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Manufacturing consent: an analysis of reporting on motor collective bargaining in the financial media

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University Of The Witwatersrand

Global Labour University

Sociology Department

Title: ***Manufacturing consent: an analysis of reporting on motor sector collective bargaining in the financial media***

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Date:	**June 2016**

DECLARATION

I declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in Labour Policy and Globalisation at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at any other University.

Signed_____ _____day of_____2015

Sandra Sibongile Hlungwani

Dedication

To my son, Tshifhiwa Junior Hlungwani and to all activists and media workers in the world!

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I. Acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
AMPS	All Media and Products Survey
AMEO	Automobile Manufacturers Employers Organisation
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
BBBEE	Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment
BCCSA	Broadcast Complaints Commission of South Africa
BDFM	Business Day Financial Mail
CASE	Community Agency for Social Enquiry
CC	Central Committee
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CEC	Central Executive Committee
CEPPWAWU	Chemical Energy Paper Print Wood and Allied Workers Union
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
DGS	Deputy General Secretary
DENOSA	Democratic Nursing Organisation of South Africa
FAWU	Food and Allied Workers Union
FEDUSA	Federation of Unions of South Africa
FRA	Fuel Retail Association
GCIS	Government Communications and Information Systems
GEAR	Growth Employment and Reconstruction
IAJ	Institute for the Advancement of Journalism
IHRG	Industrial Health Research Group
ILRIG	International Labour Resource and Information Group
IIE	Institute for Industrial Education

ILO	International Labour Organisation
MDDA	Media Diversity Development Agency
MEIBC	Metal and Engineering Industry Bargaining Council
MIBCO	Motor Industry Bargaining Council
MISA	Motor Industry Staff Association
MMA	Media Monitoring Africa
NAAMSA	National Association of Automobile Manufacturers of South Africa
NDP	National Development Plan
LCMF	Labour Community Media Forums
LRA	Labour Relations Act
LRS	Labour Research Service
LCMP	Labour Community Media Project
RMI	Retail Motor Industry Organisation
NEHAWU	National Educators Health and Allied Workers Union
NUM	National Union of Mineworkers
NUMSA	National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa
PDMTTT	Print and Digital Media Transformation Task Team
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SACCAWU	South African Commercial Catering and Allied Workers Union
SACTWU	Southern African Clothing and Allied Workers Union
SAMA	South African Medical Association
SATAWU	South African Transport and Allied Workers Union
SOS	Save Our SABC (SOS)
SWOP	Society, Work and Development Institute
SETAS	Sector Education Training Authorities
R2K	The Right to Know
TCA	Thematic Content Analysis

TMG	Times Media Group
TGWU	Transport General Workers Union
TULEC	Trade Union Library and Education Centre
WWMP	Workers World Media Production

Chapter 1: Introduction and background

The study is aimed at investigating the way in which the media 'manufactures consent'; and analyses media reporting on motor sector collective bargaining in the financial media. The study dealt with contextual issues such as media and trade unionism in South Africa, including National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa's (NUMSA) collective bargaining strategies and how it negotiates in the motor sector with Motor Industry Bargaining Council (MIBCO) and Fuel Retail Association (FRA). The views of these employer and industry organisations are also captured.

Many trade unions around the world play a central role in the industrial and political life of their countries. It is this role that has brought them into direct or indirect conflict with other social forces with different opinions. The mainstream media is one of the social actors who usually have an extremely negative view of trade unions. This oppositional view of trade unions by the media has a dire effect on the relationship between unions and the media.

Simon Cottle (2003) argues that media access for all social groups is fundamental especially for the less powerful and politically marginal, 'whose voices and viewpoints structure and inform news discourse go to the heart of democratic views of, and radical concerns about, the news media' (Cottle, 2003, p. 5).

How social groups and interests are represented when they secure access is also 'part of the parcel of media access' (ibid). Media access has consequences for the diversity of information and the interpretive frameworks for understanding society. Cottle further stresses

that how groups are 'legitimated or symbolically positioned as "other", labelled deviant or literally rendered speechless can… have far reaching consequences' (Cottle, 2003, p. 5).

One of the ways in which the media frames news is informed by what Herman and Chomsky (1988) and (Lippman, 1922) call 'manufacturing consent'. This motivated the title for the proposed study. Chomsky critically examines how certain media houses have assisted governments of the United States to feed a particular view of actions including that on governance and its wars in other countries in the name of "democracy".

To tease out the tensions between the media and unions the study explores how newspapers report and analyse collective bargaining. It is important to emphasise that the struggle for better wages and working conditions is the mainstay of trade union activity. Therefore collective bargaining is the main reasons trade unions exist. If a union fails to get decent wages and improve working conditions for its members then there is no incentive for workers to remain in that particular union. This explains why trade unions such as the NUMSA take collective bargaining seriously and this could be seen at its National Bargaining Conferences.

Union expectations from collective bargaining are not only different but also contradictory from those of business as represented by newspapers like the *Business Day* and the *Financial Mail.* It is not surprising that news reports that are critical of the unions' demands are seen as attacking what the trade union movement has achieved. Business papers tend to represent the views of business, and therefore of the owners of capital. For these newspapers collective bargaining is seen through the lenses of an investor or would-be investor. It is this tension between labour and capital in the mainstream media that is also the focus of this study. By analysing collective bargaining in NUMSA's motor sector and how it is reported in the

Business Day and *Financial Mail*, the study investigated how the media frames industrial relations and influences perceptions and discourse.

1.1 The relevance of media in the labour movement

It is widely believed that the rise of neo-liberal ideas has eroded the capacity of the media to spread democratic values and encourage participation by marginalised groups (Atton, 2007). But what is overlooked is the role of trade union media departments in ensuring that their members receive news and information about their own unions. Members' media consumption within the trade union movements is not given much attention.

One can argue that this lukewarm approach to the work of trade union media departments has led to missed opportunities in the development of alternative media for the working class. Alternative media is defined by Atton (2007) as representing the 'interests, views and needs' of marginalised groups in society and addressing the "imbalance of media power in mainstream media, which results in the marginalisation (at worst, the demonisation) of certain social and cultural groups and movements" (Atton, 2007, p. 2).

The absence or ineffectiveness of union media is confirmed by research conducted on COSATU by CASE in 2012 that shows that just less than two-thirds of respondents (65%) indicated that they had not read or seen trade union newspapers (CASE, 2013). Most respondents in the study (78%) indicated that they had not read publications providing alternative views to those of the mainstream media such as the African National Congress (ANC) Today, COSATU Today, Umsebenzi Online, Umrabulo, SA Today or the African Communist.

The daily newspaper read most regularly was the Daily Sun (40%) followed by Sowetan (19%). Chemical, Energy, Paper, Printing, Wood and Allied Workers Union (CEPPWAWU) had the most respondents that read daily newspapers (95%) followed by the Southern African Clothing and Textile Workers Union (SACTWU) (94%), while the Food and Allied Workers Union (FAWU) had only 77% of respondents that read daily newspapers.

Quite interestingly, most respondents read mainstream newspapers and made sure to read local news (86%) followed by political affairs (84%). The sections of the newspapers that respondents were prepared to miss included those that focussed on cultural matters (66%) and business news (58%).

The steady growth of trade union media and the consumption by its members offers both opportunities and challenges for trade union movements. In recognition of these opportunities for growth, and the changing role of the media that has been brought about by digitalisation and social media, trade unions can adopt best practices and improve the usage of trade union media.

1.2 Socio-economic and political context of collective bargaining

1.2.1 NUMSA and collective bargaining with special reference to the motor sector

To link its media analysis with what happens at the workplace the study focused on the motor sector which plays an important role in the South African economy. The study looked at whether there is a connection between industrial relations and media analysis.

The motor sector integrates the manufacture of motor vehicle parts and components, distribution, servicing and maintenance of motor vehicles and accounts for about 10% of South Africa's manufacturing exports. It is made up of motor component manufacturing, vehicle body building, filling stations and garages and motor services and retail. The sector is

represented in collective bargaining by the MIBCO.

I focused on what is referred to as the motor sector in NUMSA and the MIBCO council, excluding auto assembly and tyre manufacturing but comprising of motor vehicle parts and components manufacturing and supply, motor vehicle parts and components retail, motor vehicle retail, services, repairs and maintenance, as well as parts and components fitting centres and garages which are fuel filling stations. In terms of collective bargaining these sub-sectors which fall within the definition of the motor sector fall under the scope of MIBCO.

The reason why I am looking at this sector is because it plays a key role on the world and South African economy.

Economic contribution of the sector

Global annual production in 2012 in the motor industry was 84,141, 209 vehicles and in terms of global vehicle production South Africa can be regarded as a minor contributor producing only 539,424 in 2012 (GCIS, 2012). Locally however, the sector is a giant, contributing about 7.5% to the country's gross domestic product (GDP) and employing around 112, 300 people (OICA, 2012).

Although the top stream manufacturing segment in the motor sector is significantly made up by multinational corporations, there are, however, local players in South Africa. These include South African branches of BMW, Ford, General Motors, Mercedes-Benz, Nissan, Renault, Tata Motors, Toyota and Volkswagen. In fact, many major multinational companies currently use South Africa to source components and assemble vehicles for both the local and overseas markets. All of the large manufacturers in the country have launched major export programmes in recent years. South Africa exported R30.3 billion worth of auto components

in 2006 (GCIS, 2012).

The motor sector in NUMSA - the union's second biggest sector - has 90 000 members and is considered the most vulnerable sector within the union in the sense that it consists of predominantly small businesses. This has an impact on wages and working conditions. The sector is important in vehicle retail and repairs and maintenance. In South Africa, motor sector collective bargaining has a diverse nature in that there are seven identified sub-sectors and this complicates the actual bargaining processes.

Like most industries all over the world, motor sector has faced the effects of globalisation especially the pressure to compete internationally. Industries from emerging economies like that of South Africa have found the going getting tough as government has failed to protect the market from neoliberal economic policies which in most cases have been accompanied by demands to open markets and be market oriented hence the push for tariff reduction supported by agreements such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

Globalisation and crisis

The global economic recession has also impacted negatively on South Africa's economy. Over one million jobs have been lost. According to the National Association of Automobile Manufacturers of South Africa (NAAMSA) South Africa's motor industry faced 34 000 job cuts which resulted into a crisis in the sector due to falling local sales and declining exports on the back of the global economic downturn (NAAMSA, 2009).

Therefore, globalisation is an important factor when talking about the motor sector in South Africa. According to Giddens (1984) globalisation is 'the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant to local realities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring miles away and vice versa' (Giddens, 1984).

In the theory of structuration Giddens further argues that no relationship between media and society could be assumed *a priori*. Instead the relationship had to be explored in its historical context (Ibid).

Giddens further argues that globalisation is hegemonic and follows modernity's four dimensions: the development of world markets; the rise of the nation state system; the emergence of military states and; industrialisation (Ibid). Furthermore, there is resemblance between globalisation and colonisation in that both were motivated by the wish to export to the colonial/globalised market (Smiers, 2003).

1.2.2. MIBCO and how it works

The Labour Relations Act (LRA) provides for the self-regulation of industries through bargaining councils. MIBCO is a bargaining council as envisaged in the LRA whose mission is to create and maintain industrial peace and stability in the motor industry. It provides services to approximately 14 000 employers and 182 000 employees throughout South Africa.

In MIBCO, employers are represented by the Fuel Retail Association (FRA) for fuel service station owners and Retail Motor Industry Organisation (RMI) for motor retail owners while employees are represented by NUMSA (COSATU) and Metal Industry Staff Association Federation of Unions of South Africa (FEDUSA) (Grawitzky, 2009).

The scope of MIBCO is quite extensive and covers workers in very diverse sectors from motor dealerships, panel beaters, petrol attendants and auto-component manufacturers (Grawitzky, 2011). The parties bargain separately across these sub-sectors. The council has indicated that representativity has improved and as a result, the council has been strengthened.

Grawitzky's analysis reveals that MIBCO has sought to become responsive to the needs of the different sectors and has not imposed one blanket agreement on all. Instead there are different agreements for the different sectors. The council believes there is growing maturity among the parties with a shift towards a needs based understanding of the industry (Grawitzky, 2011).

Employers want fragmentations because workers who bargain solidly cannot be divided when it comes to fundamental minimums. As things stand, Mibco has different minimum standards of pay to allow one sector to exploit workers in another sector as a profit making strategy.

1.3 Business reporting in South Africa

This section looks at the profile of the two media publications I have chosen.

1.3.1 Business Day

Business Day is a national daily newspaper in South Africa, published from Monday to Friday and also available as an e-paper. Based in Rosebank, Johannesburg, it was edited by Peter Bruce and published by BDFM Publishers at the time of this research, which is also the parent company of the *Financial Mail* magazine and Summit TV. Launched on 1 May 1985, the newspaper covers all major national and international news, with a specific focus on the South African economy and the business sector, companies and financial markets.

Business Day's Fact Sheet (2012) describes the newspaper as the country's most influential and respected daily, offering incisive coverage of business, politics, labour and other current

affairs, written by some of the country's award winning journalists. 'As *Business Day* is targeted at a niche audience there is very little wastage when placing advertising aimed at our impressive audience. *Business Day* readers are the high achievers of South African businesses' (BD, 2011).

The Fact Sheet describes *Business Day* readers as successful, active and receptive to new ideas, liberal, free thinking, and critical, creative, keep up-to-date, independent, self-advancing and materialistic. *Business Day* always reassures investors that it delivers their message to the right audience. 'By using *Business Day*, you will keep your current investors informed while recruiting new ones' (BD, 2011).

1.3.2 **The Financial Mail**

Financial Mail (FM), a news magazine launched in 1959, targets business people, has a print run of 27691 and publishes weekly. FM is also a publisher of corporate books and annual reports. These include *The Little Black Book, AdFocus* and *The Property Handbook.*

The *Financial Mail* is published by the BDFM, which is one of the big four in newspaper publishing in South Africa with Independent Newspapers, Media 24, and Caxton all commanding a market share of 14%.

According to its website TMG 'owns leading South Africa media and entertainment assets, boasting prominent brands, innovative content, delivered across a variety of channels.' Listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange, its editorial policy says that it 'informs, educates, entertains and connects people' and also 'aims to provide compelling content and creative solutions to enrich lives' (http://www.timesmedia.co.za/about-us/)

TMG's business interests are not only restricted to the print media. 'We focus on building external partnerships, leverage our internal strengths, and to continuously innovate in order to leverage and grow our assets. The various business units that make up the group are Media, Retail Solutions, Books, Entertainment and Digital assets. The businesses are supported by an end-to-end supply chain and logistics platform businesses. TMG prides itself on having great brands and great people that are the cornerstone of the continued success of the organisation' (TMG, 2013).

TMG also claims to play an important role in the community and in **'**people's lives'. 'Looking beyond our strategies, our operational structure and excellence, we bring to life incisive newspaper articles and stories, gripping hard-to-put-down novels, mind-twisting movies, tools with which lives are made easier, giving direction, information and knowledge that make business decisions easier, creating learning partnerships that bring future possibilities closer, giving a hand where it is most needed, debates that span across and have an impact on society' (TMG, 2013). TMG deputy managing director Andrew Gill says the group's readership which used to be 10 million has since gone down (TMG, 2013).

1.4 Motivation of the study

Labour generally feels that it is represented as the deviant 'other' by capitalist interests, and its voices muffled by the mainstream media. In most cases, labour is characterised in public debates as a spoiler. For example, it is common to see newspapers focusing more on the 'threats' of higher wages to economic growth, foreign direct investment, and global ratings, but not on improving the livelihoods of workers.

1.5 The research goal and objectives

The research goal is to critically analyse the way in which the *Business Day* newspaper and

the *Financial Mail* magazine reported on the 2010 and 2013 NUMSA collective bargaining strategies in the motor sector and how workers' demands were formulated.

The objectives are to investigate the relationship between labour and media as portrayed in the *Business Day* and the *Financial Mail* through union responses to the news articles; editorial policies with regards to labour issues; and the sources used by the journalists when reporting on labour issues such as collective bargaining. A content analysis was a done of the Business Day and in in-depth interviews with the Financial Mail. This study develops an understanding on how NUMSA formulates demands in the motor sector and how these demands are reported in the media. The intent of the proposed study is to learn how journalists make labour news by exploring nuances in the political economy of news production, the sociology of news production and the cultural meanings of labour news.

This study contributes to scholarship by analysing how newspapers make news on collective bargaining and what influences these reports. It also investigates how newspaper stories can be used for union as well as public communication purposes in collective bargaining and how these processes can influence trade union communication objectives and strategies.

1.6 Research questions

The study will answer the following questions:

1. How do mainstream media through ownership structures, editorial practices and journalistic routines make news on labour during collective bargaining?
2. What is the content of media reports on collective bargaining? Can it be considered fair and objective?
3. What influence does organised labour have on the media?

1.7. Chapter layout

The thesis begins with Chapter 1 which covers an introduction, context of the study and rationale of the study. Chapter 2 is literature review and theoretical framework which identifies the research that already has been completed in this area. It also provides an analysis of all current information relevant to the topic. Chapter 3 covers research methods and explains methods used to gather the information and data to answer the research question.

Chapter 4 is a summary of research results and findings which consist of the final results and analysis of the research. Chapter 5 offers conclusion and recommendations; this is the final chapter where an overview of the research process is clearly formulated. This chapter also offers some recommendations for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature review and conceptual framework

According to Curran (2000) the traditional way of looking at the media is through media production. This is done through radical political economy which focuses on media ownership and control and "its links to power in society, as well as to related issues such as the functioning of markets" (Curran, 2000, p. 20).

The sociology of news is an approach used to analyse news that is particularly strong on routines. It focuses on the individual journalist; newsroom routines, practices and organisations; and the social, political, economic and ideological factors that shape the making of news (Schudson, 2003). Rees expands on this in the "hierarchy of influence" model. He also argues that routines do not constrain journalists from producing different arguments and perspectives.

Cultural Studies sees media as cultural products and looks for evidence in media content. It also sees the media as ideological in the Marxist sense and also as an extension of power structures. Cultural Studies also draw from the work of Gramsci on hegemony (Richardson, 2007).

However, it is important to state that the three fields mentioned above are complementary. While trade unions challenge the ownership structure of newspapers, they also question journalistic practices especially on the use of anonymous sources and the ideological orientation of the journalists.

As former COSATU general secretary, Zwelinzima Vavi, remarked at a COSATU central executive committee (CEC) press conference in 2013: "The CEC strongly attacks those within the movement who leak and misrepresent our discussions in order to feed their own factional agendas. The media and their sources together want to try to divide and weaken the

federation, and to set the agenda for COSATU meetings. They failed this week and we are determined that they will never succeed" (Vavi, 2013).

As the study will focus on the *Business Day* and *Financial Mail* which have been published for 28 years and 54 years respectively, I will also briefly look at the publications news values vis-à-vis the political economy of news production. According to Hall (1973) newspapers 'encode' text through their production processes which in turn is 'decoded' by the readers. The readers of the *Business Day* and *Financial Mail* are investors and potential investors with investments or interests in the market and companies. Therefore, the investors are interested in business news that provides them with information on where they can make profits. This means that their reading of *Business Day* news articles is a 'preferred reading' as analysed by Hall. According to All Media and Products Survey (AMPS), 2012 the average monthly household income of *Business Day* readers is just over R29, 000 (all other daily newspapers have lower average monthly household incomes). However, it is also the least read daily newspaper with only 68, 000 readers. Circulation: 35 897 (ABC Jan-Mar 2012) 25 046 (Subs)[1]

Readership: **Main Body 62 000**
Health News 150 000
HomeFront 115 000
MotorNews 144 000
Wanted 154 000
Unduplicated readers 243 000

Source: AMPS 2011AB (Jan - Dec 2011).

