

Who cares about Swaziland?

**A textual analysis of the representation of Swaziland in South African
Media**

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ABSTRACT

In 1994 two significant milestone transformations occurred in the balance of power and world order in Africa. First, South Africa having abandoned its apartheid system of governance repositioned itself as the regional middle power. Secondly, the country embraced liberal forms of social governance in its structures, including the media. This transformation positioned the country within globalization and sub-imperialism theories setting it on a contradictory course with the African continent and its pan African ideologies. Hypothetically, sub imperialism is linked to media and cultural imperialism argued to be the source of the distorted picture of the African continent. In light of the country's global and regional position, this study explores the representation of Swaziland in South African media. It seeks to confirm or dispel the notion that South Africa replicates stereotypical western media reporting of the continent as a result of the structural similarities between the west and South Africa. The research employs thematic content analysis to three publications – *The Star*, *Mail & Guardian* and *Sowetan* – for comparisons with dominant discourses from the western media's representation of Africa. To understand the underpinnings of South Africa's media environment, the research applies semi-structured interview as a second method of choice. The conclusion is that South Africa replicates western media's reporting of Africa.

DECLARATION

I, PHESHEYA D. DUBE declare that this research is my own work and has never been submitted in part or in whole anywhere else for a degree or an examination of any nature, except to the University of Witwatersrand for a Master of Arts in Media Studies. Citations and quotes from other researchers and contributors to this thesis have been appropriately acknowledged and referenced.

Signature.....

Date.....

DEDICATION

Akabongwe S'makadze ngemisebenti yakhe lemhle!!

This work is dedicated to my loving family particularly my wife Thulie Dube who is the pillar of my strength and the force behind my academic growth. This is not the first time I've had to be away from you for a long period of time, but through your tenacious love and infinite faith in me you have kept it together even though it was often difficult. Your unwavering support was the much needed fuel and stimulation to work hard. This also goes to my children; Wandile, Mthabi, Simile and Somfuku, in you I have found the purpose of life. To my late Father Paul M. Dube I know you would be happy to see me do this and ask me as always, how did you do it? As a father I was beginning a fresh understanding of you, but God had other plans. To my mother Thandile Cindzie, there is something incredibly different about your parenting skill which stands out against the norm, I wish to emulate it. Thank you for raising me against all odds. *BoSkoni bami* Smangele, Delisile and Lungile, I never thought my achievements meant so much to you until that defining moment; for that I'm deeply indebted to you.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	-	African Development bank
AFP	-	Agence France Presse
ANC	-	African National Congress
AOL	-	America On Line
AP	-	Associated Press
AU	-	African Union
BBC	-	British Broadcasting Cooperation
BEE	-	Black Economic Empowerment
BLNS	-	Botswana Lesotho Namibia Swaziland
BLS	-	Botswana Lesotho Swaziland
BRICS	-	Brazil Russia India China South Africa
CCTV	-	Central Chinese Television
CNN	-	Cable News Network
CNA	-	Central News Agency
COSATU	-	Congress of the South African Trade Unions
CMA	-	Common Monetary Area
DA	-	Democratic Alliance
DIRCO	-	Department of International Relations and Cooperation
DRC	-	Democratic Republic of Congo
DSTV	-	Digital Satellite television
EFF	-	Economic Freedom Fighters
ENCA	-	e News Channel Africa
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product
IMF	-	International Monetary fund
LSM	-	Living Standards Measure
MDDA	-	Media Diversity and Development Agency
MTN	-	Mobile Telephone Network
NEPAD	-	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NWICO	-	New World Information and Communication Order
OECD	-	Organization for Economic Corporation and Development
SA	-	South Africa
SABC	-	South African Broadcasting Corporation

SACU	-	Southern African Customs Union
SACP	-	South African Communist Party
SADC	-	Southern African Development Community
SADCC	-	Southern African Development Coordinating Community
SEC	-	Swaziland Electricity Company
SPA	-	Structural Adjustment Program
UNESCO	-	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UPI	-	United Press International
WHO	-	World Health Organization

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Map of Swaziland



Source: Refer to footnotes¹

¹ University of Texas/CIA (1996) Political Map – Swaziland. [Online] Available from: http://www.mapcruzin.com/free-maps-swaziland/swaziland_rel90.jpg [Accessed on the 13th March, 2014]

CHAPTER 1

1.1 Introduction

This research is an investigation of the representation of Swaziland in selected South African media. It is motivated by the post-1994 South African transformation from apartheid to liberal democracy that produced a media informed by western media models (Ogenga, 2010; Teer-Tomaselli, Wasserman and de Beer; 2007; Botes, 2010; Ndlovu, 2010). There is a large body of research that consistently points to cultural, economic and political imperialism by countries in the Northern hemisphere as responsible for the consistent distortion of Africa's image (Ndlela, 2005; Domatob, 1994; Mchira, 2002; Mazrui, 2005; Nyamnjoh, 2010; Agutu, 2008; Mudimbe, 1998). These countries are propped by imbalances in technologies and communications where few large corporations with commercial interests dominate the world media space, creating a skewed transmission of messages that is harmful, irrelevant to the third world and promotes new forms of 'colonization'. This thesis therefore set out to establish if the South African media propagates the same negative discourse frequently found in western media's representation of Africa given some of the similarities between South Africa and the west. It seeks to test how an African country represents another.

The study critically analyzed newspaper items from *The Star*, *Mail & Guardian* and *Sowetan* because these newspapers have a wider circulation in Swaziland. In order to comprehend the philosophical construct of the current environment, the study used theories that combine critical political economy of the media, globalization, media imperialism, and a cultural studies approach. Using a mixed methods approach integrating qualitative and quantitative designs, the study recorded patterns or themes from stories published by the three newspapers and analyzed them against coded dominant narratives extracted from scholarly publications on western media representation of Africa. To analyze the theoretical and ideological underpinnings of the current media environment as it relates to the theory of representation and South Africa's role in the continent, the research also employed the informal conversational model of interview as a second method, directed to media professionals and experts on media issues.

1.2 Aim

This research aims to identify and critically analyze ways in which Swaziland is represented in selected South African newspapers namely, *The Star*, *Mail & Guardian*, and *Sowetan*. It seeks to determine how the South African media replicates western media stereotypes regarding the rest of Africa, with particular reference to the 2011 economic crisis in Swaziland which saw an upsurge of stories about Swaziland published in the South African media.

1.3 Problem statement

The question of imperialism/sub imperialism and its effects in the African continent has been a source of debate amongst scholars in the 21st century. Cagli (2009) asserts that in recent years, the concepts have been refurbished and presented as globalization, and following this argument, globalization in a capitalist setting is more like an advanced state of imperialism. There is a litany of scholarship that points to imperialism and sub-imperialism as negative for Africa in that they perpetuate poverty and dependence, undermine sovereignty of states, promote racism or slavery and inequalities, environmental degradation and propagate ethnic wars and terrorism particularly in the Northern and Western Africa (Keenan, 2004; Southall, 1971; Reynolds, 1975; Ndlovu, 2010; Rayner et.al, 2004; Thussu, 2000; Sparks, 2007; Herman and McChesney, 1997; Curran and Park, 2000). Considering globalization and imperialist-capitalist theories, South Africa is ideologically structured and situated in Africa as a sub-imperialist country. Elif Cagli (2009:7) defines the concept of sub-imperialism as:

A position below the imperialist countries that occupy the higher steps of the imperialist pyramid of hierarchy. Although a sub-imperialist country is not yet as economically powerful as those countries in the upstairs and not as influential as them in determining the world agenda, it conducts directly expansionist relations in its own region in the company of big imperialist powers. That is why the countries that reach this level by climbing upwards among medium-level developed counties are qualified as sub-imperialist.

Theorists of the cultural industry contend that sub imperialism and the globalization of media are synonymous with media and cultural imperialism, that is, the carrying of concepts and ideas to other countries for the purposes of indoctrination (Omoera and Ibagere, 2010; Flew, 2005). It is the imposition of western, particularly American beliefs, concepts and values like democracy and freedom, human rights, modernity, consumerist culture and so on, to 'inferior' cultures that are unable to resist or fight back. Post-modernist scholars recognize cultural contra-flows as counter hegemonic to the global flow because of the rise in subaltern and geo-cultural media

flows in a digitized global communications environment. Even then there is a strong belief that the asymmetries cannot be counter balanced in that, the contra-flows are restricted to “geo-cultural markets or at best to small pockets of regional transnational consumers” (Thussu, 2007:27).

Media and cultural imperialism are characterized by the ownership and domination of a few multinational media companies or conglomerates that act beyond the control of governments (Curran and Park, 2000). This can be likened to a forceful takeover of larger corporations and buyout of smaller companies, thus dominant companies infuse their own culture and products, displacing and eroding local cultures. Rayner, Wall and Kruger (2004), Boyd-Barret (1998) and Rantanen (2005) argue that media imperialism produces cultural homogeneity and strengthens one way dependency of the underdeveloped on the most developed countries. Flew (2005) agrees and also believes that the concentration of media ownership and control is the most compelling reason for cultural imperialism and marginalization of non-western representations in the mainstream media. In a nutshell, dominated countries are misrepresented, underrepresented and stereotyped in that global media promotes capitalist and western values over national identity values.

According to Mchira (2002), western media capitalizes on the outrageous, dramatic, biased, inaccurate, sensationalized and non-contextualized narrative that defies any form of objective and professional journalism when reporting on less powerful civilizations, whilst exalting advanced civilizations. South Africa’s imperialistic attributes in the media are demonstrated through the expansion of media corporations like Naspers, Sekunjalo, Times Media, Caxton, Prime Media, Kagiso, South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) and ENCA, all of which command a large corporate ownership presence in the African continent and some parts of the world. Swaziland like many African countries is flooded with all types of South African media covering every media space. With South Africa’s insatiable appetite for capitalist expansion and its imperialistic archetype, this research aims to analyze Swaziland’s representation in the South African media by posing the questions below.

1.4 Research questions

- 1) How is Swaziland represented in the three selected South African newspapers (*Star*, *Mail & Guardian*, and *Sowetan*)?

Sub question

- 2) To what extent is South Africa's media representation of Swaziland informed by western media representations of Africa?

1.5 Rationale

There is an extensive body of research that has been done over the years on western media's representation of Africa and the conclusions are similar – misrepresentations, negativism and stereotypes (Ankomah, 2008; Botes, 2010; Jaroz, 1993; Ogenga, 2010; Nyamnjoh, 2010; Mudimbe, 1994; Hawk, 1992; Mazrui, 2005; Mody, 2012; Carruthers, 2004; Ebo, 1992). The negativity towards the third world is fueled by western capital interests according to Curran and Park, (2000), Boyd-Barret (1998) and Flew (2007). Efforts to address it through the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and the McBride Commission² hit a snag in 1976, because the west viewed the UNESCO project as a hindrance to western media corporationalization and free flow of information (Ojo, 2008; Mansell and Nordenstreng, 2006). Since then other scholars such as Manzo (2006), Mahadeo and McKinney (2007), Ankomah (2008), Mchira (2002), Williems (2005) have demonstrated that the negative story in western media about Africa still persists. With the emergence of new middle powers such as Brazil, India and South Africa promoting globalization and neo-liberalism, there is growing concern about new forms of misrepresentations of the third world (Botes, 2009; Ogenga, 2010). This study therefore is aimed at contributing to other studies conducted by scholars like Ogenga (2010) whose study of the handling of the Zimbabwean crisis (2000-2008) by South African weeklies led to amongst other conclusions, that the crisis was superficial, sensational and amounted to misrepresentation. Ogenga (2010) also established that the weeklies were advancing the western media neoliberal agenda of human rights and democracy and their ownership structures promotes commercial exploitation.

1.5.1 Justification of Swaziland

Swaziland, a predominately non democratic and traditionalist country shares a contradictory relationship with South Africa owing to the history of the two countries. In the 1960s and 1970s the country formed part of the eastern front, a 'launch pad' and battleground for the African National Congress (ANC) in its fight against apartheid and forged a relationship that was driven

² A UNESCO initiative aimed at establishing an equitable global media representation led by Nobel Peace Prize Laureate Sean MacBride

by the spirit of pan Africanism and the desire to eliminate colonialism and apartheid. That much treasured relationship seems to have weakened following South Africa's newly found western inspired democracy which created a wave of euphoria that threatens traditionalism³, the source of Swaziland's ideological foundation. Patrick Bond (2004) asserts that by directly embracing western democracy, South Africa is expected to act as a conduit of world neo-liberalism through cooperating with western structures including the Pentagon and its geopolitical alliances as well as western financial power structures such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank. The country is also expected to promote western values such as liberalization of trade as well as demand political transformations from the rest of the continent. In the last 20 years the relationship between the two countries has turned out to be a story of betrayal with 'big brother' South Africa now demanding Swaziland to transform or be transformed. The situation is further compounded by the fact that the country's economies are paired in an asymmetrical relationship that sees Swaziland importing 95% of products and exporting 74% to South Africa (Makaya, 2013). The country is squashed between Mozambique and South Africa with two thirds of its western border line shared with South Africa. This increases dependence on South Africa as Swaziland has no other way to access the sea to world markets except through South Africa or Mozambique. It is within this contradictory context between the two countries that this study explores the question of the representation of Swaziland in the South African media.

1.5.2 Justification of period and media

The media in 2011, both in Swaziland and South Africa was abuzz with stories of Swaziland's frantic efforts to secure a financial bailout from South Africa during Swaziland's economic meltdown which hit the country to a point of collapse. However, the loan had stringent conditions similar to those of the IMF and World Bank as reported by the *Swazi Observer* newspaper (Zwane, 2014). During this period, the country emerged from obscurity to close scrutiny as the flow of stories from all media sectors headlined a number of newspapers, reporting on a country fast deteriorating to a position of a failed state. The *Mail & Guardian*, *Sowetan* and *The Star* carried most of the stories about Swaziland and they have a wider circulation in the country than most foreign newspapers. Of note, the local media operates under a myriad of laws and restrictions which over the years have eroded its credibility to report objectively. A study on media freedom in Swaziland conducted in 2011 recommended the amendment of 32 restrictive laws that contradict the country's constitutional recognition of freedom of expression and media enacted in 2006 (Hlatshwayo, 2011). The current state of

³ Swaziland's political superstructure is heavily influenced by 1600s Hobbes *Leviathan* school of political thought.

affairs promotes media imperialism as it increases demand and market for the South African media in Swaziland because the South African press reports without restrictions. Stories that are banned in the local media can be accessed in the South African press which has a large footprint in the country. It is common therefore, for readers in Swaziland to read stories in the South African press, which otherwise would never have been published in local newspapers.

1.6 Research Background and Context

1.6.1 South Africa's 1994 transformations

South Africa's post 1994 political transformation was received with appreciation from the rest of the continent owing to the fact that the country was the last in Africa to be freed from the shackles of colonial rule. However, the country adopted a different kind of democratic rule from the common one party democracy assimilated by other post-colonial African states. South Africa embraced western framed liberal democracy as the foundation of social governance. It also emerged as a middle power or sub-superpower joining the ranks of Brazil and India following the end of the Cold War in the 1990s. This new status was further compounded by the country's geopolitical structure, rich natural resources and large military. Dependency theorists classify this category as the centre of the periphery, that is to say, above the countries at the periphery and serving countries at the centre of the global system of capitalism (Caporaso, 1980).

Schoeman (2000) argues that emerging superpowers in theory are expected to play a 'big brother' role in regional affairs with the assistance of western superpowers. Bond (2012) goes further to proclaim that not only are these countries concerned with acting as regional deputy sheriffs, but have an insatiable appetite for resources. Neo-Marxist dependency theorists assert that South Africa emerged as middle power that is sub-imperialist because of its participation in every African country's economy with trade relations skewed in favour of South Africa (Graaff, 2007). This point is also raised by Bond (2013) who points at the country's anti-imperialist stance when in reality it promotes sub-imperialist ideologies through its vast commercial interest in Africa, involvement in African 'crises' and leadership interest in regional groupings that include Southern African Development Community (SADC), New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD), Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa countries (BRICS) and the Commonwealth (Schoeman, 2004; Barber, 2005). Sub-imperialist countries openly advocate and promote the Washington ideology of world neo-liberalism and its world power institutions such as the IMF and World Bank (Bond, 2012). This scenario contrasts with the pan-African character and pride, namely that the continent can prosper and succeed in building a human society on its

own as exhorting by post-colonial African governments. Ochkina (2013), Bond (2012) and Martins (2013) theorize South Africa's western tailored democracy as a lubricant of world neo-liberalism and a channel for western capitalism. The above characteristics make an interesting case for studies on representation to ascertain if the country harbours the same attitude as its western counterparts, particularly in media representations of other African states.

1.6.2 Political economy of Swaziland

Although the country survived numerous attempts to annex and incorporate it into South Africa and also successfully resisted numerous phases of democratic changes in what former British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan (Ovendale, 1995:455) called "winds of change blowing through the continent", it still largely depends on South Africa for its existence. Some analysts compare Swaziland to Botswana and Lesotho because of a common structural political economy reliance on South Africa as well as their landlocked geographic formation and colonial history as British protectorates (Bischoff, 1998; Matlosa, 1997). Daniel (1984) contends that colonial Swaziland was different from the other two countries because it was more receptive to imperialist intrusions. Swazi kings particularly Mbadzeni⁴ were cooperative and signed concessions with miners, hunters and farmers resulting in the loss of vast pieces of land and displacement of two thirds of the Swazi population that remains in South Africa (Stephens, 1963). By the early 1950s and 1960s the kingdom was a hive of activity with the British involved in mining and production of pulp and sugar whilst the Afrikaners were interested in land for grazing and farming (Stephens, 1963). As a result, Swaziland was treated as a Bantustan, a "soft target" of apartheid South Africa, thereby evading repression from the National Party government (Bischoff, 1988; Daniel and Vilane, 1986; Matlosa, 1997).

Decolonized Swaziland was inherited by a traditional non-capitalist class. It remains the only country in Africa ruled by a monarch whose political and ideological beliefs can be traced to the 16th century Hobbean medieval political thought that kings are answerable to the divine powers from above and everyone else must submit to the king (Greanleaf, 1964; Mzizi, 2004; Dube, 2013). The country's political system *Tinkhundla*⁵ is a combination of the bicameral

⁴ King Mswati III's great grandfather whose reign as king was characterized by the influx of white settlers from South Africa (Transvaal) and Britain.

⁵ *Tinkhundla* as system of governance emphasizes decentralization of state power from central government to constituencies, whilst individual merit is a basis for elections and appointment to public office. As a political structure *Tinkhundla* refers to the 55 constituencies that are formed through the assemblage of a group of 5 or more chiefs per constituency.

Westminster type of set up and traditional monarchy. The king in 2013 decreed that the country had become a monarchical democracy which he described as, “marriage drawn between the monarchy and the ballot box” (Hlatshwayo, 2014:1). Of paramount importance to this study is that Swaziland has a dual system of governance that combines both traditional and modern forms of governance. It will therefore be interesting to contextualize the common western notions of Africa as ‘uncivilized’ and ‘backward’ in relation to Swaziland and its ideology of traditionalism.

