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How the Print Media Globalises South Africa from Outside and Within: A Neo-Gramscian perspective

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University of the Witwatersrand

02-06-2015

This thesis is presented in the partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts [International Relations]

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Declaration

I declare that this research report is my own unaided work. It is submitted for the partial fulfilment for the degree of Master of Arts in International Relations at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination in any other university.

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02 June 2015

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To Family & Friends: Thank you for believing inme

To the Baptist Church: Your faith in me and prayers has carried me through.

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With Love,

Thandekile

List of Acronyms and Abbreviations

ANC- African National Congress

BEE- Black Economic Empowerment

CDA- Critical Discourse Analysis

COSATU- Congress of South African Trade Unions

CPE- Critical Political Economy

EFF- Economic Freedom Fighters

EU- European Union

G7- Group of Seven

GATT- General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

IDRC- International Development and Research Council

IFI- International Financial Institutions

IMF- International Monetary Fund

IR- International Relations

MERG- Macro-Economic Research Group

MNC- Multinational Corporations

NEM- Normative Economic Model

NIC- Newly Industrialised Countries

PAIA (2000) - Promotion of Access to Information Act 2000

PCB- Peoples Coalition Budget

PDMSA - Print & Digital Media South Africa

PRSP- Poverty Reductions Strategies

SAA – South African Airways

SABC- South African Broadcasting Corporation

SACC-South African Council of Churches

SAHRC- South African Human Rights Commission

SANGOCO- South African non-Governmental Organisation Coalition

SANEF- South African National Editors Forum

SAPS- Structural Adjustments Programs/Policies

SSA- Sub-Saharan Africa

TINA- There Is No Alternative

TMG- Times Media Group

TNC- Transnational Corporations

UJ- University of Johannesburg

UK- United Kingdom

UDHR- United Nations of Human Rights

UN- United Nations

UNODC- United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime

US- United States

WTO- World Trade Organisation

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Chapter 1: Introduction

"The ultimate measure of a country's overall welfare…a window into an economy's soul[1]"

1.1 Introduction:

The aim of this study is to examine the ways in which South African print media reproduce the dominance of neo-liberal discourses by globalising South Africa from outside and within This can be seen through print media's reporting of macro-economic policy issues. addition, this study looks at how South Africa's print media legitimises and authorises particular macro-economic policy views which further a neo-liberal-centred agenda. It makes use of the *Business Day* and *Mail & Guardian'*s reports on the *Budget Speech* from 2011-2014 as well as *International Monetary Fund (IMF) Country Reports* on South Africa during the same period. This is to analyse how these newspapers report on these abovementioned case studies. More specifically, this study makes use of editorials of the newspapers because of how they best reflect the views of each paper. The study also makes use of 7 audio record and one email interview transcripts to get a wider view of the perceptions around print media and more specifically the selected papers.

This research pays close attention to globalisation and neoliberalism as intertwined processes as well as the political economy of the media in South Africa and globally. It is important to understand the relationship between neoliberalism and globalisation because it helps to better elucidate the context in which this study is set**.** It is also important to note that this study acknowledges that there are several definitions of globalisation however; it uses the below definition of globalisation throughout the study. *This* paper argues that globalisation is the spread of a set of economic and financial developments that have led to the increased interdependence of economies across boundaries (Haque, 2004). This has meant the rise in international trade and movement of capital across the globe as well as transnational commerce, investment and labour which transcend national borders (Haque, 2004: 1). Globalisation also means the improvement of access to goods and services which also includes the spread of international communications that have also resulted in major economic and financial returns for investors. This paper has chosen this definition of globalisation because it looks at the ways in which the *Business Day* and the *Mail & Guardian* report on macro-economic policy issues such as the Finance Ministers Budget Speech and the IMF Country Reports on South Africa. The period analysed is from 2011 to

[1] Dickinson, E (2011) "GDP: A Brief History, one stat to rule them all" http://foreignpolicy.com/2011/01/03/gdp-a-brief-history/ written on 3 January 2011

2014 while it also looks at how industry experts understand the relationship between print media and globalisation. This means that a political economy understanding of globalisation is important so as to contextualise the interviews and reports of the selected newspapers in relation to South Africa's place in this *particular* form of globalisation. This paper also chose this understanding of globalisation because it relates to neo-liberal ideals. In relation to neoliberalism as an ideological perspective and policy recommendation, globalisation has also meant the facilitation of the spread of neo-liberal ideas which are concerned with growth, private property and individualism as well as neoliberal centred policies which advocate for 'free-markets' and privatisation of state enterprises (Haque, 2004: 1-2).

In other words, this means that profit maximization is most likely to be realised in markets that are considered to be 'open' in terms of lowering of trade barriers as well as lower income tax. This is because these conditions are seen to encourage investment and economic growth while at the same time alleviating unemployment and poverty (Haque, 2004: 2). Kotz (2000:1) argues that the policy recommendations of neoliberalism mainly aim to dismantle a regulations-centred welfare state which includes the deregulation of business and the privatisation of public activities and assets. These policy recommendations also include cutbacks in social welfare and spending and the reduction of taxes on business and foreign and local investing (Kotz, 2000: 1). When applied to a global context, neoliberal policies call for the free movement of goods, services and capital across national boundaries for multinational corporations, banks and investors (Kotz, 2000: 1-2). The neoliberal link, therefore, to globalisation is that these policies are deemed important to implement by all states seeking to be part of the international economy. this because these values are advocated by neoliberal institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank as well as powerful countries like the United States and the European Union [EU] regional bloc. They are construed as a prerequisite to 'effective development' and can be successfully achieved through the above recommendations also known as 'liberalisation'.

This contextualises how and why print media reinforces certain ideological outlooks in their reporting of macro-economic policy issues. This is because they [the print media] also form part of the institutions that have to 'liberalise', and are free from state intervention. Thus, one can argue that what is seen as the process of globalisation is actually part of the perpetuation of neo-liberal ideals and policies to further entrench and project or 'normalise' the discourses around macro-economic policy as the only way to think about these policy issues for 'growth' and 'development'. Consequently, the key focus of this paper is on the media, more

specifically the print media as a powerful social force in South Africa, because it plays a significant role in shaping and furthering particular discourses as they [more broadly] are seen as 'natural' channels and sources for information (Ludwig, 2012: 7). This study argues that the media *exert* a great deal of power in a post-apartheid South African public sphere as an institution that either reflects or shapes policy and policy making decisions. Due to the need to gain global political legitimacy, the South African government has been on a neoliberal trajectory since 1994. This is evident in the ways in which the South African state was integrated back into the international economy through adopting neoliberal economic policies.

These were prescribed as an effective way of reintegrating the new South Africa resulting in the new government adopting a neoliberal trajectory as part of the new won democracy. This was also as part of strengthening the relationship with the international community after many years of economic sanctioning, political isolation and pariah status. However, this paper does not seek to understand whether these aforementioned media outlets have influence over South African policy or policy makers. Rather, this paper seeks to carve out evidence of the ways in which the *Business Day* and the *Mail & Guardian* support neo-liberal policies through their reporting. In other words, this paper will be assessing selected print media's discursive function in the reporting of macro-economic news. Consequently, this paper exposes the reproduction of particular forms of globalisation while analysing interviewee perceptions about the selected papers class orientation and media's role in society. Thus, this paper focuses on neo-liberalism as a major economic discourse and argues that there are tensions in how print media embraces and displaces alternative macro-economic policy ideas. This paper includes recommendations put forward by the People's Coalition Budget [PCB] and the Macro-Economic Research Group [MERG] Report "*Making Democracy Work*" (1993)[2]. This report proposes and advocates for *alternative* macro-economic policy discourses other than those perpetuated by these print media in their reporting of these issues.

[2]This paper acknowledges that the MERG Report is a 1993 document; however, it is used in this study based on the framework it proposes which could have been a possible Macro-economic trajectory South Africa took into democracy. The MERG Report was adopted and then dropped by the incoming government, the African National Congress [ANC] thus remaining a policy recommendation that was not implemented. This research includes the MERG as an alternative framework recommendation, but this will be discussed further.

1.2 Research Topic & Question(s):

The topic of the paper reads as follows: Assessing how print media in South Africa *globalises* South Africa from *within* and *externally* which reflects selected print media's discursive function in the reproduction of particular forms of globalisation.

1.2.1 The Research Questions of the study are framed as follows:

1. How do South Africa's print media reproduce the dominance of neoliberal discourse and globalise South Africa from within and externally?
   a) More specifically, how do South Africa's print media defend and promote a particular macro-economic policy framework [through its reportage of IMF Country Reports on South Africa and the Finance Ministers Budget Speech's from the period 2011-2014]?

   b) In affirming a neoliberal discourse, how do the print media displace dominant narratives of nationalist centred development as seen in documents such as the Macro Economic Research Group [MERG] Report and the Peoples Coalition Budget [PCB]?

   c) In embracing neoliberal discourse and globalisation, what is the perceived class orientation of South Africa's print media by industry experts and where the media should be located in terms of the ruling historic bloc[3]?

1.2.2 Aim:

The aim of this study is to examine how two papers in South African print media (*Mail & Guardian* and *Business Day*) reproduce the dominance of neo-liberal discourse in reporting on macro-economic policy thereby promoting a global South Africa from outside and within. This is examined through the selected paper's reports on macro-economic policy issues such as the *Budget Speech* and *IMF Country Reports* on South Africa's place in the international political economy from year 2011 to 2014 as well as interviews from industry experts including academics, activists and media and international relations professionals. This paper has chosen this period owing to the data [news articles] that was available from the archives of the selected newspapers. The research originally selected the period of 2008 to 2014 because of the financial crisis and the effects this had on the global economy. However due to the availability of data, time and scope of the research, the paper had to limit its study to the

[3] According to Ludwig (2012: 5) all levels of society including the political, civil as well as economic levels form what Gramsci called the *bloccostorico* [historic bloc]. From a Marxian perspective, the historic bloc comes into existence because there is a dominant or hegemonic social class such as the political or economic elites (Cox, 1983: 57.

period 2011 to 2014. In addition, this study specifically looks at how South Africa's media reports on, and legitimises macro-economic policy from a neo-liberal centred frame. The analysis will also be juxtaposing these neo-liberal forms of reportage with alternative macro-economic policy frameworks such as the Peoples Coalition Budget [PCB] also from 2011-2014 while the MERG Report is considered as a policy recommendation to the findings of the research. This study employed the mixed research method which uses quantitative and qualitative tools to analyse the data which is a convergent design also known as triangulation. The quantitative tool used was a content analysis for its numerical value while the qualitative tool used was the thematic analysis. This toolis an inductive reading of the reports and transcripts while a discourse analysis of the themes to answer the research questions of the study was applied. These tools exposed interesting results which echoed historical trends of ownership, values and norms illustrating an important but narrow function by the selected newspapers.

Taking into consideration that there are various definitions of globalisation, this paper understands globalisation as the spread of a set of economic and financial developments that have led to the increased interdependence of economies across boundaries. this increased interdependence has also meant the rise in international trade and movement of capital across the globe as well as transnational commerce. However it uses a neo-Gramscian-specific working definition of globalisation to adequately contextualise the aims of the study. Thus, globalisation can be seen as "a class project and ideological concept of control whose aims, apart from integrating global economies and technology can seek to bring about the global restructuring of capitalism advancing the interests of transnational capital, and in particular its financial element" (Scholte, 2005: 1-2). Globalisation is also led by the need to ensure a *financialised* global capitalism as well as the dominance of United States (US) power. This is done through international financial and trade institutions such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund [IMF] and the World Trade Organisation [WTO]. These institutions ensure that the requirements are in place for the reproduction and perpetuation of a global neoliberal capitalism. Furthermore, it can be argued that these institutions serve as a source of legitimacy for 'globalised/international standards'. This includes the neo-liberal trajectory as the 'correct' way of thinking about macro-economic policy because of their constant research, think tanks, country reports and indexes that are presented as a source of legitimacy.

1.2.3 Problem Statement & Rationale:

This study argues that the print media in South Africa is independent with regards to the fact that there is no state interference, influence and ownership. However, it is not isolated from global trends and policy objectives. On the contrary, it can be argued that the media actually forms part of the international actors that advance neo-liberal discourses despite the fact that they may be national institutions with a national mandate. In other words, although media in South Africa seeks to be a conduit of information for local purposes it can be argued to be an institution that plays the role of relaying the legitimacy of a neo-liberal consensus especially because of the political changes that occurred at the dawn of democracy in 1994. Prior to this, South Africa was a country which was once characterised by racial division as well as human rights atrocities, while it had an information system ruled by draconian laws of censorship that crippled the media as a whole (Merret, 2001: 50). The advent of democracy ushered in an era of constitutional rights and liberal legislation. This was also characterised by the opening of the economy which also had a ripple effect on the media. This allowed for new information platforms which had not existed during Apartheid to also open up (Merret, 2001:50).

The democratic dispensation laid the path for the media to become independent, criticize and watch over government and private business but also report without fear or favour. This paper argues that the historical foundation of South African print media particularly post-1994 influences the ways in which the print media report on macro-economic policy issues particularly because South Africa was also a state that was allowed back into the international arena with regards to global trade and global institutional membership. It can be argued that South Africa embraced neoliberal values and policies in the desperate need to get back its relationship with the rest of the world seeing this doctrine as the only alternative to excel in the global economy while at the same time reaffirming its new found political legitimacy. In other words, globalisation suggests that all local, regional and national economic and social activities that take place must take place within a context that embraces a global and worldwide view in its scope (Spich: 1995: 7).

Therefore, the rationale for this study is based on attempting to break new ground for analysing the overlooked role of media reporting in international relations literature. This study is also based on the narrow ideological foundation of the media which is framed according to a neoliberal understanding about its role. The academic significance of this study is that it places itself as a critique on how the print media such as the *Business Day* and

Mail & Guardian are a socialising force as they globalise South Africa internally and externally. This research deploys a neo-Gramscian approach and Critical Political Economy [CPE] of the media as a lens for assessing the selected print media outlets. This study contributes to limited literature (on international relations and media) by applying a neo-Gramscian perspective because it diverts away from mainstream international relations theory about hegemony and focuses on questioning and interrogating the world order and historical change. In other words, it also addresses the shortcomings of mainstream international relations concerning the ways in which the world is viewed through interrogating what is deemed 'natural' and 'normal'. More specifically, in the ways in which macro-economic policy issues are reported on in South Africa are accepted as legitimate.

Briefly, an audience of both the *Mail & Guardian* and the *Business Day* is likely to be more educated and of better socio-economic status. This means that they are part of a middle-class or upper-class group who understand the 'language' of the importance or direct effects of issues concerning the National and Mid-term Budget Speeches and the IMF Country Reports. Therefore, it is important to use these papers as case studies because they are representative of a particular social group in society that have the power to influence policy and inform the rest of society. However, the significance of this research lies in the fact that these papers create the discourse and thus perpetuate the dominant ideas concerning macro-economic policy.

This paper also argues that print media is one of the key actors in South Africa that shapes policy and national debate. In turn, this has implications for other 'alternative' or marginal discourses that should also hold as much significance in the national debate as macro-economic policy. This paper focuses more on meaning and media's meanings about the country. The initial period chosen for this study was from 2008 to 2014 to analyse each report however due to the scope of the study, the data also had to be narrowed down. The Budget Speeches [both yearly and mid-term] are presented by the Minister of Finance every year in February for the yearly budget while the mid-term is presented in October of every year. During this period [2011-2014] both speeches were presented by the former Finance Minister of South Africa Pravin Gordhan. This paper argues that the reports by these papers of the budget speech are an important macro-economic policy issue to analyse because of how it deals with the economic issues regarding South African department allocation for the year but also because of the ways in which the state, its departments and private institutions will play a role in working towards 'improving' society. In other words, this paper argues that the

reports on the budget speeches as a case study have been chosen because of the ways in which they outline and highlight *national* government priorities and economic-related plans for the next financial year.

This is important to take into consideration because of how budget allocations represent and are indicative of the level of importance and significance that the government places on particular social and economic issues in the country. In the same light, the IMF Country reports are also important for this study because of how the IMF is one of the global financial institutions that South Africa is a member of. Apart from being one of the key non-state actors that facilitates global monetary cooperation and promoting financial stability, the IMF also makes recommendations to countries concerning the ways in which they can curb unemployment and bolster economic growth[4]. In light of the role of the IMF, this paper uses the articles by the *Mail & Guardian* and *Business Day* on the IMF Country Reports on South Africa. This is because these IMF reports represent a particular view of 'progress' and 'stability' for South Africa according to their recommendations which South Africa is advised to implement if they are to 'develop'. Thus, this paper also argues that the ways in which these papers legitimate and give accounts on these IMF reports indicates the level of importance as well as how they view social and economic issues in South Africa. In other words, the IMF Country Reports represent *international* priorities and recommendations.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework and Literature Review

2.1 Theoretical Framework

This study uses Critical Political Economy [CPE] of the media approach but more significantly Neo-Gramscian theory as a point of reference for the study which focuses on the concept of the historic bloc, hegemony as well as social forces. According to Ozcelik (2005: 98), the historic bloc is created by an intellectual and moral bloc forming a new historic bloc where the proletarian leadership of various classes and groups are subjected to capitalism and can be organised and expressed (Ozcelik, 2005: 98). Hegemony, in the neo-Gramscian sense refers to "interaction between particular processes, notably springing from the dialectical possibilities of change within the sphere of production and the exploitative character of social relations—not as unchanging, ahistorical essences but as a continuing creation of new forms" (Cox, 1981: 132). In other words, hegemony according to this perspective becomes reflected through norms and values, through institutions which provide guidance concerning the behaviour of states and civil society which has influence across national boundaries (Cox, 1983: 172). Social forces are important for neo-Gramscian analysis because they "constitute the power base within and across states" (Bohle, 2006: 62).

These concepts expand from Robert Cox's work on these aspects to analyse the reproduction of the neo-liberal discourse. Neo-Gramscian theory states that for a relationship between power and production to be examined, "one must pay attention to how power in social relations of production can give rise to particular social forces and how these social forces can become the foundation of power in forms of state, and how this can in turn shape world order" (Morton, 2003: 155). In other words, social forces are collective actors which are created by the social relations of production and operate within and across all spheres of activity while at the same time creating specific networks of power in a state (Morton, 2003: 155-6). This can be applied to this study owing to the reasons that print media reproduction is the field in which the commercial and powerful elite can be part of various social forces. This also means that they have the power and capacity to impart and influence national debate, and even extending to global perceptions.

Neo-Gramscian theory also expands to explain that there are also ideas, which can be understood as intersubjective meanings and collective perceptions of world orders. Morton (2003: 156) argues that these are also material capabilities which refer to resources that have been accumulated over time as well as institutions which are combinations of the previous

elements of historical structures (Morton, 2003: 156). In relation to this study, the audio-recorded interviews reflect a particular understanding of the role of the print media while the reports perpetuate particular ideas about macro-economic policy and thus South Africa's economic role. In turn, these are understood as collective perceptions about what is deemed as the 'right path' about how to view the implications of Budget Speech and IMF Country Report forecasts. This paper argues that these are made mainstream and dominant because of the capital and resources which are available to the selected print media outlets. Thus, they are deemed dependable in comparison to smaller and more alternative views by community news media who may not hold the same credibility as the *Mail & Guardian* and *Business Day* because of the lack of resources available to them. In other words, one can argue that the technocratic and scientific take on macro-economic policy by these selected print media are deemed reliable and objective and thus having authoritative perspectives.

In terms of hegemony, Gramsci is underpinned by Cox because he goes beyond conventional meanings of hegemony in terms of dominance and power and argues that "it is an order within a world economy with a dominant mode of production which penetrates into all countries and links into other subordinate modes of productions… [it] is expressed in universal norms, institutions and mechanisms which lay down general rules of behaviour for states and for those forces of civil society that act across national boundaries" (Cox, 1983: 172). In other words, hegemony in the neo-Gramscian sense can be argued to be a concept which uses institutions and ideas to express dominant modes of production as universal. In turn, these seemingly universal ideas guide the actions and views of states across national boundaries. In relation to this study, hegemony is used to argue that institutions such as those of the selected print media outlets express what is deemed as the 'correct' way of understanding the role and purpose of the budget speech and IMF reports. In other words, these are made to seem natural in the way they legitimate the budget plans and IMF recommendations regarding South Africa's macro-economic policy frameworks. Thus, while these are expressed as universal and 'natural', these guide the implementation, actions and views of the state. These concepts will be expanded on in more detail below.

It is in this manner that this research uses these key concepts of neo-Gramscian theory as points of reference in analysing the discourses that come out of the analysis from the data collected. However, it is important to first highlight traditional International Relations theory (namely neo-liberalism and neo-realism) and its shortcomings to illustrate the role of a neo-Gramscian approach to answering the research questions.

2.1.1 Neo-liberalism & neo-realism

It is important to briefly discuss traditional liberalism and realism so as to understand the development of the more recent and contemporary versions of the theories-neo-liberalism and neo-realism-which are used as ideological underpinnings (for understanding international relations economically, socially and politically) today. This places in context the ways in which these approaches are limited and to illustrate the gap that is filled by a neo-Gramscian perspective. This also addresses the shortcomings of these theories in analyzing the reports of the *Mail & Guardian* as well as the *Business Day* in their reporting of macro-economic policy issues. These approaches are discussed in more detail below.

2.1.2 Realism

Realism is a theory that critiques the idealist conceptions of how the world works and has several basic assumptions that distinguishes it from many other theories in international relations. The first is that this approach has a negative and pessimistic view of human nature, and secondly, it has firmly held beliefs that international relations are always in opposition while international conflicts can only be resolved by war (Grieco, 1988: 485). Thirdly, one of the most distinct features of this theory is that it holds national security, self-interest and state survival as some of the most important values of international relations. Lastly, this approach is skeptical about the progress that can be made in international politics as compared to that of domestic political life, particularly through institutions meaning that this theory does not see the significant role that can be played by international institutions in resolving issues like war for instance (Grieco, 1988: 485). What is important to remember about realism is that it is a state-centric theory meaning that the state and its own power is the main actor in international relations for these theorists.

In essence, one of the main arguments of Realism is that human beings want to enjoy power over others and this desire is universal. Some of the leading thinkers in Realist theory are Thucydides, Niccolo Machiavelli who are *classical* realists and Thomas Hobbes and Hans Morgenthau who are *neoclassical* realists who have a more developed and reformed version that echoes many realist thoughts (Jackson & Sorensen: 2003, 68). In classical as well as neoclassical realism, international politics is depicted as ‘power politics’ which is a place for rivalry, conflict and war between states. Therefore, one of the basic requirements of state survival is national interest. In addition, international relations takes place in an anarchical system which can be referred to as a system that has no authority, in other words, there is no

world government (Jackson & Sorensen: 2003, 68). According to realism, the main point of a state's foreign policy is to promote and protect a state's interest in world politics while there is also international hierarchy meaning that there is inequality between states.

Furthermore, while securing the interests of one's state, this can automatically create insecurity of other states which can be referred to as the security dilemma. The security dilemma can be explained as "the achievement of personal security and domestic security through the creation of a state is necessarily accompanied by the condition of national and international insecurity that is rooted in the anarchy of the state system" (Jackson & Sorensen: 2003, 75). In other words, one can say that the security dilemma is when one state increases its security which can be through military means, arms, intelligence and weaponry. In turn, this can make the other state insecure, thus making them also increase their security. As a result, each of these states will continue to increase their security in order to protect their national security. This results in mistrust between states and ongoing fear of state security threats (Jackson & Sorensen: 2003, 75).

To avoid this there must be a balance of power where all states are equal in relation to the power they have in the world thus lowering the risk of war and tension. However, Kenneth Waltz-a neorealist-says that bipolar systems meaning two global powers are better than multi-polar systems more than two global powers in the international system (Jackson & Sorensen: 2003, 85). This is because he believes that the number of conflicts between powerful states will be fewer and reduces the chances of conflicts arising. Lastly, due to the fact that only two powers will dominate the system, the chances of miscalculation and misunderstanding are lower (Jackson & Sorensen: 2003, 85). In relation to the research, this theory does not assist in adequately understanding the role of print media as an agent that also affects the international system as it assumes that states are rational actors in their own right. In other words, it does not consider other institutions within the state as playing a role in consolidating national interests and does not consider that hard power and force like having a strong military is not the only way of dominating the international system or advancing the spread of particular values and ideas.

2.1.3 Liberalism

Developed in the 17th century by John Locke who can be described as the father of Liberalism, he saw human nature as progressive in modern society and progressive in the

capitalist economy which could thrive in states that particularly valued individual liberty. The notion of modernity was linked to a better life that guarantees freedom for its people, free from authoritarian rule and guarantees a high level of material welfare (Jackson & Sorensen: 2003, 106). In contrast to Realists, Liberals have a more optimistic view of human nature as they believe that rational principles can be applied to international affairs. While this has been seen as liberal thinking, it has also been referred to as idealism. Liberals believe that conflict and war can be avoided because when leaders apply their reasoning, they can achieve mutually beneficial cooperation within their states and internationally (Grieco, 1988: 486). Furthermore, liberals argue that over time, cooperation based on mutual interests will prevail because modernization *increases* the need for cooperation. Liberalism is a theory whose main concern is the liberty of the people in the state and in turn, these states will be able to also respect each other. Thus, liberal-thought believes in interacting according to set norms of the international system as a way of ensuring and showing consideration for other states. It is important to note that liberal arguments are divided into various elements to understanding international relations (Jackson & Sorensen: 2003, 108), these are discussed briefly below.

Briefly, sociological liberalism can be described as looking at relations not only between governments but also relations between people, societies and groups. This type of liberalism highlights that more transnational networks means a more peaceful world. Interdependence liberalism highlights the fact that modernization means increased interdependence between states meaning that transnational actors play a significant role (Jackson & Sorensen: 2003, 112). Furthermore, military force is not an ideal tool for ensuring peace in the world, and ensuring welfare of their states and not placing emphasis oon security, should be the goal of leaders. However, for the purposes of this paper, institutional liberalism is the most important to highlight owing to the fact that this strand of liberalism argues that international institutions can promote and contribute to the increased cooperation between states. This is due to the fact that liberal thinkers argue that institutions can lessen the problems that may arise between states such as mistrust and insecurity , in addition to decreasing the fear that states may have of each other (Jackson & Sorensen: 2003, 117). This form of liberalism is most important to note for this study because it uses reports from the selected papers on the IMF forecasts on South Africa. This can be argued to be an illustration of a major financial institution playing a role in the consolidation of a neo-liberal policy. This is because of how these selected newspapers report on recommendations made by this institution about South Africa's place in the global economy. From this liberal lens, one can argue that this

institution is seen as a key player in promoting and contributing to cooperation between South Africa's and the rest of the world economies.

This paper argues that in their optimistic view of the world, liberals highlight possibilities to solving particular issues; however, this approach is also simplistic and overlooks many issues that may be specific to certain states. This paper argues that liberals do not take into consideration other issues of inequality, race and class issues as well as access because of socio-political and economic status. This is important to consider because the ways in which issues can be solved in states such as the US with different geo-political interests and domestic issues cannot be applied in a 'one-size fits all' model for a country like South Africa with a recent history of colonialism and apartheid. This means that priorities to domestic issues will differ. In other words, the liberal theory does not take this into consideration nor does it call for a socially responsible media for example, reporting not only to embrace a liberal view in their coverage of macro-economic policy but to also embrace other views on this issue.

2.1.4 Neo Realism-Neo Liberalism

More developed international relations theories, today known as *neo*-liberalism and *neo*-realism contributed to international relations scholarship in the wake of global changes at the end of the Cold War, during the period of decolonization as well as with the rise of globalisation around the world. Smith (1997: 169) argues that the 'neo-neo' debate has been a long standing debate between neo-realism and neo-liberalism which are contemporary versions of the traditional confrontation between realism and liberalism, as discussed above (Smith, 1997: 169). Neo-realism and neo-liberalism form the core of international relations theory as they both have competing views concerning the nature of world relations between states. This can be argued because traditional realism and liberalism have been portrayed as incompatible alternatives for each other owing to the ways in which each theory has its own beliefs with regards to state behaviour as well as the role of institutions (Smith, 1997: 169). However, the 1980's saw a change in realist theory as it became more concerned with the ways in which anarchy [not in terms of chaos, however in terms of independent states with no overarching government], as opposed to human nature, affected the policies of states while liberalism focused on the ways in which international cooperation is the most viable solution to overcoming the negative effects of anarchy (Smith, 1997: 170). In other words, neo-realists

see that international institutions cannot overcome the effects of international anarchy while neo-liberals see that *institutions* play a significant role in achieving this.

Another characteristic of neo-realists is that they place emphasis on the importance of relative gains which means that what is important to states is how well they do domestically compared to their rivals (Smith, 1997: 170). On the other hand, neo-liberals place emphasis on absolute gains which means they argue that states and their leaders are more interested in outcomes that give them the most despite what their rivals may receive (Grieco, 1988: 487). In addition, neo-realists believe that physical security, in other words, having strong military capabilities plays a significant role in determining the power of a state which one can argue influences the importance placed on national security issues (Grieco, 1988: 487). It can be argued that the notion of military dominance stems from realism and explains why states such as the United States place emphasis on their military capabilities. This military strength of the United States illustrates their power in relation to and *over* other states. On the other hand, neo-liberals focus more on political economy issues. This means they place the importance of the economy and the market, trade in terms of exports and imports and global communications networks of states as the centre of international relations today (Smith, 1997: 170).

In light of the key characteristics of neo-realist and neo-liberal approaches, this study has identified the shortcomings of these approaches in viewing international relations. These shortcomings include that these theories place too much emphasis on the state, taking states as rational actors without any domestic complexities which differ significantly from other states in the international arena. In addition, the theories also overlook other national institutions such as the media. This study uses a neo-Gramscian perspective because of the ways in which it goes beyond these traditional international relations theoretical ways of understanding the world. Owing to the fact that the neo-Gramscian analysis is a broad approach, this paper makes use of Antonio Gramsci's ideas on hegemony, social forces and historic bloc. This study also looks further into how the media is a social force and this is done through assessing where the media sits in relation to the historical bloc. The notion of hegemony is important for this study because of the ways in which the neo-Gramscian approach takes its meaning beyond dominance and power as well as military and economic capabilities in comparison to traditional international relations theories (Bohle, 2006: 61).