[1] http://cdn.bdlive.co.za/documents/BD_Fact_Sheet.pdf

Hall also says there is no one reality but many realities, and that media are 'selective devices.' In the case of the *Business Day* and *Financial Mail* it can be argued that they privilege the interests of the investors and capital over those of the workers.

The two publications and other South African newspapers also 'construct' their 'representation' of trade unions. In so doing they define unions using their own concepts and signs. 'It is social actors who use the conceptual systems of their culture and the linguistic and other representational systems to construct meaning, to make the world meaningful and to communicate about that meaning to others' (Hall, 1997).

Hall and Herman & Chomsky agree that the media are symbolic in the sense that they 'construct' and 'manufacture' symbols. According to Chomsky, the media is a 'system of communicating messages and symbols'. Among other things, the media does not only inform but also offers amusement and entertainment. Additionally, it 'inculcates individuals with the values, beliefs, and codes of behaviour that will integrate them into the institutional structures of the larger society. In a world of concentrated wealth and major conflicts of class interest, to fulfil this role requires systematic propaganda'.

'A propaganda model' which Chomsky develops focuses on how the news is filtered by the following:

1. The size, concentrated ownership, owner wealth, and profit orientation of the dominant mass-media firms;
2. Advertising as the primary income source of the mass media;
3. The reliance of the media on information provided by the government, business and 'experts' funded and approved by these primary sources and agents of power;
4. 'Flak' as a means of disciplining the media; and

5. Anti-communism as a national religion and control mechanism.

   (Herman & Chomsky, 1988)

Herman & Chomsky's model is applicable and for this study anti-communism will be discussed in the context of anti-unionism which is prevalent in newspaper reporting of trade union activities whose voices are often marginalised while dominant business interests are allowed free reign and therefore privileged.

Although the media attempts to 'balance' the news with 'objectivity' which (Tuchman, 1978) concludes is a 'strategic ritual', it is clear whose interests they represent. In this sense the 'truth' they represent is only one truth: that of capital and not of labour or the working class. So it is suffice to include issues of hegemony, ideology and discourse in the making and manufacturing of labour news.

The chase for profits diminishes the role of the private media in Africa, and this also applies to South Africa, argues Berger. "It is the case that a private media is typically driven by the market rather than politics. But the limit is that private media then chases profits – and it is not profitable to produce newspapers […]' (Berger, 2001, p. 2).

However, Berger suggests that the media that serves marginalised constituencies should be supported. "What this suggests is that the need for some agency capable of collecting and allocating revenues on a non-commercial basis to ensure that the media needs of these marginalised communities are met. In other words, enter the State" (Berger, 2001, p. 2).

Whilst state support for union newspapers might be desirable in some contexts, however in South Africa, trade unions are self-sustaining and can therefore fund their own publications as is the case now.

2.1 Trade unions as civil society

Berger uses Jürgen Habermass's concept of the public sphere. "This refers to that realm or arena of society where the State (including within it, the government) and Civil Society meet and overlap. It is where Public Opinion is made and has an impact. It is where issues are debated, ethics are defined. The direction of power and its limits are made within the Public Sphere" (Berger, 2001, p. 1).

In the case of this study trade unions are part of civil society and so are private media. How then can the two social groups play a role that serves the public interest of the working class and that of business? With the tension that exists between the two is that possible or it's a pipe dream.

2.2 Radical political economy and press transformation

Although there has been transformation since 1994, and that the press is now more representative of society better than under apartheid, more needs to be done. There is still domination by four media conglomerates and that the Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment should not be equated to 'racial substitution' (Duncan, 2013, p. 3).

'While the press initially resisted attempts to question its lack of transformation as a disguised attack on press freedom, the industry through its representative body, Print and Digital Media South Africa, has had to concede that the state of transformation is less than ideal and needs attention if the press is to maintain its social credibility. While it has rejected

the idea of a transformation Charter for the industry, it has set up its own Print and Digital Media Transformation Task Team to develop a roadmap for the transformation of the industry from within (although with some external input from the public through a badly-publicised public stakeholder consultation) (Duncan, 2013, p. 4).

However, the unions are on the losing side in South Africa because they do not own newspapers, 88% of whom are controlled by Independent Newspapers, Media 24, Caxton and AVUSA. This is a worrying trend which can be addressed by legal intervention as in other countries: 'Similar to those applied in France and Sweden that prevent a news group from owning more than 30% of the circulation, and giving subsidies to small newspapers [...]

> The South African market is veering dangerously towards excessively high levels of concentration and the dominance of Media24 should be of particular concern.
>
> We should be concerned for democratic reasons. Concentration can lead to the prioritisation of views of the elite minority, and the dominance of commercial interests over public interest.
>
> The media gives too much space to middle-class and politically centrist view points (Duncan, J quoted in Majavu, 2011).

2.3 Newspapers as cultural artefacts

It can therefore be argued that concerns by trade unions of an oppositional representation in newspaper reports is a discursive one in the sense that the ownership, production processes, and ideologies all get involved in the production of news. Newspapers for example are seen as hegemonic. According to Lull (2000) "Hegemony is a process of convergence, consent, and subordination. Ideas, social institutions, industries, and ways of living are synthesised into a mosaic which serves to preserve the economic, political, and cultural advantages of the

already powerful […] The mass media play an extraordinary role in the process" (Lull, 2000, p. 54).

2.4 Factors influencing news making processes

Media sociology is another important reference point for the study. Rees (2007) 'hierarchy of influences' model which contains five levels of influence on journalism which are individual, routines, organisational, extramedia (institutional), and ideological (sociocultural) will be important for understanding news making. According to this model media content is influenced by different media workers socialisation and attitudes that can be professional, personal or political. Content is also influenced by media organisations and routines (Reese, 2007). In this sense media structures can be constraining and enabling (Giddens, 1984). Other social institutions and forces also influence content such as economic, social, political and cultural. Content also reflects ideological positions and tends to be 'hegemonic' (Richardson, 2007).

Rees describes the media as a 'symbolic environment' which should be analysed: 'We need to examine the forces that work to shape media content, the messages that constitute the media environment' (Rees, 2007, p. 31). He argues that this environment is part of 'media sociology' that looks at 'how the mediated symbolic environment gets constructed by individuals… within a social, occupational, institutional, and cultural context… with special application to the study of journalism' (Ibid). In this respect he argues that 'media reality' should be compared with 'social reality.'

2.5 Theorising collective bargaining in South Africa

Therefore, it is important for the 'social reality' of collective bargaining to be spelt out in news stories on collective bargaining. For example, do the media have the same analysis of

collective bargaining as found in studies by Hirschsohn, et al. (2000) and Adler & Webster (1995) among others.

Collective bargaining as defined by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) is a negotiation about working conditions and terms of employment between an employer and a group of employees or one or more employee organisations with a view to reaching an agreement wherein the terms serve as a code of defining the rights and obligations of each party in their employment relationship with one another (ILO, 2000).

However, negotiations do not always mean that all parties negotiating have fair and equal chances in the bargaining processes. Burawoy (1979) concurs that the collective bargaining between unions and management was also another "game" that gave labour the illusion of participation and choice. He contends that modern capitalism has succeeded in co-opting workers into embracing capitalism as the preferred ideology (despite the fundamental differences between capital and labour) (Burawoy, 1979).

2.6 Conclusion

The way the media reports on labour issues such as collective bargaining are part of a bigger picture of what Duncan (2013) has described a 'paradox of press transformation'. 'It is a paradox of South Africa's media transformation that – in an era of unprecedented freedom and media abundance – so many workers and unemployed people feel that the only way to make their voices heard is to take to the streets. The post-apartheid project of constituting an inclusive, accessible public sphere through the media is clearly in trouble' (Duncan, 2013, p. 27)**.**

Duncan (2013) advances that the media in South Africa has reproduced the inequalities that are characteristic of the country. “The overly market driven nature of media transformation has meant that the social inequalities of South Africa had shaped the media system” (ibid). Therefore, the media system represented the interests of the middle class and higher income groups. In that sense media transformation was “tilting upwards”.

Even the print media companies agree on the need for transformation. As noted by the Indie Trust, the Print and Digital Media Transformation Task Team was formed as a “result of longstanding debates and calls within the broader society and parliament for transformation of this sector of the SA media landscape. From the Human Rights Commission investigation into racism in the media, to the recent interactions between parliament’s portfolio committee on Communications, the accusation against print media in particular was that it was untransformed and did not reflect the diversity of SA voices, especially the rural and the poor, and was white-dominated in both ownership and issues covered” (Chiwota, 2013).

The power of the media is not a given, as has been warned by studies. “The conviction… that the media are agencies of influence is broadly correct. However, the ways in which the media exert influence are complex and contingent,” (Curran, 2002, p. 158). Although this maybe the case, the media in South Africa tend to promote elite voices and journalists as a group were ‘weak and unorganised’ and therefore their exercise of autonomy was doubtful (Duncan, 2013, p. 26).

Chapter 3

In this section, I analyse the dominant trade union publications and evaluate their content.

3.1 Labour's alternative news: An analysis of trade union publications

In a survey of COSATU shopsteward 2013, shopstewards reported that the *Daily Sun* was the daily newspaper they read most often: 40% of respondents read the *Daily Sun,* while 19% of the respondents read *The Sowetan*. Shopstewards who read daily newspapers most often were found in CEPPWAWU (95%) followed by SACTWU (94%) and FAWU (77%), (CASE, 2013).

This chapter explores trade unions publications and whether these publications are providing alternative voices to mainstream media such as BDFM or are operating in the same mould. This chapter approaches news from a distinct class perspective, namely, that of the working class. It also further investigates what informs union publications and what they are trying to achieve. Unions have invested in television stations like eTV, and radios like Primedia. Trade unions mostly run internal print media, the rate of investment and frequency of publications in print media is uneven as some unions are consistent whilst others are not. Why would unions, for instance, complain that their viewpoints are not coming out in the media when they can use their own media where such views are promoted? These are some of the questions that this chapter addresses. This is what the unions have tried to do to develop an alternative media.

Although the study is focusing on NUMSA, I will also look at the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) affiliates, National Education Health and Allied Workers Union (NEHAWU), National Union of Mineworkers of South Africa (NUM), Democratic Nursing Organisation of South Africa (DENOSA) and Transport and General Workers Union

(TGWU). I will also look at the 'alternative' media available besides trade union media. Possible 'alternatives' are Workers World Media Production (WWMP) and the South African Labour Bulletin (SALB). I used interviews and also looked at union publications including their media and in some instances the policies of the unions concerned.

3.1.1 Improving communication with members

The independent labour movement in the 1970s led to the development of distinctive trade union structures based on the principle of 'worker control'. However, this idea that the union is worker controlled, that 'the union is its members' is nowadays no longer dominant.

The rapid growth of trade unions and the complexity of negotiations at plant level gave rise to the need for organisers and sector coordinators to assume active roles at the shopfloor level thereby pushing the idea of 'worker control' into the background. Servicing members became more important than 'the union being its members'. Shopstewards were no longer the only link and communication channel between members and the union.

In a bid to improve communications with members, NUMSA former Publications Officer, Jenny Grice, took six months' sabbatical leave to conduct a survey between July and December 2000. The aim of the survey was to investigate some of the views of the NUMSA *News* readers particularly around the area of radio and more particularly community radio. Grice has been a NUMSA Publications officer for 26 years. She began working for NUMSA as a national education administrator and became Publications Officer from 1990 (Grice, 2000).

Shopstewards are expected to provide the link between members and the union. NUMSA has also used other means to try and bridge that gap. Mostly it has used printed materials -

NUMSA *News,* NUMSA *Bulletin*, pamphlets, posters, placards, stickers and action during campaigns.

According to the communications survey done by NUMSA in 2000, almost 20% of those interviewed had never seen NUMSA *News* before. When they read it, language was mentioned as sometimes being a problem.

Grice agrees that trade union print media alone is not what members read or listen to: "fixing up our communication with members through NUMSA *News* is just one aspect of the bridge. The other is that our members are also readers, listeners and watchers of other media. More than 80% of those interviewed had a TV, all listen to radio stations - the most popular being the regional SABC radio stations in the vernacular. Many were also readers of mainstream commercial newspapers - *Sowetan* followed by regional papers such as the *Star*, *Ilanga*, *Eastern Province He*rald, and *Cape Times*" (Ibid).

As mentioned earlier, NUMSA is not the only trade union with its own internal media department/units, an alternative media to address issues without editorialising the Marxist-Leninist agenda. Alternative media also known as community media, particularly in South Africa demonstrate some conflicting notions some of which are ideological, that surround its existence. Some consider it to be alternative media (Atton: 2003), native media (Harcup 2003) while (Downing: 1988) considers it as grassroots media that has a developmental and democratic role to play. This is supposedly through its character of being local in sense and the expectation that it should fulfil their participatory, and democratising potential. These characteristics of community media have strong normative and idealist overtones to them.

It is the 'grassroots and participatory' element that portrays alternative media as the voice of the voiceless, mainly produced by 'volunteers' and exists as a non-profit entity. A component

which mainstream 'capitalist media' is often criticised for by many critical theorists (Garnham, 2006; Smythe, 1997). The perilous critics note mainstream media ability to be used as instruments of domination or liberation (Kellner, 1997).

3.1.2 An analysis and evaluation of trade union publication

3.1.2.1 NUMSA *News*

NUMSA News was launched in 1990 after resolutions taken at the NUMSA February 1989 Central Committee (CC) and at the May 1989 national congress.

The resolution states that:

- *"It should be a popular based newspaper that uses simple language and is written in the different languages common in NUMSA*
- *It will be called NUMSA News"*

The union's Congress in 1990 noted that:

- *Information and communication is the basis of proper democracy.*
- *NUMSA has no information and educational newspaper and our members need one."*

The Congress resolved:

- *To have a monthly newspaper which will cover trade union and community news.*

- *This paper should be educational and convey Union policy and news to the members. The Union must make sure that the information is collected and the paper circulated properly to our members and that our members are discussing the contents of the paper and making comments.*

The publication was guided by the NUMSA's political philosophy. As stated in the preamble to its Constitution this philosophy includes to:

> *(a) fight and oppose discrimination in all its forms within the Union, the factories and in society;*
>
> *(b) strive for maximum unity amongst organised metalworkers and organise every unorganised metalworker into our national industrial Union;*
>
> *(c) ensure that all levels of our Union are democratically structured and controlled by the worker members themselves through elected worker committees;*
>
> *(d) encourage democratic worker leadership and organisation in our factories and in all spheres of society;*
>
> *(e) reinforce and encourage progressive international worker-to-worker contact so as to strengthen the worldwide society of metalworkers.*

Grice (2015) said, for her, *NUMSA News* was just one weapon to use to try and inform, educate and politicise members so that the union would remain strong in the absence of shop

stewards who were not doing their job of reporting back, educating etc. The point is supported by Kellner (1997) where he says that capitalist media contains the potential for democratising, humanising and transforming existing inequalities in the domain of class; race and gender.

However, it was no good to just shove jargon and information down readers' throats in the hopes that they would be educated and informed. The union had to build a readership of *NUMSA News* amongst the membership so that they looked forward to seeing the next newspaper and that they understood by what was being written in the newspaper (ibid).

The following was done to encourage members' participation:

- Increased the numbers of *NUMSA News* to six times a year
- Encouraged readers to write to *NUMSA News* about their issues
- Built a core of NUMSA writers who were on the ground and could cover issues of relevance to members
- Ran crossword competitions with a prize of something – all the answers were to be found in that edition of *NUMSA News* so readers were forced to read most of the stories
- Developed diverse stories in the newspaper to cater for different members – e.g. sport, poetry (with poems included from members), children's competitions with prizes of school books etc. (encouraging members to take the newspaper home to their kids).
- Included in the *NUMSA News* stories from workers and articles from the leadership

- Ran short summaries of complicated stories translated into isiZulu, Sesotho, and Afrikaans so that those with minimal English could get the gist of the story from the summary
- Provided a Dear Judy page where members could complain about service and get advice on what to do
- Encouraged readers to send in cartoons, stories of what had happened to them
- Built a core of NUMSA writers (members, staff and shop stewards) so that they could provide the stories from the ground.

Before taking an early retirement, Grice's work included editing publications i.e. write and/or edit publications including the regular newsletter for NUMSA membership - *NUMSA News* - and the feature-type magazine *NUMSA Bulletin*; develop through targeted writer training a core of NUMSA writers who were also full-time officials, shop stewards or members of NUMSA who provided stories of the organisation's activities from the grassroots.

Although Grice didn't have much formal journalism training, she attended a number of courses during her time as publications officer run by various organisations including COSATU, and the Institute for the Advancement of Journalism (IAJ). Producing publications also increased her on the ground experience. Her interest always tended to be more in the area of publications, particularly in how to use the union publications both to inform and educate membership and as a forum for grassroots involvement from members.

When *NUMSA News* was first produced it was a four-page tabloid so not much could be covered. During Grice's stint as publications officer it grew to being six times a year and with +/- 24 pages. Sections covered included:

- Comment by the general secretary
- Letters to the editor
- *Bua* (Sesotho for speak) – a page encouraging members to write longer opinion pieces about anything that they were concerned about
- Dear Judy – a column that invited members to write in about their service complaints. Judy would then follow up and let them know where the problem was. Sometimes the problem would relate to something outside of the labour environment in which case Judy would advise them accordingly
- Collective bargaining – updates of negotiations, new agreements etc.
- Community – a community-based issue that affected NUMSA members
- Politics page – would cover debates and developments in the Tripartite Alliance
- Factory floor issues – strikes, dismissals, retrenchments etc.
- Gender
- International issues

NUMSA News sourced content from the developed core of writers (this included a mix of staff, shopstewards and some ordinary members). It was easier to get these writers to put their ears on the ground and get stories. Sometimes they would come with stories that were burning issues in their areas. NUMSA attempted to create an informal news coordinator at a regional level. However, because of structures this task was given to the regional secretaries who had far too many other duties to perform. So this never really worked.

NUMSA News would also cover in more detail some of the issues that the media officer was covering in press statements or Grice would ask writers to cover something that had come up in national constitutional structures or was in the commercial media and that needed a NUMSA slant.

Sometimes the writers would send a photo with their story. NUMSA supplemented these photos with others from professionals sourced from Picturenet Africa and other photographers.

NUMSA News also ran a competition for members to submit cartoons around issues. This revealed a number of good worker cartoonists who were then contracted to produce a number of cartoons in future issues.

At the time, the publications officer was situated in the education department. As such the education staff, particularly the head of national education (Dinga Sikwebu) was closely involved in both writing stories and in helping decide on content. Many of the regional educators also doubled as writers and submitted stories on a regular basis.

Sometimes *NUMSA News* would run a special series on particular issues. For instance after the new SA Constitution was adopted, Sheena Duncan, a Black Sash and civil society activist, wrote a series of articles for *NUMSA News* on the Chapter 9 institutions. Readers were encouraged to submit questions to her which she duly responded to in her next article.

The percentage of contributors or writers varied depending on different issues but probably more articles were written by staff than by members/shopstewards.