1.7 Conclusion

Chapter 1 mapped out the trajectory of the research with reference to the aim and the angle of approach. It ‘problematised’ South Africa’s position in the continent as a sub imperialist country with links to western powers. The chapter locates the study to the 2011 period during which Swaziland’s economy was at the brink of collapse. This is to provide a justification for Swaziland as a choice for the study. The research background is important to clarify the angle of approach and also to bring out the major political milestones that inform the study, that is, South Africa’s choice of democracy post-1994 and its position as a middle power with aspirations for a socio-political and economic leadership on the continent. This point is further explored in Chapter 2 by analyzing structural hegemonies within the region and Africa used by South Africa to promote its dominance.

1.8 Chapter Outlines

This thesis consists of seven Chapters. Chapter 1 is an introduction and a brief research background or contextual analysis. Chapter 2 reviews literature associated with the study whereas Chapter 3 analyses methods that relate to the research. Chapter 4 outlines methods and data analysis procedures. A summary of data findings is presented in Chapter 5. Chapter 6 is an analysis of the findings and Chapter 7 concludes the research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This research builds on and contributes to the work on media representations of Africa (Ankomah, 2008; Domatob, 1994; Mahadeo and McKinney, 2007; Mchira, 2002; Mazrui, 2005; Ndlela, 2005). Most studies on the representation of Africa have examined western media and less attention has been paid to the representation of an African country by African media. This thesis therefore aims to contribute to that knowledge gap. Since the research is situated on South Africa's sub-imperial power status, it is important to analyze the country's political economy as it relates to the continent. Using the Gramscian (1971) ideological method of analysis, this chapter highlights and brings out forms of institutionalized hegemony in the media as examples of the extent to which South Africa would go to spread its influence and assert its position as a regional and continental hegemony. This also compels the study to compare and contrast continuities and discontinuities of apartheid following post-1994 transformations towards democratic rule. The chapter reviews studies on western media representations of Africa for purposes of comparison with the Africa to Africa media representations. It maps out the difference between representations from an imperialist and a sub-imperialist view point to figure out if South African media representation of other states carries the colonial tone and attitude prevalent in western media's representation of Africa.

2.2 South Africa's sub-imperialist status

"We can't think like Africans in Africa, generally. We are in Johannesburg. This is Johannesburg. It is not some national road in Malawi" – President Jacob Zuma quoted by *City Press*, 23rd October 2013.

"We need to make sure Swaziland is liberated including the unbanning of political parties, as we must all experience freedom...everyone must have freedom in their lifetime" – Baleka Mbete, National Chairperson of the African National Congress and Speaker of the House of Assembly quoted in *The Times of Swaziland*, 04th November 2012.

“You can't transform sports without targets...but at the same time, South Africa wouldn't be like Kenya and send athletes to the Olympics to drown in the pool” – Minister of Sports and Recreation, Fikile Mbalula quoted in the *Mail & Guardian*, 29th April 2014.

The proclamations above which carry a neo-colonialist tone have come to characterize the ANC government, particularly the Zuma-led regime's attitude towards the region and Africa in general, as noted by Schoeman (2000) and Bond (2013). In 2011 at the height of the world economic meltdown, Swaziland was on the brink of economic collapse and needed capital injection of 2.4 billion Rands. The natural reaction was to turn to South Africa for a financial bailout due to the fact that the country could not meet the strict conditions of western imperial institutions such as the IMF, World Bank and African Development Bank (ADB). South Africa responded in a typical colonialist 'carrot and a stick' custom; for Swaziland to access the loan, it had to meet stringent conditions carved out of western values as verbalized by the then Finance Minister, Pravin Gordhan:

The deal contains a set of objectives that promote economic and social development, multilateral cooperation, democracy, human rights and good governance, credible and effective leadership, development of a strong civil society and respect for universal human rights and the rule of law (Timse, 2011: para 4).

South Africa's Chief Directorate of International Relations and Corporation, Edward Makaya (2013) referred to the loan as a strategy to institute political changes in Swaziland:

The loan was still on the table because the Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO) was using it as an entry point into the country. Once it was approved, it was going to be used as point of contact to ignite change and leverage for insistence of democratic reform (Osisa, 2013: para 15).

Swaziland cancelled the deal in 2013 because the country felt that South Africa was 'bullying' it into accepting conditions that would change Swaziland's current political climate and social life. South Africa's desire to show sub imperialist power to its neighbors can also be notarized in pre-emptive military strikes against Lesotho, Angola and Mozambique pre- and post-apartheid (Butts and Thomas, 1986). The boldness to 'flex muscles' and display military might is reminiscent of the west as exemplified by the Iraq war and other related conflicts. Though the Angolan and Mozambican military strikes occurred during the apartheid era, critics argue that South Africa's political economy post-1994 evinces similarities of the apartheid era (McKinely, interview 2014).

The disproportionate socio-political and economic link between South Africa and Swaziland promotes sub-imperialism. The asymmetries are a construct of the apartheid regime responding to numerous pressures including economic sanctions, disinvestment and Soviet adventurism. Crucial is the railway infrastructure which enables the flow of trade in the SADC region as well as the insatiable appetite of the west for special minerals mostly found in the region (Butts and Thomas; 1986). Keohane and Nye (1977) declare that there is power in interdependence because the arrangement is asymmetrical in nature, with the less dependent country having leverage over the more dependent one. For example, the Common Monetary Area (CMA) agreement signed in 1974 allows the South African currency, the Rand to circulate freely in the BLNS countries, namely Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia and Swaziland, but the same cannot be said for the other currencies, Lilangeni, Loti and Namibian Dollar in South Africa (Matlosa, 1997). They are not legal tenders therefore cannot circulate in South Africa. Botswana pulled out from the agreement in 1976 although the Rand is still largely in use. Alden and Soko (2005:372) argue that, “The currency links to the South African Rand ensures that none of the BLNS countries are able to exercise independent fiscal policy nor initiate significant changes to the prevailing macroeconomic policies without Pretoria's tacit (if not explicit) support”. South Africa has not only tied its economy to the BLNS countries in the region, but also used other regional trade organizations like the SADC to spread its structural hegemony. Ironically, when the then Southern African Development Coordinating Community (SADCC) was formed in 1980 it was meant to counter balance the domination of South Africa in the region. All that changed with the liberalization of trade and South Africa's re-introduction into the world economy in 1990.

On the African continent, the country's sub imperialist ideologies were reignited by President Mandela in 1994 and later popularized by President Thabo Mbeki through his African Renaissance philosophy. Mbeki affirmed South Africa's 'Africanness' to those who felt that South Africa was not black enough to embody the true spirit of the continent (Vale and Maseko, 1998). It recovered the post-colonial independence spirit of pan-Africanism even as it coupled it with neo-liberal ideologies (Alden and Soko, 2005). This vision was later given structural support with the establishment of the African Renaissance Institute, which subsequently resulted in the birth of NEPAD aimed at promoting democracy and economic liberalization (Taylor and Nel, 2002; Herbst and Mills, 2003). The country's intention clearly was to further establish its structural hegemony on the continent. Through NEPAD, South Africa is active in selling sub-imperialism values such as democracy, good governance, conflict resolution and human rights.

South Africa's structural hegemony can be witnessed through the continuous proliferation of multinational South African companies across all industries, including media corporations. Post - 1994 the expansion of South African companies was more aggressive and extensive on the African continent than any other era in the history of the country. Ahwireng-Obeng and McGowan (1998) observe that at the beginning of the 'new' South Africa, more than 22 trade missions were established in the continent, tasked with the facilitation of trade and the promotion of South African products. Shoprite, one of the leading grocery retailers is reported to be now operating 72 shops in Africa and exporting South African made products to the value of R429 million a year (Daniel, Naidoo and Naidu, 2004). Figure 1 below is a compilation of the top 15 South African industries with a large presence in African economies.

Fig 1

Rank	Company name	Country	Industry
1.	BHP Billiton	South Africa	Mining and Metals
2.	Anglo American	South Africa	Mining and Metals
3.	SABMiller	South Africa	Consumer Goods – Food
4.	Sasol	South Africa	Oil and Gas
5.	MTN Group	South Africa	Telecommunications
6.	Kumba Iron Ore	South Africa	Mining and Metals
7.	Standard Bank Group	South Africa	Banks and Financial
8.	Anglo American Platinum	South Africa	Mining and Metals
9.	FirstRand	South Africa	Banks and Financial
10.	Naspers	South Africa	Media
11.	Absa Group	South Africa	Banks and Financial
12.	Anglo gold Ashanti	South Africa	Mining and metals
13.	Impala platinum	South Africa	Mining and Metals
14.	Sanlam	South Africa	Insurance
15.	Shoprite Holdings	South Africa	Retail and General Trading

List of top 15 South African companies with a large proliferation on the African continent. (Source: African Business. <http://www.howwemadeitinafrica.com/>)

Neo-colonial imperialism as Keenan (2004:478) proclaims, is driven by “serious energy crisis (oil) as a result of a fundamental imbalance between energy supply and demand” and other important economic industry drivers such as uranium. Thus, 60% of the top 15 South African companies doing business in Africa are mainly from mining and metals as well as gas and oil exploration sectors (see Figure 1).

South Africa's imperialistic traits and association with western structures of power have often been received with suspicion by African countries who feel that the country's treatment of Africa resembles the western attitude of domination and control. This counter hegemonic criticism reached a boiling point in 1998 when President Mugabe who was the Chairman of SADC did not invite President Mandela or Mbeki to the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) crisis summit held at the Victoria Falls (Schoeman, 2000). The fierce contest displayed in January 2012 during the election of Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma as Chairperson of the African Union also serves to highlight the tensions and lack of confidence in South Africa as a legitimate and impartial leader with an interest to genuinely solve African problems. Dlamini-Zuma went through three rounds of elections because she could not clinch the two thirds majority needed, in a contest that divided the continent between the Francophone and Anglophone states (Christie, 2012). The divisions in the African continent have also prolonged debates on Africa's permanent membership position in the United Nations Security Council with North Africa showing preference for Nigeria or Egypt over South Africa.

2.2.1 South African media imperialism

In redefining post-apartheid South African media within globalization and imperialism theories, two distinct characteristics emerge that show the media as imperialist. First, the South African media serves as market for global cultural products, particularly of western origin, which are also resold to the rest of the continent. Secondly, the South African media produces its own products for the African market thereby extending its influence and dominance in the continent by virtue of its control of technologies. This media model bears the hallmarks of an imperial media as observed by Teer-Tomaselli, Wasserman and de Beer, (2007:154) who contend that:

The penetration of the South African media into Africa and the concomitant spread of content originating in South Africa or the relaying of content produced outside South Africa; also have implications for the way in which the South African media's position within globalization/imperialism debate is viewed.

Media imperialism as Straubhaar (1991) note is perpetuated by the rapid growth of digital communication technology and globalization that has taken place in the last five decades. This forced third world countries to adopt neoliberal models in their media and communications systems as witnessed in Latin America, Asia and Africa. South Africa followed the rest having been readmitted to the world economy post-1994 and assimilated western media models of privatization, commercialization and conglomeration. Rayner et al. (2004) share a similar view

and contend that media imperialism is characterized by ownership and domination by few multinational media companies that act beyond their jurisdiction. This implies that the power of these companies lies in ownership of satellite technologies which governments find difficult to control as demonstrated by Naspers that has grown into a global multimedia corporation. MultiChoice DSTV a subsidiary company of Naspers currently provides pay television services in 50 countries out of 54 in Africa (Naspers, 2014). The conglomeration and concentration of the media in the west can also be witnessed in the South African media landscape as shown in Figure 2. Ninety-five per cent of the print media is run by four private companies, whilst government through the public broadcaster, SABC has 42 per cent control of radio (MDDA, 2009).

Fig 2

WESTERN MEDIA OWNERSHIP		SOUTH AFRICAN MEDIA OWNERSHIP	
AOL (Time Warner)	Private -American	Naspers (Dstv)	Private
AT&T	Private -American	Independent Group (Sekunjalo)	Private
General Electric (Comcast)	Private -American	Times Media Group	Private
Viacom (CBS)	Private -American	Private Independent Titles (Caxton)	Private
Walt Disney Company	Private -American	Prime Media (e-TV)	Private
Liberty Media	Private -American	Gupta Affiliated Outlets	Private
News Corporation	Private -Australian	South African Broadcasting Corporation	Public
Sony	Private -Japanese		
Bertelsmann	Private -German		
Vivendi	Private -French		
ITI Group	Private -Polish		

Table showing South African and western media ownership. Source: <http://mg.co.za/article/2013-08-30-00-south-africas-political-media-landscape> and Wikipedia.

Not only did South Africa structurally transform its media to resemble western media models but also embraced theories of globalization and multi-nationalism in its media business structures. Petrella (1992) asserts that multi-nationalism in the context of globalization refers to the extension of national enterprises to other countries through cooperative agreements with local industries of similar interest; the establishment of subsidiaries or direct acquisitions. Critics of multi-nationalism argue that it closely resembles a cartel than known global market systems of ‘textbook economics’ (McChesney, 1999; Mody, 2003). Dependency theorists argue that underdevelopment in the third world is perpetrated by the expansion of capitalism and media imperialism is viewed as a conduit for capital expansion (Herman and McChesney, 1997).

Sreberny-Mohammadi (1997) agrees and asserts that third world countries lack the power to resist or counter balance foreign cultural intrusions because of poverty and underdevelopment. This result in massive global imposition of commodified western culture in the third world, a phenomenon also viewed as extended exploitation of smaller poor countries. Even products that have been reproduced to carry local content tend to follow the same pattern of a globalized commercial out-look as exemplified by programs such as Big Brother and South African Idols.

2.2.2 South African media expansion

a) MultiChoice DSTV expansion to Africa

An evident example of South African media expansion is the digital satellite television company MultiChoice Africa, which has expanded its network to sub Saharan Africa and adjacent Indian Ocean islands. MultiChoice (DSTV) carries all South African media, public (SABC) and private radio and television stations, with over 138 television channels and 72 radio channels in its digital satellite platform (Naspers, 2014). The company also has an extensive worldwide multinational network of other companies that provide digital and print publishing as illustrated in the graphs below.

Fig 3.



Naspers is a broad based multinational global media company that provides services in more than 130 countries worldwide in internet services, pay television and print media.

Fig 3. Shows the company's pay television network MultiChoice DSTV including mobile TV in Africa, servicing more than 8 million households.

Fig 4. Naspers interest in print media. The company largely has presence in Southern Africa, Nigeria, Kenya, China and Brazil.

Fig 5. Naspers internet services cover the larger part of Asia and Europe, parts of Africa and South America's west coast.

All graphics have been sourced from the official Naspers Website. <http://www.naspers.com/where-we-operate.html>

Fig 4.**Fig 5.**

MultiChoice (DSTV) emerged from the success of M-Net, which started operating on terrestrial pay platform in 1986. In 1992, M-Net channel was launched in more than 20 countries operating on the C-band on PAS4 satellite. Later in 1993, Direct Satellite Television (DSTV) was first launched in Namibia and has since spread to Asia and China (Naspers, 2014). MultiChoice DSTV carries content that is predominantly South African and western syndicated productions. M-Net is responsible for sourcing and commissioning of local and international productions like movies (Movie Magic Channels), sports (Supersport) and reality shows (Big Brother) (Naspers, 2014). The rest of the channels are transmitted as direct-to-home service (CNN, BBC, Aljazeera, Discovery channels and so on). It is important to note that in 2000 the company also launched Portuguese and Indian bouquets and despite being criticized as elitist because of the perceived high subscription fees, MultiChoice DSTV is growing with a current customer base of 8 million subscribers in Africa (Naspers, 2014).

b) SABC expansion to Africa

Post-1994, the SABC showed interest to expand its network in the African territory. In August, 2013 it launched its first 24 hour news channel on pay TV platform DSTV, resuscitating the then defunct SABC News International. In the 1990s the public broadcaster launched two channels meant to capture African audiences – *SABC Africa*, news and current affairs channel and the *Africa-2-Africa* entertainment channel launched in 2000. Both channels were eventually closed down due to finance related challenges. Some critics argue that the SABC's expansion was a ploy to validate the country as African post-1994 considering its intricate historical links with the west. The broadcaster's vision claimed to be that of 'celebrating Africa and its positives', but the dominance of South African programs in both channels belied this same vision of the public broadcaster given that 75 % of the content on the *Africa-2-Africa* Channel was supplied by

SABC archives, whilst 25 % was solicited from the rest of Africa (Ndlovu, 2003). In 2004, the SABC sold more than 2800 hours of South African produced programs to several African countries and others outside Africa including Jamaica, Barbados and United Kingdom (Teer-Tomaselli, Wasserman and de Beer, 2007). Soap operas such as *Generations* and *Isidingo* were the most popular genres, with *Isidingo* repeated 7 times a week in Zambia according to Teer-Tomaselli, Wasserman and de Beer (2007). The table below shows some of the popular productions sold to the African continent and beyond.

Fig 6

PROGRAM	GENRE	PROGRAM	GENRE	PROGRAM	GENRE
1. 7 de Laan	Soapy	14. Justice for all	Drama	22. The president and the prosecutor	Documentary
2. Generations	Soapy	15. Behind the badge	Drama	23. The man who drove Mandela	Documentary
3. Isidingo	Soapy	16. Slavery of Love	Drama	24. The life and times of Chris Hani	Documentary
4. Going-Up	Comedy	17. EmziniWezinsizwa	Drama	25. An African Pesach	Religious
5. Suburban bliss	Comedy	18. Amagagu	Children	26. Issues of faith	Religious
6. The last Edens	Nature	19. Paula and Friends	Children	27. Hosanna	Religious
7. Nature on Track	Nature	20. Africa within	Lifestyle	28. Tapestries	Religious
13. Secrets of nature	Nature	21. Top Billing	Lifestyle		

Source: Refer to footnote⁶

The biggest buyers in Africa were Kenya, Zambia, Tanzania, Uganda, Botswana, Swaziland, Namibia, Malawi, Nigeria, Ghana, Ethiopia and Zimbabwe (Teer-Tomaselli, Wasserman, de Beer; 2007). All SABC Channels (1, 2, and 3) are now carried by MultiChoice DSTV which has a wider signal distribution and a continental coverage. In this scenario, as Rayner et al. (2004) believe, imperialistic concepts and ideas are carried through media products for the purposes of indoctrination and upholding imperialist ideologies. For example, the SABC exports 96% of South African and western culture in all genres including news and western syndications according to a survey conducted by Media Monitoring Africa (2012), a watchdog organization. Some of the western syndicated programs are reproduced to incorporate South African culture (e.g. X-Factor, Friends like these, SA's got Talent). Of note is that the SABC apportions only 2% of its total airtime on all of its platforms for productions from other African countries as the table below shows (MMA, 2012).

⁶ Fig 6. Source: Teer-Tomaselli, R. Wasserman, H. de Beer, A. (2007) South Africa as a regional powerhouse. In Daya Kishan Thussu (ed). *Media on the move; Global flow and Contra-flow*. London: Routledge.

Fig 7.

