

https://dspace.org/

# Corporate media and the nationalisation of the economy in South Africa: a critical Marxist political economy approach

**Radebe, Mandla Joshua**

**2017**

https://hdl.handle.net/10539/24599

Radebe, Mandla Joshua (2017) Corporate media and the nationalisation of the economy in South Africa: a critical Marxist political economy approach, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, <https://hdl.handle.net/10539/24599>

Downloaded from a DSpace repository. https://dspace.org/

# Corporate Media and the Nationalisation of the Economy in South Africa: A Critical Marxist Political Economy Approach

By

**MANDLA J. RADEBE**

**A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Media Studies**




**University of the Witwatersrand**

**Johannesburg**

**July 2017**

## DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own original unaided work and it has not been previously submitted for a degree or diploma at any other university. Where other people's works have been used, this has been fully acknowledged. This thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the award of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Humanities at the University of the Witwatersrand, South Africa.

Signed

……

Mandla J. Radebe
0210434J
28 July 2017

## DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my beloved mother, who valued education and who passed on during the course of my PhD research.

Mfo kaGanda zime ncam'zevovo
Mpangampanga ukulala phezu komkhonto
Xhakaxhaka semkhonto kwaMbuyise
Mpunzi vuka bakukakile, mpunzi vuka bakuhlanganisile
Wena sangoma esangenwa ngabaphezulu ezinye zingenwa ngabaphansi
Isiqhaza esahloma nge Bhayibheli ezinye zihloma ngemikhonto, ngezinduku, amahawu namawisa

Umafa avuke njenge dangabane
Ungunguluzane kudala beyingunguluza
Gedleyihlekisa, qili phambana namanye amaqili
Ethi ebheke entshonalanga wena ububheke empumalanga
Mubambeni uMaNxumalo, muyekeni uMaNxumalo
Abam'gijimisayo ngeke basamthola, abahlanze ngedela

Zwide ka Langa!

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my sincere and special gratitude to my supervisor Dr Sarah Chiumbu for being a tremendous mentor throughout this journey. I thank her for all the encouragement and for giving me space for independent thinking. Her advice and level of professionalism have been valuable. I would also like to thank the Wits Department of Media Studies for affording me an opportunity to conduct my research. Former staff members in the department, Dr Wendy Willems for her encouragement and friendship, and Dr Last Moyo with whom I started this journey as my supervisor, deserve a special mention. I also thank Wits Journalism for paving this journey by enabling me to do BA Honours and MA degrees. Special thanks to Prof. Tawana Kupe, my MA supervisor, who planted the PhD seed and introduced me to my current supervisor.

A special thanks to my family, particularly my wife Prof. Sarah Mosoetsa for being more than just a partner to me. Words cannot express how grateful I am for her role in supporting, mentoring and advising me during this journey. I deeply appreciate your patience, support and love from the bottom of my heart. I love you! To my loving kids Nhlanhla, Zinzi and Phama, thanks for your understanding. To my sisters Nkosingiphile, Nomsa, Neli, Zodwa and Gugu and to my brother Sandile thanks for believing in me.

I am also grateful for the support from my previous employer ABSA, who paid for the first year of my studies, and my current employer the Auditor-General South Africa, for affording me space and time to finalise this project. I am equally indebted to many media professionals whom I interacted with prior to and during my PhD journey. Special mention to Henry Jeffreys for his support, advice, insights and friendship. To Sithembiso Msomi, Xolile Bhengu, Dumisane Lubisi, Sibusiso Ngalwa, Hopewell Radebe and Kevin Ritchie – ukwanda kwaliwa wumthakathi!

## ABSTRACT

This thesis analyses the representation of the nationalisation of mines debate, as a developmental policy discourse, by the South African corporate media. Essentially, the objective is to ascertain the corporate media's role and influence on ideology-laden developmental policy discourses. Post-apartheid, the South African corporate media has often been accused of bias by various social actors, including South Africa's governing party – the African National Congress. These accusations have been accompanied by perceptions of the media's inability and unwillingness to partner with government in its endeavour to implement its developmental agenda. This perceived bias is accentuated when it comes to ideologically laden issues such as nationalisation. Therefore, this research study grapples, inter alia, with questions behind the drivers of these perceptions, the manner in which the media portrays the developmental policy discourse, and the role the media should be playing in the country's developmental agenda. In its endeavour to respond to some of these questions, the research study thus focuses on the representation of the nationalisation of mines debate by the South African English corporate press in 2011. Given the complex nature of the discourse, the research study utilises both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies; triangulation in particular presents this thesis with numerous advantages towards attaining deeper understanding of the representation of the nationalisation discourse. Whereas quantitative content analysis helps identify and count the number of articles and related elements in the articles, qualitative content analysis offers a chance to probe further various elements in the discourse. In-depth semi-structured interviews are also used as a secondary research technique to discover new clues on the discourse.

The research study is based on one major assumption – that structural factors such as ownership and control influence the representation of ideological policy discourses such as nationalisation – and is underpinned by four major theoretical frameworks – the critical political economy of communication; Marxist media analysis; social production of news; and decolonial theories. To comprehensively analyse the representation of nationalisation, the research study focuses on content analysis of news articles, looking at various aspects such as the structure of news as well as its headlines, sources and the general representation of the discourse; utilises theories of the critical

political economy of the media and other related theories such as the social production of news and Marxist media analysis to perform qualitative content analysis; scrutinises economic factors in line with the assumption of the study that structural factors influence the representation of the discourse by using the Marxist theories to unpack the representation of nationalisation; and utilises Marxist theories in conjunction with decolonial theories.

Among the findings of the research study presented in this thesis is that global capitalism, accompanied by factors such as commercialisation and advertising, influences the representation of ideologically laden policymaking discourses. Ownership and transformation of the corporate media also shape the representation. In this discourse there is convergence, and thus it is apparent that the media plays a pivotal role in reproducing dominant ideology which fundamentally maintains capitalism as "an inevitable and immutable" system. Also, the relationship between the state and media relations is a factor in ideological developmental discourses. Indeed, the representation of the nationalisation discourse is essentially a reflection of the corporate media's posture towards the broader developmental state and its portrayal of ideologically laden policy discourses.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Declaration .....i
Dedication..... ii
Acknowledgements..... iii
Abstract.....iv
Table of content.....vi
List of tables ..... xiii
List of figures ..... xiv
Acronyms and abbreviations.....xv
**SECTION I: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND .....1**
**Chapter 1: Introducing the research study.....2**
1.1 Introduction .....2
1.2 Nationalisation of mines and the South African media .....7
1.3 Research problem.....8
1.4 Limitations and gaps of the current media studies.....10
1.5 Aims and research questions .....14
1.6 Research rationale .....15
1.6.1 The significance of the research study .....16
1.6.2 The South African corporate media and neoliberalism .....18
1.7 Principle theories underpinning the research study .....20
1.7.1 Critical political economy of communication.....20
1.7.2 The Marxist media analysis.....21
1.7.3 Social production of news .....22
1.7.4 The decolonial perspective and the corporate media.....22
1.8 Methodological approaches.....23
1.9 Structural overview of the thesis .....24
**Chapter 2: Background.....28**
2.1 Introduction .....28
2.2 The dominant schools of thought in global and local contexts .....29

2.2.1 The history and background of nationalisation.....29
2.2.2 Reversing the acute social and economic contradictions .....31
2.2.3 Nationalisation as a discounted economic policy choice .....32
2.3 Unpacking the ANC Youth League discussion document .....33
2.3.1 Nationalisation discourse in South Africa .....33
2.3.2 Rationalising the nationalisation of mines .....36
2.3.2.1 Increasing the state's fiscal capacity .....36
2.3.2.2 Industrialisation and job creation .....37
2.3.2.3 Safeguarding the sovereignty of the country .....37
2.3.2.4 Transforming apartheid's accumulation path .....38
2.3.2.5 Transforming the unequal spatial development.....38
2.3.3 What is to be done .....39
2.4 Nationalisation as a developmental policy discourse .....40
2.4.1 Nationalisation and underdevelopment in South Africa.....41
2.4.2 The hegemony of neo-liberalism in post-apartheid .....42
2.5 The media landscape in South Africa.....44
2.5.1 Overview.....44
2.5.2 The South African print media.....44
2.5.3 The broadcast media landscape in South Africa.....47
2.5.4 The contemporary media situation.....48
2.5.5 The corporate media and the policy process.....51
2.6 Conclusion.....54
**SECTION II: THEORIES AND METHODS.....56**
**Chapter 3: Literature Review.....57**
3.1 Introduction .....57
3.2 Media and transformation in South Africa.....58
3.2.1 The corporate media and neo-liberalism.....58
3.2.2 The corporate media in post-apartheid South Africa.....59
3.2.3 Media transformation in post-apartheid South Africa .....60
3.3 The South African media and the market economy.....63

3.4 Structural factors of the corporate media .....67
3.4.1 Media and ownership.....67
3.4.2 Advertising and market forces .....71
3.5 The corporate media and the policy discourse.....74
3.6 State and society.....77
3.7 Conclusion.....81
**Chapter 4: Theoretical and Conceptual Framework .....83**
4.1 Introduction .....83
4.2 The critical political economy of communication .....85
4.2.1 A historical perspective of the political economy .....85
4.2.2 Current trends in the political economy of communication .....92
4.3 Marxist media approaches .....94
4.3.1 The corporate media and the capitalist power relations .....94
4.3.2 Marxist dialectical approach.....95
4.3.3 The corporate media and commodification .....98
4.4 Towards a conceptual framework .....101
4.4.1 Decolonial approaches and the South African media.....101
4.4.2 Emancipation vs. liberation perspective .....105
4.4.3 Decolonial Marxism and the South African media .....106
4.5 Social production of news .....109
4.5.1 The workforce and the structures of newspapers.....110
4.5.2 The impact of the sources of news .....111
4.5.3 The role of journalists in news production.....112
4.5.4 Organisational theories and news production .....113
4.6 Conclusion.....114
**Chapter 5: Methodology and Research Design .....118**
5.1 Introduction .....118
5.2 Triangulation .....119
5.3 Quantitative content analysis .....120
5.3.1 Employing quantitative data analysis.....120

5.3.2 Overall representation of nationalisation .....121
5.4 Qualitative research methodologies .....122
5.4.1 Advantages of qualitative research methodologies .....122
5.4.2 Qualitative content analysis: the structure of news .....123
5.4.2.1 Headlines of articles.....124
5.4.2.2 Leads in articles .....125
5.4.2.3 The tone of the coverage .....126
5.4.2.4 Sources of news .....126
5.4.2.5 Visuals in articles.....127
5.4.2.6 Authors of nationalisation articles.....127
5.4.2.7 Most-mentioned countries.....128
5.4.3 In-depth, semi-structured interviews.....128
5.5 Sampling.....130
5.6 Analysis and interpretation of data.....132
5.6.1 Thematic content analysis and the nationalisation discourse.....132
5.6.2 Framing the nationalisation discourse.....133
5.6.3 Thematic and framing approaches – triangulation in action .....136
5.7 Research constraints.....136
5.8 Conclusion.....137
**SECTION III: DATA ANALYSIS AND CONCLUSIONS .....139**
**Chapter 6: Setting a neo-liberal agenda.....140**
6.1 Introduction .....140
6.2 The Corporate print media.....141
6.2.1 Number of articles per publication.....141
6.2.2 Number of articles per publishing house .....142
6.3 Prominence of articles.....143
6.3.1 Mention of "nationalisation" in articles .....144
6.3.2 Location and genres of the articles.....145
6.3.3 Length of the articles .....147
6.4 Structure of the articles .....148

6.4.1 Importance of structural elements .....148
6.4.2 Headlines of articles.....149
6.4.3 Leads in articles .....151
6.4.4 The tone of the coverage .....152
6.4.5 Sources of news .....154
6.4.5.1 The significance of sources .....154
6.4.5.2 Number of sources per article.....156
6.4.5.3 Type of sources in articles.....158
6.4.5.4 Type of organisations mentioned in articles .....159
6.4.5.5 Political organisations in articles.....160
6.4.5.6 Mining organisations in articles .....161
6.4.5.7 Top government departments and officials in articles.....162
6.4.5.8 Public organisations in articles.....164
6.4.5.9 Labour organisations in articles .....166
6.4.5.10 Private organisations in articles……..….168
6.4.5.11 People mentioned the most in articles...……...…171
6.5 Important aspect of the nationalisation discourse .....172
6.5.1 Visuals in articles.....172
6.5.2 Authors of articles.....174
6.5.3 Most-mentioned countries in articles .....178
6.5 Conclusion .....180
**Chapter 7: Framing the nationalisation discourse.....182**
7.1 Introduction .....182
7.2 Framing the nationalisation discourse.....184
7.2.1 Rationalising the conflict and economic consequences frames .....184
7.2.2 The framing measures .....185
7.2.2.1 An overview of the frames in the articles .....185
7.2.2.2 Articles using the conflict frame .....187
7.2.2.3 Articles using the economic consequences frame .....189
7.2.2.4 Articles using both frames.....191

7.3 Thematic content analysis....192
7.3.1 Caveats regarding thematic content analysis....192
7.3.2 Themes under the economic consequences frame....193
7.3.2.1 The capitalist view of nationalisation....193
7.3.2.2 The spectre of investor confidence....195
7.3.2.3 South Africa's mining and the global economy....201
7.3.2.4 Negative consequences for the economy....205
7.3.3 Themes under the conflict frame....206
7.3.3.1 Overview of conflict frame themes....206
7.3.3.2 Malema and the nationalisation theme....207
7.3.3.3 Nationalisation is not government policy....209
7.3.4 The drivers of themes....211
7.3.4.1 Correlation between themes and sources....211
7.3.4.2 Correlation between themes and tone....214
7.3.4.3 Correlation between themes and type of article....216
7.4 Conclusion: a biased media frame....218
**Chapter 8: Economic Factors Influencing the Representation....220**
8.1 Introduction....220
8.2 The capitalist factor....222
8.2.1 Capitalism and the representation of nationalisation....222
8.2.2 The South African corporate media and global capital....224
8.2.3 The economic consequences frame....220
8.3 The impact of commercial factors....230
8.3.1 Through the lenses of capitalism....230
8.3.2 South African corporate media and commercialisation....232
8.3.3 Commercial factors and sources of news....236
8.3.3.1 Sources and narrow ideological perspective....237
8.3.3.2 The analyst as an insider....239
8.3.3.3 Time pressure and the "capture" of news by elite sources....242
8.4 The ownership factor....245

8.4.1 The context of media power ..... 245
8.4.2 Concentration of media ownership in South Africa ..... 247
8.4.3 The impact of the concentration of media ownership ..... 250
8.4.4 Capitalist control of the media and nationalisation ..... 251
8.5 The advertising factor ..... 257
8.6 Conclusion ..... 262
**Chapter 9: A decolonial Marxism perspective ..... 264**
9.1 Introduction ..... 264
9.2 Media transformation and coloniality of power ..... 265
9.2.1 The historical context ..... 265
9.2.2 The illusion of black empowerment ..... 266
9.3 Intra-ANC tensions ..... 277
9.3.1 Characterisation of the ANC ..... 277
9.3.2 The ANC alliance as a decolonisation movement ..... 277
9.3.3 The nationalisation debate and intra-ANC alliance conflicts ..... 279
9.4 Primary definers, media and the coloniality of knowledge ..... 282
9.5 Global coloniality and State/media relations in South Africa ..... 286
9.5.1 The relationship between the state and the media ..... 286
9.5.2 State/media convergence ..... 289
9.5.3 The state, coloniality of power and global capitalism ..... 291
9.6 Conclusion ..... 296
**Chapter 10: Conclusion ..... 299**
10.1 Introduction ..... 299
10.2 Major findings and arguments ..... 301
10.2.1 Global capitalism and the nationalisation discourse ..... 302
10.2.2 Ownership and transformation of the corporate media ..... 305
10.2.3 The state and media relation in South Africa ..... 310
10.2.4 Media and the developmental policy discourse ..... 311
10.3 Relevance of the research study ..... 312
10.3.1 Locating the South African media ..... 312

10.3.2 Gaps and limitations of the research study .....313
10.3.3 The benefits and advantages of this research study.....316
10.4 Recommendations of the research study.....316
Bibliography.....321

## LIST OF TABLES

*Number* *Page*


1. Table 1.1: Newspapers available in South Africa.....3
2. Table 5.1: A list of thematic categories .....133
3. Table 6.1: No. of articles per publishing house .....143
4. Table 6.2: Headlines per type of newspaper.....150
5. Table 6.3: No. of sources in articles vs type of articles.....157
6. Table 6.4: Political organisations vs type of articles .....161
7. Table 6.5: Government officials mentioned the most in article.....163
8. Table 6.6: People mentioned the most in articles …….171
9. Table 6.7: Origins of articles.....174
10. Table 6.8: Authors of news articles.....176
11. Table 6.9: Authors of opinion pieces .....177
12. Table 7.1: Framing measures .....185
13. Table 7.2: Frames in articles. ..... 186
14. Table 7.3: Comparison between *BD*, *Star* and *ST* .....186
15. Table 7.4: Frequency of themes .....194
16. Table 7.5: Correlation between themes and sources ..... 212
17. Table 7.6: Correlation between theme and tone ..... 215
18. Table 7.7: Primary theme vs Section of newspaper .....217
19. Table 8.1: Major South African print media ownership.....248

## LIST OF FIGURES

*Number* *Page*


1. Figure 6.1: No. of articles per type of publication .....141
2. Figure 6.2: No. of articles per publication .....142
3. Figure 6.3: Mention of 'nationalisation' in headings and intros .....144
4. Figure 6.4: Number of mentions of nationalisation .....145
5. Figure 6.5: No. of articles per section .....146
6. Figure 6.6: Length of articles .....147
7. Figure 6.7: Type of headlines of articles .....150
8. Figure 6.8: Type of leads in articles .....151
9. Figure 6.9: Tone of coverage of articles .....152
10. Figure 6.10: No. of sources per article .....157
11. Figure 6.11: Type of sources in articles .....159
12. Figure 6.12: Type of organisations mentioned in sample articles .....159
13. Figure 6.13: Frequency of mentions of political organisations .....160
14. Figure 6.14: Mining organisations mentioned the most in articles .....162
15. Figure 6.15: Government departments mentioned the most .....163
16. Figure 6.16: Public organisations used as sources in articles .....166
17. Figure 6.17: Labour unions mentioned in articles .....167
18. Figure 6.18: Private organisations used as sources in articles .....169
19. Figure 6.19: Number of visuals in articles .....173
20. Figure 6.20: Number of articles per section and their tone .....175
21. Figure 6.21: Most mentioned countries in articles .....179
22. Figure 7.1: Theme map for economic consequences frame .....193
23. Figure 7.2: Theme map for conflict frame .....206

## ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| ABASA | Association of Black Accountants of South Africa |
| AEMFC | African Exploration Mining and Finance Corporation |
| AMPS | All Media and Products Survey |
| ANC | African National Congress |
| ANCYL | African National Congress Youth League |
| B-BBEE | Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment |
| BBC | British Broadcasting Corporation |
| BEE | Black Economic Empowerment |
| BLA | Black Lawyers Association |
| BLF | Black First Land First Movement |
| BLSA | Business Leadership South Africa |
| BRICS | Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa |
| CMP | Colonial Matrix of Power |
| CNN | Cable News Network |
| COSATU | Congress of South African Trade Unions |
| CPC | Coloured People's Congress |
| ECI | Entertainment, Communications and Information |
| EFF | Economic Freedom Fighters |
| FDI | Foreign Direct Investment |
| FJT | Forum of Journalists for Transformation |
| FMF | Free Market Foundation |
| GCIS | Government Communication and Information System |
| GEAR | Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy |
| GNU | Government of National Unity |
| IAJ | Institute for Advanced Journalism |
| IDC | Industrial Development Corporation |
| IMF | International Monetary Fund |
| INMSA | Independent News & Media SA |

| | |
|---|---|
| JSE | Johannesburg Stock Exchange |
| LSM | Living Standards Measurements |
| MAT | Media Appeals Tribunal |
| MDDA | Media Development and Diversity Agency |
| MDM | Mass Democratic Movement |
| MEC | Minerals-Energy Complex |
| MKVA | uMkhonto we Sizwe Military Veterans Association |
| MPRDA | Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act |
| NDP | National Development Plan |
| NDR | National Democratic Revolution |
| NDS | National Democratic Society |
| NGC | National General Council |
| NPC | National Planning Commission |
| NATO | North Atlantic Treaty Organization |
| NGO | Non-governmental Organisation |
| NP | National Party |
| NUMSA | National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa |
| NUM | National Union of Mineworkers |
| PCC | Press Complaints Commission |
| PDMTTT | Print and Digital Media Transformation Task Team |
| PIC | Public Investment Corporation |
| QLFS | Quarterly Labour Force Survey |
| RDP | Reconstruction and Development Programme |
| SABC | South African Broadcasting Corporation |
| SACP | South African Communist Party |
| SACTU | South African Congress of Trade Unions |
| SAHRC | South African Human Rights Commission |
| SAIC | South African Indian Congress |
| SANCO | South African National Civic Organisation |
| SANEF | South African National Editors' Forum |

| | |
|---|---|
| SAYCO | South African Youth Congress |
| SIMS | State Intervention in the Minerals Sector |
| UDF | United Democratic Front |
| WB | World Bank |

# SECTION I

# INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND: SETTING THE SCENE FOR THE REPRESENTATION OF THE DEVELOPMENTAL POLICY DISCOURSE BY SOUTH AFRICA'S CORPORATE MEDIA

# Chapter 1

# Introducing the Research Study: The Developmental Policy Discourse in Post-apartheid South African Corporate Media

## 1.1 Introduction

This research study aims to examine the representation of the nationalisation of mines, as a developmental policy discourse, by the South African corporate media. South Africa is a country in which the majority of its citizens were subjected to centuries of systemic dispossession as a consequence of colonialism and apartheid, resulting in the current challenges of unequal wealth distribution, poverty and chronic unemployment. In such environments nationalisation of natural resources is often perceived as panacea as wealth in private hands would be transferred to benefit the people of the country as a whole. Essentially, the main objective of this study is to ascertain the role and influence of the corporate media in the broader developmental policy discourse. At the onset, it is crucial to appreciate that in utilising the concept of development this research study is alive to the controversies that surrounds it. Firstly, the concept of development has been equated to modernisation which perceives development as economic growth through industrialisation. Secondly, from a Marxist perspective this concept has been seen as an integral part of primitive accumulation whereby, through colonialism, surplus value was extracted and appropriated by developed nations. Thirdly, dependency theorists in characterising development, in line with the Marxist perspective, argue that the underdevelopment of poor countries is caused by the development of advanced countries. Finally, post-development theorists are of the view that the concept of development is an idea of the West whose objective includes spreading the western values to the rest of the world (Agandin, 2013). It is argued that many countries that have attempted the path of the developed countries towards their 'development' have come unstuck.

Post-apartheid, the South African corporate media has often been accused of bias by various social actors including South Africa's governing party – the African National Congress (ANC). There has been a perception about the corporate media's inability and unwillingness to partner

with government in its endeavour to implement its developmental agenda. The ANC[1] government has accused the corporate media of acting like an opposition party. Indeed, the perceived bias appears to be sharpened particularly when it comes to ideologically charged issues. What then drives this perception of the bias of the media, and is it real or imaginary? How do the corporate media portray developmental policy discourse? What exactly should be the role of the corporate media in the country's developmental agenda? These are some of the questions that this research study grapples with and attempts to answer. Therefore, to respond to some of these questions, the research study investigates the representation of the nationalisation of mines by the South African English corporate press in 2011 by utilising both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies. As it will be seen later, the research study employs quantitative content analysis to identify the newspapers, articles and related features within the articles. On the other hand, qualitative content analysis presents a chance to probe various elements in the discourse more deeply. From the onset the research study aimed to analyse all corporate newspapers in South Africa. As reflected in subsequent chapters, the All Media and Products Survey (AMPS) of the South African Audience Research Foundation reveal that by December 2015 there were about 18 mainstream corporate English newspapers in South Africa (Table 1.1). For purposes of this research study, newspapers were sampled from the total number of newspapers depicted in Table 1.1, and were accessed through the SA Media database.

***Table 1.1: Newspapers available in South Africa***

| **Newspaper** | **Type of Publication** | **Media house** |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Business Day | Daily | Times Media Group |
| 2. Daily Dispatch | | |
| 3. Sowetan | | |
| 4. The Times | | |
| 5. The Herald | | |
| 6. Sunday Times | Weekly | |
| 7. Financial Mail | | |

[1] The ANC is Africa's oldest national liberation movement, formed in 1912 to unite the African people and spearhead the struggle for fundamental political, social and economic change. In 1994 it was elected overwhelmingly into power and given a firm mandate to negotiate a new democratic Constitution for South Africa. The new Constitution was adopted in 1996. The ANC's formations include the Youth League, the Women's League, the Veterans League and the uMkhonto we Sizwe Military Veterans Leagues (MKVA). It also leads the Tripartite Alliance Plus One constituted of the ANC, the South African Communist Party (SACP), the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), and the South Africa National Civic Organisation (SANCO) (see www.anc.org.za).

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 8. The Star | Daily | Independent News & Media |
| 9. Daily News | | |
| 10. Cape Argus | | |
| 11. Saturday Star | Weekly | |
| 12. Sunday Independent | | |
| | | |
| 13. The Witness | Daily | Media 24 |
| 14. City Press | Weekly | |
| 15. Fin Week | | |
| | | |
| 16. The Citizen | Daily | Caxton CTP |
| 17. Farmer's Weekly | Weekly | |
| | | |
| 18. Mail & Guardian | Weekly | M&G Media Ltd |

Notwithstanding changes such as significant retrenchments, decline in circulation and shifting advertising revenue that the print media has had to deal with in the recent past (Daniels, 2013), I argue that the corporate print media remains one of the country's most influential mediums in setting the public agenda. Fundamentally, this medium also presents this research study with ample opportunity to unravel the intractable question of race and gender transformation. Various social actors such as the ANC and its Alliance partner,[2] the South African Communist Party (SACP) have argued, for instance, in the ANC's 2012 discussion document on *Communications and the Battle of Ideas* that "The print media continues to be a contested terrain that reflects the ideological battles and power relations based on race, class and gender in our society" (cited in Daniels, 2013: 22). It is for these reasons that the corporate press was targeted for analysis. Furthermore, and for the purposes of this research study, the term "corporate media" is used to refer to the mass media system under complete control or largely dominated by corporations. South Africa is one of the few countries on the continent without state-owned print media. During apartheid, there was no

[2] During the struggle against apartheid, the ANC forged historical alliances with various progressive organisations such as South African Communist Party (SACP), the Congress of Democrats (COD), the Coloured People's Congress (CPC), the; South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), the South African Indian Congress (SAIC) and the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW). Post-apartheid, the ANC is in an alliance with the SACP, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) and the South Africa National Civic Organisation (SANCO) – known as the *Tripartite Alliance plus one* (www.anc.org.za and https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congress_Alliance).

control of the print media by the state[3], but the media was divided into the English and Afrikaner press, with the English press developing strong ties to mining and British imperial interests and the Afrikaner press acting as the organ of state propaganda and a vehicle of Afrikaner capital accumulation (Tomaselli, 1997). Wright and Rogers (2010) posit that owners of mass media companies have the power to control the content of what the media produces. In this regard, "owners hire, fire, set budgets and determine the overarching aims of the enterprise. Journalists, editors and media professionals who rise to the top of the hierarchy tend to internalize the values, both commercial and political, of media owners" (McChesney, 1997: 100, cited in Wright and Rogers, 2010: 2). Indeed, most of these corporations that own the media often have other business interests as well, and thus might not want certain stories, which might embarrass them, to be publicised widely (Croteau and Hoynes, 2006). In line with this thinking, this research study is therefore premised on one key assumption – that structural factors such as ownership and control influence the representation of ideological policy discourses such as nationalisation. Through this assumption the research study seeks to attain its objective of comprehending the overall role of the corporate media in the broader developmental discourse. As Curran, Gurevitch and Woollacott (1982: 18) posit, "the contents of the media and the meanings carried by their messages are ... primarily determined by the economic base of the organizations in which they are produced". Fundamentally, the corporate media is part of the power struggle due to its location in the market system in terms of ownership and control (Berger, 1999).

Nationalisation, with its inherent ideological contention, is crucial as a variable for developmental policy discourse because it presents this research study with an opportunity to delve deeper into some of the key questions. In post-apartheid South Africa, the developmental agenda discourse has understandably occupied centre stage as the country attempts to unshackle the vestiges of colonialism and colonial apartheid, described as a crime against

[3] The state as a term is largely utilised in this thesis to refer to its three arms: the executive (government), legislature and judiciary. However, from a Marxist perspective, which the thesis draws from, the state is also comprised of the economy, government and civil society.

humanity by the United Nations.[4] The legacy of apartheid is continuously manifested through high levels of unemployment, poverty and inequality. Since its 52nd national conference in 2007, the ANC government has been advancing the notion of a developmental state to realise a range of political, socio-cultural and economic objectives. This research study presents an opportunity to test the assertion that the media does not only interpret and disseminate information but also shapes and influences policy direction as a consequence of its representation. Indeed, social forces such as politicians, pressure groups and the media have an interest in shaping the tone of policy discourse to suit their political interest (Callaghan and Schnell, 2001).

The year 2011 was identified for focused analysis. However, it is crucial to appreciate that there are other years that I could have opted to focus on in this research study. Nevertheless, it is important to note that I perceive 2011 as the year in which the nationalisation discourse in South Africa reached its peak in the corporate media. Of course 2010 and 2012 are the other years where the discourse dominated the media space. Among the reasons that 2011 is important is because it is the year the ANC Youth League [5] (ANCYL) held its controversial and highly anticipated 24th national congress which boldly resolved on nationalisation as a policy to pursue for the development of the oppressed African majority. With the ANC's 2010 National General Council (NGC) having officially resolved to investigate the possibilities of nationalisation and whose report was to be tabled in its 53rd national conference in 2012, in 2011 there was a lot of jostling for influence towards the decision on mine nationalisation.

[4] On 30 November 1973, the General Assembly of the United Nations (International Convention on the Suppression of and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid) adopted Article I.1. states that "The States Parties to the present Convention declare that apartheid is a crime against humanity and that inhuman acts resulting from the policies and practices of apartheid and similar policies and practices of racial segregation and discrimination, as defined in article II of the Convention, are crimes violating the principles of international law, in particular the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, and constituting a serious threat to international peace and security".

[5] The African National Congress Youth League is the youth wing of South Africa's ruling party, the ANC. It was founded in 1944 as an organization of the youth committed to the ideals of democracy, freedom and peace. It is governed by and adheres to the policies and programmes of the ANC, and its existence derives from the constitution of the ANC (ANCYL Constitution, 2015).

## 1.2 Nationalisation of mines and the South African media – a brief background

There are not many discourses that caught the imagination of the entire nation in post-apartheid South Africa more than the call for the nationalisation of mines by the ANC Youth League. The nationalisation discourse divided the country across class and racial lines, causing many frustrations for business and government leaders alike, with keen interest in preserving the current capitalist accumulation patterns. For example, in the article titled "Survey says nationalisation of mines is divisive" in the *Business Day* of 12 April 2011, it is argued that "A survey has showed 38% of participants wanted South African mines nationalised, with the racial divide in the debate painfully apparent ahead of a decision next year by the ruling African National Congress (ANC) on whether it should become state policy". Indeed, this discourse catapulted both Julius Malema[6] and the ANCYL into the limelight; in some quarters, such as business communities, they became public enemies. As reflected in the *Business Day* article through comments attributed to Frans Barker, a senior executive at the Chamber of Mines, the debate is a great irritation to the business sector, mines in particular, and "The sooner this debate is settled on the side of sensibility the better". This article reflects the fact that the discourse is mainly played out in the corporate media with various social actors engaged in activities ranging from press conferences to seminars to opinion articles. The corporate media, in particular, played a central role in elevating the discourse to a matter of national importance through chosen frames and themes. Throughout the discourse the ANCYL, as a chief proponent of nationalisation, posited that the essence of the call was fundamentally about addressing the developmental challenges facing the country.

The corporate media's role in the policy discourse is an important area of research and has been characterised by four distinct theories: the *Influence Theory* where the media is perceived to be telling politicians what to think, the *Agenda Setting Theory* where the media is perceived as telling politicians what to think about, the *Indexing Theory* where the politicians tell the media what to write about, and the *Detection Theory* where politicians and the media struggle to identify, characterise and prioritise complex multiple information streams (Jones and Wolfe, 2010). In as far as direct influence on public policy is concerned, the point of departure is that

[6] Although he is now the leader of the Economic Freedom Fighters, a South African political party founded in 2013, Julius Malema was the head of the ANCYL in 2011 (https://en.wikipedia.org).

the corporate media entities are equally profit making businesses characterised by monopolisation and thus "These corporate interests pursue government policies that benefit the bottom line" (Jones and Wolfe, 2010: 1). The corporate media plays a central role in setting the public agenda and the policy discourse. "The typical view of media is that they matter in the early stages of the policy process – that media can help to set an agenda, which is then adopted and dealt with by politicians, policymakers, and other actors" (Soroka et al., 2009: 1). In the context of this background, this research study seeks to comprehend and decipher the role and influence of the South African corporate media in the broader developmental policy discourse through the prisms of the representation of the mine nationalisation discourse. Therefore, this chapter introduces the research study by presenting background and context on the role of South Africa's corporate media in broader developmental policy discourse post-apartheid, using the mine nationalisation debate as a test variable. The chapter also deals with the research problem, aims and questions, the rationale, principle theories that underpin the research study, methodological approaches, assumptions and significance of the research study. Also, the overview of the thesis, including chapter breakdowns, is highlighted.

## 1.3 Research problem

Post-apartheid South Africa continues to be besieged by many legacy problems such as poverty, unemployment and high levels of inequality. These problems are a direct consequence of capitalism and its initiatives in their various manifestations. Fundamentally, neo-liberal policies have exacerbated structural inequality and poverty. Indeed, "neoliberalism could hardly be celebrated, given the rapid recognition of failure on the part of orthodox, market-oriented policymakers in 'developmental' arenas such as housing" (Bond, 1999: 10). Furthermore, the global financial crisis points to the fact that unregulated markets are deeply unworkable and unsustainable for the improvement of human well-being and resolving intractable social problems (Edigheji, 2010). Essentially, democratic South Africa inherited an economy that did not only prove difficult to manage but also difficult to comprehend in the context of financial turbulence and global integration. In light of this, the ANC government has recognised that the need to address deep-seated developmental challenges, which include growing the economy while reducing high rates of poverty, inequality and unemployment in an endeavour to improve the livelihoods of South Africans, requires a developmental state that is

democratic and inclusive (Edigheji, 2010). Yet, to date, very little attention has been paid to the role of the corporate media in representing policy discourses within the developmental state.

On the contrary, since the dawn of democracy in 1994, opinions abound about the perceived bias of the South African corporate media against the black majority government. Often this has been located in the historical role of the media in supporting and propping up the racist apartheid regime. As the ANC argues in its 51st national conference discussion document *Media in a Democratic South Africa*, "South Africa's prevailing media environment cannot be understood outside of the specific set of conditions under which the media developed during apartheid" (ANC, 2002: 2). Indeed, the ANC and its Alliance partners, particularly the SACP, have consistently raised the issue of the "biased" and "un-transformed" corporate media. This accusation is not a phantom of the imagination of the ANC-led alliance but a reality that many social actors have pinpointed. The allegations of bias and racism led to the 2000 inquiry into racism in the media by the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC), culminating in the report *Faultlines: Inquiry into Racism in the Media*. Among the triggers of this inquiry were complaints by the Black Lawyers Association (BLA) and the Association of Black Accountants of South Africa (ABASA) to the SAHRC about racism in two Johannesburg-based newspapers, the *Mail & Guardian* and the *Sunday Times* (SAHRC, 2000). Among the crucial findings of the inquiry was that "racism exists in the media" and "South African media can be characterised as racist institutions". Furthermore, in that regard institutions such as the South African National Editors' Forum (SANEF) and the Institute for Advanced Journalism (IAJ) were advised to "offer racism awareness training for journalists at all levels of the industry" (SAHRC, 2000: 89).

Therefore, in the context of this background, the examination of the corporate media's role in the developmental policy discourse by this research study is crucial since it is the media that inter alia influences the public through framing or definition. "Media can establish the nature, sources, and consequences of policy issues in ways that fundamentally change not just the attention paid to those issues, but the different types of policy solutions sought" (Soroka et al., 2009: 1). Consequently, the manner in which the corporate media represents ideologically laden developmental policy discourses such as the nationalisation debate in the context of this reality is not only paramount but expounds its contribution to the broader developmental agenda. As highlighted above, by employing both qualitative and quantitative content analysis to analyse data collected from sampled newspaper articles and semi-structured interviews, the

research study goes a long way towards unearthing the role of the corporate media in the developmental policy discourse.

## 1.4 Limitations and gaps of current media studies in South Africa

Numerous South African scholars have covered some ground on the question of political economy, power and hegemony of the media. The political economy of the media in South Africa can be broken into three broad categories. First is a category that locates the media system's power and hegemony from its historical perspective pre-democracy as modelled around and influenced by the Western [7] conception of its role in society (Wasserman, 2006a). The familiarity of South Africa's media system with the West is due to its colonial legacy which has shaped it together with its political models (Glenn and Mattes, 2011). The political economy roots of this media system can be traced back to its proximity to capitalist interest with the English press, closely aligned to mining and British imperialism, while the Afrikaans press was central in the process of Afrikaner capital accumulation (Tomaselli, 1997). The Afrikaner press actively pursued policies and agendas of various factions of the National Party[8] (Sparks, 2009). The individual shareholders who financially sustained the Afrikaans press in turn perceived it as a weapon for the advancement of the Afrikaner political programme (Steyn, 2009). Both the English and Afrikaans press benefitted from the apartheid policies of the National Party (Sparks, 2009). The owners of the English press had vested interests in maintaining apartheid policies as they benefitted from the continued capitalist accumulation (Tomaselli, Tomaselli and Muller, 1989). While the black press germinated during the establishment of mission schools in the 1800s (Steyn, 2009), this press was never allowed to

[7] In the context of this research study the term Western is used to refer to countries in Western Europe and North America that largely have similar histories and advanced capitalist democracies (see Hallin and Mancini, 2011). The utilisation of this concept should not detract from the conceptualisation of capitalism as a global imperial system. Fundamentally, it is utilised to emphasise the Western dominance in the global capitalist system.

[8] The National Party (Afrikaans: *Nasionale Party*) was a political party in South Africa founded in 1915 and first became the governing party of the country in 1924. It was in opposition during the World War II years but returned to power and was again in government from 4 June 1948 until 9 May 1994. At this time, it began implementing its policy of separate development, known as "apartheid". Members of the National Party were sometimes known as *Nationalists* or *Nats*. The policies of the party included apartheid, the establishment of a republic, and the promotion of Afrikaner culture (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Party_(South_Africa)).

develop due to laws deliberately crafted to exclude Africans from participating in the media (Hadland, 2007). Even though there were anti-apartheid publications that catered for the African audience, such as the *Sowetan*, they were not necessarily anti-capitalist (Tomaselli, Tomaselli and Muller, 1989). It is crucial though not to lose sight of the role of the alternative press in the pre-1994 context and the vacuum it filled in reporting on the broader socio-economic and political issues (Tomaselli, 2004). Indeed, scholars such as Berger (1999) point out that the South African corporate media played a pivotal role in the reproduction of the racist authoritarian apartheid system. Obviously, this posture by the corporate media impacted on the manner in which it reported on crucial societal issues. Indeed, the various aspects in the context of regulated "white" racism and their influence in the manner in which corporate media reported on broader developmental issues have been articulated by scholars such as De Beer (2000) and Wasserman and De Beer (2005b).

The second category pertains to the media system in the post-apartheid epoch where, even though the press is much freer (Duncan, 2014), it remains confronted by the relentless issue of media monopoly as dominated by four major print media oligopolies (Chiumbu, 2016). While the ownership of the corporate press has evolved from the old apartheid ownership patterns, it remains concentrated (Rumney, 2015). At the heart of the studies in this category is the key question of transformation[9] of the corporate media, which has seen changes in terms of staff demographics (Duncan, 2009). However, this transformation has been perceived to be slow thus leaving media power and hegemony in the hands of the white capitalist class (Jacobs, 2004). Despite efforts to transform it, the corporate press has not escaped criticism that it remains a "white" press, "…thereby invoking this history as a means of emphasising the continued hegemony of 'white' capital in the industry" (Steenveld, 2012: 126). Successive state presidents from Nelson Mandela to Jacob Zuma have perceived this arrangement of media power as a tool used against the political power of the African majority. This is manifested through the "watchdog" role of the corporate media, which is argued to be confined to the

[9] The term transformation is applied in this thesis from the post-apartheid South Africa perspective with the intent to change the historical structure. This entails changing the material conditions of all South Africans for the better through, inter alia, social and political revolution intended to drive fundamental change in social relations of power and control subsequent to the demise of white minority rule. Fundamentally, in the context of this research study this includes the transformation of the political, economic and media landscape. According to the Right2Know Campaign (2015: 2), media transformation in South Africa "goes beyond changing the race and gender composition of boards and staff bodies; it should ensure that the media reflects society (especially the majority working-class and poor) at the levels of ownership, staff, and product."

black elites through state corruption while neglecting corruption in the private sector perpetuated by white capital, thus leading to accusations of racist practices (Wasserman, 2006b; Duncan, 2009). The corporate media's posture as self-anointed "watchdog", where it primarily monitors state functionaries and institutions to ensure that they are held accountable to the electorate (Steenveld, 2010), has added to the state/media tension. Duncan (2003) echoes the assertions of Wasserman and De Beer (2005) that, notwithstanding attempts at transforming the corporate media post-1994, poor working-class communities remain marginalised. While the post-apartheid media has excelled in holding political elites accountable, it has been unable to play a meaningful role in the developmental agenda by dealing with issues of poverty, unemployment and rising inequality (Duncan, 2014). In light of this, some scholars have posed the possibility of a development model in which the media has a role in the development of society and its people as an essential part of the overall development project (Fourie, 2008). Although the corporate media has undergone transformation post-apartheid (Duncan, 2009), the legacy of apartheid continues to be perpetuated, thus leading to the asymmetry of information (Chiumbu, 2016). Essentially, scholars such as Duncan (2009) have located transformation within the underlying economic system that reproduces inequality in the broader society and within the corporate media.

The latter point speaks directly to the third category, which situates the media systems within the global hegemony of neo-liberalism. Through its funding model, the media is firmly rooted within the market forces as a continuation of the legacy of apartheid and therefore reproduces and perpetuates neo-liberalism while marginalising counter-hegemonic voices (Chiumbu, 2016). The question of media power in South Africa must be understood in the context of its operation under a capitalist economic system and therefore faces similar challenges to those faced by all other businesses under capitalism (Mayher and McDonald, 2007). Coupled with this is the growing hegemony of neo-liberalism as characterised by the country's macroeconomic policy framework – the Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy (GEAR) (Nyman, 2001). Essentially, "…the media in post-apartheid South Africa operates within a new global environment, where geopolitical power relations have been redrawn since the Cold War" (Wasserman, 2012: 339). In this regard, studies that expose the post-apartheid corporate media as legitimising neo-liberal policies while casting aspersions on anti-capitalist discourses have been conducted (Kariithi and Kareithi, 2007). This market-driven corporate media censors ideas for the benefit of the capitalist class by valorising a pro-market worldview (Lovaas, 2007). Situating the corporate media directly in the belly of the uncontrolled free

market system (Duncan, 2009) is a great stride towards the comprehension of the underlying factors that influence ideologically laden media discourses. In this regard, scholars such as Wasserman and De Beer (2005) have pointed out that "professionalisation" and "self-regulation" leave the media vulnerable to the vagaries of market forces as opposed to the broader society. Essentially, as Williams (2006) posits, the corporate press has played a central role in serving the interests of the white capitalist class. However, the media's location within market forces and its advancement of capitalism delegitimises it in the eyes of the majority (Wasserman and De Beer, 2005). The media's inability to advance alternative views as a result of the triumph of market capitalism (Tomaselli, 1997, 2004; Williams, 2006) reduces it to purveyors of neo-liberalism (Mayher and McDonald, 2007). However, scholars such as Berger (2007) posit that the increasing market hegemony in the corporate media does not suggest lack of contest between the state and the market. Nevertheless, the hegemony of the market forces likely "perpetuate[s] elite pluralism" (Berger, 2007).

Although great strides have been made in recent years in the field of political economy of the media in post-apartheid South Africa, these studies have not gone deep enough to provide an in-depth class analysis for social change (Fuchs and Mosco, 2012). What this study seeks to do is to characterise the corporate media as a "consciousness industry" (Nixon, 2012) critical to the capitalist system. Part of the shortcomings of existing studies is their inability to explicitly denounce the commodification of culture and thus call for a decommodified media (Nixon, 2012). Furthermore, the current studies are premised on Eurocentric epistemology and thus are structurally limited to addressing the intricate issues of class and racism from the perspective of the oppressed (Monzó and McLaren, 2014). The current studies have not systematically problematised the marginalisation of the African majority by positing for liberation of knowledge from a media point of view (Escobar and Mignolo, 2010). Therefore, this research study attempts to contribute to filling the knowledge gap by decoding the dynamics of hegemony in the corporate media through the examination of the representation of the mine nationalisation debate. I argue that the political economy of the media in South Africa can benefit by employing the Marxist approach to assess various aspects of the corporate media such as their commodity and ideological character and the impact thereof on capitalist production (Fuchs, 2009). Fundamentally, because of the history of the country, analysing the direct influence of Western hegemony on the corporate media in the context of the colonial matrix of power, a "complex structure of management and control" by the colonial West

(Mignolo and Wannamaker, 2011), the field will gain further insights into the role of the media post-apartheid.

