics involved in high-level corruption.

Another dimension would also have been to carry out interviews with sectors of the public in order to get an idea of the public's perception on political corruption.

Another avenue for future research would be to increase the number and period of analysis in order to get a wider perspective of how the arms deal was covered. This would greatly enrich this study due to the nature of the case under analysis.

Despite these limitations, this research is an attempt to extend the debate on the role of the media in politics from an African perspective, especially in how it covers political scandals. This research is an introductory into the various dynamics involved in investigative journalism, especially of official corruption, where more research can be done.

6.3) SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

As mentioned in section 1.4 of the introductory chapter, very little academic research has been done on corruption and its consequences from a media perspective. This research into media and political corruption could be greatly enhanced by incorporating other new dimensions. In Africa, cases abound of political leaders involved or implicated in scandals of very large magnitudes. Research in these cases could be carried out from a comparative analysis perspective, to highlight the similarities or differences in how the media in the respective countries under analysis chose to cover the scandals. In addition, a comparative analysis could also highlight difference in the political- economic environments within which the media operate and how these combined factors affect media content and structure.

Further analysis could also involve not only print media but also broadcast media, especially television broadcasting. This is especially helpful in the analysis of media communication techniques used by politicians. In order to give a thorough analysis of the different techniques such as image management, an analysis of moving images is vital as it enables the researcher to identify communication strategies that would not visible through the analysis of written texts and still pictures alone (such as style of walk, talk and how the politician under analysis interacts with people from different backgrounds) and thus, give a in-depth breakdown of existing communication techniques and also highlights any new ones.

6.4) CONCLUSION

As Crawford-Browne (2007: 144) points out, corruption is not a victimless crime. It undermines democratic accountability and increases poverty. In poor countries, it can have a particularly devastating effect, diverting scarce resources away from crucial areas such as health and education to wasteful projects. The Strategic Defence Procurement Package (arms deal) cost the government of South Africa millions of Rands- money that could have gone towards alleviating the poor living conditions in the informal settlements and improving service at ill-equipped hospitals in the rural- areas, or channelled towards anti-retroviral that millions of South African so desperately need.

In media coverage of political corruption, nothing about journalism matters more than its obligation to hold government officials to the legal and moral standards of public service. Public officials should try to do what

they say they will try to do, refrain from using public office for private gain and live up to their oaths of office. The media therefore should investigate. (Schudson 2006: 15).

Journalists aid democracy when they explain a complicated event or process in a comprehensible narrative. Today this is sometimes called, "explanatory journalism", which has its own Pulitzer Prize category. In the case of the arms deal scandal, although the *Sowetan* and *The Star* did inform the public about the case, it did not offer any further information other than snippets of the court proceedings, punctuated by descriptions of the activities of Zuma's supporters outside the court house.

In countries where the levers of power are in the hands of a state bureaucracy, the monopolistic control over the media often supplemented by official censorship makes it clear that the media serve the ends of dominant elite. However, it is much more difficult to see a propaganda system at work where the media are private and formal censorship is absent. This is especially true where the media actively compete, periodically attack and expose corporate and government malfeasance and aggressively portray themselves as spokesmen for free speech and the general community interest. In this case, *The Star* did live up to its responsibilities as outlined in Retief (2002:246) to, "expose wrongdoing, the misuse of power, and unnecessary secrecy".

When individuals reflect on politics ethics and corruption, how do they determine what is acceptable behaviour in a given setting? Some authors argue that assessments depend partly on current events. News reports of scandals can raise the salience of corruption as an issue and prompt calls for change or reform (Colazingari and Rose- Ackerman 1998; Jacobson and Dimock 1994). Others suggest that political and economic institutions play an important part in structuring public or elite perceptions of corruption (e.g. Alt and Larsen 2003; Geering and Thacker 2004; Golden 2003)

In this case, although the coverage of news calls for objectivity, Day (1991:74) posits that it is "probably impossible" to attain. Although objectivity is an indispensible journalistic ideal, the reality is however, that all people are subjective, partial and biased- and journalists are no exception.

As Fourie (2004:269) notes, a single newspaper with its own ideology and political stance might have an informative function for a certain group, may not necessarily serve the interests of another group. Only and only through acknowledging the plurality of political views and tastes in entertainment can the media be in a position to function for as many people and groups as possible in a society, and play a democratic role. Seligson (2002:426) recognizes that what is "corrupt" to one person might not be "corrupt" to another, and these differences may bear directly on political preferences. Anderson and Tverdova (2003) further posit that perceptions of corruption may be multi-dimensional, with different evaluation criteria intersecting to produce multiple perspectives on how "corrupt" politics is in a given instance.