ORIGIN	TOTAL TIME	SABC 1	SABC 2	SABC 3
South African	64%	82%	70%	41%
African	2%	1%	2%	2%
North American	32%	16%	28%	53%

Table showing origins of content and time spent in minutes of programs and news content on all SABC platforms. (source: <http://www.mediamonitoringafrica.org>)

The corporation runs a transnational radio station, *Channel Africa* that broadcast predominantly in colonialist languages (Portuguese, English and French) and indigenous African languages (Chinyanja, Silozi and Kiswahili). The channel is an attempt to promote the pan African ideology of a united Africa.

c) ENCA expansion to Africa

ENCA formerly known as *e-News* channel is the first South African 24-hour news service to expand its services in the African terrain. It began its transmission in June 2008 having been awarded a pay TV license with MultiChoice and Telkom Media. However, e-Sat TV the parent company of ENCA and *eTV*, opted to secure a channel within the MultiChoice Africa platform which was already established with an extensive satellite network (Da Silva, 2008). The channel also linked up with Sky Broadcasting network in the United Kingdom and Ireland as an intercontinental news channel until the link with Sky pay TV platform was terminated in August 2014. However, it remains an affiliate of the Africa Channel in the UK and Ireland as well as *Bloomberg TV Africa* (Ferreira, 2012). The channel covers predominately South African stories, but there are programs such as **Africa 360** that covers stories from the rest of the continent with reporting teams stationed in Lagos, Harare and Nairobi. ENCA can also be accessed through subscription in countries such as Malawi, Zambia, Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. *eTV* also runs a free-to-air terrestrial television station, *eBotswana* which broadcasts in Gaborone and surrounding areas, making it the only privately owned television station in Botswana.

d) Print media expansion to the Southern African region

South Africa's print media proliferation into the Southern African market is largely influenced by the geopolitical construction of the region and the country's hegemonic status as an economic powerhouse, which creates dependency of Southern African countries on South Africa. It is important to note that the social architecture of the country was influenced by the land

appropriation and displacement of the Mfecane⁷ wars and the scramble for Africa which saw Lesotho and Swaziland borders shrink to tiny dots on the world map. In fact the Mpumalanga province is dominated by Swazi speaking indigenous groups, whilst the Free State and North West are dominated by the Basotho and Batswana ethnic groups. This makes the SADC region an extension of the South African market for mainstream print magazine and newspaper titles, particularly Swaziland, Lesotho, Botswana and Namibia. Some of the titles like *Isolezwe* and *Bona* (Zulu version) remain relevant to audiences in Swaziland because of the historical links and language similarities to South Africa. To explain the prevalence of English titles in the BLNS countries, Horwitz quoted by Teer-Tomaselli, Wasserman and de Beer (2007) asserts that post-apartheid print media structures such as markets, ownership patterns and distribution networks were created for white audiences, and as such the influx of South African based English magazine and newspaper titles in the SADC region follows the expansion of white monopoly multinational companies to these countries. Harber (interview 2014) agrees that the South African media expansion to parts of the continent is driven by the desire to make profits – “when you talk of Africa in the print media, the club is largely our immediate neighbors then Nigeria, Kenya...and it’s driven by economic relations”. This can also be witnessed through business related stories like the price of petrol, exchange rates, stock exchange etc. If a political story is published in the press, business has largely an interest in that story like the Zimbabwean ‘land grab’ (Harber, interview 2014).

2.2.3 SA media proliferations to Swaziland

Swaziland like most African countries is a fertile ground for South African media proliferations. The public broadcaster SABC dominates both digital and terrestrial spaces providing television and radio services in Swaziland. Besides South African business interest in Swaziland, it is important to note that the ethnic origins of the Swazi people can also be traced to the Zulu Kingdom, thus there are similarities in language and culture. This point account for the popularity of South African TV and radio stations particularly *Ligwalagwala* and *Ukhozi*, which enjoy a wide listenership in Swaziland. All SABC television channels (1, 2 and 3) and the private television channel *e-TV* can be accessed on both terrestrial and digital platforms except for ENCA news channel which can only be accessed through MultiChoice DSTV. There are 26 radio stations, 19 of these are run by the SABC, and the other 7 are private, with a country wide footprint as shown in Figure 8 below.

⁷ Period of wars, turmoil and forced migrations between indigenous peoples of Southern Africa (1815-1840)

Fig 8

TV STATIONS	SABC RADIO STATIONS			PRIVATE RADIO
SABC 1	1. Ikwekwezi	8. Munghana	15. Good Hope	1. Jacaranda*
SABC 2	2. Lotus	9. RSG	16. True FM	2. East Coast*
SABC 3	3. PhalaPhala	10. SA FM	17. X-K FM	3. M-Power*
ENCA*	4. Lesedi	11. Ukhozi FM	18. Metro FM	4. Classic FM*
E-TV*	5. Motsweding	12. 5 FM	19. Channel Africa	5. Radio 702*
MultiChoice*	6. Radio 2000	13. Thobela FM		6. Kaya FM*
	7. Ligwalagwala	14. Umhlobo		7. Y FM*

Table showing South African television and radio stations that have a wider footprint in Swaziland. Private television and radio stations are marked in asterisks. (Source: <http://www.mdda.org.za/>)*

The South African press has the largest circulation in Swaziland. Pick 'n Pay and CNA Swaziland's largest chain stores (which are South Africa's retail companies), hold large stocks of newspapers and magazines and carry over 150 magazine titles of different genres as well as more than 18 mainstream newspaper titles from South African publishers as Figure 9 below shows.

Fig 9

SOUTH AFRICAN PUBLICATIONS			
1. Star – Daily	6. City Press	11. Job Mail	16. Lilanga
2. Star – Saturday	7. Mail & Guardian	12. Sowetan	17. Daily Sun
3. Sunday Times	8. Laduma	13. Citizen – Daily	18. Isolezwe
4. Sunday World	9. Junk Mail-Pretoria	14. Citizen – Saturday	
5. Sunday Sun	10. Junk Mail-Jo'burg	15. Business Day	

Table that shows South African newspapers carried in retail shops and newsstands in Swaziland. (source. <http://www.mdda.org.za/>)

2.3 Western Media's Representation of Africa

In investigating media representations of Swaziland in the South African media, it is imperative to first discuss the theoretical and ideological underpinnings of numerous studies on western media representations of Africa; studies that personify Africa as a 'dark continent' as well as factors that contributes to the negative reporting of the continent. An analysis of these studies will help us further understand South Africa's position in the continent; whether it is a vector of western ideology or not. There are several other theoretical explanations to the construction of

the narrow understanding of the Africa we know today as shown in many scholarly publications explored in subsequent chapters of this study.

The general consensus amongst many scholars is that the negative picture about the African continent is rooted in colonialism and western ideas of conquest and domination (Carruthers, 2004; Duvall, 2012; Mudimbe, 1988; Pieterse, 1992; Spinney, 2013). It is the culmination of hundreds of years of western hegemony, resulting in a redefined continent that conforms to the colonialist image. Mudimbe (1988) argues that the current picture about Africa largely recycled in western media today is an illusion of western imagination. Western audiences rely on the media as a source of information about Africa because little information is taught in schools (Hawk, 1992; Wallace, 2005). Franks (2005) concurs and notes that there is lack of interest about Africa which began in the late 1960s and early 1970s with decolonization of the continent, although the cold war continued to propel western media coverage of Africa as two giants (Democratic west and Communist east) wrestled each other in the African terrain to spread their ideologies. It would seem that western media was only interested in Africa as long as it carried the empire narrative (Franks, 2005). As more and more countries gained independence in the 1960s the media fizzled out and showed less interest in the continent. Main western media like the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), *Daily Express* and *Daily Mail* had news bureaus with fulltime reporters who filed and contextualized stories on a regular basis, but these reporters were withdrawn and replaced with less experienced stringers as the cold war ended in the 1990s (Franks, 2005). The Rwandan genocide provides the scale of apathy of the west in which western news organizations ignored calls to expose the horrendous crimes committed by the Hutus over the Tutsis until almost an entire population of Tutsis was wiped out. Suzzane Franks (2005:131) believes that the “one African story at a time was enough” attitude, engulfed western media and by the time the international media rushed to the scene damage had already been done. Mazrui (2005), Nyamnjoh, (2010), and Agutu (2008) contend that the continent is underreported; the third world receives less attention, the flow of news is thin and reality is distorted. An example is the 1992 Somalian famine which received attention after the introduction of western aid relief efforts despite the fact that the catastrophe had started more than seven years earlier. Even then the stories were typical “pack journalism” reports on death, drought, the collapse of the Somali State and UN agencies’ relief aid efforts; lacking context and background (Ogundimu and Fair, 1997). Of note is that there is a link between western media coverage of Africa and its foreign policies in that media coverage is heightened where the west has interest. As Myers et al.

(1996:4) quoting a *Washington Post* reporter Julia Preston observe, “in US foreign reporting, the State Department often makes the story” (also quoted in Lee and Solomon, 1990:257).

Ankomah (2008:145) gives an insight into western media’s reporting of the African story and claims that the British media in particular operates on preconceived ideas that determine if a story is published or not:

The 'British media report into a box'. And the box contains pre-set ideas. So if a correspondent returns from Africa with a story, or sends a story from Africa, and it does not fit the box, one of two things happens: One, it is edited to fit the box; or two, it is thrown into the dustbin. In those circumstances, as one correspondent from a major daily newspaper based in London told the conference, correspondents who want to see their stories published, are forced to conform to the box.

Debates around the negative reporting of the continent point to the uneven distribution of production facilities, including communications technology. Most of the western media receive their news from four major news agencies: Associated Press (AP), United Press International (UPI), Agence France-Presse (AFP) and Reuters. The agencies provide 80 percent of the news to newsrooms around the world, 20 % of which is dedicated to Africa (Ojo, 2008). These agencies are controlled by multinational media corporations and countries that have an influence in the United Nations system (Bonsu-Amoako, 2008; Smith, 1980). Smith (1980:69) argues that the current set-up promotes news imperialism:

This situation perpetuates the colonial era of dependence and domination. It confines judgment and decisions on what should be known and how it should be made known into the hands of a few. In a situation where the means of information are dominated and monopolized by a few, freedom of these few to propagate information in the manner of their choosing is the virtual denial to the rest of the right to inform and be informed objectively.

Africa is forced to receive news about itself that has been ‘vetted’ by the five news agencies whose historical origins is rooted in the colonial past. Straubhaar (1991) uses dependency theories to explain this pattern – the system compels peripherals to depend on the industrialized nations for processed products because of advanced industrial technologies and capital strength whilst being exploited for raw materials. Other scholars like Hill (2007) disagree with Straubhaar (1991) and advance economist theories of product-life-cycle; that upon the maturity of markets the current imbalances will normalize. This implies that Africa will eventually catch up with the

west as growth in all sectors advance towards equilibrium and information flow will be attained, and thereby even out imbalances.

2.3.1 A continent of extremes

The continent is portrayed as ravaged by wars and violence. These wars are tribal in nature which attests to their complexity and impossibility to solve. The figurative use of the word 'tribe' becomes important in the description of ethnic groups against the civilized modern world because it represents static, natural and ancient. Consequently, the imagined Africa is a continent without history, timeless and static (Gruley and Duvall, 2012). Spinney (2013) believes that the west deliberately ignores and down plays the fact that the picture that persists today is a colonial design. The unending tribal wars and chaos can be traced to the artificial borders designed in the 19th century by European interventions to consciously stir-up conflict between ethnic, religious and tribal groups as an extension of their divide and rule strategy (Spinney, 2013). Carruthers (2004) also believes that the 'ethnicisation' of African wars may account for the genocide in Rwanda and warlordism in Somalia for it vindicates the west's role in the root cause of the African problem. As a consequence, the continent is reported with minimal historical context and consistent reference to tribal wars inherited and carried over from age-old animosities. The naturalization of violence as tribal presents complications as it dispels violence in more simplistic ways whilst the underlying contributory forces are not contextualized (Gruley and Duvall, 2012).

The African continent is also associated with poverty, hunger and disease. Western audiences are often shown pictures of malnourished 'thin to the bone children', shots of weak adults tormented by flies all over their faces and barren unproductive large hectares of land (Ankomah, 2008; Ranger, 1985; Wright, 1999). This sends the message that Africa is a basket case therefore it cannot help itself without the intervention of the west. Western media fails to hold the west accountable for its capitalist economic meddling in Africa's wealth because issues of poverty, hunger and diseases are part of the bigger colonial legacy as pointed out by Bella Mody (2012:47):

Hunger, disease, death and illiteracy are symptoms of more basic structural causes (e.g. unfair distribution of agricultural land or national oil profits) that need to be explained in terms of historical settings and global interconnections, namely, that the affluence of the west is related to poverty in Africa.

Another view is that the cycle of poverty persists because the continent is swamped in perennial debts from global imperialist financiers and ‘loan sharks’ such as the IMF and ADB, for projects that never add any value to ordinary Africans, with loan conditions that are harsh and unrealistic (Danso, 1990). When African governments fail to honor loan agreements, the western media blames it on poor governance and the notion that Africans are incapable of organizing themselves under a political structure; instead they are accustomed to dictatorship, military rule and corrupt regimes.

Schraeder and Endless (1998) and Petursdottir (2008) hold the notion that western media has succeeded in the past to give the HIV/AIDS pandemic an African face owing to the fact that the continent is the most affected in the world. Western media presents the disease as an African “thing”; it degenerates into “their” disease not “ours”, evoking the binary stereotype of “Othering”. Therefore, “Africa faces a grim future” or rather “Africans face extinction” (Mchira, 2002:6), unless western governments and humanitarian agencies come to its rescue. The continent is viewed as homogeneous, a single cultural nation, a notion that ignores the fact that Africa is composed of 54 countries with different cultural, religious and historical experiences. African culture, with its age old customs of promiscuity amongst men and women is cited as the primary reason for the spread of the HIV/AIDS disease. This is a typical colonial over generalization recorded by anthropologists whose objective was to uphold theories that served the colonial master (Cadwell, Cadwell and Quiggin; 2008). This is reflective of the stereotype that Africa is backward, uncivilized and a misfit in any structural puzzle of the modern world. Mchira (2002:3) adds that, “news or reports from Africa paint the picture of heathen peoples who thrive in backward traditions and practices, superstitions, as well as weird outdated and repugnant rites like female circumcision”.

2.4 South African media representation of Africa

There are very few studies if any on representation of Africa by the South African media that are relevant to this study. This thesis is motivated by the same reason – the dearth of studies that seek to understand how Africa represents itself. However, Fredrick Ogenga’s (2012) thesis, *The Misrepresentation of the Zimbabwean Crisis by South African Weeklies 2000-2008* and Janeske Botes’s, *“The Hopeless Continent?” A Critical Comparative Analysis of 2007/2008 representation of Africa in Time, The Economist and Financial Mail*, provide a platform for this research. Ogenga’s findings conclusively unearthed a western tailored media replicating the same stereotypical reporting of the African story. Several factors combine with western media

frames in terms of ownership, commercial interest and political ideologies which lead to the conclusion that the South African media is run similarly to western media. Botes's (2009) comparative study of western and African media (*Time*, *Financial Mail* and *The Economist*) reveals a mixture of findings that range from positive, mixed to negative which, is a slight departure from known western media studies that paint an extremely negative picture about Africa. There is a correlation though with Ogenga's (2010) study in terms of Africa to Africa representation as the findings conclude that, there is more negativity in the *Financial Mail* than the other two magazines of western ownership (Botes, 2009). It is difficult to conclude whether that can be attributed to issues of ownership as the magazine is partly owned by a South African company. Botes (2009) though does point at how ownership is linked to representation and the negative image of the continent. In that aspect she is consistent with Ogenga (2010), that ownership influences representation as theorized by Hall (1997). Both studies by Ogenga (2010) and Botes (2009) do not delve into the sub-imperialistic nature of South Africa as a direct consequence of western neo-liberalism and the contradictions that arise thereof, an issue that this thesis explores. The two scholars do not seek to decode the stereotypical dominant western media narrative and test it against the South African media as this thesis does. It will be interesting though to engage Ogenga's (2010) findings in order to ascertain similarities between the treatment of Swaziland and Zimbabwe by the South African media.

2.5 Conclusion

The above account of South Africa's sub imperialist status suggests a continuation of apartheid policies and strategies to dominate the region and subsequently the continent. The apartheid government initiated institutionalized hegemony in the form of Southern African Customs Union (SACU), binding the Southern African economies to South Africa. The new democratic South Africa reinforced the country's dominance through SADC and NEPAD which saw the expansion of South African businesses including the media which has since proliferated three quarters of the continent through control of satellite network technologies. This set-up promotes global imperialism according to Robert McChesney (1998) as concluded in his publication, *The Global Media: The New Missionaries of Corporate Capitalism*. Chapter 2 also reviewed studies on representations of Africa in western media and concluded that the negative picture about the continent is an extension of western imperialism. Since this research largely looks at representation of Africa in the South African media, two studies, one by Ogenga (2010) and another Botes (2009) were singled out as relevant to this research. Chapter 3 explores theories that inform this study.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

This research is informed by a combination of theories and selected parts of critical political economy of the media, theories of media imperialism and cultural studies. These theories are key in the systematic ideological understanding of the subject under study – media representation. Critical political economy of media is important in explaining media ownership particularly media concentration and conglomeration since South Africa is a capitalist driven state that embraces liberalism as an ideology for social governance and order. To understand South Africa's sub imperialism and media dominance, the thesis employed media imperialism theories. The cultural studies approach will shed light on stereotypical representations of Swaziland in the South African media.

3.2 Critical Political Economy of Media

The political economy approach is a big part of the examination of media which in its original state refers to the production, distribution and consumption of wealth (Hardy, 2014). This view seeks to analyze how processes of internationalization, diversification and commercialization impact content and media practices in the quest for capital gains. Mosco (1996:24) provides two approaches to political economy:

In its narrow sense, political economy is the study of social relations, particularly the power relations that mutually constitute the production, distribution, and consumption of resources, including communications resources. But in its more ambitious form it is the study of control and survival in social life.

This explanation is insufficient according to some critics (Hardy, 2014) for it omits the role of advertising as the main source of funding as well as public ownership or government ownership and its effects on products. What Mosco (1996) explores is the relationship between audiences and advertising and misses how it influences media products or promotes commercialism. The original thinkers of classical political economy theory like Adam Smith, David Ricardo, James Mill and Jeremy Bentham as quoted by Hardy (2014), were interested in the study of wealth and political decision making to ascertain how mankind makes economic sense of scarce resources to fulfill certain desires over others under capitalism.

Marx and Engels's examination of the theory carries a more radical view that infuses elements of power relations, for they see it as part of bourgeois economic theory (Garnham, 2011; Hardy, 2014; McChesney, 2004). Marx's argument is founded on the philosophy that class dominance over means of production extends to dominance over mental control of the working class (Marx and Engels cited in Curran, 1982). This is contradictory to classical political economy arguments by Smith (1980) who sees capitalism as a source of peace and prosperity that satisfies all classes. Other political economists contend that the theory is a transition from post war American hegemony to global transnational world communications dominance by multinational corporations (Garnham, 2011). The theory is most applicable in explaining communication in capitalist societies where commercial activity dominates because it is embedded within liberal democratic theories and practice (McChesney, 1998). It is befitting then to apply critical political economy of media in this thesis because South Africa as suggested by McChesney (1998) has a liberal structural economic design founded on a *laissez-fair* market structure. Picard (1989) holds a similar view and asserts that studies on representations relate well to environments underpinned by market economics. Within political economy theory, this thesis focuses on media ownership and control to explain patterns of ownership in the South African media, particularly the three publications central to the study. The political economy theory will also feed into media imperialism theories which explain South Africa's media expansion in the African continent and its imperialistic behavior underpinned by unidirectional and commercialization strategies.