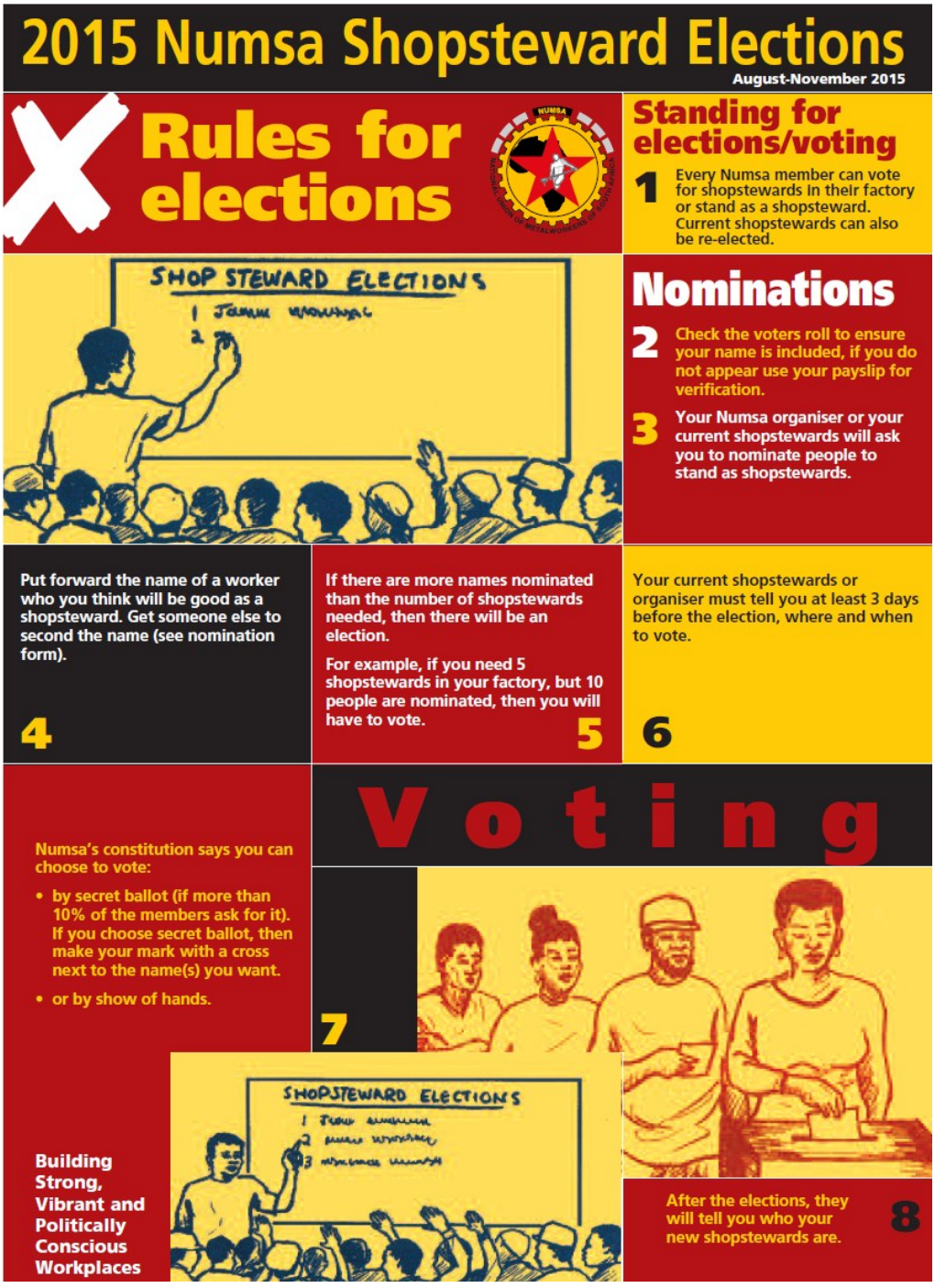

Figure 1. This poster appeared on NUMSA News during shopstewards elections campaign educating members on how to vote and the process of voting for shopstewards (NUMSA News; August 2015).

NUMSA News represented voices of the workers and shopstewards through the *BUA* page which allowed workers to say what they wanted across a range of different issues – from botched male circumcisions to the Tripartite Alliance. The letters page was almost entirely the voices of workers. The Dear Judy page consisted of letters from workers listing complaints around service and other matters. Factory floor issues/strikes often quoted shop stewards/workers on the cause of the strike/issue/action.



NUMSA News No 4 • October 201

Bua 19

Connecting with child-headed households

CYNTHIA MACHABA

Over 100 000 children live in child-headed households. Government in an attempt to reach out to such households called on South African citizens to make known the whereabouts of such households. Child-headed households are households where all members are under 18-years of age.

The Minister of Social Development, Bathabile Dlamini, called on South Africans to assist in ensuring that existing and new child- and youth-headed household receive the necessary support from government by informing the Department where they are.

The call, made during Child Protection Week (1 — 8 June) an annual campaign, aims to promote the safety, well-being, care and protection of children. Child Protection Week is hosted under the theme "Working Together to Protect Children", which calls on all citizens to play a part in ensuring the well-being of South African children.

The Department mainly assists child- and youth-headed households through the Isibindi Model — an initiative that deploys trained community-based child and youth care workers in communities in an innovative outreach programme providing care, protection and developmental support to vulnerable children and families.

During the 2013/14 financial year, the Isibindi Model reached nearly ninety thousand (90 000) orphaned and vulnerable children with its services.

In 2006, This Children Count — Abantwana Babalulekile (child advocacy group/UCT project, presented a report showing that 0.67 % of children under 18 years lived in child-headed households. This is equivalent to roughly 122 000 children out of 18.2 million children in South Africa.

Most child-headed homes have between one and three members with at least one child over 15 years of age. Most children attend school (95%).

Most children living in child-headed households have two living parents (61%) and 80% have a living mother. Children that have lost both parents — double-orphans (8%) live in households with adults and this, suggests that kinship networks continue to provide care. So, in this instance, the spirit of Ubuntu lives.

However, the living conditions of child-headed households tend to be bleaker than children in mixed-generation households, for example, access to water and sanitation and infrastructure is minimal, probably as a result that most of these dwellings are located outside of cities. Majority of child-headed households — 90% — were located in Limpopo, KwaZulu Natal and the Eastern Cape.

The study found that very few children in child-headed households earn an income. Social grants remained an important source for millions of people in South Africa.

A common assumption, the found was that HIV\AIDS was a major contributing factor that caused a spike in the increase in child-headed households. This was not evident. The HIV epidemic left many children orphaned. It doubled the orphaned population from 2002 to 2006 from 2% (357 000 children) to 4% (660 000). However, this increase did not automatically cause a rise in the number of child-headed households.

PICTURENET

MATERIAL NEEDS: A child hangs out the washing in Badplaas, South Africa.

The study pointed to the need for more research to guide appropriate interventions.

The Department of Social Development's focus is to locate every child- and youth-headed household. Its compiling a register of child- and youth-headed households and, by May this year, had recorded 885 households.

If you know of child- and youth-headed households inform social workers, local au thorities and community leaders such a chiefs, traditional leaders and faith-base leaders or contact the Children's unit of th Department of Social Development on 08 786 4961 or at tshidim@dsd.gov.za .

Cynthia Machaba is a Numsa shopstewar Joburg North loc

Figure 2. The *BUA* page allows workers to say what they wanted across a range of different issues – from botched male circumcisions to the Tripartite Alliance (NUMSA News; October 2014)

Key to developing regular contributors was to find members/shop stewards/staff who had a passion for writing. Letters page in *NUMSA News* was used as one way of finding those that were passionate about writing. The 'winning letter' writer then received a NUMSA t-shirt with an offer of being trained as a NUMSA writer.

Once they came to writers training, they were given the basics of how to write stories for *NUMSA News (and NUMSA Bulletin*) – structure, angles, different styles/voices in writing, interviewing skills, 'show don't tell' etc. NUMSA also bolstered the writers' skills by:

- Running what we called 'writers' frenzies' once a year. These were 2, 5 day residential workshops where writers had to come with a story idea; at the workshop they interviewed relevant people for their story, researched on the internet and were required to submit a first draft at the end of the 2, 5 days.
- Bringing 3-4 writers to major conferences e.g. the national bargaining conference, national congresses etc. They would work together with the editor to produce a conference/congress daily newsletter for the congress/conference delegates.

Both these exercises boosted writers' confidence and writing experience and developed different skills in their writing so that they were more likely to be regular contributors.
The biggest threat to them being regular contributors was their promotion through the union – many writers became key individuals in the union – e.g. Karl Cloete (DGS), Cedric Gina (ex-president), etc.

As with other trade unions, there was no real editorial team although the general secretary had the final say over the content.

Although there was no formal editorial policy for *NUMSA News*, they used the guidelines that were developed in the re-launched *NUMSA Bulletin* in 1999 below to 'gate-keep':

- Avoid making personal attacks - rather criticise a political position. Substantiate your argument and give a constructive alternative.
- Back up statements, like "membership has dropped" or "meetings were poorly attended", with statistics to prove it.
- Explain jargon - different people interpret words differently.
- Make people want to respond to your argument.
- Be provocative in a constructive manner.
- Be gender-sensitive.
- Be open and fair.

Because for most of the time that I was employed as publications officer we were also producing the *NUMSA Bulletin*, much of the more contentious articles were sent there. There was a time when the *NUMSA Bulletin* was closed down because of critical articles (articles that are critical about the union) that had been submitted. It was only brought out again after a Central Committee in 2000 which resolved that:

> "The National Office Bearers will take the overall responsibility for *NUMSA Bulletin* without suppressing the views of the writers. They are entitled to scrutinize, edit and sanction letters/papers," (Grice, 2015).

HEALTH

Miners take on mining houses over **silicosis**



Current and former mineworkers who have worked in gold mines from January 1965 who suffer from a respiratory disease known as silicosis are taking to court 30 mining houses on behalf of themselves and dependents of miners who have died from the disease. The matter that is known as *Nkala and others v Harmony and others* was scheduled for 14-15 April but the Deputy-Judge President postponed to late June or early July 2015. The matter will be heard at South Gauteng High Court in Johannesburg.

Silicosis is a chronic lung disease caused by breathing in tiny bits of silica dust. People who breathe in silica particles have these stuck in their lungs; reducing their ability to breathe. Prone to silicosis are people who work in mining, sandblasting and construction. Silicosis is a chronic disease and cannot be cured.

The miners who are taking up the matter to court claim that the mining houses ought to have reasonably known that the inhalation of silica dust in gold mines can cause silicosis. They also argue that the mine owners should have taken measures to prevent the inhalation of the silica dust. The mineworkers believe that the mine owners have the legal duty to provide a safe and healthy work environment. The argument is that the mining houses breached this legal duty.

The Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) and Sonke Gender Justice are applying to be admitted as friends of the court in the matter. Huge mobilisation is planned for the days when the matter is later heard in court. NB

Miners are exposed to deadly diseases such as Silicosis and extreme working conditions. Photo Picturenet

Figure 3. An article about how mineworkers struggle with silicosis and extreme working conditions for just less than R7000 a month (NUMSA Bulletin, July 2015).

I now turn to how the union approached mainstream media. Trust issues with the mainstream media remains a serious challenge for the trade unionist. Not all of the mainstream media are regarded as sympathetic to union views. Most of the coverage of union issues was around strikes/negotiations. TV/radio and the press often reduced the complicated negotiations process to a short sound-bite which didn't reflect the union's position at all. When it came to important issues like explaining the union's bargaining demands, there was little coverage of the detailed demands aside from stating what the union's wage demand was.

Other issues, e.g. shopsteward elections, were never covered by the mainstream media so there was total reliance on NUMSA's own communication strategy to cover this.

NUMSA took steps to counter oppositional representation by the media. The media officer used a number of strategies, namely:

- Negotiating for space for a NUMSA -written article in the major newspapers e.g. *Business Day, Sunday Times* – the focus here was to try and sway business leaders and other middle class readers to the NUMSA position
- Paying for an advert in major newspapers where *NUMSA* could explain its stance e.g. *Sowetan* – the focus here was on black readers to try and get their support.

To make sure that members got a better sense of what NUMSA's views were:

- The media officer ensured that NUMSA leaders were interviewed on radio and TV so that they could put their views clearly and counter what had been said/written in the commercial media

- We used the editorial in *NUMSA News* to clearly state NUMSA s views
- We produced pamphlets, posters, booklets to explain more clearly the union's standpoint (sometimes incorporated into NUMSA News).



Unite Against corruption

AUGUST 2015

Stay-away on Wednesday 30 September

On 12 June, a historic first meeting took place between eight unions and 29 civil society organisations. With Numsa and the United Front taking part, the organisations met to discuss what was happening in the country and what they were doing as different movements.

What partly prompted the gathering was how on 27 May, President Jacob Zuma misused his budget vote in Parliament to laugh off the issue of Inkandla.

Putting a salt into the wound was the release by Minister Nathi Nhleko of a 'report' that said that the President was not liable to repay a single cent of R246-million of public funds spent on Zuma's residence in Inkandla.

The meeting felt the President's reaction and Minister Nhleko tried to make fools of South African citizens and organisations that have expressed outrage of the abuse of public funds and power.

The meeting felt that the reaction was a reflection of five things: growing political arrogance; abuse of power; lack of accountability; an epidemic of corruption that was engulfing the country; and corruption denialism where despite evidence a tendency to close rank has developed and where denying that the cancer of corruption was attacking the country had become fashionable.

The meeting felt that these attitudes and practices must be stopped. Those gathered resolved to:

- build an inclusive people's alliance against corruption and for social justice.
- organise a massive marches on Wednesday 30 September to the Union Buildings, Parliament and other centres to demonstrate a South Africa united in its total rejection of corruption.

Since the first meeting in June, 107 organisations have joined the *Unite Against Corruption* coalition. The call for action has also been signed by 68 well-known artists, cultural activists and sportspeople. The coalition also held pickets on Friday 07 August to coincide with the deadline for the submission to Parliament of the Ad Hoc Committee on Inkandla.

Numsa serves notice for the strike

Figure 4. The value of this picture illustrates something about the composition of the crowd that it is better captured visually than in words. Capturing the collective powers of workers close together wearing the same red T-shirts NUMSA News insert, August 2015).

NUMSA News use pictures to better illustrate even if you are illiterate, you don't need to be able to write in order to understand NUMSA News.

When it came out every 6-8 weeks it was a real alternative because it was coming out regularly. When it came out less often it was more difficult because many issues that were important to cover were old news by the time the next issue came out.

NUMSA News provides an alternative to the mainstream media. The mainstream media will always win on the quick soundbite but NUMSA's publications were able to give more background and detail on the story behind the soundbite. Often this was an alternative view on the matter.

Examples:

More detail behind the soundbite

- All the information around new centralised bargaining agreements was never covered in the commercial media nor were issues like training that was happening in the Sector Education and Training Authorities (Setas), and the Union's own education plans.

An alternative view on the matter

- For example, stories around the economy, the energy issue and Eskom, did provide useful and alternative views which members did adopt.

3.1.2.2 COSATU's Shopsteward magazine

A study of COSATU shopstewards was initiated by the Communications Officer at that time, Moeletsi Mbeki. Mbeki commissioned a number of researchers including Edward Webster from The Society, Work and Development Institute (SWOP), a director of SWOP at that time. According Webster (2015) The Shopsteward magazine emerged out of the first

COSATU shopsteward survey conducted in 1991. In the survey, it emerged that there was no shopsteward magazine that workers had access to which was written in simple English with day to day issues on the shopfloor. "Instead we found that all the newspapers and television that they had access to were mainstream and anti-worker publications. We recommended to COSATU to establish its own publication," (Webster, 2015).

This section is based on an interview that I conducted with Patrick Craven, former head office employee of COSATU. He first worked as editor of the *Shopsteward* magazine, then as National Spokesperson for 15 years. The establishment of the magazine was sparked by the need to inform and educate shopstewards in particular and members in general based on a pro-working class and socialist philosophy.

As a national spokesperson, Craven commissioned articles for and edited the Shop steward; He wrote and took photos for the magazine**;** drafted media statements and speeches and sent them out to the media. He organised and chaired press conferences; convened meetings of the Media Forum**;** represented COSATU at other organisations' functions and headed the Communications Unit.

As with Grice in NUMSA, Craven's level of understanding of journalism and media rapidly grew over the years that he was at COSATU.

The objectives of the *Shopsteward* magazine were to publicise and explain the federation's views and mobilise activity in support of workers' struggles. However, Craven doesn't think it is still being published since he left COSATU in early 2015.

The *Shopsteward* magazine covers the following themes: The political situation; Debates; Workers struggles; Union events; Gender; Youth; International solidarity and Readers' letters. Articles were from federation and union leaders, officials and members, and from others with similar views, such as academics or civil society groups. Pictures are mainly taken by COSATU staff.

Unlike NUMSA, COSATU has six members of the Communications Unit: Editor**,** Spokesperson**,** Communication Officer**,** Design and layout officer/business manager**,** IT coordinator and a website manager. In addition to the team, external (non-union) contributors covered a wide range of political, economic and social issues.

The working class is not well represented at the *Shopsteward* magazine**.** It is always a struggle to get articles from the grass roots; too much was written in union offices, particularly when the current crisis in COSATU was developing.

The editorial policies were broadly in line with the federation's own policies, though there was always room for different views. Only views totally opposed to the unions were excluded, e.g. employers attacking striking workers.

As with NUMSA, COSATU's trust on mainstream media has dwindled over the years. The media is largely owned by big companies and is also dependent on advertising revenue which leads to a bias in favour of business interests. In particular, coverage of strikes is invariably hostile highlighting any acts of violence and divisions within the leadership. There is very little background analysis of the causes of industrial conflict.

COSATU tries to get their views in the mainstream media by sending out very frequent press statements and convening regular media briefings and occasionally organising off-the-record briefings.

The *Shopsteward* tries to serve as an alternative as it undoubtedly played an important educational role and sparked discussion among the membership. Issues that spring to mind are Growth Employment and Reconstruction (GEAR) and the 1996 class project, the national minimum wage and the National Development Plan (NDP).

3.1.2.3 Transport and General Workers Unions (TGWU)

One of the key informants interviewed was Kally Forest, former Media, Research and Communications Officer of the then TGWU) now known as SATAWU.

Kally Forest, who worked alone in the communications unit, was the first Officer to work on the TGWU. TGWU was one of the first unions to establish media and communications unit and had a bi-monthly newspaper TGWU newspaper focusing mainly on bargaining issues; trade union and COSATU news, in-depth political and labour articles, education material on bargaining and the economy. TGWU covered stories in plain accessible English.

TGWU was formed after the union's National Executive Committee (NEC) held a discussion in 1986 about communicating more effectively with membership and made a decision to employ a media officer to produce such a paper. The newspaper was launched in the spirit of workers control and that in order to strengthen the working class workers should be fully

educated and informed so they could debate and formulate appropriate strategies and not have to rely on an informed leadership alone.

Articles were sourced through interviews; telephonic contact with branches; contact with media officials and organisers in branches; interviews with workers in the workplace, at NECs, in education and gender forums etc.; COSATU media syndication service material; articles and photos contributed by workers; soliciting thought-provoking articles from particular people; visual material was accessed from Afropix (labour friendly photo cooperative), William Matlala who specialized in labour images; mainstream press images and from workers themselves.

TGWU had external writers who wrote on labour history; current and past SA politics; international labour and politics issues; workers education bargaining matters (inflation; grading; negotiating skills; preparation for negotiations; doing research for negotiations; basic maths and calculations on employer offers etc.); education articles on matters like understanding economics and different economic systems; and cultural issues (which included poems, stories, photos).

Worker and shopsteward voices were often represented in the publication but mainly as an oral contribution. "I interviewed people often telephonically or in person or did short pieces where I asked their views on something. There was no editorial team – loose discussion in the union on content. There was no policy ever drawn up but many people would comment spontaneously on the publication in meetings etc. and make suggestions on future content. No gatekeeping," (Forrest, 2015, Johannesburg).

"In the early 1990s, mainstream media such as the *Weekly Mail* and *New Nation* carefully carried articles and had reliable journalists who were supportive and creatively critical. *Sowetan, Sunday Times, Business Day* etc. are unreliable and at times inaccurate and sloppy and at others would carry copy but I used to nag them to do so and bring events to their attention. I worked with specific journalists. I used to phone and engage them on corrections and inaccurate representations of the union position," (ibid).