All in all, it can be said that the *Sowetan* and *The Star* carried out their watchdog and informative roles to the society despite internal and external influences.

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APPENDIX A: SOWETAN NEWS ARTICLES

Song, dance and drama as usual outside court

05 Aug 2008 | unknown | 0 comments

Mary Papayya andMhlaba Memela



PLEA: ANC president Jacob Zuma's loyal supporters burn the Imphepho outside the Pietermarizburg High Court. Pic. Mhlaba Memela. 04/08/08. © Sowetan.

Relaxed, smiling and confident-looking, ANC president Jacob Zuma arrived in the Pietermaritzburg high court yesterday flanked by both national and provincial ANC leadership to contest charges against him.

Zuma is facing charges of racketeering, fraud and corruption. He has lodged an application to have the case against him withdrawn.

While much of the argument in court centred on technicalities related to his defence, outside the court thousands of his supporters sang and danced, reiterating their calls that "he is innocent".

Judge Chris Nicholson listened attentively as Zuma's defence attorney, Kemp J Kemp, stuck to his client's arguments on the unconstitutionality of the charges.

Judge Nicholson interjected a question now and then.

He also set the provisional trial date for Zuma's co-accused, French arms dealer Thint, for December 8.

In a moment of ease Zuma and his co-accused, Pierre Moynot, managed to share a smile.

This was after Gauteng-based attorney Zehir Omar - who is bringing an amicus curiae (friends of the court) application on behalf of the organisation calling itself The Society for the Protection of the Constitution - had handed Zuma a drink of water.

Outside court the music played on while throngs of Zuma supporters danced and sang. Some had camped under the open skies since Sunday night.

The treasurer-general of the ANC Mathews Phosa said: "We believe he is innocent" He also used the opportunity to "set the record straight", saying the ANC at no stage questioned the courts or media.

"We believe in the independence of the courts and the media, but having a differing opinion does not mean (media and courts) do.

"We believe this case is about something bigger and both the courts and media must understand that there is another constituency whose views matter."

During the lunch break ANC Youth League leader Julius Malema again lashed out at President Thabo Mbeki, calling him a "coward".

"He is the one who caused Zuma so many problems. He should step down now and give Zuma a chance to lead South Africa."

SEPTEMBER SOWETAN News Sept 1, 2008

'WE'LL KILL THE SCORPIONS'

ANC to go on protesting until ruling on Zuma



-DAY LOOMS: Jacob Zuma will know his fate in a week's time. PHOTO: TREVOR SAMSON

anaan Mdletshe

'ith only a week to go before NC president Jacob Zuma pears in the Pietermaritzburg gh court on corruption arges, the ANC and its part- rs in the eThekwini region ve promised to wage an l-out war against the Scor- ons if Zuma is not acquitted.

On September 12 Judge aris Nicholson will hand down s ruling on Zuma's application have the decision to pros- ute him declared unlawful.

The region has organised otests in and around Durban the run-up to the hearing, cluding sit-ins at courts, to call the withdrawal of charges ainst the man who could be the country's next president.

Cosatu provincial secretary Zet Luzipho warned that they would not hesitate to "kill" the Scorpions if they continued "biting the wrong people".

"If the Scorpions bite the wrong people we will kill them," Luzipho said. "Like a dog when it starts biting relatives at your home. You get rid of it. We will do the same to the Scorpions."

The eThekwini region of the ANC held marches to 16 different police stations around Durban, where they sent similar messages on Friday.

The marches will continue this week when party members picket outside more than 10 magistrate's courts. This will be followed by protests at national prosecuting authorities' offices a week later.

Luzipho said the NPA said they were ready to prosecute Zuma in February but it was already August, which indicated they did not have any criminal case against him.

He said if the Scorpions were doing an excellent job, why had not one of them died protecting ordinary people, like members of the SAPS.

"How many members of the Scorpions have died in the line of duty?" he asked.

Last week KwaZulu-Natal Judge President Vuka Tshabalala called on the ANC not to intimidate the courts during the campaign to have the charges against Zuma withdrawn.