3.2.1 Media Ownership and Control

The growing patterns of ownership witnessed in the last four decades in the media can be explained in several ways. However, a number of scholars point to the narrow interest of politics and capital accumulation as primary motivation, particularly growing media monopoly (Williams, 2003; Golding and Murdock, 2000; Herman and Chomsky, 1988). Williams (2003) and Hamelink (1983) contend that the processes of integration, diversification and internationalization are responsible for the increased media concentration and ownership. State owned and public service media are increasingly succumbing to commercial models through partnerships such as mergers, syndications and takeovers in extreme examples, to conform to the neoliberal objective of a global oligopoly (Nyamnjoh, 2004). Concentrated ownership of media is not only witnessed in the western world, sub imperialist countries like India, South Africa and Brazil have inherited similar media structures. In India, Zee TV owner Subhash Goel, is one of the leading media and entertainment moguls whilst in South Africa Naspers has established itself

as African and global multimedia empire (Naspers, 2014; Thussu, 1998; Williams, 2003) Nyamnjoh (2004;120) writes that, “the objective of media operators is to control not only global markets but also global consciousness by encouraging the emergence of a small number of monopoly concerns which commands a disproportionate share of the global market”.

The pluralists school of thought defends concentrated media ownership as insignificant in influencing media content because the market regulates itself. Content is shaped by consumer demand; that is, the public is given what they want therefore, audiences are the real power holders. This contradicts Marxism which argues that the superstructure influences media to reinforce dominance of the ruling class through ownership of means of production or propagation of dominant ideologies achieved by creating media as part of economic processes (Curran, 2003). Ownership in the South African media industry can be defined in a neo-Marxist theoretical understanding as both private and public. The print media is largely owned by private companies and subscribe to commercial business values. The electronic media (SABC) is controlled by the state, through the Department of Communications which holds 100 % of the shares in the institution, thus susceptible to manipulation by the ruling class (also refer to Chapter 2). This media set-up carries remnants of post-colonial African media systems where governments controlled media in the name of “nation Building” (Nyamnjoh, 2005). Of note is that the SABC also embraces commercialism, hence there is a great deal of pressure to generate profits. MultiChoice DSTV is privately owned, whilst the three newspapers (*The Star*, *Mail & Guardian* and *Sowetan*) central to this research are owned by private companies – Sekunjalo Independent Media Group, Entrepreneur Trevor Ncube and Times Media Group respectively. Herman and Chomsky (1994) in their propaganda model suggest that ownership, size and profit affect the way media handles its discourse, with a bias towards profits. They argue that content reflects the interest of the market. With advertisers being the principal source of income, this state of affairs sometimes undermines the watchdog role of the media (Herman and Chomsky, 1994). Curran, (2000a) agrees that the media structure of shareholding and ownership is designed to maximize profits hence the influence of advertising in newsroom practice is evident in that media have to, as Low (2001;158) argues “collect, package and deliver audiences to the advertisers”. This also explains the popular right wing discourse of democracy and human rights in the South African print media, which is a parallel ideology to capitalism and free market, largely advanced by media owners. Studies on western media’s representation of Africa also point to media ownership and the interest to make profits as contributors to the negative image of the continent (Hawk, 1992). The sense is that the media has to disseminate discourses that

promote commercialism or that capture audiences. Issues are therefore selectively covered, tend to be non-contextualized or ignored in favour of stories that have a potential to generate business. This result in underreporting, misrepresentation and stereotyping, all of which are viewed as contributors to the underdevelopment of the African continent (Ankomah, 2008; Ebo, 1992; Jaroz, 1993). The thesis of media ownership and control can also be extended to media imperialism theories to explain South Africa's aggressive media proliferation and commercialization in the African market. This in turn explains South Africa's sub imperialism and its role as a conduit for western ideology as discussed in the next sub section.

3.3 Media Imperialism

3.3.1 Introduction

The South African media can be located between theories of globalization and neo-colonialism. This is because of its function as a bridge to global liberal expansionist philosophies whilst at the same time pursuing its own expansionist and domination program through exporting media products to the region and the rest of Africa. In understanding this phenomenon, this research settled for the media imperialism theory to explain the global flow and contra flow of media products. Media imperialism theory is conceptually different but interrelated to cultural imperialism and sometimes used interchangeably in analyzing imbalances of power and dominance of the west in international media communications. It is useful to question the rising power of western media conglomeration and its implications; the unreciprocated communications and their links to capitalism theories (commercialism) as well as the dominance of imperialist languages and infrastructure as they relate to neo-colonialism. South Africa's media products are largely informed by western models, carry a large amount of imperialist language (English) and the flow is biased, uni-directional and unreciprocated as observed by Ndlovu (2000) and Teer-Tomaselli, Wasserman and de Beer (2007), Kupe (interview, 2014) and Harber (interview, 2014). It is significant also to mention that these concepts fall within the larger theory of globalization and interdependence of cultural and economic activities. There is a close association between media imperialism and the dependency paradigm though this research will concentrate on the latter. The link is anchored on the point that,

dependency theorists argue that, while the old imperialist control was based on brutal and militaristic power and economic domination, the new imperialism is based on ideological manipulation by mainly Western-based multinational corporations, that control the means of communications (Sonderling as cited in Ndlovu, 2000: 201).

Media imperialism is born out of the dependency on western communications technologies which is part of the bigger neo-colonial strategy by countries at the centre (Ndlovu, 2000).

3.3.2 The Theory

Boyd-Barrett as quoted by Sparks (2007:96) defines media imperialism as,

the process whereby the ownership, structure, distribution or content of the media in any one country and singly or together subject to substantial external pressures from the media interests of any other country or countries without proportionate reciprocation of influence by the country so affected.

The media imperialism thesis submits that western media conglomeration, largely American, promotes underdevelopment in the third world and erosion of cultures, whilst upholding capitalist values for countries at the centre. Nordenstreng (2012:33) explains that, “Laissez-fair leads to monopolization and creates neo-colonial dependence”, a point that is upheld by post-Cold War scholars who subscribe to the theory of a homogenized world culture because of the dominance of western media. The mechanics of media imperialism as viewed by scholars like Thussu (2000), Flew (2007), Sparks (2007) and Herman and McChesney (1997) is anchored between the corporationalization of the communications sector by western governments, the military as well as foreign policies where neo-colonialism is aggressively pursued. Global capitalism and modernization are behind the expansionist theory to promote market economies and western values. As a result, the global media sphere is dominated by 11 companies as shown in Chapter 2, figure 2. Boyd-Barrett (1998) contends that the development of mass communications as a one way technology or along commercial lines, exemplified by the American media structure, serves as the backbone to the imperialist nature of western media. The advent of satellite technology which offers little resistance from third world media threatens to suppress and subordinate media systems because satellite signals can be transmitted across national borders (Le Sueur Stewart, 1991). This undermines any state regulation and control of local broadcasters and subsequently the sovereignty of nations. Sussman (1981) and Hamelink (1984) raise a concern that these technologies are susceptible to foreign capital manipulation and their initial design disproportionately serves the interests of conglomerates.

Media imperialism theory also reveals the development of professional norms, values and practices of media programming and media narratives (concept of news) adopted in the third world countries as a creation of the west (Sparks, 2007). These values are embedded in the ‘DNA’ of what is perceived to be a ‘free’ media and serve to direct the character and nature of western

media. For instance, factors such as timeliness, impact, prominence, proximity, the bizarre, conflict and human interest determine newsworthiness and values of a program or a potential news story in terms of structure and the nature of content. This point is further enforced by the observation that not only does the west develop western media values to be transplanted to third world countries but also provides training that extends to western technologies used in developing countries. Sparks (2007:100) makes a similar point:

The people who worked in media systems of developing countries were likely to have been educated along European or American lines...professional personae of media workers in developing countries acted to make them effectively as alien in their own countries as their colonialist predecessors had been.

Cruise and O'Brien (1976:6) weighs in on the point above and point out that, "technology and training are instruments of continuing subordination to the developed world". Beyond values and training, the content of media bears the hallmarks of the colonialist and dependence on western countries. The intimate relationship between theories of modernization and dependency has led some critics to suggest that underdevelopment in the third world is linked to capitalism, which is perpetrated by media imperialism (Park, 1998).

Media imperialism theory also reveals the one-way flow of information even for countries at sub imperial level whose media facilities are strong, like Brazil, South Africa and India but still import more content that often exceeds 70% of their total content supply (Sparks, 2007). This according to Thussu (2000) is linked to liberalism as a form of social order. The rationale is that people in sub imperial countries relate more to western culture, thought to be promoted by the openness of the system to foreign ideology. This also serves as a strong edge for the western media to dictate the global discourse and their privatization and free market related policies which serve to benefit them, thus also setting the agenda for the rest of the world. For instance, third world views and perspectives are rarely represented in the western world (Herman and McChesney, 1997). Media imperialism theory according to Curran and Park (2000) sees neo-liberalism and deregulation as vital in the self-regulation of markets, which in essence corrodes the sovereignty of nations. In theory, values of nationalism and protectionism are undermined by capital and business related practices. The theory also exposes the dependence on and over indulgence in imperialist languages like English, French and Portuguese as languages of choice in media products. Language being a primary vehicle for the infusion of foreign cultures and values is prone to be used as a channel for Americanization of the third world populations. Though some programs are transcribed from imperialist to local languages, Thussu (2000)

denounces that as a ploy to suppress local competition than a counter measure to the dominance of foreign languages. The framework of transcribed programs carries the same western commercial values to maintain the stranglehold of corporations. The end result is the total collapse of local industries that are unable to compete in scale and scope of supply. As a form of counter cultural imperialism, researchers observe a steady reciprocated supply of productions that emanate from the South to the North, reflecting a hybridized media which captures diasporic communities (Straubhaar, 1991). However, Mosco (1996) feels that such productions are dominated by elites in the South, a group that has western influence in terms of technology and training, thus the output is largely the same – consumerist material with strong western influence.

The McBride commission was the climax of the media imperialism debates in the 1970s where a group of Non-aligned Nations within UNESCO met to create an information and communication plan aimed at crafting a more equitable global media representation (MacBride, 1980). The Commission produced a report, *Many Voices One World*, which recommended a balanced information flow that would represent and portray Africa in a fair and just manner (MacBride, 1980). Although the Commission's findings were never implemented because the United States of America (USA), United Kingdom (UK) and Singapore who are the major sponsors of UNESCO disagreed with the document and subsequently withdrew from the organization, this attempt vividly demonstrated the concern surrounding negative discourses about the third world. An analysis of several studies (Musa, 1997; Roach, 1997; Smith, 1980) post-New World Information and Communications Order (NWICO) debates shows that the asymmetries in the political economy of media have remained the same despite much agitation from the third world to address the information flows between the industrialized and non-industrialized nations. Nordenstreng (2012) argue that the radical and reformist narrative of NWICO was run over by globalization and its neo-liberal agenda of corporationalization, and that being the case, the political economy of western media still serve the interests of the western order. The contra flow to western news media brought by the mushrooming of news agencies and the establishment of news networks such as Aljazeera, Central Chinese Television (CCTV) and Russian Television (RT) in the east has not unsettled the mainstream western news organizations. Instead, scholars such as Adamu (2014:1) view the contra-flows as “imperialism from below”, because the east hypothetically is waging its own imperialism or what is now known as ‘soft’ imperialism (Chinese and Russian expansionist ideologies).

3.3.3 Criticism of Media Imperialism

The media imperialism thesis is criticized for fuelling the assumption that audiences are passive and stand ready to receive what the North decodes to the South without resistance or counter reaction. Cohen (2000) argues that the consumption of western imposed beliefs, values and lifestyles by the third world does not automatically translate to the adoption of these customs. There is the likelihood of counter reaction. This point therefore dispels the hypothesis of global cultural homogenization. An example is the widespread anti American sentiment, particularly in Islamic countries in the Middle East or Zimbabwe's anti-imperialist stance upheld by President Mugabe and his government. This demonstrates the impracticality of a homogenized world. Instead, a hybridized cultural world is advanced by Sreberny-Mohammadi (1996) who contends that cultures are subjected to the complexities of influences in a traded and sometimes equilibrated way that questions media imperialism as a one way flow of western origin. Curran and Park (2000) share the same point and insist that rather than being viewed as a channel for one-way imposition of western beliefs and values, globalised media brings ideas and issues to the fore which otherwise would have been suppressed by repressive governments in their own media systems. For instance, the South African and international media report regularly on democracy and multiparty developments in Swaziland than the local media which appears to be entangled in institutionalized censorship and other barriers to freedom of the press. Other theorists advance the argument that theories of globalization do not only objectively impact the western world, but such positive transformation is also shared with the entire world. These theories create an understanding and a more harmonious universe which results in cooperation and solidarity.

The Gramscian thesis of hegemony dismisses criticism of media imperialism which argue that audiences are not passive and cannot be homogenized. Morley (1993) contends that audiences in developing countries only react to ideas they are not part of in the first place. This suggest that the intellectual systems and structures that create hegemonic ideologies are out of reach for developing groups to make fair and reciprocated contributions as Curran and Park (2000) and Sreberny-Mohammadi (1996) suggest. The media also is only a fraction of the apparatus used by hegemonic groups to exert their moral and intellectual leadership which according to Gramsci (1971), can also be exercised through the control of institutions like schools, religious bodies and hospitals. The power to repeal the massive dominance of foreign ideologies cannot be sustained for a long time by disadvantaged groups. Eventually something has to give, in the advent of

continuous exposure to foreign messages. Thus the notion of a homogenized culture may not be guaranteed, but it is real.

3.3.4 Reflections

In reflecting on the media imperialism theory and how it explains South Africa's sub imperialism in the African continent, three points were extracted as a summary analysis. It is apparent that South African media upholds the same values associated with capitalism which according to Sparks (2007), promotes media imperialism and underdevelopment. This can be witnessed in its behavior as a commercially oriented media with a dual interest to export both western and South African culture as pointed out in chapter 2. South Africa's aggressive advance in the African media terrain is more of a business and commercial strategy than a moral concern carved out of a pan African spirit and genuine act of counter cultural imperialism (Harber, interview 2014). The country produces a high number of products in an imperialist language (English), contradicting the dictates and spirit of NWICO which advocates for a free flow and diversity of information. For example, MultiChoice multimedia empire's dominance in Africa has a high number of western and South African, English language produced programs. This also applies to the numerous South African newspaper and magazine titles particularly in the SADC region. There are few if any, media products produced in indigenous languages like Ki Swahili widely spoken in the Eastern African region to capture indigenous African voices and keep the pan African spirit alive. Ndlovu (2010:285) describes the scenario appropriately when he writes, "South African media content, especially popular and high cultural products are hardly 'South African'". Media imperialism theory also reveals the prevalence of franchised and transcribed western products in the South African media as a concerted effort to destroy local productions in the process of promoting products of western origin.

The unidirectional communication by the South African media to Africa, although there are contra-flows from the east (Central Chinese Television, Aljazeera, France24), is explained through western control of technologies which is part of the larger military and foreign policy strategy of western governments in pursuit of their neo-colonialist agenda. South Africa being part of the countries at the centre of the periphery reproduces or directly dispatches everything western or American to African audiences. To explain this phenomenon the media imperialism theory proclaims that countries with similar structural organizations and media interest collude and subject other countries to undue disproportionate pressure (Sparks, 2007). The media landscape maybe changing though with China's relentless investment in the media environment

in Africa, which according to Harber (interview, 2014) has reached \$8 billion in the last ten years. China now holds 20% stake in the Sekunjalo Independent Group and 35% shares on Naspers internet business (Wu, 2014).

Media imperialism theory dictate that global oligopolization of western media and the consistent imposition of western mass media products on people of the South is likely to result in cultural homogeneity because the dominance of the western media is unlikely to be contained. Figures 3, 4 and 5 in Chapter 2 demonstrate the dominance of South African media (MultiChoice) in Africa and other parts of the world which is largely carried out through collaborating with local media and assistance in technology from the west. South African hegemony in Africa is set to continue with reports of establishing an African news channel getting stronger following an agreement signed between Sekunjalo Independent Media group and CCTV (Mkhwanazi, 2014).

3.4 Cultural Studies

The cultural studies approach befits this research in the sense that it looks deeper into the meaning of text to unearth the underlying codes and power relations that influence meaning. Hall (1997) on a Marxist line of thought argues that communications and power are intertwined and groups that hold power in society influence what gets represented. In light of this, the cultural studies approach gives us an opportunity to question discourses around capitalism, patriarchy, heterosexism, white supremacy and imperialism (Hesmondhalgh, 2002). Capitalism and imperialism are a big part of this study to understand the asymmetries between South Africa and Swaziland. The research also offers the opportunity to challenge underlying complexities behind discourses that promote stereotypical representations of Swaziland; how such discourses feed into cultural power, which voices are more audible versus the marginalized in society. In essence the cultural studies approach unearths the way meaning in text weaves itself into society. Representation is a big part of cultural studies in that it connects meaning and language of a common culture group.

3.4.1 Theories of representation

This study is premised on the idea that representation functions as an element of social construction. Society creates its own systems, signs and concepts to produce meaning (Hall, 1997). Hall as quoted by Orgad (2012:17) defines representation as “images, descriptions, explanations and frames for understanding what the world is and why and how it works in a particular way”. In a more refined explanation objects such as clothes, cars, buildings can be

viewed beyond their physical poses and functions but as representations of meaning to understand 'reality' (Orgad, 2012). Representation functions within the principal code of language. Language itself is a set of signs and symbols that are constituted through sounds, images, objects, written words, musical notes etc., in which people's feelings, concepts and ideas are represented (Hall, 1997). This thesis is primarily interested in the construction of meaning from language (text) to understand representations of Swaziland in the South African media. Choi (2004) advances the notion that language can be presented in the form of catch phrases, depictions and metaphors and as such, meaning is never rigid. Hall (1997) introduces two popular approaches towards representation; the reflectionist (mimetic) and constructionist (constructivist) approaches. Although this thesis will focus on the constructionist perspective, it is imperative to analyze both for a holistic understanding of the approaches and how they relate to the current study. Reflectionists grant that language parallels the true meaning of an object as it already exists. The assumption is that representation functions as a reflection or a mirror of pre-existing meaning. Critics of the reflective approach point at its flaws regarding its rigidity in a fast flowing and 'liquid' globalised environment we live in. Bauman (2007) is of the opinion that representations themselves raise mixed feelings and confusion, thus they cannot be said to exclusively reflect reality.

The constructionist paradigm dismisses the reflectionist system of thought which holds that representation mirrors reality. Instead, the constructionist paradigm asserts that representation is a selective construction of certain elements of reality, generating meaning and also excluding other meanings (Orgad, 2012). Stewart Hall (1997:3) summarizes it as follows:

We give things meaning by how we represent them; the words we use about them; the stories we tell about them; the images of them we produce; the emotions we associate with them; the ways we classify and conceptualize them; the value we place on them.

In a nutshell, the constructionist view of representation posits that reality is constructed (Hall, 1997; Gillespie and Tonybee, 2006; McDonald, 2003). Post-structuralists advance a slightly different argument from traditional constructionists in that they refute the element of preexisting 'truth' or 'reality', and argue instead, that there are signs and symbols that pretend to stand for 'reality' (Orgad, 2012). This view is also held by Gill (2007) who contests that meaning is fluid, contrary to the notion that it is univocal. "Meaning is a site of constant struggle and contestation, it resists fixity" (Orgad, 2012:23). The constructionist view runs into the problem of opening up to different interpretations of meanings resulting in failure to pin responsibility because of inability to link representation and reality (McDonald, 2003). Despite the epistemological

differences of the two views, they are both anchored in the ideology of representation as a process of construction. This research follows the constructionist paradigm in that it seeks to construct meaning from discourses in selected South African media publications by employing a thematic code of analysis method. This is to ascertain the representations of Swaziland in the South African media, which is the main objective of this study.