## 1.5 Aims and research questions

In the context of this background, the broad thrust of this thesis, as mentioned before, is on the representation of mine nationalisation, as a developmental policy discourse, by the corporate media in post-apartheid South Africa. Essentially, the objective is to ascertain the role and influence of the corporate media in the broader developmental agenda. Since the assumption is that structural factors such as ownership and control influence the representation of ideological policy discourses such as nationalisation, the primary objective is to establish the extent of this influence. It is further assumed that ascertaining this influence and impact will lead to an overall understanding of the role of the corporate media in the broader developmental discourse. In light of this, the research study has opted for developmental policy discourse, in particular nationalisation, because of its ideological content, as a variable to utilise in the examination of the influence of structural factors on the content of news. Nationalisation possesses potential for deeper analysis in the dynamic arena of the exchange of information and ideas. Indeed, as a policy process, nationalisation becomes a site of power struggle between competing social forces (Walt, 1994). As Freedman posits,

> Policymaking can be seen as a battleground in which contrasting political positions fight both for material advantage, for example legislation that is favorable to particular economic or political interests, and for ideological legitimation, a situation in which certain ideas are normalized and others problematized (Freedman, 2008: 3).

Furthermore, because the policy discourse is generally dominated by those with financial, ideological and political resources, thus possessing the ability to mobilise for their interests and preferences (Freedman, 2008; Moyo, 2010), this also provides this research study ample opportunity to expose the impact of structural factors on the representation of nationalisation of mines debate.

In this regard, this thesis aims to contribute to existing theories and possibly expand on existing ones, in order to understand how contextual and structural factors influence and shape the broader developmental policy discourse in the corporate media. These factors include the ownership and control of the corporate media, the macro-economic policy context within

which the corporate media is located, and the historical background and location of the corporate media (Curran et al., 1982; Mayher and McDonald, 2007; Freedman, 2008; Wright and Rogers, 2010). Therefore, in the endeavour to achieve its objectives, the research study is anchored on the following three primary questions:

(i) How does the corporate media frame and represent the nationalisation of mines debate?

(ii) What are the economic and political factors that influence the representation and framing of the nationalisation discourse in the corporate media?

(iii) To what extent has the diversity and ongoing transformation of the South African corporate media, which has opened up spaces for media democratisation, impacted on the representation of ideologically laden discourses?

## 1.6 Research rationale

This research study examines the representation of the nationalisation of mines debate by the South African corporate media. It is conducted in light of the assumption that structural factors of the media influence the representation of ideologically laden discourses. Furthermore, and linked to this assumption, I argue that the corporate media represents and portrays ideologically contested discourses from a neo-liberal perspective. Essentially, this neo-liberal representation more often than not simply equates to negative representation of anti-capitalist developmental discourses. This notion of bias and valorisation of neo-liberalism in the South African context often leads to accusations of racism as highlighted above, since the corporate media is firmly rooted in the colonial Western system while on the other hand social forces aligned to the government are located in the progressive anti-colonial liberation movement. I have chosen to conduct a research study that will assess the corporate media's treatment of ideologically laden discourses because of the long-standing accusations by various social actors that the corporate media is biased against and hostile to anti-capitalist initiatives. It has been argued that the media is unable to impartially portray progressive developmental policy discourses due to being structurally captured by market forces whose primary motive is to advance capitalist accumulation. Indeed, it would appear that the corporate media openly supports forces of

market capitalism while being hostile to a left-leaning socialist agenda as well as forces aligned to the ANC. As highlighted above, because of its inherent ideological contestation, the nationalisation debate presents the research study with an opportunity to test some of these assertions. It is against this backdrop that the media has been accused of bias and taking sides with market forces and neglecting the needs of the poor and working-class majority. Fundamelly, this media bias is largely manifested through silences and omissions on key ideological issues.

### 1.6.1 The significance of the research study – contributions to the field of study

In light of this, what makes this research study significant and ground-breaking is its bold utilisation of *Marxist critical political economy* to elucidate the complex question of class contradictions in the South African corporate media. Fundamentally, the thesis applies the Marxist dialectical method as a tool of analysis to unpack the essence of control of the means of production of consciousness inherent in the commercial press (Nixon, 2012). This approach assists the research study to locate issues of knowledge production in the context of news (Nixon, 2012). In a nutshell, the knowledge production notion from a Marxist perspective denotes the role of humans in producing their own history and knowledge towards social change. These are uncharted waters for the South African media, and the research study opens a window of opportunity to explore this approach. Indeed, many scholars have written extensively about the South African media landscape from numerous angles using various theories. However, the South African media landscape cannot be fully understood without deeper analysis of the race and gender contradictions characterising its ownership and control. Therefore, beyond the application of the Marxist-inclined critical political economy of media as a tool of analysis, one unique feature of this research study is its contribution to existing scholarly conversations by fusing together the critical political economy of communication, social production of news and decolonial theories in its endeavour to unpack power relations and other aspects of the corporate media. While the critical political economy of communication is fundamental in comprehending the process of social change, and an important part of the social transformation journey (Mosco, 1996; Duncan, 2009), theories on the social production of news assist in understanding the process of news making, and the role of journalists in influencing the economic base (Tuchman, 1976; Schudson, 1989). To this end, decolonial theories are essential in eliminating the tendency of elevating Western European modes of thinking as universal (Quijano, 2000). As Mignolo and Wannamaker (2011: 6) posit,

"decoloniality aims at altering the principles and assumptions of knowledge creation, transformation and dissemination". Indeed, this multipronged theoretical approach is crucial in understanding the corporate media in the post-colonial apartheid epoch. Certainly, for a young democracy in transition, such as South Africa, which is grappling with fundamental transformational issues coupled with deeper social challenges such as poverty and unemployment, this knowledge is even more crucial as a contribution to the field.

Fundamentally, another ground-breaking aspect of this research study is its utilisation of the Marxist media approaches in conversation with decolonial theories through decolonial Marxism. Tension abounds between the two theoretical strands – for example, the rejection by decolonial scholars of the Eurocentric notion of the evolution of modes of production from pre-capitalist to capitalist societies (Quijano, 2000; Grosfoguel 2002); the Marxist paradigm of infrastructure and superstructure (Quijano, 2000); and the characterisation of the contemporary world order as "capitalist" (Grosfoguel, 2011). The thesis navigates these deftly with the view to gain further insights on the role of the corporate media in young democracies in transition. Essentially, using the decoloniality framework to analyse the corporate media opens new avenues for scholars informed by their geopolitical location in the often marginalised South (Monzó and McLaren, 2014). It is important, though, to appreciate that this geopolitical location does not automatically make this contribution superior to those located in the West; however, decolonial Marxism approaches enable this research study to get closer to class and related issues such as structural racism from the vantage point of the colonised (Monzó and McLaren, 2014). Indeed, the decolonial perspective serves to empower the research study to disentangle issues of power models that persist beyond post-colonialism (Walsh, 2007) within corporate media which is an integral part of the broader society. Therefore, analysing the nationalisation debate using these theories in tandem brings into life new debates and angles by discursively linking the state, society and market theories in the representation of ideological discourses in the corporate media. It is this approach that enables the research study to validate its assumptions and thus make bold recommendations such as the need for a truly publicly owned, uncommodified alternative media that prioritises the use value of media instead of its surplus value, as is currently the case. Primarily, this must include the expansion and accessibility to the public media (Nixon, 2012). Whereas the primary focus of the research study is on the representation of the nationalisation of mines debate in the corporate press, the findings and conclusions can be broadly applied to the representation of the broader

developmental policy discourse. In the final analysis, this thesis presents a complexity of issues around the representation of ideological discourses. Most importantly, this thesis demonstrates the impact of structural factors which undermine the role of underprivileged social forces, thus ensuring the triumph of neo-liberalism and ongoing capitalist hegemony in society.

### 1.6.2 The South African corporate media and neo-liberalism

The corporate media has played a central role in legitimising neo-liberal policies in the post-apartheid epoch (Kariithi and Kareithi, 2007). For example, in its coverage of the COSATU anti-privatisation strike in 2002, the corporate media is purported to have supported a neo-liberal economic policy stance while being critical of COSATU and its allies such as the SACP, which it "deemed as stumbling blocks to the desirable and inevitable neoliberal shift" (Kariithi and Kareithi, 2007: 473–4). In this case negative media discourses are associated with anti-capitalist organisations supporting COSATU such as the SACP, the Anti-Privatisation Forum and the Landless Peoples Movement (Kariithi and Kareithi, 2007). Indeed, the market-driven South African corporate press continues to limit and censor ideas for the benefit of the capitalist class by advancing one-dimensional capitalist world view whose consequences are the restrictions of both freedom and democracy (Lovaas, 2007). Due to structural factors, this corporate media supports privatisation advances, thus reproducing and perpetuating neo-liberal discourses (Mayher and Mcdonald, 2007). These structural factors include the prioritisation of primary definers who are largely business or elite sources. It is such heavy bias towards elite sources at the expense of the working class, as is the case with the coverage of the Marikana massacre[10] (Duncan, 2014), that drives the representation of ideological discourse from a neo-liberal perspective.

Essentially, the productive forces of the corporate media industry such as technologies and media professionals are influenced by globalisation and ultimately act as its facilitators (Wasserman, 2006a). In this context, it is crucial to appreciate globalisation as an economic process closely associated with the neo-liberal doctrine of maximum free trade (Kariithi and

[10] On 16 August 2012, the South African Police Service opened fire on a crowd of striking mineworkers at Marikana, some 100km northwest of Johannesburg in the North West Province. The fateful event left 34 mineworkers dead and 78 wounded; more than 250 people were arrested. The protesting mineworkers were demanding a wage increase at the Lonmin platinum mine. The event was the biggest incident of police brutality since the advent of democracy, and it revived memories of the brutality suffered under the apartheid security police (www.sahistory.org.za).

Kareithi, 2007). The corporate media's role in post-apartheid South Africa is therefore highly contested. However, it is apparent that this media system is influenced by the Western conception of the media's role in a democratic society (Wasserman, 2006a). This Western-influenced corporate media with its emphasis on "human rights discourse, constitutional guarantees and the assumption of a free market environment" independent from government (Wasserman, 2006a) therefore valorises neo-liberalism. However, Western influence should not be a surprise when the country's colonial and apartheid history is taken into account. Indeed, the South African communication infrastructure strongly resembles and is modelled around the Western systems due to the country's colonial legacy (Glenn and Mattes, 2011). For example, the oldest newspaper, the *Cape Times*, the public broadcaster, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), and even post-apartheid tabloids like *The Daily Sun* are all overtly modelled on those in Britain – the former colonial master. Therefore, it is crucial to examine the ability of this corporate media in advancing anti-colonialist developmental discourses.

However, the South African media believes that it is playing an essential role in defending the hard-won democratic gains. Through the South African National Editors' Forum, the media declares its commitment to ethical reporting by ensuring that it produces accurate, fair and honest journalism (www.sanef.org.za). SANEF also posits that "Reporters cover tragedy and trauma, crime and corruption, investigate complex business stories, and cover politics, war, religion, racial and cultural issues – all while maintaining the trust of their sources and of news-makers". While at face value these noble ideals are encouraging, this research study posits that the corporate media represents ideologically laden issues from a neo-liberal perspective. This posture by the corporate media is informed by the fact that it is, first and foremost, an industrial commercial organisation that produces and distributes commodities (Murdock and Golding, 1973). Thus, the corporate media is structurally compelled to assume a neo-liberal posture on ideological discourses. Indeed, the corporate media in post-apartheid South Africa propagates, interprets and legitimises neo-liberal economic policies through its coverage (Kariithi and Kareithi, 2007). The post-apartheid print media continues to advance pro-capitalist discourses by inter alia supporting privatisation policies pursued by the state. In this regard, the "corporate media outlets in South Africa generate and perpetuate a neo-liberal discourse on privatization" and through the façade of objectivity it perpetuates the hegemony of neo-liberalism (Mayher and McDonald, 2007: 443). The fallacy of balance and objectivity espoused by proponents of the free market is often used to conceal the real location and interest of the corporate media as an integral part of the capitalist system. Indeed,

> ...it is this facade of balance ... which gives neo-liberalism such hegemony in South Africa. By appearing to give equal space to different points of view there is a perception of 'freedom of expression' and 'balanced reporting' which obscures the more subtle, opinion-making discourse that generate biases in press coverage ... (Mayher and McDonald, 2007: 445).

## 1.7 Principle theories underpinning the research study

Primarily this research study is constructed and underpinned by four major theoretical frameworks – the critical political economy of communication; Marxist media analysis; social production of news; and decolonial theories. The separation of the critical political economy of communication and Marxist approaches, literatures that are from the same tradition and build on each other, is deliberate. While it is correct that critical political economy of communication is fundamentally a Marxist approach, it would appear that over the years this literature has lost its Marxist sharpness. As Fuchs and Mosco (2015) posit, in the past three decades interest in the Marxist analysis of social classes and capitalism waned with the rise of neoliberalism. Therefore, for this research study to apply an explicit Marxist analysis, it becomes imperative to separate this approach from the critical political economy of communication. Furthermore, during the course of the research study, the Marxist-inclined political economy of the media and decolonial theories are fused together through decolonial Marxism, an approach I suggest might be useful henceforth to analyse the corporate media in South Africa. Indeed, this research study appreciates upfront the contradictions and disparities inherent in these theories. For example, the anti-class orientation of the decolonial scholars should not go unchallenged while not discounting the knowledges of the scholars of the Global South. These primary theories are utilised in this research study in order to unravel issues of power and hegemony in the corporate media.

### 1.7.1 The critical political economy of communication

The critical political economy of communication assists this research study to decipher the complex issues of societal power relations in the context of production, distribution and consumption (Mosco, 1996). Fundamentally, there are four important characteristics of the critical political economy of communication – social change and history; social totality; moral philosophy; and praxis (Mosco, 1996). Political economists are primarily concerned with the allocation of resources in the capitalist system by analysing, amongst others, issues of

ownership and control, relations of power and structural inequalities. Critical political economists, on the other hand, focus mainly on the contradictions and strategies to resist the system (Wasko, 2005). Therefore, if we are to fully comprehend the role of the corporate media in the developmental discourse, it is crucial to appreciate these aspects of the critical political economy. Through this theoretical framework the research study is enabled to locate the influence of global capital in the national media systems, the growing internal dominance of Western values and thus the possible impact on the content of ideological discourses (Flew, 2007). Indeed, the capitalist dominance both within the society and ultimately the corporate media system leads to commodification (Wasko, 2005).

### 1.7.2 Marxist media analysis

The critical political economy of the media is inadequate in analysing the representation of ideologically laden discourses, hence the importance of bringing in the Marxist approaches. This approach is also inspired by the TripleC publication, *Marx is Back. The Importance of Marxist Theory and Research for Critical Communication Studies Today,* edited by Christian Fuchs and Vincent Mosco (2012), which highlights the importance of Marxist analysis in critical communication studies. As Fuchs and Mosco (2012) posit, the darker side of capitalism is characterised by many social ills such as the rising inequality gap, precarious labour, and the current ongoing global capitalist crisis; "neoliberalism is no longer seen as common sense." (Fuchs and Mosco, 2012: 129). Indeed, these problems have seen many scholars reverting to the Marxist critique of political economy (Fuchs and Mosco, 2012; also see Zizek, 2010). The works of Karl Marx have once again become useful in understanding the systemic failures of capitalism coupled with class conflicts and ongoing inequalities (Fuchs and Mosco, 2012). The Marxist approach is also crucial to understand the South African media system located in a society that has been riddled by social challenges characterised by class inequalities. Essentially, political economy of communication, not only in South Africa but globally, has had limited engagement with Marxist concepts over the years (Wittel, 2015). By interacting with Marxist theories, this research study is enabled to drive the conversation of social change (Fuchs and Mosco, 2012) through articulation of representation of developmental issues within the media. I appreciate the criticism of some media scholars, who have accused the Marxist media approaches as being narrow, deterministic and economistic theories that neglect crucial aspects of culture; however, I argue that Marxist approaches remain pertinent in comprehending the media's role in the capitalist system. Indeed, as Burawoy (2013) alludes to

the point, it is crucial to appreciate the reality that Marxism as a theory continues to evolve. Hence, the application of the Marxist methods in this research study further assists in grasping the production of knowledge and the essential aspect of the production of news (Nixon, 2012).

### 1.7.3 Social production of news

In order to fully grasp various aspects that influence the representation of nationalisation in the corporate media, theories of social production of news become crucial. These aspects include the structures of the newsroom and the old and well-known argument that journalists make news (Schudson, 1989). Through this theoretical framework, this research study is able to delve deeper into fundamental issues of the organisation of the workforce and the structure of news pivotal in pre-directing newspapers to certain type of news and social actors (Hall et al., 1978). Linked to this is the primary question of sources of news which greatly influence certain societal views at the expense of others (Hall et al., 1978). Indeed, these theoretical approaches enable the research study to look at various facets of news production including unravelling the diary practice of journalists and the reporter–editor relationship as critical aspects of the social organisation of the newsroom (Schudson, 1989), as well as the fundamental importance in the South African perspective of issues of race in the context of an ongoing transformation agenda.

### 1.7.4 The decolonial perspective and the corporate media

In light of the race and class contradictions coupled with the question of media power in South Africa, this research study is also constructed on the premise of decolonial theories. Through the decoloniality approaches, this research study has been able to confront the dominant and assimilative narrative underwritten by Eurocentrism epistemology (De Lissovoy, 2010). By applying decoloniality, the research begins a conversation around the alteration of assumptions of knowledge creation (Escobar and Mignolo, 2010). Fundamentally, this knowledge is created through various forms of coercion consequent to colonisation and serves the interest of Western capitalist accumulation (Monzó and McLaren, 2014). Indeed, in the context of the Eurocentric paradigm of capitalist hegemony, which has become “universalistic” (Grosfoguel, 2011) and of which the corporate media is an integral part, any analysis is incomplete without decoloniality theories. To fully comprehend the role of the post-apartheid corporate media system in the representation of development discourse, it is first and foremost necessary to appreciate its connection to social and political power and the history of colonialism (Quijano, 2007).

Within this perspective, I argue that it becomes useful to use decoloniality in tandem with the Marxist approach. Therefore, decolonial Marxism, which essentially is decoloniality in the context of Marxist theories, becomes critical. In this regard, this approach is a continuation of Marxist theories in the context of decoloniality approaches. This approach brings in new dynamics by explaining class issues as a result of capitalism from the perspective of the colonised. This theoretical approach enables the research study to unpack structural societal issues within the corporate media such as class struggle, racism and many others from the viewpoint of the colonised (Monzó and McLaren, 2014). In order to understand the fundamental question of hegemony in the media and its representation of the working class and their issues, using the Marxist theories in conversation with decoloniality brings in new perspectives.

## 1.8 Methodological approaches

Based on the assumption of the research study that the structural factors of the corporate media impact on the representation of news, and the questions it seeks to respond to, triangulated approaches are employed as discussed in detail in Chapter 5. It is due to the complex nature of the discourse under review that both quantitative and qualitative content analyses are triangulated. Furthermore, both thematic and framing methods form part of qualitative approaches. Through triangulation, a process of combining multiple research methods, which has become acceptable in social research (Yeasmin and Rahman, 2012), the research study is enabled to increase the rigour of analysis in order to develop an in-depth understanding of the social issue at hand (Brennen, 2012). Essentially, these approaches bring various methodologies together and thus limit the biases associated with utilising a single methodology. Fundamentally, by applying multiple perspectives there are greater chances to guard against possible errors and to close research gaps (Denzin, 1978); this further offers the research study a chance to overcome some of the weaknesses that often characterise single methods (Alexander, 2001).

In the context of this research study, qualitative and quantitative research methods are complementary. While quantitative content analysis enables the research study to identify and count the number of articles and related elements in the sampled newspaper articles,

qualitative content analysis is used to probe further various elements in the discourse. Through quantitative content analysis and a purposive sampling technique, it is possible for the research study to identify elements such as the frequency of articles, the length of the articles, types of sources used in articles, and many others, but this does not suffice in presenting critical analysis and discovering the deeper meaning latent in these articles. In this regard, qualitative content analysis is useful to probe other elements that are political and theoretical in nature (Brennen, 2012: 4). To this end, elements such as news structure, headlines, introductions, tone of coverage, and leading reporters are scrutinised. Furthermore, in-depth semi-structured interviews are utilised as a secondary research technique to probe further and to discover new clues on the nationalisation discourse (Burgess, 1982). In addition, the research study employs framing and thematic content analysis to analyse and interpret data.

## 1.9 Structural overview of the thesis

In order to achieve its objectives, this thesis is divided into three broad sections. The first section titled "Introduction and background: setting the scene for the representation of the developmental policy discourse by South Africa's corporate media" is made up of Chapters 1 and 2. This current chapter functions as an introduction to the research study, and presents the research problem and questions. To provide further context, this chapter presents a brief background on the nationalisation discourse in the South Africa media, the limitations and gaps of the current media studies in South Africa, and the significance of the research study. Furthermore, the chapter presents the research rationale and design, aimed at contextualising the problem and outlining the method of the research study. Chapter 2 contextualises the research study by discussing the history and background of nationalisation, presenting the discourse in South Africa, unpacking the ANC Youth League discussion document, examining nationalisation as a developmental policymaking discourse in a neo-liberal context, and introducing the corporate media landscape in South Africa and its posture towards the discourse.

The second section titled "Theories and methods underpinning the research study" includes Chapters 3, 4 and 5. Chapter 3 looks at a wide range of media literatures in an endeavour to investigate the nature of the representation of the nationalisation discourse. The idea is to map

out the scholarly fields that have a bearing on the research questions. The chapter also highlights some of the gaps that exist and the contributions that the research study seeks to make to existing scholarly conversations. Fundamentally, the chapter examines the representation of the South African corporate media in the context of a changing landscape, the location of the South African media in the market economy, structural factors of the media, the contested terrain of corporate media and the policymaking process, and the role of market-oriented corporate media in influencing both state policies and broader societal discourses.

The major theoretical framework that underpins this research study – the Marxist critical political economy of communication, culture and consciousness – is discussed in detail in Chapter 4. The chapter draws on a number of scholars who have significantly contributed to the field of critical political economy in order to unravel the exercise of power in society and the media. Unpacked in the chapter is the Marxist analysis and accompanying concepts such as the "dialectical method of theorising" (Nixon, 2012), extensively utilised in this thesis to unpack the representation of the discourse. Essentially, the Marxist theories are employed to analyse the representation from a class perspective, thus illuminating social issues such as the rising income gap between the rich and the poor (Fuchs and Mosco, 2012). The chapter also unpacks the theories of social production of news, particularly elements such as the workforce and the structures of newspapers, sources of news, the role of journalists, and the impact of organisational structures in news production (Schudson, 1989). Finally, the chapter also discusses theoretical frames that underpin decolonial approaches utilised extensively in this research study. Concepts such as coloniality of power (Quijano, 2007) as a global hegemonic model of power that articulates the benefit of the white European (Escobar, 2007) are used in the context of analysing the corporate media.

Chapter 5 presents the triangulated methodologies employed in the research study. These methodologies include quantitative and qualitative content analysis as well as the thematic and framing methods which form part of qualitative approaches. Combined, these approaches enable the research study to fully comprehend the representation of this discourse by the corporate media.

The third section of this research study is titled "Data analysis, conclusion and the way forward" and is made up of Chapters 6, 7, 8, 9 and 10. Chapter 6 presents quantitative research findings on the coverage of the nationalisation discourse by painting a picture of the manner in

which this discourse is represented and portrayed. It focuses primarily on content analysis of news articles, looking at various aspects such as the structure of news as well as the headlines, sources and general representation of the discourse. The chapter uses the social production of news theories to unpack the essence of news as a product of social, economic and political institutions and practices (Schudson, 1989).

Chapter 7 deals with the qualitative content analysis of this research study by discussing findings presented and analysed in Chapter 6. To this end, theories of the critical political economy of the media and other related theories such as the social production of news and Marxist media analysis are utilised. Framing methods are also employed in analysing data gathered with the view to examine linkages between people and the manner in which they think and talk about issues in the news (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). The chapter also pays special attention to thematic representation in relation to the nationalisation discourse.

In an endeavour to comprehensively analyse the representation of the nationalisation discourse by the corporate media, Chapter 8 scrutinises economic factors in line with the assumption of the study that structural factors influence the representation of the discourse. In this regard, the chapter uses the foundations of Marxist theories to unpack this representation. Fundamentally, the chapter argues that to unpack media systems located in a capitalist environment such as South Africa, the Marxist critical political economy of the media is useful. Indeed, Marxism remains the most pertinent theoretical framework to unravel ideological laden discourses of our time.

Chapter 9 makes a decisive theoretical intervention by using Marxist theories as a tool of analysis in conjunction with decolonial theories. While the chapter concedes that there is theoretical tension between these theoretical paradigms, nevertheless, it is believed that this research study contributes greatly to unravelling the often ignored and misunderstood intricate question of race and transformation in South Africa's corporate media. Lastly, Chapter 10 presents a conclusion to the thesis by revisiting the assumptions of the research study in the context of the findings as well as the research question and implication for potential future studies, particularly on the decomodified alternative public media in South Africa.

# Chapter 2

# Contextualising the Nationalisation Discourse in the South African Corporate Media

## 2.1 Introduction

This chapter contextualises the research study by discussing nationalisation in the context of the post-apartheid corporate media. In this endeavour the chapter discusses the following key issues: 1) the history and background of nationalisation, discussing both schools of thought as advanced by both proponents and detractors; 2) the nationalisation discourse in South Africa and unpacking the ANC Youth League discussion document; 3) nationalisation as a developmental policy discourse in a neo-liberal context; and 4) the corporate media landscape in South Africa and its posture towards the discourse. The chapter begins by expounding the meaning of nationalisation and the environment which often leads to this call. In particular, the view that nationalisation is inclined to occur when the society is experiencing high levels of inequality and only a few are perceived to be benefiting from the proceeds of the country's natural resources is argued as a case in this discourse (Chang, Hevia and Loayza, 2010). In this regard, it is argued that nationalisation is characterised primarily by two schools of thought – those who argue that it will reverse the acute social and economic contradictions and those who perceive it as a discounted economic policy choice.

In locating the discourse in the South African context, the chapter argues that its re-emergence in this country was on the back of the ANC Youth League's demands for "economic freedom in our lifetime". This subsequently led to the development of a discussion document titled "Towards the Transfer of Mineral Wealth to the Ownership of the People as a Whole: A Perspective on Nationalisation of Mines", and to a congress resolution on the nationalisation of mines. In this section, the document is clarified by focusing on some of the key points it raises, including the manner in which it rationalises the benefits of nationalisation of mines. These include the point that nationalisation will increase the state's fiscal capacity, fast track industrialisation and thus job creation, safeguard the sovereignty of the country; and, transform apartheid's accumulation path and the unequal spatial development pattern (ANCYL, 2010). On the basis of this, the document presents three different models that it argues should be

followed towards the implementation of the nationalisation policy in South Africa. These models include the establishment of a State Mining Company, an expropriation model in accordance with the Constitution, and amendment of the Minerals and Petroleum Resources Development Act.

Furthermore, through this chapter the thesis advances the argument that nationalisation is a policy discourse which occurs in the background of neo-liberal hegemony. To take this point further the chapter points out the glaring features of underdevelopment in South Africa accompanied by high levels of unemployment, poverty and inequality. Fundamentally, the policy process in post-apartheid South Africa is subsumed in a neo-liberal policy framework. Therefore, nationalisation as a developmental policy discourse is influenced by this neo-liberal outlook.

Finally, the chapter presents the corporate media landscape in South Africa by drawing on the historical epochs that have shaped the media landscape. Indeed, it emerges that the corporate media plays a crucial role in shaping and influencing policy process (Freedman, 2008). A cursory glance at of the corporate media's posture on such an ideological discourse is therefore presented by analysing a few newspapers and their representation of nationalisation.

## 2.2 The dominant schools of thought in global and local contexts

### 2.2.1 The history and background of nationalisation

From the outset it is crucial to appreciate that nationalisation is about the transfer of ownership from private firms to the state, thus assigning discretionary decision-making to the public sector (Du Plessis, 2011). However, some scholars like Keeton and Beer (2011) argue that state ownership and the existence of state-owned enterprises should not be misconstrued as nationalisation. Srivastav (2015) posits that from an economic perspective, nationalisation is about the establishment of public ownership over the principal means of production and implies government ownership and operation of the productive system, and sometimes distributive system, on behalf of the nation. Indeed, Routledge (2002) defines nationalisation as "the acquisition of privately owned enterprises by a government, with or without compensation" (cited in Keeton and Beer, 2011: 1). Essentially, the argument advanced by Keeton and Beer

(2011: 1) is that state-owned enterprises are a historical phenomenon in all economic systems and thus should not be conflated with nationalisation which "involves the acquisition of an existing asset and the transfer of its ownership into public hands". However, South Africa has an interesting history of nationalisation, especially during the apartheid epoch where the Nationalist Party regime had to contend with various economic challenges brought about by international sanctions. Nationalisation is not an isolated South African phenomenon but a global discourse which has had its supporters and detractors throughout various historical epochs.

The abundance of mineral resources in South Africa, coupled with the country's history of social and economic exclusion and contradictions, makes the country a perfect candidate for nationalisation. According to Chang et al. (2010), nationalisation and privatisation have historical cycles which "tend to occur more often in the natural resources and utilities sectors" but also occur "when the price of the corresponding commodity is high". Furthermore, "nationalisation is more likely when inequality is endemic or worsens in the country, and especially when the rents from natural resource or utility companies are perceived as benefitting only a minority" (cited in Keeton and Beer, 2011: 5). Indeed, these are some of the key points advanced by proponents of nationalisation. The South African context is worsened by the country's historical and institutionalised marginalisation, oppression and exploitation of the African indigenous people by the powerful successive governments of the minority white settler population. With this in mind, it is also crucial to note that the country has an abundance of mineral resources, which makes it one of the leading mineral exporters in the world (Coetzee, 2010, cited in Lazare, 2012). Indeed, it is the mining sector that made the country the most industrialised on the continent (ANC, 2012). The mining sector is a big contributor to the South Africa economy:

> Directly and indirectly it provides more than one million jobs; it pays about R89 billion a year in salaries and wages, is responsible for more than 90 per cent of electricity generation through coal-fired power stations and consumes about 15 per cent of Eskom's total power supply (Lazare, 2012: 15).

Therefore, it was only logical that the nationalisation question would arise, and be primarily targeted at the mining sector.

### 2.2.2 Reversing the acute social and economic contradictions – a case for nationalisation

There are major arguments advanced by proponents of nationalisation including the fundamental question of equitable distribution of resources, especially in unequal societies. Indeed, this argument flourishes in countries such as South Africa, where society is characterised by high levels of poverty, unemployment and inequality. Fundamentally, these are direct consequences of the capitalist economic system. This context, coupled with the fact that many Western countries that had been destroyed during the Second World War emerged and developed from that crisis through social democracy and nationalisation policies, is used by proponents of nationalisation and ignored by its detractors. Indeed, once these economies had developed they evolved and reverted to neo-liberal policies and the privatisation dominant in the 1980s (Du Plessis, 2011). For example, in the post-war era nationalisation had a strong case:

> …by the late seventies, state-owned enterprises accounted for about 10% of world GDP. A period of scepticism and roll-back followed in the 1980s and 1990s, lowering the state's share in global output by 40% by the early 2000s (Du Plessis, 2011: 7).

In some countries, nationalisation has staged a comeback – countries like Bolivia and Venezuela come to mind – while in some Scandinavian countries like Norway it never went away (Du Plessis, 2011).

The United Kingdom is a good example of a country that developed on the back of nationalising industries such as "railways, electricity, broadcasting, the central bank, road transport, steel production and other sectors" (Keeton and Beer, 2011: 4). At the same time, a number of the so-called "developed" economies owe their development to policies such as the state control of key strategic sectors in the economy, an aspect often disregarded by the opponents of nationalisation. Essentially, nationalisation emerges as a consequence of excesses perpetrated by "laissez-faire capitalism" which produces acute social and economic problems (Srivastav, 2015). In other words, nationalisation often responds to intractable social challenges as a result of the highly privatised capitalist economic system. Some of the shortcomings of the capitalist system, such as increased inequality in wealth and income and the stagnation of monopoly capital (Srivastav, 2015), are clear examples cited by proponents of nationalisation.

In this regard, it is argued that nationalisation will reverse such social and economic ills of capitalism.

The advantages cited by proponents of nationalisation include safeguarding the interests of the workers and the working class. In the South Africa context, Malikane (2011) argues that nationalisation will develop the economy, thereby taking many South Africans out of poverty. South Africa ranks seventh internationally in terms of coal and iron ore production and fifth in terms of gold production; yet for all its mineral wealth, the country has little to show in terms of production output (Malikane, 2011).

> Several peer countries, including some that also bore the brunt of colonialism, are outperforming South Africa, not only in terms of output volumes, but critically also in terms of developmental indicators, such as employment, poverty and inequality. These countries have one thing in common: significant state ownership in the mineral extraction sector. While others are steaming ahead on the road of economic development, South Africa seems to be caught in a rut of low growth and slow development (Malikane, 2011: 13).

Furthermore, Malikane (2011) posits that the downstream processing of mineral resources and the process of industrialisation are linked to activities such as the creation of sustainable jobs. Still on the advantages of nationalisation, Srivastav points out:

> Under private capitalism the managers are agents acting for a host of owners ... to oppose the demands of labor in every case to safeguard the owners' interests and to keep their own position absolutely safe and clear. This would not be so under a system of nationalized industries, because the interests of the laborers would not be opposed to those of the managers. Both would act on behalf of the nation and get such rewards for their services as the nation is willing to pay (Srivastav, 2015: 2).

Therefore, proponents of nationalisation argue that it will lead to efficiency and lower cost of production, cooperation and prosperity for all, increased earnings for the state, control over prices of war supplies, more employment opportunities, and an environment conducive to economic and political growth (Srivastav, 2015: 3). Of course, it is crucial to appreciate the distinction that nationalisation or state ownership does not necessary mean public ownership of mineral resources. Essentially, if the structural features of the economy are not tampered with, the nationalised industries will still exist within a capitalist economy. While, nationalisation may result in a more equitable distribution among the people, fundamentally there appears to be a distinction between public and social ownership which must be appreciated in the debate.

### 2.2.3 Nationalisation as a discounted economic policy choice – the anti-nationalisation school of thought

While globally the state has a fundamental role to play in the economy, albeit to varying degrees, this state ownership is a historical consequence of nationalisation policies (Keeton and Beer, 2011). In the current global hegemony of capitalism, through liberal policies, nationalisation has been "discounted as a legitimate economic policy choice" and countries that pursue such policies are viewed suspiciously and often seen as undemocratic.

> It follows that the countries which do still practise nationalisation are those with unusual and often despotic or autocratic governments (eg Bolivia, Venezuela, Zimbabwe), often with power concentrated in the hands of an individual or small group, where limits to state activity are not easily recognised (Keeton and Beer, 2011: 2).

However, European countries like Norway, which has continued to this day to nationalise its oil industry, are not included in this category. Indeed, this is the brutal hegemony of the capitalist perception perpetuated through the corporate media and portrayed as a reality even though most of the maligned countries are essentially "democratic", with governments elected by the majority of the people. Unlike Zimbabwe, where its recent national elections have been fiercely contested as not free and fair, Bolivia and Venezuela presidential candidates, Evo Morales and the late Hugo Chavez, emerged through a very popular contest backed by the working class and the poor. On the back of their victories they entrenched participatory democracy by introducing "the idea that the political systems must open more channels for the citizens' participation through constitutional mechanisms" (Flores, Filho and Coelho, 2012: 2). Indeed, such interventions moved the monopoly of the decision-making process from elected representatives to the people. Nevertheless, their regimes have been classified as despotic mainly due to their anti-capitalist stance and willingness to nationalise natural resources on behalf of the people.

The disadvantages of nationalisation cited by its detractors include lack of individual initiative, freedom and the spirit of competition (Srivastav, 2015: 3). Indeed, perception abounds about the disadvantages to the public being served by nationalised industries (Conrad, 2005). South African scholars like Croucamp and Malan (2012) argue that nationalisation implies the presence of an array of undesirable political phenomena that range from state interventionism, which may be to the detriment of markets and international trade regimes, to the gradual

erosion of the state's operational regime due to excessive, often redistributive, societal demands.

> The required extent of state interventionism which will enhance social stability and a more even distribution of the *greater good* is an important feature of the public and political discourse in developing political economies. The protracted and acrimonious nature of the debate, however, is cause for concern, as well as the extremity of positions advanced by contending interests (Croucamp and Malan, 2012: 8).

The long and short of this school of thought is that nationalisation has negative consequences for the economy and therefore does more damage than good to the broader society.

## 2.3 The nationalisation discourse in South Africa – unpacking the ANC Youth League discussion document

### 2.3.1 Nationalisation discourse in South Africa

Nationalisation in the ANC dates back to the 1955 Congress of the People,[11] where the Freedom Charter was adopted. To date, the ANC regards the Freedom Charter as a statement of core principles of the Congress Alliance (www.anc.co.za). As highlighted in the previous chapter, the Alliance currently comprises the ANC, the SACP, COSATU and SANCO. Indeed, as will be highlighted later, through the Freedom Charter the ANC committed to nationalise the "commanding heights" of the economy (Southall, 2007) so that all South Africans could benefit from the wealth of the country. In the analysis of the place of nationalisation in the economic policy of the ANC, Roussos (1990) uses the Freedom Charter among others to conclude that nationalisation was on top of the ANC agenda at the dawn of democracy, with re-nationalisation of key sectors seriously considered.

[11] The Congress of the People was held at Kliptown, near Soweto, on 25–26 June 1955. It brought together representatives of the African National Congress, the South African Indian Congress, the South African Coloured People's Organisation, and the South African Congress of Democrats. The delegates *r*esolved to unite "all democratic elements around a common programme" and to consolidate "the organisational forces of the liberatory movement". It was the most representative and largest gathering ever to assemble in South Africa. It laid the basis for uniting all democratic elements around a common programme and gave rise to a new spirit and enthusiasm among large sections of the people (www.sahistory.org.za).

Post-apartheid, the recent re-emergence of the nationalisation discourse in South African was propelled by the ANC Youth League debate on the nationalisation of mines. Since its formation in 1944, the Youth League has regarded itself as a "kingmaker" due to its ability to influence the ANC and change the course of history. Merely five years after its formation, the ANCYL had transformed the ANC into a radical and fighting liberation movement with ideological clarity, perspective and vision (Sokupa, 2014). Just as it had lobbied for its preferred presidential candidate, Dr J.S. Moroka, in 1949, in the lead-up to the ANC's 2007 national conference the ANCYL successfully lobbied for Jacob Zuma to become ANC president. Although it did not succeed at the 2012 national conference, where it lobbied for Kgalema Motlanthe to be president, the organisation still remains highly influential in society. It is crucial to appreciate, however, as Botiveau (2011: 2) posits, that the ANCYL as we know it post-apartheid "is a recent organisation whose origins should be traced back to the late 1980s rather than to the 1940s". Following the banning of its mother body, the ANC, in 1960,[12] the ANCYL had no formal structures inside the country and virtually disappeared during the exile period, with many progressive young people in the 1980s aligning with the ANC through the South African Youth Congress (SAYCO). In exile it was mainly limited to the ANC Youth Section which was "headed by Jackie Selebi, mainly consisted of a 'desk' designed to welcome young exiles or to brief activists from the internal front. The contemporary organisation is therefore just as old as South Africa's democracy" (Botiveau, 2011: 2).

Following the expulsion of its former president Julius Malema in 2012 and subsequent to his formation of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) party in 2013 on the back of the ANCYL structures, the organisation has struggled to revive itself to its former glory. The expulsion of Malema from the ANC was preceded by the defeat of the ANCYL in pushing for a resolution on nationalisation to be adopted as an organisation and state policy. This, together with the emergence of the EFF and the disbanding of the national executive committee of the ANCYL by the ANC in 2013, has seen the discourse being appropriated by other forces such as Black First Land First Movement (BLF).[13] Since its launch, the EFF has spoken openly about the "nationalisation of mines, banks and other strategic sectors of the economy"

[12] www.sahistory.org.za

[13] Black First Land First (BLF) is a campaign of the Pan-Africanist Party and the Revolutionary Socialist Party in South Africa. BLF was founded in 2015 by Andile Mngxitama following his expulsion from the EFF. Mngxitama had grown disgruntled with the EFF's leadership in late 2014 (https://en.wikipedia.org; also see www.blf.org.za).

(http://effighters.org.za). The EFF speaks about the ownership of mineral wealth and nationalisation of mines. It argues that nationalising strategic sectors of the economy will inter alia lead to "increased fiscus for, and therefore more resources for, education, housing, healthcare, infrastructure development, safety and security and sustainable livelihoods for our people" (http://effighters.org.za). Nevertheless, since its formation and in the post-apartheid epoch, the ANCYL has remained instrumental in shaping the thinking and approach of the ANC (Sokupa, 2014).

In 2010 the ANCYL produced a discussion document titled "Towards the Transfer of Mineral Wealth to the Ownership of the People as a Whole: A Perspective on Nationalisation of Mines". This document sought to influence the ANC towards making "a concrete resolution on the Nationalisation of Mines in South Africa in line with the Freedom Charter's objective of people sharing in the country's wealth" (ANCYL, 2010). Subsequently, this proposal led to an ANC policy discussion document on State Intervention in the Minerals Sector (SIMS). At the heart of this document is the nationalisation of mines based on the Freedom Charter's clause on the people sharing in the country's wealth which states that:

> The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people; the mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole; all other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people; all people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions (ANC, 1955).

Furthermore, the Charter stipulates that the land shall be shared among those who work it:

> Restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land re-divided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger; The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers; freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land; all shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose; people shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished (ANC, 1955).

However, the ANC Youth League's document states that the Freedom Charter's clause is not the only reason for nationalisation. There are various reasons, including:

> a) nationalisation to increase the State's fiscal capacity and better the working conditions, b) nationalisation as a basis for industrialisation, c) nationalisation as a means to safeguard sovereignty, d) nationalisation as a basis to transform accumulation path in the South African

> economy, and e) nationalisation to transform South Africa's unequal spatial development patterns (ANCYL, 2010: 9).

Furthermore, and contrary to the corporate media's discourse, the document argues that state ownership of mineral resources will attract industrial investors, who in turn will contribute to the growth of the economy, transfer skills, education and expertise to locals and thus provide sustainable jobs (ANCYL, 2010). Essentially, the ANCYL sees nationalisation as a crucial policy intervention to address the developmental needs of the country, including addressing poverty caused by mass unemployment. The document also sees nationalisation as a means to safeguard sovereignty since "investments are often used as a way to undermine countries' economic sovereignty" (ANCYL, 2010: 11). In June 2011, at its 24th National Congress, the ANC Youth League officially reaffirmed its resolution of the 1st National General Council in 2010 on the nationalisation of mines under the "Resolutions on Economic Transformation for Economic Freedom in our Lifetime" (ANCYL, 2011).

### 2.3.2 Rationalising the nationalisation of mines

As reflected above, the document details a number of objectives and benefits of nationalisation of mines which it argues should be pursued concurrently with the same vigour as the National Democratic Revolution (NDR)[14] which seeks to resolve the country's national, class and gender contradictions (ANCYL, 2011). Some of these benefits are unpacked further in the subsequent sections.

#### 2.3.2.1 Increasing the state's fiscal capacity

The primary objective of the document speaks to the fundamental question of increasing the state's fiscal capacity and bettering working conditions:

> The government revenue that is generated from taxes will not be able to build better lives for all South Africans. Government cannot solely rely on taxes to deliver better services to the majority of our people. South Africa will not be able to deal with the housing backlog, free education

[14] The ANC deemed itself a force of national liberation in the post-apartheid era; it officially defines its agenda as the *National Democratic Revolution*. The ANC is a member of the Socialist International. It also sets forth the redressing of socio-economic differences stemming from colonial- and apartheid-era policies as a central focus of ANC policy. The NDR is described as a process through which the National Democratic Society (NDS) is achieved – a society in which people are intellectually, socially, economically and politically empowered (https://en.wikipedia.org/).

> access, better healthcare, safety and security, employment of particularly youth if we are not in control of the key and strategic sectors of the South African economy. The wealth of South Africa should benefit all who live in it (ANCYL, 2010: 8).