Mix-up ba not switcl

Namhla Tshisela

DNA results released by the Alexa dra Clinic on Friday have reveale that the infants in the baby mix-u were in fact not switched.

Two mothers gave birth to bab girls last Sunday but the nurses o duty forgot to strap their ident fication tags on their wrists.

The mothers were allowed t take the babies home, but one them died last Tuesday while in th care of Lebo Nkadimeng, 23.

"We still can't believe that it our baby who died. We were onl told about the results on Friday. W would like to see proof," said th dead baby's father, Wandile Zulu.

Zulu said they would prepare fo the funeral only once a second tes confirmed the identity of the baby.

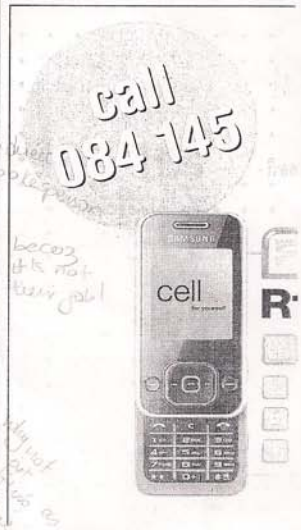
The family believe the baby coul have survived had she receive medical attention in time.

Nkadimeng said the infan started vomiting and foaming at th mouth on Tuesday.

"I took her to East Bank Clinic where we waited for two hours i the queue. By the time a nurse wa available to attend to her, she ha stopped vomiting.

"I was told to take her home an then to Alexandra Clinic if sh started vomiting again," she said.

Nkadimeng said the baby woul not wake up an hour after she ha



Media tactics by Zuma

Sep 10th 08



I'll respect decision – Zum

Eric Naki

ANC president Jacob Zuma, **pictured**, says he will respect the outcome of his court application to have charges against him squashed.

"I believe in a free and independent judiciary that should operate without fear or favour," Zuma said yesterday at the University of Johannesburg while delivering a lecture on "Access to Justice".

On Friday, the Pietermaritzburg high court will have to decide whether the decision by the National Prosecuting Authority to recharge Zuma with corruption and fraud is legitimate.

"Don't worry, I will respect the outcome because whatever decision is taken will not be different from the decision of other Judges are men and wo integrity," he said.

Zuma also said the believed in access to justic South Africans and a cul human rights.

He said as part of its ment to human rights, th had produced constitutiona lines that contained a rights-based vision of

Consumer wins case against financier

Thuli Zungu

In a landmark decision, the National Consumer Tribunal has decided it is unacceptable for financial institutions to sell repossessed or surrendered vehicles for next to nothing, when they could use trade or book values to determine the amount.

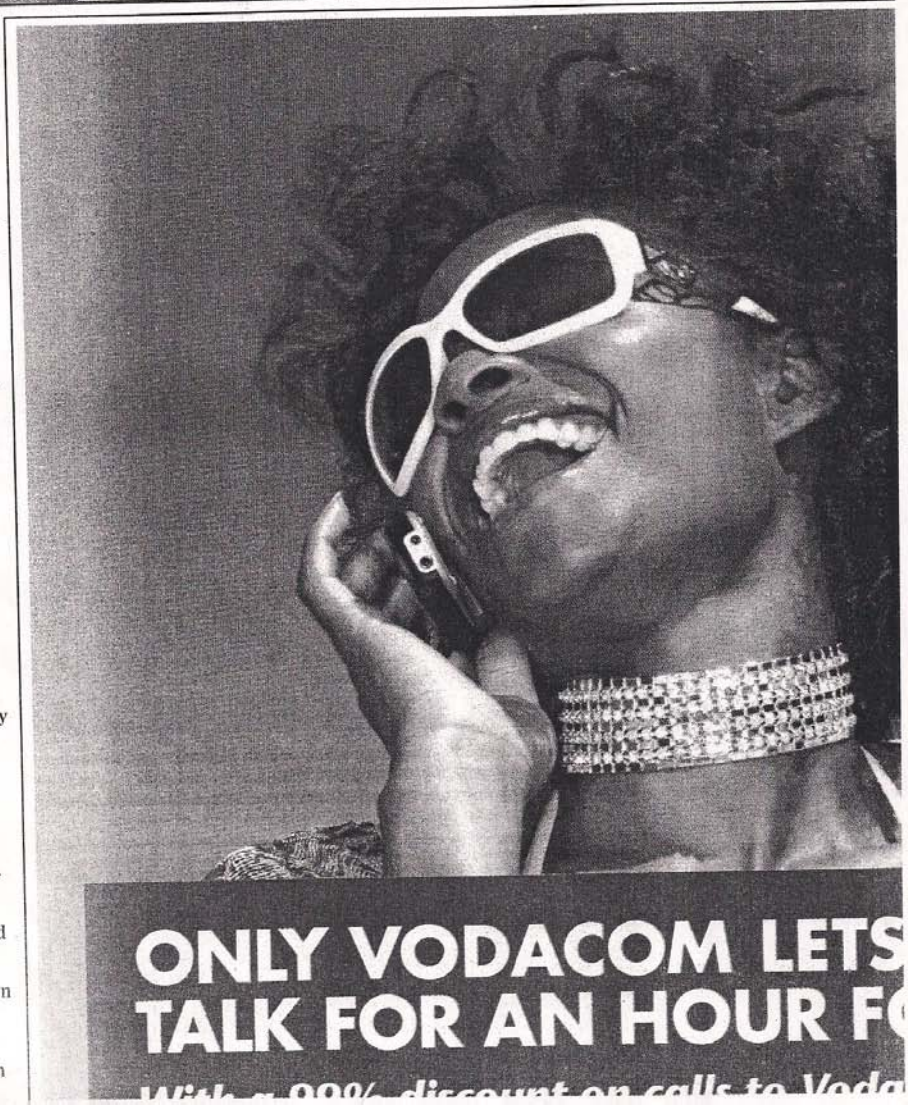
Frans Duma of Cape Town surrendered his car when he realised he could not keep up with repayments.