3.4.2 Representation and power

The study of media representation entails investigating ways in which types of media representation weave themselves in sophisticated and latent ways in the contestation of power relations and its reproduction. Scholars of Marxist thought (Bauman, 2007; Gill, 2007; Hall, 1997; Milner, 2002; McDonald, 2003) contend that power relation interlace themselves in the process of representation and construction of knowledge, concepts and beliefs in the media. Consequently, most research in media representation focuses on the dominator and the dominated in the study of gender, race, sexuality and so on. This therefore means that, making meaning of events implies that there are several views of ‘reality’. That being the case, media has the power to project certain views or ‘reality’ in a particular way. This is further echoed by Ogard (2012:25) who asserts that “Power relations are encoded in media representation, and media representations in turn produce and reproduce power relations by constructing knowledge, values, conceptions and beliefs”. This is the point where media imperialism and the theory of representation meet.

Gramsci’s (1971) theory of hegemony provides a clear view of media and power in that media as a tool for dominant groups is one of the sites where cultural dominance is exercised, media being an institution that constructs certain meanings of events. The dominant notion is that media as a cultural site produces and reproduces and circulates ‘commonsense’ assumptions and in the process marginalizing non hegemonic views. However, counter hegemonic arguments contend that whilst powerful views are circulated in media, there is also contestation of these views. Foucault’s (1980) model is slightly different from Gramsci in that he argues that power is institutional and not repressive as some critics would think. This means that “The act of representation-producing meaning through text and image – itself transforms power relations and subjectivities and the way we experience and define ourselves. In short, representation is constitutive power” (Ogard, 2012:28). The significance of representation and power is dealt with in the following section where stereotyping and binary oppositions are explained as an art to maintain symbolic order and domination. This symbolic ‘bordering’ order is argued to be the

fundamental structural system of repression in western media representations of Africa as illustrated in the section on stereotypes and ‘othering’ below, using the metaphor ‘dark continent’.

3.4.3 Stereotypes and ‘Othering’

Stereotypes form a large part of the theories of representation. They function as part of the systems and methods in the fabrication of the negative picture about Africa. This research is interested in analyzing and identifying traits and patterns that are similar to dominant western media reporting of Africa in the South African media. These patterns will be compared to South Africa’s media reporting of Swaziland in order to ascertain the extent to which South African media is informed by western media. Hilton and von Hippel (1996) and Seita (1986) define stereotypes as convictions about the behavior, physiognomy and traits of a group or its members. Stereotypes are not necessarily lies, although they are widely considered to be negative. Ellen Seita (1986) agrees but feels that the hegemonic nature of stereotypes largely makes them negative because of their cause and effect attributes. She goes on to make an example quoting Bell (1981:26):

Stereotypes about blacks, often describe differences in education between blacks and whites. The complex, deeply entrenched factors that keep blacks from succeeding in a white-dominated educational system...an effect of their subordinate position in society...is represented in the stereotype as a single, racial characteristic: blacks are less intelligent than whites. The nature of such stereotypes attempts to explain and to justify obvious inequalities in a society whose official ideology is racial equality.

Colonialists deployed stereotypes to systematically attain a position of domination. It is not surprising then that there are less studies on positive stereotypes particularly because they are associated with the powerful, implying that positive stereotypes are more ‘realistic’ and don’t deserve the same attention and treatment given to negative stereotypes (Seita, 1986). Contradictory beliefs or stereotypes cannot be easily reversed. In the event that evidential information is presented, the possibility is that it may not be easily accepted or change an individual to believe the contrary. For example, an image to someone from the west that shows Africa with beautiful cities and modern super highways may not necessarily dispel the dominant western picture that frames Africa as homogeneous with exotic animals roaming everywhere (Mchira, 2002).

Stereotypes function within the code of ‘Othering’ and ‘Othering’ is a mechanism that defines and divides humanity into two groups whose identity is valued as uneven. One group represents the norm whilst the other is defined by its faults (Staszak, 2008). So otherness according to Staszak (2008:2) “is the result of a discursive process by which a dominant in-group (“Us,” the Self) constructs one or many dominated out-groups (“Them,” Other) by stigmatizing a difference – real or imagined, presented as a negation of identity and thus a motive for potential discrimination”. Of note is that there has to be a disproportionate value in the distribution of power for the creation of the ‘other’ to occur. Staszak (2008) claims that the geographic construction of ‘Othering’ serves to reinforce stereotyping of various groups because of the hierarchy of civilizations and the homogeneous structural construct of the world. Jaroz (1992) provides an example of how stereotypes and ‘Othering’ function by dissecting the metaphor ‘dark continent’. He observes that this metaphor “identifies and incorporates the entire continent as the ‘Other’ in a way that reaffirms western dominance and reveals hostile and racist valuations of Africa and Africans” (Jaroz, 1992:105). This implies that the metaphor brings negative reflections against the African continent in the ‘us’ and ‘them’ binaries. It is a systematic alienation of the continent as the ‘Other’ in the process of validating western domination and power. “The metaphor homogenizes and flattens places and people, denies the actualities and specificities of social and economic processes which transform the continent” (Jaroz, 1992:105). The historical origins of this metaphor can be traced to the colonial western traders, religious expeditions, explorers and ethnographic writers who had encounters with the continent (Reimer, 2011). The picture of extreme pessimism in the western media is born out of the stereotypical metaphor, Africa the “dark” continent. A close analysis of the metaphor also reveals a social construction of other methods and systems of dominance such as sexism and racial discrimination, using stereotyping and ‘Othering’ as weapons of differentiating and domination. The roots of the Rwandan catastrophe are traceable to the Belgian colonial era, where racist ideologies that sought to classify the Hutu and the Tutsis as different were perpetrated and institutionalized by Europeans (Reimer, 2011).

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter mapped out the philosophical environment of the media in South Africa. Critical political economy with a focus on media ownership and control explained the capitalist nature of the South African media – mergers, partnerships and syndications conducted by MultiChoice, SABC and ENCA. Media imperialism as an analytical framework clarified issues of commercialization and the dominance of South Africa and the west in the cultural and

information sphere. Media representations theory presented some of the key elements central to the ideology of representation, particularly stereotypes which form a significant component in this research.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY AND DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURES

4.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces design methods and procedures of analysis to justify the use of mixed methods in this research. However, because the main question is concerned with the broader media representation of Swaziland in the South African media, the study also employs the case study research design to narrow the inquiry into a few media publications. To accomplish data diversity, data was sourced from newspaper texts (news stories) and interviews. The research settled for content analysis and the interview as data collection and analysis methods whilst thematic analysis was used for data interpretation. Thurmond (2001) believes that diversity of data creates inventive ways of understanding a phenomenon, thus increasing and diversifying the data base as well as analyzing the research questions from various angles increases the validity of one's results (Patton, 2002).

4.2 Research Design and Process

4.2.1 Mixed methods design

To be able to draw a comprehensive and conclusive picture of the representation of Swaziland in the South African media, the study used mixed methods approach defined by Tashakkori and Creswell (2007b:4) as a “research in which the investigator collects and analyzes data, integrates the findings, and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches or methods in a single study or program of inquiry”. The mixed methods approach is largely associated with pragmatism in that it focuses on what works contrary to the rigidity of other methods (Teddle and Tashakkori, 2009). For instance in this research, the analysis of the articles is presented in tabular form and pie charts as well as text (words) as complementary methods to achieve both qualitative and quantitative explorations. The advantage of using mixed methods research is that it provides a strength for weaknesses of both qualitative and quantitative methods in one research. For instance quantitative methods are viewed as weak in contextual understanding or setting that affects the response of participants and voices are not directly heard but merely lumped up in numbers and statistics, which is a strength for qualitative research; Qualitative methods are argued to be weak in that researchers apply personal interpretations which may be biased and fail to generalize findings of larger groups, which is a strength of the quantitative approach (Creswell and Plano-Clark, 2011). This therefore implies that the mixed methods

approach provides a strong case for studying research problems because of the flexibility to use all research tools for data collection and subsequently answer questions that may not be answered by either qualitative or quantitative methods alone (Creswell and Plano-Clark, 2011).

The combination of both deductive and inductive analysis in this research brings ‘practical’ value in that the mathematical analysis (pie charts and tables) enables accurate comparisons to be drawn, whilst at the same time applying inductive reasoning to the research problem. For instance Figure 10 shows that *The Star* and the *Mail & Guardian* published more stories about Swaziland in 2011, 43% and 43.3% against 14% from the *Sowetan*. The theory is that the *Sowetan* is largely targeted at the black South African working class of lower Living Standard Measure (LSM 1-5), whilst the *Mail & Guardian* and *The Star* target middle to higher income groups (LSM 6-10) including professionals, academics, tourists and foreigners (SAARF, 2014). The target group for both *The Star* and the *Mail & Guardian* is pan African and have interest in current affairs issues beyond South Africa and the African continent, hence the high number of stories published on Swaziland in 2011.

Creswell (2014) introduces three types of the mixed method approach: the convergent parallel mixed method, explanatory sequential mixed method as well as exploratory sequential mixed method. This research settled for convergent parallel mixed methods which allows for data collection to be done at the same time (quantitative and qualitative). An analysis of the data is done separately though, to compare both qualitative and quantitative data. Creswell (2014) argues that the results should be the same because the data sets often complement each other. Likewise, in this research the data was collected at the same time but managed separately to produce illustrations like the tables and pie charts with an in-depth explanation in text (words). Contrary to the convergent parallel mixed method, the explanatory sequential mixed method advances the collection of quantitative data first, which is then analyzed and the results used to build towards the qualitative phase. In this instance the qualitative design method is used as a secondary method. (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2009). Meanwhile, the exploratory sequential mixed method is the opposite of the explanatory sequential mixed method. It begins with qualitative analysis as the primary method and merges with the quantitative as a subsection of the main method.

Creswell and Plano-Clark (2011) contend that the mixed method approach is not meant to water down the values of both qualitative and quantitative methods and may not produce results for

every research problem. That being the case, it is significant to conduct an evaluation to determine if the research problem needs to be tackled using the mixed methods approach before one engages it. Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) agree and assert that researchers must be well skilled in both qualitative and quantitative data collection skills. Of note an assessment of resources and time in which to collect both qualitative and quantitative data must be made before an undertaking is made. The research selected the mixed methods approach because the advantages of the method far outweigh the disadvantages. It proved useful in the simplification and presentation of large volumes of raw data into pie charts, tables and graphs (173 newspaper articles from three newspaper publications) as well as providing narrative summary analysis.

4.2.2 Case Study

The main research question seeks to explore the representation of Swaziland in selected South African media. Obviously, the study of three newspaper publications cannot represent the entire South African media. It is in light of the above that the study also engages the case study method as a way to narrow down the study to a few cases or publications. From the types of media available in South Africa, the study prefers newspaper publications because as Nyamnjoh (2005) notes, States are more rigid and controlling in broadcast media when it comes to editorial independence than print media. This implies that newspapers are generally less censored and enjoy relative freedom than broadcast media. Robert Stake (1995) presents three types of case studies identified as *intrinsic*, *instrumental* and *collective*. Intrinsic case study takes interest in a particular case as a result of its uniqueness and ordinariness. The aim is not necessarily to understand abstract phenomenon or theories but to explore the distinctive nature of the case. The intrinsic attraction in the case is the main drive behind the study (Stake, 1995). The inverse of intrinsic is instrumental case study in which “a particular case is examined to provide insight into an issue or refinement of a theory” (Stake, 1994:237). The case supports the investigation of something else, which means that the analysis of the case is magnified to prove a hypothesis. In a nutshell the case is chosen to understand other phenomena or external interest. Collective case study is an extension of instrumental case study. The idea is that rather than focusing on one case, collective case study is extended to several cases whilst maintaining the same elements and structure found in instrumental case studies. The choice of cases may or may not be similar but the bottom line is that they lead to convergent conclusions (Yin, 2003). This study therefore falls within the collective instrumental case study method because of multiple cases under investigation (*The Star*, *Mail & Guardian* and *Sowetan*) and the objective is not to investigate

the operations of the 3 newspaper organizations but they are used as instruments to understand a bigger research problem, that is, South Africa's sub imperialism.

4.2.3 Sampling methods

The study employed non-probability purposive sampling in choosing publications for the research to avoid the rigidity that goes with probability sampling. This method is appropriate because the publications are different in some aspects (e.g. target market, content); hence non-probability sampling accommodates variations. Doherty (1994) argues that non-probability sampling is a contradiction of probability sampling because, probability sampling requires that the units of study must be the same or have the same characteristics and the method of selection must also be consistent. Jacoby and Handlin (1991) recognize that there is a purpose or predefined feature in non-probability purposive sampling to be followed despite its random character. For instance all the publications in this research have a wide circulation in Swaziland and are privately owned as highlighted in Chapter 1. To increase representation of sample population, three publications were chosen for the study.

4.3 Data Collection and analysis

4.3.1 Content Analysis

As a research technique Klaus Krippendorff (2013:1) quoting Webster's dictionary defines content analysis as, "the manifest and latent content of a body of communicated material (as a book or film) through classification, tabulation, and evaluation of its key symbols and themes in order to ascertain its meaning and probable effect". This can be interpreted as way to count the manifestation of certain features in a body of research work to discover representations and messages and their attached meaning. It is associated with the quantitative tradition although Abrahamson (1983) contends that it can be used for both qualitative and quantitative methods of examining messages. In this research it is utilized as a way of quantifying and analyzing features in media articles to ascertain patterns and occurrences. Given its advantages to manage manifest content and inferences, this technique is appropriate in that this research evaluates representations.

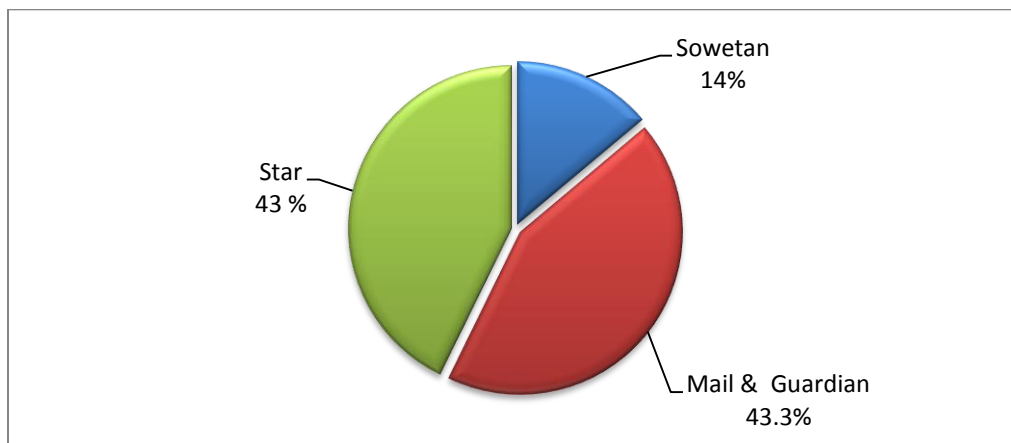
The study utilized all articles published about Swaziland in the *Star*, *Mail & Guardian* and *Sowetan* during the period of 2011, from January to December. The *Mail & Guardian* and *The Star* articles were obtained from their online database which holds archived material. The *Sowetan* stories were extracted from hard copies at the National Library in Pretoria, because their

online database does not hold some of the archived material. The idea was to pull out all articles published about Swaziland. This entailed downloading and printing all stories using the tag name ‘Swaziland 2011’ from both *The Star* and *Mail & Guardian* newspaper databases. Meanwhile, stories from the *Sowetan* were manually copied from the 2011 editions of the newspaper. Two of the publications are produced daily (*The Star* and *Sowetan*) whilst *Mail & Guardian* is a weekly publication. In total there were 173 newspaper articles extracted from all three publications as shown below:

Fig. 10

Publication	No. of articles
Sowetan	24
Mail and Guardian	75
The Star	74
Total	173

The table shows the number of articles that were produced by all the publications.

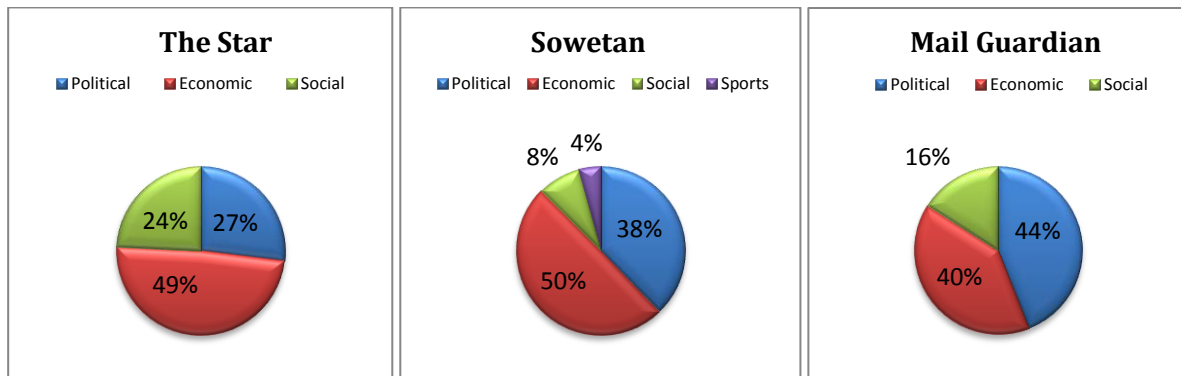


The pie chart interprets the table above showing the total number of articles produced by the publications in a percentage format.

The articles range across all socio-political and economic classifications, but for ease of analysis they were divided using the general newspaper layout method of political, economic, social and sports issues. This classification automatically generated themes for the categorization of the articles. Political articles are those that relate to governance, uprisings, protests etc. Economic articles are those that deal with business, loan bailout, economic collapse and so on. Social issues encapsulate royal weddings, patriarchal abuse, HIV/AIDS and other related matters. The last category sports, covers all sections of sports disciplines. The table and the pie chart below show the number of articles per category under the newspaper layout themes.

Fig. 11

Theme	The Star	Mail & Guardian	Sowetan
Political	20	33	9
Economics	36	30	12
Social	18	12	2
Sports	0	0	1
Total	74	75	24



The thematic separation of the articles above shows areas of interest of the selected South African media when covering Swaziland. *The Star* and *Sowetan* have a larger volume of economic stories which consistently follows the fact that during the period of study, Swaziland was undergoing economic related challenges. Meanwhile during the same period there was a lot of political activity initiated by pro-democracy groups who are discontented with the current state of affairs. This is shown through the *Mail & Guardian* which had more political than economic stories as shown in Figure 11 above. Of note, there were no sports related stories covered in both *The Star* and the *Mail & Guardian* during the period of study. The *Sowetan* captured only one sports story that related to a South African based Swazi born player who plies his trade in one of the top soccer teams, Orlando Pirates. Otherwise the rest of the publications had no sports stories at all.