This difference is important to this research because of how it looks into the complexities of domestic issues. For example, in relation to how the selected newspapers report on macro-economic policy, a neo-liberal perspective to issues of redistribution look at privatisation and growth and ownership while a neo-Gramscian analysis looks into *who* has ownership of land or resources for example. This means that while a neo-liberal perspective may defend and place emphasis on privatisation, a neo-Gramscian perspective will look at the material capabilities of those who can and cannot own land or resources. Therefore, it is important to interrogate the complexities of ownership with regards to socio-economic status, access to resources and historical background, which a neo-liberal perspective does not take into consideration.

A neo-Gramscian analysis puts forward a broader concept of hegemony as Gramsci developed it further from Cox (1983: 172) asserting that international hegemony does not only refer to an order among states but also to an order which plays a role within a world economy. In a neo-Gramscian sense, this is where a dominant mode of production penetrates across countries and link to more subordinate groups as well as modes of production (Cox, 1983: 172). The neo-Gramscian concept of hegemony also asserts that hegemony is a set of international social relationships which link social classes of different states. This means that world hegemony can be seen to be a social, economic and political structure which is expressed in universal terms through norms, institutions and mechanisms (Cox, 1983: 172). These 'norms and rules' are made to be viewed as the guiding rules of state behaviour and civil society that may have influence across national boundaries and that support the dominant modes of production (Cox, 1983: 172).

The notion of the historic bloc is important for this study as it explains that leading classes create 'natural' relationships with subordinated groups within national contexts so that their rule and domination will not appear to be distinct. This means that the institutions and ideologies spread to subordinate groups however without destabilising the interests of the hegemonic class (Bohle, 2006: 62). In relation to this study, this concept is used to question print media's class orientation, the public sphere it seeks to constitute and assessing where it should be located in relation to the ruling historic bloc. Gramsci further defines this notion of the historic bloc as "the ways in which leading social forces within a particular national context form a relationship over competing social forces which are represented by classes or sections of classes" (Bieler& Morton, 2004: 91). In other words, this concept helps this study

because it asks questions which relate to where the media is placed in relation to the class project which is also how neo-liberalism and class are highlighted in this study.

2.1.5 The notion of the historic bloc:

For the purposes of this study and to understand the role of media in reproducing ideas associated with neo-liberal norms and values, it is important to discuss in greater detail what is meant by the historic bloc and how it is formed. Ludwig (2012: 5) elaborates that all levels of society including the political, civil as well as economic levels form what Gramsci called the *bloccostorico* [historic bloc]. From a Marxian perspective, the historic bloc comes into existence because there is a dominant or hegemonic social class such as the political or economic elites (Cox, 1983: 57). This is in relation to other elements including the channels of influence that are used as tools by the dominant class which could include political parties, religious groups or movements and even an educational system (Ludwig, 2012: 5). Furthermore, from a neo-Gramscian perspective, states embrace the use of legitimate violence which includes the military and police forces and bureaucracies including the legal system, the press and means of communication (Ludwig, 2012: 6). Thus, as a way of replacing a pre-established order it is important to have elites of political and civil societies to organise. This can be argued in light of Robert Cox's statement that a new bloc can be formed when a subordinate class or group, for example the workers, creates its hegemony over other subordinate groups for example small farmers and those living on the margins of society (Cox, 1983: 57).

This paper argues that Gramsci's notion of a historic bloc is not only a national, but a transnational historic bloc and can be applied to the international relations sphere which can be applied to the ways in which print media globalise South Africa from within and externally. This happens in two ways, it includes the role that member states' historical blocs in the international community come together to maintain and improve the domestic and international hegemonic status quo (Ludwig, 2012: 6). It is in this first instance that the 'transnational historical bloc is formed' by the national [domestic] historical blocs. In relation to the study, when taking the example of the ways in which the selected papers, the *Mail & Guardian* and the *Business Day* report on the views of mainly northern-hemisphere based credit rating agencies concerning South Africa, one can use the notion of a transnational historic bloc to argue that elite institutions like credit rating agencies form their findings based on domestic activities. These can include the levels of investment by business, or the economic elite who in turn reinforce a particular international status quo about the

importance of investment for example in attaining economic success. In other words, the emphasis is placed on conditions such as lowering of trade and investment barriers for further foreign investment in the domestic market, thus 'pleasing' the international market for anticipated growth of the domestic sectors concerning issues like employment and gross domestic product [GDP] for example. The second instance in which the transnational historic bloc can emerge is seen from the convergence between transnational relations of production interests and a more globalised world surpassing national borders which are combined into legal and political commitments deemed as norms (Ludwig, 2012: 7).

An example of this can be seen in the ways in which the government will commit to cutting spending for example or encourage more privatisation deemed normal to advance economic 'growth' and 'competitiveness'. In both instances of the creation of a transnational historic bloc, it can be argued that it relies on collective interest which is shared by the dominant classes. Although one can argue that it is difficult to transcend Gramsci's notion of a historic bloc into the international arena due to its link with the social class, it is important to note that there is an emerging transnational class owing to the rise in shared capitalist interests (Robinson & Harris: 2000). Therefore, this paper argues that there is an increased consolidation of not only a hegemonic status quo but one that becomes transnational because of these shared interests by the dominant political and economic classes domestically and internationally. This makes it difficult to transcend the status quo as a way of addressing non-hegemonic perspectives such as other views on the national budget speeches by subordinate classes unless they create their own hegemonic status quo over other subordinate groups. In the neo-Gramscian sense, this would also create a new historic bloc.

Thus, this paper argues that the reasons for the reproduction of neo-liberal discourses and the legitimation of these in the ways in which the print media in South Africa report on macro-economic policy is a result of transnational historic bloc cohesion [indirectly with the ideological cohesion with institutions such as the IMF]. In other words, the key aims of this paper is to explore how the print media in South Africa reproduce, defend and promote neo-liberal discourses, (possibly in oblivious cahoots with other international institutions) how they displace nationalist centred development as well as exploring where the class orientation of the media should be located in terms of the historic bloc. From a Gramscian perspective, it can be argued that a transnational capitalist class, in this case the media, would embrace and propagate the neoliberal order in accordance with an elite-driven hegemonic project. This project would be undertaken by particular capitalist groups (Ludwig, 2012: 7).

This can be argued owing to the intentions of these capitalist classes that are reflected in the ways in which they expand their spheres of influence through a neoliberal order. An example of this can be seen with the ways in which a bourgeoisie class creates a historic bloc through education and the media and this is maintained because of the elite's self-interest becoming accepted by subordinate classes as being common sense and as their own interest (Ozcelik, 2005: 98). In light of the above, this paper will make use of Gramsci's notion of a 'transnational historic bloc' which includes economic capitalist classes as well as its relationships within and across national borders (Ludwig, 2012: 7). Finally, it is important to note that hegemonies always grow out of historic blocs however, not all historic blocs are hegemonic. In addition, a social group or class that influences the creation of an 'intellectual and moral bloc' means it is hegemonic. However, political and social relations with other groups may or may not develop into a hegemonic relationship (Ozcelik, 2005: 99). Thus, in relation to this research the paper argues that the selected newspapers can facilitate and stretch their perspectives on the selected interview perceptions about macro-economic policy issues. This means that other perspectives such as the Peoples Budget Coalition [PBC] and the MERG report can contribute in creating critical ways of thinking about the budget or IMF Reports.

In this sense, media and globalisation and the political economy of the media in terms of ownership and networks are taken into consideration. In addition, it looks at how print media articulate neoliberal perspectives and ideological outlooks. A neo-Gramscian perspective through the notion of the historical bloc assists because it directs our attention to which social forces may have been important in the formation of a particular historic bloc or certain state.

2.1.6 Social forces

One of the most important concepts of this approach is that of social forces which a neo-Gramscian approach defines as factors which have the capabilities of transforming or even changing the forms of state and world order (Leysens, 2008: 2). Briefly, forms of state can be understood as distinguished by "the characteristics of their historic[al] blocs, i.e. the configurations of social forces upon which state power ultimately rests" (Morton, 2003: 158). This means that the social forces within this context define or set limitations on the state and its actions meaning that if we interrogate these different forms of state, it leads one to analyse the social base as well as the historical content of different states (Morton, 2003: 158). This is important for this study because the role of print media in South Africa and more specifically the *Mail & Guardian* and the *Business Day* is act as a social force because of how they set

national debate and dialogue particularly on certain views over others. In other words, a social forces approach to the selected papers means that these papers have the capabilities of transforming and changing a form of state. This means that these newspapers can play a role in shifting and changing the dominance of old historic blocs by creating *new* more transformed historic blocs. Social forces are assisted by the notion of the historic bloc because the concept helps one understand which social forces may have played a significant role in the formation of a historic bloc or a particular state. It also helps expose what contradictions may be part of the historic bloc in which the state is created in addition to what possible transformations may be possible to transform this state (Morton, 2003: 158).

Thus, this theory assists this research because instead of solely explaining state power, it pays close attention to social forces and processes and how these may link to the development of states. A social forces perspective to the *Mail & Guardian* and the *Business Day* means that the concept helps the research interrogate how these newspapers play a role in shaping the views on macro-economic policy. In turn, the social forces approach assists in explaining the expected development of a state through understanding macro-economic policy in this way.

In assessing how the print media globalises South Africa from within and externally which reflects print media's discursive function in the reproduction of particular ideological forms of globalisation, this study is informed by a neo-Gramscian approach. This study recognises that Gramsci's work plays a significant role in understanding dynamics that are involved in issues of international political economy. These issues look deeper into the role of critical theory in international relations issues through social forces, hegemony and world order. This approach is important for this study because of the ways in which it places importance on how the world can be interpreted and viewed from a national and social class perspective of dominance and subordination or rising or declining power (Cox, 1981: 444). In other words, this approach explains that the elite nature of the *Mail & Guardian* and the *Business Day* projects the reports of these selected newspaper papers as one's which reflect a particular class perspective as *national* perspectives. This is because they dominate other views especially because of the elite social standing of the papers in the industry and in South Africa as credible, legitimate, technocratic, and scientific making them 'mainstream'. Therefore, their reports are taken as 'norms' while this marginalises other views that do not serve this particular class agenda.

A Gramscian perspective is useful in this study because of the ways in which it goes beyond theories such as neo-realism. In other words, the neo-Gramscian approach assists in showing how approaches like neo-realism and neo-liberalism do not further interrogate or question institutions and structures. This means that these traditional international relations theories do not question the ideological order and how it came about or whose interests this order serves (Cox, 1981: 444). Furthermore, this approach is used in this study because it argues that the state in international relations should be rather seen as an entity rather than an actor with complete supremacy (Leysens, 2008: 17).

In addition to this, Cox (1981) sees the world order to be more dynamic than what traditional IR theories perceive because the neo-Gramscian approach sees world orders as arrangements of religious, political, cultural and social forces which all have different interests, goals and aspirations (Cox, 1981). This is beneficial to this research owing to the ways in which the approach unpacks the dynamics that exist domestically and takes into consideration class formations, material capabilities and resources while also taking the state away from the centre of the conversation. In other words, traditional neo-realist and neo-liberal theories place emphasis on the state as being at the centre of world relations as though they are static and rational. On the other hand, neo-Gramscian perspectives go beyond this and consider other factors such as values, the role of domestic institutions such as the media, civil society and differences in religion, political views and cultural complexities. When considering high levels of illiteracy due to varying levels of education, socio-economic inequalities and different political viewpoints, a neo-Gramscian perspective assists this research because it encompasses all these issues which are applicable to a state like South Africa.

Therefore, the production of goods extends beyond material goods but goes into knowledge, values, ideas, social relations and institutions (Bedirhanoglu, 2008: 94). The strength of neo-Gramscian theory lies in the fact that it interrogates and questions the ways in which world orders and more specifically norms, values, social actions and practises as well as institutions *emerge*. Its strength also lies in the fact that it questions which forces, if any, have the "emancipatory potential" to change and reform the dominant order (Morton, 2003: 154). In terms of this paper, this theory assists in understanding media's discursive function in the reproduction of particular forms of globalisation and how the print media defend and promote neoliberal macro-economic policy. It also assists because it helps put into context how media displace other nationalist centred development narratives. Moreover, it helps to understand

what the class orientation of South African print media and the public sphere seeks to constitute.

This paper uses the neo-Gramscian approach to argue that the influence of the state on society and society on the state is important to look at in terms of identifying the different components that make up the state. It also identifies the social forces which make up the state and the underlying influences or factors that play a role in decision-making by the state. Subsequently, because the state is an important part of the international community, it is therefore important for it to seek consent through various means including the press as opposed to using force to entrench its ideas (Migdal, 1994: 17-9). Furthermore, it is important to highlight that social forces are not only limited to state borders but also extend transnationally to groups that play a role in influencing the running of international corporations and organisations such as the IMF and the World Bank for example. Due to the fact that these financial institutions are known for their economic policy making, recommendations and monetary lending, they have become synonymous with their influential role in the economic and political courses of nations across the globe. This can beseen with the introduction of Structural Adjustment Policies [SAP's] during the 1980's (Ismi, 2004: 8).

For example, Zimbabwe incorporated SAP's in 1991 when it signed an agreement with the IMF for US$484 million as a way of 'jump starting economic growth' after many years of stagnant growth (Ismi, 2004: 8). As a result, the conditions for Zimbabwe from the IMF included reducing trade tariffs and import duties, the removal of foreign currency controls, eliminating protection policies for the manufacturing sector, lowering the minimum wage, ending employment security and reducing the tax rate. The IMF and the World Bank set up these policies to encourage further "opening up" of the markets on the continent encouraging African governments to liberalise. This was dressed as a pre-requisite to any hope of getting better integrated into the global economy and benefiting from the fruits of globalization (Gibson, 2004: 7). This has not been the case, SAP's only created further inequalities between the rich North and the poor South resulting in the marginalisation of the African continent economically and politically (Gibson, 2004: 7).

The tool that is used for analysing the *Mail & Guardian* and the *Business Day* is the critical political economy [CPE] of the media approach. It is used to identify the various social forces that are involved in the reporting of macro-economic policy issues. A neo-Gramscian approach is used to understand the ideologies and underlying discourses of the neo-liberal

stance that the selected newspapers take in reporting on the Budget Speech and the IMF. The neo-Gramscian perspective is also useful because of how it exposes how neo-liberal ideology has been embraced by the selected newspapers. Critical theory plays a significant role in investigating the social forces which drive the reporting of issues and reproducing the dominance of neoliberal discourses. Using this approach also helps explain the selected newspapers' various interests that are at stake including funders and policy makers in the macro-economic policy-making sector.

In terms of both newspapers, the social forces making up these newspapers include their target readers which are the business elite, academic circles and political and policy makers who read these newspapers for information on the financial climate of the country. The IMF Country reports and the ways in which the *Mail & Guardian* and the *Business Day* newspapers report on these issues requires that one pay close attention to their reports because while reporting on the South African economy from a particular neoliberal perspective, these forecasts become an 'expert' voice and institutional authority with reputed expertise, rationale and scientific evidence to suggest South Africa's economic positioning. Therefore, these institutional voices influenc the ways in which the selected papers see macro-economic policy making in South Africa.

This paper argues that the legitimacy given to the IMF for example by the *Mail & Guardian* and the *Business Day* or the technocratic neoliberal terms and phrases used in the budget reports continue to displace other narratives that could be part of the macro-economic policy making framework. An example of these other narratives includes the Peoples Budget Coalition or the MERG Report. These alternatives to mainstream macro-economic policy understanding will be discussed in more detail below however, a brief description to illustrate their significance is important. The Peoples Coalition Budget [PCB] is a civil society organisation made up of the Congress of South African Trade Unions [COSATU], the South African Council of Churches [SACC] and the South African non-Governmental Organisation Coalition [SANGOCO]. The composition of the PBC arguably illustrates the diverse background of this group in comparison to the middle-class ownership of the *Mail & Guardian* and the *Business Day* that represents a very small section of South African society.

The coalition is important because every year it tables the Budget Speeches and participatory budget process. The PCB "campaigns for the adoption of fiscal and monetary policies that will contribute to reducing unemployment, poverty and inequalities to ensure meaningful

redistribution of wealth to the poor" (PCB, 2011: 2). On the other hand, the Macro-economic Research Group [MERG] Report is important to consider for this study because although it is a policy that was never implemented as part of the new economic path for South Africa in 1993, it becomes an important lens to look through instead of relying on global financial institutions like the IMF Country reports which do not consider the complexities that exist in South Africa. Despite the fact that South Africa is in a democratic dispensation which continues to stress inclusiveness and equality, the views, norms and ideas that are reproduced by the selected newspapers do not reflect balanced reporting but reflect the interests of a particular elite class. More specifically, the dominant discourse that comes out of the reporting by these newspapers continues to defend, promote and legitimise a neo-liberal stance and understanding of the world.

Reports of the *Mail & Guardian* and the *Business Day* are characterised by dynamics of hegemony in terms of the kinds of ideas and 'norms' about South African macro-economic policy they propagate since they lack alternatives on the environment, food security and perspectives on land redistribution. These ideas on macro-economic policy are dictated by the views of a particular class and what is perceived to be adequate in terms of informing the public. This extends to how solutions to certain issues for example land and food security are framed. For example, when considering tackling issues with land redistribution and compensation, an approach which places 'market-centred' perspectives to redistribution about letting the market determine the prices of selling land to those that do not have ownership are an illustration of narrow understandings to solving macro-economic issues in the country. At the same time, this view is limited because it does not consider those who do not have access to the 'market' or the capabilities and resources to do so. Therefore, owing to the hegemonic nature of the discourses around macro-economic policy, which is not people-centred but places capital at the centre of the debate means that solutions and alternatives are market-centred. Subsequently, this places South African macro-economic policy making on a neo-liberal trajectory. This will be discussed further below under the themes that this study had identified. Ideological hegemony allows for these discourses to be taken as norms and reinforcing the legitimacy of the ways in which macro-economic policy is viewed.

To explain the nature of the *Mail & Guardian* and the *Business Day*, the neo-Gramscian concept of hegemony has been chosen which in the traditional sense refers to dominance based on military as well as economic capabilities. The traditional understanding of hegemony also places emphasis on the ways in which ruling classes gain consent from

subordinate classes to legitimate their ideas and discourses making them appear as 'natural' (Bohle, 2006: 62-3). On the other hand, a critical theory of hegemony directs its attention to the prevailing world order, questioning and interrogating it which is the key task of this research paper (Gill, 2003: 13). Critical theory goes beyond consent and interrogates supremacy which also makes it critical as it asks how existing social or world orders have come into being, how norms, institutions and practises have emerged and what forces may have the emancipatory potential to change and transform the prevailing order (Bieler& Morton, 2004: 86). In relation to the research, critical theory helps unpack how the selected papers are not only perpetuating the neo-liberalist ideas that become hegemonic, however exposes that the economic system itself is structured in this way. Therefore, supremacist ideas which are made to look like 'norms' are spread by print production feeds into the supremacist world order. The *Mail & Guardian* and *Business Day* do this without interrogating the prevailing order or questioning ideas outside their scope to give a complete and not one-sided view of macro-economic policy.

In other words, neo-Gramscian notion of hegemony asserts that for hegemony to be legitimised there will be a need for those who accept the legitimacy of the rulers to be influenced by the dominant worldview of the ruling class (Bates, 1975: 353). This study argues that macro-economic policies are framed according to a neoliberal stance through consent rather than coercion. This is argued because of the ways in which these budget requirements are made to be the only ways in which the South African economy can excel, while marginalising other development-centred alternatives such as a more green and environmentally friendly economy, a move away from market-centred perspectives, more climate jobs, as well as the increased role of food industries, farming and production and the responsibility of business to ensure development instead of the need of having to *please* business *for* development.

At a more international, global level, institutions and material capabilities in a neo-Gramscian sense have been used by dominant social forces to shape and set the trajectory for the global order. More specifically, the neo-liberal values also known as the Washington Consensus which states had to adopt at the fall of the Berlin Wall was an illustration of a state's legitimacy in the global community (Naim, 2000: 97). Institutions of the Washington Consensus include the United Nations [UN], the World Bank, the World Trade Organisation [WTO] and the International Monetary Fund [IMF]. It is in this way that South Africa is globalised both externally and internally by both sets of social forces, internationally by these

institutions that make predictions, forecasts and reports about where South Africa can fit in while newspapers, and more specifically the *Mail & Guardian* and the *Business Day* constitute as one of the key social forces that globalise South Africa from within. This can be argued for example because these papers take their cues and legitimate views from external [financial institutions].

The institutionalisation of ideas happens through these institutions which have global power and legitimacy. In the case of the reproduction of neo-liberal ideals and discourses and legitimating a particular form of globalisation through media playing a discursive function, it can be argued that because of the history of the media in South Africa, their [the *Mail & Guardian* and the Business *Day*] ideological view concerning the role that they are supposed to be playing in a democracy influences them and the ways in which they defend, promote and marginalise certain views. One can argue that upon the dawn of democracy in 1994, the interests of the press was to report without fear or favour and also increase readership especially because media were entering a new democratic dispensation and thus opening a new market for audience and readership (Berger, 1999). Neoliberal globalisation is the international phenomenon that is seen as a prevailing process, in other words, the prevailing and dominant world order (Gill, 2003: 12-13). This paper argues that the term 'world order' is not used in a normative manner which is equated with stability and harmony. On the contrary, it is an analytical concept which is important to understand because it seeks to illustrate the recurring patterns of social forces and structures over time which may not be stable and harmonious all the time (Gill, 2003: 2). This is because of how in reporting on the *Budget Speech* and the *IMF Country Reports*, international norms and practises are referenced about the economic path South Africa should be taking. These international norms and practises are influenced by western notions of development and progress which have been adapted and tailored for a national context as the only option to other no sustainable alternative.

Blaney (1994: 282) citing Stephen Gill in *Gramsci, Historical Materialism and International Relations* argues that a neo-Gramscian theory's explanatory strength lies in its capability to highlight 'globalising' and 'disintegrating' forces (Blaney, 1994: 282). Blaney argues that the Gramscian perspective assists in this light because it can expose the emergence of a genuinely global political economy which is achieved through internationalisation of capital and the transnationalisation of economic spaces (Blaney, 1994: 283). It assists this research in this sense because it helps with explaining how the globalisation of certain ideas and

economic systems such as capitalism have been enabled and promoted by international actors such as institutions, organisations and even states themselves. This is used in this paper through elaborating how these actors have imposed and legitimated the rules and values that govern the international order (Blanely, 1994: 282). In this context, neo-Gramscian theory helps situate the media as a social force in a domestic and an international context and helps one to think critically about the media and transnational capital.

Social forces can gain hegemony within a national social order and through world order by ensuring the promotion and expansion of a mode of production. In this sense, neo-Gramscian theory helps this research because it gives insight into the levels in which hegemony can function and penetrate for example through gender, culture education and, in this case, through the media. For example, when thinking about cultural norms and values such as universal human rights that are pervasive in a society as the desired and natural norm for a better functioning society, it sometimes escapes the minds of many that that human rights can be relative with regards to religion or tribal customs. Furthermore, it can be argued that neo-Gramscian perspective has not been implemented in relation to the media and the legitimation of ideology, specifically in South Africa.

In a Gramscian analysis, this paper argues that social forces are at the forefront of many changes which are associated with large-scale and international capital. This means that these social forces affect material conditions, flow of information and media culture (Gill, 2003: 12). One of the most important aspects of understanding globalisation today is that social and class forces that move beyond national boundaries play a role in creating a different structural formation of world order. Under globalisation, the world is not only economically integrated but socially, culturally and politically in terms of ideology owing to the fact that it is a process dominated by hegemonic ideas.

Furthermore, a neo-Gramscian theory is used because of how it places emphasis on production and the exploitative nature of social relations as a continuation of new forms of those relations. For example Structural Adjustment Policies [SAP's] and contemporary ideas on what constitutes 'good governance' can be argued to be an example of the continuation of the exploitative nature of social relations in mutating and new forms. Lastly, this theory allows for an interrogation of ideological concepts and ideas that shape and legitimate a *particular* form of globalisation. It also asks questions and interrogates the relationship between ideas and class interests. This paper argues that reasons for the lack of academic and

policy intervention into this type of research are related to a global understanding of the role of print media in a democracy and in international relations. This can be argued particularly in South Africa because of the transition that the media also underwent, from state controlled to 'free-press' which influenced how the media see themselves.

Although the *Mail & Guardian* and the *Business Day*do not represent a trend, this study argues that the history of the media complex in South Africa influences different media to see themselves as natural conduits for information, as a watchdog for society, guarding state leaders' actions and holding them accountable and as a space to facilitate public debate. In light of this, this paper argues that the media embraced a liberal media role owing to the new South African constitutionalism. However, this paper also argues that it has gone beyond this to embrace a *neoliberal* world view thus, it is also important to also make a distinction between liberal and neoliberal ideas which will be unpacked further to better understand the media in the context of globalisation and international relations.

2.1.7 Critical Political Economy of the Media Approach

The CPE approach is used in this research paper because it looks at the functions of media structures within a capitalist society. It also concludes that, in most democratic states, the media are capitalistic institutions. According to Peter Golding and Graham Murdock, CPE can be distinguished from mainstream economics theories in four ways (Hesmondhalgh, 2002: 31). They are holistic (social totality) because they see that the economy is linked to political, social and cultural life. Secondly, CPE approaches are historical (they consider social change) because they concentrate on the changes that have occurred over time with regards to the role of the state, big corporations and media in culture (Hesmondhalgh, 2002: 31).

Thirdly, CPE approaches explore the balance between private businesses and public intervention or praxis and lastly and most significantly, CPE approaches "engage with basic moral questions of justice, equity and the public good" in other words the moral philosophy regarding policy and commercial problems that arise from the economic system (Hesmondhalgh, 2002: 31). For this study, the above conceptual frames play a significant role in contextualizing South Africa because the media is linked to its history vis-à-vis media transformation during the 1990's. For example, the media in South Africa is privatised yet expected to serve the public good of all citizens by availing information and news that is fair, balanced and representative of the needs of the populace. Marxist influence is what makes

this approach different from other theories; hence it is 'critical' political economy. This is because historical materialism is closely linked to social totality which looks at the relationship between commodities, institutions, social relations and hegemony (Wasko, 2004: 310).

A key theme in CPE approaches has been ownership and control of cultural industries (Kline, 2009:1) because concerns relate to concentration, funding and financing systems, power relations, policy and intervention of the state (Kline, 2009:1). When looking at ownership of the media, one has to look at *who* owns the media because it has implications on pluralism and diversity of content that is produced (Doyle, 2002: 12). CPE also helps this paper to look at how different economic classes are affected by access to media, communication and technology. Elite interests are served because they have more access to resources while the poor are subject to what they are given because of the lack of power highlighting how ownership affects media that is produced and consumed (Kline, 2009:1). For example, when looking at the ownership patterns of the selected newspapers, the CPE approach assists in unpacking the political economy of these newspapers not only with the ways in which they report, but helping explain *why* they report in this way. Both these newspapers are privately-owned and while the *Mail & Guardian* is a weekly investigative newspaper specialising in politics, arts and culture and economic analysis, the *Business Day* is a daily newspaper focusing on mainly financial and economy-specific news. The *Mail & Guardian* is owned by one of the smaller key media firms in South Africa, M&G Media while the *Business Day* is owned by one of the bigger key firms in South Africa, the Times Media Group [TMG]. Both newspaper firms are located in the northern business suburb of Rosebank in Johannesburg, South Africa. This ownership trend for news reporting means that the type of news produced comes from a particular sector of society, middle-class, with a particular view on macro-economic issues in South Africa partly because of where they are situated geographically but also because of their target audience. In other words, even though the papers differ in style and interests, the concentration of the newspapers regarding their views on the world because of *whom* they represent in their market focus, means that views in terms of ideas and content lack pluralism..

Briefly, pluralism can be defined as "diversity of media supply, reflected, for example, in the existence of a plurality of independent and autonomous media and a diversity of media concerns available to the public" (Doyle, 2002: 12). Pluralism encourages diversity of ownership and diversity of output or media content. Pluralism can be enhanced when the

market is bigger and wealthier, increasing the chance of diversity because there will be more resources available to access different media and more ideologically alternative voices can be heard (Doyle, 2002: 14). However, the effects of competition for advertising can influence the print media to lean towards sensationalism and scandal, seeing a change from information to 'infotainment' and representing elite interests which participation in debates (Kupe, 2007: 144-145).

Funding is also a concern for CPE theory because *who* funds the media also affects media content and output. Those funding an organisation can control the internal dynamics that go into producing a product especially if they have certain invested viewpoints that they want to disseminate into society. CPE looks at the internal dynamics in a sense that the people that are found in the newsrooms are those that work in favour of the owners and shareholders and in this way, reinforcing power relations (Doyle, 2002: 12). Therefore, this has an impact on the content because this means that news is a product of power relations inside and outside the organisation.

Collectively, the neo-Gramscian approach and Critical Political Economy [CPE] can be referred to as critical theory. This is because critical theory is used to bring to light the alienating status quo of the ways in which these two South African print media report on macro-economic issues. It also highlights that our conceptualisation of the society is rooted within theoretical knowledge which influences the lens through which we see the world. Critical theory also sees research as a means to speak to margins in voices of otherness by addressing false consciousness and bourgeoisie ideology (Nieuwenhuis, 2012: 62). In addition, critical theory also helps the research understand the discourses of the media because it helps understand the lens which media is informed by and why these lenses are formed. Critical theory also plays a role in addressing the shortcomings of this particular view and understanding of macro-economic policy. This theory also helps understand how the media displaces and 'others' other ways of understanding macro-economic policy and brings to light the class orientation of the media which does not represent South African society in its entirety but only a small section of society. It also highlights how alternative, more grassroots, 'bottom-up' discourses are not legitimated and when they are, this is done in a way that is informed by the same neo-liberal ideological understanding of issues. An example of such as debates can be seen with conversations on the environment which are narrowed down to the role of the market and dictating how nature should be understood using neo-liberal policy views and solutions.

2.1.8 Critical Discourse Analysis

Critical discourse analysis is used because of how it relates to and actively engages with theory during analysis which is one of the key aims of this paper. For example critical discourse analysis is useful in this way because it unpacks issues that pertain to how knowledge is validated at a particular time as well as how this knowledge evolves, develops and progresses (Wodak& Meyer, 2001: 32). This method of analysis is used to answer the research question(s) because of the different ways that the media reports on neo-liberal ideas.