He was not in arrears and as a responsible consumer, he looked for a buyer willing to buy the car for R99 000, but Motor Finance Corporation (MFC) rejected his offer.

MFC then sold Duma's vehicle for R54 000 and later demanded the shortfall of R74 000 from him.

Duma approached the National Consumer Tribunal to intervene and he won his case.

He is now liable for the shortfall he was willing to pay in the first place had



APPENDIX B: *THE STAR* NEWS ARTICLES

SEPTEMBER 11th 2008
THE STAR

F ANC PRESIDENT

Vow to obliterate any opposition to Zuma

Judges threatened ahead of crucial court ruling

BY XOLANI MBANJWA

The ANC Youth League will "crush" and "eliminate" anyone trying to prevent ruling-party leader Jacob Zuma from becoming the country's next president.

ANC-aligned youth structures have also threatened judges, while the ruling party will bus in supporters to bring Pietermaritzburg to a standstill ahead of tomorrow's ruling by High Court Judge Chris Nicholson on Zuma's application to declare his prosecution invalid.

"We will eliminate any forces that come our way," ANC Youth League president Julius Malema said at the organisation's 64th anniversary celebrations in Joburg yesterday.

"We will crush you, and it doesn't matter who you are, even if you're in the NEC (national executive committee) of the ANC," he warned.

"Zuma is going to Pretoria. Zuma will be the face of the ANC election campaign. So be careful when you deal with Zuma, because you are dealing with a president-in-waiting.

"We expect Zuma to march with us to the Union Buildings, and the incumbent (President Thabo Mbeki) knows there's a new person coming in."

On tomorrow's court ruling, Malema said: "Zuma will be released on Friday. We will win because we are not a group of losers. We fight to win. We believe in the judge because he looked very sober.



ALL EARS: ANC deputy president Kgalema Motlanthe and Youth League leader Julius Malema in Joburg yesterday. PICTURE: BONGIWE MCHUNU

"We will not hand Zuma over without a fight. We will fight to ensure that he receives a fair trial. We hope that if the judge finds in favour of Zuma, the NPA (National Prosecuting Authority) will not appeal the decision."

Ironically, Malema – who has slammed the judiciary on several occasions – said the Youth League would protect the constitution and the judiciary.

"We respect the judiciary ... but that doesn't mean we can't criticise drunk judges."

Zuma also reassured the nation on Tuesday that the ANC would always respect the rule of law.

However, Congress of South African Students president Kenny Motshegoa said that if Judge Nicholson ruled against Zuma, the country would face the youth's anger.

"Zuma is one of our own. If the judges think they can take Zuma away from us, we don't promise them peace. Zuma is under siege," said Motshegoa.