4.3.2 Semi-structured interviews

To make up for the shortfall of the content analysis research technique, the study employed qualitative research interview. The interview research technique explores beliefs and experiences of participants on a subject matter. As such, interviews are significant in understanding the underlying factors of a social phenomenon (Robson, 2002). In the case of this research, there is very little information as pointed out in Chapter 2 that pertains to the representation of an

African country by another. To plug that gap where little information is known, interviews tend to be very useful (Gill, Stewart, Treasure, Chadwick; 2008). The study used semi-structured interviews because of their structure which allows for fluidity in the exploration of ideas that are not outlined in the main questions. This approach compared to the rigidity of structured interview, allows for exploration of new information that may have been omitted but proves valuable to the study (Gill et al., 2008). Bless, Higson-Smith and Kagee (2006) observe that in semi-structured interviews, participants can infuse their own understanding and experiences of phenomena as they see fit.

In designing the outline of the interview, the non-probability purposive sampling strategy was again preferred over probability sampling method. Chilisa and Preece (2005) assert that in this strategy, participants have to be knowledgeable in the area of study. Unlike probability sampling, this method does not involve random sampling and the disadvantage is that it is difficult to ascertain if the samples do or do not represent the population. Considering this research, this implies that participants may or may not possess the required knowledge and depth to respond satisfactorily to the subject matter. Even experts can be wrong sometimes (Trochim, 2000). Non probability sampling can be further divided into two sampling methods, listed as accidental or purposive (Battaglia, 2011; Doherty, 1994). Purposive sampling which is ideal for this research is self-explanatory, that is, sampling with a purpose or sampling predefined material or groups. This research opted to sample experts who are knowledgeable in media and the political economy of South Africa. The idea is to understand the ideological underpinnings of the current media environment as it pertains to the theory of representation and South Africa's role in the continent. Experts provide validity of information (Anderegg, Prall, Harold, and Schneider; 2010). In this research the experts evaluated and commented on theories of representation and South Africa's position as a sub imperial state. Two experts who have published extensively on media issues as shown below were chosen for this research.

Fig. 12

Name	Biography
Professor Tawana Kupe University of Witwatersrand	Deputy Vice Chancellor Finance, HR and Transformation - Head and Professor for Media Studies - Newspaper and magazine columnist and commentator for television and radio.
Professor Anton Haber University of Witwatersrand	Adjunct Professor of Journalism at Wits University and a founding Editor of the <i>Mail & Guardian</i> . Former CEO of <i>Kagiso</i> Broadcasting and has served in several professional boards.

The interviews were conducted after obtaining the ethics clearance certificates from the ethics committee, University of Witwatersrand. First, contacts were made through an email that had an introductory letter attached detailing the research, proposed questions and an agreement form that lays out the rights of both the interviewer and interviewee. Gillham (2000:38) contends that the first contacts before the interview are important because they send the message to the participants that “you are taking the interview seriously; that you appreciate their cooperation; that the occasion is important to you; that you respect their rights and feelings in the matter”. Since the strategy was to use the semi structured interview, questions were carefully drawn relating to the participants’ areas of expertise. These were ‘open’ questions with participants free to respond as comprehensively as possible. All interview sessions were recorded in order to capture and save the accurate summaries of the interview. Recording, as Benjamin (1981) points out, allows for the assessment of the tone, body language and extraction of quotable sentences.

4.4 Data Interpretation

4.4.1 *Thematic Analysis*

For data interpretation the study used thematic analysis, a qualitative method nestled within the social constructionist epistemology. Other scholars claim that it can be classified as an essentialists or realist method because of its ability to report on experience, meanings and reality of participants (Braun and Clark, 2006). Ibrahim (2012) and Hayes (1997) define it as a process of comprehensive classification of cross references between data and the research’s evolving themes. Braun and Clark (2006:6) define it as, “a method for identifying, analyzing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data”. Whilst this explanation sounds too simplistic, this method carries overlapping components as a way to see, make sense, analyze, observe and convert information. Thematic analysis as a method of choice for this research was informed by the fact that most of the stories about Swaziland are short pieces of average, 8 paragraphs, thus other methods of analysis such as discourse analysis were discounted. van Dijk (1998) affirms that discourse analysis requires a meticulous analysis of language structure, sentences and words, hence analyzing 173 articles would be overwhelming. In developing a thematic code, reflecting on prior research as outlined in Chapter 2 is significant in order to capture some of the dominant themes/metaphors to be used as baseline themes for this research. For instance metaphors and stereotypes that define Africa as a ‘dark’ continent, rampant with tribal wars and diseased were selected as thematic synergy codes. This conforms to Boyatzis’ (1998) assertion that thematic codes are prior research/data driven or theory driven. According to Boyatzis (1998:29), “A theory driven approach is comfortable for many researchers because they are starting from their

own theory or someone else's and then proceeding to develop their thematic code, consistent with their theory". Thus thematic coding reflecting on dominant themes from previous research helped answer the second question that deals with the extent to which South African media's representation of Swaziland is informed by western media representation of Africa. By extension the investigation aimed also to confirm or dispel the hypothesis that South Africa's political economy is structured as a conduit of western ideology. The link between prior research thematic synergy codes as demonstrated in Figure 13 and themes developed for this study advance into theory development and solid research findings that contribute a valuable piece of information into the academic body of knowledge (Boyatzis, 1998).

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter outlined research design methods and procedures of analysis. Mixed methods research technique was chosen as appropriate for this research. This method of study carries the advantage of nuanced, well founded results in that the main questions are answered from different angles explored through different research techniques. The main research question is best answered by employing thematic analysis techniques whilst the sub question is answered through the semi-structured interview technique. This chapter also narrated the sampling procedures and the reasons behind the chosen sampling techniques.

CHAPTER 5

DATA FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a narrative summary of data findings as informed by the design methods and procedures of analysis outlined in Chapter 4. Using thematic analysis and semi-structured interviews, this chapter presents an organized analysis of stories and how they relate to dominant western media themes and its reporting of the African story. It reveals themes which can be construed as neo-colonialist; themes that advocate democratic changes and castigate Swaziland as a failed state with a leadership that is out of touch with the masses and the world order.

5.2 Data Analysis

5.2.1 Thematic Analysis

Three themes emerged from the analysis of stories in the publications under study. A close analysis of the stories from all the publications revealed similarities because they were obtained from the same sources. The majority of stories were supplied by the main international news agencies *Reuters*, *Bloomberg*, *Associated Press* and the *Southern African Press Association*. Consequently, it was easier to combine all the stories based on sectoral categorization and extract the three themes. This is consistent with the groupings in Chapter 4 of news items based on context (political, economic, social and sports). The main themes are accompanied by thematic synergy codes under the notes column as shown in Figure13 that explains similarities with dominant stereotypes common in western media reporting of Africa. This is meant to understand how the study relates to western media representation of Africa as explained in Chapter 2 and Chapter 4.

Fig. 13

Sector	Main Theme	Notes
1. Political	Democratization	Swaziland ought to transform from the current system of governance to democracy - anything non democratic results in endemic political instability , coups and civil wars .
2. Economic	A country in Crisis	2011 economic crisis that almost brought the country to an economic collapse points to a country being stalked by hunger , famine and starvation .
3. Social	King's lifestyle	King's opulent lifestyle in the face of poverty and disease – typical of Africa's maladministration and dictatorship regimes.

Table showing themes based on the sectoral cluster of stories from the three publications.

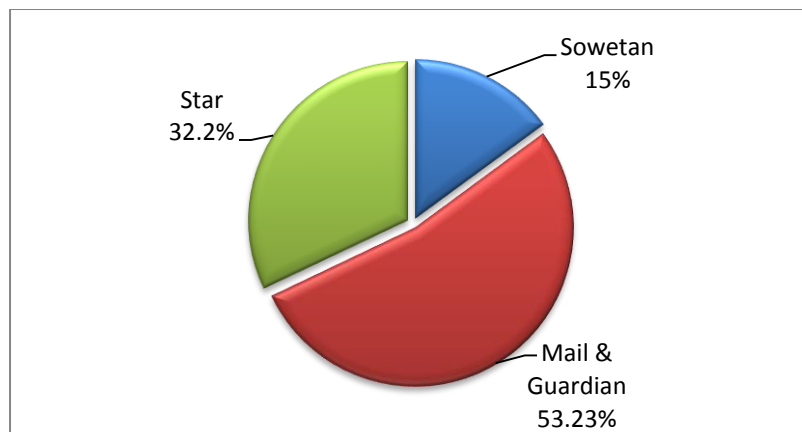
5.2.2 Analysis according to themes

a) THEME 1. Political - Democratization

This theme is associated with stories on political activities in the country. The stories were predominately on pro-democracy activities, calling for the country to transform from its current system of governance to embrace instead, democratic rule. The news reports are mostly on the crackdown of pro-democracy protests, trade union strikes and South African solidarity towards democratic changes from organizations such as Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), ANC Youth League and South African Communist Party (SACP). The table and pie chart below shows that the *Mail & Guardian* gave prominence to stories under the democratization theme by publishing 33 stories out of 62, from the three newspapers combined. This translates to 53%, whilst *The Star* and *Sowetan* recorded a 32% and 15 % respectively.

Fig. 14

Theme (Political)	The Star	Mail & Guardian	Sowetan	Total
Democratization	20	33	9	62



Summary

Four articles were selected for an in-depth analysis of the “democratization” theme. They are presented as summaries with newspaper headlines.

- The *Mail & Guardian* in its 15th April 2011 edition boldly carries the headline, “**Time for Change in Swaziland, ANC says**”. This headline can be interpreted as a directive from the ANC. It sounds authoritative and reminiscent of the imperialist west’s commanding attitude towards third world countries to open up to democratic systems of governance. Indirectly it asserts that time is up for Swaziland; either she complies or

faces the wrath of ‘big brother’, South Africa. It feels awkward and unexpected against the background that Swaziland has a historical relationship with the ruling party ANC as partners in the fight against apartheid, outlined in Chapter 1. The article urges the masses to revolt and exert pressure against the regime for them to realize democracy as motivated by Ebrahim Ebrahim (2011:16), Deputy Minister of International Relations quoted below:

Having emerged from the brutal past of apartheid that has led to scores of our people being assassinated, assaulted, detained and imprisoned, South Africa today is a world renowned democratic constitutional model. Were it not for the National Party led minority regime having been forced by the masses of our people to engage in dialogue with the African national Congress and other liberation movements prior 1994, this would have been impossible.

- *The Star* in its 24th June edition carries a similar headline entitled, “**Swaziland must end monarchy**”. The article is about Swaziland’s loan bailout application, to which the South African government is reported to have attached conditions aimed at exerting political pressure:

The response by the South African government to this desperate plea by the king was to tie stringent conditions, which included the unbanning of political parties and the formation of a transition government which will lead the country to democratic elections.

South Africa’s interest to democratize Swaziland may sound as a noble gesture but scholars like Tully (2008) argue that imperialism/sub imperialism and democracy are convergent ideologies. The *Sowetan* newspaper in 2011 published several letters from the public in its column, Letters to the Editor calling on the king to relinquish power. Wahl-Jorgensen’s (2001:302) analysis of types of letters to the editor columns as a mediated site for public discourse leads to assertions that the *Sowetan* newspaper runs an “activist publicity column”. This is so because it is confrontational against hegemonic groups. Hynds (1991) agrees and contends that the column is significant and essential in the operation of a democratic system. One of the letters from a resident of Piet Retief, Makhosonkhe Mkhali (2011) titled “**Swazis need democracy**”, weighs in on the issue of regime change by declaring that, “It is criminal for Mswati, Africa’s last absolute monarch to cling to power using a 1973 declaration by his father Sobhuza II, banning

political parties⁸”, therefore “it’s time for him to step-down” (Sowetan, 2011:5). Quoting Martin Luther King Jnr, Mkhalihi proclaims that “injustice anywhere is threat to justice everywhere” (Sowetan, 2011:5). The Table below provides more examples under the democratization theme extracted from all three publications.

Fig. 15

Headline	Newspaper	Date of publication
Swazi unions plan another show down with government.	<i>Mail and Guardian</i>	17 th June 2011
Swaziland opposes bail for pro democracy activists.	<i>Mail and Guardian</i>	27 th April 2011
King declares war ahead of Swazi uprising.	<i>The Star</i>	22 nd March 2011
Swazi group calls for April 12 revolt.	<i>The Star</i>	26 th February 2011
Swazi kingdom faces revolt.	<i>Sowetan</i>	23 rd June 2011
Democracy will expose Swazi army’s atrocities.	<i>Sowetan</i>	3 rd September 2011

b) *THEME 2. Economic – A country in crisis*

This theme carries stories related to the 2011 economic crisis during which Swaziland was pressured to apply for a loan bailout to avert an economic catastrophe. All the publications carried stories relating to a failing economy, loan bailout application and conditions as well as IMF efforts to stabilize the crisis. The application raised a public outcry both in Swaziland and South Africa from people who felt that the country should not be given the loan because of its poor human rights record and failure to embrace democracy. Some were in favor though for South Africa to process the loan in order to avert a bigger economic crisis which would result in mass migration of the Swazi population to South Africa should the economy fail. There are a few stories that deal with subjects indirectly related to the crisis such as MTN’s fight to remain a sole provider of cellular network services in Swaziland, as well as the closing down of a paper mill company Sappi-Usuthu⁹. *The Star* ran more stories on the economic challenges of Swaziland (36 out of 78) than the other two newspapers. This translates to 46 % against 38 % from the *Mail & Guardian* and 15 % from *Sowetan*. Of note, the *Mail & Guardian* led on stories under the political cluster, whilst *The Star* published more stories in the economic cluster. The table and

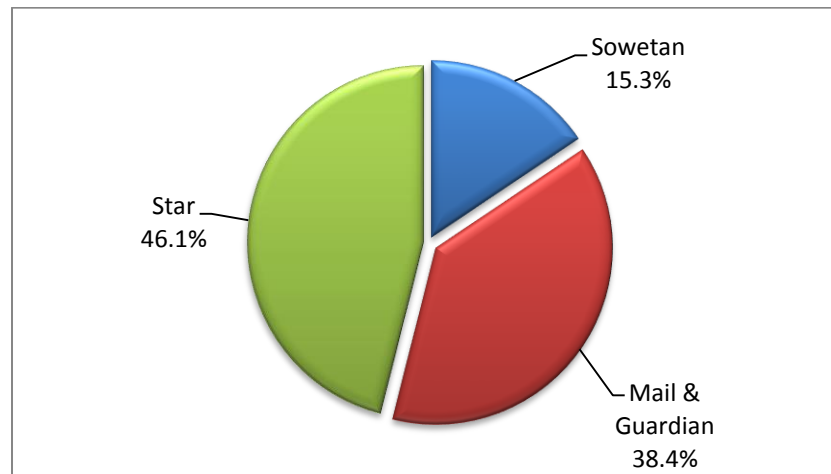
⁸ When King Sobhuza II repealed the 1968 constitution which had been introduced by the British, he effectively centralized all powers of government to him and banned all political and unionized activity. This was done through the 1973 decree in which he justified it as removing all alien practices which do not conform to the Swazi way of life.

⁹ The closure of Sappi Usuthu in 2010 due to market related conditions and forest fires was one of the early warning signs of the magnitude of the economic crisis in Swaziland.

the pie chart below show some of the stories clustered in the economics sector under the theme, “a country in crisis”.

Fig. 16

Theme (Economic)	The Star	Mail & Guardian	Sowetan	Total
A country in crisis	36	30	12	78



Summary

For further detailed analysis on the economics sector, four articles were selected for an in-depth analysis of the “country in crisis” theme. They are presented as summaries with the newspaper headlines.

- **“‘Broke’ Swaziland can’t pay civil servants”:** *Mail & Guardian* – 11th May 2011. The article presents Swaziland as a country that is out of control, unable to pay its own public workers. As a result, teachers and other public servants have resolved to march to the South African and American embassies to demand for an international asset freeze against the king. The king is criticized for his lavish lifestyle together with his family and the entire royal household. The inability to pay public servants signifies a system and a country on the brink of a total collapse. Potter (2004:2) contends that such a situation amounts to a failed state, which he defines as “the weakening of a state to meet its capacity”.
- *The Star* – 1st April, 2011, ran a similar story of a government that could no longer sustain itself (**Swaziland can’t pay its electric bill**). The government is reported to be failing to settle US 2 million dollars in arrears to a company that provides electricity

services, the Swaziland Electricity Company (SEC) for services rendered to government owned entities. This is attributed to the country's liquidity crisis which has resulted in government borrowing from its private banks to run its systems. Consequently, programs such as HIV/AIDS prevention have been disrupted. The crisis therefore has sparked a downward spiral of all government social services.

- Meanwhile the *Sowetan* ran an article about the University of Swaziland which failed to open on time for one of its semesters because of financial constraints (**Swazi varsity fails to open this term**). *The Star* also published a story of more than 100 000 orphans financed by government who, apparently, dropped out of school because of the financial crisis (**Schools hardest hit by Swazi debt crisis**). Fuel shortages have also grounded water tankers that supply schools with portable water. The above account of stories is a reflection of a country which can no longer sustain itself – ‘a country in crisis’.
- “**Swaziland must get its house in order, warns World Bank**”. This article suggests that the country may be forced to devalue its currency which is pegged with the South African Rand because of the fiscal crises caused by 60% drop in income revenue from SACU, government's main source of income. The country is also reported to have abused its reserves to supplement its huge wage bill, which is one of the highest in the region. The article reports that the country is carrying a deficit that is 13% of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP); double that of the previous year. Global monetary structures have issued a warning that the country may have to be subjected to the IMF Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) intervention if the situation does not improve. This as Cardoso and Helwege (1992) charge has severe consequences to a country's national sovereignty (*Mail & Guardian* - 22nd May 2011). The following table shows other headlines as examples of the theme “a country in crisis”.

Fig. 17

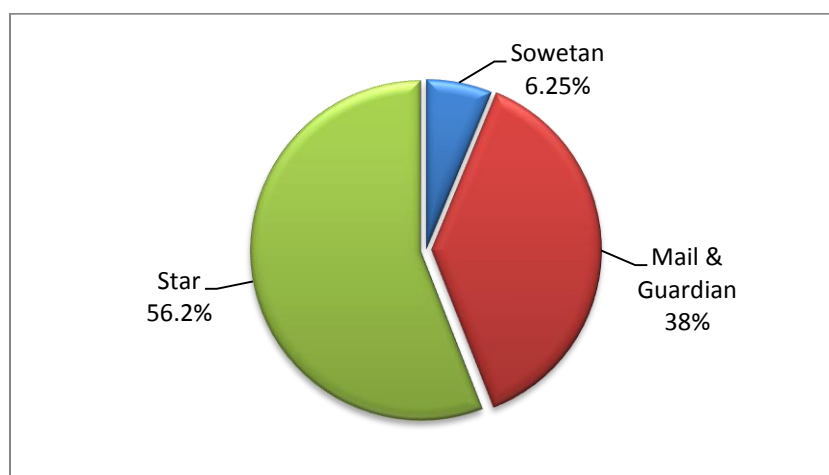
Headline	Newspaper	Date of publication
King begs for Money to prop up Swaziland.	<i>The Star</i>	24 th June 2011
Swazi king complains about IMF.	<i>The Star</i>	15 th September 2011
Swazi bailout outcry.	<i>Sowetan</i>	7 th July 2011
Swaziland economy near collapse, says IMF.	<i>Mail and Guardian</i>	16 th November 2011
Swazi ‘catastrophe’ as bailout request denied.	<i>Mail and Guardian</i>	24 th June 2011

c) *THEME 3. Social – King’s lifestyle*

Social sector stories constitute the lowest volume in all the publications and they are mostly centered on the kings’ lifestyle. There are stories that are not linked to the king’s life such as amalgamation of Swazi unions to form one federation, efforts to curb the spread of HIV/AIDS as well as the popular annual Bush Fire Festival that draws people from around the world. A few stories from the *Mail & Guardian* report on physical abuse of one of the king’s wives who was eventually thrown out of the royal household. There are however some positive stories on Swaziland and its circumcision program in the fight against HIV/AIDS as well as a story on a book launch that retraces activities of the ANC in Swaziland during the years of apartheid. The *Sowetan* has the lowest number of stories under the social cluster (2) published during the period of study out of 32 stories from all the newspapers combined. The *Star* has a higher volume of 56%, more than the *Mail & Guardian* and *Sowetan* that recorded 38% and 6% respectively as shown in the table and pie chart below.