Critical discourse analysis [CDA] was also used in this study becauseit focuses on how knowledge is passed on and its role for the creation and shaping of society (Wodak& Meyer, 2001: 33). Fairclough (1993: 133) argues that a CDA sees language as an aspect of social practise and aims to understand how it can be articulated with other elements. Lastly, CDA is important for this research because it looks into the impact of this knowledge on the overall development of society. Discourse analysis therefore assists because it analyses the implications of these dominant ideas that are reproduced to society.

On the other hand, critical discourse analysis pays close attention to the role of language in the ways in which it is socially shaped. Language is important to analyse in this study because it has the ability to influence social action, interaction and processes (Fairclough, 2001: 126). Citing Grillo (2007: 13), this paper argues that discourse can be defined as interrelated texts, conversations and academic research because these texts can be used to determine the development of discourses as well as how they legitimize certain policy initiatives and marginalise others at the same time (Grillo, 2007: 13). Therefore, it is in this way that discourses frame and constrain certain courses of action which can either be deemed to be sensible and legitimate and receiving support while others are discouraged as illegitimate. This is how policy makers and the public are guided *and* limited with regards to how they should respond to particular events (Grillo, 2007: 13).

2.2 Literature Review

2.2.1 Globalisation & Neo-liberalism

One can argue that although globalisation is not a new phenomenon, there are a variety of unprecedented changes that are taking place in the 21st century in comparison to any other period in world history. This includes changes in communications, technology, migration flows as well as patterns of production and consumption which are all occurring within, between and across countries of the global North and South (Saloojee, 2014). One can argue that many of these changes have been and are linked to the current phase of globalisation which can be argued to be neo-liberal globalisation.

Neo-liberal globalisation came with promises for a better and more egalitarian world as the only alternative to any other political and economic system especially after the Cold War. However, it but has also come with moments of significant crises since the 1970's and 1980's and in 2007/8 the deepest global fiscal crisis since the Great Depression of 1930's (Saloojee, 2014). It is important to note that neo-liberal globalisation is an ideology as well as a policy framework which includes market liberalisation, privatisation and deregulation (Saloojee, 2014). This section of the chapter aims to understand what is meant by neo-liberalism and understand its relationship to globalisation to properly contextualise how the media, particularly in South Africa globalises South Africa from within and externally.

It is important to note that globalisation is a term which has come under scrutiny and is widely contested. It can also be argued that when defining globalisation, its scholars depend on the socio-political and structural location as well as the ideological orientation of those who are defining the term. The contestation of the globalisation phenomenon stems from the fact that globalisation is not a new process (Saloojee, 2014). Saloojee (2014) argues that globalisation as an economic trade predates colonialism owing to the fact that there already existed long distance trade between India and the east and west coasts of Africa and even within the continent itself (Saloojee, 2014).

In the wake of neo-liberal economic globalisation in particular, Kaul (2011: 1) argues that there have been two tendencies when looking at the current form of globalisation. Firstly, there has been a tendency towards homogeneity and synchronisation as well as unity and universalism. For example one can argue that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights [UDHR] is a document that illustrates how countries strive towards 'universalism'. On the other hand, Kaul (2011:1) argues that there is the inclination for localisation, heterogeneity, differentiation and diversity as well as particularism (Kaul, 2011: 1). Kaul (2011: 1-2) argues that globalisation is a process that has been created by dominant social forces in the world to serve particular interests. He also argues that these social forces have also created a new ideological name which goes by the banner "international community" as a term which is simultaneously associated with globalisation. Kaul (2011: 1-2) also argues that today's form of globalisation is only superficially different from old fashioned colonialism (Kaul, 2011: 1-2). This paper argues that globalisation is the continuation of particular f policies that are embraced by dominant actors around the world. In other words, the International Monetary Fund [IMF], the World Bank and even global communication systems as well as cultural agents such as McDonalds and lifestyle choices including the migration to cities centres illustrate an integration into the 'international community' as a way of gaining legitimacy across the world. These choices can be influenced by the conveniences of urban life consisting of malls and a consumerist habits.

Kaul (2011: 2) also states that today globalisation is seen as the extension of certain trends and influences which include ideas, concepts, knowledge, ethics, technology and behaviours across ethnic, linguistic, cultural, religious, political and even environmental barriers (Kaul, 2011: 2). Thus, it can be argued that globalisation is not only a homogenizing and integrating process but it is also the source of many problems such as the rise in particularly in poor nations and individuals around the world. For example, the global environment has been

threatened from various angles including global warming, the deterioration of the ozone layer as well as the extinction of animal species. Due to consumerist human demand the environment is also being affected by hazardous and eroding practises which affect the earth's soil, water supply and thus having detrimental effects on whole livelihoods (Kaul, 2011: 2). In relation to this research, these issues of neo-liberal economic globalisation can be seen as taking shape in a country like South Africa because of the rise of unemployment particularly after the 2008 financial crisis that impacted many developing countries negatively (Netshitenzhe, 2013: 2). Furthermore, the intensification of transnational capital flows has taken effect on the environment. For example, the increase in rhino poaching because of the financial gains associated with the ivory taken from a rhino has placed the rhino as one of the world's most endangered species (United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, 2010). Furthermore, this form of globalisation has also seen increases inequality around the world, South Africa in particular changing places with Brazil as the second most unequal country in the world to the most unequal country in the world.

From a neo-Gramscian perspective, globalisation can be defined as a class project as well as an ideological concept of control whose aims, apart from integrating global economies and technology, seek to bring about the global restructuring of capitalism pioneering the interests of transnational capital, and in particular its financial element (Scholte, 2005: 1-2). Globalisation is also led by the need, through international actors to ensure that the requirements are in place for the reproduction as well as perpetuation of a global capitalism. More specifically, that the mechanisms are in place for a 'financialised' form global capitalism as well as the continued dominance of United States (US) power. Globalisation policy agendas include privatisation, liberalisation as well as deregulation as seen with the imposed Structural Adjustment Policies of the 1970's and 1980's (Kotz, 2000: 1).

In other words, this paper understands and uses the intensification of transnational production and finance which is now known in contemporary terms as globalisation (Bieler& Morton: 2003: 477). Globalisation and neoliberalism can thus be said to be concepts of control and part of a class project. However, it is important to highlight the context in which this happens in greater detail. Kiely (2005: 1) argues that starting from the 1990's onwards; globalisation became a significant concept in both academic and mainstream political discourse. To the western world namely the United States and Europe this concept came to be associated with the Third World, mainly Africa and Latin America which proposed that they had to adopt neo-liberal market fundamentals. These market fundamentals are today known as the

Structural Adjustment Programs [other literature uses Policies] [SAP's] (Kiely, 2005: 1) which will be discussed shortly.

This was reflected by the optimism about the global economy which was in the context of the ideals that in a post-Cold War, post-colonial era, limited state interests could be abandoned and global cooperation could be applied. This was also reinforced by the wave of democratisation of 'Second' and Third World nations during the 1970's, 1980's and 1990's where dominant narratives about 'liberal democracy and free-market capitalism as the only option with no other sustainable alternatives' were reiterated. This was despite growing global environmental and poverty issues associated with these narratives (Kiely, 2005: 3).

Globalisation became a term that was commonly used by leaders of powerful states such a Bill Clinton of the United States and Tony Blair of Britain. In Britain the concept of globalisation was embraced by British political and academic circles especially through the work of Anthony Giddens (Kiely, 2005: 1). For the purposes of this paper, it is also important to take into consideration not only globalisation in the broad sense but also *economic* globalisation. This paper aims to examine how South African media globalise South Africa from within and externally through its reporting on macro-economic policies and perceptions of media experts, participants using a neo-Gramscian and critical political economy [CPE] perspectives.. Therefore, in terms of the economy according to a neoliberal view, globalisation refers to increasing transnational flows and an interdependent economically-integrated world (Keohane, 2002: 15).

In relation to the neo-Gramscian perspective on globalisation [of South Africa from within and externally], this relates to nationalism and de-nationalisation of South Africa because, according to Satgar (2014) referencing Hart (2013) "de-nationationalisation refers to the processes and practices that globalise and restructure South Africa's domestic political economy, centred on the minerals-energy complex. Re-nationalisation refers to discursive practices and projects shaping articulations of nationalism" (Satgar, 2014). In other words, this paper these selected newspapers play a discursive role in shaping perceptions and articulating a particular form of globalisation. In other words, it argues that in globalising South Africa from within and externally newspapers like the *Business Day* and the *Mail & Guardian* report on macro-economic policy issues like the Budget Speeches and the projections of the IMF Country Reports in ways that influence the type of globalisation embraced in South Africa. Since the dawn of democracy in 1994, the country's economic and

political trajectory has been one that embraces a neo-liberal policy framework bringing into question the significance of the current debates of alternatives concerning an economic system.

In other words, the call for economic alternatives has become more pertinent in the increased political climate where many leaders have been calling for nationalisation. The most prominent example, Julius Malema, the former African National Congress [ANC] youth leader, and now the current leader of the opposition party Economic Freedom Fighters [EFF] (Malema, 2009) has made nationalisation the centre of the EFF's policy objectives. Owing to the depleting job-market, increasing levels of poverty and costs of living, South Africa finds itself at a cross-roads concerning nationalisation as a solution or a dead-end to its current problems. This brings into question the concerns of re-nationalisation of various forms of neoliberalism in South Africa.

Kotz (2000: 1) argues that neo-liberalism is the body of economic and political theory which states that an unregulated capitalist system also known as the 'free-market economy' enhances the idea of free individual choice. He argues that the free-market economy also plays a significant role in achieving high levels of economic performance with regards to efficiency, economic growth, technical progress and justice (Kotz, 2000: 1). Therefore, neoliberalism becomes a political project that extends itself globally but is rooted locally (Robertson, 2007: 6). Thus, globalisation is not a separate process but a process that is materialised within states. On the one hand, states are pressured to conform to neo-liberal models of global political economic dispensations while on the other hand, they are also under pressure to distinguish themselves through trade, culturally and politically as a way of having a distinct 'place in the world' reinforcing that individual states also have a unique role to play (Clarke, 2003: 205). Saloojee (2014) argues that globalisation has also been associated with the devastating Structural Adjustment Policies [SAP's] imposed by International Financial Institutions [IFI's] like the IMF and the World Bank on the developing world.

In the case of South Africa, which was not subjected to SAP's, the IMF continues to recommend policies encouraging South Africa to open up its economy to foreign investment and lower barriers to allow for the free flow of capital. This paper argues that as external actors like the IMF wear faces of legitimacy and enjoy global authority make recommendations for South Africa to alter its labour policies to protect risks to capital flight

for example. In this way, South African government policy makers are pressured into shaping domestic policy to suit suggestions made by the IMF so as to become a better 'global player'. Internally, policy makers, government, civil society, and the media play a role in globalising South Africa because of the perceptions they place as part of the public debate therefore making it mainstream. Due to the 'natural' stance of perceptions about the media, particularly because the print media is taken as a rational voice, the reproduction of these views on domestic macro-economic policy specifically feed into the global economic networks.

Moreover, it can be argued that global institutions play a role that is just as significant as states which can be seen with the ways in which global institutions have been constructed to achieve liberal aims and realise these processes. This study argues that this can also be seen with 'independent' and more domestic institutions such as the media who legitimise and perpetuate these views on macro-economic policy objectives, seen as the 'norms' and 'standards' of the global political economy (Worth, 2003: 3). This can be seen when looking at the SAP's of the 1970's and 1980's in Africa that were imposed by the IMF in states such as Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi. These SAPS's focused on trade liberalisation because this was said to encourage better growth of economies and penetration of foreign investment into these local economies (Easterly, 2001). SAP's were also employed, subject to these countries implementing various policies which included the opening of domestic economies to foreign investment and ownership (Sniegocki, 2008: 323). Thus, it can be argued that the importance of foreign direct investment in many third world economies today stems from this historical trend of the imposition of SAP's. SAP's structurally locked these economies in models which make investment a necessity for them to flourish (according to a neo-liberal economic structure) (Sniegocki, 2008: 324).

According to SAP's, these economies also had to abolish government subsidies on subsistence food products and domestic farmers while at the same time liberalise trade. This meant the lowering of trade barriers and tariffs thus making it cheaper for external investors to come into those economies (Sniegocki, 2008: 325). These economies [Zimbabwe, Zambia and Malawi] also had to devalue their national currencies and maintain open capital accounts and introduce macro-economic fiscal [monetary] discipline. This means that they had to have debt elimination and deficit [shortfalls] reduction policies. This also spilled into the fact that these countries had to ensure that their currencies were convertible because they were encouraged to maintain higher reserves of foreign currency (Saloojee: 2014).

In order to ensure that foreign investors remain in their domestic market, SAP's also required for these economies to tighten their monetary and fiscal policies which also involved the deregulation of these domestic markets (Saloojee, 2014). This included the adoption of policies which encouraged export-led growth and the deregulation of labour costs. It can be argued that one of the most devastating effects of SAP's was the privatisation of state owned enterprises and the cutting back of social service spending and welfare (Sniegocki, 2008: 323). This meant that the state, under SAP's, had to allow for the private sector to provide public goods and services such as healthcare, water, sanitation and education.

One can argue that these requirements by the SAP's were the attempt of neo-liberal economic policies and overall agenda to reverse the Keynesian welfare state and state intervention. Neo-liberal aims seek the 'return' to a laissez-faire state which would be characterised by unregulated markets and minimalist government intervention (Saloojee: 2014). In addition, Saloojee (2014) argues that it was against this very background that proponents of neoliberalism were able to champion this form of economic policy framework and by also arguing that 'too much' social welfare by the state was the main source of crises and was no longer a sustainable avenue for economic growth and development (Saloojee: 2014).

Thus, it can be argued that SAP's are a macro-economic policy underpinning of neoliberalism however, it is important to note that SAP's have been evolving and taking on new elements on the African continent in particular. In other words, SAP's have shifted from trade liberalisation to other neo-liberal underpinned policies such as good governance. The concept of 'governance' which became a fashionable term, though an old concept, which rose during the 1980's and 1990's from SAP's as it had become a term used in social development circles and public policy-makers (Weiss, 2000: 795). In other words, the term 'governance' is used to refer to a variety of private and public structures which are both political and social and that describe a set of complex processes associated with systems of national administration (Weiss, 2000: 795).

Originally surfacing in the 1989World Bank report on sub-Saharan Africa, the World Bank characterised the region as a 'crises of governance' (Santiso, 2011: 5). The introduction of this concept was due to the Bank and the IMF's failed aid and lack of commitment from developing country governments to reform ongoing endemic corruption. Therefore good governance is a concept that became closely related to aid (Doornbos, 2001: 93). As a way of addressing governance, institutions like the World Bank and the IMF call into question the

ability and capacity as well as the political will of political authorities to govern for the common interest of its people (Santiso, 2011: 5). In other words, there is more awareness of the quality of a country's governance system which is the main feature which determines the ability to pursue economic and social development.

Thus, governance, according to the Banks definition concerns the form of political regime which means the process in which authority is exercised (Santiso, 2011: 5). This is seen through the ways in which the country's economic and social resources for development and policy-making and implementation are conducted. Thus, governance has been attributed with 'sound development management' and is measured according to neo-liberal models of governance. This includes financial management which can be seen through the privatization of state-owned entities (Santiso, 2011: 5). Taking the above discussion of governance into consideration, the notion of governance changing to *good* governance means there is a normative way of addressing and understanding the quality of governance. This means that there are more requirements on the process of decision-making and public policy making.

In other words, good governance means management of public affairs must be transparent, accountable and that individuals must be able to participate and also means that there must be effective rule of law (Santiso, 2011: 5). In relation to this research, the literature illustrates the ways in which neo-liberal policies have evolved through the years seeing global financial institutions such as the World Bank and their reports emphasising 'development management'. This is done through ways that encourage the deeper entrenchment of neo-liberal policies while at the same attempting to influence the adoption of these through consent of the state. Thus, when the IMF proposes that South Africa take its recommendations as a way to show its commitment to further development and acceptance of global 'norms', the print media play a role in reproducing this information as a legitimating voices of global value chains without realising that they are part and parcel of reflecting these recommendations as ' 'correct'.

The concept of good governance has also opened up debates concerning the ways in which politics or the political process have been conducted and linked to larger global structures. This means that with the demise of the cold war, client states which had been divided between the east and western blocs had to transform and create alliances with the global powers and institutions of the time as a way of receiving development aid (Doornbos, 2001: 97). This means that authoritarian regimes that had been thriving during the 1980's had to

comply with certain conditionality's as a way of receiving development aid. This became an opportunity for western powers to set conditions and prescriptions for the ways in which these new client states should go about the management of their internal governmental affairs (Doornbos, 2001: 98).

Thus, it can be argued that the concept of good governance is a different version of SAP's owing to the fact that it was an idea which was made to get a grip on recipient developing countries in terms of the ways in which they made policy-decisions. This included going from one to multi-party states for example and embracing international trade through the lowering of trade barriers (Doornbos, 2001: 98). The distinction from SAP's when it came to good governance was the conditionality's provided by the World Bank and the IMF. This paper argues that this new form of conditionality's encompassed globalisation because of the ways in which good governance was linked to 'universality' of the world and what is the correct form of development. This paper argues that this mechanism is flawed owing to the fact that the standard which development or progress or 'good governance' is measured is informed by a culturally specific perspective represented as having 'universal value' (Doornbos, 2001: 99). This is important for the research because this literature is evidence of the evolving nature of neo-liberal policies throughout the world. Although the policies or political trends do not take the same form, they evolve to gain more legitimacy indirectly, consensually without being subjected to SAP's, instead they are made to seem as though notions like 'good governance' come *naturally* because it appeals as an international phenomena.

This paper argues that the IMF and the World Bank are seen as sites of legitimacy and accountable owing to the fact that there is universal membership meaning that it is accountable to all governments around the world. However, it can also be argued that the IMF and the World Bank also need to reconsider the criteria for what they claim is 'universal' and 'representative' of the world as a whole (Woods, 2000: 823). Woods (2000: 823) argues that the IMF and the Bank are powerful advocates of standards of legitimacy, representation and accountability [which were given the label of 'good governance'] to governments who wanted to borrow from them but these institutions do not abide by these standards themselves. The IMF and the Bank have embraced the concept of 'good governance' which is associated with a set of principles as a way of guiding their member states (Woods, 2000: 824).

These principles include that states institutional arrangements, the processing and ways in which policy is formulated, decision-making and information flows within government and between citizens. Thus, this understanding of good governance has set the ground for the standards which guide constitutional mandates which could play a role in improving the effectiveness of their member-states use of resources (Woods, 2000:824). Both these financial institutions see 'good governance' as promoting transparency, accountability, efficiency, fairness and participation. Subsequently, these values translate into political accountability and transparency, participation and rule of law as well as information flows between governments and citizens (Woods, 2000: 824).

As a way of gaining legitimacy and being accountability, both these institutions argue that it is through democratic elections, hence participation that support and commitment from citizens to their governments that these good governance programs can be carried out (Woods, 2000: 824). In addition, both institutions see 'good governance' as a way of strengthening 'the institutional framework of government' which means eradicating corruption through ensuring transparency and information flows. This means free press and media at large while at the same time making sure that the correct information concerning new policies is released to citizens. This is so that they can have a say and participate in the decision-making thus monitor or scrutinize the ways in which public funds are managed (Woods, 2000: 825). Good governance policy frameworks see that media are part of good state governance meaning that they are part of, and important to the political order and system of democracy.

Normative media theories argue that the key feature of the media in a democracy is that it should be different to oppressive regimes. This is important as South Africa comes from an oppressive apartheid regime which had an oppressive media regime controlled by the government. It is therefore in a democratic system like South Africa where the journalism profession (although ideological in form), reporting without fear or favour and news flow is considered to give credibility to the authenticity of the state's neutrality. Interestingly, media institutions are part and parcel of agents which playing a role in 'globalising' South Africa from within. Although this cannot necessarily be interpreted as a form of political allegiance, the method through which media institutions are subjected to their own professional standards. Therefore, the media are also under pressure to make profit and produce what they deem 'newsworthy' but also legitimise themselves as rational voices of a democracy.

The role that is played by the IMF and the World Bank in the world economy is further entrenched owing to the fact that they are considered to be the 'centres of knowledge and research' in terms of economic policy and development (Woods, 2000: 837). It can be argued that the nature of the research presented by these institutions to the world can be argued to reflect the authority of these institutions as centres of knowledge while also as representing perspectives of the 'international community'. This is despite the fact that the representation and voices within both of these organisation is not representative of the approaches that reflect their member states (Woods, 2000: 837). This can be seen to be a flaw in the approaches of these two institutions because of the fact that they have distorted views of the domestic complexities that exist within these countries whose policies they draft as a guideline to their good governance (Woods, 2000: 837).

Grindle (2002: 1) argues that the concept of good governance is a problematic guide to development. He argues that it implies change in political organisation, representation of interests as well as the processes for public debate as well as policy decision-making (Grindle, 2002: 1). In other words, good governance is outlined as a necessary ingredient for reducing widespread poverty thus, as a way for countries to attack poverty, poverty reduction strategies also known as PRSP's must be implemented. Moreover, by definition these countries are usually weak institutionally and politically, lack human resources and are deeply divided whether socially or culturally and it is despite these conditions that these countries are still expected to accomplish these conditions as conditionality for debt relief (Grindle, 2002: 1).

PRSP's have become a guide for governments to use as a guideline to define criteria in which they must take on to reduce poverty. This is important because PRSP's considers 'good governance' to be one of the key features of a path to reducing poverty. Moreover, policy documents such as the PRSP's which lay down the guidelines as to the ways in which development, through reducing poverty is to be done legitimises the concept of good governance as something that every poor country wanting to develop can achieve if they abide by the guidelines set out in the PRSP policy papers (Grindle, 2002: 2).

Among the strategies to reform their governments, these countries are encouraged to reform their public administration systems as well as commitments to fighting corruption which are always associated with judicial reform in addition to reforms to public administration as mentioned above (Grindle, 2002: 3). One of the central features of PRSP's which reflects the

true nature of these policy recommendations as taking a neoliberal stance to problem-solving is the decentralisation of governments. This includes the strengthening of the capacity of local governments especially with regards to fiscal management and training (Grindle, 2002: 3). PRSP's also dealt with issues concerning democratization, political will, access to information as well as the improvement of social services.

Another example can be seen when considering the end of the Uruguay round, which was the final round of trade negotiations since the inception of the GATT which reflected the largest commitment and acceptance of global free-trade ideas (Worth, 2003: 3). As Worth (2003: 3) notes "the Uruguay round liberalised the processes of trade in a number of interrelated areas, including a drastic mandate for trade negotiations within services, a multilateral agreement on international property, a higher scrutiny of international trading standards, huge advances in the concentration of 'market access' and following from that a general requirement that all countries construct schedules for tariff reduction and global integration" (Worth, 2003: 3). In relation to theory, Worth argues that this example highlights Gramsci's concept of historical bloc which he states has been constructed. He argues that it has been institutionally and societally accepted that private capital is a more viable and reliable form of wealth accumulation than state intervention (Worth, 2003: 2).

Thus, as argued by Akyuz (2000), this has also been perpetuated by developed countries which he calls the Newly Industrialised Countries [NIC's] who, during times of particularly economic and financial crises and meltdown hitting an emerging market get response from the IFI's who are to blame these victims for the economic turmoil that they find themselves in. , (Akyuz, 2000). Akyuz (2000) goes on to argue that the systemic nature of economic instability, economic speculation in the currencies of the NIC's [particularly speculators coming from the global North] continue to be ignored. They are ignored because of how they demand those countries who find themselves suffering the most from the effects of the crisis to adopt SAP's as a condition for their eventual 'bailout' although these policies were in contrast to the policies that were being implemented in the North (Akyuz, 2000).

Thus, in the wake of economic globalisation, it can be argued that not all countries and classes have benefitted equally. Harris (1995) argues that globalisation can be referred to as the worldwide integration of humanity and the compression of temporal and spatial dimensions of the planet which has aggravated many chronic problems. These problems he argues include the degree of economic exploitation and social inequality that has

characterised regions such as Latin America and Africa since it came under European colonial domination in the sixteenth century (Harris, 1995).

Thus, this paper argues that the form of globalisation that characterises international relations today and distinguishes it from previous forms of globalisation is the size and reach. This includes social and cultural as well as economic globalisation, globalisation of economic crises, production and consumption, technological globalisation, the global division of labour and the globalisation of political protest. Therefore, as argued by Anthony Giddens (1996 & 1997) globalisation can be seen to be a 'double-edged sword', in other words, a contradictory process because of the different trends of destruction and solidarity it creates in different parts of the world. Furthermore, globalisation is not a linear process nor does it lead to a single result, according to Giddens (1996: 97) "it produces solidarities in some places and destroys them in others…new forms of unity go along with new forms of fragmentation" (1996: 97). Thus, globalisation can be seen as a process which brings about prosperity in certain communities while at the same time diminishing other communities, internationally, regionally and nationally as seen with countries like Brazil and South Africa where there are extreme disparities between the rich and poor.

According to Murphy (2000), financial transnationalism and globalisation are views in particular from a neo-Gramscian perspective, as being driven by social forces or agents that make up the transnational historical bloc such as international organisations like the IMF, the World Bank and less through direct policies but through national and transnational information channels such as the media network. This prompts domestic politics and parties to embrace free-market conditions which have been rejected before by liberation parties such as the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa to now be open to the seemingly inescapable realities of global liberalism (Worth, 2003: 2). This can also be applied to media transformation because instead of a process of reconstruction and reconfiguration, a hegemonic transformation can be argued to have taken place.

The media have not only set precedence as the main conduit for information but carry views which are a continuation from their former role under an oppressive government which solidifies their function an independent institutions. Therefore, because a neo-liberal framework advocates for a free media and the free flow of information, the media continue to reproduce this tenet as an important part of what the media should be in any neo-liberal society. When South Africa opened its borders with the demise of the apartheid government,

the economy and state institutions also liberalised and this included the media. Therefore, because the media sits in relation to a global media network in a neo-liberal order, it comes at the legitimate path to take even with the ways in which they report on issues, informed by a neo-liberal lens which is how even national institutions can globalise South Africa from within.

As mentioned above, South Africa opened its doors to be integrated into the international political economy through reducing tariffs and liberalising as a way of becoming integrated and sealing its 'place' in global economy illustrates its commitment to and acceptance of neo-liberal ideals (Merret, 2001:50). This notion of globalisation as being natural, inevitable and that states need to embrace it, as seen through their reporting on macro-economic policy further legitimates the illusion that global cooperation, market autonomy are fundamental to states economic interdependence (Worth, 2003: 4). Although the media exists as an institution which dictates itself, it can be argued that it also stems from a base that holds hegemonic, world view ideals which promote and reinforce neo-liberal ideology. One can argue that this is done through reinforcing the views held by institutions such as the IMF and World Bank or even reinforcing the ideas relayed by the Finance Minister during the Budget Speeches every year. Thus, the lack of engagement from the media with these ideas can be attributed to the fact that the media's views about themselves also stems from their neo-liberal underpinning in relation to its reporting on issues and the role that they are supposed to play in a neo-liberal-guided economy.

2.2.2 The Media

This section of the literature review aims to place the media's role in the context of globalisation by mapping its place in the study through two themes, mainly 'media and globalisation: media's power', and 'media and South Africa'. This will assist in placing the media in the context of globalisation and its relationship to neo-liberalism which will help the research better understand why the media reproduce, legitimate and authorise certain discourses. This is particularly in relation to South African media globalising South Africa from within and externally.

2.2.2.1 Media & Globalisation: media's power

In the context of globalisation, the influence of media, particularly electronic media can be argued to be of paramount importance particularly because of its ability to transcend, time, space, any kind of boarders that hindered information dissemination before. However, as

mentioned before, globalisation remains an uneven process and its effects and consequences are not experienced in the same way all over the world. This can be argued because of how some have more knowledge than others and some initiate flows and movement while others do not (Kaul, 2011: 1). The rapid acceleration of globalisation has been associated with the increased technological advancement and the international economic markets.

Thompson (1995) argues that media plays a pivotal role in the globalisation process and he calls this media globalisation which he argues has distinct features which allows one to identify what is meant by media globalisation. These features include, firstly, the continued dominance of the global media industry by a small, concentrated number of transnational media conglomerates. Secondly, the use of new information and communications technologies by these media conglomerates, and third the increasingly deregulated environments in which these media organisations are able to operate without any boundary limitations (Thompson, 1995). In this way, globalisation is made possible by the rapid movement of information, communication which enables accelerated political, economic and financialised as well as diplomatic transactions. Therefore, there can be no globalisation as we know it today without technologies of mass communication because the media is globalised and globalisation is mediated (Thompson, 1995).

Thomspon (1995) adds three other features which he says the globalisation of media content has resulted in more homogenisation as well as standardization of content in media products that are produced and distributed around the world by global media industries. Secondly, he argues that the uneven flow of information and communication products in the global system as well as the different levels of access that global citizens have to global networks of communication is an important feature of media globalisation because it characterises the ‘haves’ and the ‘have-nots’ internationally. Finally, Thompson (1995) states that media globalisation is strongly linked to the promotion of consumerist ideology and thus inevitably linked to a capitalist project (Thompson, 1995). It is important to consider the position sits in, in relation to other African countries not only because of political and economic stability but also because of its advanced technological/media communication systems although these are not accessed equally characterising the ‘haves’ and the ‘have-nots’ (Teer-Tomaselli, Wasserman & De Beer, 2007: 137). Therefore, if globalisation and neoliberal economic achievements are dependent on the effective flows of information and free media, this means that poor technological media characterises many African states and links strongly to poor economic performance (Teer-Tomaselli, Wasserman & De Beer, 2007: 137). South Africa is

a developing and middle-income country because of its economic prospects but also because of its effective communication media systems.

It can be argued that the complex nature of globalisation is not only found within any external economic force in which states are compelled to adapt but is also found in the construction of hegemonic norms and practises which states play a significant role in constructing (Worth, 2003: 4). In other words, states play a significant role in aiding and strengthening these norms and standards by supporting the construction of other agents that consolidate the hegemonic status quo. These agents can also include the media which are located within civil society and gain their own autonomy and foothold within the world order (Worth, 2003: 6). Worth (2003: 4) argues that it is from this consolidation and autonomy that the 'illusion' of globalisation becomes created and states adopt the TINA [there is no alternative] strategy.