Furthermore, the document highlights the fact that

> It is an open secret that ordinary workers in Mines are the least beneficiaries of mining in South Africa either as recipients of salaries and stakeholders in mining. Mineworkers in South Africa are underpaid and work under difficult conditions and unsafe Mines. Their workplaces and socio-economic existence expose these workers to fatal diseases and accidents. Nationalised Mines should be beacons of safer working environments and better working conditions, as they will not be in narrow pursuit of profits at the expense of community and human development (ANCYL, 2010: 9).

#### 2.3.2.2 Industrialisation and job creation

The question of industrialising with the view to create jobs, a primary focus and one of the resolutions of the ANC's 52nd national conference, is advanced as a vital intervention in the document due to huge challenges of poverty and underdevelopment which are linked to lack of jobs in South Africa.

> With State ownership and control of Mineral Resources, South Africa will be able to attract industrial investors, who will contribute to the growth of the economy, transfer skills, education and expertise to locals and give them sustainable jobs. It can never be correct that an absolute majority of the Minerals we produce is exported to other countries, with very little efforts to build internal capacity to beneficiate these minerals. Nationalisation of Mines will lead to greater local beneficiation, industrialisation, growth of the economy and jobs for majority of our people" (ANCYL, 2010: 10).

It is argued in the document that the current industrial strategy adopted by government will not succeed unless there is "state control and ownership of the natural resources".

#### 2.3.2.3 Safeguarding the sovereignty of the country

Another key objective of the nationalisation call is that it is perceived as a means to safeguard sovereignty and mitigate against the trend of post-colonial control, subjugation and dominance, in which the former colonies are trapped in coloniser–colonised relationships rooted in continued control of the economies, especially of natural resources, by the former colonisers. In this regard, resolution 1802 of the United Nations General Assembly stipulates that "the rights of peoples and nations to permanent sovereignty over their wealth and resources must be

exercised in the interest of their national development and of the well-being of the people of the state concerned". The 1974 UN Declaration on the Establishment of a New Economic Order and the Rights and Duties of States highlights that "Every State has the sovereign and inalienable right to choose its economic system as well as it political, social and cultural systems in accordance with the will of its people, without outside interference, coercion or threat in any form whatsoever" (ANCYL, 2010: 11).

#### 2.3.2.4 Transforming apartheid's accumulation path

The transformation of the accumulation path in the South African economy is one of the key arguments advanced in the document. Essentially, this is linked to the question of sovereignty, but it is argued that the South African economy still bears the features of all colonial economies.

> Primarily, all colonial economies were positioned as sources and reserves of primary goods and services for the colonisers' economies. Post political independence, many if not all post-colonial economies continued to function and operate in the same manner colonisers designed them – exporters of primary commodities and importers of finished goods and services. This pattern has a direct impact on the sustainability of post-colonial economies as they are heavily reliant on the demand of their goods and services by former colonisers and bigger market economies (ANCYL, 2010: 12).

In this regard, the document posits that it will be easier to grow and diversify the South African economy when the state is in control and owns the strategic sectors of the economy.

#### 2.3.2.5 Transforming the unequal spatial development pattern

Lastly, the document posits that nationalisation is crucial for the transformation of South Africa's spatial development patterns. To this end, the document argues for a deliberate developmental strategy to unlock reserves of mineral wealth beneath the soil in areas such as Limpopo province. It is argued that areas such as 'Sekhukhune, Rustenburg, Burgersfort, Emalahleni have far greater economic potential because of the mineral resources underneath the soil, and thus they should be deliberately developed, beneficiated and industrialised so that the local people can benefit.

> If Johannesburg could develop into a modern city with a huge population and market within a short period of time on the backdrop of mineral resources, Rustenburg and Sekhukhune can be

> developed into cities. The development of other areas and territories into economic centres also assists in dealing with the congestion of poverty in very few cities in the country. In South Africa, more than five Provinces are almost totally reliant on Johannesburg for employment, opportunities and development. Such should be discontinued through a deliberate development and industrialisation of areas and territories with economic potential (ANCYL, 2010: 13).

### 2.3.3 What is to be done – a concrete process towards the nationalisation of mines

As a concrete way forward on the nationalisation proposal, the document presents three different models. First is the establishment of a State Mining Company which will bring under its control the state-owned Alexkor,[15] the State Diamond Trader and all state shares in SASOL[16] and Provincial Agencies of the state. It is proposed that this company should be under the direct supervision of the Department of Mineral Resources and, among other things, be responsible for: owning and controlling South Africa's mineral resources, maximising the nation's economic gain from the mineral resources, contributing to South Africa's social and economic development, developing and maintaining strong environmental and safety standards, and developing the mineral resources in a careful and deliberate manner (ANCYL, 2010: 14).

Second is an expropriation model which will be taken in the letter and spirt of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. Section 25 of the Constitution, the property clause, empowers the state to "take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to foster conditions which enable citizens to gain access to land on an equitable basis" (quoted in ANCYL, 2010: 14). The document furthermore states:

> Concretely, the African National Congress should utilise its capacity to lead society, parliament and government to re-introduce the Expropriation Bill in Parliament, which clearly spell out how the State should expropriate Mines and other property in the public interest without or with compensation, depending on the balance of probabilities (ANCYL, 2010: 15).

[15] Alexkor was established in terms of the Alexkor Limited Act, No. 116 of 1992, and amended by the Alexkor Amendment Act, No. 29 of 2001. Alexkor is a listed schedule 2 public entity wholly owned by the government, with the Minister of Public Enterprises being the shareholder representative. The company has two divisions or business units: Alexander Bay Mining (Alexkor RMC JV) and the Alexkor corporate unit. The mining division is the core business of the company, exploiting a large land-based diamond resource and extensive diamondiferous marine deposits (http://www.alexkor.co.za).

[16] Formed in 1950, Sasol Limited is an integrated energy and chemical company now based in Johannesburg, South Africa. It develops and commercialises technologies, including synthetic fuels technologies, and produces different liquid fuels, chemicals and electricity (https://en.wikipedia.org).

Lastly, the document proposes an amendment to the Minerals and Petroleum Resources Development Act which

> … compels the applying for Mining Rights to have not less than 30% equity ownership and control by historically disadvantaged individuals. Whilst not eroding the initial intention, the MPRDA [Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act] should be amended to say the Corporations applying for mining in South Africa should be in partnership with the State Owned Mining Company, wherein the State owns not less than 60% of the shares and right of determination (ANCYL, 2010: 15).

In conclusion, the document calls on the ANC to responsibly use the political power it holds on behalf of the people to "exert progressive change". The fact that South Africa remains one of the most unequal societies in the world, with massive unemployment and poverty challenges, is highlighted as one of the motives behind the nationalisation call. Indeed, the document highlights that

> Minerals resources are non-renewable resources and the further we extract these resources, the further we deplete South Africa's potential wealth and strategic economic importance and significance in the world economy. It is therefore the responsibility of the ANC government to ensure that mineral wealth is utilised in an environmentally friendly fashion and economically durable manner for the benefit of all people (ANCYL, 2010: 15).

This clarion call and some of the above motivations for the nationalisation call are essentially the basis of the nationalisation discourse. Indeed, the recent discourse in South Africa is informed by this document, and therefore it is expected that its representation in the corporate media will reflect on what appears to be well thought and cogent arguments advanced by the ANCYL.

## 2.4 Nationalisation as a developmental policy discourse in a neo-liberal context

The nationalisation discourse represents a crucial policy process in post-apartheid South Africa. Nevertheless, in a democratic environment there is an expectation of a plethora of competing voices and perspective that interact with each other in an "open, non-discriminatory and vigorous way in order to reach agreement on policies that maximise the welfare of the majority as opposed to the interest of a few" (Freedman, 2008: 80). However, it is also possible that this process might not be equally accessible to all social forces. The underlying social and economic

inequalities do indeed have an impact in shaping the policy process, in particular developmental policy. Nevertheless, it is crucial to note that the policy process is not entirely at the mercy of the wealthy and powerful (Hesmondhalgh, 2005; Freedman, 2008) since the working class often do find expression in the process.

### 2.4.1 Nationalisation and underdevelopment in South Africa

The proposal of nationalisation is raised in the context of serious challenges of underdevelopment in South Africa that have persisted in the post-apartheid epoch. The country's gendered and racialised poverty and inequality ranks among the highest in the world (Triegaardt, 2006; World Bank, 2006; Frye, Farred and Nojekwa, 2010). The nature and extent of the country's poverty, unemployment and inequality is there for all to see through the sprawling informal settlements, homelessness, unemployment, casualised labour, poor infrastructure and lack of access to basic services. In addition, this inequality is aptly demonstrated through lack of access to natural resources, a two-tiered educational system, a dual health system, and other socio-economic dimensions (Triegaardt, 2006; also see Edigheji, 2007). Indeed, with over two decades of the democratic dispensation,

> the South African economy appears to have more similarities than differences to the former Apartheid economy. Many of the redistributive directions set out, for instance, in the Freedom Charter of 1955 still inform national policy discourse but much of the more structural steps, such as nationalisation of the mines, are today dismissed by the State as being impossible to implement (Frye et al., 2010).

It is this context of underdevelopment accompanied by the triple challenges of high levels of unemployment, poverty and inequality that make nationalisation fundamentally a developmental issue.

According to Statistics South Africa's (StatsSA) *Quarterly Labour Force Survey* (QLFS), the unemployment rate in South Africa in the third quarter of 2011 was last reported at 25 per cent, and at 31 per cent using the broad definition. Frye et al. (2010) further point out that South Africa has one of the highest income inequalities in the world. This has racial, gender, spatial and age dimensions, and its concentration lies predominantly with Africans, women, rural areas and black youth.

> Despite being an upper middle-income country, millions of people live in dire poverty and destitution, while a small elite continues to profit and prosper. Many of the causes of inequality are deeply rooted in previous colonial and apartheid policies and laws. However, new drivers of inequality are emerging which have the potential to entrench past causes and deepen other divides (Frye et al., 2010: 22).

Therefore, the nationalisation discourse becomes a useful barometer to gauge and comprehend the manner in which the corporate media represents some of these persistent socio-economic issues and thus the broader developmental policy discourse. On the back of this reality, and as mentioned in the previous chapter, the ANC government has decided that a democratic and inclusive developmental state is central to address some of these challenges (Edigheji, 2010). Indeed, the role of state institutions in driving and producing developmental successes is crucial and supported by the history and theory of development. As Evans (2010: 37) posits, "The idea of a developmental state puts robust, competent public institutions at the centre of the developmental matrix". Fundamentally, the developmental state agenda of the twenty-first century has many potential returns, including possibilities of high-growth strategy, growth that is labour intensive, and growth that is light on ecological footprints (Evans, 2010).

### 2.4.2 The hegemony of neo-liberalism in post-apartheid developmental policy discourse

The nationalisation discourse has captured the imagination of the country, with the corporate media playing a pivotal role in the ensuing debates. However, it is crucial to appreciate that the discourse is taking place in the context of a dominant neo-liberal policy perspective in the country. Although, the discourse has elicited various views, particularly in relation to political and economic stability as well as economic and social justice, it is likely to be dominated by the capitalist elites. Mohamed (2010) points out that the government of the ANC under Thabo Mbeki remained strongly committed to neo-liberal economic policies, notwithstanding his rejection of neo-liberal market ideology. "In spite of the broad rhetorical rejection of neoliberalism, the African National Congress (ANC) government has adopted neoliberal economic policies because of its wish to maintain good credit ratings and attract foreign investment" (Mohamed, 2010: 156). Because of this, the government found itself having to consistently prove to international financial markets that it was sensible and

credible by implementing governance regimes acceptable to developed countries and their Bretton Woods institutions (Mohamed, 2010).

Indeed, neo-liberal prescriptions have been accepted by South African policymakers.

> The dominant perspectives on economic and corporate governance are hugely influenced by the shift towards the hegemony of neoliberal ideology. ... After a long battle for democracy in South Africa, the government has chosen to follow the anti-democratic (and anti-intellectual) path, where the private sector and foreign investors decide whether policies are credible (Mohamed, 2010: 156).

Fundamentally, this is an indication of the dominance of neo-liberalism in the policy discourse in post-apartheid South Africa. It has been entrenched, with the ANC moving away from its socialist-oriented Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) which informed the ANC's 1994 election campaign towards neo-liberalism (Kariithi and Kareithi, 2007). At the dawn of democracy the ANC, informed by its historical ideological grounding, produced the RDP strategy document which sought to increase the rate of economic growth, increase investment as a growth stimulant, and drive the increase of wage labour to deal with high levels of unemployment (Weeks, 1999). However, this framework, still regarded as progressive by many scholars and activists, was almost immediately abandoned, within two years of the ANC being elected to power. It was dropped in favour of a typically "orthodox" macroeconomic policy, the Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy (GEAR), which prioritised "fiscal deficit reduction through expenditure restraint and tight monetary policy, along with rapid trade liberalisation" (Weeks, 1999: 795; also see Michie and Padayachee, 1998: 625). I contend that this macroeconomic policy framework continues to have devastating effects on the country, with sharp increases in the levels of unemployment, poverty and inequality. The emergence of neo-liberalism was buttressed by the ANC government's collaboration with the corporate sector through embracing a free market ideology, which won the ANC critical support from domestic and international business. However, this "engendered tensions between the ruling party and tripartite partners, Cosatu and the SACP" (Kariithi and Kareithi, 2007: 466). Indeed, the nationalisation discourse takes place within this framework of neo-liberal hegemony and, as highlighted above, is dominated by two schools of thought.

## 2.5 The media landscape in South Africa

### 2.5.1 Overview

The story of the South African media can best be understood in the context of key defining epochs in the history of the country. These epochs include the colonisation of the country, which began with the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck and the first batch of European settlers in 1652, and which centuries later culminated in the birth of the Union of South Africa in 1910. It also includes the entrenching of colonial apartheid following the ascension to power of the National Party in 1948, and the 1994 democratic breakthrough which led to the official demise of apartheid. Of course there were many other defining moments in between these epochs, including the wars of conquest and the national liberation struggle.[17] Nevertheless, the story of the media somehow mirrors historical developments which are largely characterised by colonisation and apartheid colonialism, both of which subjected the indigenous population to total political, economic and cultural domination (Holiday, 1988; Jara, 2013). Therefore, the post-apartheid media discourse, in particular corporate print media, has to be located within what Steenveld (2012) termed "ethnic presses" comprising the black, English and Afrikaans presses. Each of these presses "had a particular agenda in relation to the group's political status. Thus, the history of these presses is also a history of social, political and economic struggle in South Africa" (Steenveld, 2012; 125).

### 2.5.2 The South African print media

The first newspapers published in sub-Saharan Africa are said to be the *Cape Town Gazette* and *the African Advertiser* which appeared in Cape Town around 1800 carrying English and Dutch news (Pressrefence.com). Historically, the South African press was dominated by white-owned groups, split between Afrikaans and English titles. These are two former languages of oppression. Notwithstanding the sprinkling of a few indigenous language newspapers, the apartheid press was largely concentrated and commercialised. The English press had strong ties with mining and British imperial interests while the Afrikaans press acted as an organ of propaganda and a vehicle of Afrikaner capital accumulation (Tomaselli, 1997). In fact, the Afrikaans titles were aligned to the National Party and actively pursued policies of different

[17] For more information visit http://www.southafrica.info/about/history/.

factions within it (Muller, 1989; Sparks, 2009). The Afrikaans press was reliant on individual shareholders for its financial well-being and is said to have been "in favour of the National Party government" (Louw, 1993a: 2). Furthermore, the Afrikaans press was even considered "a cultural and political weapon for the promotion of the Afrikaans language and political independence" (Steyn, 2009: 2).

On the other hand, the English press had the financial support of big business due to its roots in the mining industry. This press was owned and controlled by mining corporations who benefitted from the broader policies of the Nationalist Party government, mainly its labour policies (Sparks, 2009). The latter point reflects the structural constraints within which the English press operated, and which led to its rather moderate criticism of apartheid. "This opposition to apartheid is structurally limited, since the English press is owned by white capital and therefore has a vested interest in maintaining the conditions conducive to the continued accumulation of capital, based on an exploitative division of labour" (Tomaselli, Tomaselli and Muller, 1989: 61). As was to be expected, the apartheid press was white and predominantly catered for an elitist middle-class audience (Chiumbu, 2016).

It is important to note the history of the black press in South Africa, which is said to have originated during the establishment of mission stations as a tool to teach literacy to indigenous people (Steyn, 2009). In this regard, evidence exists that black people owned newspapers as early as the end of the 1800s; however, lack of resources certainly haunted the black press from its inception (Steyn, 2009). Consequently, while by 1994 80 per cent of South Africa's population was black, "a genuinely black press had not been allowed to develop" (Hadland, 2007: 10). For over a century laws had been crafted to deliberately exclude black people in general and Africans in particular from actively participating in the print media. This included an apartheid law that "expressly forbade newspapers and magazines from reporting on black political leaders or parties or even from covering important political and social developments if they occurred in zones designated as black living areas" (Hadland, 2007: 10). Subsequently, at the dawn of democracy in 1994 the readership of newspapers was mainly white. However, according to Sparks (2009), at that juncture there were publications with a black audience, like the *Sowetan*. Key to note about this paper is that even though it had a black editorial staff, it was nevertheless owned by a white company. In this regard, the *Sowetan* and other like-minded titles might have been anti-apartheid but not necessarily anti-capitalist (Tomaselli and Tomaselli 1989: 52 cited in Sparks, 2009). "Journalists and editors who went too far in their

critiques ran the risk of being jailed or sacked. They tended to be more moderate in their stance than the alternative black press that emerged from the mid-1980s" (Tomaselli, 2000 cited in Sparks, 2009). This is another reflection of the limitations imposed by structural factors in the media, particularly to the black and English press.

It is also important to acknowledge the existence of the donor-funded alternative press which largely operated on non-racial grounds and supported the broader liberation struggle in the 1980s. The genesis of this press could possibly be linked to the radical and underground press in South Africa such as the ones produced under the stewardship of the then banned South African Communist Party like the *New Age*, *Spark* and many others (see Pinnock, 2010). It is said this press emerged around the era of the Great Depression, which led to the demise of many independent African journals but resulted in the formation of "a Captive African Commercial Press" such as the *Bantu World* (Switzer, 1997; Radebe, 2007). The alternative press thus became the target of the colonial apartheid regime, with people involved with it harassed and many publications banned.

> During the 1950s the government banned the *New Age* and its various reincarnations and, subsequent to the banning of the ANC and PAC in 1960, it continuously banned all publications associated with or seen to be supportive of the liberation movement (MDDA, 2000:14).

During the 1980s, at the height of the struggle against apartheid, the alternative and struggle press re-emerged: "Newspapers, magazines, journals, pamphlets and newsletters sprouted up to give platform to the voices of the resistance movement, including women, workers, students, the youth, rural people and local communities. Sympathetic foreign donors financially supported many publications" (MDDA, 2000: 14). Of course it is common knowledge that with the advent of democracy in 1994, there was very little, if anything, left of the alternative press.

Currently, South Africa has one of the most robust and free presses on the continent. With the country's transition from colonial apartheid to democracy in the early 1990s, marked by a low-intensity civil war, South Africa developed a growing audience for the press, eager to learn and understand political developments in the country. As briefly highlighted previously, by 2013 the country had 47 daily and weekly major newspapers in the urban areas, mostly published in English (www.southafrica.info). According to the latest South African Audience Research Foundation All Media and Products Study (AMPS) survey of December 2015, there were four

six-days dailies, 18 daily newspapers, 23 weeklies, one bi-weekly, and two monthly newspapers in South Africa. Within the English newspapers, there were one six-days daily, 16 daily newspapers, 16 weeklies, and one monthly newspaper. Over and above these, the country has over 400 regional and community newspapers and a wide range of special news websites on par with global standards.

### 2.5.3 The broadcast media landscape in South Africa

Just like the press, the state broadcaster, the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC), was also "originally conceived along racial divides according to the logic of apartheid" (Baker 1996: 219 cited in Sparks, 2009). Established in 1936 under a charter authored in 1933 by Sir John Reith of the British Broadcasting Corporation, the corporation was used by the National Party government as a vehicle for apartheid propaganda (Teer-Tomaselli, 2008; also see Tomaselli et al., 1989; Teer-Tomaselli & Tomaselli, 2001). With the dawn of democracy imminent in the early 1990s, "the SABC became the locus for national struggles – over the question of control, racial composition, news content, language policy, ideology and the whole gamut of what would constitute 'new South Africa'" (Teer-Tomaselli, 2008: 73). Indeed, the SABC can only be understood in the context of its genesis, which is linked to the colonial heritage of the Commonwealth (Teer-Tomaselli, 2008). In this regard, it is worth noting that Reith argued that "broadcasting should be developed and be regulated in the interests of the nation, assigned through state intervention" and "thus, from the outset the state was at the heart of the public service broadcasting" (Teer-Tomaselli, 2008: 75). This perspective thus put broadcasting squarely in the public domain, similar to other public institutions. Suffice to note that this ideological perspective has persisted in some respect in post-apartheid South Africa.

Far from what might appear to be noble ideals of Reith, Steyn (2009) posits that during apartheid, broadcasting in the country was regulated by the Broadcasting Act of 1976, thus implying government's exclusive control over the formulation of broadcasting policy and regulation as well as exclusive rights over provision of broadcasting services (National Association of Broadcasters, 2009). Certainly, what this act did was to reduce the SABC to a state broadcaster instead of a public broadcaster. It was "widely perceived as an extension of the National Party (NP) government"; "news programmes embodied the viewpoints of the government" while "policy privileged white audiences, for whom there was a much richer supply of material than for speakers of African languages" (Baker 1996: 213 and 219 cited in

Sparks, 2009). Certainly, the SABC was designed to serve the white population; at the dawn of democracy the staff composition reflected the embodiment of apartheid principles: "in 1994, 52 out of 53 senior managers (98 per cent) were white (the other one was black) and only one was female" (Mpofu, 1996: 44–4). The funding model of the SABC further attests to this notion of targeting mainly the white audiences as by 1994 it "received around 29 percent of its income from licence fees, with the remainder coming from advertising" (Sparks, 2009: 198). Furthermore, "the only commercial broadcaster, M-Net, was owned by the white-controlled press groups and, as a subscription service, was only available to a wealthy (again overwhelmingly white) audience" (Sparks, 2009: 19).

### 2.5.4 The contemporary media situation

It is because of some of the aforementioned historical factors that newspapers in South Africa have not been the main source of news for marginalised people, especially the African working-class majority. Jacobs (2004) points out that in the first decade of democracy, both radio and television underwent significant changes, emerging as the only mass media in South Africa. "Ninety percent of South Africans get their news from radio, sixty percent from TV and even less for print" (Davidson, 2002 cited in Jacobs, 2004: 132). To date, this scenario has not drastically changed and, according to Glenda Daniels (2013:7), "Radio remains the country's most widespread and popular medium in the broadcast landscape, and includes public radio (18 SABC stations) as well as a number of commercial stations such as 702 Talk Radio, Cape Talk 567, Kaya FM, East Coast Radio and 94.7 Highveld Stereo". According to the February 2013 Radio Audience Measurement Survey (RAMS), "the total adult radio listening population was 31.26-million, and of that, 8.74-million respondents listened to community radio". Equally, the television landscape continues to be dominated by the SABC but significant inroads have been made by subscription television over the past ten years.

> The number of households which have pay-TV has grown from 13% five years ago to 25% in 2012. The fight for audience has also heated up over English news, with free-to-air channel e.tv stealing viewers from the SABC 3's English news at 7pm. For instance, e.tv's 7pm news slot gets 2.5-million viewers compared with SABC 3's news (also 7pm) that gets between 900 000 and a million viewers, according the South African Advertising Research Foundation (Saarf) (Daniels, 2013: 8).

This background is crucial if we are to comprehend the nationalisation discourse in the corporate media. Furthermore, it appears that even within this changing landscape, the

broadcast media is permeated by structural factors such as privatisation that most likely impact the news agenda setting.

The public broadcaster model, in particular, has over the years sought to encourage privatisation by decreasing government subsidies. This has had major implication for news and current affairs programmes, with programmes such as the main news bulletin sponsored by commercial firms (Jacobs, 2004). This model, which includes "public commercial" stations that have to compete for advertising revenue with commercial stations, ordinarily neglect the working class as they attract a large upmarket audience. This was also the case on the television side when the first free-to-air commercial channel, e.tv, was launched in 1999. "These changes have oriented all broadcasting (SABC public broadcasting as much as commercial broadcasting) on the needs and tastes of the wealthier sections of the audience, who are overwhelmingly white" (Sparks, 2009: 207). Indeed, and as Sparks (2009: 207) posits, programming that largely depends on advertising has to, out of necessity, attract the higher income groups and therefore must be disproportionately directed to this group, thus "undoing much of the effort at inclusivity that had inspired broadcasting in the immediate post-transition phase". Even in the sphere of the broadcast media, structural elements are likely to influence the nationalisation discourse, because of this media platform's on-going structural links and close proximity to market forces. This on-going transformation of the broadcast media, which has reduced government subsidies while increasing privatisation, makes it vulnerable to capture and co-option by the capitalist market system.

Nevertheless, there is no doubt that the press in South Africa is much freer now than was the case under apartheid, and thus is more able to bring issues of public importance to the attention of the authorities. This is done through increased capacity of investigative journalism which has uncovered many stories about public and, to a lesser extent, private malfeasance (Duncan, 2014: 3). Nevertheless, it is imperative that we appreciate freedom as a fundamental principle in the analysis of the media in general. In fledgling democratic societies such as South Africa, "free media" is seen as a key feature through which democracy is sustained and entrenched (Freedman, 2008). Of course, the concept of a free media is a problematic one, as it is argued in this research study that the media is firmly located within the market forces and thus cannot be free from the biases and the whims of the capitalist economic system. It is not surprising, therefore, that, in the view of supporters of media freedom, "the state is conceptualised as the main danger and the state power viewed as potentially the main barrier to the unrestricted

circulation of ideas" (Freedman, 2008: 55). On the contrary, it can be argued that it is the capitalist media monopoly that has become a systemic barrier to the circulation of ideas for the working class and broader society.

The democratic dispensation has led to some transition of the South African media landscape. However, just like in the apartheid era where it was dominated by four groups listed on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange (JSE) – Nasionale Pers, Perskor, Times Media Ltd, and the Independent Group (formerly the *Argus*) – the corporate press is currently dominated by four major groups – Independent News and Media SA, the Times Media Group, Caxton-CTP and Naspers' Media 24 (Rumney, 2015). In 2013, the Independent News and Media SA (INMSA) group was purchased by South African media firm Sekunjalo. Indeed, 20 years into democracy, the media monopoly in South Africa continues relentlessly. As Chiumbu (2016: 16) states, it is "dominated by four print media oligopolies, one dominant public broadcaster [the SABC], one commercial free-to-air television and two satellite television firms".[18] Generally, this media has not given voice to other social forces outside the dominant views of the market. The Western values imbued in the liberal-pluralist media approaches, entrenched in South Africa, together with the continuation of the apartheid legacy, are some of the factors that perpetuate the asymmetry of information in the country (Chiumbu, 2016). The broadcast landscape is still dominated by the South African Broadcasting Corporation even though there are obvious changes since the dawn of democracy. This has led to the emergence of a free-to-air channel and numerous non-commercial community TV channels (Rumney, 2015).

> Another visible sign of the change is the mushrooming of satellite dishes throughout South Africa in rich and poor suburbs alike. Naspers-owned DSTV has provided real competition to the free-to air TV services, and enlarged the choice of channels massively, while proving to be a virtual monopoly in pay-TV (Rumney, 2015: 67).

Indeed, and just like the rest of the societal transition, the South African media landscape has also undergone its own transition.

This industry has experienced both unbundling and privatisation, with ownership restructuring through the entry of international capital and emergent black empowerment groups (Barnett,

[18]eTV/eNCA is the only commercial free-to-air television station in South Africa. In addition, the country has two satellite TV companies – MultiChoice and TopTV. The latter was launched in 2010 (www.mediaclubsouthafrica.com).

1999). But most fundamentally, the post-apartheid media landscape is characterised by a legal environment in which the Constitution has given rise to freedom of expression, freedom of information and access to information (Berger, 1999). However, with all the changes, the South African print media still has to contend with the accusation of being an untransformed industry. As reflected in the previous chapter,

> The ANC has also repeatedly criticised the print media for a lack of transformation, and have argued that the broadcast media are much more diverse and representative of the demographics of the country than the print media, owing to the fact that the former is state regulated (Duncan, 2011: 2).

Indeed, the corporate media landscape in the post-apartheid epoch has been characterised by significant changes in areas such as legal environment and ownership. Yet this transformation has been perceived as slow. At the same time, the media's role in the democratic dispensation is contested, thus leading to tension primarily between itself and social actors. It is apparent that apartheid's market ideology has persisted beyond the post-apartheid dispensation to impact various important institutions such as the corporate media. The corporate media in South Africa, due to structural factors such as its location within market forces, funding model and continuation of the apartheid legacy, reproduces and reinforces neo-liberal ideology which privileges capitalism and marginalises alternative and counter-hegemonic voices (Chiumbu, 2016). Indeed, the South African corporate media operates fully within the framework of commercial logic which inevitably favours elite discourse (Chiumbu, 2016).

### 2.5.5 The corporate media and the policy process

The media plays a pivotal role in influencing the policy process since it is a conduit that transmits the flow of information between policymakers and social forces (Freedman, 2008). Fundamentally,

> The problem is that the media form a largely unaccountable force and this policymaking influence is wielded without a democratic mandate and reserved for some of the wealthiest and most powerful corporate figures, who have their own economic and ideological interest (Freedman , 2008: 87).

In this regard, the media is central in influencing the policy process. At the core of the corporate media's ability to influence the policy discourse is the role of media professionals and the ideology that underpins their work. Indeed, the ideologies of editors and reporters are

quite similar, just as is the case with journalists and most of their sources, and thus in conflict situations "hegemonic boundaries are not overstepped" (Van Dijk, 2009). These aspects are presented in detail in Chapters 6, 7, 8 and 9. Indeed, the representation of the policy discourse is influenced by the fact that the "work of hegemony, all in all, consist of imposing standardized assumption over events and conditions that must be 'covered' by the dictates of the prevailing in news standards" (Gitlin, 1980: 264). It is this conformity that serves to advance the agenda of powerful societal interests, and this is achieved through media personnel's internalisation of priorities and definition of newsworthiness that conform to the institution's policies (Herman and Chomsky, 2002).

A cursory glance at major newspapers reveals a trend whereby the corporate press, in its endeavour to consistently cover the discourse, reproduces the interpretations which serve the interests of the ruling class. Furthermore, it is quite apparent that the corporate media is "a field of ideological struggle" where various perspectives are advanced (Hall et al., 1978). For example, most mainstream corporate newspapers took a keen interest in the nationalisation discourse, particularly in 2011, and utilised various strategies in their coverage. Publications such as *Business Day* provided consistent coverage of the discourse, albeit from the business perspective as was to be expected. The publication seeks to bring in-depth analysis to this subject as reflected in the article "Nationalisation" by Sim Tshabalala, joint Chief Executive of the Standard Bank Group and Chief Executive of Standard Bank South Africa; he posits that the proposals advanced by the ANCYL

> …are the effects of the pain and anger caused by persistent grinding poverty for millions, deep-rooted mass unemployment, and a level of inequality that is both morally unacceptable and constitutes a real threat to social cohesion. The statistics are chilling: 65% of South Africans live on less the R550 a month – less than a monthly satellite TV subscription. 12% are desperately poor, struggling to survive on R150 a month. One in five children shows signs of malnutrition. The unemployment rate for black South Africans under 30 is over 50%. Two-thirds of 15-to-30 year olds who want work have never been able to find a job. The richest 10% of South Africans earn more than the other 90% combined. Few would deny that we are sitting on a powder keg which is ready to explode for there are plenty of struck matches around (Tshabalala, 2011).

Although, it would appear that such articles present a balanced view of the discourse, there is a caveat as is to be expected from a business publication:

> The Youth League is therefore entirely right to be campaigning for 'economic freedom in our lifetime.' The real question is whether their ideas are a sagacious way to achieve this freedom.

> The definitive barrier to the nationalisation proposal is its expense and impracticality. Assuming that the proposal would be executed by way of nationalisation with fair compensation, then the question arises: How are the banks to be paid for? The total market capitalisation of South Africa's five biggest banks comes to about R500 billion, which is more than half of the government's total annual expenditure in 2011 (Tshabalala, 2011).

It is not too difficult to see that, through such articles, the publication valorises the views of one school of thought on nationalisation. Other publications such as *FinWeek* follow this line of approach with articles such as "Motsepe: Nationalisation does not work" on 1 September 2011, where the mining magnate, Patrice Motsepe is cited as accusing the business community of impotency for its inability to influence policy decisions such as the debate over nationalisation:

> In a Johannesburg presentation on Wednesday Motsepe, who a year ago drew harsh criticism for declining to take a stand on the nationalisation of the mining industry, bluntly stated that the nationalisation debate would not be held in any developed country because experience had repeatedly proved that it did not work (*Sake24*, 1 September 2011).

However, mainstream publications such as the *Mail & Guardian* present an alternative perspective. For example, the article "Oil together now: Lessons on nationalisation from Norway" by Mmanaledi Mataboge presents Norway as a good example of nationalisation that, when managed correctly, could be a good idea:

> The oil-rich country nationalised this natural resource in 1972, two years after foreign companies started exploring oil off Norway's coast. With the money made from oil sales invested in more than 8 600 listed companies across the world, Norway created a wide net of social welfare services that provide free education, healthcare and pensions to all the country's citizens (Mataboge, 2011).

The *New Age*, even though this publication does not form part of the sample of this research study, also presents an interesting posture towards the discourse. For example, in its editorial opinion of 14 October 2012 the paper argues that something needs to give in the management of the country's mineral resources. "The nationalisation debate only emphasised the need for more equitable management of these resources. It seems as if the idea of introducing a super profits tax is emerging to rival nationalisation as an option to socialise the mining industry" (*New Age*, 12 October 2012). The paper argues that this is the option that should be explored in the nationalisation of mines discourse,

> as it seems to be a middle of the road solution – the two pole positions dominating the debate hold no workable solutions. ... with all its weaknesses, private capital has a role to play and whoever holds the opposite view is a fool. But it is true that, left to its own devices, private capital will do what it does best – maximise profit through squeezing everyone else. There is no doubt that the mining industry will try to fight the super tax proposition (*New Age*, 12 October 2012).

The editorial goes on to urge the mining industry to open its heart to this idea if it is serious about infusing some semblance of social justice in its DNA. Indeed, the coverage of nationalisation by South Africa's corporate media reflects that the media plays a central role in the policy process. In fact, the corporate media is not just used as a platform to cover the varying views on the discourse, but it played a crucial role in the debate itself. It is this role, as articulated in the assumptions of this research study that structural factors such as ownership influence the representation of the discourse, which this thesis investigates.

## 2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented a case that fundamentally there are two schools of thought on nationalisation. While the proponents argue that nationalisation will redress the contradictions of capitalism through equitable distribution of resources thereby having an impact on social inequality, the detractors portray nationalisation as a failed and compromised economic policy largely associated with despots (Keeton and Beer, 2011). Certainly, the former argument finds expression in the South African context characterised by high levels of social inequality. Indeed, it is these competing ideas that inform the representation of the discourse in the corporate media.

The chapter has also shown that, in the contemporary discourse in South Africa, these schools of thought have been galvanised by the ANCYL's (2010) calls contained in its discussion document and congress resolutions. The thesis anticipates that the corporate media will draw on the cogent arguments advanced in the documents, which should provide the corporate press with a number of topics to consider for coverage. The chapter has also outlined the proposals presented by the ANCYL in its document and, once more, these present interesting views. Naturally, it should be expected that the media will gravitate towards this document as a point of reference on the nationalisation discourse. In particular, the well-considered options on the establishment of a State Mining Company, the expropriation model in line with the Constitution, and the amendment of the Minerals and Petroleum Resources

Development Act present opportunity for critical content. On numerous occasions the documents either calls for actions that are within the ambit of the Constitution or a responsible use of political power by the governing party – the ANC. Thus, whereas the corporate media plays a pivotal role in shaping the representation of policy discourse (Freedman, 2008), it is expected that in the representation of the discourse such points will be considered.

In light of the latter point, the chapter has shown that the nationalisation discourse is fundamentally a policy discourse taking place in a neo-liberal environment. Indeed, as reflected in the assumptions of this research study, the corporate media is part of the market forces and thus its representation of ideological discourse is influenced by such factors. Furthermore, and because of the underdevelopment in South Africa characterised by high levels of poverty, unemployment and inequality, the chapter has presented a case on why nationalisation is essentially a developmental issue. This reality coupled with neo-liberal hegemony are some of the factors that the developmental policy process has to contend with. The chapter has also presented the South African corporate media landscape as characterised by its development during various historical epochs up to the current post-apartheid democratic dispensation. At a high level, the posture and the approach of the corporate media to the nationalisation discourse is presented as an entry to the analysis of this representation. Indeed, the chapter has portrayed a corporate press that is keenly interested and applies various tactics to present the discourse.

# SECTION II

# THEORIES AND METHODS UNDERPINNING THE RESEARCH STUDY

# Chapter 3

# Literature Review: The Corporate Media in Liberal Democracies

## 3.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at a wide range of media literatures in its endeavour to investigate the nature of representation of the nationalisation discourse. The main purpose is to map out the scholarly fields that have a bearing on the research questions. Because of the multidimensional and complex nature of the problem under investigation, this chapter also highlights some of the gaps and contributions that this research study makes to existing scholarly conversations. For example, the chapter reflects on the critical political economy of communication which is fundamental in comprehending the process of social change, an important part of the social transformation journey (Mosco, 1996; Duncan, 2009). On the other hand, it weaves in discussions on development which are not merely about financial and material flows, such as aid and investment, but about the flow of ideas. Essentially development is "about ideology and the production and transmission of policies and discourses" (McEwan, 2008: 166). In this regard, the chapter highlights the attempts to bridge the gap between political, developmental and media studies by analysing these in tandem. While old and well-established theories are utilised, the chapter introduces new debates and focus by discursively linking state, society and market theories in the representation of ideological discourses in the corporate media. Doing so enables this research study to contribute to on-going developments of the critical political economy of communication.

The chapter examines the coverage of the nationalisation discourse in the context of (1) the changing landscape of the South African corporate media, (2) the location of the South African media in the capitalist economy, (3) structural factors such as ownership and control of the media, (4) the contested nature of corporate media and the policy process, and (5) the role of market-oriented corporate media in influencing both state policies and broader societal discourses – a focus that analyses the interplay between the state, markets and society as the concrete reality in which the media is located.

## 3.2 Media and transformation in South Africa – the story of the post-apartheid transition

### 3.2.1 The corporate media and neo-liberalism

South Africa's corporate media operates under a capitalist system and, like all businesses in this system, it must ensure profit maximisation through various means such as cost-cutting mechanisms as well as putting pressure on governments for political and economic reforms congenial to their interests (Mayher and McDonald, 2007; also see Murdock, 1982; Herman and McChesney, 1997). In less than two decades the South African media landscape has undergone some fundamental changes due to transformation following the democratic dispensation (Duncan, 2009). This transformation has been largely buttressed by the country's Constitution, which protects the media's freedom to criticise the government while having unprecedented access to state information. Therefore, on the face of it, this transformation of the corporate media may appear to be democratic (Jacobs, 2004). Furthermore, South Africa's corporate media operates under the growing embedding of neo-liberalism as characterised by the country's macroeconomic policy framework – the Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy (GEAR) – with elements such as budget reforms, privatisation and labour market flexibility (Nyman, 2001). The National Development Plan (NDP), adopted by South Africa's governing party, the Africa National Congress, in its national conference in Mangaung in December 2012, has not fundamentally shifted too far from the elements of GEAR. For example, one of the ANC's key Alliance partners, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), and some of its affiliated unions have been vocal about the need to "redraft and fundamentally overhaul" the core economic chapter and also "any aspect of the NDP in conflict with Alliance policies or undermining a radical economic shift" (Marrian, 2013: 1). Some unions, like the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA), have even gone to the extent of labeling the NDP a "neo-liberal policy". Consequently, NUMSA took far-reaching resolutions at its special congress in December 2013 not to campaign for the ANC in the 2014 provincial and national elections or to support the party financially (Letsoalo and Mataboge, 2013). Eventually NUMSA, which was at the time the biggest affiliate of COSATU with over 350 000 members, was expelled from COSATU in November 2014.

### 3.2.2 The corporate media in post-apartheid South Africa

The South African media has come a long way since 1994. At that time, it was described thus by former state president, Nelson Mandela:

> With the exception of *The Sowetan*, the senior editorial staffs of all South Africa's daily newspapers are cast from the same racial mould. They are White, they are male, they are from a middle class background, they tend to share a very similar life experience. The same holds true for the upper echelons of the electronic media, again with a very few recent exceptions. While no one can object in principle to editors with such a profile, what is disturbing is the threat of one-dimensionality this poses for the media of our country. It is clearly inequitable that in a country whose population is overwhelmingly black, 85 per cent, the principal players in the media have no knowledge of the life experience of that majority (Mandela, 1994 cited in Jacob, 2004: 156).

The tensions between the corporate media and South Africa's governing party and state institutions are not new developments. According to Jacobs (2004), as early as 1994, the state media and ANC–media relations dominated political debates. The media, the press in particular, had a new-found zeal, confident that under the new democratic dispensation it would no longer be harassed by the state (Horwitz, 2001; Jacobs, 2004). During this period, many ANC leaders, including the then state president Nelson Mandela, were of the view that the government's achievements were not receiving adequate media coverage and that "the press seemed to delight in stories of black incompetence with an eagerness that betrayed a continuing racism" (Horwitz, 2001: 289). With this history in mind, the proposal by the ANC at its 2007 national conference in Polokwane to establish a Media Appeals Tribunal[19] and the drafting of the Protection of State Information Bill, now termed the "Secrecy Bill" by corporate media, has not helped to improve the state–media and ANC–media relations. It would appear that this is the ANC's response to what it perceives as malicious coverage by the media.

Another crucial aspect of the South African media post-1994 is highlighted by Jacobs (2004) when he reflects on the media's stance on the Government of National Unity (GNU).[20] For

[19] The Media Appeals Tribunal was proposed in an ANC 2010 discussion paper, which, in turn, builds upon a resolution adopted at the ANC's 2007 National Conference in Polokwane. A basic premise of the resolution is the idea that freedom of the press is not an absolute right, but must be balanced against individuals' rights to privacy and human dignity (http://en.wikipedia.org).

[20] The ANC-led Government of National Unity, headed by Nelson Mandela, included members of the National Party and Inkatha Freedom Party. The GNU was to oversee the drafting of a new South African constitution. The new Constitution was adopted on 8 May 1996 (www.sahistory.org.za/article/south-african-constitution-grade-12).

example, Louw (1996: 79) posits, "The basic position adopted by [the *Independent's*] editors has been that the GNU, and the ANC's RDP, offer the best guarantee of stabilising capitalism" (cited in Jacobs, 2004). It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the Independent group of newspapers celebrated the "Rainbow Nation" while downplaying deep-seated racialised and gendered socio-economic inequality tensions (Jacobs, 2004). This posture by the Independent newspapers is reflective of the broader corporate media's overall ideological stance post-apartheid. Furthermore, it reaffirms one of the assumptions of the research study, which locates the corporate media within the market forces. The decision to ignore the fundamental and underlying factors of deep-rooted social problems such as poverty and inequality, what Jacobs (2004) calls the "racial-economic tensions" at the holy grail of reconciliation and nation building, is a deliberate ideological stance. Within this context, the study reveals the representation of policies that are largely anti-capitalist in the capitalist corporate media.

The posture of other media titles during this period echoes those of the Independent newspapers. Jacobs states that

> the same conclusions can be reached about *Business Day* or the *Citizen*'s coverage during this period. They represent different poles of the white social strata: *Business Day* acts as mouthpiece for the business community and the *Citizen* for white, working-class and right-wing concerns (Jacobs (2004: 161).

Louw (1996: 81) further alludes to the fact that both titles "continually remind[ed] their readers that the GNU, the RDP and Mandela are the only hope South Africa has for stability" (cited in Jacobs, 2004: 161). With the GNU and nation-building having almost faded into obscurity, this research study examines the corporate media's posture on ideologically charged policy discourses, taking into account recent history as noted above.

### 3.2.3 Media transformation in post-apartheid South Africa

The established social order and continuous entrenchment of inequality as laid down by successive colonial and colonial apartheid systems will persist for as long as the underlying economic systems that reproduce them are not fundamentally altered (Duncan, 2009; also see Seekings and Natrass, 2005). This is the context within which the South African media should be understood. Furthermore, the transformation of South Africa's corporate media is interwoven with and heavily tied to broader economic transformation:

> The distributional rewards of post-apartheid media transformation have been highly unequal. This reality will probably not change fundamentally for as long as South Africa's media system is premised overwhelmingly on the commercial media model. Also, the political economy of the country has determined (in its proper sense) the political economy of the media (Duncan, 2009: 7).

This inequality in the broader media landscape could be argued to be the main reason why the corporate media, for example, exercises its "watchdog" role in a biased manner. This role has largely been confined to scrutinising black elites, in particular state corruption, anti-democratic practices and what it perceives to be racist practices – in the process neglecting white economic elites (Wasserman, 2006a; Duncan, 2009). This is the main reason why this research study is probing the extent to which the corporate media covered and represented the nationalisation discourse in 2011, as reflected in subsequent chapters. The unpacking of the corporate media's treatment of the nationalisation discourse is interesting as some scholars have observed the difficulty of serving a public good under an uncontrolled free market media system (Duncan, 2009; also see Williams, 2001; McChesney, 2003).