According to Forrest, TGWU somehow provided an alternative voice to the workers. "It was important and workers looked forward to it and commented on it and enjoyed knowing about union activities. They also commented on any specific company information that was in the paper which gave them information e.g. on company profitability, or intention to retrench etc.

"The education officer used articles on a variety of topics that would never appear in mainstream media in education seminars in worker packages. This was because articles were short and written in accessible language and not dense academic articles that were so often in packages in those days. It was really important to produce the newspaper regularly so that workers started to look for it and look forward to it. All new members were given a copy as an introduction to the union," added Forrest.

3.1.2.4 Other COSATU Affiliates

The National Education, Health and Allied Workers' Union (NEHAWU)

NEHAWU is an affiliate in COSATU and the biggest public sector union and the biggest in the Public Service Coordinating Bargaining Council, a negotiations structure for public service employees in South Africa.

NEHAWU spokesperson, Sizwe Pamla, said the union uses publications, Facebook and Twitter to communicate with its members and the public. NEHAWU established its magazine in the late 1990s and discontinued around early 2009.

However, the union has different publications e.g. *NEC Bulletin, Education Bulletin, and International Relations Committee Bulletin*.

The purpose of these Bulletins is to provide information and updates on matters that are of importance to the union, and to educate members on certain issues. The Bulletins are published under the political philosophy of Marxist – Leninist ideology and published only in English.

The themes/sections covered include health, education, international matters, legal matters etc. Content is sourced from various departments within the union. The Bulletins are distributed electronically.

The editorial team consist of the Head of Department, Head of Secretariat, Deputy General Secretary, and the General Secretary. NEHAWU has over 2000 followers on Twitter where they post information about media statements, events of the union, bulletin updates, etc.

NEHAWU believes that the untransformed mainstream media in our country does not have the same ideological perspective as the union, equally does not cater for the class that they serve as a union, it also have its own class objectives to achieve.

NEHAWU has a strong presence in the social media arena. They have a Facebook, Twitter and a website which they use to communicate instantly with members, get feedback quicker and it is updated regularly.

Surprisingly, even with the impressive social media presence, NEHAWU has never run any campaign through these tools.

National Union of Mineworkers of South Africa (NUM)

The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) was founded in 1982 facilitated by Cyril Ramaphosa now Deputy President of South Africa who rose to be its first General Secretary, James Motlatsi who became its first President, and Elijah Barayi who became its Vice President and later the President of COSATU in 1985 when the federation was formed.

NUM organises in the mining, construction and energy sectors and is one of the oldest industrial unions in South Africa. NUM has a fully-fledged media and communications department operated by former journalists with specific areas of specialisation in the media.

The union has established a bi-monthly newsletter- *NUM News* and two magazines- *Umsebenzi* and *Internationale.* Adding to these publications, NUM has a strong presence in the social media arena with Facebook, Twitter and a Whatsapp group with the purpose of informing and educating members. Although a huge fraction of NUM members are semi-literate, the union publication is written in English and is not translated to any indigenous languages.

Democratic Nursing Organisation of South Africa (DENOSA)

The Democratic Nursing Organisation of South Africa (**DENOSA**) was established on the 5th of December 1996. **DENOSA** has a magazine called *Nursing Update* that is jointly published by DENOSA and Uhuru Printers. The magazine gets published 11 times a year, and has a combined January/December issue.

The magazine covers nursing - health issues, professional, labour and also features lifestyle articles. According to the union, this is a very important communication tool for DENOSA to

their members and is reportedly read from front to back by all. All members of DENOSA receive their monthly copy of this magazine by post. It is targeted at more than 80 000 nurses and their families every month. This publication is also distributed to institutions of higher learning, international partners and individual subscribers.

South African Medical Association (SAMA)

The South African Medical Association ("SAMA") was formally constituted on 21 May 1998 as a unification of a variety of doctors' groups that had represented a diversity of interests. Today, SAMA is a non-statutory, professional association for public and private sector medical practitioners. It functions as a non-profit company registered in terms of the Companies Act as well as a trade union registered in terms of the Labour Relations Act.

SAMA has a journal called **t**he *SAMAI* - The South African Medical Association Insider – a monthly publication, featuring news, views, interviews and key articles on specific topics, matters and issues of interest and importance to both public and private doctors in their daily practices. The journal aims to serve the needs of academics, authors, researchers, and readers. *SAMAI* is published by Health and Medical Publishing Group (HMPG), a leading publisher of academic health and medical content in South Africa which was established in 2005 to manage the publications of SAMA.

UNION	CIRCULATION	FREQUENCY	LANGUAGE	SOCIAL MEDIA PRESENCE
NUMSA	**120 000**	**Bi – monthly**	**Mainly English, Tsonga, Venda, Sotho, Zulu and Afrikaans translation**	**Facebook, Twitter, Website,**
COSATU	**23 000**	**Bi-monthly**	**English**	**Facebook, twitter, website**
TGW (defunct)		**Bi-monthly**	**English**	
NUM	**200 000**	**Bi-monthly**	**English**	**Facebook, twitter, website**
NEHAWU	**Electronic**	**Bi-monthly**	**English**	**Facebook, twitter, website**
SAMA	Published monthly (one volume comprising 12 issues per annum	**Monthly**	**English**	**Facebook, twitter, website**
DENOSA	**80 000**	**Monthly**	**English**	**Facebook, twitter, website**

Figure 5. The table illustrate the frequency, language, circulation figures of trade union's newsletters.

3.2 An alternative beyond trade unions. Is there a possible solution in sight?

It is very important to note that the relationship between trade unions and the mainstream media in the late 1980s and early 1990s was a 'healthy' one. Trade unions were well-respected organisations consulted for their views on almost anything. Today trade unions are seen as 'the spoilers', as those who are getting in the way of the transformation of the country, holding up for higher wages instead of giving in to allow new workers to be employed at low wages. Coverage in the press largely follows this change in perception. Trade unions have lost the ideological battle in the media. Unlike the 1980s and 1990s, where there was a vibrant alternative press where trade unions could get the real story covered, ironically the 'new South Africa' has put an end to these - funding for the alternative press from international sources has dried up.

The idea of trade unions starting their own publications was not solely for the unions. An alternative, *South African Labour Bulletin (SALB)* was established by a group of left wing academics who were involved in supporting the emergence of unions in the 1970s. They launched the publication as an independent forum to debate strategic issues relating to building the labour movement. The first editorial board was Johan Maree and Edward Webster. Some were involved in trade union education through the Institute for Industrial Education (IIE) in Durban.

The *Labour Bulletin* was supposed to be a non-partisan, independent focus on labour aimed at supporting the emerging labour movement in relation to appropriate strategy and tactics and to augment workers control and ensure internal union democracy.

The *Labour Bulletin* sources its content from attendance at various meetings, seminars, congresses, workshops, and colloquiums. It solicits material from specialised writers in a

particular area. The *Labour Bulletin* editor also writes own material from interviews and research. Images are sourced from Mr William Matlala- Labour photographer; internet, mainstream press, writers of articles.

News topics that are covered include:

- external contributors wrote SA union news;
- analytic articles on labour, politics, and economics; international labour developments including a focus on Southern Africa and whole of Africa,
- community activities and organisation and how to build community organisation and what alliances were appropriate with labour;
- historical labour articles often on SA labour and non-labour history of all kinds but also international labour history and political movements and ideologies;
- cultural reflection as well as poems, short stories, reviews of books, films and festivals of interest to workers.

Shopstewards' voices are moderately present. Organisers and union leadership at top level tend-to read and contribute to *SALB* more. *SALB* editorial board consists of about eight people meeting every three months including trade unionists, academics, activists interested in labour, students past labour activists and labour lawyers.

SALB editorial policy is to provide information and stimulate critical analysis and debate on issues and challenges that confront workers, their organisation and their communities; communicate this in an accessible and engaging manner. In so doing it hoped to advance the discourse of progressive politics, promote social justice and the interests of the working class. According to Forrest, the Board would evaluate each edition using the above criteria and

suggesting matters be covered in future editions. It was always a very creative and useful discussion and the board was helpful and supportive.

It had a limited circulation in unions and only senior shopstewards and organisers seemed to read some articles. It was important therefore to keep articles short and manageable as people are busy. It was definitely an alternative for other constituencies too e.g. communities and an international following and was used in education seminars in a variety of organisations and trade unions. It is always difficult to say how effective it was as an alternative but could often gauge indirectly when people would quote an article in a seminar or discussion.

Sandoval (2009) argues that public visibility should not be an aim for alternative media, success of alternative media should not be measured by scope, number or recipients or circulation. Alternative media are successful if they contribute to the establishment of dialogue within a local community or within existing social networks.

However, alternative media such as the *SALB* and other trade union media, "aims at establishing a counter-public sphere by reporting about topics neglected by capitalist mass media and by criticising structures of domination and oppression. Such alternative media needs to gain public attention if they want to be successful in raising awareness and mobilising for social struggles" (Sandoval; 2009).

The reader surveys done by former editor, Kally Forest, indicate support for the publication and the importance of an alternative voice in SA especially the post-apartheid period where so many alternative publications had died.

3.2.1 Workers World Media Production (WWMP)

The state of journalism (the increased media monopolies, the corrosion of good investigative reporting and the downgrading of industrial and labour reporting) concerns most activists, both in South Africa and internationally.

A vibrant democracy is possible with a media literate citizenry as Caton-Rosser & McGinley (2006) point out that if local issues are frequently neglected in mass media, de-legitimizing the existence of real democracy.

According to a WWMP report, South Africa has seen pro-government media bias from the state broadcaster as well as the establishment of new print media that pushes the government line. At the same time, press freedom is being eroded, with the proposed Protection of State Information Bill – the "Secrecy Bill" (WWMP Report, 2015).

This legislation would allow the state to prosecute journalists who publish information it would prefer to see covered up for reasons of 'national security'. Given the fragile state of South African democracy, especially after the Marikana massacre, this is a worrying development indeed. There is increased hostility towards media and journalists in the world. At the time of writing this study, in Egypt four Al Jazeera reporters were still being detained by the military junta there and accused of supporting a terrorist organisation, presumably the Muslim Brotherhood party that was toppled from power.

WWMP was established in 1999 and registered in 2003. During September-December 1997, a collective of labour service organisations carried out a radio pilot project, called 'Workers World'. It consisted of 12 weekly 30 minute slots on Bush Radio, a community radio station,

focusing on issues relevant to workers and the labour movement. At the evaluation meeting at the end of the pilot project, it was agreed by the participating organisations to set up a semi-independent radio production project. This decision was based on the obvious need for radio productions focusing on labour related issues and our successful execution of the pilot project. The collective agreed to carry out a feasibility study and preparatory work for setting up the project. This was completed during 1998.

During this time the three trade union federations, COSATU, Fedusa and Nactu along with three labour service organisations, Trade Union Library and Education Centre (TULEC), Industrial Health Research Group (IHRG) and the International Labour Resource and Information Group (ILRIG), agreed to participate in the setting up and future control of the project. TULEC merged with the LRS and the project was part of the LRS Education and Media component until 2003.

WMMP's vision is to have 'informed, organised and mobilised working class acting'. In line with this the mission of WWMP is 'to provide quality, relevant and informative media productions, special events, education, training and access to the media for trade unions and workers in general'.

WWMP reiterated its commitment to the fundamental principles of the labour movement:

- Unity of workers and working class people
- Organisational and political independence
- Democracy – both in broader society and within organisations

"We are committed to progressive popular education and journalistic ethics that aim to provide education and reporting that is democratically participatory, balanced, informative and interesting" (Jansen; 2015).

WWMP has the following media production shows:

- Weekly Radio Productions for Community radio and SAFM
- A weekly Labour TV Show on CTV
- A national community newspaper, Elitsha

Publications

- Solidarity with the people of Palestine Booklet
- Solidarity with the people of Swaziland and Zimbabwe Booklet
- 50 Years of the Freedom Charter – A Cause to celebrate? Booklet
- Freedom of expression & Media Freedom in Africa
- Basic Shopstewards' Training Manual
- Let's Get Organised
- False Profits DVD
- 60 Years of the Freedom Charter – No cause to celebrate for the working class

The production has two main projects. "Our flagship project is the Labour Community Media Project (LCMP) that started more than 10 years ago and involved the democratic development of weekly labour radio shows in over 40 black working class communities based in all nine provinces. The project provides development support to these labour shows

and communities by providing project co-ordination, weekly productions of documentary features on the topic for the week in five languages, training and support to production teams in communities through Labour Community Media Forums (LCMF's). The audiences for our community radio shows are mainly poor and working class based in urban, peri-urban and rural townships. The LCMP also includes a weekly labour show on SAFM and Cape Town TV (CTV). The audiences for these are mixed across the class and race spectrum…" (Jansen; 2015).

This argument is also central in Fuchs (2010) examination of alternative media as a critical form of media. For Fuchs, critical media are characterised by critical form and content. "There is oppositional content that provides alternatives to dominant repressive heteronomous perspectives that reflect that rule of capital, patriarchy, racism, sexism, nationalism… there is counter-information and counter-hegemony that includes the voices of the excluded, the oppressed, the dominated, the enslaved, the estranged and the exploited" (Fuchs, 2010:179).

To achieve above objective, WWMP was owned and controlled by the trade union movement of which COSATU was its major stakeholder. However, its constitution was amended recently (2015) to do away with organisational representation.

Distribution has been the major challenge for alternative media. For Fuchs (2010) production is only possible based on reception and distribution. Content distribution is the foundation of reception.

One could argue that funding remain critical in the production, distribution and consumption of alternative media. This is certainly true according to Sandoval (2009) “without money alternative media production rests on the self-exploitation of media producers, low-cost production techniques and the usage of alternative distribution channels. This creates problems with continually producing an alternative media product and difficulties in reaching a broad audience” (Sandoval; 2009: 176).

WWMP is funded by European solidarity funds from trade unions and/or Social Democrat affiliated organisations such as the Federatie Nederlandse Vakbeweging (FNV) is a federation of trade unions of the Netherlands, National People's Action (NPA) in the United States of America and Olof Palme International Centre in Sweden. They have also received funds previously from the Department of Labour for specific project work.

Adding to this**,** until recently, all three trade union federations (COSATU, Fedusa and Nactu) were represented on WWMP board along with the LRS, ILRIG and IHRG. However, the constitution was amended and while the board members remain the same, they do not formally represent their organisations. “We also partner at local level with unions on an ad-hoc and needs basis around various aspects of our work. We are alternative to the mainstream and have a ‘working class bias’ while respecting media and journalistic ethics” (Jansen; 2015).

WWMP views the mainstream media in South Africa as highly problematic and conservative largely due to ownership and control by ruling class capitalist elements and interests. Part of its stated mission is to challenge this dominance through direct campaigning as part of

broader coalitions like Save Our SABC (SOS) and The Right to Know (R2K) while at the same time providing alternative democratic media platforms to working class people.

As a result, the relationship between WWMP and the SABC is not good and it currently mainly works with SAFM for whom they have produced a weekly labour show 'Workers on Wednesday' for nine years.

Alternative media is not immune to party politics. WWMP has been producing radio programmes to all SABC radio stations nationally but most of them only ran for two seasons because "we were dumped as we were seen to be too close to COSATU during the African National Congress (ANC) Thabo Mbeki –Jacob Zuma presidency leadership contest. Despite our subsequent attempts over several years to have labour shows on SABC radio stations the doors have remained firmly closed. We've begun with Facebook and a weekly E-newsletter and will continue with these. Our main work will remain in the traditional media and we will seek to integrate these into digital platforms in the near future" (Jansen; 2015).

3.2.2 Workers photojournalism

William Sekube Matlala is a well-known labour photographer who has been shooting photos of workers for more than 30 years. In recognition of his service COSATU gave him a long service award.

The discovery of a camera in his father's army kit and the realisation during the 1985 strike wave that fewer photographs of workers were being published in newspapers, inspired him to go to factories and shoot photos of workers. His photos were published in newspapers including the Weekly Mail (now Mail & Guardian), the Business Day, and the City Press.

The photos also appeared in left publications such as the New Nation, South, Work In Progress and the South African Labour Bulletin and have also been published in books such as that by (Forrest, 2011).

Union publications such as those of SACCAWU, SADTU, NUM, and NUMSA also used his photos.

“Union publications are effective when they involve workers. For example, interviews at the workplace encouraged workers to write for union publications. By so doing they connected union leadership to the shopfloor and this also showed that the leaders were committed to the power and voice of the workers.”

However, this tradition of involving workers in union publications is fading. “Unions are publishing magazines from the offices without going to the workers and piling them in offices instead of distributing them to workplaces. As a result workers do not even know about their unions. Union leadership uses the media to talk to workers instead of going to meet them.”

3.4 Conclusion

Unions have been successful in giving information and clarity on issues such as collective bargaining as seen in publications such as *NUMSA News* and those from other unions. These publications have also been platforms for debate and exchange of information among shopfloor workers. COSATU’ s *Shopsteward* magazine has been useful in stating COSATU’s position with regards to the working class struggle in South Africa whilst the *SALB* has been seen as a publication for the union elite. WWMP, through their programme on SABC

channels such as SAFM's 'Workers on Wednesday' has taken working class debates to the mainstream media. WWMP has also used alternative television channels such as CTV.

Although unions have tried to represent their views in own publications these are often small and not reaching all the unionised workers. Alternative publications such as the *SALB* have also not made it to the shopfloor and where this has happened it has been on a small scale. The publications can therefore be described as alternative at the level of content as they do not have capacity to reach as many readers, viewers and listeners as those of the mainstream media. They can also be described as 'critical media that question dominative society' (Fuchs, 2010, p. 182) and are therefore critical of efforts by the mainstream media to 'manufacture consent'. However, a case can be made for them to come together in a collective effort as a distinct class, the working class against the neo-liberal media. Whether this is possible or not is difficult to tell as the unions are not one monolithic block with divisions and splits common even among COSATU affiliates not to mention other federations like Nactu and Fedusa.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Research methods and strategies

The study will examine what trade unions have done so far in terms of media production. In particular, the study is concerned with these questions: how mainstream media through ownership structures, editorial practices and journalistic routines makes news on labour during collective bargaining? What is the content of media reports on collective bargaining? Can it be considered fair and objective? Lastly, what influence does organised labour have on the media? In order to answer these questions, the study used quantitative and qualitative methods. Qualitative methods were necessary in order to identify how news were reported.

On research methods and strategies (sampling, data collection, data analysis, and access), this study used quantitative and qualitative methods. These included content analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis of 19 articles published in BDFM and other media. Fairclough's three dimension model of discourse as text (textual analysis), discursive practice (how news articles are produced and distributed) and discourse as social practice was used. Survey questionnaires were also sent out and in-depth interviews carried out.

Content analysis was used in identifying recurring themes in the sample and also in counting the news sources. "… the aim of content analysis in media research has more often been that of examining how news, drama, advertising and entertainment output reflect social and cultural issues, values and phenomena" (Hansen, Cottle, C, & Newbold, 1998, p. 92).

To illuminate latent meanings of the BDFM stories as news discourses, an analysis was done of news articles selected from a sample of 19 news articles that focused on collective bargaining that were published in 2010 and in 2013.

This study took into account that journalistic discourse is a unique genre that comes from a combination of discursive practices, and that news values and practices can be analysed as outcomes of discourse processes (Richardson, 2010). Journalism also fulfils particular social functions and has a relationship with other agencies of political, judicial and economic power and is consumed, interpreted and enjoyed in ways that are specific (Richardson, 2010).