An example of the consolidation of the status quo is seen in the ways in which the IMF will call on South African government to curb and reduce strikes because they are the reason for the plight of capital out of the country. In this way, the neo-liberal status quo sees that foreign investment is important for economic growth and cannot be threatened by any domestic factors to hinder its investment in the country. Newspapers like the *Mail & Guardian* and *Business Day* do not further interrogate the *reasons*for labour strikes and instead call for their reduction because of the risk to capital and does not call business into question and the role that they play. It is in this way that the selected papers play a role in consolidating a market-centred perspective on domestic issues, and more specifically in relation to macro-economic policy.

One can argue that any form of hegemonic structure requires for there to be a media and communications formation that acts a communicative agent that functions to, and promotes and perpetuates the overall ideological framework and that contributes to that ideological framework in this case neo-liberal ideals through strengthening its own commercial and economic position which can happen in various ways including concentration of private media firms and thus ideas (Jan, 2009: 67). This means that the behaviour of the media is dependent on the nature of the ideological thus political and economic order itself. Jan (2009: 67) argues that more democratic systems in the West in particular share the common ideological goal that inclines them to the social-cultural preservation and the transportation of neoliberal hegemony. However, although alternative voices have made their way into privately-owned media and efforts to reflect diverse views have been made, the global media

plays a significant role in the consolidation of the global capitalistic economy (Hall et al, 2000).

To support this conviction, Hall et al (2000) cite Gramsci who stated that "Its (what) most prominent and dynamic part is the press in general: publishing houses (which have an implicit and explicit programme and are attached to a particular tendency), political newspapers, periodicals of every kind, scientific, literary, philosophical, popular etc., various periodicals down to the parish bulletins… The Press is the most dynamic of this ideological structure, but not the only one." (Gramsci, 1985: 389). One can argue that Gramsci locates media and communication within structures of a historic bloc in which he recognises the significant role that the media play in social relations. However, Worth (2003: 12) argues that today, universality is not only realised through a secure transnational media system but by the growth of information technology. While the internet adds to the socio-economic formulation of neo-liberal policy and practise, it is also a space in which dissident views can be exposed leading to possibilities of contestation and counter-hegemonic practises and ideas (Worth, 2003: 12).

In the context of this research, this shows that South African media are characterised by unequal internal flows of information [though not unique to South Africa in comparison to other African countries with similar internal dynamics]. However, this research posits that it becomes crucial to look into the ways in which the models and operations of media perpetuate unequal power relations on a national level, consolidating, protecting and promoting narrow views on a national scale. This means that the role of the internet in giving rise to alternative conversations allows marginalised voices to share views which would have otherwise not been heard in mainstream media. At the same time, because papers like the *Mail & Guardian* and the *Business Day*, as well as voices of key 'media experts' have authoritative influence in national debates seen as what is important and legitimate to discuss in terms of importance, dissident voices have limited influence in comparison to these papers views for example, although the internet becomes a space in which counter-hegemonic conversation can begin.

The nature of media systems today having become widely universal can be argued to be so because of the emergence of trans-national media systems thanks to the media mergers of the 1990's and also because of the growth of internet use and other information technologies as mentioned above (Worth, 2003: 12). Although these technologies have different effects

across the world, Gramscian perspectives assist in understanding how the media is a key player in the consolidation of hegemony or the dominance of capital (Worth, 2003: 12). Herman &McChesney (1997) have observed that in an environment where deregulation and the increase of global competitiveness have been considered to be part of development, this has resulted in large-scale media firms increasing their size through technological development (Herman &McChesney, 1997). Media firms have relied on advertising and commercialisation for their own profit gains side-lining state-subsidised firms. In terms of media concentration, there are less than ten media conglomerates in global media which are predominantly formed and based in the US and this same trend can be observed in local South African media where less than five media firms dominate the media information and technologies sector (Herman and McChesney, 1997: 1)

This means that this power to shape and create 'national' debate is left in the hands of a few powerful firms setting a precedent of narrow views and where the ideologies of the few reach a wide readership which have the power to influence and shape policy. However, these views reach those with the knowledge of these issues, understand and have the ability to make critical decisions about macro-economic policy, leaving out a large part of the population which cannot make the same informed decisions about macro-economic policy. This illustrates age-old debates about the information rich North and information poor South but in this case, this happens internally within the same state despite access to internet technology on mobile phones (Teer-Tomaselli, Wasserman & De Beer, 2007: 137). In relation to the *Mail & Guardian* and the *Business Day*, which are deemed credible sources for hard news, economic and financial news as well as political news, they are able to shape the *lens* in which macro-economic policy issues are seen as 'right, and correct' and with no need for questioning because of the 'objective facts' they represent. In other words, there is a relationship between global and local media networks which gives rise to information inequalities.

The 1980's and 1990's represented the years which saw the growth of Multinational Corporations [MNC's] which also saw the growth in commercial media mergers. Although individual states still had the autonomy to decide the policy and regulation of their national media and communication industries, the general trend was geared towards deregulation and market liberalisation (Herman & McChesney, 1997). This saw the rise of media firms increasing their size and scope to exploit technological advancement and development including satellite communication for their commercial goals. This has also led to the

increased reliance on advertising and commercialism by media firms where aims and objectives are driven by profit-making. It can be argued that this expansion by media firms was due to the environment of deregulation and the increase in global competitiveness. Furthermore, this saw the growth of profit-making modes of communication becoming legitimised and being set as the standard on the global stage thus resulting in this model being seen as the norm for continued development (Worth, 2003: 13).

Some of the world's ten media conglomerates include AOL-Time Warner, Bertelsmann [Europe] Disney, Viacom and News Corporation. One of the biggest news media company is News Corporation owned by Rupert Murdoch In other words, News Corporation is the most useful case study for identifying the spread of socio-economic and cultural ideology for neo-liberal hegemony. This conglomerate holds media power in over six continents through television networks such as Fox Network, Fox News, Sky News as well as radio stations, satellite services and newspaper and publishing outlets which have been dominant in Australia, East Asia, the US and the UK (Herman &McChesney, 1997). Multinational or transnational corporations are significant players in the system of economic and political development where third world countries remain at the periphery of this development. This is because they produce goods, control markets and disseminate products (Jan, 2009: 71).

The dynamics and the style of operation of News Corporation illustrates and gives an insight into the ways in which a media-based MNC operates and relates to different state regulations and to politics. An example of this can be seen in the UK when News Corporation formed an alliance with the Thatcher administration in the 1980's as a way of gaining exemption from European Union [EU] laws as a way of further monopolising News Corporation's position fearing that if the Labour Party was elected [in the run up to the general elections of 1992] then the News Corporation's own interests might be affected through tax increase and more regulation (Worth, 2003: 13). This saw the re-election of the Conservative Party especially after the Sun Newspaper owned by News Corporation reported a series of attacks of the Labour Party [thus shaping public discourse and debate]. Thus, one can argue that News' reporting through its newspapers played a significant role in determining the election outcome (Worth, 2003: 13).

News Corporation illustrates how media and global media combine with other agents to form ideological alliances which entrench their roles as the socio-cultural communicators of neo-liberalism. The above example also illustrates the practises of neo-liberalism from its various

communicative outlets and as a competing market entity because of the fact that it also denies a voice to other alternative economic paradigms.

However, it must be noted that this example of News Corporation is but an example of international global media and that these practises may differ according to socio-political and cultural context of the media such as in South Africa where the media and government, more specifically the ruling party, do not have close encounters as with the Thatcher administration and News Corporation in the lead up to the 1992 elections. On the contrary, South African media, though also privately owned and concentrated, can be argued to practise and perpetuate neo-liberal policy objectives in a different manner. This is seen not with their alliances, but in their reporting of issues, more specifically macro-economic policy issues which align strongly with neo-liberal ideals/concepts while at the same time side-lining and displacing other macro-economic policy objectives which can be argued to represent the complex nature of the South African socio-economic and political dispensation, which will be discussed further next.

2.2.3 Media in South Africa

2.2.3.1 Print Media in South Africa: Change and Continuity

The South African media was a major factor in the production, reproduction and perpetuation of the racist authoritarian regime and ideologies that can be argued to have ended in 1994 in political terms (Berger, 1999: 82). The media catered for the dominant interests of the few because ownership and control, profits and staff, audience as well as content produced significantly marginalised majority of people who were being oppressed. However, certain sects of the media also played a role in reforming and resisting that system [from grassroots level] creating alternative media voices (Berger, 1999: 82). Thus the media was already taking a turning point prior to 1994 because of the black press that emerged such as the *Sowetan* Newspaper and *City Press* Newspaperand alternative press like the *Weekly Mail* which is now the *Mail & Guardian.* This was because the media, even though they publically complied with government's racist policies due to a fear of prosecution, always secretly opposed the apartheid government and resisted its attempts of control through discourses of liberal democracy (Berger, 1999: 83-84). In the post-apartheid era, media is more critical of government because they have placed the government under close surveillance and this paper argues that the media is currently overlooking many other aspects of society which can also be sites of corruption and poor governance. The reasons for the constant overlooking of

issues beyond government vary from the funding patterns of these institutions. For example, this paper argues that if a mining company advertises in a newspaper, but there are environmental issues in the that mining region, because of the risk to losing advertising revenue newspapers are found in a place where they will cover a story but not to a large extent so as to upset funders. This is also because it appears that government criticism is the only popular form of journalism in South Africa, which is required in any democracy however, criticism and surveillance must be applied across all sectors and not only to government.

As mentioned before media transformation was characterized by the demise of the apartheid system in the 1990's and a shift in the commercial media industry. This meant that there was the obtaining of previously white-owned media firms by black empowerment groups while political and ideological notions of the media also changed, however the media landscape today is still white-dominated thus the extent of transformation in this area can be further interrogated (Tomaselli, 1997: 16). Moreover, the ideological shifts that took place during this time saw the media going from an oppressive tool of the state to that of a watchdog guarding societal interests (Tomaselli, 1997: 16). The English and Afrikaans-language dominated press went from a repressive ideological perspective to positioning themselves into entities interested in economic gain rather than political gain especially because the media went from state ownership to private ownership (Tomaselli, 1997: 16). However, one can also interrogate the extent to which the media's role post-1994 expanded to represent the new society which is newly empowered however with deep divisions in need of unity and inclusion (Berger, 1999: 84).

In the wake of media transformation, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) also went from state broadcaster to public broadcaster accompanied by the development of a policy and licensing structure for the three tiers of broadcasting. This included the public service tier, the commercial broadcasting tier and the licensing of a community broadcasting tier clearly indicating the promotion of democratic values through progressive policy (ANC, 2010:3). Although English is the most commonly used language in print and broadcasting in South Africa, the latter also uses the remaining 10 official languages reflecting the countries diversity (ANC, 2010: 4). However, the media in post-apartheid South Africa is a capitalistic enterprise because of the oligopolistic market structure of the media industry which is characterized by ownership in the hands of the few (Albarran, 1996: 31). This means that how issues are reported does not reflect diversified views because the class and ideological

point of view which all the newspapers are informed by lacks plurality. Thus, content lacks diversity of views meaning that how macro-economic policy is understood is according to one narrow understanding.

2.2.3.2 Media Transformation in South Africa

Media transformation was backed by the South African Constitution that is influenced by liberal democratic values especially with regards to the protection of media freedoms such as the freedom of expression and access to information in section 16. This transformation looked promising for the future of South Africa and the inclusion of all of society in ways that had not been possible before (Johnston, 2005: 20). For example, in 1992 before the ANC came into power, it released a paper called "Ready to Govern" which attempted to illustrate their commitment to media freedom. However, this paper also stated that media freedom should be supported by equal distribution of media resources and the access to these resources (Harber, 2007: 137).

The transformation of the media also included the freedom to criticize the government and access to any state-held information (Jacobs, 2002: 2). When the first private, free-to-air terrestrial television station E-TV which was introduced in 1999 it challenged the SABC's monopoly over news broadcasting. Transformation also included the diversification of the commercial print media and new and upcoming titles to the public sphere which were no longer characterised by racial ownership patterns (Jacobs, 2002: 2). Ownership patterns did not only impact the broadcast media but also trickled into the print media which included foreign-ownership, majority owned black investment and control which can be argued to have been reflecting the country's demographics (Jacobs, 2002: 3). However, although there has been a de-racialization of ownership, the ways in which these media companies are run have been similar to the white-owned profit making patterns which still has limited effects on democratizing the public sphere (Jacobs, 2002: 4).

A closer look at these 'new' developments in post-apartheid South Africa illustrate that the media have not really transformed in the ways in which they appeared to have said to have 'transformed' on paper or led to greater representation and improved democratic participation (Jacobs, 2002: 2). For example, when considering television, there have been significant cuts to programming and more advertisements, rebroadcasting of cheap imported programmes and the re-racialising of the audience into 'market segments' which correspond with the racial

and class divisions. This also includes the unfair coverage of other issues which take preference over others in news broadcasting (Jacobs, 2002: 5).

Scholars such as Steven Friedman have contributed to the analysis on media coverage and transformation. He points out those media organisations such as the South African National Editors Forum (SANEF) claim that the media see themselves as a vehicle that represents *all* views of society and a 'watchdog of the public interest'. The media is mainstream, commercialised, and the print media has a bias towards papers which have a large amount of influence on how other media report news (Friedman, 2011: 106). Therefore, this does not make them in any way the eyes and ears of society or play the watch dog role (Friedman, 2011: 106). When one looks at *who* reads newspapers like the *Mail and Guardian* and the *Business Day*, it becomes evident that it is a middle-class perspective influences the ways in which macro-economic policy issues are understood. This demonstrates the continued inequalities that characterise South African media which has implications for the future of reporting and transformation of the media in South Africa (Friedman, 2011: 106). The media are also accountable for the ways in which they perform their democratic functions and should be held accountable for the extent to which they report on stories that mirror society as a whole (Friedman, 2011: 108).

Therefore, this study makes the argument that the media has changed hands but has not really transformed. This is because professional bodies such as SANEF and Print & Digital Media South Africa [PDMSA] who represent editors and owners have played a role in 'de-racialising' the media but also creating an elite class of journalists who view themselves as an ad hoc or official opposition to the ANC's power bloc in South Africa (Hadland, 2007). The ruling party also plays a significant role in the issues around the macro-economic policy but they have also become hostile to the media's criticism. This is because of the leaders' distrust of the media accusing them of not acknowledging the positive activities of the ANC but only highlight their failures, and this criticism also comes out in the *Mail & Guardian* and the *Business Day* newspapers reports on macro-economic policy (Hadland, 2007). How the South African media report on macro-economic policy is indicative of a lack of transformation because the views are skewed around a middle-class understanding of the effects of IMF recommendations and Budget Speeches on the country not bearing in mind that this is a small section of society and the same section of society which previously owned the media in South Africa. Therefore, lack of diversity in ownership translates into lack of transformation in content.

This study on media transformation also highlights issues of access, voice, marginalised groups, the rise of alternative media for alternative debate and other discourses. This study highlights that there is a binary in South African media (black/white, media good, ANC bad or vice versa) which is very problematic for the ways in which the news is reported in a transforming society. This highlights how the power of dominant discourse [a neoliberal-understanding of the media] should not be undermined especially because it does not interrogate the abovementioned issues in greater detail.

2.2.3.3 Political Economy of the Print media in South Africa

For the purposes of this paper, which seeks to look into print media reportage by specifically the *Mail & Guardian* and the *Business Day*, the print aspect of the media will be discussed in more detail. The four largest publishing groups in South Africa are *Times Media Group* which owns the *Business Day* Newspaper *Caxton, Independent Newspapers*, *Media 24*, and *M & G Media* which is one of the smaller firms of the concentration in the media but have large media influence in terms of analysis and investigative reporting (Daniels, 2013: 1). These firms are all located in the economic hub of Gauteng province, while *Naspers* another major player in the media is located in the Western Cape. The *Times Media Group* publishes the *Sunday Times* which is South Africa's largest weekly newspaper in addition to the *Business Day*, *The Times*, *the Sowetan*, *Sunday World*, *the Daily Dispatch*, *the Herald*, *Financial Mail* and the *Weekend Post* (TimesMedia: 2015).

According to the *Mail & Guardian* group's website, it is a newspaper that was founded in 1985 by a group of journalists from a previous paper called the Rand Daily Mail. The *Mail & Guardian* is well known for its investigative attitude towards reporting and uncovering scandals, particularly government-related scandals (*Mail & Guardian*: 2014). Its focus is also mainly political analysis, Southern African news as well as coverage of local arts and music. The *Mail & Guardian* was originally known as The Weekly Mail, a liberal, anti-apartheid newspaper that exposed the government's activities and atrocities, reporting on the banned ANC leaders considered to be terrorists at the time and as a result seeing it threatened by the apartheid government (*Mail & Guardian*: 2014). According to the papers website, the Mail & Gaurdian was first launched in 1994 as the continents first online newspaper and one of the first in the world and is owned by M&G Media Limited which is 77.69% owned by Zimbabwean publisher as well as local entrepreneur Trevor Ncube while the other 10% is owned by the M&G Staff Share Trust and media Development Investment Fund. The remaining 2.31% in shares belongs to other minorities (*Mail & Guardian*: 2014).

Naspers, as mentioned before is based in Cape Town in the Western Cape Province which was founded as *Die NasionalePers* [the National Press] on 12 May 1915 also played a role in helping form MNET which is an electronic pay-television media. *MNET*, which is one of South Africa's largest pay-tv channels, was also listed on the JSE Securities Exchange in 1990. The print division of Naspers falls under *Media24* which also plays a role in controlling the Naspers Newspaper and magazine publishing division of the company (Z-Coms, 2009: 47). *Media24* publishes 5 national dailies which include the *Daily Sun* which is South Africa's biggest selling newspaper and daily tabloid, *Die Burger*, *Beeld*, *Volksblad* and *The Witness. The Rapport, City Press* and *Sunday Sun* are printed and distributed nationally. Media24 is one of the most dominant media groups in the mass consumer magazine industry and sells local and imported magazines. The Company publishes *Drum* and *You* magazine, *Fair Lady, SA Sports Illustrated, Sarie* and *Kickoff* (Media24, 2015).

Caxton/CTP, which is also one of South Africa's major publishing companies, is one of South Africa's oldest as it was founded in 1902 as a stationary and printing factory in Pretoria. The company is an investment holding company involved mainly in printing, publishing of books and magazines as well as newspapers. According to the Media Development and Diversity Agency, Caxton and its associates publish over 130 newspapers where 89 are wholly owned while 41 are co-owned. The media group also publishes the Citizen daily newspaper, as well as magazines including Farmers weekly which is one of South Africa's oldest magazines.

The South African print media industry is characterised by an oligopoly market structure which means the industry is dominated by few large companies who own and control a large number of the newspaper industry and magazines across the country (Berger, 1999: 11). This can have effects on the diversity of content and representation of views, opinions and most importantly demographics. Hortwitz (2001: 286) argues that the media in a post-apartheid South Africa have inherited market structures and ownership patterns as well as distribution networks of the apartheid print media which have been oriented predominantly towards white audiences (Horwitz, 2001: 286). It is against this background that the Media Diversity and Development agency should play a bigger role in terms of increasing diversity in the media sector.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology and Design

3.1 Research Methodology

3.1.1 Mixed Method:

For the purposes of this research, the research methodology chosen is the mixed research method i.e. a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. These methods are content analysis, interviews and newspaper reports which were analysed using discourse analysis. One email interview and seven audio-recorded interviews were typed into transcripts, 134 articles from *The Mail & Guardian* and the *Business Day* newspapers and 10 articles and reports on the alternative economic policies by the People's Budget Coalition [PBC] are used to answer the research questions. The purpose of this paper is to examine the ways in which South African print media reproduce the dominance of neo-liberal discourses by globalising South Africa from outside and within. This can be seen in the ways in which they report on macro-economic policy. The analysis will deploy a neo-Gramscian approach as well as a Critical Political Economy (CPE) of the media approach. Collectively, for the purposes of this chapter, this paper refers to these two approaches as critical theory because they are not mainstream international relations theories but critical approaches that question the status quo and seek to bring to light marginalised views and debates in society. In addition, this study looks at how South Africa's print media legitimises and authorises macro-economic policy furthering the ideas of a neo-liberal stance. It makes use of interview transcripts from interviews conducted between June and August 2014 as well as the *Business Day* newspaper and the *Mail & Guardian'*s newspaper's reports on the *Budget Speech* between the years 2011-2014.

This research identifies the *Business Day*and the *Mail & Guardian* as worthy for research as key case studies especially concerning the Budget Speech because they each cover 'Editorials' or 'Special Reports' and keep 'Budget Speech Archives/files' for the National Budget Speech every year including the mid-term budget by the Finance Minister. Like-minded topics such as the IMF Reports on South Africa are also part of the research analysis as well as the Peoples Budget Coalition [PBC] and the MERG Reports which form the policy documents that this research analyses because they are alternative in terms of discourse.

Furthermore, the abovementioned reports have been chosen to avoid bias towards one newspaper and making generalising claims about all print media in South Africa. These papers have also been chosen because while the *Mail & Guardian* is representative of an

audience who are more inclined to news about government and policy, the *Business Day* has been chosen because there are vast amounts of data available from this paper especially because it covers a wide range of macro-economic policy issues.

Briefly, an audience of both the *Mail & Guardian*andthe*Business Day* is likely to be more educated and of better socio-economic status meaning that they are part of a middle-class or upper-class group who understand the 'language' and importance or direct effects of the National Budget Speeches and the IMF Country Reports. Therefore, it is important to use these papers as case studies because they are representative of a particular social group in society that have the power to influence policy and inform the rest of society. However, the significance of this research lies in the fact that these papers create the discourse and thus perpetuate the dominant ideas concerning macro-economic policy.

Principally numerical, quantitative research is focused on the number of words, phrases, and trends in a text s while qualitative [research] attempts to understand how participants make meaning of particular issues by closely analysing their perceptions, and experiences to try and draw conclusions to understand particular phenomena (Nieuwenhuis, 2012: 99). This research methodology is useful for this study because as the data for this research has been collected mainly through online articles and interview transcripts, it attempts to explain themes arising from subjective reasoning of the participants while the quantitative method will be used to supplement the qualitative data in order to extract generalizable findings. Quantitative methods allow for the production of generalizable data which can be used to infer meanings that speak beyond the subjective perceptions of research subjects or respondents. While the qualitative method seeks to elucidate on the meaning of the interview transcripts and the news reports, the quantitative data supplements/augments the qualitative data by providing evidence in a numerical format. The paper will also make use of a qualitative thematic analysis that will allow for the inductive reading of the data from a qualitative procedure perspective. In the same light, content analysis will be used as a quantitative procedure, to allow for the counting of articles in which certain themes occur, these procedures will be discussed further below.

3.1.1.1 Convergent design: Triangulation

The convergent design is also known as triangulation and "seeks convergence, corroboration, and correspondence of results from the different methods" (Greene, Caracelli, and Graham, 1989: 259). The convergent design is one of the most well-known approaches to mixing

methods where two different research methods have been used to obtain "triangulated results about a single topic" (Morse, 1999: 122). This paper uses the mixed method because it helps the research have greater validity because of the ways in which the findings can be corroborated, mutually reinforcing each other. In other words a mixed method was chosen for this research because of how they allow for cross-checking consistency between different research methods that are used and different types of data. In turn, this adds greater reliability and trustworthiness of the findings and analyses made (Bryman, 2006: 105-106). In addition, a key strength for using triangulation (convergent design) is due to its efficiency where both quantitative and qualitative data can be collected at the same time. However, a challenge to using this design is that it is time consuming particularly because both data types hold equal weight.

The convergent design typically takes place when the researcher collects and analyses quantitative *and* qualitative data in the same phase of research and then combining both sets of results into an interpretation (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011: 77). Using this research design is an attempt to bring together the different strengths and weaknesses of both the quantitative methods which encompasses a large sample size and trends while qualitative research methods encompass details in more depth. This is used to compare and contrast the quantitative statistical results with qualitative findings to corroborate and validate the results (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011: 77). This method is best suited for this research because it brings together qualitative and quantitative results as a way to develop a better and more complete understanding of phenomena and comparing the different levels that may exist within a system. In this case, it will help unravel how the *Mail & Guardian* and *Business Day* report on macro-economic policy issues while at the same displacing other alternative ways in viewing about the Budget Speeches and the IMF Country Reports. This method also offers perceptions from interview transcripts about the role of the media in terms of how the selected newspapers report on macro-economic policy issues.

After the initial collection of data namely the interview transcripts and the reports from the *Mail & Guardian* and the *Business Day*, the data is then analysed separately and independently through the use of other quantitative and qualitative analytical procedures. This paper uses the thematic analysis for the qualitative method, reading of the transcripts and the reports and picking up key themes that constantly occur while it uses content analysis for analysing the quantitative data i.e. counting these themes.

3.1.2 Qualitative procedure:

3.1.2.1 A Thematic Analysis

Furthermore, to conduct this research a thematic analysis is used which can be defined as "a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns [themes] within data." (Braun & Clarke, 2008: 79). In other words, thematic analysis involves looking through data sets (all the data for a research project being used for analysis) to find patterns of meaning that occur consistently (Braun & Clarke, 2006: 15). Thematic analysis assists this research by identifying patterns of the research data and analysing occurring themes that reflect a particular discourse about the data or the main discourses that consistently occur. Through this, thematic analysis also helps investigate the themes that do not immediately come out of the data using an alternative lens (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006: 4).

3.1.2.2 Implementing Thematic Analysis of the data

One email and seven audio-recorded interviews typed into transcripts, 143 articles from both papers and 10 articles and reports on alternative economic policies are used to answer the research questions. Therefore; the first step towards a thematic analysis was to be immersed in the data to become familiar with the content (Braun & Clarke, 2006:16). This involved repeated reading of the data in an active way to get to know meanings and patterns that begin to occur. For example, arguments by the interviewees emphasised that the media should play a watchdog role for all of society (which is the basic premise of the media according to liberal-theory). Critical theory agrees with this position but also asks questions around *whose* voices are being heard in a post-apartheid South Africa.

A thematic analysis includes a process of generating initial codes to organise data into meaningful groups that differ from the units of analysis considered to be themes (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006: 4). Due to this coding being theory-driven when analysing data, the data is approached by asking questions that demonstrate the presence of a neo-liberal understanding of macro-economic issues. At this stage a thematic map is formed where relevant themes are selected that relate to the research question and even those themes that pose for interesting insights in relation to the research question.

Finally, themes are named in preparation for presentation and data analysis takes place in using the theoretical analysis. Defining and refining the main themes is an attempt to identify the significance of what each theme represents. To do this, each theme is accompanied by a detailed analysis and the story it tells in relation to the overall story, it is at this stage that

quantitative research in the form of content analysis was used to count the number of articles that repeat words such as 'fiscal', 'growth' or 'forecast' and in particular critical concepts and words that are part of neoliberal policy agendas such as 'privatisation' and the 'role of the private sector', 'entrepreneurship', liberalisation to 'minimise risk to revenue streams', 'deficit reduction' and 'monetary stimulus'. At the same time qualitative [research] data analysis attempts to understand how the presence or absence of these themes and interview participants make meaning of particular issues by closely analysing their perceptions, and experiences to try and draw conclusions to understand particular phenomenon (Nieuwenhuis, 2012: 99).

The final part of analysis includes producing a report of the themes found to answer the research questions in an analytic manner. For example a theme such as "Globalisation: A Part of the Value Chain" means that during analysis, a theme that repeatedly came out of reading participants understanding of globalisation for example, saw globalisation as being associated with values and standards of an already existing status quo.

3.1.3 Quantitative procedure:

Prasad (2008) describes content analysis as "the scientific study of content of communication. It is the study of the content with reference to the meanings, contexts and intentions contained in messages" (Prasad, 2008). In other words, what is meant by the 'content' means that this is what the analysis of a message contains in a text. This means that it is a method whereby the content of the message becomes the foundation for drawing conclusions about the findings (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1976). Prasad (2008) adds that content analysis refers to a procedure that assesses the extent to which specific references, attitudes and themes dominate a message (Prasad, 2008). Thus, a content analysis is a method that aims to reflect aspects of objectivity, quantification and validity in relation to the conclusions drawn from the message or theme (Prasad, 2008). Therefore, content analysis involves making conclusions that are replicable and objective about the message. There are three scientific principles that content analysis should conform to. The first is objectivity, which simply means that different researchers should be able to reach the same results. The second principle is that content analysis must be systematic meaning that content that is included and excluded must be pursued according to specific rules which eliminate the chances of the researcher only including material that support the researcher's ideas (Prasad, 2008). The final principle is that of generalizability which means the results that have been collected by the researcher must be applicable in other similar situations (Prasad, 2008).

3.1.3.1 Executing a content analysis

The researcher has taken the reports by the *Mail & Guardian* and the *Business Day* as well as the interview transcripts. For example, a news article was divided into segments then those segments were categorised and described in full detail. A content analysis sample allows one to assess what type of media the research is dealing with, what period this took place, what kind of content as well as what characteristics [in relation to the research question] one is looking for (Zeh, 2005: 5). Owing to the fact that content analysis is a method which is based on measuring or counting, it will be useful because it is an objective method that is able to examine large amounts of media content and data through numerical methods (Zeh, 2005: 2).

Quantitative research in the form of content analysis was used to count the number of articles that repeat words such as 'fiscal', 'growth' or 'forecast' and in particular critical concepts and words that are part of neoliberal policy agendas such as 'privatisation' and the 'role of the private sector', 'entrepreneurship', liberalisation to 'minimise risk to revenue streams', 'deficit reduction' and 'monetary stimulus' and made use of graphs and pie charts as the best visual representation. On the other hand qualitative [research] data analysis attempts to understand how participants make meaning of particular issues by closely analysing their perceptions, and experiences to try and draw conclusions to understand particular phenomenon (Nieuwenhuis, 2012: 99).

3.2 Data Gathering

The primary data was gathered through interviews with scholars and academics, journalists, public officials, researchers and activists to get a wide array of views on key issues highlighted in this study. These key issues included the role of the media, their views on the *Mail & Guardian* and the *Business Day*, their coverage of macro-economic policy issues as well as the implication of these reports on society. Primary data also constituted the reports from each of the two case studies which are the *Business Day* and the *Mail & Guardian* on the Budget Speech's from 2011-2014 and the IMF Country Reports on South Africa during the same period. In addition, secondary data included academic publications and texts and independent think tanks and institution research such as the MERG Report and the Peoples Budget Coalition.