On the media's transition from apartheid governmental control to self-regulation under a democratic government, Wasserman and De Beer (2005: 194) state that "this move towards professionalisation and self-regulation holds the danger of leaving decisions about the media's role in society to market forces, rather than in a dialectical relation with other societal role-players, including government". Consequently, the corporate media as part of the market forces is oriented towards prevailing economic power relations (Wasserman and De Beer, 2005). Corporate media's credibility in the eyes of the majority will remain suspect as it is deemed to have mainly complied with the apartheid government's regulations (Wasserman and De Beer, 2005). The only pockets of resistance prior to the 1994 democratic dispensation came from the then alternative press, which was largely donor-driven and has since died (Radebe, 2007).

South Africa's mainstream corporate newspapers have predominantly served the interests of the white capitalist class (Williams, 2006). Arguing that South Africa's media was a factor in the production and reproduction of a racist authoritarian system, Berger (1999: 82) contends that "the media served the dominant interests in the system because it was – in essence – an integral part of that system in terms of ownership and control, revenue streams, staffing, content and audiences". To a large extent, it could be argued that the legacy of the apartheid

system persists and the vestiges of this structural link to the economic base are still the main feature of the current corporate media landscape. Therefore, issues such as media ownership, access to education and the economy, and various forms of regulated "white" racism against the African majority all had a severe impact on how the corporate media reported on broader developmental issues (De Beer, 2000).

However, the demise of the left-leaning alternative press after the 1994 democratic breakthrough left a vacuum in as far as the media's broader development policy discourse is concerned. These newspapers played a critical role prior to the 1994 democratic dispensation and their focus increasingly shifted from just reporting on societal issues to socio-economic and political policies (Tomaselli, 2004). The left-leaning newspapers had a propensity to advance in-depth issues beyond mere argument on political rights for the oppressed African majority. Also, their depth enabled them to advance discourses on redistribution of the country's wealth to address centuries of cumulative socio-economic neglect. Their mainstream counterparts, on the other hand, sought to defend the status quo (Jacobs, 1999), largely because of South Africa's past, where the economic and political power, including media ownership, were in the hands of minority white groups which marginalised the African majority.

This history is crucial in locating the corporate media in the broader developmental agenda, and in particular the nationalisation discourse. During the first democratic elections in 1994, both the English and Afrikaans corporate press, largely run by white males, openly backed the apartheid-era political parties – the Democratic Party and the National Party. Only two major newspapers, which can be located within the broader alternative press, the *Mail & Guardian* and the *Sowetan*, backed the broader liberation movement (Wasserman and De Beer, 2005; also see Jacobs, 2004). Wasserman and De Beer suggest that:

> Within this liberal context of self-regulation, and within a free market environment (although significant changes to media ownership have taken place since democratisation), the government's role in influencing media content is limited. Nevertheless, the government often appeals to the media's sense of social responsibility in its attempts to get the industry to assist in the government's transformation process (Wasserman and De Beer (2005: 198).

While the transformation of the South African corporate media has witnessed more black editors and journalists than before the 1994 democratic dispensation, including serious inroads on the ownership front, poor working-class communities are still marginalised (Duncan, 2003;

Wasserman and De Beer, 2005). In arguing for a move from a libertarian paradigm to a mutualistic one, Wasserman and De Beer (2005) advance the argument that the media should incorporate more of the *ubuntu* ethical value of making heard a range of voices in the community. This notion argues that free speech should not just exist for its own sake but should rather result in the betterment of material conditions and freedom, and should serve the interests of the community instead of individuals (Christians, 1999; Wasserman and De Beer, 2005). However, this notion will do well to acknowledge structural factors of the corporate media and its location within the market system. The corporate media's posture on ideologically charged issues such as the nationalisation discourse is informed by this location. Wasserman and De Beer (2005: 205) further argue that "a question that will inevitably be put forward is how community matters will make commercial sense in a highly competitive mainstream media market". Still, the same free market conditions will persist regardless of whether there are ubuntu values or not. In other words, this is rather a structural issue directly linked to the broader capitalist system.

## 3.3 The South African media and the market economy

As stated earlier in this chapter, South Africa's corporate media subscribes to and is driven by the market ideology. Because of this stance, newspapers create special sections, and sometimes inserts, that deal with economic news; this is also the case in the broadcast media where business news emphasises currency indicators, stock exchange volumes, transactions and price data (Jacobs, 2004). It is interesting to note that the publication or broadcast of information that relates to inequality and poverty is "avoided and in some quarters actively resisted" (Stiglitz, 2002: 29 cited in Jacobs, 2004). In a country whose main problems are inequality, poverty and unemployment, one would expect that these issues would be among the top economic indicators. Only during special events such as the budget speech of the Minister of Finance will special reports dealing with these challenges be produced (Jacobs, 2004). Therefore, "In the end coverage of most business publications on matters of the economy has come to read like directors' reports for shareholders. South Africa is no different" (Jacobs, 2004: 174). Although the vast majority of the media audience derive their economic knowledge from the mainstream media, the coverage of the economic and business news is mainly limited to figures with little emphasis on the political and ideological nature of these figures (Jacobs, 2004). In this regard,

and due to the fact that audiences generally lack control of the media, they "are largely subjected to the capitalist media's construction of reality" (Harper, 2012:19).

Historically, South Africa's corporate media has been open about its support for the capitalist economy. This has been a trend globally where, according to Harper (2012), the media has become a tool by which the ruling class's ideology is disseminated. Analysing the coverage of a documentary "Apartheid Did Not Die" by veteran journalist, John Pilger, Jacobs (2004: 181) notes that the editor of the *Beeld* newspaper suggested that Pilger's criticism should be used to unite the country behind a programme to build a "successful liberal democratic capitalist economy". The underlying logic, as reflected in the corporate media's articles on Pilger's film, is the perpetuation of the liberal democracy agenda buttressed by neo-liberal macroeconomic policy such as GEAR (Jacobs, 2004).

Just like Pilger's film, a critical analysis of the nationalisation discourse requires piecing together the socio-political aspect of the country's transition, which according to Jacobs (2004) is fundamentally a discourse on race and inequality. The essential underpinning factors of nationalisation, at least from the ANCYL perspective, are based on addressing socio-economic injustices of the past. Indeed, this is an emotive issue far from class-neutral reconciliation and the Rainbow Nation narrative. Certainly, there is a disconnect between corporate media and its coverage of issues affecting the majority. Jacobs (2004: 200) asserts that "mainstream coverage of policy debates can be characterised by a consensus-driven coverage and disjointed analyses in which the connections between the policies and their impacts are seldom interrogated". He argues further that the corporate media hides the effects of economic policies on ordinary South Africans with narrow ideological debates among the elites. In this regard, there is hegemony of neo-liberal economic discourse in the media (Jacobs, 2004). The demise of the alternative press in post-apartheid South Africa – just like in Britain where newspapers such as *The Poor Man's Guardian* were pushed aside in the nineteenth century by commercial newspapers' attractiveness to advertisers despite their small circulation – represents the class character of the media (Harper, 2012). This is what Harper (2012: 20) characterises as "the class warfare of the bourgeoisie against the working class", which he argues is waged in "a maelstrom of media propaganda that seek to justify capitalism".

Whereas the corporate media has succeeded in holding the political elites to account, its structural weaknesses have prohibited it from addressing the deep-seated socio-economic crisis

characterised by high levels of poverty, unemployment and rising inequality (Duncan, 2014). The biggest failure of the post-apartheid corporate media has been its inability to report on the systemic features and weaknesses of the economic base when reporting on community and labour protests (Jacobs, 2004; Duncan, 2014). The corporate media coverage, besides being "sporadic" and "episodic" (Duncan, 2014), has also been shallow, reducing legitimate community protest to "service delivery protests". In actual fact, when close attention is paid, it emerges that these protests have little to do with "service delivery" but rather more to do with the inability of the post-apartheid capitalist economy to address deep-seated structural features in the economy (Jara, 2013). As argued by Trevor Ngwane of the now-defunct Anti-Privatisation Forum, just like with the so-called service delivery protests, the corporate media could only cover the violent episodes that accompanied their anti-privatisation protests instead of providing proper analysis of the effects of these protests (cited in Jacobs 2004). This is mainly due to the fact that the corporate media is a platform of the ruling class that reproduces its worldview "with impressive consistency, despite the vast array of programme formats and genres across the enormously expanded range of media channels available today" (Harper, 2012: 97).

The logic of market-driven processes in the country has meant that the problems of social inequality have shaped the media system (Duncan, 2014: 27). The nationalisation debate and other anti-market discourses take place within this market-driven media system, and thus it is argued in this research study that these discourses are largely driven from the viewpoint of the capitalists. Whereas the capitalist class have the ability to access the plurality of media, the working class (which is constituted by the workers, the under- and unemployed, poor and marginalised South Africans) has limited access to this diversity and thus are denied the opportunity to see a complete picture of ideological discourses such as nationalisation (Duncan, 2014).

However, the corporate media's attitudes towards markets vary within and between countries, with the recent decades having witnessed a trend towards displacing non-commercial media that is sponsored, owned and controlled by the government with commercial, advertiser-funded media (Herman, 2002). This is also the case in South Africa where the media, including the public broadcaster and community media, has had to rely largely on advertising to survive. Moreover, concentration and conglomeration have been apparent in South Africa's media, "along with cross-border operations and control of this private sector media" (Herman, 2002:

61; also see Herman and Chomsky, 1988; McChesney, 1999; Bagdikian, 2000). A case in point in this country has been the ownership of the Independent Group by Irish tycoon, Tony O'Reilly, until it was recently acquired by a South African group – Sekunjalo Investments.

As a result of concentration and conglomeration, the media structure and output have become more and more alike, and in the case of the Independent News similar stories are syndicated in its publications across the country. This point is aptly captured by Herman (2002: 61) when he mentions that "commercialisation and competition have tended to homogise media outputs as media managers have sought to reach affluent audiences and please their owners and advertisers". One of the key features of the nationalisation discourse, exposed in this research study is the market posture and argument, through corporate media, that there is a risk of capital flight and adverse effects on investment decision associated with the discourse. The research study, through analysis of the nationalisation discourse, confirms Herman's (2002) observations that the market now controls national policy. This research study puts forward the argument that the outcomes and resolutions of ANC's 2012 national conference were largely informed by the pressure of the markets exerted through, among other channels, its corporate media.[21] In this regard, the reality that "the market refers … to the collective or net actions and preferences of financial and other important market participants" as argued by Herman (2002: 62) appears to be true. The corporate media is unable to deal with and expose the monopoly right of powerful corporate interests in many industries. For example, in South Africa there have been a number of price-fixing scandals involving powerful corporate organisations in the construction, tyre manufacturing, pharmaceutical and bread industries that have not received similar attention as did the purported government corruption in the arms deal[22] and Nkandlagate (where South Africa's state president, Jacob Zuma, was accused of and found to

[21] The ANC resolved against the concept of "strategic nationalisation" in favour of "strategic state ownership" at its conference in Mangaung in 2012. The organisation opted for state intervention with a focus on beneficiation for industrialisation instead of nationalisation of mines. It argued, "At the forefront of state intervention should be the strengthening of the state mining company which will capture a share of mineral resource rents and equity". They further argued that "The state must capture an equitable share of mineral resource rents through the tax system and deploy them in the interests of long-term economic growth, development and transformation" (www.politicsweb.co.za; www.anc.org.za).

[22] In 1999 the South African government entered into an arms deal, estimated by researchers to have cost the country R70 billion. The scandal has seen large swathes of South African politicians, middlemen and international arms traders tainted by corruption and bribery allegations (www.mg.co.za).

have unduly benefited from the spending of over R250 million on his private resident in Nkandla).

The corporate media, just like any other capitalist institution, employs and exploits labour in the quest for surplus. This is part of the structural factors and, as espoused by Herman (2002), consequently dichotomises the relationship between owners and top managers within corporate media. Essentially, the fundamental underlying features of the capitalist system are premised on class exploitation and thus class contestations as manifested in the corporate media's posture on ideologically charged discourses. When dealing with the treatment of discourses such as nationalisation, it is crucial to also situate it within the framework of media structures and relationships. But importantly the corporate media's integration into the market system and neo-liberal political economy is equally important (Herman, 2002).

## 3.4 Structural factors of the corporate media

From the onset, this research study argues that structural factors such as ownership and control influence the media's coverage of the nationalisation discourse. This subsection deals with two of these factors, namely the ownership and advertising.

### 3.4.1 Media and ownership

Ownership is one of the important structural factors that impact upon corporate media's narrative on the nationalisation discourse. Ultimately, it is the corporate media systems that are used as a tool to advance the values and objectives of competing political interests (Freedman, 2008). Herman and Chomsky (2002) assert that the media functions on behalf of the powerful societal interests that control and finance them. "This is normally not accomplished by crude intervention, but by the selection of right-thinking personnel and by the editors' and working journalists' internalisation of priorities and definition of newsworthiness that conform to the institution's policies" (Herman and Chomsky, 2002: 3). Essentially, the ownership patterns have an impact on the content of news, as those who own and control the media have influence over hiring and firing as well as over the editorial direction of news organisations (Radebe, 2007). As Shoemaker and Reese (1991:163) argue

on what the media organisation may execute: "If employees don't like it, they can quit. Others will be found to take their place, and routine can always be changed."

While significant changes have occurred in terms of the racial composition of ownership, class continuity is still very much evident in the South African media (Teer-Tomaselli and Tomaselli, 2001; Duncan, 2009). Historically, South African media ownership has been concentrated in the hands of four conglomerates, some of whom were dialectically linked to the industrial bourgeoisie, and aimed at the white apartheid middle strata preferred by advertisers (Jacobs, 2004). This has largely remained the case, with the exception of a few cases where black-owned conglomerates took over Times Media Group, formerly known as Johnnic Communications, then Avusa and the recent takeover of the Independent Group by Sekunjalo Investments. Despite this black ownership, transformation of the corporate media has been intractably slow and mirrored that of the broader economic and land transformation of the country, which has progressed at a snail's pace. Even in instances where black ownership has occurred, including the public broadcaster, the media systems have structurally remained elitist due to elements such as the funding model. In this regard, the corporate media have remained a tool for waging class battles.

This slow transformation of the media and its concentration fundamentally entrenches the apartheid patterns (Duncan, 2014). In the South African context, where the rate of transformation is measured by the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (B-BBEE)[23] codes, "The press, however, had consolidated a B-BBEE score level of five by 2011: a poor showing for an industry that claims to represent the public interest. If the press are out of step with the society demographically, then they will find it extremely difficult to portray itself convincingly as a mirror of society" (Duncan, 2014: 3). This echoes the sentiments expressed earlier in this chapter by former state president Nelson Mandela. Broadly speaking, it could be

[23] Since the democratic dispensation, Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (B-BBEE) has been adopted as an initiative of the South African government aimed at promoting economic transformation in order to enable meaningful participation of black people in the economy. The BEE Act of 2003 outlines the required targeted areas of development within the South African economy. However, it is crucial to note that after the introduction of BEE, as South Africa moved towards proper integrated society Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (B-BBEE) was introduced which accommodates companies owned by other races but has shareholding of blacks or employees share schemes, And where these companies buy goods and services from BEE companies and are involved in skills development and enterprise development through adopting the BEE companies and developing them (http://www.newdiscoverybs.co.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=994:econopedia).

argued that the corporate press in South Africa has been slow in embracing transformation, and more than 20 years into the democratic dispensation it still lags behind with little hope of any meaningful transformation. A transformation charter for the industry was rejected, with the corporate press opting to set up its own "Print and Digital Media Transformation Task Team to develop a roadmap for transformation of the industry from within" (Duncan, 2014: 4). It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the ANC emerged with the Media Appeals Tribunal (MAT) resolution at its 2007 Polokwane conference. This was partly due to the slow pace of transformation, but most importantly because it views the Press Council of South Africa as a self-serving system (Duncan, 2014). A cursory glance at the outcomes of the British Press Complaints Commission[24] would suggest that the ANC's proposals on the MAT are not farfetched, and are actually proactive (Freedman, 2008), especially since the corporate press has consistently failed to self-regulate. However, Duncan (2014) argues that in Britain, in the light of phone-tapping scandals, self-regulation has not necessarily failed as such, but rather a particular model of self-regulation exists that is implicitly designed to benefit the industry. Freedman (2008: 70) posits that the British media policy is premised on a "marketised interpretation of the public interest". In this context, media policy that informs and affects self-regulation mechanisms depends on a definition of public interest based on plurality of ownership, diversity of sources, economic benefits and market effects (Freedman, 2008). The power and influence that accrue to owners of the media make ownership a vital component to be considered when analysing any ideological discourse. Freedman (2008) further emphasises that media owners wield huge unaccountable political and economic power, and their ability to deploy their market power to act as influential "cultural gatekeepers" makes ownership an important aspect. Furthermore, a concentration of media power is a concern because, over and above market power, which leads to monopoly tendencies, a media that is excessively tied to financial interests is likely to be unable to provide adequate checks and balances against abuse by special interests (Stiglitz, 2002).

[24] The Press Complaints Commission (PCC) is a voluntary regulatory body for British printed newspapers and magazines, consisting of representatives of the major publishers. The PCC is funded by the annual levy it charges newspapers and magazines. It has no legal powers – all newspapers and magazines voluntarily contribute to the costs of, and adhere to the rulings of, the Commission, making the industry self-regulating. It received extensive criticism for its lack of action in the News of the World phone hacking affair, including from MPs and Prime Minister David Cameron, who called in July 2011 for it to be replaced with a new system. The Leveson Inquiry was set up and reported in November 2012, but there has been deadlock over its proposals for self-regulation despite the establishment of a Royal Charter on self-regulation of the press (http://en.wikipedia.org).

The corporate media in liberal democracies have to consider their shareholders: "With stock outstanding, [they] have fiduciary obligations to their owners to focus on the bottom line, which may well conflict with any theoretical public service obligations" (Herman, 2002: 64). Corporate media owners, as beneficiaries of the market system, are, in all likelihood, biased towards the market system in ideological discourses. Obviously, this is a much more nuanced process and thus there is some dispute as to the extent to which media owners influence behaviour and performance (Herman, 2002). Because there is pressure on the bottom line, there are policy implications for the corporate media's focus in attracting advertisers, managing relationships with critical sources of information, and avoiding conflicts with powerful constituencies (Herman, 2002). Indeed, media proprietors are not philanthropic investors who are interested in the public good and safeguarding the democratic system, but rather shrewd business people who invest on the basis of carefully calculated return on their investments. For example, Herman (2002) suggests that some have imposed their strong political views on their outlets, and that evidence indicates that even those deemed less strong ideologically have had a distinct influence on media policy choices. This influence is sometimes quite nuanced, "by hiring senior editors known to fit the owners' general outlook and to be sensitive to propriety demands; by politically biased selection, emphases, and tone that guides underlings as to what is expected of them" (Herman, 2002: 65). A contemporary local example of this is the acquisition of the Independent News Group by Sekunjalo Investments, which led to the suspension of some editors who, like the editor of the *Cape Argus,* were purportedly ideologically opposed to the approach of the new owners. Of course, some, like the editor of the *Sunday Independent,* left "voluntarily". This clearly suggests that the influence of policy is a dynamic process which is not only a top-down approach but also influenced from below by media managers. Herman (2002: 65) alludes to this point when he indicates that "distinguishing between proprietary-editor and mere profit seeking is difficult". Over and above this, policy is inevitably enforced by the very nature of the market economy, which prioritises profit maximisation (Herman, 2002).

Indeed, ownership is crucial in shaping the corporate media's narrative on development discourses such as nationalisation. As Wright and Rogers posit,

> the way media and communication … is owned, produced and controlled has pervasive consequences for the character of public debate, the attitudes people form towards social issues and social conflicts, and ultimately the possibilities for various kinds of social change to occur in a democracy" (Wright and Rogers, 2010: 1)

Therefore, the nationalisation discourse exists in the context of the capitalist media system that "tends to reflect the interests of its owners and controllers – the corporations and the capitalist state" (Harper, 2012: 97). This means that, as Chomsky (1992: 92) points out, "what conflicts with the requirements of power and privilege does not exist". In this regard, this research study highlights the extent to which corporate media influences the broader societal views on public debates by analysing the coverage and presentation of the nationalisation discourse.

### 3.4.2 Advertising and market forces

The corporate media's profitability and thus its survival lie in its ability to attract an audience to sell to advertisers (Croteau and Hoynes, 2006). This is bound to lead to editorial pressures and political discrimination:

> Political discrimination is structured into advertising allocation by the stress on people with money to buy … many firms will always refuse to patronise ideological enemies and those whom they perceive as damaging their interests, and cases of overt discrimination add to the force of the voting system weighted by income (Herman and Chomksy, 2002:16).

This makes advertising one of the critical structural factors that influence the corporate media's approach to news. Herman (2002: 65) posits that "media depends heavily on advertising to fund their operations, ranging from perhaps 70 percent of revenue for newspapers to more than 95 percent for television." Again, just like other factors, advertising usually influences the media in a subtle and yet fundamental way. This is mainly through insistence on placing adverts in an environment that supports commercial messages. Because of the over-reliance on advertising, competition for advertising is a powerful force that often coerces the corporate media to structure its activities to ensure that it meets the demands of advertisers (Barnouw, 1978; Herman, 2002).

As argued above, the nature of the corporate media – its need for profit maximisation and reliance on advertising – compels it to seek more economical, efficient and less hostile sources (Herman, 2002). This dependency on steady and well-established sources of news is not by design of the corporate media but rather arises from a deep-seated structural issue. Unfortunately, this leads to the perpetuation of exclusion of ordinary working-class people as sources, thus resulting in biased framing of important stories. Nevertheless, Herman (2002: 66)

uses “flak” to illustrate how the behaviour of corporate media is influenced by external forces such as advertisers, organisations and government bodies that can “withdraw their patronage, humiliate them, and rule or legislate against them”. For example, not long ago former South African government spokesperson Jimmy Manyi threatened to “pull the plug” on government’s R1 billion advertising spend. According to De Waal (2011), South African editors were outraged after Manyi’s announcement that the Cabinet had approved a state communication plan to reward media which put a positive spin on what government was doing. This scenario reinforces the assertion by Herman (2002) that the flak that seriously worries the media stems from large bodies such as government agencies, their contractors and advertising companies, which are at the same time important information sources. Therefore, apart from the corporate media’s location within the market forces and as profit-making organisations, corporate media must contend with pressures that might harm their commercial interests.

Furthermore, it can be argued that liberal democracies and capitalist states, by and large, breed institutions that structurally coerce the media to toe the ideological line. The dominant Western neo-liberal ideology is primarily premised on the propertied business class, whose possessive individualism and religious-like belief in private enterprise and markets makes its hostile to government. This class thus only sees the government’s role as limited to maintaining law and order and serving business interests abroad (Herman, 2002). Within this set-up are the owners of the media and their managers (the middle strata) whose values and beliefs permeate the news. The South African capitalist system and the media, because of the vestiges of colonialism and coloniality (as described in the following chapter), are a mirror image of the Western neo-liberal outlook. In this regard, Gans (1979) posits that there are “enduring values” that journalists take for granted, which he characterises as “para-ideology”. On this matter, Herman (2002: 67) further argues that:

> There is evidence that for many journalists the belief that enterprise and free trade are good and government enterprise and regulation and constraints on free trade are bad are important elements of their para-ideology. The forces of ideology and para-ideology add to the other factors that tend to make journalists favorable to the market.

Of course, we should guard against completely ignoring the agency of journalists to form their own ideological perspectives because media professionals, who ply their trade based on professionals values, have the ability to resist any demands and pressures from above or externally (Herman, 2002). However, independent thinking and professional values are not

sufficient to offset structural factors. As Herman (2002) states, hiring, job security and career progression depends on conforming to established principles and policies. In this context, journalists are rewarded for conforming to mainstream values, while alternative views might go unpunished but also unrewarded. The nationalisation discourse, therefore, takes place in the context of these subliminal factors, which are discussed in more detail in the subsequent chapters. Moreover, as has already been suggested, embedded structural factors of the corporate media greatly influence the framing of news since, practically, the rules of objectivity perpetuate source dependence on powerful actors and institutions, thus putting them in pole position as far as framing of news is concerned (Herman, 2002). Furthermore, the nationalisation discourse took place in the context of what Duncan (2014) terms "pack journalism". Indeed, it is an arduous task for journalists to attempt to solicit alternative opinions while dealing with extreme time pressures. Herman (2002) submits that while journalists often find it easy and acceptable to uncritically transmit official information, the attempt to solicit alternative views is difficult and risks alienating major newsmakers. This research study argues that over-reliance on official sources, which marginalises alternative views, is not by design but due to structural factors of advertising. The issue of sources of news is discussed in detail in the subsequent chapter.

Certainly, the market ideology permeates the corporate media, since journalists tend to easily accept ideologies of societies where they come from and the "belief in the merits of markets and free trade falls into this category" (Herman, 2002: 69). The objectivity of news is built into the free market ideology for journalists and, in most instances, their personal views become irrelevant. Therefore, Herman posits:

> …where those who own the media and their advertisers agree on an issue, the propaganda model would lead us to expect that the media will support the position of the owners and advertisers and not allow extensive debate and critical news on such a topic (Herman, 2002: 70).

These are some of the subliminal effects that might not be easy to quantify. But it is precisely a result of this that the corporate media will, whether by omission or commission, advance the views of Bretton Woods institutions such as the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) to argue the case, for instance, against nationalisation. As mentioned in this chapter, the dominant narrative is that the nationalisation discourse, let alone implementing nationalisation as policy, will deter current and potential foreign investment in the country. In their quest to

promote the free market ideology, the corporate media stresses the so-called failures of nationalisation elsewhere without reflecting on the obvious and common failures of the free market system and neo-liberal policies. When their commercial interests are threatened, just like in the proposed Protection of State Information Bill, there have been joint efforts and mobilisation by the corporate media and corporate organisations, with some corporate and donor sponsored non-governmental organisations (NGOs) – portrayed as civil society – to oppose the Bill.

Herman (2002) talks about the media's willingness to join advertisers in pushing for their free-trade ideology; thus the corporate media is unlikely to be hostile to the market and oppose policies that dominant members of the market support. It is possible that the editorial positions of the corporate media might be biased in favor of markets while their news is unbiased. However, structural factors suggest a bias across the board (Herman, 2002). This bias does not guarantee that it will always serve the interest of the markets better, as shown by the global recession. But nevertheless, as it becomes clearer in this research study, due to structural factors, the corporate media's discourse on broader development issues is biased towards market forces.

## 3.5 The corporate media and the policy discourse

The corporate media system is a tool to advance the values and objectives of competing political interests. As Freedman (2008) states, media systems are purposefully created to inscribe the values and objectives of the market-linked proprietors on the possibilities facilitated by a complex combination of technological, economic and social factors. Therefore, it is not surprising that the corporate media has been at the forefront of defending and arguing that there is no alternative to the prevailing economic system (Fourie, 1994; Berger, 1999; Williams, 2006). For instance, Williams (2006) argues that the corporate media has deliberately downplayed precedents of state intervention in addressing socio-economic issues and uplifting a particular section of society – the white minority. This inability by the corporate media to highlight alternative views is structural but nevertheless a direct contribution to the ideological triumph of market capitalism (Tomaselli, 1997, 2004; Williams, 2006). In this regard, the nationalisation discourse is also an arena where different political preferences are celebrated, contested or even compromised. As Freedman (2008: 3) argues:

> Policymaking can be seen as a battleground in which contrasting political positions fight both for material advantage, for example legislation that is favorable to particular economic or political interests, and for ideological legitimation, a situation in which certain ideas are normalised and others problematised.

It is clear that in this process those who are resourced will prevail. As Freedman (2008) asserts, the policymaking process is ultimately dominated by those with the most extensive financial, ideological and political resources, who are best able to mobilise their interests against their rivals. "In that sense, it is a study of elite power and not of popular resistance..." (Freedman, 2008: 22).

Indeed, in an ideal world the corporate media would be expected to produce a vibrant narrative on nationalisation for the public good. A public good can be defined as a good whose production has positive effects on society beyond the effects on specific people who directly consume the good (Wright and Rogers, 2010). For this noble idea to be achieved, a vibrant and healthy press that is free from both state control and domination by powerful corporations is required. This would be a press whose primary motive is to benefit the majority of the people, even people who have no direct interest in the news and development policy discourse. Unfortunately and as asserted by Wright and Rogers (2010: 7), "the capitalist market usually does a bad job in producing public goods because the profit-maximising strategies of firms cannot give adequate weight to these positive, universal benefits". It is within this framework that westernised South Africa's corporate media is generating and perpetuating neo-liberal-biased discourses in the terrain of broader development policy. This reduces the corporate media to be the purveyors and entrenchers of neo-liberal hegemony through the facade of objectivity (Mayher and McDonald, 2007). A truly free press, as Wright and Rogers (2010) posit, should be free from domination by any sources of concentrated power, including the power of corporations, not just the state.

The environment that the corporate media operates under includes what Van Dijk (2009: 199) termed the "underlying ideological controls", such as the role of media professionals in the production process of news that influences the discourse on nationalisation. Apart from structural factors and the location of corporate media within the market forces, the broader development policy process itself is a contested terrain. It is mainly the ideological undertone that leads to tensions in the development policy discourse. Moyo suggests:

> Despite the perception of policy being a benign and apolitical administrative process that is carried out in the spirit of benevolence towards citizens or the public, it is important to note that ... policy-making [is] manifestly political and [is] sometimes marked by latent tensions or open conflicts between contending social forces in a given epoch and historical context (Moyo, 2012: 110).

In other words, policymaking is an ideological process that privileges the frameworks and the priorities of the powerful and marginalises those who challenge these priorities (Freedman, 2008; Moyo, 2012). In some African democracies the state often bulldozes and excludes inputs and participation of other social forces in the processes of policy formulation in the name of "national interest", as defined by the ruling elites (Moyo, 2010). However, South Africa's corporate media has the ability to fully participate in the policy arena and even set the developmental agenda. For example, many media organisations in South Africa are actively involved in opposing the proposed Media Appeals Tribunal and Protection of State Information Bill. The media and its lobby groups, such as "The Right to Know" campaign, have openly opposed these proposals. Consequently, and as Moyo (2012) declares, the content of the corporate media discourse invariably articulates, whether subtly or otherwise, the interest of those who own or fund it at the expense of informative and educational journalism or citizens. The ever-increasing market hegemony in the South African media landscape does not suggest absence of political choices and contestations. Instead, there is an ongoing feud between the state and market forces (Berger, 2007). However, it appears that this dual contestation between the market and the state happens at the exclusion of other social forces. Nevertheless, the hegemony of the market forces has taken root in the country and Berger states:

> … in practice, the configuration in South Africa does ultimately diminish the power of the state over the communications landscape, and it is more likely to perpetuate elite pluralism rather than allow for control of communications by a consolidated ruling bloc of whatever racial complexion (Berger, 2007: 2).

Essentially, the broader policy discourse, including nationalisation, is dominated by a few role players, mainly the markets and state. The role of the rest of the social forces including civil society is diminished (Berger, 2007). Of course, these two dominant forces often create an impression that they are the legitimate representatives of the views of the majority of ordinary citizens. This includes media-sponsored and donor groupings that often position themselves as "civil society". However, in the process of this contestation, which excludes other social forces, the state is often coerced into embracing neo-liberal policies driven by market forces as the

only viable alternative, thus perpetuating class exploitation with the state being co-opted to elitist positions. This class contestation promotes class inequalities and hampers the transformation agenda (Berger, 2007). The policymaking process is far from transparent or egalitarian, as the power to dominate the definition of policy problems is not shared equally by all participants. In their quest to exclude the rest of the social forces and become the sole decision-makers in the policymaking process, the corporate industry through their lobbyists argue that this process is often skewed by abstractions of academics rather than by the whims of politicians and members of the public. They posit that these academics enter the process on the basis of opinions and beliefs, as opposed to facts and data (Freedman, 2008). This contestation of the policymaking process is informed by the reality that alternative policies, when implemented, will affect different groups in society differently. In this regard, it is crucial that the process identifies trade-offs and discovers the forces that stand to benefit from a particular policy. Fundamentally, the state as a social force has to ensure that it safeguards the interest of the broader public, the majority, from specials interest (Stiglitz, 2002).

## 3.6 State and society – the role of market-oriented corporate media

If we are to fully comprehend corporate media and its role in society, then it is imperative that we closely analyse the interplay between the state, markets and society as the concrete stage within which the media is located. It has been argued in this chapter, and the preceding ones, that the corporate media is situated within the market forces due to structural factors which include ownership and the funding model (for example, advertising). Furthermore, Wasko (2005) points out that "To understand media's role in society, it is essential to understand the relationship between media power and state power, as well as the media's relationship with other economic sectors." In this regard, she suggests that:

> interrelationships between media and communication industries and sites of power in society are necessary for the complete analysis of communications, and helps to dispel some common myths about our economic and political system, especially the notions of pluralism, free enterprise, competition, etc. (Wasko, 2005: 38-39).

This point is elucidated further by Flew (2007: 47), who believes that the political economy approach also "challenged claims arising from liberal-pluralist theory that the state was a neutral arbiter of competing interests, instead emphasizing the power and influence of corporate interests over government policy" (also see Miliband, 1973). Furthermore, Mosco (1996: 92)

reasserts the political economy view that "the state has to promote the interests of capital even as it appears to be the independent arbiter of the wider social or public interest". The observations made by Kellner (1990: 9) using the Gramscian concept of hegemony are crucial in highlighting that the potential contradiction between state strategies to promote private capital accumulation and its need to retain some degree of popular legitimacy is managed partly by "a logic of exclusion that condemns to silence those voices whose criticism of the capitalist mode of production go beyond the boundaries allowed by the lords of the media".

As suggested in this research study, South Africa is dominated by policy positions that have tilted the country towards neo-liberalism. Thus in order to understand the democratic state in its entirety, the starting point is to critically analyse the social forces within the democratic state. For example, Dahl (1985: 60) posits that in the modern state "corporate capitalism" tends "to produce inequalities in social and economic resources so great as to bring about severe violations of political equality and hence of the democratic process". The nature of these violations, argues Held (2006), goes beyond the creation and immediate impact of economic inequalities as governments' capacity to intervene on behalf of marginalised social forces is constrained. According to Held (2006: 170), the constraints on Western democratic governments and state institutions to act are "imposed by the requirements of private accumulation – to systematically limit policy options". It is precisely the capitalist system of private investment, private property and other accumulation imperatives associated with capitalism that "create objective exigencies that must be met if economic growth and stable development are to be sustained" (Held, 2006: 170). Democratic governments are caught in this web as they are aware that if these capitalist arrangements are threatened and disturbed, they will precipitate economic chaos that will greatly undermine their legitimacy (Held, 2006). This interplay between the state and the society is of great significance in the analysis of the nationalisation discourse in the capitalist-oriented corporate media.

As a result of this power dynamic between the state and the markets, the corporate media has the upper hand in forcefully driving neo-liberal discourse, with the full knowledge that the government is completely aware of the requirements if it is to remain in power. Indeed, in order to remain in power in a liberal democratic electoral system, governments are compelled to act to "secure the profitability and prosperity of the private sector: they are dependent upon the process of capital accumulation which they have for their own sake to maintain" (Held, 2006: 170). In the South African context the government is immensely dependent on the huge tax

base of the mining and financial sector. According to Kearney (2012), the mining sector accounted for 13.2 per cent of corporate tax receipts (R17 billion in 2010) and R6 billion in royalties. It is small wonder then that the discourse on nationalisation is skewed towards the market forces armed with their corporate media as a tool of propaganda. For example, as the debate on nationalisation began, the Minister of Mineral Resources in South Africa, Susan Shabangu, received rave reviews from most sectors of the corporate media for standing up at the Mining Indaba in 2011 and declaring, "There will be no nationalisation in my lifetime". In 2012 she told a packed hall of global delegates with certainty that nationalisation was off the agenda for government and the ruling ANC (Naidoo, 2012). What is surprising is that these utterances were made long before the ANC structures could officially and democratically resolve on the proposed policy in their National General Council in 2011 and the subsequent National Conference in 2012. This shows that the South African state and its government, just like other liberal states, are left with little room to manoeuvre and exercise their mandate of transforming society. Fundamentally, government policies, including the nationalisation of mines, must follow a political agenda that is favourable to the development of the market economy (Held, 2006). The point is well-articulated by Lindblom:

> Because public functions in the market system rest in the hands of businessmen, it follows that jobs, prices, production, growth, standard of living, and the economic security of everyone all rest in their hands. Consequently government officials cannot be indifferent to how well business performs its functions. Depression, inflation, or other economic disasters can bring down a government. A major function of government, therefore, is to see to it that business perform their tasks (Lindblom, 1977: 122–3).

This graphic description of how a liberal democratic system functions is essential in the endeavour of this research study to elucidate the role and behaviour of the media within this system. Key to note, as Held (2006) points out, democracy is embedded in a socio-economic system that systematically grants a "privileged position" to business interest. This point is manifested in the South African context through GEAR and the economic chapter – in particular the Youth Wage Subsidy – in the National Development Plan. What hinders completely balanced and objective discourses within this system is lack of self-governance which, according to Dahl (1985), cannot be fully achieved unless there is major transformation in the power of the corporations. What is also important to appreciate here is that social forces, or what Held call interest groups, cannot be treated as equal, and most importantly that the state cannot be regarded as a neutral arbiter among all interests. As a matter of fact, "business corporations wield disproportionate influence over the state and, therefore, over the nature of

democratic outcomes" (Held, 2006: 171). However, it would be naïve to simply conclude that democratic institutions are solely and directly controlled by various economic interest groups with which they interact. As reflected earlier, there is rarely a unitary class that enjoys direct influence over a monolithic state. In fact, as Williams (2008) acknowledges, the state itself as a heterogeneous institution is also highly contested. Indeed, this system is more nuanced. Nevertheless, we must acknowledge that these institutions are locked into the interest structures of the capitalist institutions (Held, 2006).

A more nuanced Marxist perspective describes the state as the institution that bases itself on the availability of forcible coercion by special agencies of society in order to maintain the dominance of a ruling class, preserve existing property relations from basic change, and keep all other classes in subjection (Draper, 2011). In this context, the media is nothing but a tool to impose the dominant views of the ruling class on the rest of the society. Therefore,

> The state … is a product of society at a certain stage of development; it is the admission that this society has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction with itself, that it is cleft into irreconcilable antagonism, classes with conflicting economic interests, might not consume themselves and society in sterile struggle, a power seemingly standing above society became necessary for the purpose of moderating the conflict, of keeping it within the bounds of 'order'; and this power, arisen out of society, but placing itself above it, and increasingly alienating itself from it, is the state (Engles, 1875 cited in Draper, 2011: 252).

Whereas the state must be the arbiter among the social forces in society, the above perspectives suggest that it is interlocked with the economic interests of the ruling capitalist elite. Another useful Marxist concept that is used in this research study to gain further insight into the representation of the nationalisation discourse is the base and superstructure metaphor in the context of critical-emancipatory sociology on knowledge as advanced by Lee and Murray (1995). In a nutshell, they argue that the association of this metaphor with a critical-emancipatory sociology on knowledge assumes that certain types of knowledge are selected and become dominant due to their consistency with existing social structures and relations. This view, according to Lee and Murray (1995), simply suggests that if ideas legitimise the existing power structures, they are likely to be disseminated and accepted. On the other hand, ideas that oppose the existing power structure are less likely to be disseminated and therefore will not be available for public consumption. Certainly, this research study is mindful of the pitfalls of dealing with ideological issues in a binary manner; as Garnham (1979: 127) points out, no political economy of culture can avoid discussing the base and superstructure relationship, "but

in so doing it needs to avoid the twin traps of economic reductionism and of the idealist autonomisation of the ideological level". In this context, the research study does not suggest that the nationalisation discourse, due to its opposition to the dominant power structure, is overtly marginalised, but rather argues that due to structural factors, there are subliminal processes in the corporate media that influence the treatment of this discourse. Furthermore, what the base and superstructure metaphor does is to suggest that the means and the social relations of production brought together in the wage relation (base) shape the nature of the state and popular culture (superstructure) (Larrain, 1983). Consequently, it can thus be surmised that the state and popular culture arise from the base, which leads to the perspective that social consciousness may be seen to result from the consumption of popular culture whereas in reality it results from a particular economic structure (Lee and Murray, 1995).

## 3.7 Conclusion

In this chapter, various literatures have been utilised with the view to locate the corporate media and its treatment of the nationalisation discourse in the South African context. It emerges that there are many factors at play that must be taken into account when analysing such a complex ideological discourse. From the outset , it becomes clear that the South African corporate media operates under a capitalist system and, like all businesses in this system, it must ensure profit maximisation. While this is the case, it also emerges that in the last two decades the South African media landscape has undergone some fundamental changes due to transformation subsequent to the democratic dispensation (Duncan, 2009). Essentially, this transformation has prioritised the continuities of the apartheid media due to the Western values imbued in it. This has perpetuated the apartheid legacy, resulting in the asymmetry of information in the country (Chiumbu, 2016). Nevertheless, a clear picture that the corporate media operates under the growing embedding of neo-liberalism as characterised by the country's macroeconomic policy also surfaces (Nyman, 2001).

The growing tensions between the corporate media and the governing party appear to be escalating under the new democratic epoch that guarantees universal freedom of expression. The media's new-found zeal to expose state corruption is also driven by structural factors which locate it within the market system (Horwitz, 2001; Jacobs, 2004). This posture by the media has propelled the ruling party to respond with policy proposals such as the Media

Appeals Tribunal and the Protection of State Information Bill. In analysing the nationalisation discourse, the fact that South Africa's corporate media subscribes to and is driven by the market ideology is taken into account. This chapter deals in detail with structural factors such as ownership and heavy reliance on commercial advertising, which therefore makes the corporate media a vital cog and a direct participant in the markets, hence the assertion that it is an integral part of the market forces. The commercial media's attitude towards nationalisation is, argues the research study, shaped by this fact (Herman, 2002). Fundamentally, what emerges through this chapter are the research gaps in contemporary media literature. Crucially, what also surfaces in this chapter is the notion that the policy discourse is a highly contested terrain, contrary to the notion that it is "a benign and apolitical administrative process" (Moyo, 2012: 110). One of the fundamental observations in this chapter is the interplay between the state, market and society in the context of corporate media. Indeed, the media's role in society cannot be fully understood without comprehending relationships between the media and state power, and particularly the economic sector (Wasko, 2005).

# Chapter 4

# Theoretical and Conceptual Framework: A Dialectical Method of Theorising the Nationalisation Discourse

> In the colonies the economic substructure is also a superstructure. The cause is the consequence; you are rich because you are white, you are white because you are rich. This is why Marxist analysis should always be slightly stretched every time we have to do with the colonial problem (Fanon, 1963: 39).

## 4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the four major theories that underpin this research study – the critical political economy of communication; Marxist media approaches; decolonial Marxist perspectives; and the social production of news. In unpacking the influence of power relations and the exercise of power in society and the media, it draws from a number of scholars who have significantly contributed to the field of the critical political economy of communication. At the heart of this field are scholars who have employed the "dialectical method of theorising" as applied and clarified by Nixon (2012: 439) – that "Marx and a number of Western Marxists developed a historical and materialist dialectical method". Essentially, this method entails "a particular use of human reason to produce knowledge of human existence"; historical materialist dialectical method in this context denotes "…the use of human reason to produce knowledge of human existence by seeing it as a historical process within a material reality, thereby enabling an understanding of human social being as interrelated and contradictory as it actually is" (Nixon, 2012: 439). The work of some eminent scholars is considered in this chapter in order to map out a detailed and structured theoretical framework that enables this research study to critically explore and investigate the nature of the representation of the nationalisation discourse in the South African corporate press. Fundamentally, applying these theories as the basis of the theoretical framework, the main objective is to test the assumption of the research study that structural factors such as ownership and control of the media influence the representation of the nationalisation discourse.

Key to this theoretical framework is the Marxist dialectical method which, according to Nixon (2012), is the necessary means to produce a critical political economy of culture and consciousness. In essence, this speaks to the knowledge of social production of culture and consciousness within the context of a dialectical process of human history. Therefore, "The Marxist dialectical method is a means to unite critical theory with actual human history" (Nixon, 2012: 454). Furthermore, Marxist theories provide a class analysis of concrete material factors such as the rising income gap between the rich and the poor, widespread precarious labour, and the new global capitalist crises (Fuchs and Mosco, 2012). This is the context within which the nationalisation of mines debate occurred in the South African corporate media. Whereas this chapter does not seek to regurgitate old and well-established views on these theories, it acknowledges that Marxist media theories are useful to elucidate the representation of the discourse. Previously, these theories have been pivotal in conjuring up representation of ideologically charged discourses, such as the one in question, by the media. Apart from illuminating the hegemony of the market economy and the capitalist system, these theories also highlight the portrayal of social actors in ideologically charged discourses. In this context, and given the political nature of this discourse, the key aim of this chapter is to reflect on some epistemological debates to enable the research study to develop its own conceptual framework on: the extent to which the corporate media represent the nationalisation discourse; the portrayal of social actors and their views; and the ability to create linkages between the nationalisation discourse and the prevailing economic system as a result of the historical colonial and apartheid policies.