CDA is also a tool for analysing how newspapers interpret social events. Interpreting any event 'involves the beliefs, opinions, hopes and aspirations of those gathering, reporting and publishing the news' and in that process ideology inevitably co-determines what gets published, when it is reported, and how the reporting is done (Thetela, 2001).

4.1.2 In-depth interviews

The researcher conducted in-depth interviews with the identified respondents. These are NUMSA collective bargaining team (labour); Business Day and Financial Mail reporters (Media); Media monitoring Africa; MIBCO (Bargaining Council) and FRA (Employers).

(a) Media

In-depth interviews were done with a selection of key informants. Initially, interviews were to be conducted with labour reporters and political editors from both BDFM. It turns out that both these publications do not have labour reporters or political editors. Instead, there are reporters covering economic and financial sections with a direct link to trade union and labour issues.

To ascertain whether the *Business Day* and *Financial Mail* have been compliant with press codes, another key informant interview was made with the Media Monitoring Africa (MMA) via telephone and through a questionnaire emailed to them on the 2nd October 2014 in Johannesburg. Reporters interviewed were: Sikhonathi Mantshatsha, Ntsakisi Maswanganyi, and Karl Gernetzky. Interview were done face-face and through questionnaire on the 3rd October 2014 in Johannesburg.

(b) Labour and the motor sector

Key informant interviews were done with representatives of:

NUMSA bargaining team: Elias Kubheka - NUMSA chief negotiator and other NUMSA regional motor organisers and National Sector coordinators. The interviews were done at Numsa head office between September and October 2015 in Johannesburg.

1. Roger Piedt
2. Oupa Sefume
3. Zihlalele Dawethi
4. Vusi Mabho
5. Viwe James
6. Stephen Nhlapo
7. Hlokoza Motau
8. Thembile Livi
9. Bafana Zitha
10. Mduduzi Nkosi

(i) Bargaining council

- Motor Industry Bargaining Council (MIBCO), Boniswa Ntshingila- MIBCO National Researcher. The interview was conducted on the 26 November 2014 through email questionnaire.

(ii) Employer Association

- Fuel Retail Association (FRA), Reggie Sibiya, FRA Chief executive officer

(iii) Media Monitoring Africa (MMA).

- Media Monitoring Africa (MMA). William Bird, MMA Director

4.1.3 Content analysis

Business Day newspaper clippings will be analysed for the year 2010 and 2013 on its coverage of the NUMSA motor sector bargaining processes. Thematic Content Analysis (TCA) as defined by Anderson (2007) is a descriptive presentation of qualitative data which may take the form of interview transcripts collected from research participants or other identified texts that reflect experientially on the topic of study.

The researcher also made use of NUMSA archival documents collected from meetings and conferences such as the national bargaining conferences, national congresses, national executive committee, central committee, policy documents, and press statements.

4.1.4 Extended case method

Another method used is the extended case method as part of participant observation to connect individual experiences with larger structural forces in a reflexive dialectic.

Participant observation is considered a staple in anthropological studies, especially in ethnographic studies, and has been used as a data collection method for over a century (Kawulich, 2005).

Extended case method seeks to reconstruct existing theory (Burawoy, 2009). Although the positivist approach is that research must be conducted at an arm's length it is virtually

impossible for a researcher to isolate themselves from the subject to avoid some biases. The researcher attended some of the meetings during negotiations as part of the team of observers. However, the researcher is not biased in this study as a result but this has enabled the researcher to unearth – like an anthropologist – facts which would not have been discovered through other means. The data obtained through participant observation was used in interviews with labour for clarification of some beliefs and actions observed during negotiations. Observation assisted the researcher in the understanding of the physical, social, cultural, and economic contexts within which negotiations are premised; the relationship between employers and employees and a nuanced understanding of context which can only be obtained from personal experience.

Participant observation was done as a NUMSA publications officer at the NUMSA collective bargaining meetings. However, I did not participate fully; I simply observed and took notes of the proceeding during negotiations. Negotiations took place over a period of three months (May- July) at the Kopanong Hotel in Benoni. The strike started in September and lasted nearly three weeks, and was resolved in October.

4.2 Access

Access to respondents has been established both formally and informally. The BDFM and NUMSA are situated in Johannesburg, where the study took place, which is within easy reach for the researcher. Documents and other archived material were made accessible to the researcher. Although this is not primary research, primary sources (original texts) were still used for data collection. Primary research was done to create the researcher's own data through applying different methods of data collection (i.e. content analysis, interviews or questionnaires, etc.).

4.3 Data analysis

Collected data was thematically analysed in order for it to make sense by exploring and interpreting them. Data analysis began immediately after the first data was collected, and this process continued and was modified throughout the study. The interviews were analysed through the different themes and quotes were taken from the interviews.

4.4 Limitations

The study focuses only on the print media. That being the case, the researcher also realises the importance of the electronic media (radio and television) and social media particularly Facebook and Twitter. However, it was beyond the scope of this study to be able to encompass the media in its entirety.

I am also aware that no research is able to cover all aspects that arise during field work. In that sense I will be able to make notes that can be pursued by other researchers for future studies. The researcher is conscious that levels of access at the BDFM differed from that at NUMSA where I am currently employed and the trade union movement and in particular COSATU where I am well known.

I am also aware of the fact that this study intersects between labour relations and media studies and this means that it is almost impossible to deal with multiple issues that emerge from this complex web. However, I also see it as an opportunity to identify the *leit motif* between the two fields.

4.5 Ethical considerations

Ethical considerations to be considered include informed consent and the right to privacy. A

major ethical issue in survey research is the invasion of privacy in the process of data collection. This might happen when a researcher asks intimate questions and personal beliefs or by bringing in audio devices (other respondents might feel constrained by the presence of a device) (Neuman, 2000). Researchers are vulnerable to breaking the golden rule of right to privacy when collecting data.

As a NUMSA employee, I am aware of my positionality at NUMSA. As argued by (Bondi, 2003) there are benefits to thinking critically about and paying greater attention to issues of reflexivity, positionality and power relations in the field in order to undertake ethical and participatory research.

However, (Bourke, et al., 2009) acknowledges the tensions which arises between insider/outsider, centre and periphery, positionality and representation, process and purpose are part and parcel of what it means to grapple with being a researcher (Bourke, et al., 2009).

In conducting interviews, the purpose of the research was explained to the respondent. The researcher did not try hard to push interviewees to respond to questions they were uncomfortable with. In South Africa, a researcher must submit the proposal to her local institutional ethics committee for review (Wassenaar, 2006).

Wassenaar (2006) argues that ethics committees are not without problems or criticism against them. These committees assume that researchers will behave unethically unless prevented from doing so. He notes that decision making in the committees are usually shaped by their institutional dynamics.

Chapter 5: Results and Findings

5.1 Introduction

The chapter presents the findings of the research, which will be analysed in the next chapter. As noted in the previous chapter, the research drew on interviews from four groups, the first being labour (union negotiators) and shop stewards involved in wage negotiations. The second group was made of bargaining councils; the third labour reporters and editors; and the media monitoring organisation.

The questionnaires dealt with contextual issues such as media and trade union context in South Africa, Media, NUMSA and Collective Bargaining, media and Collective bargaining in the motor sector with views from MIBCO and FRA, and media monitoring.

A number of trends emerge from the findings. First, unions' communications strategies were primarily made up of publications and meetings. Second, freedom of expression and media freedom were contested, despite their being guaranteed by the Constitution. Third, the media's reporting of issues affecting workers falls at the bottom of the 'hierarchy of credibility' in that worker voices are marginalised. Fourth, worker issues were also not given in-depth coverage. Fifth, bargaining councils also felt that they were given inadequate coverage as they felt that they were involved in far more discussions and negotiations than what they read in the papers. Using the Propaganda Model, it will be critical in the analysis chapter to take into account nuances of context, which might help explain some of the trends above better.

An overview of the approach to preparing the interview questions is offered, before unpacking the context within which each of the interview questions were posed and the intention thereof. Having done so, the chapter proceeds to presenting the findings under each of the posed questions. The results are presented in a manner that responds to the main and sub-question the research posed in chapter one.

5.2 Media and trade union context in South Africa

The NUMSA negotiating team was interviewed with the view to gather data on the processes of negotiations drawing on practical experience and to develop an understanding of the extent to which the negotiations process is able to pull together various demands by labour.

5.3. Interviews

5.3.1 Interview with NUMSA negotiating team

The questionnaire tested the issue of a trade union's communications strategy during negotiations; media freedom; transformation; representation of workers voices and freedom of expression. What follows is an account of the interview questions and the responses thereto. Each of the questions is accompanied by a brief overview of the context within which they were posed, before responses are presented.

The questionnaire aimed at providing information on collective bargaining by members of NUMSA. The information obtained was treated with the strictest confidence and no names will ever be associated in anyway with the results of the study. At the end of each question respondents were requested to provide examples and context to help the researcher understand the ratings and responses.

(a) Respondents were asked about their level of knowledge on collective bargaining. The question was posed with the view to establish the respondent's level of knowledge on collective bargaining. Two categories existed amongst the 12 respondents: eight of them were very informed and only four have a minimal knowledge of collective bargaining. See pie chart below:

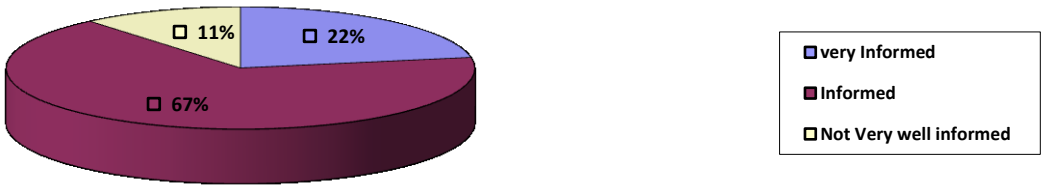

Figure 1: Level of Respondent Knowledge on Collective Bargaining

All respondents knew how to formulate demands, and unions' strategies with regards to bargaining. They knew the employers' associations within the sector. Respondents had done some legal work and have been involved in more than one sector.

(b) Issues of media freedom and the respondent's awareness of such were dealt with next.

On media freedom, respondents in this category strongly felt that though there are no restrictions on media organisations even though a lot more still needs to be done with regard to media freedom in South Africa.

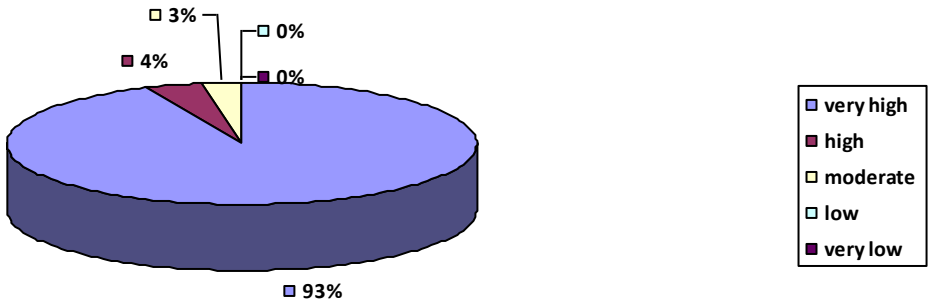

Figure 2: Media Freedom

From the above chart, it is clear that 93% of the respondents agree that there is media freedom in South Africa, while 4% responded that there is a high level of media freedom and 3% said media freedom is just moderate.

The general sense amongst respondents is that the media has not managed to trace where the workers were based. The media is only interested in strikes and vandalism.

Some respondents said that government and businesses should empower community media through advertisements and proper training. There is a space for community media to cover issues that relate to workers at a community level.

A bit more than half of the respondents also advocated for more labour content in the mainstream media. They feel that mainstream media uncritically accept and report on what is already out there when it comes to labour relations issues. Labour is the key component in South Africa because of high levels of unionisation.

Respondents pointed out that South Africa has good media laws which protect the media and allow them to report on whatever they think is right. They believe that since the media relies on people for information, sources needed to be protected but the big problem was that of ownership.

(c) Voices of workers and trade unions in the mainstream media

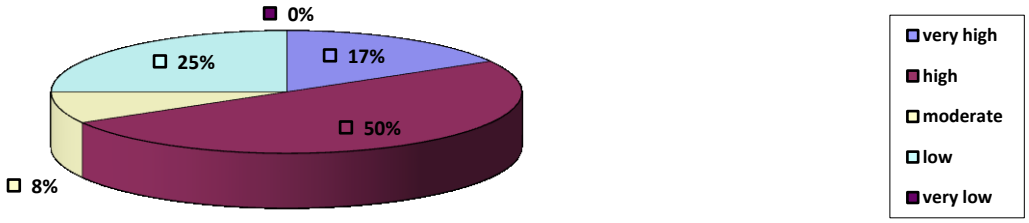

Figure 3: Worker and Trade Union Voices

Of note is that 50% of the respondents reported there are very few voices of workers in the mainstream media. There was a general feeling that most unions solely rely on their own media, which is not broad.

"*There's a need for a labour television that can cover labour news. The day to day news is not covered. The processes of bargaining are not explicitly covered. In all circumstances where there is a media coverage is when there is a controversy but all good initiatives taken by the unions and workers do not receive any media coverage*", respondent 2, Elias Kubheka.

"*They only cover all the events, strikes and other things. The Daily Maverick is only analysing the profits that the companies were making. The first Marikana strike portrayed*

workers as holding the country at ransom. They portray unions as disruptive," respondent 3, Roger Piedt.

(d) Trade unions input in news content on collective bargaining

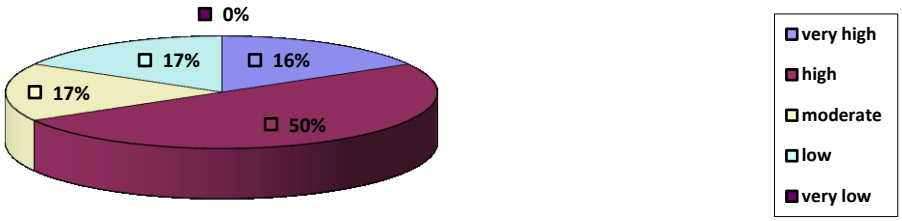

Figure 4: Trade unions input in news content

Generally, as the chart points out, respondents felt that there is not much coverage about collective bargaining in the mainstream media. Mainstream media do not cover as to why a certain union demands a certain percentage. Only 49% said that mainstream media does cover trade union issues on collective bargaining.

> "*The media is lazy to dig deeper, they cover press statements instead of substantive issues. Unions don't form part of news content. At any type of media where we present our demands to the public we ensure that we give detailed information to our demands, but as we said when it comes to publicity of that then that's where the problem is. The media always interviews the union leadership*," respondent 3, Roger Piedt.

> "*Mainstream media is less interested in workplace issues. They are only interested in*

the strikes that will impact on the economy and not at how workers are affected. Without these strikes it is hard to see workers being reported on or profiled. The Star used to have a column for labour issues but they have since stopped it. Maybe trade unions do not involve the media and show them the importance of having a column that deals with worker relating issues," respondent 4, Oupa Sefume

(e) Freedom of expression by the mainstream media

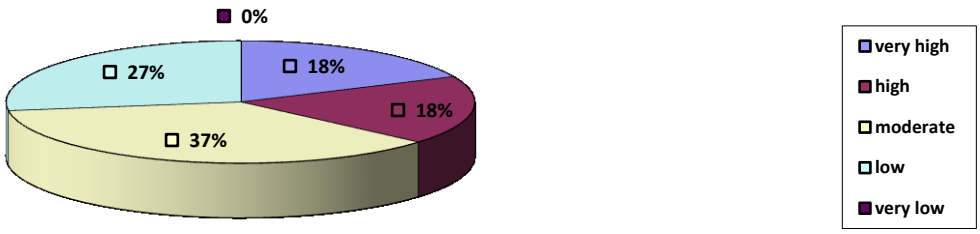

Figure 5: Freedom of expression

As illustrated by the chart above, only 37% of the respondents believed there is sufficient freedom of expression in South Africa.

"*In South Africa every person, organization has a right to express his/her views without fear or favour. But freedom of expression depends on where you are sitting. We have different interest groups in this country. Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) might say the media is fair while politicians might say no or yes depending on the political party. This is a very subjective matter*," respondent 3, Roger Piedt.

"*The controversial Jacob Zuma painting (Spear of the Nation) by Brett Murray displayed at*

the Goodman Gallery which sparked the march by the ANC might be viewed as an attack to freedom of expression. On the other hand, we continue to see images of Jacob Zuma and that of the ANC dominating the news, something which the Democratic Alliance might see as favouritism of the ruling party," respondent 7, Viwe James.

(f) **Media transformation since democracy in 1994**

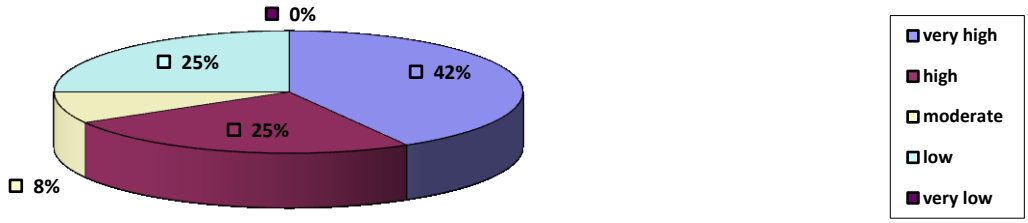

Figure 6: Media transformation

Respondents (25%) generally felt that there have been some strides that have been made since the dawn of democracy.

"*We saw the influx of community media, formations of organisation advocating for media freedom such as the Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA) and previously disadvantaged individuals owning media / production houses. But these are a selected few cases, a lot still need to be done*," respondent 8, Stephen Nhlapo.

Despite this fact, 25% (low) of the respondents believe that the media firms in South Africa continue to serve the interest of those who owns the means of production.

"*In terms of South African news; investigative journalists are trying their level best to cover*

prominent issues such as the presidential upgrade in Nkandla for Jacob Zuma. What is lacking though is the coverage of conflict in other African countries by South African media," respondent 11, Thembile Livi.

Notwithstanding the issue of ownership and control, the general view was that the media has really transformed and diversified.

(g) The agreed percentage for wage increase in 2010

- Components: 9%; 8% and 8%.
- Other Sectors: 9%; 8% and 7%.
- Garages: 10%: 8%; 8%.

(h) Relationship between agreed percentage and an increase in productivity

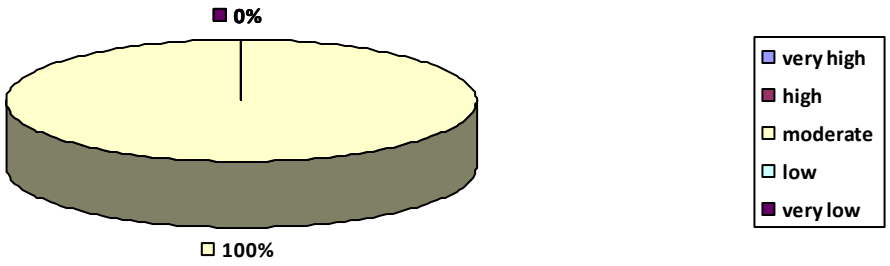

Figure 7: Relationship between agreed percentage and productivity

Very few respondents were keen on answering this question. Some said they do not have a

system or mechanism to monitor productivity. Employers are not entirely faithful in disclosing the exact percentage of productivity. After the 2010 Motor negotiations; there were lots of retrenchments, restructuring and production targets were pushed up and the employment levels did not go up.