3.2.1 News Reports:

The collected data of news reports was gathered through looking at the news articles and more specifically editorials written by the *Mail & Guardian* and the *Business Day* on the Budget Speeches and IMF Country Reports. Editorial articles of these newspapers were

chosen in particular because they best reflect the views of the actual newspaper. In total, the *Business Day* had 33 articles reporting on the Budget Speech between 2011 and 2014 while it had 37 articles reporting on the IMF between 2011 and 2014. On the other hand, the *Mail & Guardian* had 44 articles reporting on the Budget Speech between 2011 and 2014 while it had 20 articles reporting on the IMF. In total, this research analysed 134 articles.

3.2.2 Elite Interviews:

This research has made use of elite interviews as part of the data analysis after they have been transcribed. Beamer (2002: 86) argued that elite interviews are useful because they offer the researcher rich information that generates data to investigate the complexities of policy and politics (Beamer, 2002: 86). He states that the advantages of using elite interviews for research are that they appeal to the abundance and variation of the interview participants who are readily accessible. In addition, elite interviews have the ability to produce reliable and valid data because they target people who are directly involved in the political process because these individuals may have special insight into media, politics and policies. Thus, interviewing them allows for an in-depth investigation of policy issues but also for reliable data (Beamer, 2002: 87). Elite interviews are useful because of how the participant provides an account as a major player in a field of study especially with regards to the importance interviewee holds to the researchers work (Richards, 1996: 204).

In addition to editorial articles from each year of analysis of each Budget Speech and IMF Country Report consultation, transcripts from seven audio recorded and one email interview were also be used. Interviews were conducted over the months of June, July and August 2014 with various participants such as Professor Steven Friedman, a theorist of democracy at the Centre for Democracy at the University of Johannesburg and Pandelis Gregoriou from the Promotion of Access to Information (PAIA) division at the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC). Bongani Masuku, a labour activist and International Relations Secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and Issac Mangena, an expert with expertise and experience in the media industry were also interviewed. Journalists who were interviewed included business journalist from the *Business Day* Evan Pickworth and Lisa Steyn from the *Mail & Guardian*. The Head of the School of Journalism at the University of the Witwatersrand Professor Anton Harber and academics such as Dr Sarah Chiumbu were also participants for the interviews. These interviewees have been chosen due to the fact that they are participants that know, understand and have experience in the area of

media and international relations. In total 8 elite interviews were conducted. Some of the questions that were asked as part of the interview schedule include [see appendix A]:

- What do you think is the role of **print** media in South Africa?
- Briefly, in your own view…describe globalisation.
- What do you think is South Africa's role in [economic] globalisation?
- Do you think international media play a role in influencing local media with regards to shaping the views of how the print media, particularly the *Business Day* and the *Mail & Guardian* report on the IMF Country Reports and the Finance Ministers Budget Speech?

This research identifies the *Business Day* and the *Mail & Guardian* as worthy for research as key case studies especially concerning the Budget Speech because they each cover 'Editorials' or 'Special Reports' and keep 'Budget Speech Archives/files' for the National Budget Speech every year including the mid-term budget by the Finance Minister. Like-minded topics such as the IMF Reports on South Africa are also part of the research analysis as well as the Peoples Budget Coalition [PBC] and the MERG Report which form the policy documents that this research analyses. These documents form the alternative views of the investigation in terms of discourse.

Furthermore, the abovementioned reports have been chosen to avoid bias towards one newspaper and making generalising claims about all print media in South Africa. These papers have also been chosen because while the *Mail & Guardian* is representative of an audience who are more inclined to news about government and policy, the *Business Day* has been chosen because there are vast amounts of data available from this paper especially because it covers a wide range of macro-economic policy issues.

Briefly, an audience of both the *Mail & Guardian* and the *Business Day* is likely to be more educated and of better socio-economic status meaning that they are part of a middle-class or upper-class group who understand the 'language' and the importance or direct effects of issues concerning the National Budget Speeches and the IMF Country Reports. Therefore, it is important to use these newspapers as case studies because they are representative of a particular social group in society that have the power to influence policy and inform the rest of society as a legitimate source. However, the significance of this research lies in the fact that these newspapers create the discourse and thus perpetuate the dominant ideas concerning macro-economic policy.

3.1.3 Limitations of the Study

The period of 2011-2014 has been chosen although 2008 until 2014 was chosen as the initial time frame because these years represented three important factors in South Africa. These factors included the year of the most violent xenophobic attacks since democracy and the ways in which this may have affected the economy, and the year before President Jacob Zuma came into power. This period also represented a time when there was a lot of tension within the African National Congress (ANC) which saw the ousting of former President Thabo Mbeki. The third, but not the most exhaustive factor was the global financial crisis which affected the global economies especially in the light of the global political economy where many countries including South Africa, suffered from its effects.

However, due to the limited online data available to access articles, reports and editorials dating back to 2008, a year in which enough data for the study could not be generated, 2011 to 2014 was chosen on the basis of availability of that data. It must be noted that this was one of the most difficult challenges of the study, in addition to time constraints because of the vast amounts of data that became available with the decision to move to a four year time frame [2011-2014]. It is also important to note that, other papers such as the *City Press* and the *Sunday Times* were initially considered as papers for analysis alongside the *Business Day* to give a stark contrast between the papers analysed, however owing to the lack of access to data, the *Mail & Guardian* was most readily available and with accessible data, but also giving a good contrast of data alongside *Business Day*.

Chapter 4: Presentation of findings: A Critical Political Economy approach to the Media& the application of the neo-Gramscian notion of the Historic Bloc

This chapter presents findings and analysis from collected data, more specifically data collected from a reading of the interview transcripts. This chapter maps out the themes that were found in reading the interview transcripts over and over to get a sense of the dominant themes and also other less dominant themes that were present in the responses of the participants. It is important to note that these are the perceptions of participants who are experts, professionals, activists and academics in the field of media, policy making, and international relations and with extensive knowledge in print media and macro-economic policy issues. The key aim of this chapter is to unpack what perceptions these 'experts' hold particularly because they form an important part of national debate due to their extensive knowledge and experience. The views of these experts also relate to their views on the media broadly, the print media in relation to the selected case studies discussed later the *Mail & Guardian* and the *Business Day* as well as their views on globalisation.

4.1 Themes that emerged from interview transcripts using a Thematic Analysis

Dominant discourses that came out of the 8 interview transcripts through a thematic analysis reading of the transcripts are discussed under the themes 'Media's role: Conduit for Information, Facilitates debate' and 'Media Re-production: Middle Class Issues…"entrenching old power relations"' as well as 'Globalisation: A Part of the Value Chain' which will be explored further.

Table 1 below illustrates the dominant themes that came out the interview transcripts from the discourse analysis through a thematic reading. Each of the themes represents particular views that dominated the thinking of many of the interviewees from a basis of ten questions [see Appendix A] that were asked during seven semi-structured audio-recorded interviews and one email interview. After compiling three of the most prominent themes in the data, a discourse analysis on those themes was carried out to shape the discussion of the paper.

4.2 Tabled themes from interview data:

The tabled themes below illustrate all the dominant themes that came out of all 8 of the interview transcripts and will be used to answer the research questions. This table also includes themes that were found in reading of the *Mail & Guardian* and the *Business Day* reports on the Budget Speech and the IMF Country Reports however, these are found in the following chapters 5 and 6:

Table 1:

▪ **Media's role: A Conduit for information, facilitates debate**	▪ guarding the interests of society by playing the role of a watchdog ▪ media is a channel for communication to facilitate collective debate ▪ promote the free flow of information ▪ nation-builder
▪ **Media Re-production: Middle Class Issues…"entrenching old power relations"**	▪ the private print media are there firstly for economic purposes and public media and its institutions need to be better funded to serve the public ▪ media needs to be a socially responsible media ▪ the media only represent a *certain* section of society
▪ **Globalisation: A Part of the Value Chain**	▪ media needs to challenge the dominant views in society in all its decisions and to be there to expose them ▪ the media is a globalising agent and legitimates certain views over others and needs to instead have constructive debate about issues that relate to society

	▪ the media is not embracing new discursive themes in our society
▪ **Globalising Discourse from Within: The role of the private sector in the South African economy**[5]	▪ a neo-liberal view of development and growth because 'privatisation' is a key feature of neo-liberal thought ▪ remaking the state in terms of where it fits into the global market ▪ Privatise and open their economies to investors to 'grow the economy' and thus integrate into the global economy.
▪ **External Globalising Discourse: The IMF: The 'Gospel Truth'**[6]	▪ IMF, an institution that believes in monetarism, country forecasts, inflation and finance as standards by which African nations in particular should adhere to ▪ the South African economy becomes reflected in a way that makes it become geared around international financial flows ▪ understanding of the macro-economic frameworks is dependent on international financial flows
▪ **Globalising discourse from within: Economic coverage: A neo-liberal view on ANC-leadership pitfalls**[7]	▪ Places the African National Congress [ANC] as the centre of the economic issues in South Africa as being the

[5] This theme is found in chapter 5, this is the first theme of chapter 5 which seeks to answer the question of how this paper globalises South Africa from within. This means that this analysis is centred on reports from both papers about the budget speech and how this paper reports on, in terms of discourses that come out, of the budget from 2011 – 2014.

[6] This theme is the second theme also found under chapter 5

	reason for the downward economic forecasts. ▪ *Mail & Guardian*s reports on the Budget mean certain class interests prevail. ▪ the *Mail & Guardian* plays the role of an interlocutor in shaping discourse owing to the fact that the other views are negated
▪ **Externalising Globalising Discourse: The IMF: a 'solution' to growth and development problems[8]**	▪ the IMF "notes "inflexible" labour legislation as one of the problems South Africa has to deal with if it is to grow economically and thereby deal with poverty and unemployment ▪ Private business takes precedence as the solution to South African economic issues. ▪ an 'Afro-pessimism' because of how the ruling party-led government is constantly seen in a pessimistic view

4.2.1 Pint Media's role: Conduit for Information, Facilitates debate

This research has found that a general discourse about the view of the media more broadly is to play a role of informing citizens because of the view that informed citizens are active and more democratic citizens. This research identifies this theme as important because when analysing the language which shapes this discourse, words like 'active' and 'citizens', it can be argued that under repressive apartheid law, the same kind of 'active' public sphere which the media today is believed to facilitate; did not exist under apartheid. This is because apartheid information laws controlled information that was disseminated to the public.. This

[7]This theme is found in chapter 6, and is the first theme of chapter 6 which seeks to answer the question of how this paper globalises South Africa from outside, externalising globalisation discourse. This means that this analysis is centred on reports about the IMFCountry Reports and how this paper reports on it, in terms of discourses that come out, of the IMF Reports on South Africa from 2011 – 2014.
[8] This theme is also found under chapter 6

serves as an explanation as to why the media is seen as an important component of South African society today. Pandelis Gregoriou from the Protection of Access to Information (PAIA) at the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) states that:

> "you know, you want people to be more informed about the issue and say well it's good that I read that article I know what's going on…it's a balance sort of perspective, doesn't mean that you always have to agree with the media, you can always disagree but you've heard different versions" while Issac Mangena states that "the role of the print media or media in general would be to basically inform the public".

Thus, this paper argues that owing to the fact that the media is seen as a key player in relaying information to citizens, it is seen to be a 'natural' conduit for information in South African society. This paper argues that this is a neo-liberal understanding of the print media because the it is seen to be the only source of reliable information, for example the press in South Africa like the *Mail & Guardian* which places itself as the ad hoc opposition to the ANC-led government [playing a watchdog role] while the *Business Day* as the business paper 'reflecting' the economic picture of South Africa. Thus, the ways in which the role of the media is understood in a liberalised view narrows the debate on how they report on content like macro-economic policy.

Evan Pickworth, a business journalist for the *Business Day* argued that the media is a proxy "one of the stakeholders of course is the media; it's a proxy for the public at large". It is important to note that the media in South Africa is unique owing to the fact that it is the only country on the African continent with a media complex without any government influence or a state-owned newspaper. This is due to the history of the media in South Africa which went from predominantly state-owned to private-owned in 1994 at the dawn of the democratic dispensation as argued by Dr Sarah Chiumbu who stated that:

> "South Africa is a unique case study because it was the last country to be free; it had the most brutal form of colonialism and the longest. So this history plays a role because the media is independent and they are aware that they can criticize the government without any fear or favour".

Thus, when South Africa 'liberalised' in the international political economy opening its boarders and economy to the global community, this also had a ripple effect on its institutions

such as the media. This is reiterated by Bongani Masuku, the Congress of South African Trade unison's [COSATU] International Relations and Policy secretary who stated that: "I think the media in South Africa has a history, and the history is the history of apartheid, it emerged in that context, so in the context of its development under apartheid, it was to perpetuate the interests of the regime, the ruling power, because every media interest is to perpetuate the interests of the ruling class". This research has found, through this theme that the understanding of the media is influenced largely by this history, and a liberal understanding of the media influences how the media shape issues they report on.

Briefly, a liberal approach is characterised by a free-market system, privatisation and the free flow of information [a doctrine dating back to the Cold War] (Van Gompel, Van den Bulck & Biltereyst, 2002: 167). This paper argues that in relation to neoliberalism, which was embraced by South Africa post-Cold War in 1994, the free flow of information doctrine was placed at the centre of the media debate with regards to the transformation of the content that was disseminated to the public at large. Evan Pickworth, a business journalist at the *Business Day* newspaper states "the media is one of the strongest proponents for fighting for hard won freedoms and will continue…strive for, you know freedom of the press and ensuring that the public at large is informed". This transformation also extended to the transformation that the state was undergoing politically, socially and economically in many of its key institutions which included the media (Nordenstreng, 2011: 79).

A critical political economic approach of the media would argue that because of this history which gave rise to few privately owned media in the country namely the Times Media Group [TMG], Naspers/Media24, Caxton, Independent Newspapers and M&G media, the ownership of newspapers in South Africa is firstly concentrated which results in issues being understood through a particular world lens, affecting the diversity of content. However, the critical political economy approach to the media also states that newspapers also have their own internal dynamics that play a role in constraining how the [print] produce stories. This is echoed by *Mail & Guardian* business journalist Lisa Steyn that "sometimes time is a constraint, sometimes its space or the journalists experience which prevents them from developing the story into the most informative and relevant piece". Thus, in addition to the concentration of firms, the internal dynamics characterised by deadlines for example affect the content that is delivered as journalists have little time to develop further ideas. This research paper proposes that media firms, agencies and press rules and regulations need to

transform further to allow for constraints that journalists face like deadlines and resources to be addressed by the industry on how to surpass these challenges.

Due to the nature of the print media in South Africa, print outlets are in the hands of the few elite who report on issues according to a lens in which they see the world. When applying a neo-Gramscian perspective to concentration of print media players in South Africa , the notion of the historic bloc would argue that the class orientation of newspapers like the *Mail & Guardian* and the *Business Day* for example will remain elite because of how they continue to represent only a section of society in contrast to the whole of South Africa as it is supposed to due to this concentration. Thus, this paper argues that a historic bloc comes into existence because there is a dominant, or in other words a hegemonic social class which are economic elites, or the print media in this case because they have the economic means of production to disseminate information and concentrate on particular views macro-economic policy in South Africa (Cox, 1983: 57).

The liberal approach also emphasizes that the media play a significant role in democracy because they are the channels of communication, sources of information and stimulate collective debate. This can be argued owing to the views held by business reporter Lisa Steyn from the *Mail & Guardian* who argued that the media "provide analysis and insight by being a conduit for expert voices…stack facts up next to one another in order to start and/or inform a debate" while Pandelis Gregoriou from the Protection of Access to Information (PAIA) at the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) argues that the "media fills the gap that I can't…they engage with stories a lot quicker" which this research illustrates as the understanding of the role of the media in South Africa.

This is a liberal informed understanding of the media because they are seen as an institution that can use information to represent and disseminate to society. This research also argues that these views are informed by the fact that the media in South Africa sees itself as an extension of a global media network because when thinking about the free-flow of information doctrine Evan Pickworth from the *Business Day* argues that it cannot be challenged or undermined "executives themselves are worried about negative reporting and we do run into those types of issues you know we do have the challenge of the free flow of information…and I think it needs to become a far more prominent role, it needs to be seen as one of the major stakeholders".

This is an illustration of the deep-rooted ideological understanding of the print media about the function of information. The free flow of information doctrine relates to a construct made up of political and ideological aspects stemming from the United States (US) geopolitical interests during the Cold War (Nordenstreng, 2011: 79). This doctrine links the concept of a 'free marketplace of ideas' with the aspirations of liberalism. Furthermore, this research argues that in understanding the free-flow of information, it is important to note that this doctrine was one dominant during the cold war and in particular before the independence of many African countries. This research proposes that the notion of the free flow of information must be developed further in ways that make it more inclusive to the rest of society. In other words, although one can have access to the media about various issues, when it comes to issues of macro-economic policy these must take into consideration language i.e. jargon of issues, levels of literacy and be written in ways that make it simpler how an issue like the Budget Speech affects even the informal sector. This research argues that this should be the true work of the print media, to relay and simplify complex issues which can allow for more participation and voices in seemingly complex and exclusive issues.

Therefore, this understanding of the [print] media must be understood in conjunction with the context of the country in which it operates and that media practitioners should take into consideration the role that the media should play for the South African society. This is because of the marginalising nature of the current print media complex with regards to the voices that are represented. This means that the media *do* play the role of facilitating debate; however, this debate is skewed towards one perspective dictated by few. A neo-Gramscian historic bloc can be applied here to explain that the historic bloc is not only a national, but can also be a transnational historic bloc and can be applied to the nature of the print media in South Africa because of how the print media is elitist in nature while at the same time projecting global trends, norms and values.

Here, a transnational historical bloc is also formed by the national [domestic] historical bloc interests and in a more globalised world surpass national borders and are combined into legal and political commitments deemed as norms as seen with the media being seen as the 'natural channel of information' for South Africa and across the world. A new bloc can always be formed because of how subordinate classes and groups, for example the workers and the public who do not hold that power and accept these norms. This is how the media are able to marginalise some views over others and legitimate ideas as 'norms' as seen with the budget speeches and IMF country reports which the research will continue to discuss later. In other

words, it creates its hegemony over other subordinate groups for example small farmers, miners, and informal settlers as well as those living on the margins of society (Cox, 1983: 57).

The liberal view also argues that media plays an active role in fostering social integration which is, in other words, the 'normal' functioning of society (Van Gompel, Van den Bulck & Biltereyst, 2002: 167). Van Gompel, Van den Bulck and Biltereyst, (2002) argue that the dominant paradigm's view of society is normal because a 'good society' has democratic values including human rights, regular elections and representation. This society is also liberal in nature because it is secular in its values upholding free-market conditions, individualism and acknowledging that freedom of speech is paramount (Van Gompel, Van den Bulck & Biltereyst, 2002: 167). This view is seen in arguments posed by Professor Anton Harber from the School of Journalism at Wits University who argued that the media has a variety of roles which includes the fact that it is a platform for dual communication and promoting the public sphere, he states that the [print] media is there for "providing information and the communication that citizens need to be citizens, a watchdog role and community building role, all media have those roles, let me say that more clearly but in different balances".

Furthermore, a liberal society is pluralistic and organised because of competition and interests which are institutionalized and socially integrated (Van Gompel, Van den Bulck & Biltereyst, 2002: 167). This approach would argue that the role of media in South Africa is to facilitate debate so that society can be informed politically and socially. According to this approach, media are the fourth estate of society and should reflect and represent all of society equally which the interviewees also argued is the role of the media. Isaac Mangena, a media industry expert argued that "it's no mistake that media has been referred to as a fourth estate, you know the fourth arm of government". The [print] media is seen as an important component of democracy as this research finds that it is expressed as one of the criteria for a fully-ledged democracy but at the same time representing the most important channel for information.

4.2.2 Media Re-production: Middle Class Issues & "entrenching old power relations"

This research found that many of the dominant discourses coming out of the thematic analysis link strongly to a neo-liberal understanding of what the media should be in a democratic South Africa. However, there are also strong views about how the media

facilitates *certain* debates only and is a representation of a *certain* public sphere. This means that when taking into consideration factors of liberal media such as the representation of society, Bongani Masuku COSATU's International Relations and Policy secretary argues that because the media is still owned by the same interests in South Africa, mainly monopoly interests, it still reproduces old stereotypes and is embedded in these old power blocs, he argues that:

> "Media represents class interests opposed to fundamental change, media represents the interests of monopoly capital that means those who want to see the status quo, the old relationships, the old power blocs, the old racist, class and gender, uhhh stereotypes". He argues that the media emerged from an apartheid context to protect the ruling class and still continues to do this by perpetuating the same prejudices, "we may be 20 years into democracy, but by and large, the old institutions and value systems still dominate".

This research has found that discourses around media representation are associated with the perception of the lack of transformation in the [print] media meaning that the media is still entrenched old power relations and value systems. This means that there is little change between the media agenda of the past and present nor are these challenged but reproduced. Due to these little changes, this research also argues that the media are indirectly, a large part of policy interpretations because of how they are seen as the 'natural' outlet for information. Therefore, they shape and lead the national debate which in turn can inform decisions and policy-makers.

Masuku argues that the print media in South Africa are supposed to "be able to expose the underlying class contradictions in our society, so that it helps society to project itself in a new, in other words to develop a new value system". This research argues that because a liberal understanding of the media is locked into a greater, more neo-liberal understanding of the world which leaves out other alternative views, the media is a tool for furthering neo-liberal informed ideas about the world. Wits University media scholar Dr Sarah Chiumbu argues that print media needs to be more socially responsible "print media should assume a social responsibility role but it's not doing that because it that it is too consumed by middle class issues" and that although they have their strengths in reporting on issues like corruption

for example, the same cannot be applied with regards to the issues of the poor. She states that the media do not fully execute their role because of this stating that:

> "no, the media is not playing this role effectively because they do not adequately cover issues that affect the poor, reporting on corruption etc. is very good but not with social responsibility issues" while Professor Steven Friedman from the Centre of Democracy from the University of Johannesburg [UJ] argues that "I think its presenting a particular view of the world, to, I think any print media, most media, uh I think it mainly serves to communicate between and among the middle class".

In other words, the class orientation of the media is a middle-class bias which remains a limitation in the role that the print media in particular is believed to have to play in a democracy. This is because they do not 'represent' all of society if the media cover issues that concern mainly the middle class. The neo-Gramscian notion of a historic bloc explains that a social group or class influences the creation of an 'intellectual and moral bloc'. In light of the arguments relayed by the interview participants this paper argues that this 'intellectual and moral bloc are the norms and values that are deemed to reflect the views of South African society in its entirety meaning that it is hegemonic because these views are not of all of society. Therefore, this neo-Gramscian perspective, argues that a transnational capitalist class, in this case the print media, embraces and propagates the neoliberal order in accordance with an elite-driven hegemonic project which is undertaken by particular capitalist groups (Ludwig, 2012: 7).

This paper argues that the view about the media representing all of society is not only a national view about the role of the print media but an international view about how the media should be across the world, creating certain norms and values. This paper also argues that because of this transnational link about how the media sees itself, ideas about policy and world orders is carried through in the [print] media. It can thus be argued that the media is an important factor in carrying out the implementation of ideas that become dominant in society and throughout the world.

This research found that in contrast with the above theme which brought out the discourses about the role of the media in South Africa, this theme illustrates a critical contradiction of the media which ultimately exposes the flaw of the liberal model of communications. This

means that the media is seen through the lens of a particular part of society and that 'society' or the 'public sphere' in South Africa which is not the whole South African society but a small sector. Professor Steven Friedman from the Centre of Democracy at the University of Johannesburg argued that the media *should* reflect the whole of society "atleast the media should try to reflect the entire society which I don't think it does at the moment", however it reflects the middle class ideas as "it's very poor at reflecting the whole society, it doesn't know terribly much about how 70% of the country lives". Friedman argues that the media share the same prejudices because of how the middle class sees the world and does not need the international media to do this:

> "they share the same prejudices but I don't think it's because, I think that tends to be the way in which middle class people see the world, you see I think there's some cues in which they do, take their cues from international media but on this issue I don't think they need international media to encourage them to see the world, purely from the perspective of wealthier people which is what they do"

However, arguments by Professor Anton Harber from the School of Journalism at Wits University divert from Friedman stating that local and international media feed off each other:

> "I think that they influence each other and it's difficult to generalise in certain ways in which foreign media picks up on local media and how its covering and what its covering and draws on it…but there's stuff as well that sets a global, global debate and as well when you know, like when the Financial times writes about South Africa or the Economist, it does shape the way its viewed here and what we report as well"

When analysing what is meant by the 'middle' class, it can be argued that the media reports on issues which reflect the ownership patterns of the press which has implications on the diversity of content and has the same implications on a diversity of views. A CPE approach to the media would argue in this regard that when looking at ownership of the media, it is important to look at *who* owns the media because it has implications on pluralism and diversity of content that is produced (Doyle, 2002: 12). The media in South Africa is owned

by four main media firms including the Times Media Group [TMG], Media24/Naspers, Caxton, Independent Newspapers as well as a smaller but very influential M&G Media who dominate the press industry and other industries such as the magazine industry. It can be argued that this makes it difficult for there to be a diversity of views if the same media firms own a majority of the most widely read newspapers.

Pandelis Gregoriou from the Promotion of Access to Information [PAIA] at the South African Human Rights Commission [SAHRC] argues that when reporting, the print media should report on all versions so as to allow the reader to disagree and draw their own conclusions on what is being reported, particularly on issues concerning macro-economic policy "so I know that I need to sort of make sure that I have got statements, versions ummm corroborated versions of events and um actually have all that information in front of me before I can make a conclusion". Gregoriou also argues that the media tells the status quo "A decision, the media sometimes can tell you status quo, this is what we saw, we only spoke to one side of the story of and that's what happened". However, they have the responsibility of not only reporting on stories which are 'selling points' such as scandalous government stories:

> "if there's a story that's going against, media, media, against the state, you're going to get a lot of sort of criticism, and you're going to get a lot of stories on it, but why don't you read about the big injustices that are happening in the private sector? The big corporations".

In light of the above arguments by the participants, aCPE approach would also argue that the profits of a paper plays a significant role in the stories that the papers see will sell, thus human interest stories or the ways in which the issues they report on, like macro-economic policy, will affect the poor or those on the margins of society are not covered. This reinforces how the perceptions about the print media are that they are middle-class, exposing elite-interests because of *who* reads the papers and in particular the Mail & Guardian and the Business Day which prioritizing certain views. Professor Anton Harber argues that certain priorities are set in the national agenda and that a more diverse media would better challenge this"they [the print media] define a set of priorities that are debatable, by and large because of that kind of middle class perspective, umm, I think that um, I think that a slightly more diverse media would challenge some of those priorities, more aggressively". Harber argues

that "the press plays a big role in influencing and shaping those national priorities, for example it's taken a while for the media to accept the prioritization of issues of inequality but that debate still happens within narrow parameters".

In other words, this paper argues that owing to the fact that the media plays a role in facilitating a *narrow* debate around issues that should concern society in its entirety, it is only representing a section of society meaning there is a gap in reporting of issues in the press. Alternative voices other than those of the mainstream which are the voices of the poor, the working class, leftist perspectives, and voices of the marginalised lack in coverage except for when these voices are portrayed as victims or powerless. This research has found that the perception about the ways in which the press does its reporting results in a greater entrenchment of certain ideas in public debate and national discourse.

Thus, the print media should have a variety of functions other than relaying information. Isaac Mangena also argued that the press is supposed to play the role of a nation-building institution "more importantly it's about nation building, it plays a very important role in nation building especially in communicating uhhhhh, the, the work and the role of government…also getting people to, to talk around issues of building the country, around issues of development". In light of the historical element of South African media more broadly, the press should take into consideration the complex nature of South African society in terms of language, race, class and social status as well as levels of literacy among adults and youth.

4.2.3 Globalisation: A Part of the Value Chain

Scholarly discourse has identified the media and communications as having played a significant role in the understanding of what is meant by the process of globalisation. This research has also identified the understanding of media in the context of globalisation by the perceptions of the interviewees. The print media plays a significant role in facilitating globalisation which can be argued to be part of a neo-liberal value chain. It can be argued that owing to the fact that the media is locked in a standardized global understanding about the role of the media in a democracy, globalisation has also been found to be viewed as a promotion of a global standard of living which is reiterated by the data from the interviews. Masuku argues that globalisation is the expansion of Western capital accumulation and institutions which include the United States and Europe trying to expand further stating that "globalisation is the expansion of western capital, and western, largely western institutions

into the rest of the world that's why we call it imperialist globalisation, that means imperialism is taking, its expanding itself from Europe". He also argues that globalisation is the entrenchment of these values:

> "its expanding itself from Europe and, it is called imperialism, is expanding from the centres of global capital accumulation" and adds that this exposes the reasons as to why the print media in particular in South Africa sees itself as an extension of Western values and perspectives. He argues "it explains why the South African media has a particular project to see itself as entrenching the western imperialist interests in South Africa, that's why for instance they are not, they are sceptical of developing relationships with countries other than the west, they demonise Cuba in every way possible".

This study argues that the discourses surrounding what is meant by is [economic] globalisation and its relationship to South African media in particular relates to language describing it as, according to Professor Anton Harber, "defeating the distance, um the distance and the borders and the gaps that separated people across the world", and Dr Chiumbu reiterating that "economic globalisation is the intensification of world economies; we're in a global recession because what happens in one country affects another". The perception is that the process of globalisation can be seen as 'expansion', and 'intensification' as well as ideas around the defeat of time and space to communicate, the ability to do transactions despite borders as reiterated by Issac Mangena "we can actually do business with people who, who are very far, and its quicker, you know, especially with, technology becoming accessible to most people in your hand, you're sitting, you're actually attending meetings sitting right here, as a director". Globalisation was also found to be seen as a sense of being part of different communities and not just a single community. This has also been traditionally understood as a community consisting of people and places immediately available at your reach which Evan Pickworth from the *Business Day* describes as a "global village".