The chapter also highlights some key elements of the critical political economy of communication, and thus the ambit within which this research study is framed. From the onset, the chapter highlights some of the basic features that underpin and shape the economic context and politics of the media by providing a historical perspective to the political economy of communication as well as its contemporary trends. The fact is that the corporate media is a profit-based business that produces commodities (Murdock and Golding, 1973; Nixon, 2012). In this regard, the critical political economy of communication is unpacked in the context of the Marxist media theories useful in the context of social change (Fuchs and Mosco, 2012). It is argued in the chapter that decommodification, which includes the expansion and accessibility of the public media (Nixon, 2012), should be seriously considered as a way forward.

A key intervention in this chapter and the research study as a whole is framed through the section titled "Towards a Conceptual Framework – decolonial Marxism and the corporate media" which discusses proposed approaches in utilising decolonial Marxism perspectives in analysing the nationalisation discourse. At the core of this approach is the re-articulation of the Marxist approach within the context of coloniality approaches. Essentially, the underlying argument is on the limitations of Marxist theories in addressing deep-seated structural issues of coloniality of power and knowledge. The outcome is employment of decolonial theories in conversation with Marxism. Indeed, the decolonial/coloniality perspective and the corporate media is a new dimension that highlights elements such as power models that continue beyond the end of colonialism (Walsh, 2007). This is a new approach to understand deep-seated characteristics of the South African corporate media and to demonstrate this research study's contribution to scholarship.

Finally, the chapter articulates theories of social production of news since they are, inter alia, important in relation to the organisation of the workforce as well as the structures of newspapers. In this regard, elements such as the organisation of newspapers, sources of news, the role of journalists as social beings, and organisational theories are enunciated.

## 4.2 The critical political economy of communication

This research study utilises the critical political economy of communication to elucidate the representation of the nationalisation debate in the corporate media. However, the starting point in unpacking this is to comprehend the field's historical perspectives and current trends. Therefore, this section reveals the dialectical link and potential subtle distinction between the critical and the political economy of communication.

### 4.2.1 A historical perspective of the political economy of communication

To "fully understand a political economic approach to studying media and communication, it is necessary to trace the foundations of political economy itself" (Wasko, 2005: 25). In this regard, scholars such as Adam Smith have defined political economy as a study of wealth and allocation of resources concerned with "how mankind arranges to allocate scarce resources with a view towards satisfying certain needs and not others" (Smith, 1776 cited in Wasko,

2005). Indeed, "Classical political economy evolved as capitalism evolved, adding Karl Marx and Frederick Engels' historical materialism and class analysis in the 19th century, emphasising a radical critique of the evolving capitalist system through a moral stance in opposition to the unjust characteristics of that system" (Wasko, 2005: 26). Furthermore, Flew (2007: 30–31) locates the origins of political economy in the critique of mass communications theory developments in the 1950s and 1960s, "arguing that these approaches failed to give suitable weight to the significance of questions of power and ideology, particularly how economic, political and symbolic power interacted in the sphere of culture". Therefore, as Wasko (2005: 27) posits, a primary concern of political economists is with the allocation of resources within capitalist societies; "through studies of ownership and control, political economists document and analyse relations of power, a class system, and other structural inequalities". It is on the basis of this reality, having analysed contradictions in the capitalists system, that critical political economists should conjure up strategies for resistance and intervention. As Wasko (2005: 27) posits that "the approach includes both economic and political analysis, with methods drawn from history, economics, sociology and political science". It is on the basis of this understanding that political economy is applied to the study of communication (Wasko, 2005). For the purposes of this research study, it is crucial to fully comprehend this subtle difference between political economy and critical political economy.

It is equally important to note that the academic study of communication has not always embraced economic analysis and the political economic approach, until Dallas Smythe did so in 1960 (Wasko, 2005). In a nutshell, through this approach he sought to study the structure and policies of communication institutions in their societal settings. However, critical political economy was only explicitly defined in the 1970s using Marxism as a framework. For example, Murdock and Golding (1974: 205–6) offered their formula of political economy of communication by stating that "the mass media are first and foremost industrial and commercial organisations which produce and distribute commodities". This proposition suggests that the political economy of communication and media is "fundamentally interested in studying communication and media as commodities produced by capitalist industries" (Wasko, 2005: 28). This approach represented a groundbreaking exercise in as far as the conceptualisation of the political economic analysis of the media in the British literature, for example, is concerned (Mosco, 1996).

Another pioneer in this field is Nicholas Garnham who in the late 1970s drew connections to the Frankfurt School and posited that political economy of communication involved analysing "the modes of cultural production and consumption developed within capitalist societies" (Garnham, 1979: 123). In this regard, the media is perceived "first as economic entities with a direct economic role as creators of surplus value through commodity production and exchange and an indirect role, through advertising, in the creation of surplus value within other sectors of commodity production" (Garnham, 1979: 132). It must be noted, though, that all these three scholars (Murdock, Golding and Garnham) pointed out an inherent contradiction in this process. For example, Garnham (1979: 136), in particular, states that despite capital's control of the means of cultural production, "it does not follow that these cultural commodities will necessarily support ... the dominant ideology". But, there are other scholars such as Armand Mattelart who, in the late 1970s, outlined a Marxist approach to the study of media and communication by drawing directly from "Marx's *Capital* in outlining the mode of production of communication, including production instruments, working methods and relations of production, adding special attention to issues relating to the global extension of media and communication or what he and others have termed cultural imperialism" (Wasko, 2005: 29). As the field grew, a number of debates emerged including one on audience as commodities; this was sparked by Dallas Smythe in 1977 in a piece titled "The Blindspot Debate" in which he argued that Western scholars had overlooked communication in issues related to ideology (Wasko, 2005). In this regard, "he further argued that the main product of media was audiences which were sold by media to advertisers ... he maintained that audiences' exposure to advertising should be considered labour which added value to the audience commodity" (Wasko, 2005: 29). The debate raged on with the likes of Graham Murdock (1978) responding, and through to the 1990s and "more recently, with the increasing spread of privatised, advertiser-supported media, the audience commodity concept has been accepted by many political economists, as well as other communication theorists" (Wasko, 2005: 29). This debate on audiences as commodities is discussed further in subsequent sections of this chapter.

Indeed, there are different approaches to the political economy of communication. For example, according to Mosco (1996: 19), British and European political economists have generally attempted to "integrate communication research within various neo-Marxian theoretical traditions". On the other hand, the North American political economy, drawing both on Marxian and institutional approaches, "has been driven more explicitly by a sense of injustice that the communication industry has become an integral part of a wider corporate

order which is both exploitative and undemocratic" (Mosco, 1996: 19). There is another variation that can be called the "Third World political economy of communication" research that "relies on dependency and world system theory and other neo-Marxist traditions" (Mosco, 1996: 20). There have also been recent perspectives such as the one espoused by Hesmondhalgh (2002) on differences between a "Schiller–McChesney tradition" and a "cultural industries approach" (Wasko, 2005). While Hesmondhalgh admits that the tradition represented by Schiller–McChesney has provided invaluable analysis of the cultural studies, he nevertheless "feels that this version of PE/C has some shortcomings"; these include "underestimation of contradictions in the system, paying less attention to consumption than production, and focus on information-based media than entertainment-oriented ones" (Wasko, 2005: 30). In this perspective Hesmondhalgh draws a distinction between European and American traditions, identifying cultural industries as "European" and the Schiller-McChesney approach as "a distinctive US tradition". According to Wasko (2005: 31), Mosco "concludes that that even though there are variations, all of these explications of PE/C at least attempt to decenter the media and emphasise capital, class, contradiction, conflict, and oppositional struggles".

However, it is crucial to note that the major distinction between the political economy of communication and other approaches that focus on the study of communication and media is its indication of "a critical approach" as compared to "administrative or mainstream" approaches (Wasko, 2005: 40). For example, the rise of media economics as a focal research area in the field of communication and media has tended to echo the same concerns as the mainstream neo-classical economics, and thus is unable to present a serious critique of the capitalist media systems. Therefore, their emphasis and concern is "how media industries and companies can succeed, prosper, or move forward". In essence, "they present a celebratory position vis-à-vis capitalism" (Wasko, 2005: 41). It is not necessarily true that the relationship between political economy and other approaches is a competing one. As Wasko (2005) posits, political economy and cultural studies share a common critical analysis even though the focus of study is directed at different elements of the media process. However, political economists are often considered by cultural studies scholars to be "too narrow, deterministic, and economistic". Fundamentally, "many have charged that PE/C is primarily focused on the economic or the production side of the communication process, neglecting texts, discourse, audience, and consumption" (Wasko, 2005: 42). One of the most influential approaches in political economy has been the relationship between media and power, in which Murdock and Golding (1974), for example,

see economic power relations under capitalism as dominant but not determinant (Flew, 2007). Another crucial aspect of the political economy of global media literature is provided by Miller et al. (2001), "as it seeks to shift debates about global media from the 'cultural imperialism' thesis – and its attendant questions of ideology and influence – towards global production systems …" (Flew, 2007: 36).

Generally the picture that emerges from the political economy theories and approaches is that of growing entrenchment of neo-liberalism globally. One of the main research focuses of the political economy of communication has been on the "evolution of mass communication as commodities that are produced and distributed by profit-seeking organisation in capitalist industries" (Wasko, 2005: 32). Hence, we see the business convergence in media industries and privatisation of public media organisation now dominated by a market model (Wasko, 2005; also see Murdock and Golding, 1974). Indeed, for decades the notion that media and communication are to be provided by profit-seeking organisations competing in the marketplace had become acceptable and normalised (McChesney and Schiller, 2003). The history of the development of the capitalist media in liberal democracies has followed similar patterns. Smart (1981) posits that these communication systems are characterised by a generally pro-capitalist and anti-labour partisan journalism (cited in McChesney and Schiller, 2003). The capitalist media continues to face the challenge of legitimacy in the face of sentiments to transform it to a non-profit institution operating under the control of communities. Furthermore, in the twentieth century there was an emergence of the "so-called professional journalism, which was to be non-partisan, politically neutral and, to its most fervent acolytes, objective" (McChesney and Schiller, 2003). The noble idea, of course, was that this type of journalism would be produced by trained professionals who would not let their own values cloud their judgement. Furthermore, as highlighted by McChesney and Schiller (2003), in the context of the history of the United States, conventional wisdom was that professional journalism would address the challenge of monopoly capitalism control of the media in democratic societies. As is to be expected, this noble idea of professional journalism tends to "generate tepid journalism that reflects the range of existing elite opinion" and thus "reinforces conventional business-as-usual politics and marginalises the new, the critical and the radical, especially if it is threatening to entrenched economic interests" (McChesney and Schiller, 2003: 4).

Over and above this trend of public media institutions being converted into private institutions, Wasko (2005: 32) posits that new communication and information systems, such as the Internet, are developing along the same market line as commercialised space, "contrary to promises of public access and control". Flew (2007: 79) stresses that fundamentally, what emerges is that national media policies serve the interests of these global media conglomerates through policies such as "privatisation, deregulations of media markets and de-funding of public broadcasters", thus enabling these corporations to extend their global reach while "transnational policy-makers such as the World Trade Organisation pursue a neo-liberal agenda that further promotes their material and ideological interests". To the contrary, it would appear that the convergence between the media and information communication technology (ICT) organisation is leading to further consolidation by these traditional media giants: "to the extent that the Internet becomes part of the commercially viable media system, it seems to be under the thumb of the usual corporate suspects" (McChesney and Schiller, 2003: 15).

Therefore, the commodification of media and communication resources has become a reality, with products and services sold by profit-seeking organisations to consumers, with the development of "pay" television since 1980 an obvious example (Wasko, 2005). South Africa has not escaped this global phenomenon, with MultiChoice's[25] DStv having monopolised the industry. The result of commercialisation is media concentration which influences the content of news. Political economists have paid a great deal of attention to the influence of concentration on the availability and quality of news, with the likes of Murdock (1990) continuing to provide analysis of these trends in Britain, with scholars such as Herman and Chomsky (1988), Barnouw and Gitlin (1998), McChesney (1999) and Miller et al. (2001) doing the same in the United States (Wasko, 2005). Concentration takes place as a result of an overlap between the economic and media/culture spheres, which has led to "a dramatic restructuring of national media industries, along with the emergence of a genuinely global commercial media market" (Herman and McChesney, 1997: 1 cited in Flew, 2007: 36; also see Garnham, 1990 and Williams, 1977 and 1980). Subsequently, the global media system has become "an indispensable component of the globalising market economy as a whole",

[25] MultiChoice is a South African company that operates the DStv Satellite Television service, a major satellite TV service in Sub-Saharan Africa. MultiChoice was formed out of the subscriber-management branch of the M-Net Terrestrial Pay TV company, and broadcasts the full range of M-Net channels on the DStv service. MultiChoice is owned by the Naspers media conglomerate. One of the subsidiaries of MultiChoice is DStv Mobile, a service that delivers television transmission to mobile devices such as laptops, smart phones and tablets (see http://www.multichoice.co.za).

fundamentally because "the global media provide a vital forum for advertisers and the promotion of demand and consumerist values that grease[s] the wheels of global market" (Herman and McChesney, 1997: 189). Fundamentally, such a system leads to less media freedom as censorship is subtle and more sophisticated than in dictatorships because "unpopular ideas can be silenced, and inconvenient facts kept [in the] dark, without any need for an official ban" (George Orwell cited in McChesney and Schiller, 2003: 14).

Schiller is a political economist who points out that the current US-dominated global capitalism has witnessed the "entertainment, communications and information" (ECI) industries achieving economic pre-eminence with their influence not only enacted in the political-economic sphere but upon global culture and consciousness, thus resulting in a form of cultural imperialism "whereby the ideas and ideologies of the dominant West (and particularly the United States) exerted hegemony over the populations of the rest of the world" (Flew, 2007: 73). Indeed, there is a resurgence of radical political economy mainly based on the proposition that media ownership globally is subjected to growing concentration which has led to reduced competition and increasingly homogenised content (Flew, 2007). Certainly, the political economy of communication can be understood in the context of globalisation discourse, where scholars such as Steger have argued that:

> To a large extent, the global cultural flows of our time are generated and directed by global media empires that rely on powerful communication technologies to spread their message … During the last two decades, a small group of a very large TNCs have come to dominate the global market for entertainment, news, television, and film (Steger, 2003: 76).

The political economy paradigm therefore provides us with an integrated opportunity to fully comprehend the global media, and goes further to highlight the shift of power in the global media landscape to transnational conglomerates (Flew, 2007: 79).

According to McChesney and Schiller (2003: 5), in the 1980s communication was premised on neo-liberalism that "unleashed national and international policies highly supportive of business domination of all social affairs – with minimal countervailing force". During this epoch, profit-seeking capitalist corporations and global investors were seen as heroes of economic development, and the "market became a font of all that was good and true in the world". Contrary views against corporations' accumulation were "evil demons", while governments were expected to be "lean and mean" in as far as serving the interests of the poor and the

working class (McChesney and Schiller, 2003: 5). Put differently, the role of government was to be "sympathetic and benevolent" to the needs of the wealthy and large corporations, a narrative that is still with us today (McChesney and Schiller, 2003). As is the case in South Africa, few industries have been as affected by capitalist globalisation as the communications industry. Fundamentally, "the commercial media system is the necessary transmission belt for business to market their wares across the world" and this is reflected by an enormous global spend on advertising which ends up in the pockets of a few wealthy media corporations (McChesney and Schiller, 2003: 10). As has been the case in South Africa, over the years a small number of big corporations dominate the media at national and regional level. Indeed, as McChesney and Schiller (2003: 10) reflect, "the global media market more closely resembles a cartel than it does the competitive marketplace found in economic textbooks".

### 4.2.2 Current trends in the political economy of communication

Wasko (2005) posits that a radical, critical or Marxian political economy is likely to be the tradition that is meant when one refers to "the political economy of communication". This version is defined as "the study of the social relations, particularly power relations, that mutually constitute the production, distribution and consumption of resources" (Mosco, 1996: 25). In this regard, Mosco (1996) delineates four central characteristics of critical political economy, namely: social change and history; social totality; moral philosophy; and praxis. Therefore, according to Wasko (2005), his approach is similar to that of British political economists Graham Murdock and Peter Golding, who have distinguished critical political economy from mainstream economics through pointing out that it is holistic, historical, centrally concerned with the balance between capitalist enterprise and public intervention, and "goes beyond technical issues of efficiency to engage with basic moral questions of justice, equity and the public good" (Golding and Murdock, 1991 cited in Wasko, 2005).

Contemporary trends of the political economy of communication theories expose a shift in the discursive nature of media systems as a contested space. Mosco posits that

> current political economy research demonstrates that media systems in place today are the result of a deeply contested history, involving not just duelling capitalists and their allies in government, but labour unions, citizens groups, consumer cooperatives, religious enthusiasts, and social justice organisations of all stripes (2008: 49).

The shift within these theories, which emphasises resistance beyond the timid reflections of the domination by the powerful, is fundamental for this research study in its endeavour to examine a discourse central to transformation and social and economic justice for the working class (Mosco, 2008). This departure is characterised thus by Mosco (2008: 51): "The emphasis on resistance is increasingly generalised in research on the contemporary political economy marking a shift in the central standpoint from a focus on capital, dominant corporations, and elites to alternatives that draw from feminist and labour research." However, it is crucial to confront the tendency that perceives the political economy of media as constituting a single field and instead appreciate views espoused by scholars such as Hesmondhalgh (2007, 2009a), which distinguishes between the McChesney–Schiller model and the cultural industries school (Winseck, 2011). Although this framework struggles to contain the diversity of views on offer, it is equally important to acknowledge the broadened view by Winseck (2011), which highlights other important perspectives. These include: the conservative and liberal neo-classical economics perspective; radical media political economies; Schumpeterian institutional political economy; and the cultural industries school perspective. Furthermore, there are other perspectives such as the feminist standpoint, the labour standpoint, and autonomist perspectives. All these perspectives, just like the ones above advanced by Winseck (2011), enable this research study to appreciate various options available in analysing the representation of the nationalisation discourse.

Indeed, the political economy of communication has responded to the new media perspective in a sceptical manner, with historical work demonstrating that "much of what is considered new and revolutionary in new media was actually associated with every communication technology when old media were new" (Mosco, 2008: 56). This notion that convergence is unique to new media is debunked by scholars such as Winseck and Pike (2007), who posit that in fact much of its promises and challenges were equally anticipated by the mid-nineteenth-century technology. It emerges that the hype around the new media is baseless, as Mosco (2008: 56) reveals that Martin (1991) describes the promises associated with the telephone in similar fashion. Just as there were expectations that the telegraph and telephone would bring peace and change people's lives, there are similar myths around the Internet contained in "utopian visions of alternative realities and ideologies discourses" on how life should be conducted in the era of new technologies (Mosco, 2008).

## 4.3 Marxist media approaches

### 4.3.1 The corporate media and the capitalist power relations

At the centre of the critical political economy of media, utilised as the basis in mapping out the theoretical framework in this research study, are Marxist media approaches which are essential to comprehend the shortcomings of the capitalist system (Fuchs and Mosco, 2012). As briefly highlighted previously, the ongoing capitalist crisis has witnessed a surge in interest in Marxist analysis (Fuchs and Mosco, 2012), and as such critical communication studies must be grounded in the Marxist media approaches. Considering the nature and purpose of this research study, this approach is important since it "can be a critical theory of the production of culture and the production of consciousness if it is further developed by the Marxist dialectical method" (Nixon, 2012: 439). The political economy of mass communications has been characterised as an understanding of the "basic features" that "underpin and shape the economic context and political consequences of mass communications" (Murdock and Golding, 1973: 205). Fundamentally, Murdock and Golding see mass media organisations as profit-based businesses that produce commodities. As stated in the previous chapter, media businesses are just like any other capitalist business, but Nixon (2012) argues that they are also quite distinct from other industries because of the nature of the commodities they produce. This is primarily because of the dual nature of cultural production through communication media – the products are both "commodities" and "ideas". This is "a theme present in all definitions of critical political economy of culture" (Nixon, 2012: 441). Therefore, in analysing the representation of the nationalisation discourse, this research study moves from the premise that the most important task of a political economic theory is to clarify concretely and specifically the processes that produce ideology. This is through the articulation of "the general and systematic constraints" generated by corporate media's production of culture as a commodity (Murdock and Golding, 1973: 207). In a nutshell, culture produced by constraints is limited by its commodity nature and therefore creates a general "ideological" effect of reinforcing the status quo (Nixon, 2012). Consequently, and as espoused in the assumptions of this research study, the political economy of media is essential in analysing the manner in which capitalist power relations are legitimated.

### 4.3.2 Marxist dialectical approach and the representation of nationalisation

If concepts and categories of political economy and the Marxist theory of social production of human life are to remain critical theories, then they must be used to theorise the production of culture (Nixon, 2012; also see Williams 1977, 1980). The production of consciousness can only be critically analysed by utilising Marx's critical dialectical method and, as Smythe (1977) posits, other than industries producing culture, audiences are producers rather than consumers. As Marx posits,

> The mode of production of material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, their social being determines their consciousness (Marx, 1964: 51 cited in Berger, 2013: 45).

Nixon (2012: 442) highlights that for Smythe the "control of the means of mental production" is in the hands of the "consciousness industry". In a sense, audiences are compelled to work for advertisers, who in turn buy audience labour-power from media companies (Nixon, 2012: 441). Therefore, a "way to a Marxist theory of how ideology is produced by monopoly capitalism is to use a historical, materialist, dialectical method always seeking the reality of class struggle" (Smythe 1978: 126). Indeed, these theoretical aspects as outlined in the late 1970s remain the foundation of the critical political economy of culture and continue to inform contemporary analysis and work such as this research study.

Central to the objectives of this research study, the critical political economy of communication and culture should be all-encompassing, focusing on both the exchange-value and use-value of culture (the meaning of cultural commodities). This approach ensures that the production of culture and consciousness are not pushed aside, and as Nixon (2012: 443) posits, "Critical political economy must be a theory of the production of 'meaning' as much as the production of commodities". Fuchs (2011) and Schiller (1996) are two scholars in the field of the critical political economy of culture who have dealt with the same approach as Nixon (2012). For example, Fuchs (2011: 97) notes, in his definition of the critical theory of communication and media, "the analysis of media, communication and culture in the context of domination, asymmetrical power relations, exploitation, oppression and control". Therefore, for Nixon (2012) dialectical method should be a primary focus for the political economy of culture

through the provision of a deeper engagement with "the production and circulation of meaning" (Calabrese, 2004: 2).

The work of Marx provides an essential building block in studying critically communication that is useful for social change (Fuchs and Mosco, 2012). Therefore, this research study draws from the Marxist theories in examining the representation of the nationalisation discourse premised on economic and social justice. The primary objective in utilising the Marxist theories is to:

> ...demonstrate how communication and culture are material practices, how labour and language are mutually constituted, and how communication and information are dialectical of the same social activity, the social construction of meaning. Situating these tasks within a larger framework of understanding power and resistance would place communication directly into the flow of Marxian tradition that remains alive and relevant today (Mosco, 2009: 94).

In this regard, a Marxist critique of political economy is considered to be critical and revolutionary due to its dialectical method (Marx, 1990 cited in Nixon, 2012).

> It is a critical and revolutionary method because it is not a means to producing thinking that celebrates existing society but is rather a means to produce consciousness of society as a product of human action that is thus historical rather than eternal, and that is thus transformable (Nixon, 2012: 444).

This assertion is central as a theoretical framework for this research study due to its grounding and attempts to utilise dialectical methods, following in the examples of a Marxist theory of communication which analyses communication in relation to the capitalist economic system. Essentially, the content of news cannot be delinked from the economic base of both the news organisation and the society from which they are produced (Curran et al., 1982). A starting point is the examination of capitalism, "including the development of the forces and the relations of production, commodification and production of surplus value, social class division and struggles, contradiction and oppositional movements" (Mosco, 2009: 94). Marxist theories of communication are employed as the basis for mapping out the theoretical framework of this research study precisely because, as Fuchs and Mosco (2012) posit, they have been relevant for a long time as communication that has always been embedded in societal structures of inequalities. However, with the rise of neo-liberalism, it was to be expected that these theories and their scholars would be marginalised. Furthermore, this research study is alive to the reality, in line with the proposition put forward by Marxism, that the "realm of culture and

ideas cannot be understood independently of the political and economic forces that shape it and ultimately constrain it" (Flew, 2007: 33).

It is important to further note that for Marx dialectical method is critical and revolutionary in terms of consciousness, and "such critical knowledge of society is a necessary means for the social production of a society of freedom and equality" (Nixon, 2012: 444). Particularly, Marxist dialectical method is the foundation of the classical political economy through which Marx produced his critical, revolutionary political economy (Nixon, 2012). The method of classical political economy is critiqued as being uncritical and counter-revolutionary (Marx, 1978). Describing the classical political economists who produce an understanding of bourgeois institutions as natural institutions, Marx (1973: 120–121) suggests, "In this they resemble the theologians, who likewise establish two kinds of religion. Every religion which is not theirs is an invention of men, while their own is an emanation from God" (cited in Nixon, 2012). The current trend in South Africa is that the corporate media privileges the status quo, and thus the consciousness produced is understood as "natural and eternal"; this method of reasoning allows the corporate media to inherently advance the interests of the capitalist class (Nixon, 2012).

The Marxist method is utilised in this research study precisely because it seeks to grasp the production of knowledge, and in particular the social production of news (Nixon, 2012). Furthermore, critical theory is inherently a theory of social change since it perceives society as part of the process of material social production using Marx's historical materialist dialectical method (Horkheimer, 1972). This assertion suggests an intrinsically conscious process that is "critical and revolutionary", thus advocating for the emancipation of ordinary working-class people (Horkheimer, 1972; Nixon, 2012). Indeed, nationalisation and its various interpretations are essentially a conscious process that is argued on the other hand to be advocating for the emancipation of the oppressed working class majority by its proponents while its detractors perceive it as an anti-economic development discourse. Thus, the Marxist methods are crucial in dissecting such an ideological laden discourse in the context of the capitalist media. Therefore, this theoretical framework guides this research study to comprehend communication, culture and consciousness as materially and socially produced instead of as undialectical processes (Williams, 1977; Nixon, 2012). Also, through critical dialectical methods, this research study is enabled "to understand the material character of the production

of a cultural order" which is necessary "to look at our actual productive activities without assuming in advance that only some of them are material" (Williams, 1977: 93–94).

In the current conjuncture, the corporate media plays an integral role in the accumulation of capital. Thus variables like financialisation have a profound impact on media content, as news programmes become increasingly dependent on financial actors such as banks (Almiro, 2010). Consequently, the media has a "powerful position in reifying social relations by normalising and facilitating the privatisation of everyday life", and in this regard "media content produces the audiences as consumers of goods and services" (Ekman, 2012: 162). To this end, the normalisation of private accumulation of natural resources is facilitated by the capitalist media intricately linked to the capitalist economic system with the audiences reduced to consumers of the content that perpetuates the oppression of the underclasses.

Another key Marxist conceptual approach that contributes to the critical political economy of communication is primitive accumulation and accumulation by dispossession. Ekman (2012) brings together the specific ideological dimension of news and the function of financial news flows and systems in relation to capital accumulation. In the context of primitive accumulation or accumulation by dispossession, "news media facilitate the privatisation of the commons, endorse the transfer of public assets into private property relations and depoliticise and delegitimise social mobilisation against capital" (Ekman, 2012: 169). This perspective validates the argument advanced earlier in this thesis that the South African corporate media continues to play a pivotal role in advocating for privatisation by delegitimising anti-capitalist organisations and their views. What then emerges is a conglomeration of news flow and news media systems with financial flows and actors, constituting a close relationship between financial news and the financial sector (Ekman, 2012). "This relationship is also attached to rapid changes within information and communication technology and the compression of time and space in capital accumulation" (Ekman, 2012: 169). This is the context and parameters within which the representation of the nationalisation discourse is analysed in this research study.

### 4.3.3 The corporate media and commodification

Another crucial aspect taken into account is the role of audiences in relation to corporate media's commodification of culture. As Smythe (1978: 126) observes, "the way to a Marxist theory of how ideology is produced by monopoly capitalism is to use a historical, materialist,

dialectical method always seeking the reality of class struggle". Furthermore, Harper (2012) posits that over the last century, the media has been the key platform through which the ideology of the ruling class is disseminated. Thus, to fully comprehend the political economy of the corporate media, attention must be paid to Smythe's assertions that the product of the media, proficiently supported by advertising, is not the content communicated through a specific medium but rather the audience for the content. In this regard, the form of the commodity produced by the corporate media is "audience labour-power" (Smythe, 1977, 1978, 1981 cited in Nixon, 2012). In the same vein, the audiences are commodified and sold by the media to advertisers. Hence, they "do not choose to sell their labour-power, but they work for advertisers nonetheless" (Nixon, 2012: 450). Essentially, the media industry as part of the "consciousness industry" is a capitalist industry that derives its profits through the process of people producing their own consciousness (Nixon, 2012; also see Smythe, 1977). Fundamentally, in this process capital owns both labour-power (audiences) and the means of production (advertisements). It is this hegemony by capitalism over the production of the news content that reproduces dominant capitalist views on ideological charged discourse.

Critical political economy unravels the manner in which capitalist-oriented corporate media commodify the culture produced while controlling the means of production. What is also crucial, as noted by Fuchs and Mosco (2012), is the fact that within the media sphere, capitalist accumulation takes place in both content and infrastructure, thereby forming media capital. This reflects the pervasive nature of capitalism within the media system, and thus the "use value" of media and its technologies lie "on their capacity to provide information, enable communication, and advance the creation of culture" (Fuchs and Mosco, 2012: 132). Over and above this commodity hypothesis, the ideological hypothesis exposes the dominance of the use value of media by exchange value and its role in legitimisation and reproduction of domination (Fuchs and Mosco, 2012). Essentially, audiences as consumers of media are mainly interested in the use values of media and the associated technologies, while capitalists are largely interested in the exchange value aspects geared towards capital accumulation (Fuchs and Mosco, 2012). Subsequently, the media and its associated technologies take a commodity form and thus possess ideological characteristics by the time they reach consumers. Beyond the commodification aspect, audiences do not have control of the media and are therefore subjected to the capitalist media's construction of reality (Harper, 2012). Therefore, the media content is designed and shaped to attract those audiences with buying power. The nature of the content is important for advertising and marketing commodities in the circulation process of

commodities, a process where surplus value is transformed into profit (Fuchs and Mosco, 2012). Indeed, the corporate media caters to the needs of advertisers and delivers the correct products for the audience (Curran et al., 1982; Chandler, 2000). Commodification of culture can also be understood in the context of the "Web. 2.0", where the focus on commodification and selling of "prod*users*" to advertisers is rife (Ekman, 2012). Therefore, "mainstream news media facilitates and reproduces the exploitation of capital, how the use of new information/communication technology become colonised by capital, and how commodification processes tend to dominate the flow of information in global media and communication systems" (Ekman, 2012: 169).

In order to rescue the audience from being perpetually subjected to the capitalist media's construction of reality while being sold to advertisers, this research study argues for an alternative to the commodified and privatised corporate media. As a starting point it is important to acknowledge that "the critical political economy of culture and consciousness produced by the Marxist dialectical method makes clear that the fundamental policy issue is control over the means of producing culture and consciousness" (Nixon, 2012: 453). To this end, it is imperative to appreciate how ordinary human activities are turned into activities that generate profit for capitalists. Through this approach, the research study is enabled to fully comprehend that, for example, advertising already exists on top of heavily commodified culture. Within the realm of this approach, the fundamental question is what needs to be done, and a practical response therefore lies on the concept of "decommodification" (Esping-Andersen, 1990; Vail, 2010; Nixon, 2012). For example, Nixon (2012: 453) postulates that "Policies of decommodification include expanding the availability of public media and simply decreasing the amount of advertising in culture". Vail argues that

> Decommodification would insulate non-market spheres from market encroachments; increase the provision of public goods and expand social protection; promote democratic control over the market by creating economic circuits grounded in a logic predicated on social needs rather than profit; and undermine market hegemony by revealing the market's true social costs and consequences (Vail, 2010: 310).

In the final analysis, "decommodification constitutes a central feature of an egalitarian agenda" and thus represents a significant shift from market-driven commodified media to public media (Vail, 2010: 310).

## 4.4 Towards a conceptual framework – decolonial Marxism and the corporate media

This section proposes the utilisation of decolonial Marxism perspectives to examine the representation of the nationalisation of mines debate in the corporate media. However, and as a starting point, it is crucial to unpack decolonial theories as theories that underpin decolonial Marxism. Essentially, this approach is about re-articulating Marxism within the reality of coloniality. I argue that Marxist approaches, including the critical political economy of communication, do not effectively confront the deep-seated question of the coloniality of power and knowledge. Fundamentally, the question of global capitalism, epistemic dominance, racism and other related issues as manifested in the political economy and media operations in South Africa, as well as their role in capitalist accumulation, can be best understood when located in decolonial theories in conversation with Marxist theories.

### 4.4.1 Decolonial approaches and the South African media

To grapple further with the interaction between corporate media and ideologically charged discourses such as nationalisation, it is critical to use a variety of analytical tools such as the ones couched in the decolonial/coloniality epistemic perspective (Chiumbu, 2016). The conceptualisation of coloniality is unique as it is grounded in operations that distinguish it from established theories of modernity (Escobar, 2007). In unpacking coloniality, Escobar postulates that it includes

> ...a persistent attention to colonialism and the making of the capitalist world system as constitutive of modernity; this includes a determination to overlook the economy at its concomitant forms of exploitation; ... consequently, the adoption of a world perspective in the explanation of modernity, in lieu of a view of modernity as an intra-European phenomenon ... [and] the identification of the domination of others outside the European core [are] a necessary dimension of modernity, with the concomitant subalternisation of the knowledge and culture of these groups (Escobar, 2007: 184).

From these positions there emerge some alternative notions which enjoin us to re-read what Escobar (2007: 184) terms the "myth of modernity" and its "underside" – "the imputation of the superiority of European civilisation, coupled with the assumption that Europe's development must be followed unilaterally by every other culture by force if necessary…." This is the context within which Quijano (2007) reflects on the notion of coloniality of power

as a global hegemonic model of power that "articulates race and labour, space and people, according to the needs of capital and to the benefit of white European peoples" (in Escobar, 2007: 185). Therefore, decolonial approaches are utilised in this research study as they assist in the full comprehension of "continuity of colonial forms of domination after the end of colonial administration" (Grosfoguel, 2007: 219).

Colonialism – and in South Africa's case, colonialism of a special type[26] – refers to the total domination of the indigenous population, including political, economic and cultural activities under colonial institutions. Coloniality, on the other hand, denotes a model of power that continues beyond the end of colonialism (Walsh, 2007: 229). However, it will be useful to unpack the episteme of coloniality in the context of post-colonialism. For example, McEwan (2009) posits that post-colonial theories have examined the process by which elites in colonised countries internalised Eurocentric ideas of the inferiority of their own cultures and ensured the continued dominance of the European powers. "This dominance was achieved largely through processes of colonialism, whereby imperial power was grafted into existing mechanisms of power" (McEwan, 2009: 15). In this regard, post-colonialism and decolonial theories elucidate the notion behind the continuity of colonialism and reasons behind the superiority of the colonisers which were largely accepted and left unchallenged by the colonised. Post-colonial approaches therefore assist in revealing and unravelling the processes of colonisation of mind as well as territories (McEwan, 2009). It will thus be an injustice if the stories of the nationalisation discourse in South Africa's corporate media do not take these theories into account. Fundamentally, this approach brings to light the long-standing and ongoing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism and continue to influence many ideas of knowledge production outside direct colonial administrations (Mignolo, 2007).

Therefore, to comprehend the role of the corporate media in advancing ideologically laden discourses such as nationalisation in a post-colony like South Africa, it is crucial to appreciate the current role of the African continent within the global order. Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012: 72) postulates that "Africa is currently entangled within a racially hierarchised, Christian-centric, Western-centric, patriarchal, imperial, colonial and hetero-normative social order". Essential to

[26] Colonialism of a special type (CST) is a thesis developed by the SACP in the early 1960s. It held that South African society was a form of colonialism where the colonial power occupied the same territory as the people it colonised. It argued that, in the South Africa context, white nationalism was a unique form of colonialism in which the colonial seat of government was not in a parent country in Europe but inside South Africa itself (Holiday, 1988 cited in Satgar and Williams, 2013).

consider is the fact that the West (especially the US and Europe) is at the apex while the African continent and its "subalternised people" languishe at the bottom rung of this world order (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012). Thus, it is necessary to situate the South African corporate media in the context of the concept of coloniality of power (Quijano, 2007). By using this concept, this research study is in a better position to articulate "eurocentrification" of the world that is fundamentally constructed "on the basis of racial social classification of human populations and how it is being reproduced today" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012: 73). Indeed, decolonial perspectives enable us to unravel the manner in which the Eurocentric South African media represents ideologically laden developmental policy issues.

The tools of analysis based on the decoloniality epistemic perspective are critical if we are to decipher the representation of the nationalisation discourse. In particular, the notion espoused by Chiumbu (2015: 6), that coloniality of power and knowledge can be useful in problematising "neo-liberalism which has underpinned the media and democratic project and to analyse processes of knowledge-production and policy-making and transfer of ideas/policy discourse", has assisted in understanding the entire approach behind the nationalisation discourse. Furthermore, the approach has assisted this research study to "understand how social and political power is connected to a history of colonisation" (Quijano, 2007). The concept of the "colonial matrix of power" introduced by Quijano is also pertinent in the context of this research study as it refers to global imperial designs that continue to sanction coloniality comprising of four interrelated domains: control of economy, control of authority, control of gender and sexuality and control of subjectivity and knowledge (Chiumbu, 2016). In this regard, the "coloniality of knowledge" which "refers to the manner in which Eurocentric knowledge systems are privileged over other knowledges and epistemes" (Mignolo 2007 cited in Chiumbu, 2016: 4) cannot be divorced from the manner in which the nationalisation discourse is represented.

As McEwan (2009) further postulates, hegemonic narratives are thus projected as absolute, and other knowledges outside the bounds of Western modernity are ignored, marginalised or repressed (Quijano 2007). Based on the above approaches, it would appear that any ideological discourse is privileged based on its proximity to Eurocentric perspectives. This stance in particular is reflected in subsequent chapters. The posture and the tone of the nationalisation discourse, therefore, are bound within the coloniality framework which excludes the subalterns, or in the words of Maldonado-Torres (2004) the "damned on earth", who are excluded and

exist in conditions designed and maintained by the configuration of colonial matrices of power). Therefore, it can be argued that the marginalised working class, in the context of South Africa – black people in general (Africans, coloured and Indians) and Africans in particular – are "thus seen as non-beings, therefore not given an opportunity to articulate their everyday lived experiences" (Chiumbu, 2016: 5). Indeed, "African people are today entangled, woven and entrapped in the colonial matrix of power underpinning the asymmetrically structured global social order" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012: 73). Thus, in analysing the representation of the nationalisation of mines debate, it is worth pursuing the ideas of the colonial matrix of power and the myth of the "post-colonial" world when in actual fact the same ''colonial power matrix'' continues to be hegemonic (Grosfoguel, 2007). As Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2012: 74) posits, "With juridical-political decolonization we move from a period of ''global colonialism'' to the current period of ''global coloniality". It is therefore crucial to consider this background when unpacking the representation of ideological discourses. Over and above other approaches mentioned earlier in this chapter, there is no hesitation in utilising the coloniality theory as one of the critical tools to problematise the status quo in relation to the corporate media in South Africa (Chiumbu, 2016). For example, and just like the Marikana discourse, as enunciated by Chiumbu (2016) and Duncan (2014), the manner in which the nationalisation discourse is represented in the corporate media, as presented in the research findings chapters, is promoting acceptable and uncritical discourse with the main purpose being the legitimisation of capitalism while foiling critiques of the system.

Furthermore, just like other ideological discourses, the representation of nationalisation is thus understood completely if located within decolonial theories. Because of the "continuities" of colonialism and apartheid colonialism, the corporate media's edifice in South Africa still operates within the ambit of the "colonial matrix of power" and subsequently produces and reproduces neo-liberal discourses and marginalises anti-capitalist discourses (Chiumbu, 2016). In dealing with the nationalisation discourse, it must be appreciated that through a conceptual toolbox that includes stereotypes, ideologies, signs, symbols and codes, representation theories demonstrate that the corporate media is utilised as a platform where ideas of gender, class and race are produced, articulated, worked on and transformed (Dyer, 2002; Bernstein, 2002; Hall 2003 cited in Chiumbu, 2016). Therefore, while journalistic ethics and codes might emphasise the question of balance and objectivity, structural factors, including those espoused in the decolonial theories, dictate that our corporate media is located within what Chiumbu (2016) calls an ideological machine that reproduces neo-liberal discourse.

As reflected in the subsequent chapters, the nationalisation discourse is shaped by the context within which it is produced. Indeed, neo-liberalism has been a dominant discourse for a long time. As reflected in the early chapters, the political-economy ideology is used to inform the "common-sense notion" that influences the representation of the nationalisation discourse (Kariithi and Kareithi, 2007). This notion is affirmed by Gitlin (1980), who states that the hegemony of the ruling elites subordinates other classes and elevates its ideas and assumptions into their common-sense and everyday practice. The nationalisation discourse is located within this regime of "common sense" which consolidates the hegemony of capitalism as the only practical system to organise life (Chiumbu, 2016).

### 4.4.2 Emancipation vs. liberation perspective and the nationalisation discourse

To understand media transformation in South Africa, it is best to locate it in the broader perspective of emancipation vs. liberation. In this regard, it is crucial to appreciate the dominant political current in South Africa, which is rooted in the emancipation idea of "liberal democracy and realisation of individual human rights" instead of the liberation concept that "is supposed to lead to decolonisation, social justice and the birth of a new humanity divorced from colonial modernity". Hence, "The post-1994 South African situation speaks volumes about how the liberation movement was disciplined into an emancipatory force that finally celebrated the achievement of liberal democracy instead of decolonisation, social justice and freedom" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012: 74). This is manifested, for example, through the dominant neo-liberal macroeconomic policy. This neo-liberal hegemony permeates all sectors of post-apartheid society, including the media. Although the post-apartheid media has been transforming, this transformation is on the basis of emancipation ideas and thus perpetuates the hegemony of Western capitalism even when black managers are at the helm. This is due to the fact that emancipatory perspectives are "easily embraced by the 'native bourgeoisie', which was not really opposed to the racial exclusivity of colonial modernity but wanted to be accommodated within the system" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012: 75).

In elucidating the representation of ideologically laden developmental policy issues such as nationalisation in the Western-modelled corporate media, it crucial to appreciate that:

> The post-apartheid South African condition of poverty that is experienced by the black majority is a clear testimony of the dangers of degeneration of liberation movements into emancipatory formations concerned with simple politics of the right to vote and removal of discriminatory legislation from statute books, without embarking on systematic and radical restructuring of the apartheid state. ... The constitution of South Africa does not facilitate or enable a radical redistribution of resources such as land and mines (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012: 77).

Therefore, the fundamental question is on the ability of the South African media system to advance and represent issues of development from the perspective of the majority oppressed Africans in the context of such constraints. The representation of discourses such as the nationalisation of mines that are controlled by global capital takes place in the context of the "post-colonial state", similar to the rest of the African continent which is

> ...not free because multinational corporations and erstwhile metropolitan governments continued to control African economies in cohort with African leaders who ran African affairs on behalf of global capital. African leaders were themselves 'remote controlled' by the powerful leaders of Europe and America who governed the world (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012: 77.

In this regard, just like its global counterparts, the South African corporate media has become the main vehicle to support and defend the neo-liberal agenda. In this manner, many class-oriented discourses such as nationalisation cannot escape the media's translation from the global capitalism perspective. The subsequent chapters reveal that the corporate media's primary concern about the possible implementation of nationalisation of mines is its impact on the white-controlled economy and thus become a platform to aid the business elites (Chiumbu, 2014). Because of their ideological nature, articles on nationalisation reflect an interwoven nature of neo-liberal ideas and the corporate media; it then follows that the voices of the elites are privileged at the expense of the voices of ordinary working-class people (Chiumbu, 2016). This fact is demonstrated by Herman (2002) when he talks about "structural factors". In the corporate media, structural factors are a reflection that the South African media has been subsumed within global coloniality and a structure of power that is dialectically linked to exploitative monopoly of capitalism (Chiumbu, 2016). Representation of ideological developmental policy discourses must be understood in that context.

### 4.4.3 Decolonial Marxism and the South African media

Employing decolonial theories in the context of Marxist theories is to engage with what Nixon (2012) calls for in integrating other critical theories and critical histories as part of productive

development of critical political economy by means of dialectical methods. In using Marxist approaches to analyse the representation of the nationalisation of mines debate in the corporate media, it is crucial to appreciate that it is important to understand issues at a deeper level. Therefore, the decolonial framework developed by scholars, informed by their geopolitical location in the marginalised South (Monzó and McLaren, 2014), is useful. Fundamentally, applying decolonial theories to the analysis of corporate media enables the research study to comprehend structural issues – such as racism and other antagonisms related to the class struggle – from the vantage point of the colonised (Monzó and McLaren, 2014). Indeed, not all scholars who have analysed the South African corporate media, particularly its transformation aspect, have fully embraced the analysis of the media from the vantage point of the formerly colonised.