(i) Implementation of 2010 demands by employers

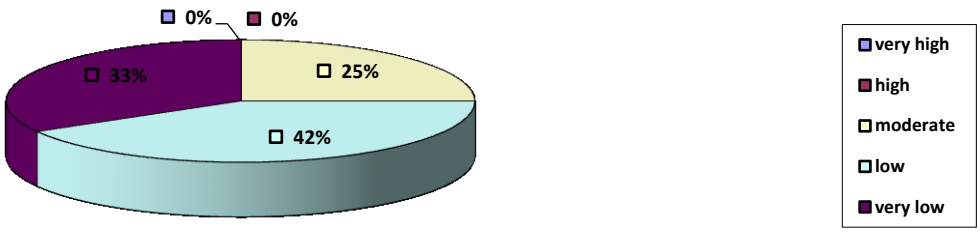

Figure 8: Implementation of 2010 demand

On this question, respondents expressed feelings of frustration that the demand on 35% threshold on labour brokers was not immediately implemented by the employers as they were waiting for the agreed deadline for the Motor Industry (MIBCO) bargaining inspectorate enforcement.

(j) Similarity between demands made in 2013 to those of 2010

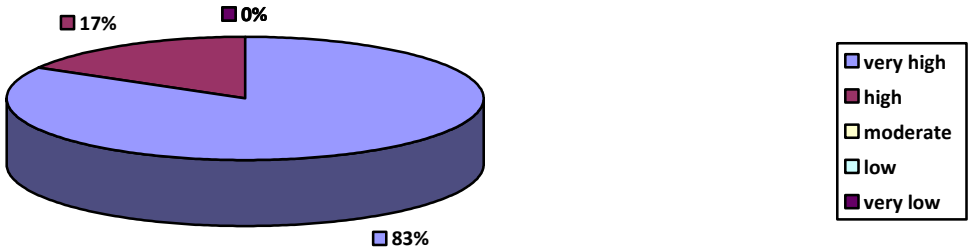

Figure 9: Recycling of demands

Respondents agreed that 2013 demands are similar to those of 210.

"*If you look at our demands throughout all the sectors the demands for the past 10 years remain the same as today's demands*," respondent 12, Bafana Zitha.

(k) The main demands in 2010 and 2014 were the same.

a. Wages

b. Medical aid

c. Duration

d. Hours of work

e. Training

f. Health & Safety

g. Banning of labour brokers

(l) The level of consultation with other unions in the sector

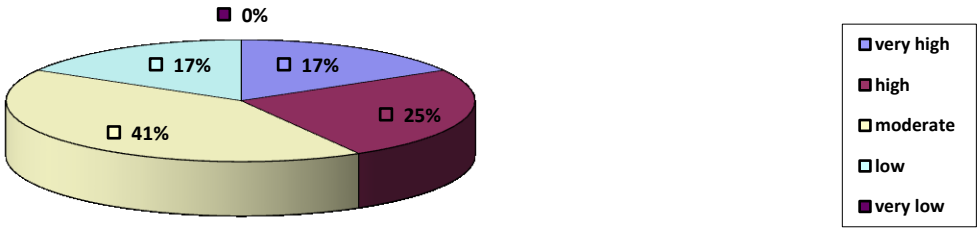

Figure 10: Level of consultation with other unions

Please explain your rating, which unions you consult and how you inform them

"*Ever since joining the union I have never come across a situation where the union will have a discussion with other unions to share experiences on collective bargaining processes*," respondent 11, Thembile Livi.

(m) Communicating union demands to members and the public

On the question of medium of communications used by the unions all the respondents hinted that no concrete initiative was in place to drive this. They entirely depended on the mainstream media and union internal communications system.

(n) Level of trust in the media to communicating union demands effectively

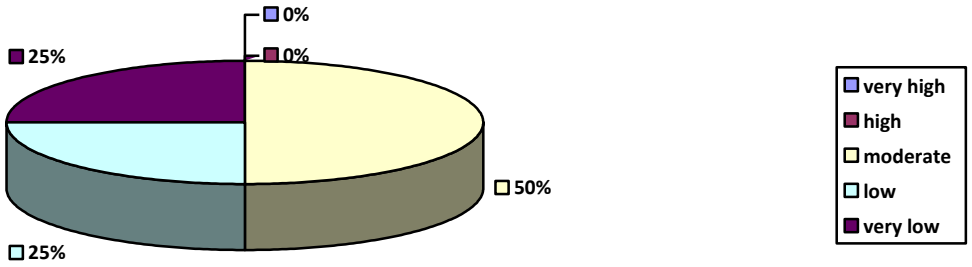

Figure 11: Level of trust in media

On the question of trusting the mainstream media in communicating union demands, the participants responded that while there were some advances by the media to communicate union issues; trusting the media remains a huge challenge for shopstewards.

"*Part of the explanation lies in the fact that the media is profit driven. This may explain why a level of trust in communicating union issues is moderate*," respondent 7, Viwe James.

"*In particular, shopstewards /respondents cannot afford certain newspapers, let alone the sizeable number of union members. The information conveyed by the media does not necessarily reach union members. In all negotiation rounds the media in particular, the electronic media, is only interested in wage demands; they have less interest on the substantive demands,*" respondent 6, Vusi Mabho

.

(o) Dealing with oppositional representation by the media through union communications strategy

Respondents were not aware of whether the union has a communications strategy or not and what it entails. NUMSA newspaper, Factory meetings and email messages are the medium

used by the union internally to properly communicate messages miscommunicated by the media.

"*During negotiations; there will be reports done by the media on oppositional parties. The union will convene mass general meetings to give a detailed report and also put the labour perspective on the content of the report*," respondent 3, Roger Piedt.

(p)The extent to which media reports affect the outcome of your negotiations

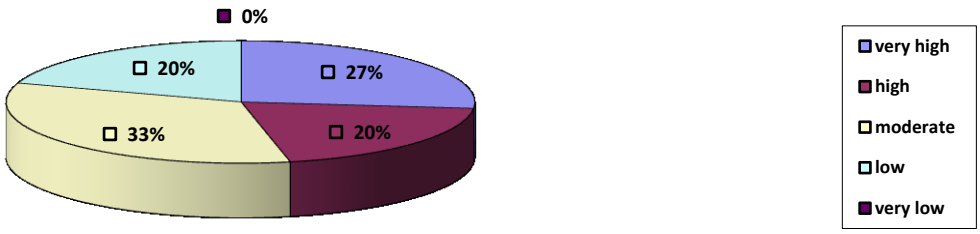

Figure 13: Media report affecting the outcome of negotiations

The concerns about media coverage included the fact that media report unions as spoilers. Respondents felt that every time there is an industrial action the media companies will always report on the impact of the strike to the country's economy. They do not report on the content of the settlement agreements except the wage settlement.

5.2.2 Media and Collective bargaining in the motor sector with views from MIBCO

The Labour Relations Act (LRA) provides for the self-regulation of industries through bargaining councils. MIBCO is a bargaining council as envisaged in the LRA whose mission

is to create and maintain industrial peace and stability in the motor industry. It provides services to approximately 14 000 employers and 182 000 employees throughout South Africa.

In MIBCO, employers are represented by the Fuel Retail Association (FRA) for fuel service station owners and Retail Motor Industry Organisation (RMI) for motor retail owners while employees are represented by NUMSA (COSATU) and Metal Industry Staff Association (Federation of Unions of South Africa (FEDUSA)) (Grawitzky, 2011).

According to Grawitzky (2011) the scope of MIBCO is quite extensive and covers workers in very diverse sectors from motor dealerships, panel beaters, petrol attendants and auto-component manufacturers. The parties bargain separately across these sub-sectors. The council has indicated that representativity has improved and as a result, the council has been strengthened.

Grawitzky's analysis reveals that MIBCO has sought to become responsive to the needs of the different sectors and has not imposed one blanket agreement on all. Instead there are different agreements for the different sectors. The council believes there is growing maturity among the parties with a shift towards a 'needs based understanding of the industry.'

5.2.2.1 On media

Bargaining councils felt that because the majority of media houses are privately owned, compromising the independence and the biasness of the media. Media freedom, which is enshrined in the section 16 of the South African Constitution, ensures that media should not be censored, hence from time to time, the government is called to account.

The council has been receiving some level of coverage during negotiations, specifically on the issue of labour brokers. However, it feels that it has not been exposed as much as it should be, considering the council's role in the South African economic landscape. The councils' role is not entirely understood by the mainstream media and the public therefore its views are not always sought on issues pertaining to collective bargaining.

On the questions of productivity versus agreement, the council said that there are no measures in place and no agreement has been received on issues relating to productivity.

On the question of implementation of demands, the council pointed out that wages and training layoffs were the only issues that were agreed to; primarily because the collective bargaining model does not facilitate the full conclusion of all demands. On the recycling of demands, the council said in 2010, they only agreed on minimum wages; actual increases; the preamble of the peace clause; the industry policy forum and the area differentials. All other 2012 demands were not concluded in the three year period, resulting in all the issues being placed back to the 2013 negotiation table.

The council feels that there is a lack of understanding about the entire industry. The motor industry is sometimes confused for the automotive industry, which is a different industry. This leads to the media incorrectly communicating views of both industry and attributing the views of the automotive industry to MIBCO and vice-versa. The council utilises its website and other communication channels to engage with members to provide them with accurate information. The council also felt that media coverage does not encourage parties to reach agreement but the impact of the coverage is not the main driving force for the conclusion of negotiations.

5.2.3 Media and Collective bargaining in the motor sector with views from FRA

The Fuel Retail Association (FRA) is an association representing employers for fuel service stations in MIBCO. The Association monitors and was involved wherever necessary with all aspects of retail fuel governance, distribution and sales in South Africa in order to protect and enhance Fuel Retailer's interest. The Association's income base is through membership fees.

5.2.3.1 Employer's response on media coverage

Media coverage depends on the issue and it varies. Negotiations and strike action elements are well covered and of high interest. Other issues which affect retailer businesses do not get the attention they deserve.

FRA feels that South African media has higher levels of freedom than most countries. There is however, still potential influence in terms of how certain issues are covered.

Regarding 2013 negotiations, Reggie Sibiya, FRA chief executive officer said: "Our sector made a lot of compromises to achieve the win-win situation. The upgrading of cashiers was a big step. The removal of brokers from our sector was a massive step. The increases themselves were far above inflation and the other sectors in the industry".

Sibiya however emphasised that FRA has built very strong relationships with the unions in

the sector. The difficulty is that RMI which represents motor retailers such as spray painters; tends to look at things from the perspective of being the biggest employer and FRA thrives on logic which is often supported by the unions.

FRA believes that in terms of comparison between the 2010 and 2013 demands tabled for negotiations; there was no real change in the demands for the fuel retail sector, except for labour brokers. Even the upgrading of cashiers was still the same demand to move to Grade 5.

5.2.3.2 On how the FRA consults unions and how you inform them prior and during the negotiation

"Prior to 2013 negotiations we had agreed to revive the IPF (Industry Policy Forum) after the 2013 negotiations. We were involved in trying to deal with matters of addressing the bargaining model, structured grading for cashiers, and other issues like research to benchmark things like wages to ensure we have the current wage model. FRA has always demonstrated the need for sustainability of the council versus party interests.

"I manage the process by ensuring that I go on live or recorded interviews via radio and television.

When it comes to print, I insist on sending a written response to ensure accuracy of my views.

Yes, they don't like my approach with regards to print media, but I insist. I simply refuse to comment if it's not recorded or send something either via email or sms for records," said Sibiya.

Sibiya noted that in the motor sector, the public interest and response on fuel shortages tend to have a bit of public attention; which brings pressure on both the union and the employer to resolve the impasse. As a regulated industry, it also brings attention of other stakeholders like the Department of Energy and the oil companies.

Sibiya added: "There was actually no visible output as there is no standard agreed measure. This is where I believe unions need to engage positively. We need to agree on productivity measures which can then be monitored via MIBCO systems".

5.4 Media monitoring

Media monitoring findings

Financial media were monitored by organisations including Media Monitoring Africa, a non-profit organisation that promotes democracy and a culture where the media and the powerful respect human rights and encourage a just and fair society. MMA also acted in a watchdog role to promote ethical and fair journalism that supported human rights and promoted the development of a free, fair, ethical and critical media culture in South Africa and the rest of the continent.

MMA objectives were: "to be the pre-eminent media "watchdog" in Africa; improved news quality and ethics in reporting in Africa and a robust and effective communication legislation and media codes of conduct in Africa".

MMA is a member of SOS Coalition, Awethu Social Platform for Change and Sizane and have been involved in the activities below:

- Monitoring and Analysis
- Policy Submissions
- Stakeholder engagement
- Media literacy initiatives
- Partnerships with Media Institute of Southern Africa (MISA) and other media organisations
- Newsroom visits
- Developing of editorial guidelines

MMA monitors print, television, radio and internet through monitoring the:

a. Law (Broadcasting Act, Competition Act etc.)
b. Government regulation
c. Regulation adopted by the monitoring authority
d. Voluntary agreements

Monitoring is carried out through reporting of any relevant changes, research by regulatory bodies and conditions for licence. Through monitoring, MMA looks at how the content is produced; they do not look at the economy side of things. The results are then made public through the following:

- Press releases

- Official bulletins
- Newsletters
- Internet
- Special reports to the authorities

The monitoring is connected to a right to intervene if legal requirements or other regulation is violated. MMA usually take the complaint to the Press Council or Broadcast Complaints Council of South Africa (BCCSA) or the courts. However, in most cases MMA makes the media aware of their error and help them find solutions.

The authority with the right to intervene is different from the monitoring body.

The status of the monitoring body is independent from the authorities and/or the media companies.

5.5 Content Analysis

5.4.1 Business reporting and the propaganda model

This section is made up of a content analysis of 22 articles that were published in the *Business Day* and for comparison purposes the sample also included two articles from the *Financial Mail*, five articles from *The Times* and two from the news agency, *South African Press Association*. The articles were published between 20 August 2010 and September 2013. Seven of the articles or about 37% of the sample were written by Karl Gernetzky, a political correspondent, and this shows that the *Business Day* had a dedicated labour reporter. Most of

the articles (68%) were published in 2013. Appendix 1 shows the writer, date published and the headline of the article. The events covered in the articles were mainly strikes in the motor industry but strikes from other sectors such as the gold miners' strike in the mining sector organised by the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM), and strikes by the National Education Health Allied Workers Union (NEHAWU) were also covered.

In teasing out how the Propaganda Model is applicable to business reporting on strikes and collective bargaining as seen in the sample of the articles this research explored the model's four components as mentioned earlier in Chapter 4. These components were:

a. The size, concentrated ownership, owner wealth, and profit orientation of the dominant mass-media firms;

b. Advertising as the primary income source of the mass media;

c. The reliance of the media on information provided by the government, business and 'experts' funded and approved by these primary sources and agents of power;

d. 'Flak' as a means of disciplining the media; and

e. Anti-communism as a national religion and control mechanism

5.4.2 Size and ownership of the media

One cannot fully analyse the size and ownership of the media in South Africa without delving into history. The media in South Africa has a "hangover from the apartheid past" (Seerey, 2012). A Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA) report on the print media concluded: "…in post 1994 South Africa the print and media landscape has not transformed much in terms of ownership and control and is still majority controlled by white shareholders. In spite of various interventions by the state through promotion of transformation processes

and Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) the majority of print media in South Africa is still owned/dominated by a few companies and individuals (MDDA 2009 in Duncan (2013). Duncan also adds that there is concentration and conglomeration in the print media so to as to maximise profits through economies of scale.

The BDFM is wholly owned by the Times Media Group which is listed on the Johannesburg stock exchange.

5.4.3 Advertising as primary income source

BDFM did not make profits in 2013 and did not also get the 10% EBITDA (Revenue – Expenses (excluding interest, taxes, depreciation and amortization) that the company expected because of an 'unsustainable cost base'. The company also sells content. "In May 2013, we made a decision to cease supplying our online content for free. Since the launch of the paywall in May, BD live has realised more than 30000 online registrations and generated revenue in excess of R600 000 through subscriptions" (TMG, 2013, p. 22).

5.4.4 Reliance on official 'experts'

Answering the question on which sources are used for business news articles is an important component in analysing the Propaganda Model. Becker's theory of hierarchy of credibility states that those higher up on the social ladder are likely to be considered as sources than those at the bottom. Hall et al suggested that there are primary and secondary definers of news. These primary definers were at the top of the hierarchy and their voices were privileged in the financial media.

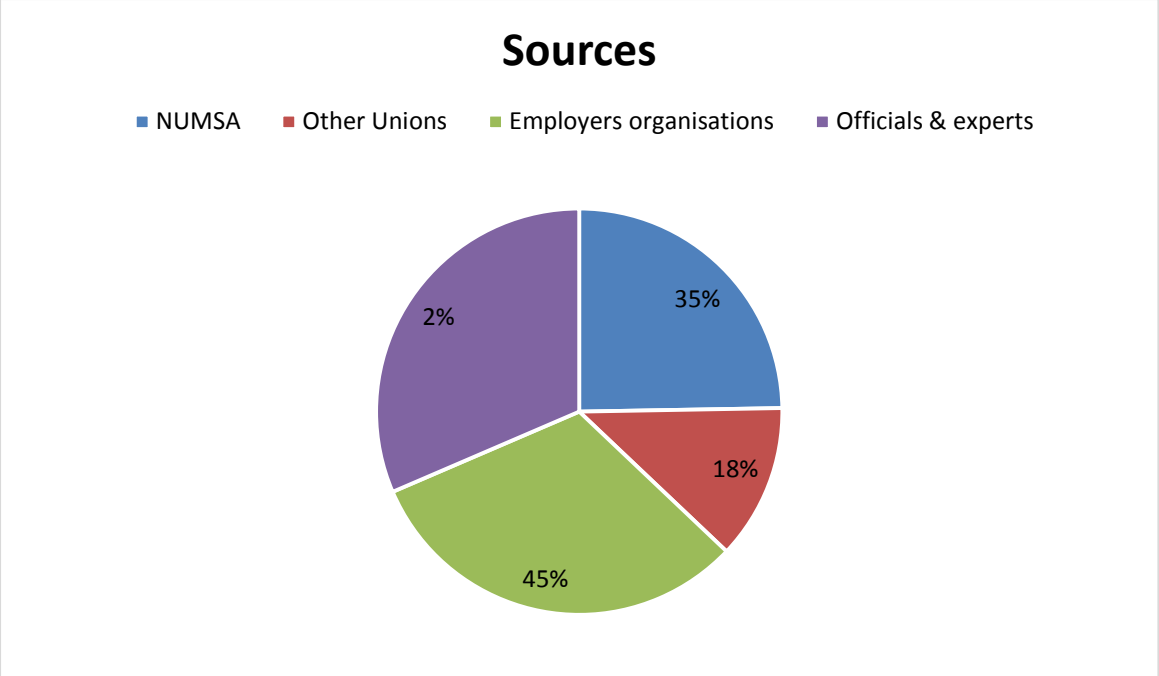

Figure 14: Source for the study sample

The sources indicate that there was a balance in terms of the sourcing of labour news. On the one hand, NUMSA sources were 35%, and other unions 18%. On the other hand employer organisations were 45% while officials and experts were 2%. Officials and experts tended to support the views of employer organisation that strikes were detrimental to the economy and in most instances violent.

Content Analysis of news reported on NUMSA collective bargaining by Business Day newspaper and other Times Media newspapers.