Pandelis Gregoriou also argued that [economic] globalisation is about Multinational Corporation [MNC] influence especially because of how rules and regulations cross boundaries, "[MNC'S] they're the ones who actually set policy, and they can determine policy for states, and that's how, sort of you're going to be chasing money". On the contrary,

Friedman argues that while dominant debates see economic globalisation as a force that governments should now embrace as if it is a recent process for global relations he states that "economic globalisation is a myth, well it's not a myth but it's something that's been around since the 15th century". He adds that while globalisation is seen as a phenomenon that one cannot escape he argues the contrary and states that if this was true, South African government would not have been able to enforce its Black Economic Empowerment [BEE] policy reiterating that "because if it was powerless it wouldn't have BEE legislation and it wouldn't have employment equity legislation and you can say that that's for the professional middle class but that's not the point".

In light of the discourses coming out of dominant arguments about globalisation and South African media, this means that globalisation can be seen to be "double-edged" because while it opens up economies and nations to global influence, it also allows states to make their own decisions, while at the same time based on global influence, 'norms' and networks. For example though policy may be applicable to a particular context, it is in line with the requirements of global standards reiterated by global institutions such as the International Monetary Fund [IMF] for example and this is seen in the ways in which print media in South Africa report on these issues thus allowing for neo-liberal views about the dominance of a free-market and privatisation to flourish [this is discussed further in chapter 5]. Overall, globalisation is seen as a legitimate process in which the print media accept and promote its values and the values it continues to entrench.

Furthermore, it can be argued that the media is a key proponent in facilitating the ways in which globalisation is understood, accepted and legitimised by a variety of institutions, which the media is a big part of, in particular newspapers like the *Business Day* and the *Mail & Guardian* which are 'hard news' and 'prominent' sources of news among policy makers and voices that drive the national debate. More importantly, in the participants perceiving that globalisation as a part of the value chain in the ways in which print media select news, reporting of certain issues including macro-economic policy and understand society through a particular lens, the views of the participants highlight that globalisation is part of a value chain but *through* institutions. More importantly, the nature of the current form of globalisation is a neo-liberal-specific *financialised* form. This means that capital accumulation is at the centre of the current form of globalisation today and the print media plays a significant role in carrying out that function of perpetuating dominant ideals and thus facilitating the formation of dominant historic blocs that continue to prevail. From a neo-

Gramsian perspective of a transnational historic bloc, it means that economic globalisation relies on collective interest which is shared by the dominant classes which is relayed through the press. This research uses this notion to argue that there is an emerging *transnational* class. This is because of the rise in shared capitalist interests as seen with a more financialised view of globalisation because of the emphasis placed on capital accumulation and economic networks of integration. The next section/chapter will now illustrate data gleaned from the *Business Day* newspaper and give an analysis in alignment/accordance to the research the topic of globalisation and neoliberalism in the attempt to answer the research questions.

Chapter 5: Case Study one the *Business Day* Newspaper and Globalisation

This chapter will give a brief overview of the first case study, the *Business Day* newspaper and give insight into what kind of paper it is as well as its place in reporting on the Budget Speech and the IMF Country Reports. It will highlight the use of the editorials of the *Business Day* and give insight into how they report on the Budget Speech from 2011-2014. Editorials have specifically been chosen because editorials reflect best the views of the newspaper. This section will also look at how the newspaper reports on IMF Country Reports on South Africa and the discourses that circulate in relation to this institution's views on South Africa. This chapter will also highlight these reports in the context of South Africa's place in a globalised world economy and media's role. More specifically, it will look at the newspapers role in legitimating this form of globalisation.

According to the newspapers website, the *Business Day* is a national daily owned by one of the big four media firms in South Africa, the *Times Media Group*. The newspaper's key focus is on national and international news around the South African economy and the business sector, companies as well as financial markets (Business Day, 2015). This is constitutive of other sections which include influential opinion pieces, columns as well as travel, arts and entertainment[9]. The key audience of papers like the *Business Day* include well-educated, middle to upper class sections of society who understand the issues covered by the paper such as the Budget Speech and the IMF Country Reports on South Africa. This chapter aims to illustrate the ways in which the *Business Day* reports on macro-economic issues on how they defend and promote these policies thus globalising South Africa from within and externally. Through reading of the editorials, which reflect the views of the newspaper, the research found the following themes that were dominant in the ways in which the *Business Day* reported on macro-economic policy issues:

5.1 Globalising Discourse from Within: views from the *Business Day* on the Budget Speech

5.1.1 The *role* of the private sector in the South African economy

Papers like the *Business Day* report on issues of macro-economic policy as well as stress the importance of non-state actors that will influence the ways in which domestic economic policy is made and understood. The newspaper is geared towards 'fitting' into international norms and standards about the ways in which the South African economy can benefit

[9] http://www.bdlive.co.za/aboutus/

investors and South Africa as a whole. This is evident because of the ways in which the newspaper places emphasis on the views of credit rating agencies and how they affect South Africa's rating against other globally developed economies. This is despite South Africa being a developing economy-this shows that the continuation of old 'development' discourses about what African countries should strive for particularly to accommodate private investors who are predominantly from 'developed' nations. This is seen in the newspaper's published statements such as:

> "With respect to the spectre of another rating downgrade"[10]*, "it is essential that government focus on structural changes that improve SA's competitiveness"[11] and " HSBC's research team believed the budget would be broadly welcomed, including by the rating agencies, but said the Treasury's macro-economic outlook 'does not sufficiently incorporate downside growth risks or risks to key revenue streams"[12]

In turn, using how and what external actors mainly situated in the global North like credit rating agencies for example, who see South Africa in a particular way economically, this paper reports in ways that determines the activities of private investors in South Africa. In other words, it uses this as a bar to determine the success or failure of the South African economy placing it at the centre of the conversation about the path of South Africa's economic outlooks. Therefore, this research argues that the constant emphasis on the role of the private sector leaves out other major players in the South African economy or the idea of the possibility of the role of other major players. This illustrates the newspapers alignment with neo-liberal characteristics such as privatisation as one of the key ways to improve the economy. In addition to promoting this form of viewing the perceived improvement of the economy by rating agencies, private investors and the government, the research finds that the *Business Day* editorials also *protect* this outlook as it reports on 'risks to growth' or 'risks to capital' or 'risks to revenue streams' illustrating the importance of minimizing this risk in a bid to increase private sector investment to improve South Africa's competitiveness for

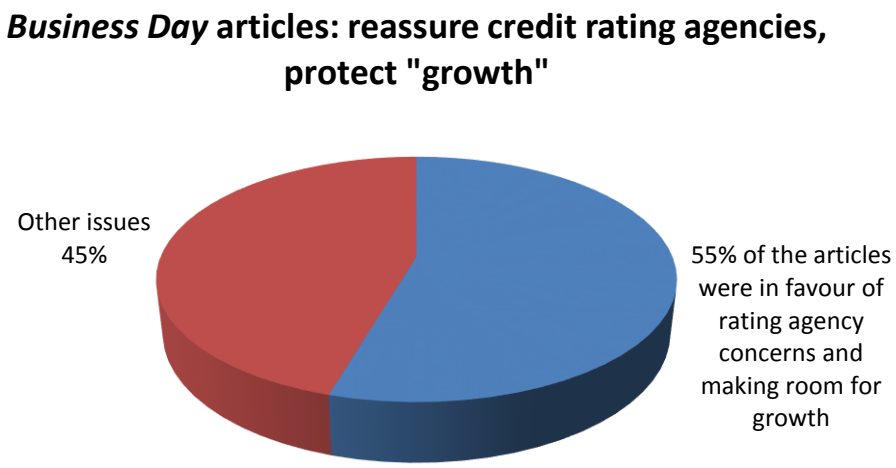
*[10] It must be noted that these footnotes do not represent an inconsistency in the referencing style of the thesis. On the contrary, it is a record of where the cited quotes were taken to show accuracy of the claims made throughout the paper. This is important especially because in text referencing of each citation would not have been possible in illustrating all the information without putting the entire citation next to it.
(no author)(2013) "Editorial: Gordhan needs value for money" reported on 25 February 2013

[11] (no author)(2012) "Editorial: No Fireworks in Gordhan budget" reported/archived 8 August 2012

[12] Ensor, L (2014) "Gordhan vows firm grip on state spending" reported on 27 February 2014

example. Eighteen out of the 33 (54%) editorials analysed from the *Business Day*s reporting on the Budget speech from 2011 to 2014 carried this theme in their view of South Africa's economy. The following graphic representation shows how most of the 33 analysed reports from the *Business Day* newspaper were biased in favour of South Africa reassuring rating agencies while ensuring that conditions are in place to facilitate growth:

Figure 1



When looking at the above results [Fig 1], there are several implications about the way in which the *Business Day* relies on information from global rating agencies in relation to the private sector also reflecting its ideological inclinations about the South African economy. In other words, this paper finds that the *Business Day* with its technocratic, factual reporting supported by statistics and results from international rating agencies means that the paper extends international views and more specifically one that relays information about the ways in which South Africa should conduct itself. For example, with regards to 55% of editorials that reiterate that South Africa's performance risks 'another rating downgrade', this leaves little room for the editorials to address how other sectors like civil society for example can transform and play a more effective role in addressing issues and concerns raised about the economy.

Moreover, this paper finds that newspapers like the *Business Day do* play a role informing policy makers, society and more specifically the middle-class audience they represent. However, they do little to transform the economic debate and only continue to reproduce age-old understandings about the 'growth' of the economy. This paper finds that the *Business Day* [and it is no surprise] in embracing neo-liberal sentiments, has a narrow ideological view of macro-economic policy which could have negative implications for future policy making and opening up the conversation for other ways of understanding the South African economy.

In other words, the obsession with global credit rating agencies means the paper cannot, and when considering the results of the editorials, it will not seek to understand the local economy from local perspectives. In light of this, this paper argues that having a more inward-focus taking into consideration other domestic issues has the potential to influence the course of policy making to a more inclusive application of economic reformation, for a better and truer reflection of the South African economy. It remains clear [as seen with 55% of the articles] that the Business Day only perpetuates global views about an economy South Africa is part of and how the private sector can be retained, instead of taking a more balanced approach and discussing, especially in writing their editorials, how the global economy can also work for South Africa, not only financially but socially, perhaps proposing a more socially accountable economic framework.

This research also argues that the emphasis placed on the important views of rating agencies also reflects local business sentiments and concerns because of the ways in which budget speeches, in the greater scope of understanding seeks to reassure business. With regards to views concerning the importance of the private sector, the editorials over 2011 to 2014 stated that:

> "Instead of bitterly complaining about a private sector 'investment strike', the government needs to move towards more public-private partnerships which leverage private sector balance sheets to grow infrastructure"[13], "bring in urgently required capital, but should stimulate confidence in the beleaguered private sector"[14], the "cost of capital and spook"[15]and to "reinforce investor confidence" as well as the need for "expansive monetary stimulus"[16].

With reference to the kinds of ideas that are reiterated through the use of these arguments that reflect a neo-liberal trajectory and policy formation, hegemonic ideas about how to best solve the issues of South Africa's economy become dominant and accepted even by these editorials (and possibly by the readers). In using the neo-Gramscian understanding of social forces which asserts that these are factors which have the capabilities of transforming or even

[13] (no author) (2014) "Editorial: Nene needs to announce bold actions" reported on 22 October 2014
[14] (no author) (2014) "Editorial: Nene not set to be Mr Popular" reported on 22 October 2014
[15]Pickworth, E (2014) "Editorial: 'do no harm' is not enough" reported on 26 February 2014
[16] (no author) (2011) "Editorial: It's the economy, Mr President" reported 21 October 2011

changing the forms of state and world order, this paper argues that the *Business Day*-as part of the print media complex-is a social force which has created a historic bloc of *ideas* which has shaped the ways in which the South African economy is understood. This means that the newspapers' editorials perpetuate an understanding of South Africa's place in globalisation as financialised, while it is also understood as a project for accumulation and growth. This unpacks a deeper understanding of social forces that have played a significant role in the formation of this historic bloc or a particular state, in this case, the South African state.

This paper also found that there was constant emphasis to 'growth', 'driving growth', 'striving towards' and 'stimulating growth':

> "the host of other measures introduced to the budget to stimulate growth and start making inroads into unemployment"[17], "the extra funds will come primarily from higher taxes or more rapid economic growth"[18], "Finance Minister Pravin Gordhan will address the apparent contradictions between the government's emphasis on the developmental state and economic growth as a means of creating jobs, and its actions in the real world"[19] which is used as a way of validating how South Africa should continue to move towards consolidating this model of accumulation.

What is interesting is that the idea of 'growth' and 'accumulation' leaves out many actors such as civil society, women, youth [in which the African continent has the largest population of] as well as people on the margins of society. Although it reports on the youth wage subsidy for example which is a proposal by government to try and decrease youth unemployment, voices *of* what the 'youth' is [which has been grouped as a homogenous entity] lack in the *Business Day* reports to get a view of how it affects the youth directly. This study, however, argues that the ways in which views about growth have been naturalised does not bring into question how *much* growth is required until a state is considered to have growth or should no longer grow.

[17](no author) (2012) "Editorial: Credible bid to walk growth path" reported on 6 August 2012
[18] (no author) (2013) "Editorial: focus must fall on the real economy" reported on 28 February 2013
[19](no author) (2011) "Editorial: no relief in sight for tax payers" reported 6 August 2012

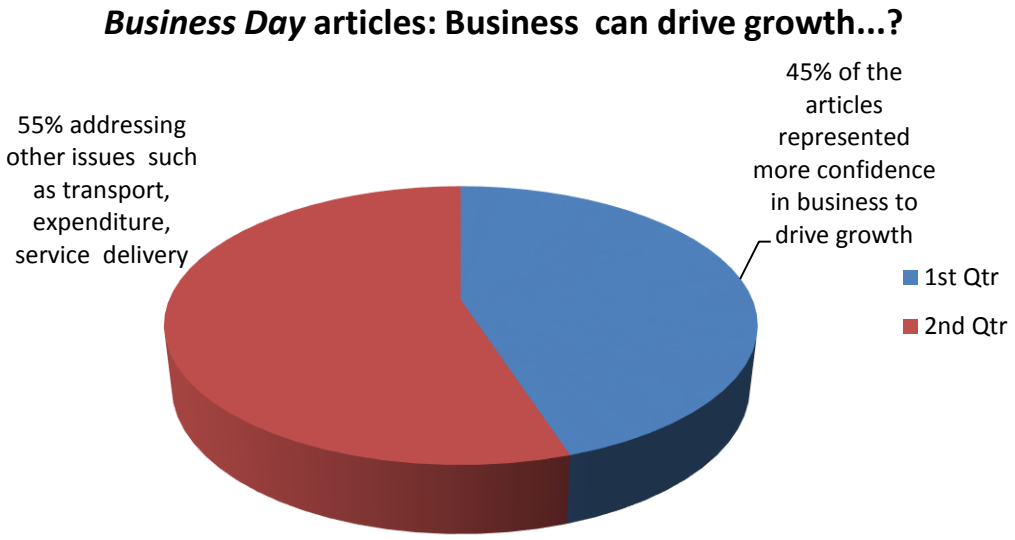
In other words, this paper questions the discourses around the idea very of what is meant by 'growth' which is another concept perpetuated about South Africa's progress against more developed nations. Some of these discourses include idea's geared around Gross Domestic Product [GDP] "the real essence of the statement is the government's estimates of gross domestic product (GDP) growth over the next few years, the number on which everything else hinges"[20]. For example, when taking into consideration the understanding of Gross Domestic Product [GDP] which is the measure of a country's overall welfare, it has become one of the most defining indicators of economic growth since the Second World War. This paper argues that GDP has become too narrow to be perceived as a marker of success in today's increasingly dynamic world where African countries are independent of institutionalised colonialism and more importantly because they *have* this history of colonialism.

In addition, African countries have internal complexities such as language, religion, culture, civil conflict, lack of political will because of high levels of corruption and nepotism as well as lack of resources and capacity. In other words, other markers of a countries success need to be developed and newspapers like the *Business Day* have the potential to observe and identify trends. Trends that identify what has worked for South Africa and why certain policies have failed socially, politically and economically, especially through their editorials which can serve as a more critical platform. The issues that this study has identified is the ways in which this newspaper promotes this particular position without considering alternatives to 'grow the economy' which is a common phrase that has been found within each of the analysed editorials.

In comparison to youth, what business thinks and can contribute to the economy is shown to be viewed as having a level of importance because 15 out of the 33 (45%) analysed *Business Day* articles carried this theme concerning the significance of the private sector investment in South Africa's economy and how they can 'grow' the economy. The following graph [fig 2] visually captures this dynamic:

[20] (no author) (2012) "Editorial: Creditable bid to walk growth path" reported on 6 August 2012

Figure 2



However, what is interesting about this is that although in figure 1 credit rating agencies and the need for more growth were reiterated in 55% of the articles, in relation to business confidence to drive growth in figure 2, there is a 10% decrease. This paper argues that there could possibly be a sense of ambivalence about the private sector playing the biggest role in contributing to growth. This research argues that this could point to the possibility that the *Business Day* recognises the need for other ways of bolstering the economy although no evidence was found pointing to this possibility. In light of this, this research states that the *Business Day* could *actually* be reflecting their stance which is not entirely religiously supporting neo-liberalism. This research also argues that this ambivalence could represent a sign post to note which includes the fact that neo-liberalism cannot be used as a blanket term particularly because the *Business Day* recognises that neo-liberal tenets cannot *all* be adopted blindly.

On the other hand, throughout the editorials selected from the years 2011-2014, the role of the private sector has been articulated to be pivotal to 'turning' around the South African economy: "Unfortunately, it is too late for this change of heart to have much effect on growth and employment in the short term. Turning an economy around is like turning a tanker"[21] This can be argued to be a way in which *Business Day* defends its particular view of the ways in which the South African economy should be seen and how it can or should contribute to the global economy. This is clearly a neo-liberal view of development and growth because 'privatisation' is a key feature of neo-liberal thought and practise.

[21] (no author) (2013) "Editorials: a new awareness of business buy-in" reported on 4 March 2013

This was seen with Structural Adjustment Policies [SAP's] of the IMF and World Bank in the 1980's when governments had to cut down on expenditure, privatise and open their economies to investors to 'grow the economy' and integrate into the global economy. Furthermore, this paper also understands that 'neo-liberal' and key tenets such as 'privatisation' should not be understood as blanket terms because even neo-liberal views are not uniform and are subject to contestation, the study found that although the *Business Day* articles report on other issues affecting business, it does not make room to unpack what is meant by 'privatisation' in relation to how to go about this in South Africa. This is important to note because although the paper has found that this newspaper aligns with neo-liberal policy frameworks, it is important to understand that it does not go uncontested.

However, in this lack of clarity about what is meant by 'privatisation', this paper finds that this is a carrying-over of ideas about privatisation which is similar to requirements for liberalisation under the SAP's of the 1980's because of how the paper reinforces the need for more 'flexible labour policy' and the need to 'open up'. This can be seen as a form of government intervention in terms of government having to reform its domestic policies to 'open up' for more private investor activity in the economy, "It is hard to imagine what more a finance minister in a government supported by unions and millions of poor voters in a society where poverty and inequality are rife could have done to reassure businesses. This message expands on the ANC's election manifesto, which also made soothing gestures to business"[22].

When analysing the articles, ideas which relate to growing the South African economy in context to the world economy for example ensuring ideas about the security of investing such as the ideas to "help reinforce business confidence"[23], "deterioration in the South African economic outlook"[24] [forecast for three years] and the "the tax burden is becoming a drag on the private sector's ability to grow and create sustainable employment"[25] occur while at the same time constructing current political complexities simplistically. For example reports from 2012 in particular, saw wide reporting of the Marikana strike described as the most brutal confrontation between the state and workers since apartheid were branded "policy

[22] (no author) (2014) "Government opts to reassure business rather than seek few extra votes" reported on 25 February 2014
[23] (no author) (2013) "Editorial: Numbers and plans don't add up" reported on 21 February 2013
[24] (no author) (2013) "Editorial: Tough times need extreme caution" reported 20 June 2013
[25] (no author) (2012) "Editorial: Unions will test Zuma" reported on 8 August 2012

uncertainty and industrial unrest"[26]. Such descriptions continue to frame anything that will disrupt the current financialised order as negative and not a reflection on the state concerning internal crises that caused Marikana, instead the issues are narrowed down to 'policy uncertainty' without actually looking into the reasons for this from all perspectives including demographics, politically and socially to get a holistic view. As argued by Bongani Masuku of COSATU during an interview "don't disturb the system it is well organised". This perpetuation of a globally risk-free economy can be argued to be a microcosm of a bigger picture of the ways in which the media plays a role in remaking the state in terms of where it fits into the global market and using mechanisms that operate in this discourse to defend neo-liberal ideas.

In so doing, the media globalises South Africa from within. Social forces can be driven by the need to acquire resources or power to rule over another group or population. In order to secure these interests, social forces may form alliances as a way to impose their beliefs and practises on others. Budget speeches represent a scientific perspective concerning the ways in which the economy is structured. In other words, it can be argued that the scientific jargon and legitimacy of the facts and statistics frames the budget [by the finance minister] as the correct way in which macro-economic policy should be understood as seen with comments such as:

> "the Treasury forecast that the budget deficit for the 2011-12 financial year would widen to 5.5% of gross domestic product (GDP), but Mr Gordhan has expressed a strong desire to see a positive primary balance by 2015"[27]. "The budget's fiscal policy stance was one of continued fiscal consolidation as rising global interest rates push up debt service costs and the depreciation of the rand adds to cost pressures. The budget deficit is forecast to fall at a faster pace, starting from the projected 4% of GDP in 2014-15."[28]

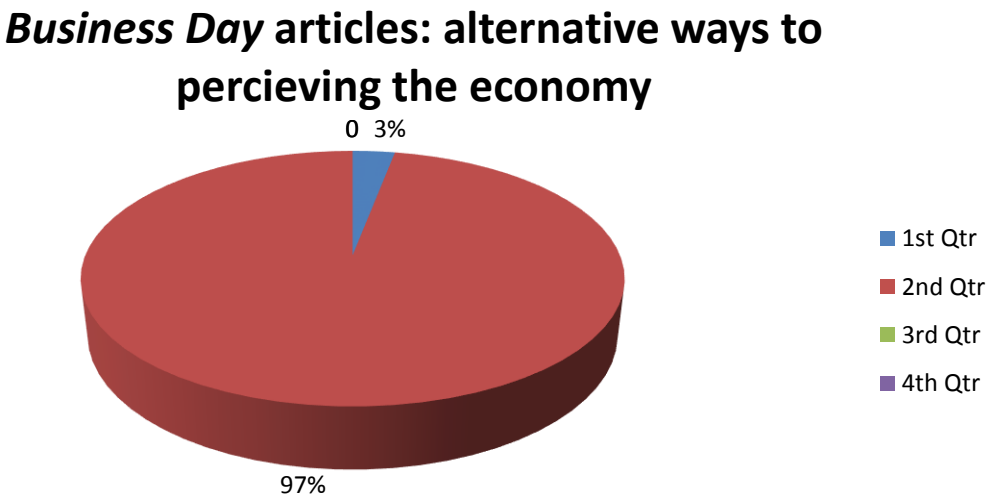
Furthermore, the function of the media more specifically the *Business Day* is seen here to mimic this "jargon" in their budget reports with few efforts to unpack this jargon which

[26] (no author) (2013) "Editorial: Gordhan needs value for money" reported on 25 February 2013
[27] (no author) (2012) "Editorial: No fireworks in Gordhan budget" reported on 8 August 2012
[28](no author) (2014) "Gordhan vows firm grip on state spending" reported on 27 February 2014

speaks to the fact that media institutions are in many ways an extension of the neoliberal economy. The ways in which the budget is reported on perpetuates the *need* for regulation to make it easier to do business. From a neo-liberal perspective, this can be said to be a commitment to the protection of property rights through policy, and more specifically macro-economic policy commitment (Friedman, 2014).This is because of the ways in which it does not carry through an indication that seeks to make the economy more inclusive by including the poor while at the same time making the economy work *for* the poor. This paper found that only 1 out of 33 [see fig 3] of the *Business Day* articles proposed an alternative way of looking at the economy, while the rest of these articles articulated 'norms' about the budget speech stating that:

"We need to think differently about economic growth, move away from the defensive to the proactive and focus on what needs to be done to remove the constraints and get the economy going — and how best to do it. That is not something for the government to do alone. Labour and business need to engage too"[29]

Figure 3



A neo-Gramscian reading would argue that overall, despite an attempt to address alternative ways to viewing the economy, the 'transnational historical bloc is formed' by the national [domestic] historical blocs which in this case is the press which plays a significant role in to the ways in which print media globalise South Africa from within. A neo-Gramscian reading

[29] (no author) (2014) "Editorial: Think differently on economic growth" reported 28 August 2014

would argue that the role that member states historic blocs [which is the dominant views held by the *Business Day* in relation to how they see themselves as tied to global network of the media] in the international community is that their own international interests come together to maintain and improve the domestic and international hegemonic status quo (Ludwig, 2012: 6). This is done through promoting privatisation, controlling 'risk' to capital and keeping the 'market calm' so that South Africa can achieve 'growth' which is measured in various ways including with the use of the IMF forecasts taken as predictions cast in stone with regards to the route South Africa will/should take.

5.2 External Globalising Discourse: views from the *Business Day* on the IMF

5.2.1 The IMF: The 'Gospel Truth'

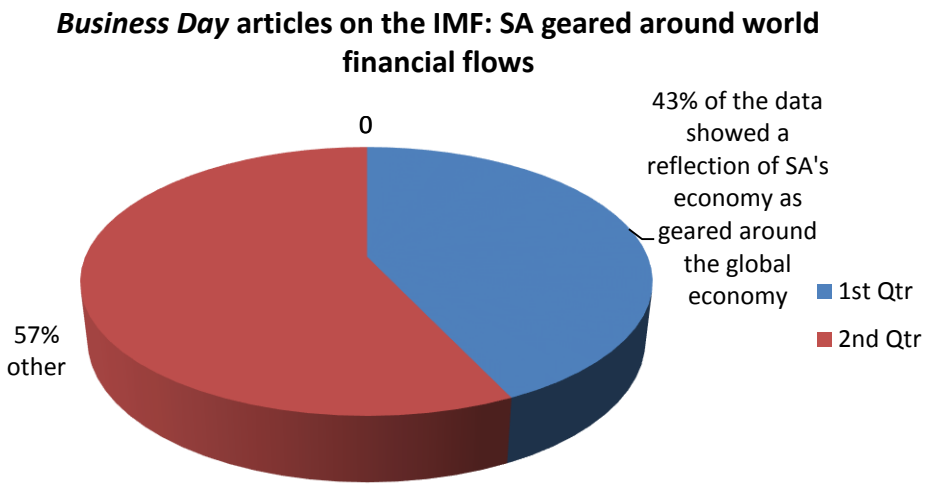
As a global monetary 'expert' informed by northern-hemisphere perspectives and experiences for influencing macro-economic policy as well as being the knowledge base and point of reference for many third world nations, the IMF is seen to be the sole institution that relays information about the nature and direction of the South African economy. When looking at the annual October IMF Country Reports on South Africa formally known as the 'Article IV Consultation' the ways in which the *Business Day* reports on what the IMF says about South Africa, this paper finds that there is an alignment with the discourse that the IMF reaffirms the neo-liberal frame of thought... When reporting on the IMF, an institution that believes in monetarism, country forecasts, inflation and private sector investment as standards by which African nations in particular should adhere to to develop, papers such as the *Business Day* promote these values without interrogating or challenging the implications on South Africa. It does not unpack or start an 'inviting' conversation about whether this is the most effective way for nature of the South African economy to 'grow' which the paper and the IMF places emphases on.

Furthermore, even when the views of the IMF are challenged, this is done in a way that takes a neo-liberal stance as though the same policies tested in the global North can be applied in the same linear way in the global South. This is evidenced because of how what the IMF says about South Africa is taken as a *true* reflection of South Africa on the ground. For example, the reiteration of "forecasts" which are predictions made by the IMF concerning the future economic growth of South Africa for that year are taken as the only reflection on South Africa.

For example, the data from the *Business Day* reports on the IMF showed found that the use of global rating agencies such as *Standard* & *Poor* and *Fitch* who have 'expert knowledge' in finance and forecasting are used as mechanisms to support the arguments made to place South Africa in a specific place in the global economy. This study also posits that the *Business Day* plays a role in state reformation from the inside as well as the outside. Examples that illustrate where South Africa is placed in the global economy include and play a role in state reformation internally and externally. This means that the South African economy becomes reflected in ways in which it becomes geared around international financial flows. The research found that 16 of the 37 (43%) [See figure 4] articles from the *Business Day* reporting on the IMF stated that:

> "and as the IMF's World Economic Outlook points out, things are not going well, and SA is not likely to see that much growth even next year"[30], "So SA should note when the IMF notes that 'when foreign investors turn risk averse, they tend to discriminate more clearly between countries with strong fundamentals and those where imbalances have been allowed to build up'"[31],"the IMF report suggests the structure of South Africa's product markets- for which read lack of competition- is as much to blame as the structure of labour markets"[32], "as we move into what would appear to be a new ad uncertain era in European politics, the Reserve bank will have to keep on its toes to ensure SA is optimally positioned for the new global economic paradigm"[33]

[30] (no author) (2014) "Editorial: Make every month economics month" 9 October 2014
[31] (no author) (2014) "Editorial: SA must take heed of advice" reported 27 October 2014
[32] (no author) (2013) "Editorial: Deal with International Monetary Fund of today" reported on 9 October 2013
[33]



The ways, in which the *Business Day* report on macro-economic policy issues in this way means that the understanding of the macro-economic frameworks is *dependent* on international financial flows, dictated by institutions of the global North like the IMF and its rating agencies which are mechanisms for the implementation of their policies.

A neo-Gramscian reading would argue that in this way, a 'transnational historical bloc is formed' by the national [domestic] historical blocs. In this case, newspapers like the *Business Day* are the ones that facilitate the debate as they are deemed the 'natural' points of reference for information. Secondly, a neo-Gramscian perspective would argue that the instances in which the transnational historic bloc can emerge is seen from the convergence between transnational relations of production interests and, in a more globalised world surpass national borders which can be argued to be the key role of the IMF Country Reports. The *Business Day* legitimises these reports especially with their research and scientific facts as 'gospel' because the newspaper does not interrogate the root of the problems posed by the Country reports but reduce the outlined issues to violence, labour unrest, and instability of the South African state and economy for example. Furthermore, reproduction of neo-liberal discourses and the legitimation of these in the ways in which the *Business Day* reports on macro-economic policy is a result of the transnational historic bloc cohesion [indirectly with the ideological cohesion with institutions such as the IMF].