However, as articulated above, the starting point is to appreciate that decolonial theories are essentially "concerned with confronting, challenging, and undoing the dominative and assimilative force of colonialism as a historical and contemporary process, and the cultural and epistemological Eurocentrism that underwrites it". Furthermore, these theories "might be said to extend the anticolonial project into considerations of the domains of being and knowing; at the same time it draws from the complex account of cultural discontinuity and imposition offered by postcolonial studies" (Lissovoy, 2010: 280). In the context of this research study, the concept of decoloniality of knowledge which "aims at altering the principles and assumptions of knowledge creation, transformation and dissemination" (Escobar and Mignolo, 2010: 6) is crucial. As Chiumbu (2015: 3) states, "decoloniality is an epistemic and political project that seeks to liberate knowledge, power and being…." Through the juxtaposition of Marxist media analysis with decolonial approaches, this thesis is able to take into account the episteme of the historically oppressed indigenous African working-class majority (Monzó and McLaren, 2014). Essentially, the media systems in South Africa cannot be separated from the colonial conquest in which the colonisers introduced and legitimised "through coercion the various systems of social relations they brought with them, including a system of production which served their own and their empire's wealth accumulation" (Monzó and McLaren, 2014: 519; also see Grosfoguel, 2011).

Indeed, in this thesis, I commit an "epistemic disobedience" (Mignolo, 2009) and interrogate the "naturalness" and "superiority" of the West and its claim to possess "advanced" and "civilised" perspectives, in my endeavour to fully understand the corporate media and its

representation of ideologically charged discourses (Monzó and McLaren, 2014). By paying close attention to how the African working class is excluded from the discourse by privileging government and capitalist primary definers, this thesis takes small steps towards advancing the imperative of listening and learning "from and *with* the silenced voices and ways of knowing of the colonized" (Monzó and McLaren, 2014: 519). In advancing this argument, I appreciate the reality that research produced by scholars located in the South does not automatically suggest that it represents views of the people of the South. Indeed, "An important qualification is that simply being socially and politically located within a geopolitical location of the South (as opposed to the North) does not guarantee an epistemic location of the South (Monzó and McLaren, 2014: 519; also see Grosfoguel, 2011). Also, it is not guaranteed that the experiences from the South are automatically superior to those of the North; however, the point is that they must be available and open to scrutiny (Monzó and McLaren, 2014). Decoloniality theories present a different perspective because of their grounding in non-Western perspectives associated with scholars located in the periphery of the racial world system (Ali, 2014). Consequently, by applying decolonial Marxism in probing the political question as it pertains to the representation of the nationalisation of mines debate, this research study appreciates the media from geopolitical prisms such as the location of the oppressed (Monzó and McLaren, 2014).

Furthermore, theories of decoloniality help this thesis to appreciate the hegemony of the Eurocentric paradigms that have informed Western philosophy and sciences in the "modern/colonial capitalist/patriarchal world-system"; for the last 500 hundred years this has assumed "a universalistic, neutral, objective point of view" (Grosfoguel, 2011: 5; also see Grosfoguel, 2005; 2006b). While Marxist perspectives are useful in this research study to unravel deep-seated structural issues in the corporate media, I argue that they do not go deep enough to explain the fundamental question of race linked to capitalism. Crowley argues that

> [while] Marx articulates a powerful critique of bourgeois ideology of capitalist modernity, he does so from a monotopic locus of enunciation which is undoubtedly Eurocentered. There is a problematic disjuncture between the significance of his thought and his apparent inability or unwillingness to understand historical struggles against colonialism outside the perspective of modernity (Crowley, 2013: 13–14).

It is on this basis that Mignolo and many of his decolonial contemporary counterparts perceive Marx's "blindness" regarding his conceptualisation of historical materialism and the binary view of progression from pre-capitalism to capitalism (Crowley, 2013).

It is for such reasons that Fanon (1963) argues for an expansion of Marxism when dealing with the colonial question.

> The originality of the colonial context is that economic reality, inequality, and the immense difference of ways of life never come to mask the human realities. When you examine at close quarters the colonial context, it is evident that what parcels out the world is to begin with the fact of belonging to or not belonging to a given race, a given species. In the colonies the economic substructure is also a superstructure. The cause is the consequence; you are rich because you are white, you are white because you are rich. This is why Marxist analysis should always be slightly stretched every time we have to do with the colonial problem (Fanon, 1963: 39).

Indeed, Western Marxism has been accused of having failed to comprehend the racial character of capitalism, or the civilization in which it was born, or mass movements outside Europe and the conditions and movements of black people in Africa and the Diaspora (Kelley, 1983). In this regard, scholars such as Robinson (1983) have argued for a "radical thought and revolution from Europe to the so-called 'periphery' – to the colonial territories, marginalized colored people of the metropolitan centers of capital, and those Frantz Fanon identified as the 'wretched of the earth'". Robinson not only exposes the limits of historical materialism as a way of understanding black experience but also reveals that the roots of Western racism took hold in European civilization well before the dawn of capitalism (Kelley, 1983: xii). In his own words Robinson (1983: 68) posits, "In focusing on the history of the struggles of black peoples for a different social order, we will of course be reminded again of the limitations of Western radicalism". In the context of these perceived limitations, I argue that employing decolonial theories to augment Marxist media analysis is useful in this research study. Very few scholars have employed this approach in analysing the corporate media. Essentially, this is the genesis of a new theoretical framework.

## 4.5 Social production of news and the nationalisation discourse

Although the critical political economy of communication underpins this theoretical framework, theories of the social production of news are utilised in order to develop a better understanding of the representation of the nationalisation discourse. In order to comprehend the

fundamental question on the representation of this discourse, the point of departure is that journalists make news (Schudson, 1989). Therefore, "To say that a news report is a story, no more, but no less, is not to demean the news, not to accuse it of being fictitious. Rather, it alerts us that news, like all public documents, is a constructed reality possessing its own internal validity" (Tuchman, 1976: 97). Indeed, the role of a journalist in the social production of news is central, as scholars like Max Weber have reflected on their social standing as a political person (Schudson, 1989). However, to fully comprehend the social production of news it is pivotal to appreciate the sophisticated version of the political economy of news in the news generation process (Schudson, 1989). Although, the link between the larger political economy of society and the day-to-day practices in journalism is "oblique", and in spite of journalistic autonomy, "the basic definition of the situation which underpins the news reporting of political events, very largely coincides with the definition provided by the legitimated power holder" (Murdock, 1973: 158).

### 4.5.1 The workforce and the structures of newspapers

Theories of the social production of news are important in relation to organisation of the workforce as well as the structures of newspapers, which then play a fundamental role in pre-directing the newspaper to certain types of news and news actors (Hall et al., 1978). The point is that the organisation of a newspaper's workforce pre-directs journalists to certain types of events and topics (for example, specialist correspondents and departments), as does the structure of the papers themselves (for example, local, foreign, political, sports news and other sections) (Hall et al., 1978). Also, it is known that media corporations are interlocked with other major corporations, resulting in concentration of media ownership (Schudson, 1989; also see Dreier and Weinberg, 1979). The ownership patterns of the media therefore resemble the capitalist power relations in society and thus it is difficult to find the "press [being] a hotbed of radical thought" (Schudson, 1989: 269). However, this does not suggest that the capitalist class has unrestricted authority; instead, as Schudson (1989) posits, it has limited abilities to manipulate opinion and create a close system of discourse, as ideology in contemporary capitalism is "contested territory". Be that as it may, the media content remains a terrain of "those who have power to determine the experiences of others" (Molotch and Lester, 1974: 54 cited in Schudson, 1989).

### 4.5.2 The impact of the sources of news

Another critical aspect in news production is the sources, as they enable the corporate media to reproduce definitions of the powerful. It is the structure of news that leads to the production of dominant societal views (Hall et al., 1978). One way that this occurs is through the organisation of "beats" which pre-direct reporters to sources such as official government agencies for the bulk of their news (Fisherman, 1980). Therefore, "the journalist's view of the society as bureaucratically structured is the very basis upon which the journalist is able to detect events" and it is this interaction that "provides for the continuous detection of events" (Fisherman, 1980: 51–52 cited in Schudson, 1989). To this end, journalists have reliable allies in bureaucrats. It must be noted, though, that this kind of a relationship extends to private and non-governmental organisations as well.

Indeed, it is the structure of the corporate media that leads to the prioritisation of capitalist elite sources at the expense of ordinary working-class sources. Among the reasons behind this is the routine practice of news organisations, where journalists are required to meet many deadlines; " it is tempting to rely on sources of information that are more readily obtainable and have been validated by other media, while avoiding sources that are less 'trusted' and require more validation" (Duncan, 2014: 25). This practice also guarantees that there is little, if any, deviation from the agenda of capitalism (Harper, 2012). Therefore, in the context of this research study, focus is given to the manner in which the voice of ordinary working-class people, the supposed beneficiaries of nationalisation policy, is represented. Sources of news are the basis of the inclusion/exclusive model in the corporate media. In the context of what Duncan (2014) calls "pack journalism" the easy way to rationalise inclusion/exclusion is that it is easy to validate certain organisations, such as government and commercial organisations, as sources because they have deep pockets and can maintain a steady flow of information to the media. This is in contrast to resource-poor organisations or individuals representing the working class, who lack capacity to communicate proactively (Duncan, 2014). It is quite apparent that the centre of news generation is premised on the "link between reporter and official, the interaction of the representatives of the news bureaucracies and the government bureaucracies" (Schudson, 1989: 271). Therefore, to fully grasp the nature of the representation of the nationalisation discourse, it is imperative to focus on social production of news processes and the role of sources.

### 4.5.3 The role of journalists in news production

The link that sources have with the corporate media is primarily with the journalists, and this emerges clearly when their daily practices are examined (Schudson, 1989). Although very little attention has been paid to the reporter-editor relationship as one of the critical aspects of the social organisation of newswork, case studies regularly note the effect of editorial intervention (Schudson, 1989). Fundamentally, the main issue is that in liberal democracies news, including dissenting or adversarial information and opinion, does get into the newspaper (Hallin, 1986; Lipstadt, 1986; Herman and Chomsky, 1988). However, "the question is where that information appears and how it is inflected" (Schudson, 1989: 272). In the same vein, Hallin (1986: 22) suggest that there is a "reverse inverted pyramid" of news, where information closer to the truth appears towards the end of the story.

It is therefore quite obvious that ideological hegemony also finds expression in the process of news productions, as professionals in these organisations operate within the broader socio-economic context to embed specific ideologies in the content of the media (Schudson, 1978; Tuchman, 1978; Gans, 1979; Fishman, 1980; Gitlin, 1980, 1983). Critically, the reality is that media organisations exist within broader socio-economic conditions and therefore ideas develop within a particular historical context. For example, media organisations in capitalist environments are bound to be shaped by their environment and in turn shape media professionals (Tuchman, 1978; Fishman, 1980). Furthermore, Tuchman (1976) observes that the social organisation of news gathering permits some occurrences to be identified and reported as news, but renders others invisible. Tuchman (1978) posits that this scenario exists because of the dependence of news organisations on legitimated social institutions that claim to gather and conserve centralised information. Consequently, media organisations accept information from legitimated institutions as "facts" but reject the "facticity" of information from other sources (Tuchman, 1978). Duncan explains this perspective thus:

> Unless the question of how newsrooms are organised becomes related to how society is organised, it becomes impossible to show how - in spite of their independence - at critical moments of systemic crisis, media organisations and the power structure can become mutually reinforcing (Duncan, 2014: 25).

The narrative on ideological discourses continues to maintain the system, which largely disempowers other social forces on the proverbial alter of market forces. This system of the corporate media is a function of the class system, whereby the views of the working class stand very little chance of being taken seriously as opposed to those of the elites (Duncan, 2014).

Although determining the social background of media personnel might yield more clues on the kind of bias they bring to work, there is very little evidence to confirm this perspective (Schudson, 1989). However, it is crucial to acknowledge the class make-up of the newsroom as another significant aspect in news production since the journalism profession is largely made up of the middle class (Duncan, 2014). Fundamentally, it is in understanding this make-up that we could explain the bias in news reporting, especially on ideologically charged issues.

### 4.5.4 Organisational theories and news production

According to Schudson (1989), the creation of news can be viewed as a social production of "reality" as well as social manufacturing of an organisational product that can be studied like other manufactured goods. In this regard, organisational theory posits that members of organisations "modified their own personal values in accordance with the requisites of the organisation" (Epstein, 1973: xiv). According to this perspective it is crucial to understand (news) organisations instead of individuals in order to analyse their "output" (Schudson, 1989). Organisational theories suggest that individuals in organisations are quickly socialised into the values and routines in the daily rituals of journalism. Therefore, to fully comprehend the representation of the nationalisation discourse, it is equally important to take this perspective into account.

Duncan (2014) concurs that journalistic work is constrained by organisational and occupational demands. Indeed, "news journalists undergo a lengthy process of accommodation to capitalism, learning during their upbringing and training to absorb the dominant worldview as their own and to ignore alternative viewpoints" (Harper, 2012: 23). Thus, the coverage of news is not entirely an innocent process by journalists, but rather a systematic process that includes and excludes on the basis of organisational dynamics. For example, the exponential growth of business journalism in South Africa has seen an introduction of new titles and many more journalists covering the beat (Jacobs, 2004; Duncan,

2014). What is interesting about this development, apart from the key focus on business indicators, has been the conflation of economics and business by this journalism. The implication is that "economics journalism should be inherently supportive of free market economics, and not open itself up to critique of this form of economic system: a form of socialisation that most likely carries over into newsroom practice" (Duncan, 2014: 24). In this regard, the nationalisation discourse is inferred from the free market economic perspective instead of being perceived as an alternative economic model biased towards addressing inter alia racialised and gendered inequalities.

It is the organisational approach as opposed to the social-compositional approach which emphasises "constraints imposed by organisations despite the private intentions of the individual actors" which inevitability leads to the "social construction of reality" in any system (Schudson, 1989: 274). In this regard, news is not a report of the factual world but instead it is "a depletable consumer product that must be made fresh daily" (Tuchman, 1978: 179 cited in Schudson, 1989). Certainly, those facts are designed at the organisational level; Tuchman (1978: 82–83) describes facts as "pertinent information gathered by professionally validated methods specifying the relationship between what is known and how it is known" and therefore, "in news, verification of facts is both a political and a professional accomplishment". Therefore, this research study focuses on the presentation of facts to, almost deliberately, contain bias in favour of the powerful (McNair, 2001; Duncan, 2014).

## 4.6 Conclusion

This research study is premised on the four major theories critical to the understanding of the representation of the nationalisation debate. However, the critical political economy of communication and the Marxist media approaches are the cornerstone of this research study. These theories enable the research study to unpack the significance of the corporate media in controlling production processes by turning the means of production and labour into private property (Nixon, 2012). As extensively highlighted in the previous chapter, the media is part of the market forces. This theoretical framework affirms this assertion by using Nixon's (2012) observations, that in the capitalist production of culture, the corporate media is located within the "culture industry" that owns the means of production and exploits labour in the production of cultural commodities (also see Horkheimer and Adorno, 2002). Within this realm, it is

noteworthy to highlight that the advent of new media driven through platforms such as the Internet provide possibilities of non-capitalist social cultural production, as users' labour power is not necessarily commodified (Benkler, 2006). Nevertheless, the main issue is that their cultural products are often in the capitalist production of consciousness, and as Smythe (1977) posits, media is essential to the "consciousness industry". Thus, to grasp nationalisation as part of the ideological discourse, this research study attempts to unpack the process of the transformation of culture to commodity which results in the production of consciousness.

From Smythe's (1977) perspective, both advertising and the media play a role in the production of consciousness. On the other hand, Horkheimer and Adorno (2002) use dialectical methods to theorise the almost symbiotic relationship between culture and consciousness, as well as the role of all culture as a means of producing consciousness, (Nixon, 2012). Essentially, media content, together with the advertisements accompanying it, is all-important (Nixon, 2012). In theorising the production of consciousness, the political economy concept developed by Harvey (2002) in relation to cultural production is pertinent. In the same breath, Nixon (2012: 452) highlights that Harvey defines "monopoly rent as profit produced by the exchange of exclusively controlled private property". In a sense, this is capital accumulation without wage labour. Many scholars, as noted by Nixon (2012: 452), have highlighted the fact that corporate media largely have exclusive control over audience labour-power as their private property, and thus are able to "extract monopoly rent from advertisers who need access to that labour commodity" (also see Smythe, 1977, 1978, 2006/1981; Jhally and Livant, 1986; Caraway, 2011). Therefore, it can be concluded that the corporate media possesses exclusive control over culture as their private property which they subsequently use to extract monopoly rent from audiences who need access to that cultural commodity. "To the extent that advertisers purchase specific audience labour power as private property, they can extract monopoly rent from non-media companies who need access to those specific audiences" (Nixon, 2012: 452). A practical example of this situation in South Africa is the MultiChoice monopoly. In order for audiences to access any cultural commodity (whether it is sport, news or documentaries), "monopoly rent" has to be paid in the form of subscriptions.

Critical political economy of news and Marxist media approaches, as theoretical frameworks, are therefore quite pivotal in the analysis of the nationalisation of mines debate. Consciousness production and the capitalist culture are closely intertwined, and Smythe (1978) defines audience labour as "mind slavery" which leads to appropriation of the means of production of

culture and consciousness. Indeed, Nixon (2012) is correct to concur with Caraway's (2011) assertion that the corporate media makes profit by extracting rent from advertisers. However, the point of the matter is that, as Nixon (2012: 452) contends, "media companies' monopoly ownership of the necessary means of production (culture) and technology (communication media) makes that process one of coerced labour". This inevitably results in the dispossession of the means of consciousness production. Schiller (1989) admits that global capitalist cultural production has implications for consciousness production, although, according to Nixon (2012), the implication is ideological as opposed to an active process of production. Using the critical political economy of communication approach exposes capitalist orientation of the corporate media; Nixon (2012: 453) further highlights that "critical political economy of culture and consciousness produced by the Marxist dialectical method makes clear that the fundamental policy issue is control over the means of producing culture and consciousness". Furthermore, this framework exposes the role of advertising in the context of corporate media as theorised by Smythe (1978), that "it is the production of consciousness turned into a labouring activity for the accumulation of capital" (cited in Nixon 2012: 453). Fundamentally, advertising exists on top of an already highly commodified culture and consciousness production, as reflected above.

Most importantly and, as identified in the introduction to this chapter, the major contribution to this research study is captured in the section "Towards a Conceptual Framework" which discuss insights from decolonial Marxism theories and their integration with critical political economy of communication theories to understand market-oriented media in post-colonies. This is a new dimension that highlights elements such as power models that continue beyond colonialism (Walsh, 2007). Secondly, what emerges from this theoretical framework is reflection on alternative concepts to commodification, such as decommodification, as a way forward and a practical response to relieve the media and its audiences from the tentacles of capitalism (Esping-Andersen 1990; Vail 2010). In so doing, as reflected by Nixon (2012: 453), advertising will have to be understood outside the capitalist profiteering perspective but rather "as an issue of people's ability to think for themselves". Importantly, however, and as part of a way forward in the context of the corporate media treatment of broader developmental policy issues, are the principles of decommodification which include the expansion and accessibility of the public media, while on the other hand reducing the dependency on advertising in cultural production (Nixon, 2012). In the final analysis, this theoretical framework, using the critical political economy of communication, becomes "a means to develop critical political economy

in general, enabling it to be useful in the creation of a reality that is not capitalist by making it theory that is critical, revolutionary …" (Nixon, 2012: 453). Finally, this chapter enables this research study to argue that certain things are necessary for ideological discourses such as nationalisation to receive a balanced representation: firstly, an alternative public media which challenges the commodification of corporate media will have to exist; and such media will largely have to reverse the corporate media's trend so that the use value of media becomes a dominant feature (Fuchs and Mosco, 2012). Briefly, it is a media not premised on surplus value but, as Fuchs and Mosco (2012) posit, transcends the ideological character of the corporate media.

# Chapter 5
# Methodology and Research Design

## 5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the various methodologies used in this research study. Given the complex nature of the discourse, triangulated approaches have been employed to bring together various methodologies. Through this technique, the research study is able to anticipate and address limitations of bias that may result from the utilisation of a single methodology. The key methodologies triangulated in this research study include quantitative and qualitative content analysis in the main, and it is argued that both thematic and framing methods form part of the qualitative approaches. Essentially, it is posited that this approach enables the research study to fully comprehend the representation of this discourse by the corporate media.

Whereas quantitative content analysis is used to identify and count the number of articles and related elements in the corporate media, qualitative content analysis offers the research study a chance to probe various elements of the discourse. To do so, the study analyses the structure of news to show that the media reflects societal power relations and that therefore the content of news is shaped as such. To dig deeper into this aspect, attention is paid to elements such as headlines and leads of articles, the tone of the representation, sources of news, visuals in articles, authors and the most mentioned countries. As a component of qualitative approaches, the chapter outlines the implementation of in-depth, semi-structured interviews as a secondary research technique that enables the researcher to probe further and discover new clues on the discourse (Burgess, 1982).

As far as sampling is concerned, this chapter outlines the rationale behind using the purposive sampling technique, given the fact that the primary research technique of this research study is qualitative methods. The chapter also presents a framework for analysis and interpretation of data premised on framing and thematic content analysis. Key research constraints and major drawbacks of the research study, such as the inability to access editors for face-to-face interviews, are also discussed.

## 5.2 Triangulation: enabling an in-depth understanding of the nationalisation discourse

The complexities of the subject matter enjoin this research study to consider both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies. This approach provides numerous advantages and goes a long way in enabling the research study to attain an in-depth understanding of the nationalisation discourse in the South African corporate media. Fundamentally, this approach assists in unpacking the two major assumptions on which this study is premised – that structural factors such as ownership and control influence the representation of nationalisation discourse; and that policymaking is non-altruistic and thus a key site of power struggle between competing social forces.

The process of combining both qualitative and quantitative methods, commonly referred to as triangulation, has become an accepted practice in social research. Because social issues are by their very nature complex, it makes sense to combine both research methods as both have advantages and disadvantages (Yeasmin and Rahman, 2012). As Brennen (2012): 4–5) postulates, "This is because qualitative researchers often incorporate the notion of triangulation, which is the use of multiple methods, to increase the rigor of their analyses and to develop in-depth understandings of social experience." Certainly, any analysis of social phenomena should include utilisation of multiple sociological perspectives to ensure that possibilities of errors are catered for and also close any research gaps between these perspectives (Denzin, 1978). Alexander argues that:

> By combining multiple observers, theories, methods, and empirical materials, researchers can hope to overcome the weakness or intrinsic biases and the problems that come from single-method, single-observer, single-theory studies. Often the purpose of triangulation in specific context is to obtain confirmation of findings through convergence of different perspectives. The point at which the perspectives converge is seen to represent reality (Alexander, 2010 cited in Yeasmin and Rahman, 2012).

Therefore, the qualitative and quantitative research methods complement each other in many ways. Mixing styles can occur in several ways. One way is to use methods sequentially, and another is to carry the study using the methods in parallel (Neuman, 2000). Indeed, combining both qualitative and quantitative methods assist this research study in dealing with contemporary processes of social change by working in a "transdisciplinary" way (Fairclough, 2005). In this regard, to fully comprehend the representation of this discourse the study looks

beyond simple content analysis, and by employing triangulation it is able develop an in-depth understanding of textual meaning and its accompanied ideological position (Denzin, 1978; Ogenga, 2010).

## 5.3 Quantitative content analysis – a quest for objective truth behind the representation of nationalisation

### 5.3.1 Employing quantitative data analysis

For the purposes of this research study, quantitative content analysis is employed in order to elucidate the representation of the nationalisation discourse in the corporate media. This identifies elements such as the frequency of articles, the number of articles per publishing house, the number of mentions of nationalisation, the length of the articles, sources, vision and images. However, this is not sufficient to offer a critcal analysis of the deeper meanings and subtleties of the representation by the corporate media (Ogenga, 2010). More is said about this in the following section.

It is the quantitative research methods that have enabled the research study to present the research finding in a "systematic, precise and accurate" manner with the view to "determine validity, reliability, objectivity and truth" (Brennen, 2012: 3). Furthermore, by employing this research method the research study is empowered "to isolate specific elements and it uses numbers and numerical correlations within value-free environments to measure and analyze the 'causal relationships between variables'" (Denzin and Lincoln, 1998a: 8). One big advantage of this approach is that, because it uses numbers to quantify data, it is considered to be more authentic and scientific since numbers are perceived to be reliable (Brennen, 2012). It is indeed true, as Brennen (2012) notes, that some people "worship the statistician as someone who, with the aid of his magical computing machine, can make almost any study 'scientific'" (Blalock, 1985 in McKee. 2003: 123). It is primarily for this reason that qualitative content analysis is employed in this research study to complement the quantitative data analysis.

### 5.3.2 Overall representation of nationalisation

Before the representation of the nationalisation discourse can be fully analysed, it is important to understand the extent of the coverage. In this regard, the total number of articles found in the period under review is presented in the context of their location in daily and weekly publications as well as whether they are hard news or opinion articles. It is also crucial to understand the number of articles per publication and per publishing house. This gives a sense of the serious manner in which the discourse is perceived. Furthermore, to determine the amount of attention and importance attached to the discourse, the prominence test is conducted; this analyses various elements such as section of the newspaper and format of coverage. As a first step towards appreciating the prominence of the discourse, a simple count of the mention of "nationalisation" in sampled articles is carried out. Essentially, this reveals the extent of the mention of the term in articles. Also, as an area of focus to appreciate prominence is whether the article mentions "nationalisation" in the headline and/or introductory paragraph. The headline and first paragraph are important aspects of any news article, and often inform the understanding of the subject matter to the reader.

To further understand the broader coverage of the discourse, it is also crucial to analyse the location and genres of the articles. To this end, the research study scrutinises the placement of the articles in newspapers to determine if they are placed as opinion pieces and commentaries (which include editorials), general news, business news, or political news. Therefore, the location of articles in various genres determines the seriousness given to the discourse; for example, editorials reflect the posture of the newspaper towards the subject (Hall et al., 1978). Another useful element in understanding prominence is the length of articles. This aspect helps the research study understand the seriousness accorded to the discourse. Over and above these elements, another count performed includes the number of sources, photographs, countries mentioned and authors of articles. On the basis of this quantitative approach, the research study is able to qualitatively analyse the representation of the discourse.

## 5.4 Qualitative research methodologies – probing and interpreting the representation

### 5.4.1 Advantages of qualitative research methodologies

Given the objectives of this research study, it becomes imperative to employ qualitative research methodologies with the view to "identify and count the occurrence of specified characteristics or dimensions of text, and through this, to be able to say something about the messages, images, [and] representations of such texts and their wider social significance" (Hansen et al., 1998: 95). However, over and above this, qualitative research methods offer this research study an opportunity to probe various interrelated subject matters since it "is interdisciplinary, interpretive, political and theoretical in nature" (Brennen, 2012: 4). The rationale of employing this method is emphasised by Kvale Steinar (1996: 11), who states that this approach is not "objective data to be quantified, but meaningful relations to be interpreted"

However, it is crucial to note Silverman's (1993) argument that the advantage of qualitative research is that it recognises the inherent subjective nature of social relations. Olsen (2004: 7) states, "People construe others' behaviour through their own subjective lens of perception, and the others' behaviour, too, is framed within their own subjective and discursive frame of reference". Furthermore, according to Silverman (1993), the act of interviewing is equally a meeting of two subjectivities (also see Olsen, 2004). Therefore, the fundamental aspect of qualitative researchers is that they consider alternative notions of knowledge and thus appreciate the fact that reality is socially constructed. In this regard, Brennen (2012: 4) further posits that these researchers "… showcase a variety of meanings and truths, and draw on a belief in and support of a researcher's active role in the research process".

Qualitative research methodologies also enable the researcher to apply various methodologies such as textual analysis, discourse analysis, historical analysis, case studies and open-ended interviews.

> No matter what qualitative method researchers use, their choice of method is based on the questions they wish to ask, the specific historical context that relates to their research questions as well as the theoretical framework they plan to use for their research (Brennen, 2012: 4-5).

A great deal of the work on news uses qualitative research methods since in most instances the theoretically interesting question about news and their organisations pertains to issues such as the general relationship between news and ideology, and specific processes by which news produces ideology (Tuchman, 2002). Furthermore, this approach attempts to study human action from the perspective of social actors in order to understand rather than explain human behaviour. Babbie and Mouton posit further that:

> Qualitative studies, then, will typically use qualitative methods of gaining access to research subjects (e.g. theoretical selection of cases, snowball sampling); qualitative methods of data-collection (e.g. participant observation, semi-structured interviewing, the use of personal documents to construct life stories); and qualitative methods of analysis (e.g. grounded theory approach, analytical induction, narrative analysis, discourse analysis) (Babbie and Mouton, 2001: 270).

Indeed, and in order to gain further insights into the question of the representation of the nationalisation discourse, qualitative research methods assist the research study in data collection and methods of analysis. Furthermore, by utilising qualitative methods, the research study is enabled to consider the diversity of meanings and values created in media. "Rather than focusing on media effects or influences, they [qualitative researchers] attempt to understand the many relationships that exist within media and society" (Brennen, 2012: 6). As Pauly (1991: 7) points out, the goal of qualitative research "is simply to render plausible the terms by which groups explain themselves to the world and to clarify the role that mass communication plays in such explanations".

### 5.4.2 Qualitative content analysis: the structure of news

In order to objectively analyse the representation of the nationalisation discourse in the corporate print media, qualitative content analysis or textual analysis is employed as a primary research technique. Employing this technique enables the research study to probe aspects of news production such as the influence of ownership, commercial interests, editorial policies, journalistic practices, news sources and consumption patterns, among others. Fundamentally, it examines the role of news representation in relation to social, political, ideological and economic processes, and in relation to individual audience or readership patterns (also see Radebe, 2007).

In this regard, the objective is to critically analyse the impact of structural factors on ideological discourses and the manner in which policy, as a contested terrain, is portrayed in the corporate media. Therefore, this technique is employed in this research study to, inter alia, count the number of articles on nationalisation in the newspapers, analyse them and check for representation of various social forces and the general depiction of the discourse. The analysis involves all news articles and opinion pieces on nationalisation published in 2011 by the corporate media. The quality of the articles on nationalisation is equally important since not every article that contains the word "nationalisation" is necessarily about the nationalisation discourse. For the latter reason, a further test for prominence is applied, as reflected in the sampling section below.

In order to analyse and determine the representation of the nationalisation discourse, it is imperative for the research study to pay close attention to the structure of news. However, it is also crucial to appreciate that news is produced as a consequence of events perceived to be newsworthy; importantly, it is the powerful, social ideologies and organisational routines, among others, that determine the newsworthiness of events (Van Dijk, 1991). Indeed, when analysing news it is equally important to appreciate that it is the end product of a very complex process which includes sorting and selecting socially constructed events (Hall et al., 1978: 53). Furthermore, access to the media is a reflection of societal power relations and as such it is the powerful groups and institutions that shape the content of news (Van Dijk, 1991).

Therefore, the analysis of articles pays close attention to structural features such as headlines, leads, thematic organisation, the presence of explanatory background information, style, photos, page location and prominence, sources, authors and many other factors in order to understand the representation of the nationalisation discourse. The main objective is to gain insight in the manner in which the discourse is represented.

#### 5.4.2.1 **Headlines of articles**

The first key aspect to analyse in the structure of news is the headlines, an important element in news articles. Indeed, headlines play an important textual and cognitive function as the most conspicuous part of an article and mainly summarise the most important aspect of an article (Van Dijk, 1991: 50). Certainly, "…headlines not only direct the reader's attention to the news

report but, because they are usually the first part of the article that the reader will read, they define the news article" (Radebe, 2007: 47). In essence, this aspect of the article is what attracts the readers to the article; if the headline interests them then they will proceed to read the rest of the article.

Furthermore, headlines have their own ideological implications"

> …They summarize what, according to the journalist, is the most important aspect, and such a summary necessarily implies an opinion or a specific perspective on the event. Thus, journalists may 'upgrade' a less important topic by expressing it in the headline, thereby 'downgrading' the importance of the main topic (Van Dijk, 1991: 51).

Indeed, the main function of the headline is to attract readers to the news story; hence the common practice in newsrooms is to have headlines written by specialist editors or sub-editors and not the reporter who wrote the story (Van Dijk 1991). Often the overarching objective is to entice readers to the newspapers through catchy headlines, and it is this reason that leads to headlines that sometimes paint a different picture to the article itself (Radebe, 2007). It is crucial to take this background into account when conducting textual analysis of the headlines.

#### 5.4.2.2 **Leads in articles**

The introductory paragraph of news articles, commonly known as the intro or lead, is a key aspect of any news story. The art of writing news stories mainly focuses on the lead since it is a commonly accepted reality that the present-day reader does not have time to consume a lengthy article (Bond, 1995). The rise of the social media has starkly compounded this problem, with consumers of news now used to even shorter texts in their daily news consumption. It is for this reason that a convention of presenting all the crucial facts of any news story in the lead paragraph has been developed and understood (Bond, 1995). Therefore, paying close attention to the leads assist this research study to unravel fundamental underlying aspects that influence the representation of the discourse. Furthermore, when juxtaposed with headlines this aspect creates an additional framework for analysing representation of ideological discourse in the corporate media. Therefore, by closely examining leads this research study is enabled to unpack further the representation of this discourse.

#### 5.4.2.3 **The tone of the coverage**

Another crucial aspect that this research study utilises to gain further insight into the representation of this discourse is the tone of the coverage. Essentially, the tone is a reflection of the combined effect of headlines and leads, and thus reflects whether the discourse is portrayed positively, negatively or neutrally. Therefore, the tone of news is not accidental but an indication of the orientation of news in line with the issues that concern the elites (Hall et al., 1978). Essentially, this is a reflection of societal power relations which thus translate to media power. Through this aspect the research study analyses the assumed tone towards the discourse, with the view of understanding the underlying factors of this posture, such as the structural factors of the corporate media.

#### 5.4.2.4 **Sources of news**

In order to understand fully the drivers of the representation of this discourse the research study analyses the sources of news. This element enables the research study to gain insight into the attitude of the corporate media towards the discourse since it reveals, inter alia, the news production process. In analysing sources it is also crucial to appreciate the reality that news reporters depend on various institutions and individuals within those institutions to make sense of complex subjects such as nationalisation (Shoemaker, 1991). To report on current events reporters rely on "experts", who in most instances are insiders to capitalist institutions and thus have access to powerful circles (Croteau and Hoynes, 2002). This dependency on capitalist institutions and so-called experts is informed by the reality that reporters are not in a position to independently verify facts needed to report on complex ideological topics such as nationalisation (Thompson, 2009).

Indeed, sources used in articles and their comments further expose the posture of the newspaper towards sections of the society and the manner in which it values their comments. This reflects the routine behind the generation of the story and the societal views considered important by the corporate media (DCU School of Communication, 2009). Therefore, as part of the qualitative content analysis the research study carefully considers the manner in which sources of news are utilised and their likely impact on the representation of the discourse. To achieve this and to understand further the representation of this discourse, the research study examines, among others, the number of sources per article, the type of sources and the organisations

mentioned in articles. The type of organisaions are broken down into political, mining, public, labour and private organisations. Furthermore, key government departments and officials used in articles as well as people mentioned the most in articles are analysed.

#### 5.4.2.5 **Visuals in articles**

As an old adage goes, "a picture is worth a thousand words", and therefore visuals in articles enhance the appeal of the story. Indeed, visuals often paint a picture about the story that readers consume; they form an opinion before they even begins to read the article. Photographs are certainly the supreme form of self-expression; photos have the power to eliminate superfluous details and remains "…universally understandable and so appears not to need explanation to supplement it" (Will, 1965: 27). The view that the presence of photographs in news articles enhances the appeal and the chance for the story to be noticeable and read (Radebe, 2007) remains correct. The presence of visual elements in an article is a further indication of its importance in the newspaper. Also, important to note is a view that the combination of visual images and textual information provides further cues to the reader (Coleman and Wasike, 2004: 459). Therefore, as part of unravelling the presentation of the discourse, the research study examines the manner in which visual images are utilised in nationalisation articles. An examination of visuals and images, in all likelihood, sheds more light on the manner in which the nationalisation discourse is represented.

#### 5.4.2.6 **Authors of nationalisation articles**

The analysis of this discourse would be incomplete without scrutinising those who write about the nationalisation discourse. Because the research study analyses all type of articles, including hard news and opinion pieces, it is crucial to gain further understanding on the authors, especially those who produce opinion articles. In this regard, the examination of the authors of articles exposes the origins of articles and their tone. Essentially, the objective is to determine the correlation between type of articles, authors and tone of articles. In the end, this reveals the overall attitude of the corporate media towards the discourse as reflected by assigning dedicated reporters, the stance on the newspapers' editorials and the actual "experts" and "analysts" invited or given space to write on the discourse. Fundamentally, this analysis also reveals the manner in which the discourse is perceived by reporters who write on political, business, labour or general news. Furthermore, what should emerge from this examination is whether this and

other related policy discourses are prioritised and planned for in the corporate media, or whether they are just an accident of history that emerges from the routine news-gathering process.

#### 5.4.2.7 **Most-mentioned countries**

Another crucial aspect that the study examines in order to gain further insight on the representation of the discourse is the countries mentioned in articles. The use of this element is informed by the fact that the broader economic development, of which nationalisation is part, is an ideologically laden subject often linked with development in some countries of the South and East. There are many countries that have implemented nationalisation with varying degrees of success. Countries such as Venezuela believe that nationalisation is necessary to preserve their natural resources for the benefit of the entire populace, while many Western countries and their controlled institutions – such as the Breton Woods institutions and the rating agencies – are vehemently opposed to nationalisation. Some African countries like Zambia have attempted to nationalise with "devastating" consequences and have since been advised by institutions such as the World Bank and the IMF that their economic woes lie squarely on the decision to nationalise. On the other hand, big economies like China have successfully nationalised some of their key institutions. Certainly, this is an ideological decision. Therefore, the type of countries used as examples in articles are likely to be an ideological reflection of the newspaper's posture. In this regard, the assessment of countries used is a test of the corporate media's attitude towards the discourse, and inevitably this reveals the manner in which the discourse is represented.

### 5.4.3 In-depth, semi-structured interviews

To complement the primary research techniques employed in this research study, in-depth, semi-structured interviews are employed as a secondary research technique with a view to providing "…the opportunity for the researcher to probe further, to uncover new clues, to open up new dimensions of a problem, to secure vivid, accurate, inclusive accounts from informants that are based on personal experience" (Burgess, 1982:107). Whereas the initial plan was to conduct about ten interviews with key role players such as news editors and reporters, only seven editors agreed to engage. They are:

- Sithembiso Msomi, former Political Editor and current Deputy Editor at *Sunday Times*;
- Henry Jeffreys, former editor of *The New Age*; editor-in-chief of *Die Burger* newspaper; and former chairperson of the South African National Editors' Forum;
- Dumisane Lubisi, Executive Editor at *City Press*;
- Sibusiso Ngalwa, Editor in Chief of *Daily Dispatch* and *Saturday Dispatch*;
- Kevin Ritchie, Editor of *The Star*;
- Hopewell Radebe, Former *Business Day* news and political editor and current news editor at *City Press*; and
- Xolile Bhengu, Former senior health reporter with the *Financial Mail*.

The main aim of the interviews was to explore the representation of nationalisation and similar ideologically laden discourses by the corporate media. The interviews were conducted face-to-face, telephonically or through emails. They were based on an open-ended questionnaire as a guide, given its advantage for providing a high response rate and offering the interviewer a chance to probe for in-depth responses. For the purpose of identifying individuals to interview, a judgemental sample – a type of non-probability sampling method in which the researcher uses his/her own judgement in the selection of sample members – was used, together with snowball sampling to identify other potential candidates for interviews.

However, as reflected in the constraint section, not all identified editors were willing or available to participate in the research study. Nevertheless, snowball sampling assisted since, subsequent to the identification and engagement with suitable subjects, they were asked to refer the researcher to additional subjects. Indeed, the interviews reveal that in-depth, semi-structured interviews are useful and assist in providing both detailed information required by the researcher and fascinating supplementary information (Wisker, 2001). The in-depth interviews focused on the nationalisation discourse and reveal the inadequate attention given to the discourse. For example:

> I remember one case which was written by a soccer reporter Carlos Amato who had gone to Norway. He came across a nationalisation model over there and decided to write a piece about how it works, which I thought, for a mass-publication that it was the only serious piece that I saw that sought to look at nationalisation as an option … beyond just a political implication of nationalisations, most of us were looking at (Msomi, Interview, 15.04.2014).

Certainly, the interviews point to a number of useful new insights on the newspapers' approach in dealing with the nationalisation discourse, as discussed in detail in the findings chapters. While employed as secondary methods, this approach is pivotal in augmenting observations made through content analysis. For example, Henry Jeffreys points out that factors such as the length and page location of the article depend on the news value of the story:

> Depending on the news values, the proposed stories are ranked according to their importance. This usually includes public interest and anticipated interest in the stories – who is involved, and what is the likely impact. This usually determines the length (Jeffreys, Interview, 24.06.2016).

The engagement with Hopewell Radebe also uncovered useful information on how newspapers approach ideological discourse, and thus reinforces the value of semi-structured interviews:

> The most common process for news rooms, mine included when I was news editor at *Business Day*, is to have an open discussion with the whole team of journalists in the newsroom. Topics are identified, and potential role players also identified, i.e. people in favour of this ideology, and people against. We look at who else can contribute to the argument or story in the form of experts that can independently analyse the pros and cons of the ideology and have the public credibility to be seen to be commenting without interest. This was the approach in my newsroom at the time, and depending on the public interest which is measured these days through various tools such as responses to and re-tweets, Facebook reactions and letters to editors. These days we are also able to do SMS [text message] reactions to stories. Another tool is that we get journalists to listen to radio stations to gauge whether there is public interest. The reactions enable the news editor and senior editorial staff to suggest additional experts or public figures such as ministers, celebrities, social commentators and civic leaders to weigh in on the matter by writing their own opinion articles (Radebe, Interview, 19.07.2016).

This is an indication of the value of in-depth semi-structured interviews and their ability to help the researcher unearth hidden yet valuable information for the research study.

## 5.5 Sampling

During the course of conducting this exercise, and given the fact that the primary research technique of the research study is qualitative content analysis, a purposive sampling technique was employed to select both individuals to interview and articles on nationalisation from all South African English-language newspapers. This is supported by the judgemental and snowballing sampling employed for in-depth, semi-structured interview purposes. Purposive

sampling signifies that the researcher sees sampling as a series of strategic choices about the research at hand; it is "…virtually synonymous with qualitative research" (Palys, 2008: 697).

In this context, the research study assumes that the year 2011 was the peak year of the debate on nationalisation and as such a sample of articles is selected based on 2011 articles. This assumption is premised on the fact that in 2010 the National General Council (NGC) of the ANC resolved to officially investigate possibilities of nationalisation. This certainly led to a situation where the competing ideas escalated with the key proponents – the ANC Youth League – resolved on the implementation of nationalisation during their national congress in 2011. This resolution of the ANC Youth League gained support from left-leaning formations like COSATU and some of its affiliated trade unions. On the other hand, mining executives, government representatives and liberal institutions such as the Free Market Foundation (FMF) vehemently opposed to the proposal became even more vocal. To this end, the FMF even published a book titled *Nationalisation,* a compilation of articles by many authors in academia and business. Essentially, this book is an anti-nationalisation publication.

Therefore, there is no doubt that 2011 was the peak year for the nationalisation debate, and hence the reason for focusing the sampling of this research study on that year. As a start, and in line with Hansen et al.'s (1998: 100) assertion that for "practical reasons therefore content analysis must start with the selection and narrowing down of the type of coverage to be analyzed", the search for "nationalisation" on the *SA Media* database for 2011 reveals over 1 302 articles from 27 national newspapers. These articles are further divided into weekly and daily newspapers, yielding 413 and 889 articles respectively. Of the 889 articles in daily newspapers, 357 are hard news and 404 are opinion pieces.

These articles were subjected to a test for prominence to ensure that their subject matter was indeed nationalisation. This test revealed that there were 273 articles on nationalisation from daily newspapers, with 134 being hard news and 139 opinion pieces. On the other hand there were 136 articles on nationalisation from weekly publications, with 62 hard news and 74 opinion articles. Therefore, a sample was selected from 273 daily and 136 weekly articles, totalling 409 articles, 196 being hard news and 213 opinion pieces. Subsequently, a purposive sampling approach was employed to select about 10 per cent of the total. Thus the final sample consisted of 41 articles, made up of 20 hard news articles and 21 opinion articles. Essentially,

the analysis and findings made in this research study are based on the content analysis of these articles.

## 5.6 Analysis and interpretation of data

A combination of framing and thematic content analysis is utilised in this research study to analyse and interpret the research data. Both these approaches are employed in order to gain further insight into the representation of nationalisation in the corporate media.