Fig. 18

Theme (Social)	The Star	Mail & Guardian	Sowetan	Total
King’s lifestyle	18	12	2	32



Summary

The king’s lifestyle is central to this theme and most of the stories decry the king’s lavish life style in the advent of abject poverty. The general feeling is that some of the stories classified under this category are meant to discredit and humiliate the king. Headlines like **“Do we have to carry the burden for this playboy?”** and **“Swaziland loan a hand-out from sugar daddy”** that appeared in *The Star* (8th August, 2011) and the *Mail & Guardian* (5th August, 2011) are not only demeaning to the king as head of state, but also to president Zuma who is reported to be

conflicted over personal and business ties with the king. The publications use expressions and idiomatic phrases that may be construed as distasteful such as, “King Mswati behaves like a bull in China shop” and, “Swazi loan like giving money to a drunken wife beater”. For further detailed analysis on the social sector cluster, four articles were selected for an in-depth analysis of the king’s lifestyle theme. They are presented as summaries under their respective newspaper headlines.

- **“Royal wife begs rescue from abuse”**. This article published by the *Mail & Guardian* (15th July 2011) presents the king as an abuser and violator of human rights. It is an account of a trail of alleged abuse (physical and emotional) of one of the king’s wives (12th) by the royal guards who are said to be keeping her under house arrest. It questions the validity and relevance of traditions and customs such as polygamy in a modern society. The article suggests that the queen is being held hostage in that she is not allowed to see anyone outside of the royal family: “my friends and family have been banned from seeing me and I really feel like I don’t want to be here anymore because I feel like I’m in jail” (*Mail & Guardian*, 2011). The situation is presented in a manner reminiscent of medieval times when a king had absolute power over his subjects and treated them as property.
- The *Mail & Guardian* also published a story on the 23rd April 2011 about contradictions between the king’s lifestyle and the state of the economy, **“Anger over Mswati’s plans for Royal wedding”**. With unemployment levels as high as 80% and a population where 70% live in absolute poverty according to the publication, the king is expected to exercise ‘belt-tightening’ measures rather than conduct travels to a royal wedding in London with a delegation of 50 people [referring to Prince William and Catherine Middleton wedding – 29th April 2011]. The timing of the travel seems to have sparked an outrage because government was in the process of negotiating the loan bailout with South Africa. The article notes the growing anger from pro-democracy groups (Action for Southern Africa, Swaziland Democracy Campaign and Swaziland Vigil-London) who are unhappy about the king’s lifestyle of opulence amidst general suffering.
- *The Star* (16th August, 2011) ran a similar headline that decried the king’s lavish lifestyle, as result students at the University of Swaziland want the king to save the institution by using his money to reopen it. The institution was reportedly shut down due to financial problems (**“Swazi students want the king to cough up”**). The king is blamed for all the

economic woes faced by the country because of excessive expenditure on cars and palaces. As a counter argument, *The Star* (28th December, 2011) ran an article in which the king blames foreigners for the country's crisis (**Jealous foreigners made us poor**). The king is quoted encouraging citizen to persevere despite difficulties: "They shot at us with bows and arrows, making all sorts of statements about the country...when they see their arrows fall short they will get discouraged and we will be victorious" (*The Star*, 28th December 2011). The table below shows other headlines as examples of the theme, "King's lifestyle".

Fig. 19

Headline	Newspaper	Date of publication
Swaziland loan a 'handout from a sugar daddy'.	<i>Mail and Guardian</i>	5 th August 2011
Swazi queen's sorry tale of patriarchal abuse.	<i>Mail and Guardian</i>	18 th July 2011
Calls to open Mswati's 'feedlot'.	<i>Mail and Guardian</i>	29 th July 2011
Swazi royal family thrown into sordid disarray.	<i>The Star</i>	15 th December 2011
'We have created a monster'.	<i>The Star</i>	17 th November 2011
Swazi kings 12th wife 'thrown out'.	<i>The Star</i>	21 st November 2011

5.3 Semi-structured Interviews

In understanding the theoretical underpinnings of the South African media post-1994 and how it links to western media's representation of Africa, a total of 15 questions were answered by media experts on the political economy of the South African media. The resultant narrative from the transcribed interviews generated three core themes. The themes link to both questions in that they seek to clarify the behavior of the South African media as it relates to representations of Swaziland and the African continent. The interviews highlight continuities and discontinuities following South Africa's post-1994 transformations in relation to western media representations of Africa. The subsequent analysis from the interviews situates the study amongst other research works of similar nature as profiled in the literature review.

5.3.1 SA media and representation of Africa

Kupe (interview, 2014) observes that South Africa's reporting of Africa is littered with fragments and tone of western media reporting on Africa in that the South African media largely receive their stories from western owned news agencies like *Bloomberg*, *Reuters* and *Associated Press*. This implies that the lens through which they see Africa and the framing of the stories

both have a western outlook. For an example, stories that have been sourced from these agencies over describe events or places, an indication that they are written with the consciousness that someone in Europe or America is not familiar with the continent:

Sometimes the telling sign is that the stories taken from Reuters will be written like...this tiny land locked country, in Southern Africa...meaning Lesotho and you read that in a South African newspaper...this shows that the story was not meant for a South African audience, rather for an audience somewhere else that does not understand where Lesotho is (Kupe, interview2014).

The above observation raises question of whether South African media represent Africa or re-represent it.

Harber (interview, 2014) is of the view that private interest takes precedence over national interest hence the media prioritizes stories where it has trade relations. The intricate part is that South African trade is interlinked with international trade. The multinational South African companies trading in most African countries are an extension of western conglomerates. The coverage therefore, particularly business stories, carries the interest of the investors against public interest. Twenty years into democracy according to Haber (interview, 2014) the coverage of Africa should have been good, particularly by the public broadcaster which is more representative of the masses than the private media. However, it has failed dismally as he recalls how the public broadcaster hastily established bureaus in the African continent in the early years of the country's democracy:

The public broadcaster went out boldly a few years ago to start a 24 hour news channel and opened up bureaus all over the place...tragically it was badly and poorly planned and messed up and eventually retreated. They opened up bureaus everywhere but we didn't see greater news coverage, it was bizarre (Harber, interview 2014).

The South African media do not have a different paradigm from western media because media management and financing models are of western design as argued by Kupe (interview, 2014). The financing model through commercial mechanisms is typically European and does not work well for Africa in that a large part of the population is poor and cannot afford newspapers or subscriptions in the case of digital media. The media in South Africa also largely use the colonialist language, English and are urban based, thus marginalizing rural populations which attests to the notion that these media were 'transplanted' to the continent. Kupe (interview, 2014) points out that the media 'watchdog' function as moral responsibility principle practiced by the

South African media is a direct importation of what he calls Westminster model or British standards of politics where the media applies the two sides of the story value in its reporting:

It's the opposition versus the ruling party – Labor versus the Conservatives. Whereas in Africa the opposition and the ruling party may not necessarily represent the masses. They use what they call both sides of the story instead of the many sides of the story. Why because in South Africa you may find the white elite and a black elite but also a black community which neither are represented by the black elite or the white elite. If you focus on the two you miss the big side of the story (Kupe, interview 2014).

This phenomenon can also be explained by the triumph of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) in the 2014 presidential elections:

The emergence of the EFF in 9 months and getting 25 seats shows that there was a voice that is not represented. The press represented it like its Malema, they didn't realize that there was something bigger, there were at least a million votes behind Malema and perhaps even more if the EFF had the same kind of resources as the ANC and Democratic Party (DA) (Kupe, interview 2014).

Kupe (ibid) notes that the South African press often does not report about business that affects the poor people or the economy of local people but largely about the multinational corporations and foreign investors. The topics therefore in business stories and the way they deal with the poor have a particular negative bias towards the disadvantaged as observed in the Marikana reporting in which, in the words of Kupe (interview, 2014), "They see the strikers as a problem because they are going to deter foreign investments. They don't talk about the effects of the poor wages and their livelihood".

This point is further expounded by Harber (interview, 2014) who contends that there are remnants of western media stereotypical reporting in the South African reporting of Africa:

One of the critiques would be that Africa is covered when it's only war or famine and disease...You know we don't cover Sierra Leone until there is Ebola...look at our coverage of Zimbabwe it was largely driven by the fact that our private media represents certain interests and concerns that shape the way we see Zimbabwe and the biggest concern about what is happening in Zimbabwe is that it will happen here [referring to the so called 'land grab'].

Harber (interview, 2014) also thinks that some of the coverage has been good and insightful, therefore it cannot be generalized that South African coverage of Africa is stereotypical although it is fragmented. At a macro level, the country subscribes to neoliberal policies and South Africa

has embraced the idea that democracy and development go hand in hand, which explains the media's selective reporting of stories.

5.3.2 Contradictions and pan Africanism

To a large extent, Kupe (interview, 2014) believes South African media contradicts the continent's character in that it mimics western media in all its structures and behavior. He asserts that it is not what an African media should look like because what we see is a media that translates western attitudes into the African domain:

If it was in reverse, instead of Reuters writing stories about Africa but South Africa writing stories about Africa from an African perspective to the rest of the world, I think the African image would be different, shaped by a South African media that took an African perspective (Kupe, interview 2014).

Kupe (interview, 2014) believes the current scenario reinforces the western stereotyped view of an Africa that is homogeneous, diseased, with dictatorships and poor economic performance. If South Africa were to take responsibility for reporting the African story rather than western news agencies, the image of Africa would be different from what it is because the rest of the world would take a cue from the people on the ground who understands the continent better than anyone else outside of Africa.

Haber (interview, 2014) agrees that South Africa's hegemony in the continent is contradicting the spirit of pan Africanism in that it exports more western and locally produced content, thus overwhelming other cultures. He is quick though to point that it is driven by competition or a purely business decision:

What DSTV has offered mostly until now has been the hegemony of western view point. BBC, CNN, South African Carte Blanche...My sense of DSTV strategy right now is that they are investing seriously much of their resources in the African continent.... All the time on TV is the African continent... and my take of that is that in the long run they can't compete with Netflix¹⁰ and their technology (Harber, interview 2014).

Harber (interview, 2014) believes that China has the potential to upstage DSTV and they have already invested more than \$8 billion in the African economy, which includes buying stakes in media companies like Sekunjalo and bringing *CCTV*. He explains further:

¹⁰ Internet service that provides video on demand (VOD) or audio and video on demand (AVOD) available largely in the Americas and parts of Europe.

I definitely think there is a shift and it's purely for financial strategy, how do we block our competitors? How do we dominate the market? What can we do that our competitors can't? They have been buying African movies in the last two years like crazy to own the market (interview, 2014).

5.3.3 Continuities and discontinuities

The way the South African media is structured in terms of language, content and audience lends it the same mentality and attitude of the old order according to Kupe (interview, 2014). The difference is that in the past, the media was racially aligned but now it is a mixture of black and whites elites. This is consistent with Jacobs's view as cited by Wasserman and de Beer (2005:38) that;

Economic imperatives can be seen to have formed the basis of South Africa's political transition, which meant that the structuring of stake holding in, among others, the media industry, was part of an elite consensus based on the principles of liberal democracy and neo-liberal economics.

The majority of the population is marginalized and in a way that is interpreted as a continuity. Discontinuities are few and far in between although it is worth noting that the public broadcaster does make an effort to broadcast in different languages. There is greater liberation of the media and freedom. However, Kupe (interview, 2014) questions how these freedoms are used. Under scrutiny, these freedoms are arguably used to write the same old story as he explains:

In the past it was the small sections of the media what they call alternative media which opposed apartheid, the rest of it used to focus on the dominant elite, which was the Afrikaner government. Post-1994 the focus is on the ANC and the DA which implies that it's always elite focused. They never in a sense want to democratize the media space as in many voices...In my view there are more continuities than discontinuities (Kupe, interview 2014).

Harber's (interview, 2014) take is more analytical in that he views broadcasting as different from print. In the last 20 years, there have been more television and radio stations opened, particularly private and community radio and TV stations. Much as that is the case, the public broadcaster still dominates. In print, transformation has to a lesser extent occurred at the level of ownership through the Black Empowerment Initiatives (BEE) and significant achievements have been attained in policy regulation and legislation and the deracialization of the newsrooms (Duncan, 2014) .

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter presented findings from the three newspaper publications being researched. The data was divided into three main sectors and three themes were constructed namely democratization, a country in crisis and kings lifestyle. These themes were discussed and dissected to understand how Swaziland is reported in the South African media. The semi-structured interviews also revealed three themes that analyzed the South African media post-1994.

CHAPTER 6

ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS

6.1 Introduction

This research set out to answer the fundamental question: How is Swaziland represented in the South African media? To frame it in context, a follow up question was then posed: To what extent are South Africa's media representations of Swaziland informed by western media representations of Africa? The study is largely motivated by globalization theories that situate South Africa as a sub imperialist state with strong links to the west. To answer the questions above, five sub sections emerged.

6.2 SA media representation of Swaziland

6.2.1 Media ownership and control

South Africa's media ownership and control has a striking resemblance to the west (refer to Figure 2 in Chapter 2). They are both structured in an oligopoly market structure and highly concentrated. The structures are dominated by private media despite the fact that the SABC is a public broadcaster and a significant player in the industry. Naspers has a global footprint as shown in Figures 3, 4 and 5 and competes with world conglomerates such as America Online (AOL) in the provision of internet services. The primary objective of this model is to accumulate more wealth and spend less hence focus is on commercialism (Williams, 2003; Golding and Murdock, 2000; Herman and Chomsky, 1998). Public media organizations like the SABC are drawn and succumb to this model in an attempt to recover high capital costs of running media entities. Subsequently they are sucked into the global oligopolistic media structure that extends to western media multinationals. This can be witnessed through the public broadcaster's partnership with MultiChoice to carry all four channels in the MultiChoice DSTV platform including the 24 hour news channel (Channel 404). MultiChoice DSTV business partnerships extend to the rest of the African continent and *Swazi TV* is also chained to the network. Scholars such as Teer-Tomaselli, Wasserman and de Beer (2007) theorize South Africa's media environment as imperialist in that it serves as market for global products whilst the country pursues its own expansion program to Africa and the rest of the world. This therefore means Swaziland's representation in the South African media is characterized by an environment of domination and control. The situation is further compounded by the point that most of the

programs in the South African media are franchised from western media producers and resold to the African market. The programs are largely in English language (imperialist language) deemed to be a channel of cultural imperialism (Rayner et al., 2004). Figure 6 in Chapter 2 presents an analysis of 28 programs sold in Africa by the SABC. Of note, ninety eight percent are produced in English with some adapted from western concepts. A majority of these programs are carried by MultiChoice DSTV platform that provides more than 200 television and radio channels (refer to Chapter 2). Swaziland therefore, is represented as a market for global and South African products. The collaboration and synergy of South Africa and the west reinforces similarities between western and South African media, directly affecting the representation of Swaziland and Africa because the synergy serves as a conduit of western ideology.

The current media ownership structure produces unidirectional discourses because the corporations control the production infrastructure and technologies. South Africa controls satellite access to the African territory which enhances the rapid expansion of MultiChoice DSTV to the African markets and beyond. Meanwhile, a few private companies in the west have monopoly access to digital satellite broadcasting, e.g. News Corporation (BskyB). This structure according to media imperialism theorist (Mchesney, 1998) promotes capitalist values, weakens local cultures and retards development. The model marginalizes other groups in the interest of making profits which leads to the negative picture about Africa in the west (Curran and Park 2000). Swaziland therefore is subjected to one-way massive western and South African ideological indoctrination without reciprocation because there are few or no voices at all from Swaziland in the South African media. The above analysis implies that Swaziland is inadequately represented. The situation is compounded by the absence of local bureaus and dedicated correspondents who live on locale. As a consequence, stories about Swaziland in the South African media lack context because of ‘parachute’ or ‘pack’ journalism described by Hamilton and Jenner (2004) as the swooping of reporters into an area to cover a story which they have less knowledge of. This research identified 173 stories that were generated by three publications in 2011, two of which are dailies, which significantly indicates lack of interest and gross underreporting of Swaziland. It is worth mention that the SABC made attempts post-1994 to extend its network and bureaus in some African countries but quickly closed them down due to financial constraints and poor planning (Harber, interview 2014).

The media in South Africa depends on the four giant western news agencies (*Reuters*, *AP*, *AFP*, and *Bloomberg*) for sources of news and information about Africa, a concept rooted in the

colonial past (Smith, 1980). Moreover the stories are written with the consciousness of audiences outside the continent as argued by Kupe (interview, 2014) in chapter 5. The framing therefore is of western perspective, which implies that Swaziland and Africa is reported out of context, underreported and misrepresented. This is aggravated by the point that the media in South Africa is private and profit oriented, thus the interest is on stories that generates revenue or attract audiences to be sold to advertisers. In the view of the South African media, Swaziland does not ‘sell or is not of commercial value’. The only time the country features prominently in the South African media is when the media reports about the king’s lifestyle or democracy activities as discussed in Chapter 5. The representation of Swaziland in the South African media is thus impeded in that stories that are not potential revenue earners or do not attract audiences for advertising are never covered.

6.2.2 Stereotypes

Stereotypes and prejudices as demonstrated through three newspaper quotes in Chapter 2 from President Zuma, Baleka Mbete and Fikile Mbalula can be traced to the top leadership of the country and this demonstrates how South Africa views and represents Swaziland and the rest of the continent. The quotes suggest colonialist mentality and the geographical division of humanity into uneven groups – the ‘us’ and ‘them’ binaries. For President Zuma to say, “We can’t think like Africans, generally. We are in Johannesburg. It is not some national road in Malawi” (*City Press*, 2013), reinforces the binary divisions between South Africa and the rest of the continent rooted on the apartheid and colonialist ideology. It validates South Africa as exceptional and better than the rest of Africa in the hierarchy of civilization whilst demeaning Malawi as underdeveloped with national roads that are substandard compared to South Africa’s. Ironically, President Zuma is an African but believes he ‘thinks’ better than other Africans as implied in the quote above. This prejudicial attitude that dates back to the colonial era is a resemblance of the divide and rule tactic which was meant to make certain ethnic groups and tribes believe that they were better and closer by association to the colonizers.