It is important to highlight that social forces are not only limited to state borders but also extend transnationally to groups that play a role in influencing the running of international corporations and organisations such as the IMF and the World Bank for example, which explains why the cross-border understanding of particular domestic and state formations.

Therefore, this study finds that the *Business Day* is actually a key player in extending ideas about the integration of South Africa into the global economy and how the country can become a better global player for the interests of the global economy. In light of figure 3, above, this research argues that although 57% of the data discussed other issues in relation to the budget, 43 % represents the importance of the IMF in relaying 'knowledge' and authoritative ideas. However, this number could also explain the *Business Day* as a paper that diversifies ideas despite their position on one particular issue. This can also be seen as an illustration of the power and significant influence that social forces have. International relations theories such as neorealism and neoliberalism are flawed in this sense because they do not analyse the nature of states and global events but take them as static phenomena. From a Gramscian perspective, a transnational capitalist class embraces and propagates the neoliberal order in accordance with an elite-driven hegemonic project which is undertaken by particular capitalist groups. The *Business Day* is a key source of information in the ways in which the historic bloc along with the IMF is transforming South Africa from within *and* externally.

5.3 Budget Alternatives in South Africa

5.3.1 Other Views: People's Budget Coalition [PBC] on the Budget Speeches [2011-2014]

This section discusses data from the PCB statements on the Budget Speeches they made between 2011 and 2014. When analysing the ways in which the *Business Day* writes on the articles that have been reported, the views perpetuated by the papers are positioned in a narrow ideological view. Moreover, it can be argued that the debate for these views particularly in relation to macro-economic policy in South Africa needs to be interrogated further. Thus, this paper has also analysed the Peoples Budget Coalition [PBC] statements on the Budget Speeches from 2011 to 2014 to look at what other discourses come out of the understanding of the Budget process. This study, in its analysis of the COSATU budget process identified several themes that the *Business Day* does not interrogate further.

5.3.2 Tabled themes found in the Peoples Budget Coalition [PBC] statements:

Opening up the Labour Conversation: addressing unemployment[34]	• we need to have a different way of understanding unemployment in South Africa so as to tackle the root

[34] This is the first theme that was found when doing the analysis of the Peoples Budget Coalition articles and releases on the budget speeches from the years 2001-2014

	of the problem • move away from market-centred perspectives on labour • there needs to be more investment in local industrial sectors
Land Redistribution & Food[35]	• there is a need for more pro-poor and egalitarian redistribution, in other words, the need for a more diversified economy • this means that the government should develop new existing industries and local skills • more rural development so as to address food insecurity which has been overlooked by the mainstream budget
Unequal Race Relations Continue in South Africa[36]	• South African economy is still very racialized • The Budget perpetuates old and continued racial demographics • White ownership perpetuates historical frameworks and networks especially because income inequality is still racialized
Addressing Climate change: Perspectives on a Greener Economy[37]	• address the role and effects on the environment • we need to create not just more jobs, but greener jobs

[35] This is the second theme that came out of the Peoples Budget Coalition
[36] This is the third theme that was found from a thematic reading of the People's Budget, however this theme is discussed further in chapter 6
[37] This theme is the fourth and final theme found from a reading of the Peoples Budget and is also found under chapter 6

5.3.2.1 Opening up the Labour Conversation: addressing unemployment

This was the first dominant theme that came out of the reading of the Peoples Budget Coalition Speeches between 2011 and 2014. In analysing the press releases, comments and statements of the Peoples Budget Coalition using a thematic analysis, this paper found that one of the key (even obvious) themes that came out was around issues of labour. One can argue that due to the nature of the organisations that released these statements, it is not surprising that the issue of labour would feature. However, a finding of this paper is the discourses around labour issue in relation to the budget reiterating that the current understanding of the labour needs to be interrogated and looked into further. This is important because of the ways in which issues of unemployment are addressed in current macro-economic policy frameworks as the PBC states that "The PBC calls for a drastic shift from the current macro-economic framework"[38]. This paper found that all of the press releases, proposals and statements argued that there was a need for a shift away from a narrow view of labour and unemployment. Instead of looking at labour strikes and unrest as the reason for unemployment, there needs to be a deeper investigation into this. In other words, looking at unemployment as the potential cause of strikes and unrest could be a useful point of departure.

This paper argues that when reporting, these newspapers need to interrogate *why* labour unrest and strikes occur at the magnitude that they do instead of marginalising the voices of those who strike in a bid for better wages and working conditions. Furthermore, the Peoples Budget Coalition [PBC] process see's the issue of labour as one that needs to be looked at through a more social and redistributive lens. This is because this paper also found that there was a call for more state intervention "The PBC believes in much greater financial support and *role of the state* in the economy" which is a contrary outlook to the one that was given by the reports of the *Business Day* which argue for more market independence. On the other hand, the PBC argued that the state must commit, and have political will to ensure investment in more public and industrial sectors so as to ensure economic growth and social needs. This is seen in the 2012/2013 budget statement that "the state must define a more strategic role for itself by investing in key and potential industrial sectors", and continues to argue that the "the

[38] (PBC) (2012) "People's Budget Coalition Expectations Statement on the 2012/3 Budget" http://www.ngopulse.org/article/people-s-budget-coalition-expectations-statement-20123-budget reported on 23 February 2012

State must continue to commit to increasing public sector investment. Achieving this will require significant budget allocation and political commitment"[39].

One of the most interesting findings of the study when analysing the PBC proposals is that there is a constant reference to 'political will' of the government in addressing issues like youth employment for example and states that:

> "Government simply lacks political will to confront the structural crisis we face in relation to youth unemployment. Youth unemployment is not only a structural problem linked to the structural crisis we have pointed out but also to the education crisis. No matter the amount of wage subsidies and tax incentives government offers to business, year in year out, it will not address this structural nature of youth unemployment. We remain opposed to youth wage subsidies"[40].

This research understands this as the commitment of leaders to the people and macro-economic policy objectives. This is an important aspect of the budget because the PBC process seeks to hold the government accountable through a bottom-up, people-centred approach and less of placing business at the centre of how to solve issues like unemployment. This paper argues that opposing views in the Peoples Budget Coalition budget process reflects the need for a more social understanding of the budget which seeks to address the ordinary individual and communities who can hold leaders accountable for the jobs they are supposed to create for the unemployed. Addressing unemployment through a more 'people-focused' budget could open up the conversation that addresses the root of labour unrest. Moreover, looking at the role of political leaders in facilitating policy and frameworks that tackle unemployment which could subsequently trickle down to other issues such as crime and HIV/AIDS could also be a point of departure of print media budget analysis.

Moreover, in relation to labour and unemployment, as well as the call for more public sector investment in local industries and infrastructure, this paper argues that the continuing inequalities identified when reading the PCB press releases also represents a reflection of the

[40] (PBC) (2011) "Peoples Budget Coalition Comments on the 2011/12 Budget" http://www.ngopulse.org/article/peoples-budget-coalition-comments-201112-budget reported on 25 February 2011

current state of the South African economy. The South African economy is still an export-dependent economy which the *Business Day* continues to frame its reports in the Budget Speech in particular. In addition, it also continues to perpetuate this frame without unpacking what this means for local industries and economic growth. Van Vuuren (2013: 60) argues that by 2005, South Africa represented two different countries in terms of economic development and infrastructure, reflective of an apartheid legacy, where one part of the country is governed by a stable political dispensation and liberal constitutionalism and a sound judicial system while the other is not. .

On the other hand South Africa is also a poor country plagued by instability, with low levels of literacy lack of dialogue between the government and its people as well as poor human security and justice. In analysing the PBC proposals, this paper argues, as identified by Patrick Bond (2004) that the dual economy that exists in South Africa represents one which calls for economic reforms as seen in many proposals posed by the Budget Speeches and the reports by the *Business Day* in their understanding of the Budget Speech while on the other hand perpetuating that there are no other alternatives to neo-liberal guided reforms, in other words, neo-liberal globalisation (Bond, 2004). In other words, while the national budgets seek to address the issues plaguing the country in ways that seem to have the interests of the people, it is also a more pro-business and neo-liberal centred policy. In other words, South Africa represents a 'talk left walk right' approach.

This paper argues that the understanding of the budget process has been a neo-liberal one promoting and defending the discourse while displacing the views of the PBC proposals, it also regulates the market closely as seen with the introduction of the Labour Relations Act no. 66 of 1995 (Carmody, 2002: 58). In addition, the call for investment in local industries and even diversified economy by the PBC proposals is contrary to the current state of business affairs in South Africa which has seen the privatisation of public services, which has had a significant impact on job losses. Moreover, foreign direct investment by multinational companies as advocated by the reports of these papers also limits the conversation on labour and unemployment because it does not address the possibility of the fact that these companies are not always seeking local employment and labour (Van Vuuren, 2013: 54).

5.3.2.2 Land Redistribution & Food

In analysing the PBC proposals on the budget speech between 2011 and 2014, this paper found that one of the dominant themes of the analysis was the issue around land

redistribution and food security. This paper argues that this is one of the key themes of the analysis owing to the fact that the issue around land redistribution in South Africa is one which has not been adequately addresses especially seeing as the centenary of the 1913 Land Act in 2013 passed but did not adequately address this issue in a social, people-centred framework. Interestingly, while many of the articles reporting on the budget particularly in relation to the land redistribution reiterated the principle of the 'willing-buyer, willing seller' approach to land redistribution which has been legitimated as the solution to addressing the issue of land ownership in South Africa, the PBC Budget Process called for the total elimination of the principle:

> "COSATU is disappointed that the Minister failed to announce measures within the fiscal policy to implement the ANC resolution on land reform and restitution and the commitment in the State of the Nation Address to move away from the willing-buyer/willing-seller principle to a just and equitable principle"[41], "Beyond the "willing buyer, willing seller" principle being ineffective, the PBC calls for its scrapping. Land reform requires radical steps to support fundamental transformation in land distribution and rural development"[42] and "We can no longer play lip service to land reform and land distribution. We continue to call for the scrapping of the "willing buyer willing seller"[43]

Briefly, the 'willing buyer, willing seller' principle means that the transaction of land is a completely voluntary process between a buyer and a seller meaning that the landowners are not obligated to sell their land (Lahiff, 2005: 1-2). Furthermore, the assumption of this principle is that there are equal, willing buyers and willing sellers who take part in the transaction of land in the market place. However, when examining this principle more critically, this paper argues that those who are willing to buy this land are those who are clearly in *need* of the land because they do not have land nor do they have access to resources

[41] COSATU (2014) "COSATU Statement on 2014 Budget Speech" http://www.cosatu.org.za/show.php?ID=8487 reported on 28 February 2014
[42](PBC) (2012) "People's Budget Coalition Expectations Statement on the 2012/3 Budget" http://www.ngopulse.org/article/people-s-budget-coalition-expectations-statement-20123-budget reported on 23 February 2012
[43]PBC) (2012) "People's Budget Coalition Expectations Statement on the 2012/3 Budget" http://www.ngopulse.org/article/people-s-budget-coalition-expectations-statement-20123-budget reported on 23 February 2012

to access land for their immediate social needs (Tiley, 2004: 10:). This means that they depend on the state to intervene in the market through government programs and grant systems to assist in purchasing the land to help them realize their socio-economic goals. In addition, when analysing the social and economic backgrounds or profiles of the willing buyers, this makes them dependent on the cooperation of the willing sellers who are land owners, typically white farmers and transnational corporations who own the land, for the acquisition of land (Lahiff, 2005: 2).

When interrogating this principle against this context, one can argue that the 'willing-buy, willing-seller' principle is not one which guarantees transfer of land to those who need it, or any land unless the seller is *willing* to sell the land or a portion of it. Thus, when relating the understanding of this principle to the PBC Budget process in terms of their proposals on land and food security "The PBC calls for greater resource allocation, support and promotion of alternative forms of ownership such as cooperatives and other forms of collective ownership of land, farms and agro-processing industries", this paper argues that the reports of the *Business Day* on land legitimating this principle as the ideal notion to redistribution of land, it can be argued that the market is characterised by willing sellers who, in Marxist terms, also control the means of production which is the land (Lahiff, 2005: 2). Another flaw of the principle that the PBC budget process seeks to address in calling for the elimination of this approach that the reports by the *Business Day* over looks is that those that own the land, the supposed 'willing' sellers, have the right to determine the price of the land despite the buyers ability or capacity to buy the land at the proposed price. Thus, this paper argues that this principle gives veto power to the seller, who is already benefitting from the land.

In other words, the neo-liberal notion of private property comes into play here because of the fact that as long as the buyer cannot afford to purchase the land [which is the property] then the seller has the right to keep his property leaving the willing buyer to look elsewhere for more affordable prices, which can be time and financially consuming. Furthermore, this principle also protects the interests of the existing land owner while no protection is given to the potential buyers of the land who also continue to depend on some state intervention and processes that should grant their applications to take part in the land redistribution and transaction process (Lahiff, 2005: 2). Thus, in light of this proposal by the PBC Budget Process, this paper found that the mainstream reports of the budget do to interrogate or ask questions in relation to this principle. One of the key words that were used by the PBC budget process to describe this principle is that it is an 'ineffective' way of redistributing land

"Beyond the "willing buyer, willing seller" principle being ineffective, the PBC calls for its scrapping. Land reform requires radical steps to support fundamental transformation in land distribution and rural development"[44] owing to the fact that the power relations between the willing buyer and willing seller are already skewed.

In relation to land redistribution, this paper also found that this theme was predominantly linked to the crisis of food security in South Africa. The PBC budget process argued that there needed to be more development and investment going into rural development for example, investment in former Bantustan areas of the country "accompanied by an effective rural development strategy that requires significant infrastructure development such as roads, public transport and other basic services to meet social and economic needs, particularly in former Bantustan areas". This is owing to the fact that historically; these areas will be impoverished seeing the migrant workers moving into cities leaving their areas impoverished and underdeveloped because of a lack of government intervention. In addressing food security, van de Merwe (2001: 1) argues that the migration of people to settle into another area is driven by economic incentives, political stability as well as the decline in the quality of the environment.

In relation to the proposals of the PBC, the people's budget seeks to address that it is these people who move from the less economically active rural areas to more urban areas that the budget does not address in terms of how to go about reducing this trend. Addressing these trends can assist in understanding how migrants can develop themselves and their areas without having to move into over-populated urban areas (van der Merwe, 2011: 1). This is important to discuss in this paper because the reports on the budget speech by these papers do not reflect the issues outlined by the PBC budget processes. In addition, one of the biggest challenges for the urban areas in ensuring that there is food security in these inner areas. Briefly, food security can be described as the "physical and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious foods which meet an individual's dietary needs and preferences for an active and healthy life" (Kennedy, 2003). One of the key issues that this paper argues is important to address is the fact that food in urban areas has to be purchased in comparison to urban areas where food can be produced. This means that urban food is dependent on access to money which is dependent on a stable income (van der Merwe, 2011: 1-2).

[44]PBC) (2012) "People's Budget Coalition Expectations Statement on the 2012/3 Budget" http://www.ngopulse.org/article/people-s-budget-coalition-expectations-statement-20123-budget reported on 23 February 2012

Thus, in the context of the issue of land and food security, this paper found that a more pro-poor and egalitarian redistribution, in other words, the need for a more diversified economic investment. This investment should not only be centred in urban development but rural development and possible intervention by the state to address the issues outlined by the PBC budget process. This means that the government needs to pay more attention to rural development so as to address food insecurity which has been overlooked by the mainstream budget as a priority.

Chapter 6: Case Study two on the *Mail & Guardian* and Globalisation

On the same note as the above chapter, this chapter will give a brief overview of the second case study, being the *Mail & Guardian* newspaper and give brief insight into what kind of paper it is as well as their place in reporting on the Budget Speech. It will highlight their focus on the Budget Speech from 2011-2014 and give insight into how they report on this. It will also look at the how the paper reports on IMF Country Reports on South Africa during 2011-2014 and the discourses that circulate in relation to this newspaper's views on the country. This chapter will also highlight these reports in the context of South Africa's place in a globalised world economy and print media's role, more specifically the Mail & Guardians role in legitimating this form of globalisation.

Previously known as *The Weekly Mail*, the *Mail & Guardian* was also the first online African newspaper in the world with a conservative stance on critical issues and historically known for its anti-apartheid activism. This activism resulted in the paper being banned by the Apartheid government in 1988 for four weeks because of repressive South African censorship laws of the time (Zucchino, 1988). Today, the paper sees itself as 'pan-Africanist' while in a post-apartheid South Africa, the *Mail & Guardian* remained a liberal paper continuing to take a hard-line stance on its coverage of news, placing government at the forefront of its reports and exposing corruption and breaking many stories through its 'special reports' on various issues. This is because of its renowned investigative journalism style due to its focal points centred on political analysis and especially government, Southern African news and coverage of arts and popular culture. The themes discussed below were found in the reading of the articles:

6.1 Globalising discourse from within: *Mail & Guardian* views on the Budget Speech

6.1.1Economic coverage: A neo-liberal view on ANC-leadership pitfalls

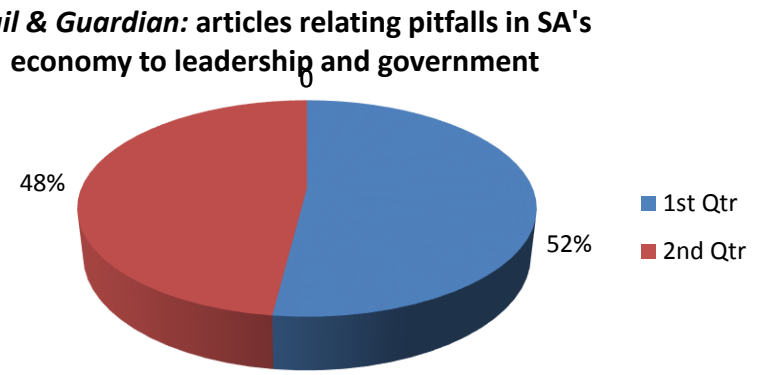
In analysing 44 *Mail & Guardian* articles on the Budget speech, this paper found that the Mail & Guardian took a different stance to issues and plays a more investigative role, as prescribed in its mandate. This means that they delve into issues which can be interrogated further by macro-economic policy makers. This can be argued to be a strength of the paper. In comparison to other newspapers similar to it in terms of audience and issues, like the *Business Day* for example which arguably does not challenge the issues which it reports on particularly with regards to their Budget Speech coverage, the *Mail & Guardian* plays a

better role at this. The *Business Days* coverage on the Budget Speech for example blankets many issues and reduces them down to a problem which South Africa needs to improve on for example labour unrest [fig 1] in a bid to appease investors and business. On the contrary, this paper found that the *Mail & Guardian* has a very critical view towards the government which is healthy for the media in a democracy however; I argue that the ways in which the *Mail & Guardian* frames its arguments is centred on a neo-liberal understanding of society and marginalises many *other* debates. Moreover, in the analysis of the articles, this study found that these macro-economic policy issues are framed according to how the economy is in trouble due to poor leadership and inadequate public management. This is evidenced in the ways in which these reports placed emphasis on the role of the government in an economy facing crises.

Hyper-critical views concerning the ruling party, the African National Congress [ANC] and the President of the country Jacob Zuma from a *Mail & Guardian* perspective suggests that pitfalls in the economy or institutions that contribute to the functioning of the state are associated with the inabilities of the state. When reporting on South African Airways [SAA] for example, the company chairperson who the paper highlighted has linked to the president and the Jacob Zuma foundation was reported in negative light stating that "the SAA board has been rocked by mass resignations in protest against the chairperson, Dudu Myeni…it is surely no coincidence that she is so close to Zuma". She was also reported as 'truant'[45] and 'workshy'[46].

These views are explicit because of the ways in which they link the struggling economy to Jacob Zuma and his administration. "The disastrous consequences of President Jacob Zuma's poor and costly leadership and the ANC's calamitous policy flops are starting to show"[47] this is evidenced in 23 out of the 44 (52%) articles that were analysed from the *Mail & Guardian* [see Figure 1 below]:

[45] (no author) (2014) "Editorial: Brown crashes on take-off" reported on 24 October 2014
[46] (no author) (2014) "Editorial: Brown crashes on take-off" reported on 24 October 2014
[47]no author) (2014) "Editorial:Nene hobbled by old tusker" reported on 24 October 2014



In light of the data above, this study argues that the *Mail & Guardian* is openly anti-ruling party however when reporting on issues in South Africa, in particular the Budget, it is framed in various negative ways that place the African National Congress [ANC] and government as the *centre* of economic crises in South Africa and as being the reason for the downward economic forecasts. These crises that the ruling party administration is blamed for includes issues around poor quality of ministers and political will as well as abuse of funds and mismanagement of state parastatals. In analysing these articles, discourses around poor leadership, President Jacob Zuma's corrupt government and the need for further investment, circulate in Budget reporting.

Furthermore, this research finds that although the *Mail & Guardian* is more investigative in nature it skews the national debate on macro-economic policy by blaming government as the sole reason for many of the economic *and* social pitfalls the South African economy faces. This can be argued because of the ways in which, similarly to the *Business Day*, social unrest plays a role in why rating agencies downgrade South Africa. Moreover, that social unrest and strikes constantly affect the economy without questioning the deep-rooted reasons behind the constant 'social unrest':

> "there is a heightened risk that social tensions and social pressures could continue to have a negative impact on South Africa's medium-term political, economic and fiscal framework"[48]"we need structural reform to change dramatically South Africa's potential growth"[49], and

[48](no author) (2012) "Close, but no consensus on key limits" reported on 24 February 2012

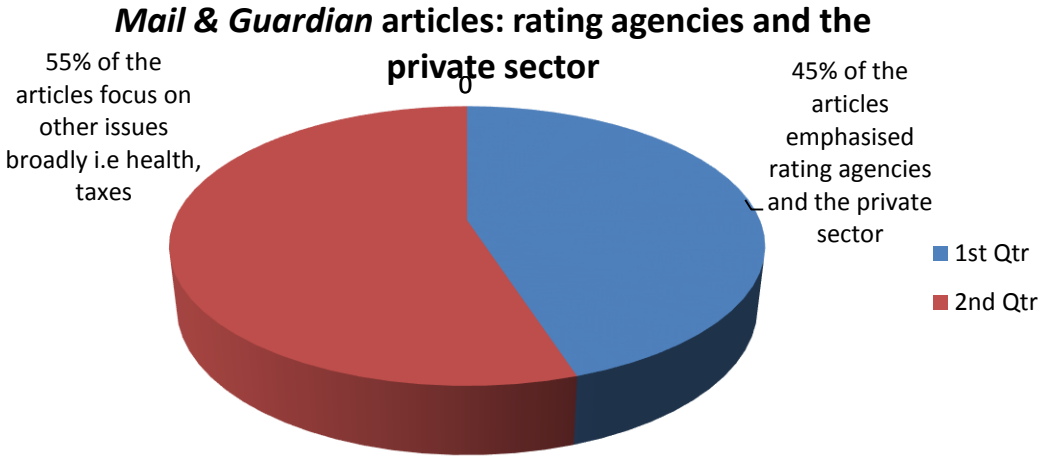
> "ensuring that South Africa remained a competitive investment destination"[50].

A neo-Gramscian perspective the on the ways in which a bourgeoisie class, in this case the print media and more specifically the *Mail & Guardian* creates a historic bloc through education and the media is maintained because their self-interest. This means that discrediting the abilities of the ruling party and government becomes accepted by broader society and subordinate classes as being common sense and as their own interest (Ozcelik, 2005: 98). This then influences the debates around forming a 'disciplined' macro-economic policy that is resilient to government corruption and allows for the market to 'prevail'. Thus, it can also be argued that the role of the 'market' in determining the ways in which the economy is understood is taken as static and that everything else must work around the economy. In other words, their reporting, like the Business Day places private actors such as local and international business outside, and above what can be considered to be social forces [such as civil society] that play as significant a role in shaping the South African economy. Private business,investors *and credit rating agencies* are placed as key actors, like the *Business Day* in contributing to the 'growth' of the South African economy as seen with reports [see fig 2]:

> "The need for increased private sector investment and conditions to encourage it"[51], "The improved projections for infrastructure spend are likely to cheer the ratings agencies"[52] from 20 articles out of 44 articles on the Budget Speech.

[50] Benjamin, C (2013) "Budget 2013: Tax and compliance tightened up for corporates" reported on 1 March 2013
[51]Donelly, L (2012) "Bid to keep debt levels" reported 24 February 2012
[52]Donelly, L (2012) "Bid to keep debt levels" reported 24 February 2012

Figure 2



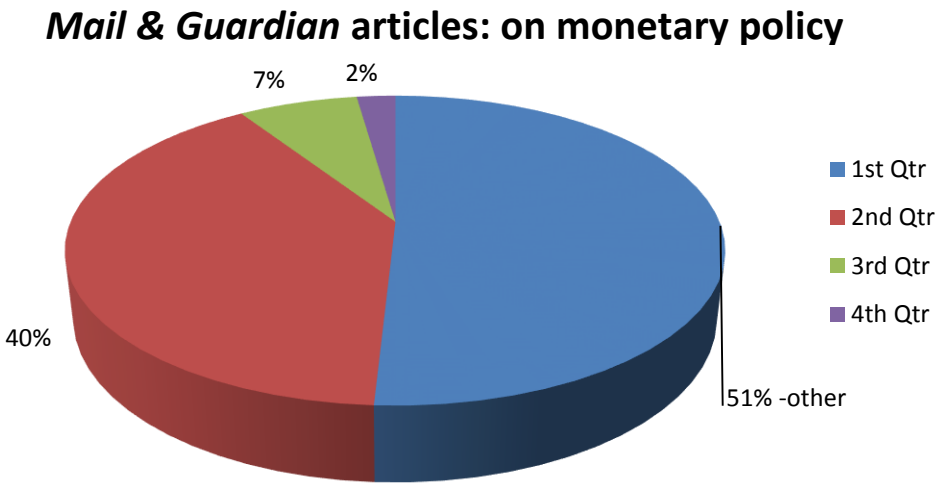
The implications of this kind of view about solving problems of the domestic economy creates poor perceptions about what the government and smaller local industries can do to contribute to 'growth'. Figure 2 above shows that 45% of the articles that reported on the Budget speech reproduced this view about growth and that the private sector can drive growth in South Africa. This study argues that although growth should be driven by the private sector, there should be a bigger role in what the public sector as well as the informal sector can do in contributing to growth instead of relying on private foreign business and more specifically credit rating agencies. This paper also argues that these global rating institutions also rely, to a certain extent on South African print media to influence their perceptions on the economy. Thus, if government is constantly the 'source' of corruption and economic downturn issues, rating agencies can use this information to view the country apart from their own research and statistical databases which would illustrate the role of the media in setting agenda's for policy. However, this is not the main interest of the research and this claim should be interpreted as a view on the implications of relying on rating agencies. This paper also found that in reporting on a *better* monetary [fiscal] policy for South Africa, reports reiterate the importance of managing finances better, debt and credit rating agencies' concerns as seen in reports stating that:

> "fiscal prudence has been emphasised, now for the public sector to play ball"[53], "The fiscal space built up during the austere Gear period and in the boom years between 2003 and 2008 is all used

[53]Donelly, L (2011) "Gordhan jolts state to deliver" reported 25 February 2011

up"[54], "the budget provided some relief for fiscal drag"[55], "lower deficits and debt will placate the credit rating agencies, which is not an end in itself but a way of trying to ensure that vast sums for railway lines…are accessible at reasonable interest rates" these comments were found in eighteen (40%)of the 44 articles illustrated in figure 3 below .

Figure 3



Furthermore, the government of South Africa is reported as lacking capability as well as the political will to change the dilapidating economy which will upset investors and disappoint credit rating agencies. This is at the expense of questioning how local, small and growing enterprises in South Africa can play a role in lifting the economy and opening it up for better and fairer economic *participation for the poor*. This paper recognises that looking at the dilapidating state of the economy from the latter perspective would have been a suitable platform to discuss the poor's place with the economy. Out of 44 articles only 1 (2%) spoke to the budget as needing to be more inclusive for the poor and not just accommodating to the middle-class and the elite: "The budget champions infrastructure development as a job creator and has increased benefits to the poor, its critics on the left say that, on closer inspection, it is still skewed towards the elite"[56].

Interestingly, out of 44 of the articles, only 3 (7%) [See fig.3 above] spoke about energy and the environment and the need for more socially responsible ways to addressing the energy

[54] Dawes, N (2013) "Budget 2013: Gordhan exposes the limits of the fiscus reported 1 March 2013
[55] Fisher-French, M (2012) "Don't smile, you're being mugged" reported 24 February 2012
[56] Swart, H (2012) "Little done to relieve pain of the poor" reported on 24 February 2012

crisis. Thus, it can be argued that the media, in particular the *Mail & Guardian* plays the role of an interlocutor in shaping discourse owing to the fact that the other possible reasons for South Africa's troubled economy are not expanded on because of their particular focus on certain issues like the ANC. For example, as much as government may be corrupt, private business and even non-governmental organisations, international non-state actors play a significant role in South African economic issues, unemployment and poor social stability which the newspaper does not take into consideration or question when criticising the ruling party and government for poor economic outlooks and gains. This research argues that when reporting on the budget, the Mail & Guardian has an important role to play in bringing in the voices of the poor at this time while at the same time asking questions about how the budget can address more issues directly affecting the poor.

*Mail & Guardian'*s reports on the Budget mean certain class interests prevail. This theme shows the discursive function that the media play in creating a historic bloc, or in other words, the ruling ideas and a *financialised* way of understanding the flaws of the government. This financialised lens in understanding how governments role affects accumulation and capital does not consider how private business' corruption and mismanagement, itself can also be a great 'risk' to the economy in the same way as government . Thus, when looking at how this newspaper covers issues, it can be argued that there is a class bias and what Bongani Masuku of COSATU calls an 'Afro-pessimism' because of how the ruling party-led government is seen in a pessimistic view. This is while the *Mail & Guardian* continues to align with IMF views about South Africa's economic outlook in its forecasts.