### 5.6.1 Thematic content analysis and the nationalisation discourse

In particular, thematic analysis is employed to ensure that the research study unravels more nuanced subjective meaning latent in text beyond simple descriptive analysis (DCU School of Communication, 2009). Qualitative analysis that is inductive enables this research study to uncover major themes in the discourse (Duncan, 2014). Therefore, a crucial component of content analysis is the identification of themes, since they often have the ability to reveal information located in articles (Barlow, 2011). In a nutshell, the thematic approach is utilised in the research study to expose the manner in which nationalisation is represented in the corporate media.

The identification of themes followed a process of "careful reading and re-reading of the data" (Rice and Ezzy, 1999: 258). Each article was read independently, and from that process both primary and secondary themes emerged. Most importantly, the research study followed Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-step process for conducting thematic analysis in social sciences, where the initial step is to ensure familiarity with the data and the topic at hand. From this, thematic categories began to emerge – for example, "negative consequences to the economy", "investor confidence" and "Malema and nationalisation". To ensure that the emerging themes fit the nature of the research study, maps of the analysis were created (Boyd, 2015). Therefore, close analysis of all sampled articles and other articles related to the discourse enabled the research study to identify possible themes prevalent in defining the media representation of the nationalisation discourse. Table 5.1 lists a number of categories of recurring themes constructed and defined.

***Table 5.1: A list of thematic categories***

| Theme | Broad definition |
|---|---|
| 1. Negative consequences to the economy | This theme emphasises the perceived negative effects the discourse might have on the economy. Terms such as "disastrous consequences for the economy", "horrific impact on the economy", "wreck SA's economy", "capital flight", "consider investors" are frequently used. |
| 2. Investor confidence | This theme is partially an extension of the first one, but largely locates the nationalisation discourse within an economic perspective and argues that the debate on nationalisation chases away investors and "affects investor confidence". |
| 3. South African mining industry and transformation | This theme locates the discourse within the performance and transformation of mines. Here, issues of ownership and the broader transformation of mines emerge. |
| 4. South African economic policy | This theme focuses the debate on the economic situation, challenges and possibilities of the South African economy and the policies underpinning it. |
| 5. Global economic outlook | This theme places the discourse in the context of the global economic situation, such as the commodity boom and the global economic crises. |
| 6. Socio-economic issues | This theme uses socio-economic factors such as high levels of poverty, unemployment, lack of education and corruption among others to engage the discourse. |
| 7. Nationalisation not government policy | This theme emerges in the context of government officials trying to distance the government from the discourse, and in the process having to assure "investors" that nationalisation is not government policy. |
| 8. Malema and nationalisation | This theme bases the discourse on the then president of the ANC Youth League Julius Malema, and the push for nationalisation. Particularly it prioritises his disciplinary processes within the ANC. |

### 5.6.2 Framing the nationalisation discourse

Many scholars have described framing in the context of the media. Essentially, the term refers to a process used by political players to give meaning and to connect issues to a larger political environment. In the main it defines, diagnoses, provides solutions and most fundamentally predicts the likely effects of the problem at hand (Callaghan and Schnell, 2001; also see Entman, 1993: 52). Most importantly, "Framing effects occur whenever an issue can be presented using multiple packages or thematic slants. Since most public policy issues are inherently multidimensional, the potential for framing abounds" (Callaghan and Schnell, 2001:

185). This is certainly the case with the nationalisation discourse. Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007: 11) argue that framing is "based on the assumption that how an issue is characterised in news reports can have an influence on how it is understood by audiences". Historically, its roots can be traced back to the studies of psychology and sociology (Pan and Kosicki, 1993).

> The psychological origins of framing lie in experimental work by Kahneman and Tversky (1979, 1984), for which Kahneman received the 2002 Nobel Prize in economics (Kahneman, 2003). They examined how different presentations of essentially identical decision-making scenarios influence people's choices and their evaluation of the various options presented to them. The sociological foundations of framing were laid by Goffman (1974) and others who assumed that individuals cannot understand the world fully and constantly struggle to interpret their life experiences and to make sense of the world around them. In order to efficiently process new information, Goffman argues, individuals therefore apply interpretive schemas or ''primary frameworks'' (Goffman, 1974, p. 24) to classify information and interpret it meaningfully (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007: 11).

Carragee and Roefs (2004: 215) posit that scholars are attracted to framing by its "potential to link news text to production and reception process". This is because this process examines the manner in which frames are sponsored by political actors, their employment by journalists in the construction of news, their articulation by news stories, and their interpretation by the audience (Entman, 1991, 1993; Gamson, 1992; Reese, 2001). In his seminal definition of framing Entman (1993: 5) argued that "to frame is to select some aspects of perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and /or treatment recommendation for the item describes" (cited in Carragee and Roefs, 2004). Furthermore, Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007) point out that framing occurs at both macro and micro levels (also see Scheufele, 1999). As a "macroconstruct", through framing the media presents information in "such a way that it resonates with existing underlying schemas among their audience (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007: 11; also see Shoemaker and Reese, 1996). This is not because the media wants to deceive its audience but, as Scheufele and Tewksbury (2007: 11) postulate, to be "a necessary tool to reduce the complexity of an issue, given the constraints of their respective media related to news holes and airtime" (also see Gans, 1979). Therefore, frames enable the media to present complex information in such a way that it is easily accessible to ordinary audiences by "play[ing] to existing cognitive schemas". On the other hand, framing as a "microconstruct" describes the manner in which "people use information and presentation features regarding issues as they form impressions" (Scheufele and Tewksbury, 2007: 11).

Chuma (2012: 316) points out that the term framing "refers to the way in which news media resort to particular interpretive structures to set particular events within their broader context". In this context, framing denotes the "selection to prioritise some facts, images, or developments over others, thereby unconsciously promoting one particular interpretation of events" (Norris et al., 2003: 11 cited in Chuma, 2012). Fundamentally, Chuma (2012) posits that for some scholars such as Entman (1993: 53), framing is about selection and salience, in a process promoting "a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation and/or treatment recommendation for the item described". It is important to note that corporate media utilises frames as a means to locate "events and issues into specific categories defined in part by how they have covered them in the past and other factors, including the media's editorial policy approaches to the subjects in question (Chuma, 2012: 317). Additionally, according to Chuma (2012: 316) Dell'Orto et al. (2004: 296) suggests that a second category of frames – audience frames – emerged in the 1980s based on the linkages of framing to "discourses or social construction of reality through language, postulating that framing interacts with readers' cognitive structures for 'meaning construction'". As Entman (1993: 53) postulates, audience frames are defined as "mentally stored clusters of ideas that guide individuals' processing of information" as opposed to media frames that are perceived as principles of selection and salience that give meaning to events and process. Therefore, in examining discourses such as nationalisation, the research study focuses on the media frame to ensure that the analysis yields comprehensive results.

Framing methods are employed in this research study to conduct content analysis of the discourse, principally by employing two possible approaches – inductive and deductive (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). As Scheufele (1999) posits, "Mass media actively set frames of reference that readers or viewers use to interpret and discuss public event" (also see Tuchman, 1978). In this regard, "They give the story a 'spin', ... taking into account their organisational and modality constraints, professional judgements, and certain judgements about the audience" (Crigler, 1992: 120 cited in Scheufele, 1999). Therefore, the media frame is "a central organising idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events ... the frame suggests what the controversy is about, the essence of the issue" (Gamson and Modigliani, 1987: 143 cited in Scheufele, 1999). According to Tuchman (1978: 193), "The news frame organises everyday reality and the news frame is part and parcel of everyday reality ... [it] is an essential feature of news." The media frame also serves as a working routine for journalists; it allows them to quickly identify and classify information and "to package it for

efficient relay to their audiences" (Gitlin, 1980: 7). In essence, the media frame is a tool that on the one hand is utilised by the media to package information for the audience and on the other enables audiences to make sense of the media discourses. It is for this reason that in Chapter 7 framing and thematic content analysis are combined to unpack the representation of the nationalisation discourse.

### 5.6.3 Thematic and framing approaches – triangulation in action

Initially both thematic content analysis and framing approaches are utilised independently to analyse the representation of the discourse. However, it is apparent that when combined, prospects of interesting observations emerging abound. Therefore, the research study combines both these approaches to increase the effective analysis of the representation of nationalisation. To achieve this objective, the framing methods are employed to identify key frames in the discourse and subsequently, located within these frames, the dominant themes are identified. Both identified frames and themes are discussed concurrently with the view to gain deeper insights on the representation of the discourse.

## 5.7 Research constraints

As indicated previously, one for the major drawbacks encountered by this research study is the reluctance and unavailability of identified media personnel to participate in the in-depth interviews. Many current and past editors who were contacted, even though they had promised to avail themselves on numerous occasions, somehow proved difficult to pin down. On the basis of the conducted interviews, it is apparent that the participants' experiences and accumulated knowledge, informed by years of experience in the media field, have richly empowered the research study and certainly brought new dimensions and insights to the analysis of the representation of the discourse.

Another limitation of this research study, just like any other major study that utilises a sample, pertains to the fact that some insightful articles that fell outside the identified year were omitted. Even some articles within 2011 were not selected as a consequence of the sampling method. Furthermore, a publication like the *New Age*, which had provided a detailed representation of the discourse, is not part of the *SA Media* database, from which all articles

were selected. This is due to the fact that it was only launched in 2010 and had not yet joined the database.

## 5.8 Conclusion

Outlined in this chapter are the methodological design, data collection models and interpretation techniques used in the research study. Given the complex nature of the subject, the research study was compelled to consider both qualitative and quantitative research methodologies. Therefore, triangulation, a process that combines both quantitative and qualitative research methods, presents this research study with numerous advantages to attain a deeper understanding of the representation of the nationalisation discourse. Quantitative content analysis was employed to identify and count the number of articles, the prominence and frequency of nationalisation and other related aspects. This provided the groundwork that enabled the discourse to be analysed qualitatively. It is quite apparent that employing qualitative research methodologies is crucial. These cross-cutting approaches such as textual, discourse, historical analysis and in-depth interviews permitted the research study to probe interrelated subjects.

Furthermore, it is argued that using content analysis goes a long way in unpacking the intricate nuances of news production. Linked to this approach is an examination of the structure of news, which pays close attention to various structural features such as headlines, leads and visual images. This approach enables the research study to touch as many elements as possible and thus gain crucial insights into the representation of the discourse. It is also argued that in-depth face-to-face interviews are crucial in such a research study to reveal various ambiguous features in the representation of the discourse.

Also discussed in the chapter is the sampling approach employed in the research study such as the assumptions behind focusing on 2011 and the sampling methods. It is also emerging that framing and thematic content analyses are central in enabling the research study to analyse and interpret the qualitative research data. These methods are combined to unravel the subjective latent meaning in the articles. This is a crucial theoretical intervention made by this research study. Finally, the chapter highlights the constraints facing many researchers who are keen on conducting interviews. While this approach is crucial in bringing forth new information, the

difficulty of accessing subjects for interviews limits the ability of such research studies to bring forth new information.

# SECTION III

# DATA ANALYSIS, CONCLUSIONS AND THE WAY FORWARD

# Chapter 6

## Setting a neo-liberal agenda: The presentation of the quantitative findings

## 6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the quantitative research findings on the coverage of the nationalisation discourse by South Africa's corporate print media. It paints a picture of the manner in which this discourse is represented and portrayed. The primary focus is on content analysis of news articles, looking at various aspects such as the structure of news including the headlines, sources and the general representation of the discourse. In this chapter, the social production of news theories are used to argue that news, as a manufactured good, is a product of social, economic and political institutions and practices (Schudson, 1989). Essentially, media reports are not about what is newsworthy but rather the "…end-product of a complex process which begins with a systematic sorting and selecting of events and topics according to a socially constructed set of categories" (Hall et al., 1978: 53). Also, theories of agenda-setting are utilised to argue that the news agenda plays a pivotal role in influencing the public agenda and thus focus attention on a few key issues (McCombs, 2002).

The chapter begins by outlining the number of articles found during the period under review, January to December 2011. It breaks down the articles in terms of newspapers, type of newspaper, and the number of articles per publishing house. In this regard, close attention is paid to prominence given to the discourse by analysing the intensity and levels of mentions. The number of mentions of nationalisation, location and genres of articles, as well as the length are some of the aspects analysed. From here, the chapter proceeds to analyse the structure of articles using theories of social production of news and agenda-setting among others. To do so, such characteristics as the headlines, leads and type of sources are analysed in detail. In particular, sources are broken down to analyse further elements like the types of sources, organisations and officials used; these include people mentioned in articles. Fundamentally, this analysis is done with the view to decipher primary definers used to portray the discourse.

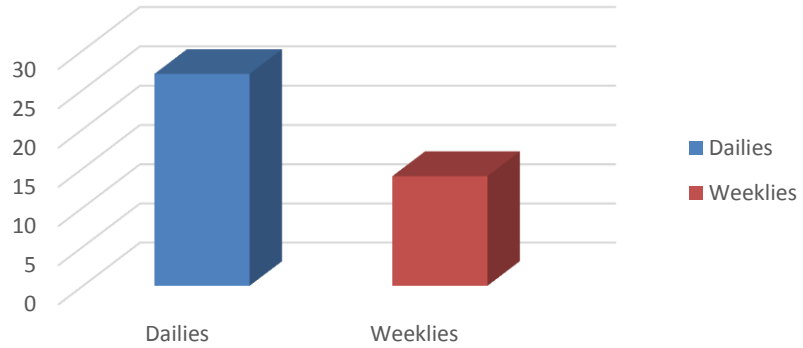
The chapter further analyses other important aspects of the discourse such as visual representation, overall representation of the discourse, and authors of articles – in other words

the analysis of who is writing about the discourse. Furthermore, to comprehend the corporate print media's posture towards the nationalisation discourse, the chapter scrutinises countries mentioned. In the main, analysis of countries is done to grasp their mention as another frame within which the discourse can be understood. Finally, the chapter draws conclusions based on the analysis of the elements mentioned above to understand the portrayal of the nationalisation discourse in the print media.

## 6.2 The Corporate print media and the nationalisation discourse

The sampling method utilised by this research study was described in detail in Chapter 5; see especially section 5.5. The process resulted in a sample of 41 articles, of which 20 were hard news articles and 21 were opinion pieces. Of the total, 27 appeared in daily publications and 14 in weekly publications (see Figure 6.1).

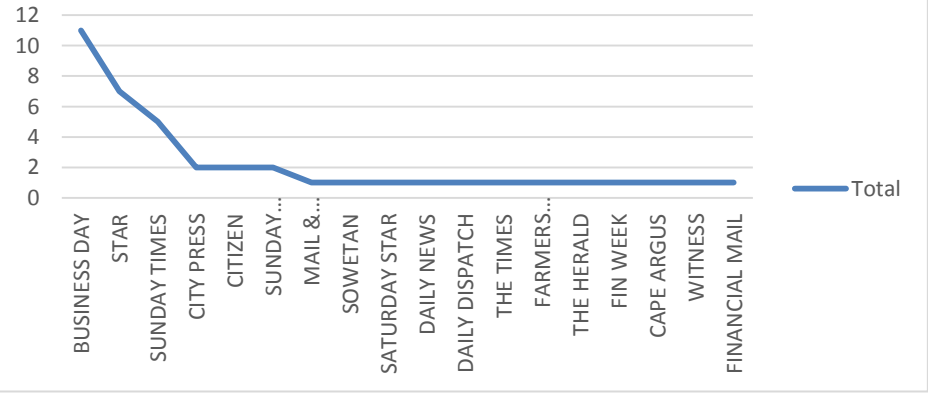
*Figure 6.1* **No. of articles per type of publication**




### 6.2.1 Number of articles per publication

Figure 6.2 illustrates the number of articles on nationalisation sampled per title. As can be seen, as far as the dailies are concerned, *Business Day* has the highest number of articles, followed by *The Star*. These two titles account for 65 per cent of the total sampled articles. Therefore, out of the 27 sampled articles from daily publications, 18 come from these two titles. The rest of the articles come from the *Citizen* (17), *Daily News* (11), and *Sowetan* (13). These titles combined accounted for 15 per cent of the articles. The *Daily Dispatch*, *The Times*, *The Herald*, *Cape Argus*, and *Witness* make up the rest.

*Figure 6.2* **No. of articles per publication**




In as far as the weekly articles are concerned, the *Sunday Times* has the highest number of articles followed by the *Sunday Independent*, *City Press*, and *Mail & Guardian*. These make up 72 per cent of all articles on nationalisation. In this regard, of the 14 sampled articles, 10 come from these publications, 5 from *Sunday Times*, 2 from *Sunday Independent*, 2 from the *City Press*, and 1 from the *Mail & Guardian*. The rest of the 4 articles come from *Financial Mail*, *Farmer's Weekly*, *Fin Week*, and *Saturday Star*.

### 6.2.2 Number of articles per publishing house

As is to be expected, the Times Media Group and Independent Media Group dominate the number of articles, mainly due to the number of articles from *Business Day* and *The Star* (see Table 6.1). Only the *Farmer's Weekly* represents "independent" publishers, and no articles from TNA Media[27] were found during this period on the SA Media database. The database contained no articles from *The New Age;* the assumption made was that this was due to the relative youth of the paper. (At the beginning of 2011, the paper was still less than a year old with TNA, having been established in June 2010 and launching its first publication, *The New Age,* in December of the same year.)

[27] TNA Media was established in June 2010 and released its first publication The New Age on 6 December 2010. The New Age is a national daily newspaper covering news from all nine provinces (http://www.tnamedia.co.za).

*Table 6.1: No. of articles per publishing house*

| Publishing house | No. of articles |
|---|---|
| Times Media Group | 21 |
| Independent Group | 13 |
| Media 24 | 3 |
| CaxtonCTP | 2 |
| Mail&Guardian | 1 |
| Independent | 1 |
| Total | 41 |

## 6.3 Prominence of articles

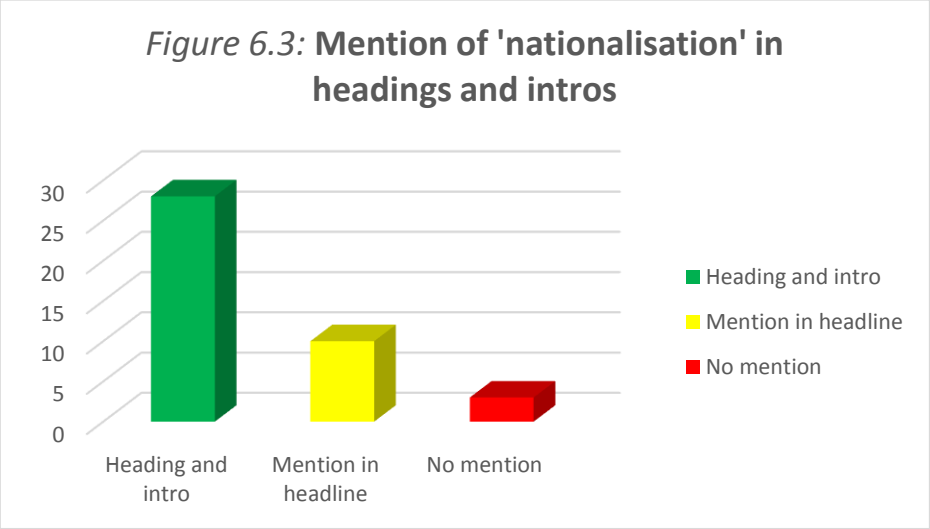
The prominence results reveal the amount of attention and importance attached to the discourse by analysing a variety of elements including the section of the newspaper and the format of coverage. The section refers to the part of the paper where the story is located, for example business news, politics, features, opinion and so forth. Using the nationalisation discourse, this element can be used to make inferences on the attention given broadly to economic development policy issues. Fundamentally, this also reflects the manner in which such stories are presented to readers, for example either "in the thematic-rich genres that give more 'colour' to coverage such as editorial and commentary or the briefs and news reports which conform more to the more straight 'factual' styles of journalism" (DCU School of Communication, 2009: 11).

In selecting news, newspapers make sense of an event by locating it "within a range of known social and cultural identifications", using cultural maps without which they would not "make sense for the audiences of the unusual, unexpected and unpredicted events which form the basic content of what is newsworthy" (Hall et al., 1978: 54). Therefore, the location of a story in newspapers often indicates the importance associated with the issue. This further indicates the posture of the newspaper regarding on the event or issue, and its newsworthiness is mainly manifested by features like page number, section in which the articles are placed, the length and utilisation of photographs, amongst others (Radebe, 2007: 54).

### 6.3.1 Mention of "nationalisation" in articles

In order to understand the prominence attached to the discourse, the research study begins by conducting a simple count of the word "nationalisation" in the sampled articles.

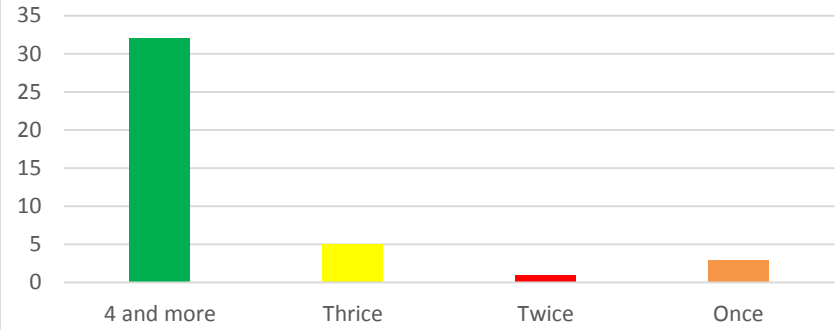
First, the count was directed only at the headlines and lead paragraphs of the articles. This aspect, as depicted in Figure 6.3, reveals that "nationalisation" was mentioned frequently in most of those parts of the sampled articles, with 68 per cent having the word in both the heading and the lead paragraph. A further 24 per cent of articles had the word in their heading, and only three articles did not mention the word at all in either the heading or the lead paragraph.




This frequency is not surprising, given the initial test to ensure relevance of sampled articles. This aspect is useful, especially for subsequent sections, as there is a high level of assurance that the sampled articles are all relevant to the topic at hand.

To gain further insight on the prominence, the research study then analysed the mention of "nationalisation" in the whole article. Figure 6.4 reveals the pervasive nature of the discourse in all sampled articles with 78 per cent mentioning "nationalisation" more than four times. In a number of instances the count of the word was as high as 15. This fundamentally reflects that these articles are truly about the nationalisation discourse. However, the story does not end there, the manner in which this discourse is represented is the main focus of this research study.

*Figure 6.4:* **Number of mentions of nationalisation**



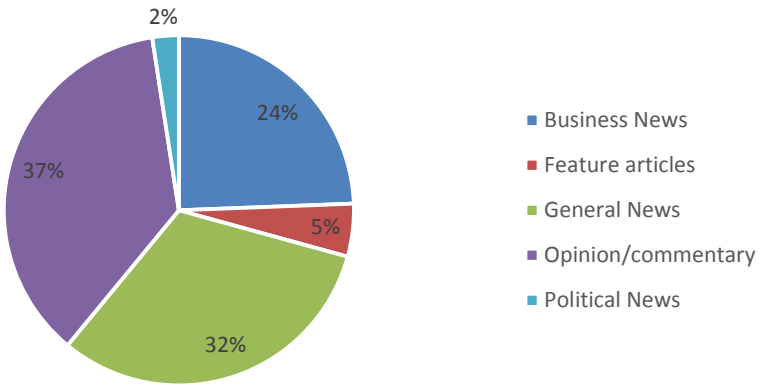

### 6.3.2 Location and genres of the articles

Now that the prominence of the discourse has been established, the focus shifts towards understanding the nature of this coverage. To do so, the research study analyses the location and genres of the articles. The placement of articles in newspapers is not a mere coincidence but rather an integral part of agenda-setting. It should be noted that the salient elements of the news agenda play a crucial role in influencing the public agenda. As Carroll (2004: 37) posits, "This influence process begins with the agenda of objects receiving prominent attention in the mass media". This assertion on agenda-setting is premised on McCombs' (2002) view that the media has power to set a nation's agenda and direct the public's focus and attention to a few key public issues.

> Newspapers provide a host of cues about the salience of the topics in the daily news – lead story on page one, other front page display, large headlines, etc. Television news also offers numerous cues about salience – the opening story on the newscast, length of time devoted to the story, etc. These cues repeated day after day effectively communicate the importance of each topic. In other words, the news media can set the agenda for the public's attention to that small group of issues around which public opinion forms (McCombs, 2002: 1).

In this regard, to understand the placement of articles in newspapers is to reveal the posture of the newspaper on the subject matter itself. In as far as the placement of articles on nationalisation is concerned, it emerges that opinion pieces and commentaries, which include editorials, constitute the majority of the articles, with 37 per cent in all publications (see Figure 6.5).

*Figure 6.5:* **No. of articles per section**




This genre is followed closely by general news (32 per cent) and business news (24 per cent). Feature articles and political news constitute only 7 per cent. According to the DCU School of Communication report (2009), this ought to be a significant finding as the newspaper's editorial, for example, is considered to reflect the operation of news value in the newspaper overall. Therefore, the attention given to the nationalisation discourse by the editorial desks reflects the importance the discourse is accorded. Furthermore, what is important about opinion articles, in particular editorials, is that they allow the newspaper to express an opinion on topics of major concern over and above just producing the statement of the powerful through their processes (Hall et al., 1978). The newspaper process often give space to people who share similar views on a major topic to express these views under the guise of independent or expert opinion. However, sometimes newspapers use their editorial judgement to express their opinion using language similar to that used elsewhere in the paper. Hall et al. (1978: 63) argue that there is another type of editorial which actively claims to speak for the public – "the editorial which goes beyond expressing its own views in a public idiom and actually claims to be expressing the public's view". As Van Dijk (1991) argues, the function of editorials is to accuse or recommend.

These are not just innocent actions by the media but rather a reflection of structural process within the newspapers that propels them to actively campaign for particular viewpoints and thus shape public opinion. As Hall et al. point out,

> In either form of editorialising, the media provide a crucial mediating link between the apparatus of social control and the public. The press can legitimate and reinforce the actions

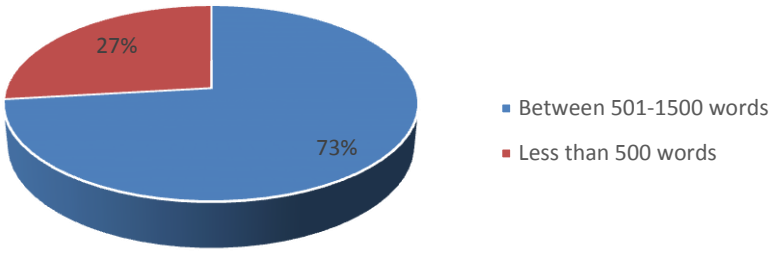
> of the controllers by bringing their own independent arguments to bear on the public in support of the actions proposed… or it can bring pressure to bear on the controllers by summoning up 'public opinion' in support of its own views that 'stronger measures are needed'… (Hall *et al.*, 1978: 63).

The picture emerging here resonates with theories of agenda-setting and social production of news, among others. From these articles it is apparent that the print media, through their processes, reinforced a particular viewpoint using opinion articles.

### 6.3.3 Length of the articles

In as far as the length of articles is concerned, most articles are of small to medium size. As Figure 6.6 reveals, the most common size of articles for the whole sample is between 501 and 1 500 words, this constitutes 73 per cent of all sampled articles. On the other hand, only 27 per cent of the sampled articles are less than 500 words. There are no articles over 1 500 words.

*Figure 6.6:* **Length of articles**




While it appears that 501 to 1 500 words is the usual length of a newspaper article, the length paints a vital picture. It can thus be concluded that newspapers do not seem to have taken time to plan for and execute lengthier feature articles with detailed research and investigation on the drivers of this discourse. Instead, they rely heavily on events and views of primary definers, hence the length of these articles. Indeed, the length of the story indicates its importance since space is contested; therefore any story covered by the paper is an indication of the importance of the subject matter to the paper (Radebe, 2007).

## 6.4 Structure of the articles

### 6.4.1 Importance of structural elements

In performing content analysis of the nationalisation discourse in the corporate print media, it becomes paramount to acknowledge the structure of news in general. Hall et al. (1978: 53) point out that the end product in news is not necessarily what is newsworthy but "…is the end-product of a complex process which begins with a systematic sorting and selecting of events and topics according to a socially constructed set of categories". Furthermore, in analysing the nationalisation discourse, it is equally crucial to be mindful of the aspects which impact the selection of news and, according to Hall et al. (1978), are manifested through organisational routines:

> Given that the organisation and staffing of a paper regularly direct it to certain categories of items, there is still the problem of selecting, from the many contending items within any one category, those that are felt will be of interest to the reader. This is where the professional ideology of what constitutes 'good news' – the newsman's sense of news values – begins to structure the process (Hall et al., 1978: 53).

Therefore, this section scrutinises the structure of articles on the nationalisation discourse. This focus will assist in unraveling further the posture and stance of newspapers on this topic. As reflected above, newsworthy events are determined by the powerful, social ideologies and organisational routines as argued by Gans (1979) and Tuchman (1978):

> …powerful elite groups and institutions, especially in the corporate and political domain, are able to partly control their access to, as well as their portrayal in the media. They have effectively organised access through press offices, press releases, press conferences, and in addition they have partial control over news-gathering and portrayal by strategic leaks, personal contacts, financial incentives, or various forms of retaliation against non-complying reporters or newspapers (cited in Van Dijk, 1991: 40).

In this regard and in order to examine the structure of news, it is useful to look at other aspects such as headlines, leads, location of articles, visual images, sources and thematic organisation to gain insight into the treatment of this discourse (Radebe, 2007). This section also assesses the manner in which the articles are portrayed – that is, whether they are positive, negative or neutral. In this case a positive article is one that portrays the discourse favourably and in the process concurring with the proponents of the discourse. On the other hand, a negative article will portray the discourse unfavourably by, for example, advancing reasons why nationalisation

is a bad idea. A neutral article treats the discourse in a balanced manner, giving all sides an equal opportunity to state their case. In reality, however, neutrality often suggests an element of bias against a particular position. It is also important to note that "positive, negative, or neutral tone in campaign news stories (and often does) come about because of media choices and emphasis, rather than solely because of events, advertising, and behaviours that occur during campaign" (Dunaway, 2013: 25). Therefore, the analysis of the nationalisation discourse is mindful of this reality.

However, it is also important to note Paul and Elder's (2006: 8) postulation that in the realm of uncritical thinking people usually regard those that they agree with as objective and those who do not agree with their worldview as biased. "The media therefore present liberal or conservative slants on the news in accordance with their audience's views." Furthermore, it is crucial to recognise that articles on nationalisation are equally prone to be affected by bias since any form of writing "can take on the character of propaganda when it is written to 'glorify' or 'demonise' certain groups of people by suppressing or ignoring information that does not support its preconceptions and favoured ideology" (Paul and Elder, 2006: 8). Fundamentally, when it comes to ideologically laden discourses such as nationalisation, the media, through primary definers, pursues an agenda that seeks to validate neo-liberal policies. Furthermore, "The major media and press in all countries of the world present events to the world in terms that presuppose or imply the 'correctness' of the ideology (or ideologies) dominant in the country" (Paul and Elder, 2006: 12). In this regard, we must be cognisant of the fact that corporate media news "is inevitably based on a sociocentric view of the world" – in other words, social convention, beliefs, taboos seen as "the only correct way to think and live" (Paul and Elder, 2006: 12). Therefore, paying close attention to headlines of articles, leads in articles and tone of the coverage will help this research study unpack some of the factors behind the representation of the discourse.

### 6.4.2 Headlines of articles

Van Dijk (1991: 50) argues that headlines have very important textual and cognitive functions since "…they are the most conspicuous part of a news report: they are brief, printed 'on top', in large bold type, and often across several columns. Their main function is to summarize the most important information of the report". Therefore, not only do headlines direct the reader's attention to the news report but, because they are usually the first part of the article that draws

the attention of the reader, they define the news article (Radebe, 2007) and thus serve as an import aspect in informing and influencing the reader on a specific subject.

*Figure 6.7:* **Type of headlines of articles**

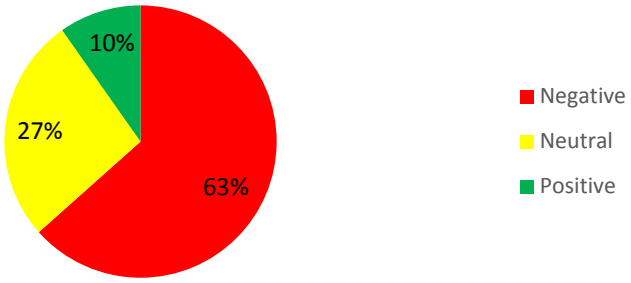



Figure 6.7 reveals the tone of the headlines in nationalisation articles. The majority of the headlines are negative towards nationalisation, with 63 per cent of articles. This is followed by 27 per cent neutral headlines and only 10 per cent positive headlines. Furthermore, it emerges that that the majority of negative headlines are in dailies. Neutral and positive headlines are spread equally among dailies and weeklies, with 5 and 6 neutral headlines and 2 positive headlines respectively (see Table 6.2).

***Table 6.2, Headlines per type of newspaper***

| | | **Positive** | **Negative** | **Neutral** | **Total** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Type of newspaper | Weekly | 2 | 7 | 5 | 14 |
| | Daily | 2 | 19 | 6 | 27 |
| Total | | 4 | 26 | 11 | 41 |

The picture that emerges from studying the headlines is that, from the onset, the reader is confronted by a discourse that has a negative tone before they even proceed further to read the lead sentence of the article. The combined effects of this, coupled with other elements in these articles, can be located within the boarder theories of political economy of the media. This point is further elaborated later.

### 6.4.3 Leads in articles

One of the important aspects of news articles is the lead or the opening paragraph because, just as in any form of writing, this can make or break the story (Radebe, 2007). As Bond (1995: 156) posits, "The convention has developed of telling the main facts of a news story in its first lead paragraph", as present-day readers resemble the man who both "runs and reads" and thus expect to get their information crisply and upfront. However, this must be understood in the broader context of the social production of news. As argued by the Glasgow University Media Group (1976, 1980), the structures of headlines, leads and the overall selection of newsworthy topics are indirectly controlled by the societal context of power relations. Therefore, the tone of the leads in these articles must be understood in this context.

*Figure 6.8:* **Type of leads in articles**

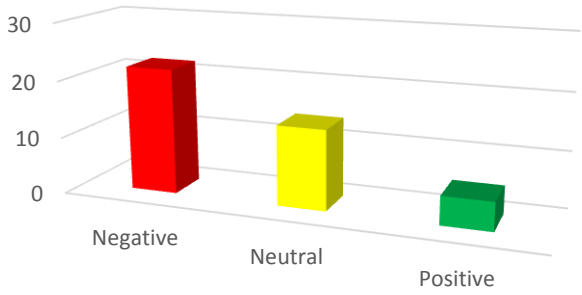


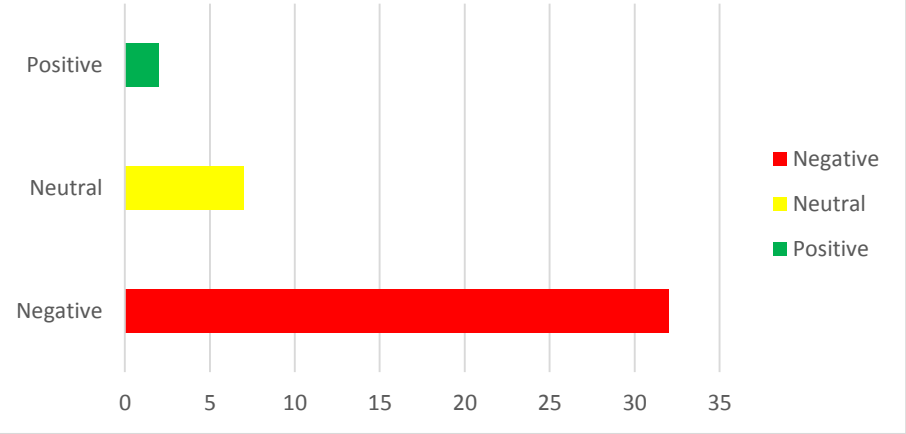

Figure 6.8 reveals that 54 per cent of the leads in articles are against nationalisation, with 34 per cent neutral and only 12 per cent positive. This finding is in line with that for headlines, and therefore reaffirms the conclusion that, on the basis of these two elements, the nationalisation discourse is generally portrayed negatively. This supports the assumption of the research study that structural factors of the corporate media pre-direct ideologically laden discourse towards a neo-liberal framework. Furthermore, there appears to be a link between headlines and leads, as reflected in the article "Nationalisation debate 'worries investors'" in the *Business Day* of 29 June 2011. The headline of this article suggests that this debate is not good for the economic growth of the country which is partly investor-driven. Linked to this article is the lead "The debate about nationalisation of SA's mines is damaging investor confidence in the country and could hinder companies' ability to raise capital towards sustaining or growing production, Impala (Implats) CEO David Brown said yesterday". This lead expands from the headline to drive home the point about nationalisation. This is also the case even in the few positive

articles. For example, in the article "NUM wants mines to be nationalised" in the *Sowetan* of 15 November 2011, the lead says, "The National Union of Mineworkers [NUM] wants mines to be nationalised to benefit ordinary South Africans". Once again, the lead takes forward the headline, therefore confirming a dialectical link between the two elements. This combination is discussed further in the next section.

### 6.4.4 The tone of the coverage

The combined effects of headlines and leads are thus likely to have an impact on the rest of the article, which tends to reflect the overall tone of the nationalisation discourse. Figure 6.9 shows the extent to which the coverage could be regarded as positive, neutral or negative.

*Figure 6.9:* **Tone of coverage of articles**




It emerges that 78 per cent (32) of the articles can be considered to have a negative tone against nationalisation, with 17 per cent (7) neutral and only 5 per cent (2) positive. This overall tone can partly be understood in the context of the social production of news which, according to Hall et al. (1978), involves an orientation to items which are "out of the ordinary" and events that concern the elites. In this context, "…journalists will tend to play up the extraordinary, dramatic and tragic elements in a story in order to enhance its newsworthiness…" (Hall et al., 1978: 53–4). Therefore, the chances of increased negativity rise. Fundamentally, this bias can be understood in the context of the critical political economy of the media which draws on "Marx's theory of capital in order to understand the role of media and communication in the accumulation of capital" (Ekman, 2012: 162). In other words, representation of the nationalisation discourse cannot be understood outside of the ideological dimension of media

content and the structural relation of news systems to capital. "The ideological element is crucial to the reproduction of capitalism in various ways, economically, politically, juridical and so forth. For example, the media have a powerful position in reifying social relations by normalising and facilitating the privatisation of everyday life" (Ekman, 2012: 162).

Therefore, the overwhelmingly negative tone against nationalisation partly reflects the capitalist posture of the corporate print media. In the South African context this could be considered part of the anti-transformation agenda which seeks to protect the economic privileges of the white minority as a result of centuries of colonial dispossession and decades of apartheid colonialism against the majority Africans. In the views of Duncan (2013), the problem also emanates from the explosive growth of business journalism in South Africa, which has led to the beat becoming coveted, as well as the conflation of "economics journalism" with "business journalism". The implication has been that "…journalism should be inherently supportive of free market economics, and not open itself up to critiques of this form of economics: a form of socialisation that most likely carries over into newsroom practices" (Duncan, 2013: 24).

Another way to view these articles is through the decolonial perspective, as they prioritise attention to continued colonial power dynamics through the articulation of the capitalist world system. As Escobar (2007) argues, and is overtly reflected in the representation of nationalisation, it is assumed that European civilisation is superior; this is coupled with the arrogance that the Global North's, Europe in particular, development must be followed by all without question. This superiority complex permeates the discourse and is often presented as investor concerns. For example, it is argued that "North American and European investors, which make up about half of Implat's share register, have expressed worry about the debate" (*Business Day*, 29 June 2011). The logic here is that debates about South African problems must be contingent to the whims of the Global North; if it worries the Global North then the debate must be reconsidered. Also it is argued that the best examples to be followed are those from Europe. For example: "The Czech Republic did it with amazing results that brought dramatic improvements in social and economic standards" (*Daily News*, 28 July 2011). Generally, only bad examples from Africa are selected, as reflected in this paragraph:

> Look at the history of post-colonial Africa: the initial euphoria with governments taking over all existing wealth, then the years of opulence when officials, politicians and the elite few grow rich, become smug, and finally the corruption, the greed and the infighting (Embling, 2011: 20).

The underlying message is that the only good lessons are European; anything else is uncivilised and backward: "In some instances, in countries like Uganda, the state has re-privatised banking by selling off its co-called asset back to commercial banks. Hardly a profitable exercise" (Ensor, 2011: 4).

Furthermore, the findings in this section enhance the empirical evidence on the partisan media bias on ideological discourses, and reaffirms previous scholarly demonstrations regarding "…the increasing journalistic tendency to focus disproportionately on the negative and deliver the political news with a certain degree of disdain towards our governmental institutions and the politician within them" (Dunaway, 2013: 24). Fundamentally, and as Dunaway (2013) advances, the negativity bias in the news stems from profit-making objectives; similarly, the overwhelming negative bias in the nationalisation discourse must be viewed in the same light.

> If the negativity bias in the news stems from profit making objectives they may also predict the tone of campaign news more generally … news outlet ownership structures and economic incentives, coupled with political context, influence the likelihood of positive, neutral, or negative tone in campaign news (Dunaway, 2013: 24).

This assertion and the above findings validate the assumption of this research study that structural factors like ownership affect the portrayal of the nationalisation discourse.

### 6.4.5 Sources of news

#### 6.4.5.1 The significance of sources

Another component that reveals the forces behind the news production process and consequently the framing and representation of events is the source of news. As Shoemaker (1991) posits, journalists depend on various institutions for crucial information while on the other hand these institutions conduct public relations campaigns, often using the media to focus public attention. "To the extent that these campaigns are successful, media content is affected directly (through the publication of press releases)…." (Shoemaker, 1991: 67) An example that this research study will revisit later is the Free Market Foundation. The details of sources quoted in articles further divulge "… whose comments are reported are valuable as they tell us something about how stories might be generated or verified, or whose viewpoint or reaction is

considered important or required from the newspaper's point of view" (DCU School of Communication, 2009: 18). In this regard, it is important to note Hall et al.'s (1978: 57) assertion that paying attention to routine structures of news production is crucial to determine how the media "…reproduce the definitions of the powerful, without being, in simple sense, in their pay". It is in this context that primary and secondary definers of social events are delineated.

Briefly, this concept is premised on a fact that the media do not independently create news but rather are directed to new topics and issues by institutional sources (Hall et al., 1978). Because of this dependency, journalists strategically position themselves such that they have direct access to institutions that generate useful information for reporting on regular basis:

> Some of these institutions do, of course, make themselves visible by means of dramatization, or through press releases and press agents. Others are known to regularly produce consequential events. The courts, sports grounds and parliament mechanically manufacture news which is ... assimilated by the press (Paul Rock, 1974 in Hall et al., 1978: 57).

One other factor is the internal pressure of news production, which is even more pronounced in the days of shrinking newsrooms and reduced resource allocation. News sources with adequate resources to preschedule their activities leave journalists with little option but to depend on them for news production (Hall et al., 1978). Another crucial aspect that feeds into the notion of dependency on primary definers is the professional ideology relating to the notions of impartiality, balance and objectivity. On this point, Hall et al. (1978: 58) argue that "…these professional rules give rise to the practice of ensuring that media statements are, wherever possible, grounded in 'objective' and 'authoritative' statements from 'accredited' sources". The fact of the matter is that all these factors advantage the views of some section of society and "…establish the initial definition or primary interpretation of the topic in question" (Hall et al., 1978: 58), which sets the tone for subsequent engagement. "Arguments against a primary interpretation are forced to insert themselves into its definition of 'what is at issue' – they must begin from this framework of interpretation as their starting-point" (Hall et al., 1978: 58). This is the context within which sources in articles on the nationalisation discourse should be perceived.

However, this research study is mindful of the reality that social media has become a ''global phenomenon'' (Pew, 2010: 1 cited in Hermida et al., 2012). Social media pervades every

stratum of society, including media organisations that use it to distribute content; "individual journalists have incorporated social media into daily routines as a way to share content, develop relationships and build community" (Hermida et al., 2012; also see Farhi, 2009). Another crucial aspect of the social media that emerged during the upheavals in Egypt and Tunisia, commonly referred to as the Arab Spring, is the utilisation of social media as a source of news, especially in countries where journalists were either harassed or banned. As Howard and Hussain (2011: 45) posit, "These digital networks gave Al Jazeera's journalists access to more sources, and gave a second life to their news products". With a mobile phone penetration of 133 per cent, 24.9 million Internet users (a 46 per cent penetration) and 11.8 million social media users,[28] South Africa has not escaped this phenomenon – witness the Oscar Pistorius murder trial[29] which started in 2013, as well as the 2015 #RhodesMustFall[30] and #FeesMustFall[31] student campaigns. These did not only see the social media used as a mobilisation tool but as a source of news for many journalists, who relied on the social media for student leaders to update their demands and announce their next move.