Writer	Date	Article	Sources

Beth Shirley, Industrial Correspondent, BDFM with *South African Press Association*	20/08/2010	Strike hits garages, parts makers next	NUMSA, AMEO, Toyota SA Irvin Jim, NUMSA GS
Alistair Anderson and Wyndham Hartley, BDFM	09/09/2010	NUMSA holds out for 'better offer'	NUMSA, spokesperson, Castro Ngobese NUMSA DGS, Karl Cloete Merina Willemse, Efficient Group Economist, Expert source NEHAWU Parliament NUM
South African Press	12/09/2010	Petrol station strike going ahead	NUMSA,

Association			Ngobese FRA, Sibiya COSATU
South African Press Association	14/09/2010	No deal on motor strike	NUMSA, Ngobese
Alistair Anderson, Contributing Writer	14/09/2010	Bosses 'lied about deal' with motor industry workers	NUMSA spokesperson, Castro Ngobese RMI CE Jeff Osborne
Alistair Anderson	16/09/2010	End of two week motor sector strike is in sights	NUMSA, Karl Cloete FRA, Reggie Sibiya Merina Willemse, Efficient Group Economist, Expert source

Prakash Naidoo	22/07/2011	Industrial action is costing the economy dearly, with more time expected to be lost this year than last	ADCORP Peggy Drodskie executive advisor to CEO SA Chamber of Commerce and Industry (expert) SEIFSA MD, Guy Hamlin, Metalix NUMSA Castro Ngobese
Karl Gernetzky, Political Correspondent	09/09/2013	No respite for economy as NUMSA threatens broader strike	NUMSA,Industry Martle Keyter Staff Association Motor Industry CEO Elize Strydom, Chief Negotiator for gold producers

			Solidarity Union UASA Frans Baleni, NUM GS
Alexander Parkers and Karl Gernetzky	09/09/2013	One NUMSA strike ends as another set to begin	NUMSA, Irvin Jim BMW SA, Gu Kilfoil Mercedes Benz CEO, Martin Zimmerman Ford Motor Company SA President Jeff Nemeth Toyota , Leo Kok Gauteng Premier Nomvulo Mokonyane (Official source) German

			ambassador Horst Freitag NUMSA, Karl Cloete
Alexander Parkers and Karl Gernetzky	09/09/2013	Car sector to get back on track as strike ends	NUMSA, Irvin Jim NAAM BMW SA Guy Kilfoil Martin Zimmerman, Mercedes Benz Ford Motor Company CEO Jeff Nemeth Toyota, Leo Kok Nomvula Mokonyane (official) Southern Africa-German Chamber

			of Commerce and Industry NUMSA Karl Cloete
Karl Gernetzky	09/09/2013	The political week ahead: SA and UK to evaluate collaboration efforts	COSATU GS, Zwelinzima Vavi NUMSA NUM Harmony Gold CEO Graham Briggs DA ANC International Relations and Cooperation Minister Maite Nkoana Mashabane (official)
Karl Gernetzky	10/09/2013	Lowest liveable wage the crux,	Vavi, NUMSA,

		says Vavi Karl	NUM Lesiba Seshoka Spokesperson gold producers Charmane Russel
Penwell Dlamini, The Times	10/09/2013	70 000 more walk off job	NUMSA, Cloete NUM
Penwell Dlamini, The Times	10/09/2013	"Watch your poisonous tongue Mantashe"	NUMSA, Jim Vavi
Karl Gernetzky, Political Correspondent	11/09/2013	Intimidation mars pump jockey strike	Sibiya, FRA Jackie Olivier, RMA NUMSA NUM, Seshoka
Karl Gernetzky, Political Correspondent	12/09/2013	Strike may disrupt output at car makers	NAAMSA, Johan Van Zyl NUMSA NUM
Penwell Dlamini,	12/09/2013	Striking where it hurts most…	Chamber of

The Times and Reuters		the pocket	Mines, Elize Strydom AMCU NAAMSA NUMSA, Johan Van Zyl NUMSA
Nivasni Nair, The Times	14/09/2013	NUMSA strike put on hold	NUMSA, Ngobese, RMI, Sibiya
South African Press Association	17/09/2013	Motor retail strike continues	NUMSA, National Treasurer, Mphumzi Maqungo
Penwell Dlamini, The Times	25/09/2013	Pump-jockey settlement near	Minister of Labour, Mildred Oliphant NUMSA, Cloete RMI, Jackie

			Olivier
Karl Gernetzky, Political Correspondent	30/09/2013	NUMSA threat to motor sector collective bargaining	NUMSA, Irvin Jim NAAMSA director Nico Vermuelen
Karl Genertzky	18/07/2014	NUMSA's double edged sword	NUMSA NUM, Frans Baleni ADCORP Loane Sharp

5.4.5 Flak

Herman and Chomsky (2002) explained that 'flak' was the "ability to control about the media's treatment of news (that is to produce 'flak') to provide 'experts' to confirm the official slant on the news, and to fix the basic principles and ideologies that are taken for granted by media personnel and the elite, but are often resisted by the general population. In our view the same underlying power sources that own the media and fund them as advertisers, that serve as primary definers of the news, and that produce flak and proper

thinking experts, also play a key role in fixing basic principles and the dominant ideologies" (Herman, 2002).

There was a conflation between employer organisations and experts and officials. The views of these groups were more privileged as shown in the article: *Industrial action is costing the economy dearly, with more time to be lost this year than last* (Naidoo, 2011).

5.4.6 Anti-unionism

Ideology also influenced how certain perspectives became dominant whether this was caused by biographical, historical or sociocultural factors (Voloshonov 1986 cited in Mehan and Wills 1998. But nothing could be taken for granted as there was competition on what would be taken as 'correct, appropriate or preferred representation' (Fairclough, 1992; Wodak, 2001). According to Critical Discourse Analysis ideologies are framed (see Appendix 2).

In reporting on strikes one sees ideology at work especially as the news stories are meant for investors and serve the interests of commerce.

"The force of anti-communist ideology has possibly weakened with the collapse of the Soviet Union and the virtual disappearance of socialist movements across the globe, but this is easily offset by the greater ideological *force* of the belief in the "miracle *of* the market" (Reagan 1988). The triumph of capitalism and the increasing power of those with an interest in privatization and market rule have strengthened the grip of market ideology, at least among the elite, so that regardless of evidence, markets are assumed to be benevolent and even democratic ("market populism" in Thomas Frank's phrase) and nonmarket mechanisms are suspect, although exceptions are allowed when private firms need subsidies, bailouts, and government help in doing business abroad. 'When the Soviet economy stagnated in the 1980s, it was attributed to the absence of markets; when capitalist Russia disintegrated in the 1990s,

this was blamed not on the now ruling market but on politicians' and workers' failure to let markets work their magic. Journalism has internalized this ideology".

Adding it to the residual power of anticommunism in a world in which the global power of market institutions makes nonmarket options seem utopian gives us an ideological package of immense strength (Herman, 2002, p. xvii).

Anti-communism seems not to be the tone of the news reports from the financial media but unions were generally viewed as being against 'progress' as seen in market-driven economic growth and development. So instead of anti-communism these results and findings will focus on anti-unionism.

One of the ways in which unions were reported upon would fit Van Dijk's Ideological Square of negative-other-presentation. Strikes were generally seen by newspaper as having a detrimental effect on business especially on the "confidence of the investors". This is reflected in most articles as follows: "The employer body (Manufacturers Employers Organisation) has said it is concerned about the effect of the strike on the confidence of investors" (Beth Shirley, B (2008).

In most instances the views of employer organisations such as AMEO came first before those of NUMSA as unions were also seen as throwing spanners into the works of government policy which was developmental. "The strike in the vehicle manufacturing industry impeded the government's objectives to increase local car content to make it globally competitive."

The strikes were not only against development but brought loses to the South African economy: "Efficient Group economist Merina Willemse said the motor industry strike would have a similar effect to that of the Transnet strike earlier this year which has cost the economy billions in lost exports" (Anderson, A and Hartley, W, 2010).

Reporting on the same strike Anderson added that strikes were also responsible for lost business opportunities: “The strike has forced many car companies to halt production of component parts intended for export. SA is one of the major exporters of car parts. SA’s licence to make the C-Class Mercedes Benz has been lost through the strike.”

“Ford Motor Car Company of SA president and CEO Jeff Nemeth said the firm had lost almost 4300 Ranger bakkies to the strike”.

It was not only the motor strike alone that harmed the economy but strikes in general in other sectors. “There is concern that the effect on exports will be similar to that of the South African Transport and Allied Workers Union strike earlier this year, which cost the country about 7 billion”.

The strikes were also detrimental to the country’s exports. “It’s important to note that SA has always had a fragile relationship internationally. When you have a protracted strike in an export-oriented industry, it’s very, very visible and it can have long term effects,” he said.

The discourse of disruptive strikes is even adopted by politicians. For example, then Gauteng premier Nomvula Mokonyane said strikes sent a “poor signal to investors” and “her administration was approached earlier in the week by the management of BMW and other companies headquarters in Rosslyn (Pretoria), who expressed concern about the strike and loss of production” (Parker and Gernetzky, 2013).

Strikes are also seen as violent. “The strike was marred by allegations of intimidation and harassment of some petrol attendants” (Anderson 2010).

Although the union perspective is captured in most instances it comes in as a secondary argument. For example, NUMSA General Secretary Irvin Jim said in an article: “the demands

are in line with the living wage campaign advocated by the Congress of South African Trade Union" and the "prohibition of labour brokers" (Shirley 2010).

The article does not define what the living wage is. According to COSATU a living wage is one that covers basic costs of living. However, the living wage has not been attained and news reports seldom go into detailed explanations of concepts like the living wage as explained by a COSATU (2012) central executive committee (CEC) concept paper below.

"At the level of wages, the many gallant struggles of workers, have not succeeded in fundamentally changing the apartheid wage structure, with the partial exception of the public service and local government, some pockets of the manufacturing sector, such as metal and engineering and less so, mining. The wage structure remains highly stratified and unequal. The majority of black workers continue to live in poverty, and low paid workers in numerous sectors receive wages way below the family subsistence level (in 2010, 50% of workers earned below R2800 per month, compared to a minimum living level of about R4000 per month). This applies not only to unorganised workers in the most vulnerable sectors, such as agriculture, domestic, retail and services. It applies to blue collar workers across the private sector, and characterises the reality of hundreds of thousands of our members. The gains that we have made in most of these sectors, while real, don't constitute a fundamental restructuring of the apartheid wage structure, or redistribution on a meaningful scale. Further, the introduction of sectoral determinations in 2002, while slightly improving the situation, in most instances peg minimum wages way below the household subsistence level. 2 The system of sectoral determinations (modelled on the old wage determinations) is both partial (only covering some low paid sectors), uncoordinated, with big variations in the minima, and without any coherent rationale in terms of the basic subsistence needs of workers".

Headlines of the news articles followed the main trend as the content as they also adopted the negative-other-presentation. For example, headlines such as "No respite for economy as NUMSA threatens broader strike"' "Intimidation mars pump jockey strike" "Strike may disrupt output at car makers" "NUMSA threat to motor sector collective bargaining (Gernetzky, 2013) and "Industrial action is costing the economy dearly, with more time expected to be lost this year than last" (Prakash Naidoo, 2013).

5.4.7 Journalists as professionals

In response to questionnaires most journalists who were interviewed did not see their work as ideological because they were "professionals" who also sought perspectives from unions and were familiar with their genre of financial reporting. Said respondent one: "We don't take sides. We only report facts for our chosen audience. That audience is the community that wants to read about business and economy news and other related issues… News has to be verifiable or we don't run the story."

Added respondent two: "I believe there are genuine attempts by the media to represent the views of labour. However, the language and ideological positioning of many trade unions is somewhat different to that generally used in the media."

The voice of trade unions must be reported so that the reader can be exposed to the difference in ideology rather than assume that the concepts formulated by the media covers everyone else. It is here that exclusion of voices occurs through marginalisation of the trade union ideological concepts which are not accordingly reported. This could be one of your key findings actually. The language and concepts used which exclude those of the trade unions frame news reporting in a certain way and automatically becomes unbalanced reporting. The language used by the media is often that of business, i.e. that of the employers, so to speak.

The respondents said trade unions had no control over the content of the media. “I believe the extent to which trade unions have an input in news content is limited to the quality and quantity of the information they present to the media.”

“A strict editorial policy has never been communicated in so many words to me. However, from experience and general requirements in my coverage I believe issues of business take priority in angles, even as this has never stopped coverage of issues … been implied to influence or affect the standards of journalistic ethics.”

“Business Day as a newspaper is focused upon economic and business issues. I have found there is an extremely high tolerance for covering the union’s perspective on these issues even when technical. I, even though I am not operating under instruction, believe my readers have a genuine interest in understanding current thinking and concerns of labour”.

The journalists also pointed out that they exercise editorial freedom. “I have never experienced an editor interfering with the story in a manner in which I believe was motivated by concern of what the owners and shareholders would think of the story due to content. Only poorly written content has led to complaints not the content matter”.

5.6 Conclusion

The findings pointed out that the media in South Africa in general and the BDFM in particular reported in a way that privileged the market over the interests of the unions and the working class. This was seen through articles that saw strikes as disruptive to market capitalism and against the development of the country. This was to an extent the result of the ownership structure and in that sense some elements of the Propaganda Model were applicable to BDFM. It is not only unions who are unhappy about how they are reported in

the media. Employer organisations like FRA also share the same sentiments and argue that the details of most agreements are given scant attention in the media.

Chapter 6

Conclusion and recommendations

This study used Herman & Chomsky (1988) Propaganda Model and the notion of 'manufacturing consent' as its analytical framework and the overall findings confirm that there is no neat fitting of the model to the study. However, I am persuaded that ideology is key to the study in the sense that the ideology of mainstream financial newspapers like BDFM appear to be more market oriented and therefore can easily fit into the liberal pluralist model. The dominant hegemony found in the business papers is that of market capitalism that is promoted by business and government. Journalists on the other hand, as affirmed in interviews, saw themselves as professionals who were free agents and not under the control of some ideology. Most said they adhered to professional ethics such as including more voices in the news articles through interviewing a number of sources. The sourcing routines however tended to privilege industry and government sources as unions were mainly seen as spoilers who made unrealistic wage demands and better conditions of service without taking into consideration that businesses had to survive. The journalists also mentioned that media freedoms in South Africa were protected by the Constitution and that most newspapers adhered to the SA Press Council Code of Ethics.

Employer organisations, although treated as experts in most financial news reports, also raised the issue of negative representation in what they described as the media confusion in defining the motor and auto sectors. Collective bargaining councils also raised the issue of the media only scratching the surface and not going into detail on the intricacies of the collective bargaining process.

Union media on the other hand has made efforts to build alternative publications including NUMSA News, NUM news and others. COSATU also has its own publication, the Shopsteward which is meant to bring critical information to shopstewards. Other media organisations supportive of the working class position are WWMP and the SALB. By their nature most alternative publications are small with smaller print runs and audiences. But the content of these media is radical.

Although not anti-communist the media treated talk of radical transformation as demanded by unions as unattainable or harmful to business interests. Mention of adopting principles in documents including the Freedom Charter and policies including that of nationalisation were largely seen as too radical.

The South African media has also not transformed and was controlled by conglomerates composed of Independent Newspapers, Media 24, Caxton, and Avusa as confirmed by the PDMTTT report and studies by Duncan (2013). “Despite relative plurality in other areas, economic and business journalism in South Africa remains regrettably one sided. Indeed the mainstream of bellicose anti-union reporting in major publications sometimes resembles a deliberate campaign in which a coterie of powerful private sector think tanks and pundits play a key role.” (Forslund & Reddy, 2015). Attempts to use BEE as an instrument of transformation has not seen much success. On the other hand community publications are also being captured by large commercial interests so the strategy of them being considered as alternatives should be revisited.

APPENDIXES

Appendix 1: A Framework for Critical Language Study

Framing the Ideology Propositions · What is the topic of the discourse? What key themes are communicated about it? What general statements about the topic of the discourse can be derived from the themes?
Discourse structure · How is information about the themes in the discourse organized or structured?
Rhetorical plans · What *kind* of information is used to shape the writer's key themes?
Scope of identification · With whom does the author identify? Expect the reader/listener to identify?
Justifying/Legitimating the Ideology *Mode of reasoning* · Is the representation of the actions, events, conditions in the discourse contextualized? or decontextualized?
Attribution of agency
· Are the persons or groups responsible for actions, events, conditions represented in the

discourse made explicit? If so, who are they? If not, whose participation/responsible action is being hidden?
Characterization · What words or expressions does the author use to *characterize* the event, persons, and situation under discussion? (Attributions, x is …….; terms used to describe/identify) · Which metaphors are used to explain and enhance the author's representation of the event, persons, and/or situation under discussion?
Exclusion · What kind of information has not been included or only implied in the discourse?
Specificity · What information is presented in detail? in more general terms?

(Wenden A. L., 2005)

Appendix 2: Information sheet
Title of study

Manufacturing consent: an analysis of reporting on motor sector collective bargaining in the financial media.

My name is Sandra Sibongile Hlungwani. I am a masters' student at the Global Labour University in the Sociology Department at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg.

The purpose of this study, which is partial fulfilment of a masters' degree, is to critically analyse some of the ways in which the *Business Day* newspaper and the *Financial Mail* magazine reported on the 2010 and 2013 National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) collective bargaining strategies in the motor sector and how workers' demands were represented in the media.

The purpose of the study is to investigate the relationship between labour and media as portrayed in the *Business Day* and the *Financial Mail* through union responses to the news articles; editorial policies with regards to labour issues; and the sources used by the journalists when reporting on labour issues such as collective bargaining.

This study is useful in the sense that it will attempt to build an understanding on how NUMSA formulates demands in the motor sector and how these demands are reported in the media. Therefore, the proposed study intends to learn how journalists make labour news. Besides interviews the study uses other methods including analysing newspaper and magazine article, an extended case method that connects participant observations with individual experiences and data analysis which will be used throughout the study.

After careful consideration that was informed by my initial research you were chosen as a key informant for this study because of your experience, skills and knowledge on the media and trade unions in South Africa. As it is my intention to interview current and former reporters and political editors you fell within that group.

Those from NUMSA were chosen on the strength of having been part of bargaining teams and bargaining representatives were also chosen from motor organisations including the Retail Motor industry, Motor Industry Bargaining Council, Fuel Retail Association and Motor Industry Staff Association.

If you agree to my request to participate in this study, I will leave you with this information sheet and will also ask you to sign the consent form which confirms your agreement to take part in this study. In the event that you decide to withdraw from the study you are free to do so without being asked to give reasons.

With your permission audio-recording devices will be used to record interviews for the sole purpose of accuracy. However, in the event that you do not want an audio device to be used, you can ask me to use notes instead.

The recording will be strictly confidential and you will be quoted anonymously in the final report by use of a pseudonym. Information from the interview will not be shared with other participants so as to enable you to express yourself freely without fear of any negative consequence

May I take this opportunity to thank you for your participation in this study.

For any clarity, queries, comments or any additional information that you may want before or after the interview please do not hesitate to contact me at the following:

Supervisor:

Prof: Edward Webster
Society, Work and Development Institute (SWOP)

Tel: 011 717 4460
Email: Edward.Webster@wits.ac.za

Tel: 011 689 1700; Cell: 079 340 2862
Email: sandricky@gmail.com

Student:

Sandra Sibongile Hlungwani

Appendix 3: Informed consent for interview

University of the Witwatersrand,

Johannesburg

Private Bag X3

Johannesburg, 2050

Informed Consent Form for interviews

I……..hereby consent to participate in the interview for the research project conducted by a University of the Witwatersrand Sociology student, Sandra Hlungwani. The purpose of the study has been explained to me and I understand that my participation is voluntary. I am aware that my responses will be kept confidential and that there will be no direct benefits or rewards for my participation in the study.

Signature…….

Date……....

Appendix 4: Interview schedules

1. **Interview schedule for Financial Media**

Manufacturing consent: an analysis of reporting on motor sector collective bargaining in the financial media

This questionnaire is aimed at providing information on the reporting of collective bargaining by a South African newspaper and magazine – the *Business Day* and the *Financial Mail* respectively.

The information obtained will be treated with the strictest confidence and no names will ever be associated in anyway with the results of the study.