6.2 External Globalising Discourse: views from *Mail & Guardian* reports on the IMF

6.2.1 The IMF: a 'key' to growth and development problems

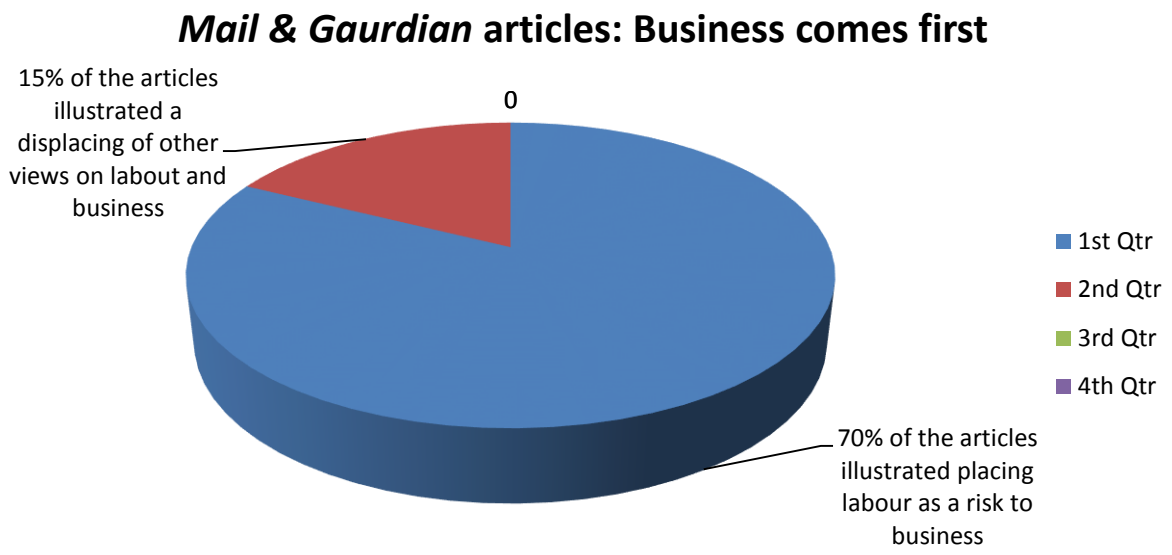
In analysing the articles of the *Mail & Guardian* concerning its reporting on the IMF Country reports during each year, the *Mail & Guardian*s reports place South Africa in a negative light. This is seen with the ways in which the newspaper frames their reporting in ways that put blame on South Africa itself for being in its current state of economic crises. This research found that emphasis on labour and business in 14 (70%) [See fig 4] out of the 20 articles reported on the IMF over 2011-2014:

> "a further escalation in domestic labour and social unrest, the fund said "[57]"Increased labour unrest in the face of stubborn unemployment levels was a key risk to South Africa's economic outlook according to the IMF"[58],"The repeated standoffs between business and labour were costing the economy"[59],"labour needs to take cognisance of the problems cited by business – problems that led to the recent decision by BMW, for one, to reconsider its operations here"[60] while citing the IMF reporting on South Africa that "reforms to the country's product market would 'spur competition, lower barriers and prices, and promote innovation'"[61]

This is supported by citing institutions such as MSCI Emerging Markets Index and Kagiso Purchasing Index who give their view on the ways in which the South African economy is in decline. Moreover, the*Mail & Guardian* does not only promote these ideas as legitimate, it also questions other alternative voices and views as illegitimate as seen in three of the 20 (15%) [See fig 4 below] articles which made wide reference to the Congress of South African Trade Unions [COSATU]. For example, a 2013 article reports that COSATU is shocked by the IMF's reports on South Africa because of how the IMF: "Notes 'inflexible' labour legislation as one of the problems South Africa has to deal with if it is to grow economically and thereby deal with poverty and unemployment"[62].

Figure 4

[57]Donelly, L (2013) "IMF reports doom and gloom for SA" reorted on 1 October 2013
[58]Donelly, L (2012) "IMF drops SA growth forecast amid growing labour unrest, joblessness" reported on 23 August 2012
[59]Donelly, L (2012) "IMF drops SA growth forecast amid growing labour unrest, joblessness" reported on 23 August 2012
[60](no author) (2013) "Editorial: Knee-jerking is pointless, Cosatu" reported 11 October 2013
[61]Donelly, L (2013) "IMF reports doom and gloom for SA" reorted on 1 October 2013
[62] (no author) (2013) "Editorial: Knee-jerking is pointless, Cosatu" reported 11 October 2013



Throughout analysis, the reports by the *Mail & Guardian* on the IMF also reiterate that the reasons for South Africa's slow recovery from the recession are also domestic and in trivialising response to views such as those held by COSATU. COSATU argues that the IMF is actually "blaming the world capitalist crisis, brought about by the IMF's own neoliberal 'free-market' capitalist policies"[63]. This paper argues that the *Mail & Guardian* dismisses these outlooks by reiterating the legitimacy of the IMF and defending their ideas in their reports on certain issues like unemployment :

> The IMF's report on South Africa notes 'inflexible' labour legislation as one of the problems South Africa has to deal with if it is to grow economically and thereby deal with poverty and unemployment, COSATU should not be so easily flabbergasted"[64]. The reports also cited treasury stating that "the IMF also recommended that government adopt a debt benchmark to 'bolster credibility over its commitment to fiscal consolidation"[65]

This study argues that even though a smaller percentage of the articles reflect a displacing of alternative views by organizations such as COSATU, it is a microcosm of greater views that show how even if there are other views that come to the fore about IMF's outlooks on South Africa, this newspaper does not take into consideration the important role that COSATU

[63] (no author) (2013) "Cosatu dumbfounded by IMF report" reported 2 October 2013
[64](no author) (2013) "Editorial: Knee-jerking is pointless, Cosatu" reported 11 October 2013
[65]Donelly, L (2013) "SA needs to reform to save economy" reported on 4 October 2013

plays in the South African labour complex and the possible critical views, though controversial, that can contribute to national debate. In other words, instead of reporting, and looking at both sides of the story about what COSATU is voicing, this study argues that the *Mail & Guardian* side lines the views of COSATU as inaccurate particularly when they critique the 'free-market' model in an attempt to expose its flaws. Although critical political economy approach to the media would argue that time constraints and profit-driven deadlines do not allow the newspaper to spend time on COSATU's voice about the economy, a neo-Gramscian view on ideology, argues that because the *Mail & Guardian* is perceived as a legitimate source for information, their ideas become widely accepted as normal, therefore 'othering' other views that challenge the status quo.

This paper argues that this is one of the ways in which the media places the South African economy in relation to the global economy externally by reaffirming neo-liberal stances in their reporting of issues even when receiving input from voices which represent the working class fractions. Therefore, this paper finds that key debates about labour, which is an important aspect of the South African economy, are also framed in a neo-liberal perspective. This perspective continues to place these issues outside of the economy in a sense that private business takes precedence in addressing their concerns before any other issue. One can argue that the transporting of Gramsci's ideas into the international sphere is seen with his thoughts on a globalised world order where he argues that international organisations play a role in facilitating consensus and thus the formation of hegemony. This formation of hegemony is illustrated in the example of the *Mail & Guardian*s report on the IMF and the South African economy (Ludwig, 2012: 6).

This means that because the IMF is already viewed as a legitimate entity, the *Mail & Guardian* relays this information while only 1 of the 44 articles read for the years 2011-2014 reported a critical articled on the IMF.In addition, this paper found that the *Mail & Guardian*s reports on South African macro-economic policy in ways that legitimate South Africa as an export-led nation placing emphasis on its natural resources as the main way in which the economy can grow. This is seen in the reiteration of how South Africa is 'underperforming' in comparison to other 'commodity exporters', for example "this means stress could be limited to countries with high current account deficits, political unrest or a reliance on

commodities"[66]. Thus, although the article can be critical of the IMF and include all the critiques it sees in the institution, 1 article out of 44 is not adequate for a diversity of views about the IMF and the ways in which it can reform the way it sees South Africa. In other words, with regards to economic reporting especially as a more investigative newspaper, the *Mail & Guardian* does not do enough to unpack these issues for policy makers to address more broadly.

This can be argued to be a way that the *Mail & Guardian* propagates old structural economic models of the African continent as being the continued supplier of resources as a way to 'grow' and 'catch-up' to the global North. Furthermore, this paper argues that there is a 'silencing' discourse in the ways in which the paper reports on the IMF reports as it reiterates the need for decreased labour strikes for example because these strikes become the cause for the IMF reducing the forecast on South Africa's economic outlook. The view of the IMF is legitimized here without the *Mail & Guardian* interrogating the reasons to which the strikes continue, as they do with government corruption reflecting the bias of the newspaper.

When applying the concept of hegemony to institutions such as the IMF, it can be argued that they are part of a set of forces that create a historic bloc and at the same time facilitate a particular form of state in the global network. In other words, this paper argues that owing to the fact that the IMF is seen an institution of legitimacy explains why it is able to impose an authoritative view on different countries. Here, a transnational hegemonic stance is reinforced and the way in which the South African economy is seen is understood in this way, therefore globalising South Africa externally.

6.3 Peoples Budget Coalition [PBC]: other conversations taking place

6.3.1 Unequal Race Relations Continue in South Africa

This paper notes that the PBC budget process also raised issues concerning the state of race in South Africa and how that is reflected through the economic disparities in the country. Though this is one of the smaller themes that came out of the entire analysis, discourses on race were brought out as playing an important role in macro-economic policy issues. The PBC budget process looks at the mainstream budget speech from a post-colonial perspective situating the budget outside of a technocratic framing of the economy. This means that the racial perspective to the budget places the understanding of macro-economic policy from one

[66] Kennedy, S (2014) "Developed economies are 'fighting off emerging-market contagion'" reported on 28 January 2014

which aims to address the historical roots to the deficiencies that exist. This study found that the PBC budget process saw the redistribution plans by government proposed in the national budget as reflecting redistribution patterns that failed because of the worsened inequalities between races in South Africa:

> "Income inequality is still racialised, and has deepened within racial groups. An average African man earns in the region of R2 400 per month, whilst an average white man earns around R19 000 per month. Redistribution of income has not occurred and inequalities have worsened: Besides the decline in the real incomes of African households between 1995 and 2005, income inequality has increased across the board according to the South African Institute of Race Relations Survey of 2009"[67].

The statements argued that the nature of economic policy in South Africa also plays a role in determining the probability of promotion and recruitment in the work place. In other words, these proposals argued that the South African economy is still racialized owing to the income disparities that exist between the black and white populations. This paper argues that these reports see the ways in which the budget is allocated as perpetuating the already existing inequalities and only voicing a budget that is seemingly for the whole of South African society while it actually benefits one racial class more than the other. This can be argued because of the ways in which the PBC budget process advocates for alternative forms of ownership and cooperation [as seen with issues around land/farming and food security]. The PBC believes the white ownership reproduces historical frameworks and networks that only deepen inequalities instead of eliminating them stating that:

> "The PBC calls for greater resource allocation, support and promotion of alternative forms of ownership such as cooperatives and other forms of collective ownership of farms and agro-processing industries"[68]

The paper found that one out of 44 articles on an 'alternative budget' was reported by the *Mail & Guardian* which illustrates the inadequate balancing of issues in the newspaper. This

[67] (PBC) (2011) "Peoples Budget Coalition Comments on the 2011/12 Budget" reported on 25 February 2011
[68] (PBC) (2011) "Peoples Budget Coalition Comments on the 2011/12 Budget" reported on 25 February 2011

report stated that the article was by the *Budget and Expenditure Monitoring Forum*, and the *Call for Budget Justice* who imagined what they would say if they were the minister of finance and called for:

> "By factoring in accurate data relating to gender, we will be better able to develop our budgets according to needs, rather than according to how we have budgeted in the past", "We recognise that the fight against corruption and financial mismanagement must be addressed by both the public and private sectors", "if we don't create a low carbon economy we will soon face increasing social and environmental costs that will overwhelm us"[69]

The above alternative budget represents possible recommendations to the current ways in which the mainstream national budget speech is delivered as it is a more socially responsible and socially responsive budget than what the *Mail & Guardian* has reported on. The alternative budget brings into context more issues which the budget can address such as gender, the role of history in allocation of the budget as well as issues around the root causes of corruption and how to address this. One of the most important proposals made by the PBC budget process is the ways in which it addresses the unemployment for example from a different perspective which also addresses challenges that policy makers may not entirely have control over. In other words, the discussion on the climate and reducing employment through a more climate friendly framework allows for there to be 'climate jobs'. This allows for there to be perspectives which move beyond the market and privatisation to curb domestic issues. This paper argues that the above proposals allow for the South African state to have more control and be more effective in their implementation of budget proposals and plans and. This can happen while attempting to address issues that plague the country like unemployment more directly, perhaps a greener economy is a start.

6.3.2 Addressing Climate change: Perspectives on a Greener Economy

One of the most interesting, though smaller themes that was analysed in this study was that of a greener economy and the need to address climate change. The PBC budget process looks at unemployment as one that needs to be addressed by climate change through recognising the need for the role of the environment. The PBC budget process is calling for a greener

[69] (no author) (2014) "The peoples alternative Budget, 2014" reported on 26 February 2014

economy as a way of resolving growing unemployment through a shift in the ways in which this issue is resolved:

> "Budget support on climate change programmes as well as the resulting and growing impact of natural disasters on communities and households. The budget must, therefore, support public education on climate change and disaster management"[70], "a much more diversified economy that supports the expansion of manufacturing, agriculture and agricultural processing, a green economy and a growing and supportive services sector"[71].

In other words, this is the move away from market-centred ways of tackling unemployment through climate-friendly initiatives which the proposals called 'climate jobs'. This paper argues that this is a smaller reflection of what the PBC proposals call for in terms of a people-friendly employment environment. This paper finds that that the PBC budget process is calling for a wider scope of addressing macro-economic policy in which nature can play a central role in many areas of the economy like issues around land, food and migration to cities.

6.4 Some Recommendations: Lessons from the MERG Report

During the transition into democracy, there was a greater need to pay more attention to the issues of economic policy restructuring and processes. This is because prior to the dawn of the democratic dispensation, South Africa was characterised by protectionist and an uncompetitive economic system which needed to be changed if there was going to be growth, job creation and redistribution (Nattrass, 1994: 219). In a bid to achieve growth and redistribution in the new-found democracy, the African National Congress [ANC] through the leadership of Nelson Mandela in June 1990 raised the issue that there was a need to better understand economic policy issues in South Africa as an anti-apartheid movement as which was preparing for upcoming negotiations (van Ameringen, 1995: 5). Thus, after gaining support from the Canadian government through the International Development and Research Council (IDRC), the ANC played a significant role in setting up the foreign funded Macro-economic Research Group [MERG] which employed both local and foreign researchers to

[70](PBC) (2011) "Peoples Budget Coalition Comments on the 2011/12 Budget" reported on 25 February 2011
[71] (2011/2012) "Expectations Statement of the National Budget to be presented on 22 February http://www.cosatu.org.za/show.php?ID=5866 published on 21 February 2011

help with economic modelling. Researchers that were appointed varied from South African, Canadian, Australian and British economists (Freund, 2013: 523).

Canadian funding had already played a role in South African economic policy research because of its support of the Economic Trends Research Group [ET]; which was a brainchild of COSATU as an initial report from the IDRC (Freund, 2013: 523). The aims to achieve growth and redistribution meant that these models formulated by MERG would help in designing certain policy proposals in various sectors which included mining and manufacturing, rural development as well as state structure reformation (Nattrass, 1994: 219). The research produced by this group was published in 1993 in a 340 page book entitled: *Making Democracy Work: A Framework for Macro-economic Policy in South Africa.* Nattrass (1994: 219) argues that the MERG Report is one of the most comprehensive strategy documents that were produced at the time owing to the various development and people-centred approach it took to macro-economic policy formation.

Briefly, the MERG Report can be argued to have been an attempt to reconstruct the South African economy as seen with its ten-year plan to boost growth to 5% per annum in the year 2004 while creating 300, 000 jobs per year. The MERG Report was also characterised by its policies on land reform and public works programs which targeted the poor directly and focusing on human development through education and training (Nattrass, 1994: 219). Thus, it can be argued that the MERG Report aimed to reconcile issues of growth and redistribution and focuses on changing patterns of demand by prioritising savings and investment. One of the key proposals made by the Report was the transformation of the Post-Office Savings Bank into a Peoples Bank which would be more accessible (MERG, 1993: 247-8).

In other words, one can argue that the MERG Report aimed to create a macro-economic policy framework that encouraged savings as a way of participating in a new South Africa (Nattrass, 1994: 220). Using the vision of the MERG Report, this paper argues that current macro-economic policy could introduce measures to structure the economy through savings so that the poor can also be better integrated into participating in the economy. This is in light of the growing inequalities between the rich and the poor since 1994. The main aspect of the MERG Report was its two-stage plan which aimed to transform the economy through the 'initial public-investment-led phase' which would characterise the years between 1993 and 1999 and the second stage 'sustained growth phase' which would characterise the years between 1999 and 2004. During the first phase, the MERG Report suggested that state

investment should be focused in areas of social and physical infrastructure. This is especially with regard to housing, rural water supply and road development, education and schools as well as health and electricity. The report states that "public expenditure must increase the human and social capacity for production, and offer improved prospects for profitable private sector investment" (MERG, 1993: 27).

The MERG Report reflected a contrast to the mainstream economic models that were dominating at the time of liberation of many African countries during the 1990's, - neo-liberal economic policy framework. These frameworks were embraced as part of accepting the globalisation process not only economically but also politically and socially, especially as a way of illustrating a state's political legitimacy. The MERG Report's theoretical foundations, it can be argued, were characterised by a post-Keynesian approach. This can be argued because of the ways in which this theoretical lens argues that the level of economic activity is determined by the level of total demand (Palley, 2004: 2). Furthermore, Keynesians also believe that capitalist economies can go through periodic weaknesses in demand that can contribute to the rise in unemployment.

Post-Keynesians also believe that income distribution is also dependent on institutional factors in terms of scarcity and productivity but also the bargaining power (Palley, 2004: 2). Thus, it can be argued that this explains the significant role played by trade unions, laws that guide minimum wages, employees' rights as well as social protection systems such as unemployment insurance. In light of the wide recognition of the MERG Report and its recommendations, Padayachee (2007) argues that the Report was seen as playing a role in formulating an alternative macro-economic strategy for the post-apartheid era (Padayachee, 2007). In the same light, this paper argues that the MERG Report can still serve as a guideline to reform current problems which were anticipated at the time of democracy that could have been addressed with the implementation of the recommendations made by MERG. Thus, when taking into consideration some of these proposals by MERG, a more socially inclusive, effective and dynamic macro-economic policy can be developed that is less financialised. In contrast to a financialised discourse to the economy, where every aspect of society has to work around the economy, alternative lenses to macro-economic policy issues that are as complex as the issues it seeks to address such as race, gender, unemployment should be employed.

Chapter 7: Research Conclusions

This final chapter summarises the key findings of the study and draws together the analysis of the print media, more specifically one email and seven audio-recorded interview transcripts conducted over June and July 2014 with media experts, professionals, policy makers and academics in the media and international relations fields. This analysis also included the *Mail & Guardian* and the *Business Day* newspapers reporting on macro-economic policy issues in South Africa. More specifically, how these papers globalise South Africa while at the same time drawing on other macro-economic policy alternatives namely that of the Peoples Budget Coalition [PBC] and macro-economic policy issues that were proposed by the MERG Report in 1993. In other words, this paper argues that there is a need for these newspapers to begin to truly represent the South African public sphere and report on all issues while at the same time opening up other debates. This chapter will be an overview of all the various discourses that came out using a mixed method for analysis of the reports by these papers on the Budget Speech from 2011 to 2014 as well as interviews of various participants from both the media and international relations field who would have knowledge of the abovementioned issues.

This paper argued that bringing communications and international relations through critical theory such as neo-Gramscian perspective using various concepts such as hegemony, ideology and social forces has been useful to reconceptualise communications-thinking as well as politicizing dominant modes of seeing macro-economic policy from a communications perspective. Therefore, several themes using critical political economy [CPE] approach and a neo-Gramscian lens emerged from the readings of transcripts and articles from the newspapers. These readings included dominant themes such as 'Media's role: A Conduit for information', 'Media Re-production: Middle Class Issues…"entrenching old power relations"', 'Globalisation: A Part of the Value Chain', 'Globalising Discourse from Within: The role of the private sector in the South African economy', 'External Globalising Discourse: The IMF- The 'Gospel Truth', and 'Globalising discourse from within: Economic coverage- A neo-liberal view on ANC-leadership pitfalls'. The alternative discourses found in the thematic readings of the PBC process included, "Opening up the Labour Conversation: addressing unemployment", "Land Redistribution & Food", "Unequal Race Relations Continue in South Africa" and "Addressing Climate change: Perspectives on a Greener Economy".

A mixed research method was employed through the using qualitative and quantitative tools for the transcripts and articles while picking out the dominant themes which illustrated the presence of a neo-liberal understanding of the media. These tools used were a thematic analysis which seeks to inductively understand and let data lead what themes emerge while a content analysis allowed for the counting of the number of articles which would reiterate certain them, forming the basis for the discussion. In an analysis of the interview transcripts, this paper found that the print media is seen to represent society, play the role of a watchdog however, playing this role only for a *certain* section of society. This brought scholars such as Steven Friedman and Sarah Chiumbu to propose a more socially responsible media, not only playing its role as watchdog, or facilitator of debate for the middle class in South Africa who *own* this media, but to carry out these functions for *all* in South Africa who depend on this information.

A critical theory critique of these arguments revealed that the neo-liberal view of the media overlooks many issues including race, class, and culture because of the ways in which these views are displaced through unbalanced coverage of issues as well as 'othering' other views that critique or question the status quo. This can be argued because of the alternative views put forward by the Congress of South African Trade Unions [COSATU] for example. This research argues that the *Mail & Guardian* dismisses these outlooks by reiterating the legitimacy of the IMF and defending their ideas in their reports on certain issues like unemployment. For example, the IMF's report on South Africa notes 'inflexible' labour legislation as one of the problems South Africa has to deal with if it is to grow economically and thereby deal with poverty and unemployment, COSATU should not be so easily flabbergasted"[72]. This newspaper does not take into consideration the important role that COSATU plays in the South African labour complex and the possible critical views, though controversial, that can contribute.

In other words, instead of reporting, and looking at both sides of the story about what COSATU is voicing, this study argues that the *Mail & Guardian* side lines the views of COSATU as inaccurate particularly when they critique the 'free-market' model in an attempt to expose its flaws. On the other hand, this research has argued that the *Business Day*, which openly aligns with a neo-liberal policy framework and found that there was ambivalence in the ways in which the articles represented their coverage on issues such as privatization. This

[72] (no author) (2013) "Editorial: Knee-jerking is pointless, Cosatu" reported 11 October 2013

research argues that this could point to the possibility that the *Business Day* recognises the need for other ways of bolstering the economy although no evidence was found pointing to this possibility. In light of this, this research found that the *Business Day* could *actually* be reflecting their stance which is not entirely religiously supportive of neo-liberalism. This research also argues that this ambivalence could represent a signpost to note that neo-liberalism cannot be used as a blanket term particularly because the *Business Day* recognises that neo-liberal tenets cannot *all* be adopted blindly. The research also found that the Peoples Budget Coalition [PBC] process illustrated alternative, grassroots voices concerning what other ways macro-economic policy can be addresses especially in a country where majority of the population cannot relate and understand policy recommendations of the Budget Speeches and IMF Country Reports in depth. Issues including food and labour reflected interesting perspectives to dealing with macro-economic policy representing a more 'bottom-up' approach to addressing dominant narratives to macro-economic policy.

One can conclude that the neo-liberal approach underpinning South African media ethics is a limited and narrow view because it is rooted in the western understanding of the role of the media in a society as well as the 'central' role of the 'market'. Moreover, the 'market' is viewed as a constant instead of a dynamic ever changing force around society. Instead, society, politics, culture and world relations are taken as having to be understood around the market. This paper also argued that this is detrimental for a post-colonial, post-apartheid society with many inequalities and a history of racial and material division because it does not address the deep-rooted issues that macro-economic policy can play a role in alleviating. This means that mainstream discourse in concentrated, lacks diversity of views and thus a narrow view of the world. This is because of the restricted lens in which the *Mail & Guardian* and the *Business Day* report and understand macro-economic policy particularly in the context of the Budget Speeches and IMF Country Reports.

In light of the recommendations that are made by the finance minister in the Budget Speech as well as the recommendations made by the IMF Country Reports and in the ways in which these are reported by these newspapers, this research argued that the current media space in South Africa shifted from a liberal to a neo-liberal media along with the political dispensation in 1994. This can be said because, even though there is no binding relationship between the media in South Africa which is private, there is an ideological uniformity. This was shown in the ways in which the role of private investors for example was emphasised in up to 45% of Business Day articles. This can be seen in the ways in which these papers accept and promote

the ideas that are aligned with global institutions such as the IMF. This paper argued that the ways in which these papers reproduce and do not give a more balanced view of the Budget or the IMF Country Reports in light of recommendations put forward by the Peoples Budget Coalition, this sees the media as neoliberal because of the narrow one sided market-centric view of macro-economic policy issues. This research argued that the media can be seen as an agent, and a social force which plays a role in the creation of a financialised state concerned with capital accumulation and concepts such as discipline being applicable to the media.

This research paper used Gill's (1995: 411) definition of discipline to understand the media in South Africa as "the structural power of capital; the ability to promote uniformity and obedience within parties, cadres, organisations, and especially in class formations associated with transnational capital" (Gill, 1995: 411). In other words, this research advanced that the nature of media reporting, and more specifically the *Mail & Guardian* and the *Business Day* in South Africa represents a 'disciplinary neoliberalism' because of the ways in which they defend and promote the views put forward in macro-economic policy issues. This means that neoliberal forms of discipline are not universal and represent a narrow view of the world which needs to be re-evaluated because of the ways in which they are bureaucratised, technocratic and institutionalised (Gill, 1995:411-2).

In other words, the *Business Day* needs to play a more socially responsible role as a reporter for business and open up the debate more. For example, this can be done by asking *why* there are more strikes in South Africa today and what can be done to remedy this in the interests of the people and business and where government's role comes in. This study also found for example that a general view of the articles is that 'government and business need to work together' but they do not state how. This paper argues that in the context of South Africa this needs to be done; meaning that the socially-responsible way of reporting is there but is not explicitly coming out.

This research also asserted that it is also important to note that Western societies do not have the same complexities resulting from violent colonial histories, political and economic instability. However, this paper also highlights that the neo-liberal framework is not incorrect but is a limited and narrow view of the media in understanding its place in a post-apartheid South Africa, needing continuous inclusion and the formation of a national identity which is not seen in the media. Critical theory, which includes neo-Gramcian concepts such as hegemony, ideology and social forces as well as the critical political economy (CPE)

approach, assisted in uncovering the loop-holes of the western rooted understanding of macro-economic policy framework.

Although many of the arguments demonstrated a neo-liberal approach to understanding the Budget and IMF Reports, this research did not seek to serve as a platform that negates the views of these macro-economic policy recommendations but seek to argue for the opening up of the debate for a wider lens in understanding South Africa's place in globalisation domestically and internationally.

The first dominant themes found illustrated the dominant ways in which the media view themselves [as independent and free] in a democracy. In relation to the final question of the research which aimed to assess the class orientation of the print media and the public sphere it aims to constitute as well as where the media should be located in terms of the ruling historic bloc, the paper found that the print media in South Africa especially the *Business Day* and the *Mail & Guardian* largely have a middle-class bias towards issues relating to and affecting the middle class. This paper argues that the ways in which these papers report on these issues plays a role in the readership of these papers because of a specific audience. This happens around the world as the media are also a private profit making institution however; they do not become a source of information for majority of the population. This includes a variety of reasons including cost of the paper, levels of education and readers as well as socio-economic status. However, this also means that a particular understanding of macro-economic policy [which is meant largely for the poor] is understood according to how it affects the middle class meaning more alternatives need to be embraced. This paper also found that the ways in which the media view themselves has placed them in direct opposition to the government without them interrogating other forms of power, and ignoring their own place in economic power.

The media have naturalised their views as accurate, facilitating the 'normal' functioning of society as inherently good and doing 'their job' as the fourth estate. This has become the dominant view of the media versus other actors including the government and in this case the ruling party, the ANC. This research argued that this is problematic in South Africa because it leaves little room for constructive debate in the media sphere. Instead, there is a constant back and forth between the media and government with no public voice being heard.

This study argued that the media have not created a space in which to have critical conversation about macro-economic policy and its challenges as well as the deep-rooted

issues facing South African society because they continue to perpetuate and defend a neo-liberal perspective. Neo-Gramscian and Critical Political Economy [CPE] approach have unmasked that there is a need for better representation of marginalised communities and alternative views which have seen the rise in voices of a new, third, liminal space such as the PBC. It is in these spaces that other alternative views emerge which are not heard in the mainstream media. Finally, although this is a Masters research paper, it also argues that there is room for new research concerning not only neo-liberal and capitalist nature of the media but how the arguments frame and view these policies whether economic, environmental or with regards to issues of food and land. A neo-Gramscian and Critical Political economy Approach can serve as interesting points of departure for opportunities for further research in these areas of research.

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APPENDIX A

Interview Schedule[73]:

1. What do you think is the role of ***print*** media in South Africa?
2. Do you think they [print media] play this role effectively?
3. What do you think is the class orientation of the print media in South Africa, particularly the *Business Day* and the *Mail & Guardian*?
4. Do you follow the reports on the International Monetary Fund [IMF] and Budget Speeches [national and medium-term]?
5. What are your views on the yearly IMF Country Reports on South Africa ***and*** what are your views on the Finance Ministers Budget Speeches?
6. Do you think international media play a role in influencing local media with regards to shaping the views of how the print media, particularly the *Business Day* and the *Mail & Guardian report* on the IMF Country Reports and the Finance Ministers Budget Speech?
7. With regards to the development goals enshrined in the Freedom Charter [a nationalist development-centred document], do you think that the print media embraces or displaces these narratives? Please elaborate
8. In your own view, briefly describe globalisation.
9. What do you think is South Africa's ***role*** in [economic] globalisation?
10. In reporting on the Budget Speech and the IMF Country Reports, what kinds of ideas are driven by the print media with regards to South Africa's place in the global economy?

[73] All interviews were carried out between June and August 2014