Young Communist League national secretary Buti Manamela said Pietermaritzburg would be brought to a standstill "because the judges have blundered".

State witness wants to set record straight in Zuma's defence

Vivian Reddy relishes chance to explain 'loans' to JZ

BY KARYN MAUGHAN

A state witness in the fraud and corruption case against Jacob Zuma says he can't wait to take the stand – to defend the ANC president.

"I am hoping that I will be called so that the truth can finally be told," KwaZulu Natal businessman Vathasallum "Vivian" Reddy, who reportedly assisted Zuma after he incurred a debt of more than R1-million on his Nkandla homestead, told *The Star* yesterday.

Adding that he was very disappointed when he was not called to testify in the trial of Zuma's former financial adviser, Schabir Shaik, despite being listed as a state witness in the case, Reddy said he wanted to set the record straight about the payments.

Meanwhile *The Star* has learnt that the state's disputed forensic audit into Zuma's financial affairs will, once it has been handed in as an exhibit, publicly reveal that four other politicians also received payments from Shaik.

It is understood that none of these individuals have been charged over the transactions.

While casino boss and Edison Corporation head Reddy is one of three alleged "Zuma backers" who has been listed as potential witnesses against Zuma, the state has also criticised him – and his fellow ackers" – for the explana- s they offered in respect of nts to the former deputy nt.

ffidavit filed with the nal Court last cial investiga-



VIVIAN REDDY

tor Johan du Plooy stated that Zuma had received suspect payments from Reddy, businesswoman Nora Fakude-Nkuna, and German businessman and President Thabo Mbeki's confidant, Jurgen Kogl.

Fakude-Nkuna, a close friend of Zuma's who resigned from the Mpumalanga Economic Empowerment Corporation after a forensic audit showed she had granted a loan of R1,4-million to her own company, allegedly made payments in excess of R100 000 to the builder of the Nkandla homestead in 2000.

According to exhibits in Shaik's trial, London-based Kogl and his company Cay Nominees paid more than R700 000 towards bonds on Zuma's properties and R183 000 to cover the outstanding debt on the former deputy president's Mercedes-Benz 230E.

It was partly Reddy, Fakude-Nkuna and Kogl's "false" answers to questions about the payments that prompted the Scorpions to raid their premises in August 2005, Du Plooy explained.

"Mr Reddy provided very substantial assistance to Mr Zuma for which he has failed to give any satisfactory explanation. His version that the funds he provided to Mr Zuma were loans seems to be controverted by the evidence of those transactions.

"After protracted correspondence, Kogl eventually provided us with an affidavit and later with another one, but neither of them provided satisfactory explanations for his transactions involving Mr Zuma and Thint."

Fakude-Nkuna also failed to give any satisfactory explanation for her payments to Zuma, Du Plooy said.

The Fakude-Nkuna and Kogl payments form the basis for queries sent to British authorities last year. Fakude-Nkuna and Kogl were also named as potential state witnesses when prosecutors released a list of 105 Shaik trial witnesses, but, like Reddy, they were never called to give evidence.

Fakude-Nkuna's attorney, Snowball Skosana, said yesterday she had not been aware of the claims made against her in the Constitutional Court but would study the allegations.

He also stressed that Fakude-Nkuna had never been charged in connection with the Scorpions' claims against her.

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Counsel to do battle over Zuma trial date

Praise-singer Philani bunks school and gets a big thank you

BY KARYN MAUGHAN, TANIA BROUGHTON AND JEREMY GORDIN

ANC president Jacob Zuma and his prosecutors have nine days to privately resolve their deadlock over his trial date – or battle it out in open court.

After being informed that the legal teams for Zuma and the state had failed to resolve their "squabble" over the National Prosecuting Authority's proposed April 1 2009 trial date, Pietermaritzburg High Court Judge Chris Nicholson yesterday ordered them to return to court next Friday.

The state had threatened to raise their trial date dispute with Zuma in open court yesterday, but were invited by Judge Nicholson to address the issue in chambers. These subtle mediation attempts seemed to bear no fruit.

In addition to Zuma's unhappiness about the proposed trial date falling a month before the national elections in May next year, *The Star* has learnt that Zuma's legal team has also raised concerns about the funding of his defence.

Zuma's lawyers have not yet



YOUNG SUPPORTER: Jacob Zuma thanks Philani Buthelezi (7) for his poetry and singing in praise of the ANC president. PICTURE: ANTOINE DE RA