I am well aware that standardised questions cannot capture the full complexity of the reporting of collective bargaining in the South African media and to address these gaps kindly comment where you feel that you are able to provide more information. Examples are greatly appreciated and your comments are critical to understanding how context matters in media reporting of collective bargaining.

At the end of each question if you feel that you need to explain, kindly provide examples and context to help me understand your rating. Your explanation can include policies, reforms, obstacles etc.

Part I: About the respondent

1. **What is your gender?**
   ( ) Male
   ( ) Female

2. **Are you employed by the BDFM?**

3. **If yes, in what capacity are you employed?**

4. **Briefly describe the work that you do?**

5. **Where are you based?**

6. **How would you describe your level of knowledge on reporting of collective bargaining? Would you say that you are:**

   ( ) Very informed
   ( ) Informed
   ( ) Not very well-informed

Please briefly explain your experience in reporting collective bargaining.

PART 2: Media and trade union context in South Africa

7. **To what extent is there media freedom in South Africa?**

( ) Very high - no restrictions on media organisations
( ) High
( ) Moderate
( ) Low
( ) Very low - the media is under state control and free media violently repressed

Please explain or expand

8. **To what extent does the media represent voices of workers and trade unions?**

( ) Very high
( ) High
( ) Moderate
( ) Low
( ) Very low

Explain your rating

9. **To what extent do trade unions have an input in news content on collective bargaining?**

( ) Very high
( ) High
( ) Moderate
( ) Low
( ) Very low

Explain your rating

10. **To what extent does the media exercise freedom of expression?**

( ) Very high
( ) High
( ) Moderate
( ) Low
( ) Very low

Explain your rating
_____

11. How do the media strike a balance between the right to privacy and the right to information or freedom of expression?

( ) Very high
( ) High
( ) Moderate
( ) Low
( ) Very low

Explain your rating

12. To what extent have media transformed since democracy in 1994?

( ) Very high
( ) High
( ) Moderate
( ) Low
( ) Very low

Please explain your rating

Part III: BDFM editorial policy

13. Do you have an editorial policy, and if so, briefly explain what your policy says?

14. What are your news values

15. To what extent do your news values subscribe to the SA press code?

( ) Very high
( ) High
( ) Moderate
( ) Low
( ) Very low

Please explain your rating

16. What do your news values say about labour reporting?

17. Do you employ specialised labour reporters and how many are employed by BDFM?

18. To what extent does BDFM reporting reflect trade unions and workers preferences in terms of accuracy, angle and fairness?

( ) Very high –
( ) High
( ) Moderate
( ) Low
( ) Very low

Please explain your rating

19. To what extent does BDFM reporting reflect the interests of owners of the publication and investor preferences?

( ) Very high –
( ) High
( ) Moderate
( ) Low
( ) Very low

Please explain your rating.
_____

20. To what extent does BDFM provide information that may be useful to trade unions and workers during collective bargaining?

( ) Very high
( ) High
( ) Moderate
( ) Low
( ) Very low

Please explain your rating

21. To what extent does BDFM understand the dynamics of collective bargaining?

( ) Very high
( ) High
( ) Moderate
( ) Low
( ) Very low

Please explain your rating

22. To what extent does BD/FM make efforts to meet trade unions sources to get their side of the story?

( ) Very high - the media often have opportunities to meet with trade union sources
( ) High

( ) Moderate
( ) Low
( ) Very low - the media almost never meet with trade union sources

Please explain your rating

23. Was BDFM ever threatened with legal action emanating from your labour news reporting?
24. What does your editorial policy say about publishing stories that maybe offensive to other social actors such as labour?
25. When gathering news, do you always adhere to your editorial policy?
26. What are your sourcing routines?
    a. What situations compel you to use anonymous sources?
    b. How do you verify information obtained through anonymous sources?
    c. Do you interrogate sources motive in supplying you with tip-offs?
    d. What kind of sources do you use and why? On-the-record sources or off- the record?
    e. Under which circumstances do you quote anonymous sources?

27. How do you conduct accuracy checks on your stories?
28. Do you publish corrections and apologies, and on what page?
29. How do you handle complaints?
30. Do you accept gifts, freebies, inducements, special offers, tickets, free trips, and so on from political parties or private companies or individuals?

2. Interview schedule for Fuel Retail Association

Manufacturing consent: an analysis of reporting on motor sector collective bargaining in the financial media

This questionnaire is aimed at providing information on collective bargaining by members of the Fuel Retail Association.

The information obtained will be treated with the strictest confidence and no names will ever be associated in anyway with the results of the study.

I am well aware that standardised questions cannot capture the full complexity of collective bargaining in the motor sector and to address these gaps kindly comment where you feel that you are able to provide more information. Examples are greatly appreciated and your comments are critical to understanding how context matters in media reporting of collective bargaining.

At the end of each question if you feel that you need to explain, kindly provide examples and context to help me understand your rating. Your explanation can include policies, reforms, obstacles etc.

Part I: About the respondent

1. What is your gender?
   ( ) Male
   ( ) Female

2. Who is your employer?

3. In what capacity are you employed?

4. Briefly describe the work that you do?

5. Where are you based?

6. How would you describe your level of knowledge on collective bargaining? Would you say that you are:

   ( ) Very informed
   ( ) Informed
   ( ) Not very well-informed

   Please briefly explain your experience in collective bargaining.

PART II: Media and trade union context in South Africa

7. To what extent is there media freedom in South Africa?

   ( ) Very high - no restrictions on media organisations
   ( ) High
   ( ) Moderate
   ( ) Low
   ( ) Very low - the media is under state control and free media violently repressed

   Please explain or expand

8. To what extent do media represent voices of FRA?
   ( ) Very high
   ( ) High
   ( ) Moderate
   ( ) Low
   ( ) Very low

   Explain your rating
9. To what extent are FRA views sought on collective bargaining?

   ( ) Very high
   ( ) High
   ( ) Moderate
   ( ) Low
   ( ) Very low

   Explain your rating

   _____

   Part III: Collective bargaining in the motor sector

10. What was the agreed percentage for wage increases in 2010?

11. To what extent was there an increase in productivity?
   ( ) Very high
   ( ) High
   ( ) Moderate
   ( ) Low
   ( ) Very low

   Please explain your rating

   _____

12. What was the level of inflation at the time the claim was made?

13. To what extent were all 2010 demands implemented?
   ( ) Very high
   ( ) High
   ( ) Moderate
   ( ) Low
   ( ) Very low

   Please explain your rating

   _____

14. To what extent are demands being made in 2014 similar to those of 2010?

( ) Very high
( ) High
( ) Moderate
( ) Low
( ) Very low

Please explain your rating

_____
_____

15. What system is used to index wage increases to increases in inflation?

16. To what extent is FRA involved before the opening of negotiations? What is the level of consultation between parties to the council?

( ) Very high
( ) High
( ) Moderate
( ) Low
( ) Very low

Please explain your rating, which unions you consult and how you inform them

17. How do you communicate FRA issues to parties to the council and to the public?

( ) Print media --- newspapers, magazines, newsletters, union publications
( ) Radio
( ) Television
( ) Internet
( ) Social media --- Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn etc.
( ) email
( ) Telephone
( ) Fax

Please explain why you use particular media for communication

18. Do you have a communications strategy for publicising your demands?
19. What level of trust do you have in the media to communicating your views effectively?

( ) Very high
( ) High
( ) Moderate
( ) Low
( ) Very low

Please explain your rating

20. Do you counter oppositional representation by the media through your communications strategy?

21. How do you deal with oppositional representation by the media?

22. To what extent do media reports affect the outcome of negotiations?

( ) Very high
( ) High
( ) Moderate
( ) Low
( ) Very low

Please explain your rating
_____

3. Interview schedule for MEIBC.

Manufacturing consent: an analysis of reporting on motor sector collective bargaining in the financial media

This questionnaire is aimed at providing information on collective bargaining by members of the MEIBC.

The information obtained will be treated with the strictest confidence and no names will ever be associated in anyway with the results of the study.

I am well aware that standardised questions cannot capture the full complexity of collective bargaining in the motor sector and to address these gaps kindly comment where you feel that you are able to provide more information. Examples are greatly appreciated and your comments are critical to understanding how context matters in media reporting of collective bargaining.

At the end of each question if you feel that you need to explain, kindly provide examples and context to help me understand your rating. Your explanation can include policies, reforms, obstacles etc.

Part I: About the respondent

1. What is your gender?
   ( ) Male
   ( ) Female

2. Who is your employer?

3. In what capacity are you employed?

4. Briefly describe the work that you do?

5. Where are you based?

6. How would you describe your level of knowledge on collective bargaining? Would you say that you are:

   ( ) Very informed
   ( ) Informed
   ( ) Not very well-informed

   Please briefly explain your experience in collective bargaining.

PART II: Media and trade union context in South Africa

7. To what extent is there media freedom in South Africa?

   ( ) Very high - no restrictions on media organisations
   ( ) High
   ( ) Moderate
   ( ) Low
   ( ) Very low - the media is under state control and free media violently repressed

   Please explain or expand

8. To what extent do media represent voices of MIEIBC?
   ( ) Very high
   ( ) High
   ( ) Moderate
   ( ) Low
   ( ) Very low

   Explain your rating
9. To what extent are MEIBC views sought on collective bargaining?

   ( ) Very high
   ( ) High
   ( ) Moderate
   ( ) Low
   ( ) Very low

   Explain your rating

Part III: Collective bargaining in the ENGINEERING sector

10. What was the agreed percentage for wage increases in 2012?

11. To what extent was there an increase in productivity?
    ( ) Very high
    ( ) High
    ( ) Moderate
    ( ) Low
    ( ) Very low

    Please explain your rating

12. What was the level of inflation at the time the claim was made?

13. To what extent were all 2012demands implemented?
    ( ) Very high
    ( ) High
    ( ) Moderate
    ( ) Low
    ( ) Very low

    Please explain your rating

14. To what extent are demands being made in 2014 similar to those of 2012?

    ( ) Very high
    ( ) High
    ( ) Moderate
    ( ) Low
    ( ) Very low

    Please explain your rating

15. What system is used to index wage increases to increases in inflation?

16. To what extent is MEIBC involved before the opening of negotiations? What is the level of consultation between parties to the council?

( ) Very high
( ) High
( ) Moderate
( ) Low
( ) Very low

Please explain your rating, which unions you consult and how you inform them

_____

17. How do you communicate MEIBC issues to parties to the council and to the public?

( ) Print media --- newspapers, magazines, newsletters, union publications
( ) Radio
( ) Television
( ) Internet
( ) Social media --- Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn etc.
( ) email
( ) Telephone
( ) Fax

Please explain why you use particular media for communication

18. Do you have a communications strategy for publicising your demands?
19. What level of trust do you have in the media to communicating your views effectively?

( ) Very high
( ) High
( ) Moderate
( ) Low
( ) Very low

Please explain your rating

_____

20. Do you counter oppositional representation by the media through your communications strategy?
21. How do you deal with oppositional representation by the media?
22. To what extent do media reports affect the outcome of negotiations?

( ) Very high
( ) High
( ) Moderate
( ) Low
( ) Very low

Please explain your rating

4. Interview schedule for National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa.

Manufacturing consent: an analysis of reporting on motor sector collective bargaining in the financial media

This questionnaire is aimed at providing information on collective bargaining by members of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa.

The information obtained will be treated with the strictest confidence and no names will ever be associated in anyway with the results of the study.

I am well aware that standardised questions cannot capture the full complexity of collective bargaining in the motor sector and to address these gaps kindly comment where you feel that you are able to provide more information. Examples are greatly appreciated and your comments are critical to understanding how context matters in media reporting of collective bargaining.

At the end of each question if you feel that you need to explain, kindly provide examples and context to help me understand your rating. Your explanation can include policies, reforms, obstacles etc.

Part I: About the respondent

1. What is your gender?
   ( ) Male
   ( ) Female

2. Who is your employer?

3. In what capacity are you employed?

4. Briefly describe the work that you do?

5. Where are you based?

6. How would you describe your level of knowledge on collective bargaining? Would you say that you are:

   ( ) Very informed
   ( ) Informed
   ( ) Not very well-informed

   Please briefly explain your experience in collective bargaining.

PART II: Media and trade union context in South Africa

7. To what extent is there media freedom in South Africa?

   ( ) Very high - no restrictions on media organisations
   ( ) High
   ( ) Moderate
   ( ) Low
   ( ) Very low - the media is under state control and free media violently repressed

   Please explain or expand
   _____

8. To what extent do media represent voices of workers and trade unions?
   ( ) Very high
   ( ) High
   ( ) Moderate
   ( ) Low
   ( ) Very low

   Explain your rating

9. To what extent do trade unions have an input in news content on collective bargaining?

   ( ) Very high
   ( ) High
   ( ) Moderate
   ( ) Low
   ( ) Very low

   Explain your rating

10. To what extent does the media exercise freedom of expression?

    ( ) Very high
    ( ) High
    ( ) Moderate
    ( ) Low
    ( ) Very low

    Explain your rating

11. To what extent have media transformed since democracy in 1994?

    ( ) Very high
    ( ) High

( ) Moderate
( ) Low
( ) Very low

Please explain your rating

Part III: Collective bargaining in the motor sector

12. What was the agreed percentage for wage increase in 2010?
13. To what extent was there an increase in productivity?
    ( ) Very high
    ( ) High
    ( ) Moderate
    ( ) Low
    ( ) Very low

    Please explain your rating

    _____

14. What was the level of inflation at the time the claim was made?
15. To what extent were all 2010 demands implemented?
    ( ) Very high
    ( ) High
    ( ) Moderate
    ( ) Low
    ( ) Very low

    Please explain your rating

16. To what extent are demands being made in 2013 similar to those of 2010?

    ( ) Very high
    ( ) High
    ( ) Moderate
    ( ) Low
    ( ) Very low

    Please explain your rating

17. What system is used to index wage increases to increases in inflation?
18. Did your demands in 2008 include any of the following?
    a. Wages
    b. Medical aid
    c. Hours of work
    d. Overtime

e. Leave
f. Training
g. Equal treatment
h. Occupation Pensions
i. Health & Safety
j. Other
k. If Other – Please list the issue(s)

19. To what extent before the opening of negotiations with the employers do you consult with other unions? What is the level of consultation?

( ) Very high
( ) High
( ) Moderate
( ) Low
( ) Very low

Please explain your rating, which unions you consult and how you inform them

_____

20. How do you communicate your demands to your members and the public?

( ) Print media --- newspapers, magazines, newsletters, union publications
( ) Radio
( ) Television
( ) Internet
( ) Social media --- Facebook, Twitter, LinkedIn etc.
( ) email
( ) Telephone
( ) Fax

Please explain why you use particular media for communication

21. If you work for a multinational company, do you inform headquarters of the company about your demands?
( ) Very likely
( ) Most likely
( ) Likely
( ) Unlikely
(Extremely unlikely)

Please explain you rating

22. Do you have a communications strategy for publicising your demands?

23. What level of trust do you have in the media to communicating your demands effectively?

( ) Very high
( ) High
( ) Moderate
( ) Low
( ) Very low

Please explain your rating

_____

24. Do you counter oppositional representation by the media through your communications strategy?
25. How do you deal with oppositional representation by the media?
26. To what extent do media reports affect the outcome of your negotiations?

( ) Very high
( ) High
( ) Moderate
( ) Low
( ) Very low

Please explain your rating

_____

27. What was the average annual increase in the level of sector/productivity in the time of the wage increase?

28. What was the average annual increase in the level of inflation at the time of the wage increase?

Appendix 5: Trade Union current communicators

Interview schedule on trade union communications strategy

Section1: Publications

1. What type of communications tools do you use in your union? Please tick what is applicable.

   () Newspaper
   () Magazine

() Facebook
() Twitter
() Whatsapp

2. When was your newspaper and or magazine established? What are your social media addresses?
3. What is the name of your publication?
4. What is the purpose of your publication?
5. What are its objectives?
6. What is the political philosophy of the union/publication/social media?
7. Why was it established?
8. What languages are used for your publication?

9. What are the themes/ sections covered in your publication?
10. How do you source content? Articles, pictures etc.

11. How often do you publish your newspaper and or magazine/ update social media pages?
12. What is the circulation figure?
13. How many likes or followers do you have on Twitter?
14. What information do you post on social media?
15. What is your distribution strategy?
16. Do you have any subscribers outside your union? If yes, who are they?
17. Who are the sources for your content?
18. Do you have any figures for your readership? Have you done a readership survey in the past?
19. How would you describe your level of knowledge on communications, journalism and media work?
    a. ( ) Very informed
    b. ( ) Informed
    c. ( ) Not very well-informed
    d. Please briefly explain

20. Apart from you, are there any other union staff employed to work in communications?

21. Do you have external (non-union) contributors? What topics do they write on?

22. What percentage were the contributions by members and by staff of the union?

    a. To what extent do your publications/media represent voices of the workers and shopstewards?

    b. ( ) Very high
    c. ( ) High
    d. ( ) Moderate

    e. Please explain

23. Do you have members and shopstewards as regular contributors?

24. Who constitute the editorial team?

25. To what extent does the member exercise freedom of expression?

    a. ( ) Very high
    b. ( ) High
    c. ( ) Moderate
    d. ( ) Low
    e. ( ) Very low

    f. Explain your rating

26. Do you have a section dedicated to deal with complains or service delivery to membership?

27. What level of trust do you have in the mainstream media to communicating your issues effectively?

    ( ) Very high
    ( ) High
    ( ) Moderate
    ( ) Low
    ( ) Very low

    Please explain your rating

28. Do you counter oppositional representation by the media through your communications strategy? How?
29. How effective was/is your publications as an alternative?

Section 2: Social / online media

1. What online/social media does your union have?

    - Facebook
    - Twitter
    - Website
    - All of the above
    - Other

a) How do you use social media as a tool of communicating with your members?
b) What are the benefits of social/online media to your organisation?

c) How could you leverage online/social media in order to promote engagement with your members?
d) What social media campaigns have you produced and/or managed through social/online?
e) Which social/online media platforms are you best at using and why?
f) How much online/social media knowledge and experience do you have?
g) What is a limitation you have experienced on a social/online media platform? How did you overcome this?
h) What are your favourite social/online media platforms?
i) How active are you on social/online media and how many people are you connected with?
j) How would you handle a social/online media crisis?

Appendix 6: Interview schedule for Trade union former communicators

Part I: About the respondent

31. What was the name of the trade union where you worked and for how many years?

32. In what capacity were you employed by the union?

33. Briefly describe the work that you did?

34. How would you describe your level of knowledge on communications, journalism and media work?

( ) Very informed
( ) Informed
( ) Not very well-informed

Please briefly explain

PART II: Trade union Media as an alternative

1. What was the name of the publication?
2. What sparked the establishment of the publication?
3. What was the political philosophy of the union and the publication?

4. What were the objectives of your publication/s? Are they still the same?

5. What themes/ sections were covered in your publication?

6. How did you source content, articles, pictures etc?

7. Apart from you, are there any other union staff members you worked with?

8. Did you have external (non-union) contributors? What topics did they write on?

9. What percentage were the contributions by members and by staff of the union?

10. To what extent did your publications/media represent voices of the workers and shopstewards?

( ) Very high
( ) High
( ) Moderate

Please explain

11. Did you have members and shopstewards as regular contributors?

12. Who constituted the editorial team?

13. What is your editorial policy and does it involve gatekeeping?

14. Did you have a section dedicated to deal with complains or service delivery to membership?

15. What level of trust did you have in the mainstream media to communicating your issues effectively?

( ) Very high
( ) High
( ) Moderate
( ) Low
( ) Very low

Please explain your rating

16. Did you counter oppositional representation by the media through your communications strategy? How?

17. How effective was your publication as an alternative? Of the issues that you raised which ones come to mind?

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