The Times of Swaziland (2012) also quotes the Chairperson of the ANC and Speaker of the House of Assembly Baleka Mbete as having uttered sentiments associated with western neo-colonial discourses to the effect that Swaziland needs to be liberated to experience freedom (see Chapter 2). The stereotype that people are not free under any other social order except multi-party democracy can be dismissed as a mere sham, for democracy as Redish (1982:679) argues, “is not an end in itself; it is, rather, a means of achieving broader values”, including self-rule or

freedom. Political parties, as Mbete insinuates, do not guarantee freedom as demonstrated in many African countries that practice multiparty rituals (elections) and produce dictatorships and tyrants (e.g. Egypt under Mubarak and Zimbabwe under Mugabe). It would seem Mbete's prejudicial outlook on Swaziland conveniently fits into South Africa's neoliberal and capitalist puzzle as Rueschemeyer, Stephens and Stephens (1992:23) argue, "Democracy and capitalism are virtually identical". Mbete's somehow distorted views of multiparty democracy and freedom may as well be fuelled by the notion that Swaziland is traditionalist and backward, therefore the country is not free, a judgment which in itself is stereotypical.

Minister of Sports and Recreation Fikile Mbalula's prejudicial remarks that, "South Africa is not like Kenya who sends athletes to the Olympics to drown in a pool", published in the *Mail & Guardian* (2014) reinforces the binary of 'us' and 'them'. This statement creates a superiority complex that asserts South Africa as better whilst demeaning Kenya as inferior, meaning that Kenya does not belong to 'us' the 'elite group of competitive athletes'. The Olympics are the apex of human competitiveness and the vigorous selective processes ensure that only the best qualify and take part in such competitions. For the minister then to imply that Kenyans drown in pools can only mean that they are naturally not competitive which somehow insinuates backwardness, laziness or illiteracy. Sub section 6.3 reveals more stereotypes about Swaziland in the South African media by decoding themes similar to western media representations of Swaziland.

6.2.3 Geopolitics and representation

Swaziland's representation in the South African media can be theorized as a product of the geopolitical construction of the SADC region which is traceable to the early years of colonialism and occupation. The study of geopolitics (state power), that is, a country's size, resources, location etc. and representation, is significant in understanding how prejudiced portrayals of nations and states impact on international relations between states. Geopolitics and representation also explain the creation of the distant 'other' as good or bad, backward or progressive, inferior or superior. As early as 1910 for nearly 40 years, South Africa made several attempts to annex and incorporate the BLS countries as Bantustans to the Union of South Africa (Walters, 1989). Magagula (Interview, 2014) of the University of Swaziland concurs and further argues that;

The Union of South Africa (Transvaal, Natal, Orange River and the Cape) founded as a dominion under the British Empire was expected to pave the way, when time was right,

for the incorporation of BLS countries to South Africa. The South African Act that gives independence to South Africa says in the schedule – Basutoland, Bechuanaland and Swaziland will be part of South Africa...it's a matter of time and how.

It is therefore apparent that South Africa's attitude and treatment of the three countries has often been similar to the treatment of ethnically black populated territories known as Bantustans. Bantustans theoretically are prime examples of the stereotypical coding of black populations and nation states as the distant 'other'. They were the epitome of the structural construct of South Africa as a colonizer and hegemony. Despite being disbanded in the early 1990s, the architecture is still effective and visible. The post-1994 democratic transformations in South Africa according to Marais (2001) changed the face of politics but the socio economic fabric is under white monopoly capital, including the media. In short, the forces that influenced Swaziland's political economy during the apartheid era are still largely in control. The implication of this is that the lens through which Swaziland is viewed by South Africa remains colonial, to answer the main research question directly.

6.2.4 South Africa's neo-colonial agenda

The question of how Swaziland is represented in the South African media is also directly linked to neo-colonialism/imperialism in that scholars like Agutu (2008), Domatob (1994), Mudimbe (1998) and Nyamnjoh (2010) proclaim that the distorted picture of the African continent in the western media is attributed to neo-colonialism/imperialism theories. South Africa exhibits patterns similar to the west, which directly affects the representation of Swaziland in the South African media (refer to chapter 2). This thesis captured two significant points as discussed below.

a) SA's control of monetary structures

South Africa in its sub imperialist position wages its own neo-colonial battles against Swaziland through social and economic relations anchored on dependency and control. This is witnessed in South Africa's control of the economic and monetary structures of Swaziland such as Banks, external loans, foreign exchange rates and so on. Martins (1982) assert that under neo-colonialism, it is rare that the military is used as means to apply force and authority as was the case with colonialism. In theory, the state subjected to neo-colonial pressures has to enjoy political power and sovereignty, whilst its economic system is indirectly managed by the imperialist countries through the control of their monetary systems and capital. A prime example is the establishment of SACU in 1910 and subsequent renegotiation of a revenue sharing formula

in 1969 which created, intentionally a fiscal dependence on South Africa, particularly for Swaziland and Lesotho (Kirk and Stern, 2005). The CMA agreement of 1974 also serves as a master plan to integrate economies of the BLS countries to the South African economy with the Rand positioned as a supreme currency in the region, an arrangement that still holds today. The BLS countries are so indebted to the system such that the withdrawal of South Africa or change in revenue sharing formula can result in dire fiscal insolvency. A report by the African Economic Outlook (AEO) which is an initiative by the ADB, United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and The Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) shows that SACU revenue receipts constituted 55.3% of grants and revenue of the Swaziland national budget in 2014 (Mafusire, 2014). This is an example of the extreme dependency of Swaziland on South Africa. Imperial power is not only waged by former colonial masters but countries at the periphery are exposed to a web of non-territorial financial loan ‘sharks’ and aid who are ready to commit poor countries to debts that threaten their sovereignty. This phenomenon is better understood within the realm of neo-colonialism and its intricate network of collusion and collaborations with western powers. As shown in Chapter 2, Swaziland’s 2011 bailout negotiations with South Africa were necessitated by the fact that the country has loan commitments beyond the mainstream western financial sources of IMF, World Bank and ADB.

b) Democratization Swaziland

The concept of democracy and democratization of the third world is at the heart of neo-colonialism. As observed by scholars like Clapham (1993) and Moss (1995) it is a manifestation of post-Cold War politics which ushered in the era of globalization. The obsession to democratize Africa is exerted from the west particularly America, whose interest is to replicate European colonialism models in the form of neo-colonialism. South Africa being a sub imperialist country reproduces western tailored democracy concepts to sell to its counterparts. As observed in Chapter 5, one of the most prominent themes in this research is democratization of Swaziland which consisted of 62 stories from all the publications combined, translating to 36% of the total news items under study. The tone and the structure of the stories point to regime change (refer to Chapter 5). The king is constantly labeled as ‘the last absolute monarch implying that he has outlived the era of kingship and centuries old system of autocratic governance, hence the need to “bring down the curtain” to quote directly from *The Star* (24th June, 2014:46). It also evokes a feeling of isolation and fear of being different amongst modern progressive democracies in the region, and furthermore, being sandwiched by two giants, South Africa and Mozambique who subscribe to the same ideology of western democracy. South

Africa also covertly sponsors and supports prodemocracy activities in Swaziland through providing political asylum to political activists and funding using AU, SADC and NEPAD structures. The ANC Youth League and opposition parties have on a number of occasions added their voices by calling for the transformation of Swaziland to western conceptualized multi-party democracy (ANCYL, 2011). Keohane and Nye (1977) contend that whilst neo-colonialism is less aggressive in terms of military interventions than colonialism, occasionally imperial powers use force to control governments and states. South Africa has in the past shown military aggression to enforce 'democratic' rule in neighboring countries as shown in its 1998 post-apartheid military adventure in Lesotho that left an unconfirmed figure of more than 134 civilians and military personnel dead (Makoa and Francis, 1999). The country responded by claiming that the invasion was in defense of a 'democratically elected' prime minister Pakalitha Mosisili who was on the brink of a military coup. Subsequent political upheavals in Lesotho such as the alleged 2014 coup d'état of Prime Minister Tom Thabane have been met with a strong military surveillance in Lesotho.

South Africa also used the 2011 economic crisis to exert pressure for democratic changes in Swaziland. The framing of the crisis across all three newspapers was largely politicized in that lack of democracy is fingered as the main reason for the economic crisis in Swaziland, as quoted in the Freedom House report (2014:7), "This desperate economic and social situation is the product of 40 years of incompetent and unrepresentative government". There is no distinction between genuine economic problems and political challenges. This is despite the fact that the crisis was widely accepted as a systematic failure of western neoliberal capitalism (Kotz, 2009). For example, former Minister of Finance Pravin Godharn in a story headlined **"SA hopes bailout will usher change"**, is quoted by the *Mail & Guardian* as insisting on political changes in Swaziland before a loan bailout of R2.4 million is issued: "Political changes are part of the deal...I hope it would encourage democratic shifts in Africa's last absolute monarchy". The *Sowetan* also ran a story in its daily column run by Redi Tlhabi, titled **"Swazi loan to soothe symptoms"** in which she writes about the moral dilemmas and contradictory roles of South Africa and its neighbors. The column articulates well some of the current discourses in the public space but lacks logic from an economic perspective and jumps into the political narrative of democratization of Swaziland, ignoring the point that the economic crises was more complex than lack of democracy and human rights. Tlhabi's stake of the loan application story exhibits western imperialist attitudes whose business dealing with Africa is conditioned on values beyond business transactions. She writes, "By lending Swaziland money, South Africa has clearly

communicated that economic imperatives and bread and butter issues are trumping our supposed commitment to human rights and democratic reform” (Sowetan, 2011). It is therefore evidently clear that the representation of Swaziland in the South African media is overwhelmingly affected by South Africa’s neo-colonialist program. The interest of South Africa in Swaziland is largely to democratize the country which will subsequently strengthen the current dependencies on South Africa. That the way Swaziland is represented in the South African media is neo-colonialist is the truth or at least very close to it.

6.3 Comparing South African and western media

The study also aimed to find out how the representation of Swaziland in the South African media relates to western media representations of Africa by posing the following sub question: To what extent is South African media representation of Swaziland informed by western media representations of Africa? Researchers on western media’s representation of Africa (Ankomah, 2008; Domatob, 1994; Hawk, 1994) contend that famine, tribalism, poverty, corruption, maladministration, dictatorship and AIDS dominate western media’s reporting of Africa. This research delves into the interpretations of the three main themes in Chapter 5 (Democratization, A country in crisis, King’s Lifestyle) as they relate to the dominant western media stereotypes highlighted above. The comparisons will subsequently assist in answering the second question of the research.

Democratization

In the western media’s reporting of Africa, lack of democracy breeds constant political instability, coups and civil wars (Mchira, 2002). Similarly in the South African media’s reporting of Swaziland, the pervasive pro-democracy protests are often marred by violence, brutality and carnage. The 2011 reporting in the South African media insinuates a situation of political instability which is likely to degenerate into a coup or civil war in Swaziland as shown through the following headlines:

Will SADC let Swaziland descend into war? (*Mail & Guardian* - 28 March 2011)

King ‘declares war’ ahead of Swazi uprising. (*The Star* - 22nd March 2011)

Swaziland protest overwhelmed by violence. (*Mail & Guardian* - 14th April 2011)

Swazi protests scuppered after brutal crackdown. (*Mail & Guardian* - 13th April 2011)

Swazi kingdom faces revolt. (*Sowetan* - 27th March 2011)

A country in crisis

The 2011 reporting of the economic crisis of Swaziland in the South African media flashes some of the dominant western media images of hunger, famine, poverty and high HIV/AIDS rates. It constructs a picture of a country which cannot sustain itself, with recurring socio economic and political problems (refer to Chapter 5). The Freedom House released a country profile report, which was also dissected by the *Mail & Guardian* with facts and figures that exhibit traits of a country that has been swallowed by a whirlwind of perennial socio-economic ills:

Unemployment in Swaziland officially stands at 40 per cent... Swaziland has the world's highest rate of HIV infection, and there are 200,000 orphans and vulnerable children, many of whom have no adult care givers...The compromised health conditions of the Swazi people contribute decisively to a vicious cycle of poverty, hunger, sickness and early death. According to World Health Organization (WHO) data, Swazis have a life expectancy of 48 years, placing Swaziland near the bottom of statistics for all countries. 29 per cent of Swazi children under the age of 5 years are stunted. 66 per cent of Swazis are unable to meet their basic food needs, and 43 per cent live in chronic poverty (Freedom House, 2014:7).

The reporting projects a deep sense of hopelessness. There is no emphasis on context in order to understand the origins of the problems and interventions to meet the challenges.

Kings lifestyle

The king's life style is reported in contrast to the country's socio economic crisis. The country and the king are presented as two separate entities with the king living lavishly, whilst the rest of the country is drowning in poverty. This raises flashbacks of the dictatorships and maladministration stereotypes prevalent in western media's reporting of Africa. African leaders are presented as corrupt, out of touch with the masses and hell-bent on clinging on to power at all costs (Reyntjens, 2004). Swaziland's monarchy system bears the hallmarks of Africa's dictatorial regimes according to the South African media as suggested by some of the quotations below.

"His Majesty king Mswati and *Ingwenyama* is immune from any law suits or legal process".... "It's considered an act of terrorism to criticize Mswati" (*Mail & Guardian* – 8th July 2011).

"King Mswati Africa's last absolute monarch who has ruled the country with an iron fist for 25 years..." (*Mail & Guardian* - 9th September 2011).

“Mswati’s supporters say he has brought in a constitution, but the king remains above the law, appointing all key officials and able to dictate to parliament” (*The Star* - 17th November 2011).

“...to believe that King Mswati rules Swaziland like his fiefdom would be an understatement. He has created himself as the Alpha and Omega of Swazi politics and holds huge stakes in monopoly companies in the private sector” (*Mail & Guardian* - 9th September 2011).

“...real powers remain with Labadzala (elders), the shadowy coterie of family members and advisors who fawn and flatter for the king’s ear, supported by a network of 300 local chiefs who can evict protesters from their homes. Such feudalism would have been familiar to a 15th century Florentine such as Machiavelli” (*The Star* - 17th November 2011).

It therefore can be concluded that there are similarities between western media reporting of Africa and South African media reporting of Swaziland in that the same dominant stereotypes in the west can also be traced in the South African media. Thus it can be said to a great extent South African media’s reporting of Swaziland is informed by western media’s reporting of Africa.

6.4 Conclusion

The above analysis shows that South Africa’s media model, particularly the ownership structure and control serves as an enabling environment for media and cultural imperialism. The geopolitical design of the region pre- and post- apartheid relegates Swaziland and the SACU countries to extreme dependence on South Africa for their existence. There is a heavy handed western influence in South Africa’s social structures which also determines the country’s course and treatment of Swaziland and the African continent. This is shown through similarities between the representation of Swaziland in the South African media and the representation of Africa in the western media.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusion

7.1 Conclusion

The study examined the representation of Swaziland by South African newspapers - *The Star*, *Sowetan* and *Mail & Guardian*. Using a mixed methods approach, the research decoded and analyzed themes from stories published in 2011 and conclusively uncovered that Swaziland's representation in the South African media is a replication of western media representation of Africa and as such, can be construed as sub-imperialist. This is seen through the remarkable increase in business activities between the two countries post-1994 with exports now totaling 74% and imports standing at a staggering 95% per annum (Makaya, 2013). The study also revealed that the exploitation of Swaziland is promoted by the geopolitics of the region and South Africa's dominant status that renders Swaziland and other Southern African countries nonfunctional without South Africa. The current governance system of traditional kingship appears to be a distraction to South Africa in that it contradicts the fundamental foundation of neo-liberalism. The upsurge therefore of stories related to democracy and democratization of Swaziland explains the desire for South Africa to protect its interest and that of its subsequent partners in the west. Even the crisis in 2011 was attributed to lack of democracy and human rights, which further confirms the pressures from South Africa to democratize Swaziland.

The research also revealed the same trend and tone of western media stereotypical reporting of the African continent in Chapter 6. The prejudicial treatment of other African countries as intrinsically different from South Africa is evidently clear in the media, and also expressed from the highest offices of the land. President Jacob Zuma as well as the ANC chairperson and Minister of Sports and Culture are quoted to have altered public statements that 'othered' some African countries. For a theoretical analysis, the research employed critical political economy, media imperialism theories and the cultural studies approach to understand factors that influence the behavior of the media and its attitude towards Swaziland. Critical political economy of media was important in the analysis of media ownership as it relates to concentration and the neo-liberal goal of global oligopoly. Media imperialism explained the unidirectional system of transnational media dominance from countries at the centre to the peripherals. Theories of representation were useful to understand the stereotypical representation of Swaziland in the South African media. The research was supported by literature that analyzed South Africa's

imperialism and media proliferations in Africa. For comparison and correlation purposes with other scholarship, the research found it necessary to review literature that covers western media representations of Africa.

7.2 Questions raised

This research raised questions of sovereignty of the BLS countries particularly Swaziland and Lesotho because of the strong economic dependence on South Africa as well as the geopolitical construction of the Southern African region. In chapter 2 and 6, the thesis revealed how South Africa as part of its sub imperialist objectives, controls the monetary systems and economies of the two countries to the detriment of their sovereignty. History also informs us of attempts to incorporate both countries into South Africa as Bantustans (Kirk and Stern, 2005). With South Africa's neoliberal agenda of democratization in full swing in Swaziland, it is therefore apparent that the country may succumb to neo-colonial pressures to democratize and subsequently lose its last grip as a sovereign nation. It is not surprising then that this research found that Swaziland's representation in the South African media maybe construed as neo-colonialist.

7.3 Limitations of the study

The research could not be extended to newspaper cartoons and pictures because of insufficient material during the period of study, yet they are an integral part of the newspaper business. Most of the material was accessed online and web publishing is restrictive on the amount of material that can be posted because of technicalities that relate to storage space and downloading (Hausman and Siekpe, 2009). Moreover, it appears that there was no variety, the same pictures were shared amongst the three publications and repeatedly used for many articles. The study therefore lacks a semiotic analysis approach, which would have provided a different perspective and analysis of the main questions.

The study was expected to interview two editors over and above the two academic professionals, to bring the total number of professionals to four. As a result, this is a significant limitation in terms of diversity of views. However, some of the questions that were supposed to be answered by the editors were posed to the two academic professionals to make up for the shortfalls. In total they answered fifteen questions each instead of seven, which worked out well for the research. Harber has an extensive experience as a journalist/sub editor (*Rand Daily Mail*, *Sowetan* and *Sunday Post*) and is the Founding editor of the *Mail & Guardian*. He was able to

comprehensively answer the questions from his experience as a journalist/editor as well as his involvement in academia. Ultimately, there was a balance.

7.4 Recommendations for future study

The research was confined to newspapers only yet the study of representation could be extended to other mass media such as radio and television whose impact in Swaziland is remarkable. It is therefore recommended that in future other forms of mass communications, particularly radio, be considered for a similar research in order to construct a more comprehensive picture of the representations of Swaziland in the South African media. *Ukhozi FM* and *Ligwalagwala FM* are some of the popular radio stations in Swaziland because of language similarities. Moreover, *Ukhozi FM* carries an institutional history of being the first and the oldest of all South African radio stations to extend its radio signal to the Swazi airspace. Before the founding of *Radio Swaziland*, *Ukhozi FM* had already established a strong fan base which still subsists today. Of note, newspapers are elitist (Nyamnjoh, 2010) and target mostly metropolitan audiences who constitute a minority of the total population in the case of Swaziland. It will therefore be interesting to find out if the study of radio and television will reach the same conclusions as this research or not.

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