#### 6.4.5.2 Number of sources per article

As a start, Figure 6.10 reveals the number of sources used in each article. It emerges that 27 per cent of the articles have more than four sources, while 24 per cent have no sources at all. A

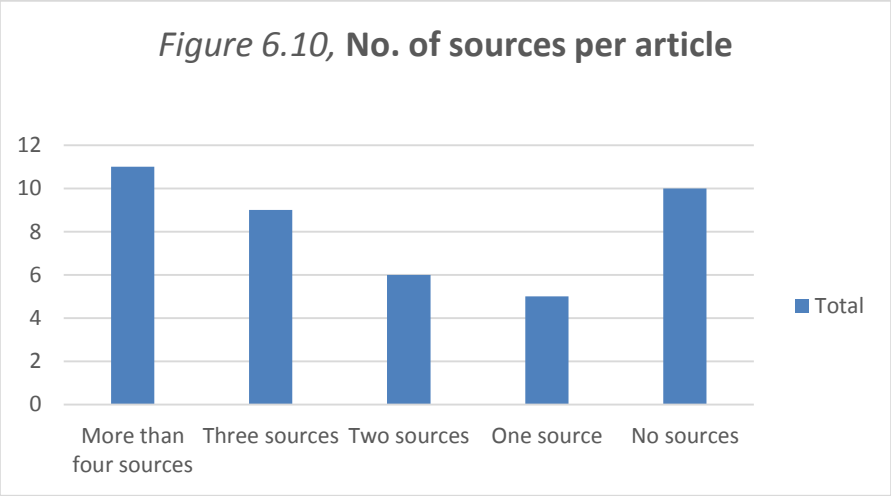
[28] See http://www.htxt.co.za/2015/01/21/what-do-sas-24-9-mil-internet-users-spend-most-of-their-time-doing-online/

[29] The trial of Oscar Pistorius for the murder of Reeva Steenkamp and several gun-related charges (*The State vs Oscar Pistorius*) in the High Court of South Africa in Pretoria opened on 3 March 2014. Pistorius was a leading South African runner, who won attention as an athlete with a disability competing at a high level, including at multiple Paralympic Games and the 2012 Summer Olympics. Steenkamp, a model, was his girlfriend. In the early morning of Thursday, 14 February 2013, Steenkamp was shot and killed by Pistorius at his Pretoria home (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trial_of_Oscar_Pistorius).

[30] Rhodes Must Fall (#RhodesMustFall, @RhodesMustFall) is a protest movement that began on 9 March 2015, originally directed against a statue at the University of Cape Town (UCT) that commemorates Cecil Rhodes. The campaign for the statue's removal received global attention and led to a wider movement to "decolonise" education across South Africa. On 9 April 2015, following a UCT Council vote the previous night, the statue was removed (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rhodes_Must_Fall).

[31] #FeesMustFall is a student-led protest movement that began in mid October 2015 in response to an increase in fees at South African universities. The protests also called for higher wages for low-earning university staff who worked for private contractors such as cleaning services and campus security, and for them to be employed directly by universities. Protests started at the University of the Witwatersrand and spread to the University of Cape Town and Rhodes University before rapidly spreading to other universities across the country (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/FeesMustFall).

further 22 per cent have three sources, 15 per cent have two and only 12 per cent have one source. The overall picture is that 76 per cent of the articles have sources.




It is important to recall the split of articles between opinion and hard news articles. In this regard Table 6.3 reveals that of all the sources 59 per cent are in news articles, 37 per cent in opinion pieces and the remaining 4 per cent in features.

***Table 6.3, No. of sources in articles vs type of articles***

| **Section of newspaper** | **One source** | **Two sources** | **Three sources** | **More than four sources** | **No sources** | **Total** |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| General News | 1 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 1 | 13 |
| Opinion/commentary | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 9 | 15 |
| Business News | 2 | 1 | 3 | 4 | 0 | 10 |
| Political News | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Feature articles | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| **Total** | 5 | 6 | 9 | 11 | 10 | 41 |

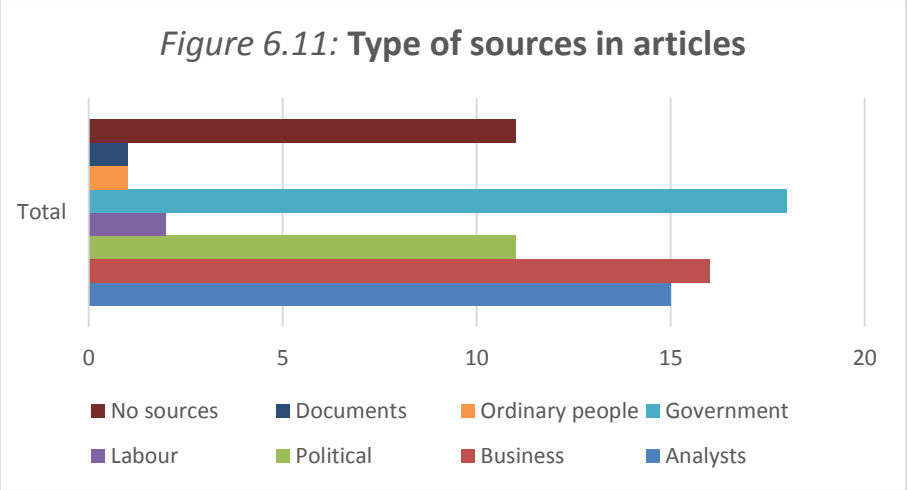
On the basis of this, and in line with theories of social production of news, it can be concluded that articles on nationalisation take their cues from primary definers. For example, the article "Nationalisation debate goes on" in the *Sunday Independent* of 20 November 2011, while it mentions the ANC Youth League and Julius Malema in the lead, first quotes chief executive of the South African Chamber of Mines Bheki Sibiya saying that the removal of Malema would "complicate our lives". Next to be quoted is academic Steven Friedman who says,

> If you read the proposal this [nationalisation of mines] has nothing to do with poverty. Julius Malema is associated with tender practices and that is why there were parties in Limpopo and North West when the disciplinary committee found out that he ought to be suspended.

The Minister of Mineral Resources Susan Shabangu and the chief executive of Anglo American are both quoted as saying that nationalisation of mines would damage the economy. Roger Baxter, strategy executive for the mining chamber, is also given space to add his voice in opposing nationalisation, saying it would set South Africa back 30 years and not solve the unemployment problem. In the article, ANC spokesperson Jackson Mthembu and Secretary General Gwede Mantashe both reflect on the task team to investigate nationalisation of mines. Then it is the turn of the chief executives of Lonmin and Impala Platinum, Ian Farmer and David Brown, to express their views on the discourse and Malema's suspension. Apart from mentioning Julius Malema a number of times, the article makes no attempt to give space to Malema or his organisation to defend and elucidate their call. It also does not give other organisations such as COSATU and some of its affiliated unions who supported the call a chance to explain their viewpoint. Out of the nine sources used, all rubbished the idea of the nationalisation of mines. This is a clear example of how the discourse is framed by the South Africa corporate media using primary definers to validate the views.

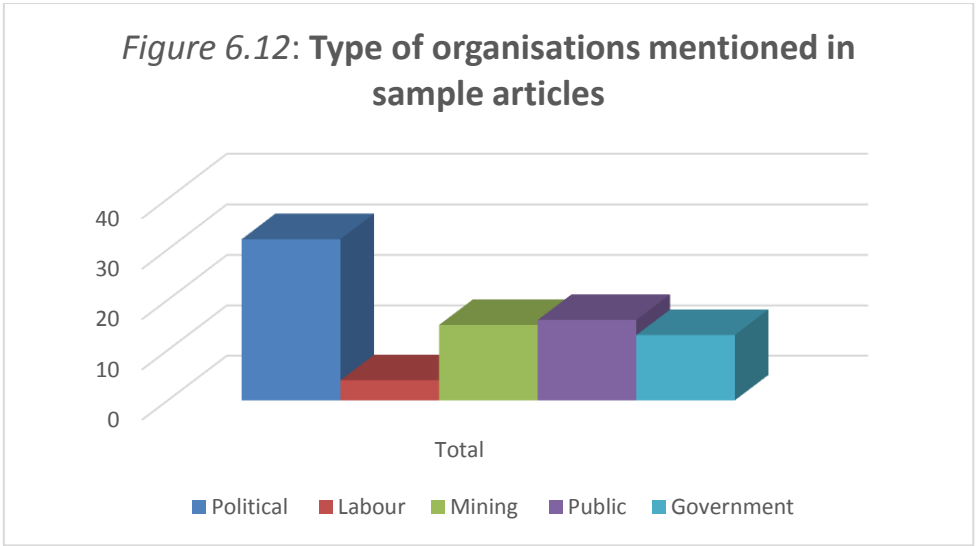
#### 6.4.5.3 Type of sources in articles

In order to understand further the representation of this discourse, it becomes paramount to unpack the type of sources in articles. In this vein, Figure 6.11 reveals that 44 per cent of the articles cite government officials, 39 per cent cite business representatives, and 37 per cent cite analysts or commentators. A further 27 per cent of articles quote representatives from political organisations, with a paltry 5 per cent of articles citing labour organisation representatives and even worse, only 2 per cent (one article) citing an ordinary person. The picture that emerges here confirms the assertion advanced above that the corporate media largely depends on primary definers to set the tone on emerging topics. The fact that the people who started the discourse, the ANC Youth League and their supporters, argued that such a policy would benefit ordinary people and workers seems to have done very little to sway the media to use other sources to advance the debate.




#### 6.4.5.4 Type of organisations mentioned in articles

To test further the assertion on the primary definers, the research study focuses its attention on the type of organisations mentioned in articles. Figure 6.12 shows that political organisations have the highest number of mentions (35 per cent) as compared to public organisations (18 per cent), which includes the likes of Eskom). In particular, the ANCYL and its mother body the ANC are the two dominant political organisations, as reflected in the next chapter. This is followed closely by mining organisations (16 per cent) and government departments (14 per cent). Labour organisations account for a low 4 per cent of organisations mentioned.



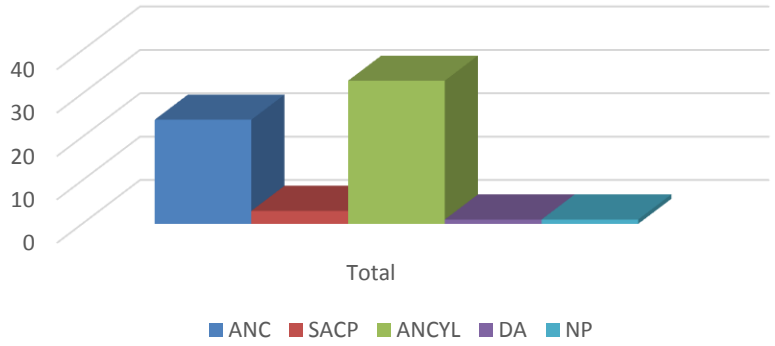

It is therefore quite apparent that the nationalisation discourse is framed from a political economy perspective rather than from a labour perspective, for example. This paints a picture

where a particular section of society is privileged over the other. However, this is not a deliberate effort by the corporate media but rather an end product of news production processes as discussed earlier.

#### 6.4.5.5 Political organisations in articles

To decipher further the framing of nationalisation from the political perspective, it is important to analyse political organisations mentioned in articles. As reflected in Figure 6.13, the ANCYL has the highest number of mentions (53 per cent) followed by the ANC (37 per cent) and the SACP (5 per cent). Therefore, it follows that these articles were premised on the ANC Youth League argument on the nationalisation of mines.

*Figure 6.13:* **Frequency of mentions of political organisations**




The ANC's view on this matter as the ruling party, as well as those of some of its Alliance partners, appears to be important for the media. Other political organisations were hardly mentioned in these articles. However, an interesting picture emerges when the articles mentioning the three main political organisations are analysed further. As Table 6.4 reflects, 79 per cent of the articles where the ANCYL is mentioned are framed negatively towards nationalisation. This trend follows with the ANC where 83 per cent of the articles are negative, as well as the SACP where two out of the three articles are negative. However, it should be noted that since the majority of the articles are negative towards nationalisation, therefore sources in these articles are used to reinforce the negative tone. For example, mining companies tend to be mentioned in articles that are negative towards nationalisation. Strangely, in most if not all instances, these sources (political organisations, mining organisations and government)

are opposed to the proposal of nationalisation, either regarding this as an ill-advised proposition or as not being government policy. It could thus be argued that those used as primary definers are used to advance counter argument against nationalisation.

On rare occasions where the SACP came out in full support of nationalisation, the article does not go into detail on the rationale behind the support but instead prioritises other issues such as the National General Council and national conference of the ANC as well as disciplinary processes against ANC Youth League president Julius Malema. In the article "Nationalisation calls grow" in *The Times* of 4 July 2015, the lead states "SA Communist Party general secretary Blade Nzimande says the party supports the ANC Youth League's nationalisation calls – but some of them are not 'genuine' and must be discussed". In this instance, the support for nationalisation is qualified by questioning whether or not the call for nationalisation is genuine. Later on in the article Nzimande says, "[Though nationalisation] is something that we have always supported, we do not believe that some of the calls are genuine". In this context, the discussion on nationalisation is completely lost in the intra-ANC-led Alliance politics, notwithstanding the fact that the nationalisation call was purely dependent on the support of the ANC and its adoption as policy in these conferences.

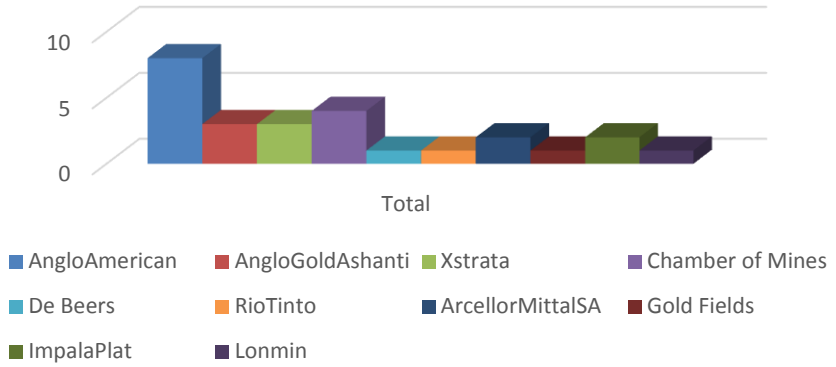
***Table 6.4: Political organisations vs type of articles***

| | | Types of articles | | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Positive | Negative | Neutral | |
| Political organisations | ANC | 0 | 19 | 4 | 23 |
| | ANCYL | 2 | 26 | 5 | 33 |
| | SACP | 1 | 2 | 0 | 3 |

### 6.4.5.6 Mining organisations in articles

Other than political public organisations, mining companies are used extensively as sources. This is motivated by the fact that the discourse was initially framed by the ANCYL as nationalisation of mines. The three mentioned most often are Anglo American (20 per cent), followed by the Chamber of Mines (10) and Anglo Gold Ashanti and Xstrata (7 per cent each) (see Figure 6.14).

*Figure* 6.14: **Mining organistions mentioned the most in articles**




As is to be expected, these organisations are vehemently opposed to nationalisation, citing many examples on why it is a bad idea and therefore should be opposed. For example, in the article "The path to nationalisation" in *FinWeek* of 18 August 2011, Anglo American CEO Cynthia Carroll argues: "International businesses have choices to make between investment opportunities in different jurisdictions. Countries that maintain a stable and fair fiscal regime will inevitably be more attractive investment destinations than those that do not." Investor confidence and threats to pull out of the country are major weapons for mining executives. Little attention is given to explain the mines' contribution to addressing the country's intractable socio-economic challenges.

#### 6.4.5.7 Top government departments and officials in articles

Some government departments and their officials, such as the Department of Mineral Resources and its minister, were inevitably drawn into this discourse due to the manner in which it was framed. Nationalisation was framed as a policy that would soon become government policy. In this regard the top three departments that are mentioned frequently, as reflected in Figure 6.15, are Mineral Resources (20 per cent), followed by the Departments of Finance and Public Enterprise (12 per cent each). The Departments of Economic Development and Energy were also mentioned in these articles.

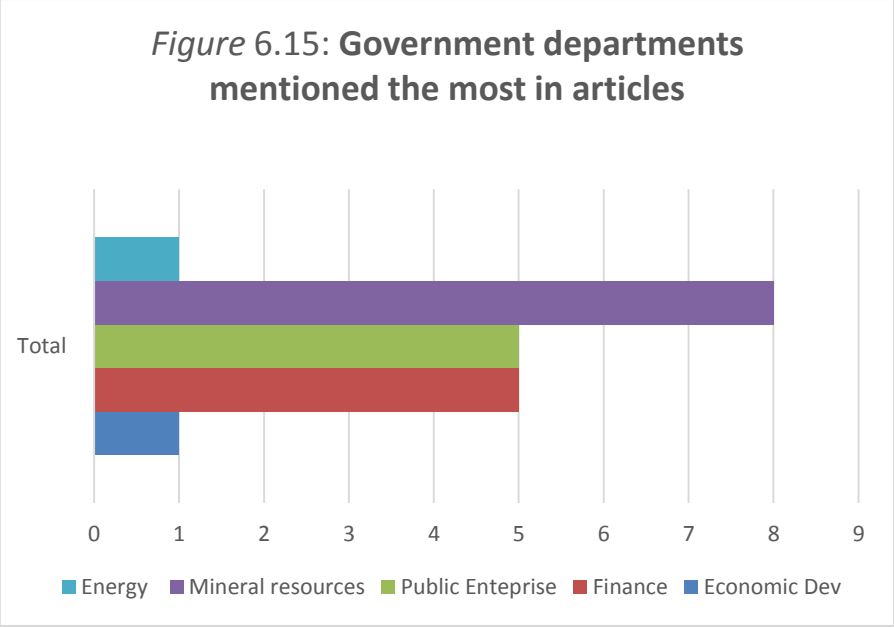



Table 6.5 reveals top government officials mentioned in articles. President Jacob Zuma and Mineral Resource Minister Susan Shabangu are the most mentioned government officials (17 per cent each). They are followed by Finance Minister Pravin Gordhan and Public Enterprises Minister Malusi Gigaba (10 per cent each).

***Table 6.5: Government officials mentioned the most in article***

| **Government official** | **Department** | **No. of mentions** |
|---|---|---|
| Jacob Zuma | Presidency | 7 |
| Susan Shabangu | Mineral resources | 7 |
| Pravin Gordhan | Finance | 4 |
| Malusi Gigaba | Public enterprise | 4 |

President Zuma is drawn into this discourse by trying to clarify his government's policy position on the nationalisation of mines. For example, in the *Business Day* article of 28 February 2011 titled "Nationalisation not policy, Zuma says", the President finds himself having to explain his government policy position on this matter. He says, "Government policy on minerals and mining does not make provision for the nationalisation of mining assets, but does not prevent the state from participating actively in mining and competing with other companies". At the same time, the President has to deal with harsh criticism from the media on how his government is handling the discourse, in particular as it relates to investment conditions and economic policy. An example of this is an article "Muddled messages" in the *Financial Mail* of 11 March 2011, where columnist Barney Mthombothi accuses President

Zuma of being part of the problem. "His failure to lead has left a vacuum at every centre of power which various individuals have been quick to appropriate for themselves."

Equally, ministers like Susan Shabangu and Pravin Gordhan find themselves having to explain the government's policy on nationalisation. For example, in the article "Nationalisation talk costing SA – Shabangu" in the *Business Day* of 19 August 2011, Shabangu argues that the country has "lost out on foreign investment in the mining sector because the debate on nationalisation had scared away potential investors". In the same article the Minister of Public Enterprises Malusi Gigaba posits that "reckless nationalisation debate was deterring foreign investment". However, the article does not allow the ministers to explain further exactly how this debate is chasing away foreign investment, beyond expressing an opinion. In another article "Nationalisation debate should be orderly – Gordhan" in *The Star* of 5 September 2011, Gordhan argues that "The danger is that the nationalisation debate is mishandled, which could affect sentiment, undermine confidence and raise uncertainty regarding policy and policy direction".

In these articles, government officials and their departments are used as authorities to dismiss the debate as unhelpful, disorderly and costing the country. These primary sources are supported by mining officials and analysts to confirm this viewpoint. Little attention is given to other sources, especially those who support nationalisation, to provide balance to articles – not even as secondary sources.

#### 6.4.5.8 Public organisations in articles

Over and above government departments and their representatives, public organisations are also used as primary definers. In some instances, these organisations are used to counter the nationalisation debate by citing government's inability to make state-owned enterprises profitable. Figure 6.16 indicates that the most mentioned public organisations are the African Exploration Mining and Finance Corporation (AEMFC),[32] the National Planning Commission

[32] African Exploration Mining and Finance Corporation (SOC) Ltd (AEMFC) is the state-owned mining company established to secure South Africa's energy supply primarily through the mining and supply of coal for the generation of electricity, as well as securing other resources that will provide energy for the future, including key minerals for beneficiation in the energy and steel value chain (http://www.aemfc.co.za/about).

(NPC)[33] and the Public Investment Corporation (PIC)[34] with a combined total of 7 per cent of mentions. The next set of public organisations with high mentions includes Eskom,[35] Alexkor,[36] the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC),[37] Sasol[38] and Transnet[39] with a combined total of 5 per cent.

[33] The National Planning Commission was established in May 2010 to develop a long-term vision and strategic plan for South Africa. The main objective of the Commission is to rally the nation around a common set of objectives and priorities to drive development over the longer term. The Commission advises government on cross-cutting issues that influence the long-term development of South Africa (https://nationalplanningcommission.wordpress.com/).

[34] Established in 1911, the Public Investment Corporation (SOC) Limited is one of the largest investment managers in Africa today, managing assets of over R1.8 trillion and still growing. The PIC, a registered financial services provider, is wholly owned by the South African government, with the Minister of Finance as shareholder representative (http://www.pic.gov.za/).

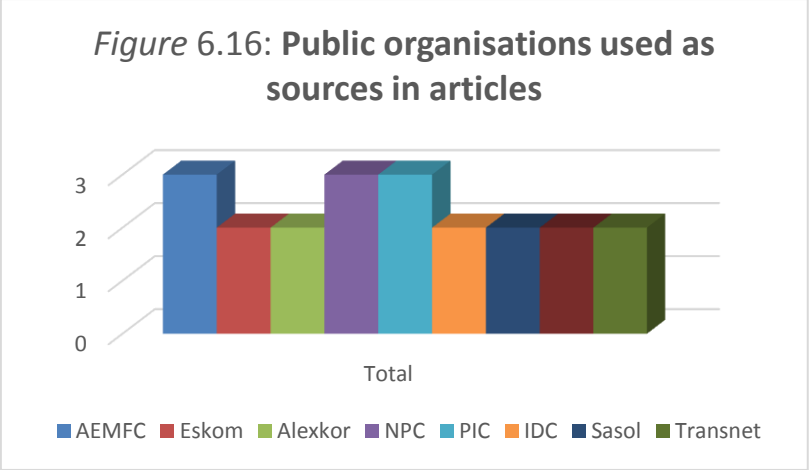
[35] Eskom is a South African public electricity utility, established in 1923 as the Electricity Supply Commission (ESCOM) by the government of South Africa in terms of the Electricity Act (1922). (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eskom).

[36] Alexkor was established in terms of the Alexkor Limited Act, No. 116 of 1992, and amended by the Alexkor Amendment Act, No. 29 of 2001. Alexkor is a listed schedule 2 public entity wholly owned by the government, with the Minister of Public Enterprises being the shareholder representative. The company has two business units, which are Alexander Bay Mining (Alexkor RMC JV) and the Alexkor corporate unit. The mining division is the core business of the company, exploiting a large land-based diamond resource and extensive diamondiferous marine deposits (http://www.alexkor.co.za/our-history.html).

[37] The Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa Limited (IDC) was established in 1940 by the Industrial Development Corporation Act, No. 22 of 1940, and is fully owned by the South African government. The IDC was mandated to develop domestic industrial capacity, specifically in manufactured goods, to mitigate the disruption of trade between Europe and South Africa during the Second World War (http://www.idc.co.za/about-the-idc.html).

[38] Sasol Limited is an integrated energy and chemical company now based in Johannesburg, South Africa. The company was formed in 1950 in Sasolburg, South Africa. It develops and commercialises chemical technologies, including synthetic fuels technologies, and produces various liquid fuels, chemicals and electricity (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sasol).

[39] Transnet SOC Ltd is a large South African rail, port and pipeline company, headquartered in Johannesburg. It was formed as a limited company on 1 April 1990. The majority of the company's stock is owned by the Department of Public Enterprises of the South African government. The company was formed by restructuring into business units the operations of South African Railways and Harbours and other existing operations and products (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Transnet).

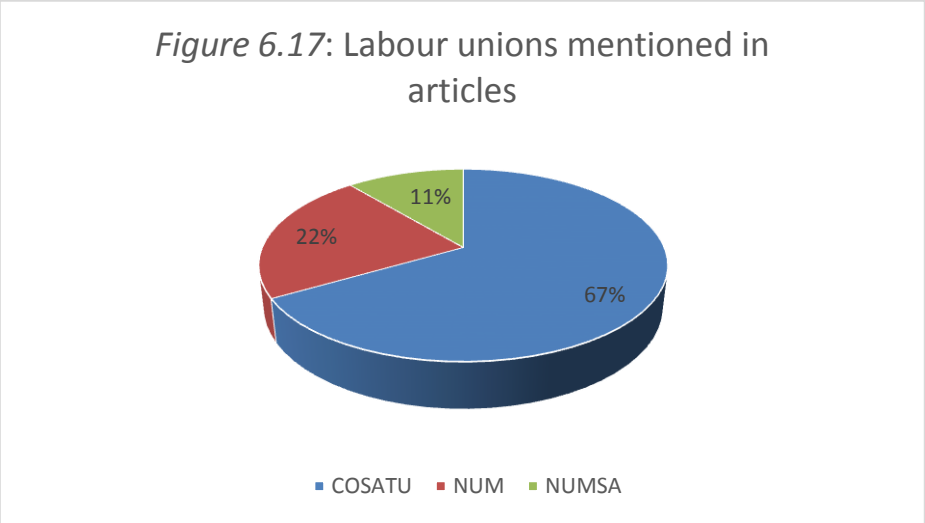



An example on how public organisations are used to counter nationalisation is reflected in an opinion piece "Nationalisation not the way" in *The Star* of 27 July 2011, where Leon Louw and Jasson Urbach use Alexkor to advance their viewpoint against nationalisation. They argue that "If the experience with state-owned mines is anything to go by, including our own Alexkor, the state may be better off investing surplus capital at fixed rates of return with private banks". In another piece in the *Business Day* of 14 March 2011, "Nationalisation talk is harming our reputation", Gavin Keeton uses the PIC to argue his case against nationalisation. He states that "Anglo American's second-largest shareholder is the Public Investment Corporation – the pension funds of South African public servants – which holds 5,5% of Anglo's shares with the value of R25bn. This is more than double Oppenheimer's stake." Therefore, Keeton's argument is that since the PIC holds this stake, the debate on the control of the mineral wealth of country should not arise. The logic is that since the PIC has a share larger than that of one white person, Oppenheimer, this should be enough to address the socio-economic challenges advanced by proponents of nationalisation.

#### 6.4.5.9 Labour organisations in articles

In the context of the nationalisation debate, it could be argued that organised labour is one sector that genuinely represents ordinary working-class people. Therefore, to understand its representation in this discourse is to partly understand the representation of ordinary working-class people in the print media. The fact that only a handful of articles have labour organisations or their representatives as sources is indicative of the manner and posture of the representation. In total only six articles (15 per cent) used labour organisations as sources. As

Figure 6.17 reflects, of these articles 67 per cent quoted COSATU, 22 per cent quoted NUM and 11 per cent quoted NUMSA.




In the few articles where organised labour was given a platform, these organisations came out in full support of nationalisation. Therefore, it could be argued that their marginalisation is as a result of their stance on the matter, since most articles oppose nationalisation. In the article "NUM wants mines to be nationalised" in the *Sowetan* of 15 November 2015, while the lead says "The National Union of Mineworkers wants mines to be nationalised to benefit ordinary South Africans", little further attention is paid to this bold assertion. Instead, the article goes on to quote both the then general secretary and president of the NUM on ANC National General Council and disciplinary processes on ANC Youth League President Julius Malema. In another article in *The Times* of 4 July 2015, "Nationalisation calls grow", the then COSATU general secretary Zwelinzima Vavi is cited in one sentence as having told e-tv that he supported the calls for the nationalisation of the country's mineral wealth. In another sentence at the end of the article, Irvin Jim, the general secretary of NUMSA, is also cited saying the resolutions adopted by the Youth League were in line with the views of COSATU and its affiliates. These articles illustrate the manner in which space for sentiments supporting nationalisation is diminished. Furthermore, the discourse is clouded by constant linkages with its originators, the ANC Youth League as represented by its president.

However, this marginalisation of the voice of the working class must be understood in the broader context of capitalism and its exploitation of the workers as its lifeblood (Harper, 2012).

In this regard, capitalist news media have a long history of undermining the genuine struggles of the workers. For example:

> In its very earliest days, the BBC proved its worth as a vehicle of state propaganda during the 1926 General Strike by banning the voices of strikers and supporting the state in the name of the 'national interest' – all the while maintaining a veneer of impartiality (Harper, 2012: 37).

Therefore, the corporate media's bias in privileging the views of the societal elites at the expense of the working class is well documented, as reflected by the likes of the Glasgow University Media Group (Harper, 2012). Consequently, the case of the nationalisation discourse in the corporate media enhances this postulation but also adds a new South African dimension that, over and above class, race and colonial dimensions must also be taken into account. Partly this can be located within the neo-liberal structures of power and race dynamics in the country. While monopoly capital as reflected in the ownership patterns of the media is gradually transforming from being a predominantly white terrain, with black control of media houses like Independent Media and Times Media Group, the structures of power as reflected in the decoloniality perspective persist. Therefore, the elitist agenda, as reflected in the sources of news, is perpetuated beyond race dynamics.

According to Harper (2012: 42), "the Glasgow University Media Group's study of the news coverage of the 1972 Leyland strike suggests the media normally casts strikers as unpatriotic wreckers of national interest". It would therefore be naïve to expect anything different from the capitalist media since, as argued earlier, the structural factors of the corporate media and its location within the market forces influences it to portray issues of the workers unfavourably, nationalisation included. Just like the framing of the nationalisation discourse, "framing strikes as public inconvenience clearly helps to erode public support for the cause of strikers, whose opinions are seldom registered in news reports" (Harper, 2012: 44). Therefore, the marginalisation of the workers confirms the assertion that the debate on nationalisation is perceived as an inconvenience that must be discredited so that is does not garner any public support.

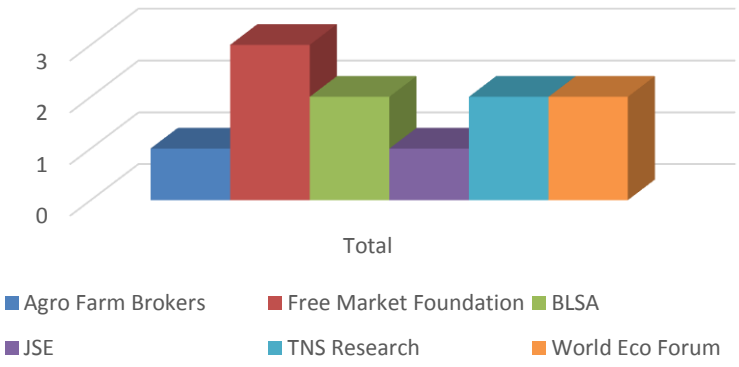
#### 6.4.5.10 Private organisations in articles

The media do not create news nor do they deliberately transmit the ideology of the "ruling class", but equally they are not "primary definers" of news. It is fundamental to acknowledge

that "…their structured relationship to power has the effect of making them play a crucial but secondary role in reproducing the definitions of those who have privileged access, as of right, to the media as 'accredited sources'" (Hall et al., 1978: 59). Therefore, in analysing private organisations in these articles, it is important to take this into account.

Figure 6.18 highlights that the Free Market Foundation (FMF) has the most mentions (7 per cent) followed by Business Leadership South Africa (BLSA), TNS Research and World Economic Forum with 5 per cent.

*Figure* 6.18: **Private organisations used as sources in articles**




In particular, the FMF and BLSA are used as authorities to dismiss nationalisation as a detrimental and dangerous policy. The FMF issued media releases, hosted seminars to which the media was invited and even wrote a book on nationalisation. This organisation is given ample space to express its views on the matter, unlike the other side of the spectrum, the ANC Youth League in particular which started and championed this debate. Three articles portray this point.

The first, "Debate on nationalisation is pointless when the evidence looms so large" in the *Daily News* of 28 July 2011 authored by Themba A Nolutshungu (the director of the FMF) and Gert Jourbet, argues that the dramatic collapse of the socialist system across the world is empirical evidence that nationalised industries and economies fail. Then they quickly remove China from this category and posit that it owes its growth as the second largest economy globally to the liberalisation of its economy. "It is baffling that South African policy makers are seriously contemplating such demonstrably disastrous policy", they argue. As is to be expected,

this article is deliberately mute on many socio-economic issues that affect the working-class communities as a result of neo-liberal policies. It is silent on the disaster of inequality, poverty and unemployment created and entrenched by current neo-liberal policies.

In the second article, "Nationalisation would cut black ownership – FMF" in *The Star* of 28 November 2011, the organisation argues that the effects of nationalisation on the advancement of black people could result in a reduction in black ownership. This, the organisation claims, is based on a study of countries that had nationalised key industries. FMF economist Vivian Atud says, "Black participation in the mining sector would increase if fostered through education, training and entrepreneurship, and … easier access to finance". The article goes on to mention only one country – Zambia's copper mining nationalisation – after highlighting in its intro "a study of countries that had nationalised". Apart from whipping up emotions, there is very little empirical evidence provided by FMF on how nationalisation will cut back black ownership. Furthermore, no context is provided on the South African history of colonial dispossession and colonial apartheid oppression and the transformation agenda that seeks to reverse these. Instead, the key message that emerges is that "blacks" need to be educated, trained to be entrepreneurs – of course assuming that this is the underlying issue to solve socio-economic problems.

The third article, "Nationalisation not the way" penned by Leon Louw (an economist at the FMF) and Jasson Urbach in *The Star* of 27 July 2011, uses all sorts of sources from the Freedom Charter to Ben Turok, who is suddenly elevated to the position of sole author of the Freedom Charter. As in many other articles, the authors use Alexkor to drive home their point on the failure of state-owned mining. Moreover, the authors purport to be speaking on behalf of the people by citing central European countries move away from "communism". "People's privatisation transfers state owned monopoly capital directly to the people as a whole" they point out.

These three articles exemplify the space provided to private organisations to counter nationalisation without providing a balanced view on the debate. This finding confirms the assertion on theories of the sociology and social production of news that the media reproduces the views of the capitalist elites who have privileged access. The juxtaposition of the FMF and the ANC Youth League points to the very small and shrinking space available in the media to advance a transformative developmental agenda.

### 6.4.5.11 People mentioned the most in articles

This section reflects on the manner in which nationalisation is framed by the analysing people who are mentioned in articles. Table 6.6 reveals that Julius Malema is by far the most mentioned individual (46 per cent), followed by President Jacob Zuma and Susan Shabangu (17 per cent). Gwede Mantashe, Cynthia Carroll, Pravin Gordhan and Malusi Gigaba are in third position with 10 per cent.

***Table 6.6: People mentioned the most mentioned people in articles***

| **People mentioned** | **Organisation** | **No. of mentions** |
|---|---|---|
| Julius Malema | ANC Youth League President | 19 |
| Jacob Zuma | President of South Africa | 7 |
| Susan Shabangu | Mineral Resources minister | 7 |
| Gwede Mantashe | ANC Secretary-General | 4 |
| Cynthia Carroll | Anglo American CEO | 4 |
| Pravin Gordhan | Finance minister | 4 |
| Malusi Gigaba | Public Enterprises minister | 4 |
| Nelson Mandela | Former president of South Africa | 3 |
| Michael Spicer | BLSA | 3 |
| Senzeni Zokwana | NUM president | 2 |
| Nick Holland | Gold Fields CEO | 2 |
| Ben Turok | ANC MP | 2 |
| Blade Nzimande | SACP General Secretary | 2 |

The irony is that, out of all these individuals, Julius Malema and his organisation were the least quoted in nationalisation articles. In fact, the ANC Youth League is not afforded space to elaborate its position but rather mentioned in passing while "experts" are sought to analyse their viewpoints. On the other hand, individuals like Cynthia Carroll and Susan Shabangu are quoted extensively in expressing their opposition to nationalisation.

What is emerging from this section on the sources of news is the complex nature of reading media text. One key feature is what is omitted from the discourse. As Kellner (1995: 113)

points out, “One should also pay attention to what is left out of ideological texts, for it is often the exclusions and silences that reveal the ideological project of the text”. In this regard and beyond emphasising the posture of the corporate media on ideological discourse, “Hegemony thus works by exclusion and marginalisation, as much as by affirming specific ideological positions” (Kellner, 1995: 113). This relates to the exclusion, for example, of the voice of the proponents of the discourse, working-class sources. Therefore, what might appear as a neutral stance is in fact an affirmation of capitalist ideology. Furthermore, this affirmation of one ideology is portrayed as presentation of public opinion. However, “Public opinion can be described as the dominating opinion which compels compliance of attitude and behaviour that it threatens the dissenting individual with isolation, the politician with loss of popular support” (Noelle-Neumann, 2015: 44). Therefore, what is positioned as public opinion, and fundamentally what is left out, represents the neo-liberal hegemony in the discourse.

## 6.5 Important aspect of the nationalisation discourse

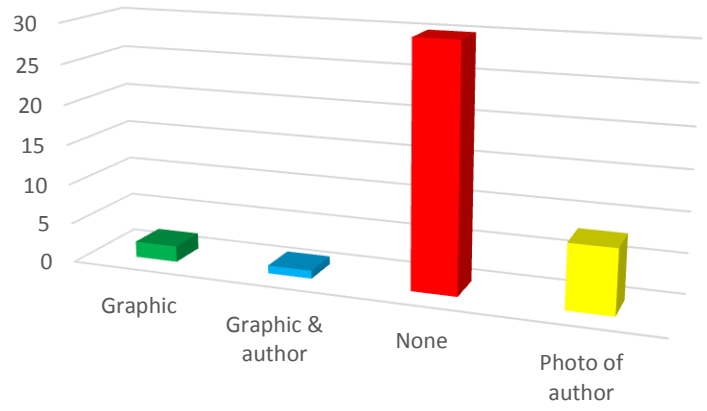
This section scrutinises and discusses other important aspects of representation, such as visual representation and, importantly, authors of articles in order to gain further insight into the representation of nationalisation.

### 6.5.1 Visuals in articles

The effects of photographs in news are well documented by many scholars such as Ekman, Friesen Ellsworth (1972) and Sadoski and Paivio (2001). These scholars have written extensively on the impact of visuals in articles and have found that, inter alia, they enhance the cognitive processing of information, thus improving memory about a specific event. “When visual images are added to textual information, they provide additional learning cues” (Coleman and Wasike, 2004: 459). However, it has been argued that, although visual imagery including photographs is the primary way that emotion is communicated, visuals are not purely affective (Coleman and Wasike, 2004; also see Ekman et al., 1972). Furthermore, pictures serve the purpose of attracting readers to stories, are easy to remember as compared to other forms of media such as text, “and foster more cognitive elaboration or thinking about something “ (Coleman and Wasike, 2004: 461; also see Paivio and Csapo, 1973; Lynn, Shavitt and Ostrom, 1985).

In essence and in some instances, a reader may be called into action on a specific issue by a picture that increases memory of the accompanying article. In addition, the size of a photograph also influences the reader and what they are likely to perceive as important (Wanta, 1988; Coleman and Wasike, 2004). Therefore, visuals and photographs enhance the news article and thus are a powerful medium and an important element of a story. As Will (1965: 27) posits, "The photograph is universally understandable and so appears not to need explanation to supplement it. Its power to convey experience increases as superfluous details are eliminated". Therefore, photographs are the supreme form of self-expression of our time (Radebe, 2007). The presence of photographs in a news story therefore enhances the appeal of the story, and thus the chances of the news story being noticeable and read are greatly increased.

*Figure* 6.19: **Number of visuals in articles**




In this regard and as reflected in Figure 6.19, only a handful of articles had visual imagery such as photographs and graphics. In fact, 78 per cent of articles had no pictures and about 12 per cent had pictures of authors; of course, these would be opinion articles. It would seem that no great deal of time and effort was put into planning the coverage of these stories. A picture that emerges is that of coverage largely focused on expressing the views of primary definers with little planning to perform in-depth analysis and investigative reporting on the nuances around the discourse.

### 6.5.2 Authors of articles

In the theory of the social production of news, journalists make news because, inter alia, of the social standing of a journalist as a political person and because news generation is a form of knowledge production (Schudson, 1989). Furthermore, Hall et al. (1978) posit that the process of news generation is a social process "constituted by a number of specific journalistic practices, which embody (often only implicitly) crucial assumptions about what society is and how it works". Therefore, in analysing the writers of nationalisation articles, it is important to take this context into account. While this process will reveal the origins of these articles, it will also surface the authors and the frequency of their articles. In the end, this will highlight some of the reasons behind the posture on the nationalisation discourse.

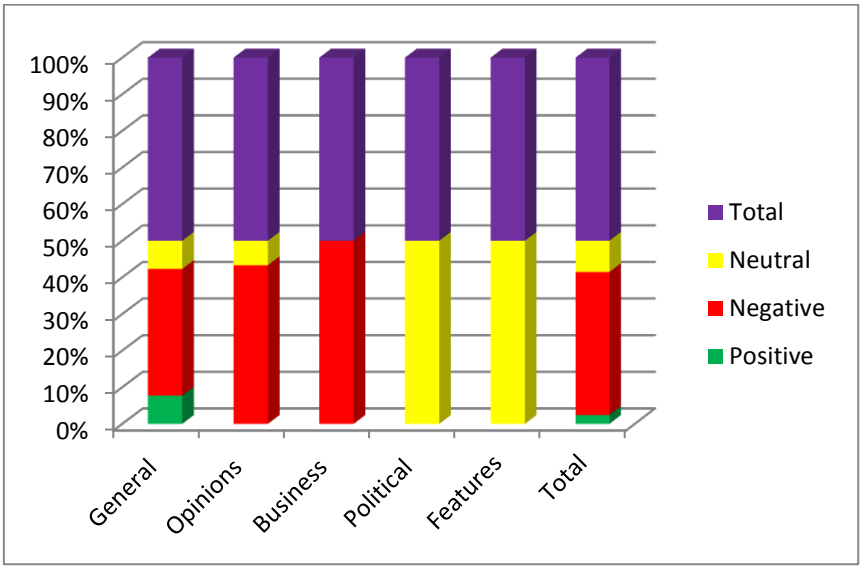
As a starting point, Table 6.7 reveals the type of articles written by authors. As far as the origins of the articles are concerned, more than 63 per cent of the articles are written by staff reporters, with another 29 per cent written by columnists. Only two articles come from the news wires, and one is an editorial.

***Table 6.7: Origins of articles***

| Origin | No. of articles |
|---|---|
| Columnists | 12 |
| Editorials | 1 |
| News wires | 2 |
| Reporters | 26 |

As mentioned above, the majority of these articles are negative towards nationalisation, with only 5 per cent positive (see Figure 6.20). As far as opinion pieces are concerned - that is the articles written by columnists and the one editorial – 100 per cent are negative towards nationalisation.

*Figure 6.20:* **Number of articles per section and their tone**




Just like editorials, it becomes apparent that opinion pieces enable the newspaper to allow expert opinion on topics of major concern, thereby reproducing the statement of the powerful (Hall et al., 1978). The only semblance of balance in these articles comes from general news, which makes up 32 per cent of the articles. Of these, 70 per cent are negative, 15 per cent neutral and the remaining 15 per cent positive. In other words, the only two positive articles in the whole sample can be found in this category. All articles in the business news category are negative, with the three articles in political news and features all neutral. This section reveals the posture of South Africa's corporate media towards the nationalisation discourse. Furthermore, it is crucial to note that journalists are not free agents but rather are subjected to multiple and competing endogenous and exogenous pressures that influence the editorial content (Duncan, 2014). It is thus important to pay close attention to the authors of the articles.

Out of the 28 news articles, the two *Business Day* articles by Allan Seccombe and another two in *The Star* by Donwald Pressly are worth noting (Table 6.8). It is also worth noting that there are two other articles produced by the newswires. The rest of the articles reflect a frequency of one. This shows that there is lack of consistency and continuity in the coverage of this discourse. In this regard, no one reporter emerges as an authority on nationalisation by understanding all its nuances. Instead one day the story will be represented as part of business news, the next in the context of political news and general news. These reporters followed the same predictable pattern of using a particular type of sources, thereby falling into the trap of framing the matter from a neo-liberal perspective and failing to present other role players with

an opportunity to express their viewpoints. The fact that these articles come out against the nationalisation discourse is indicative of this approach. Perhaps the nature of the discourse does not lend itself to being located in any of the beats – for example, labour or business – since the main thrust was on the nationalisation of mines.

***Table 6.8: Authors of news articles***

| Writer | Frequency | Newspaper | Section | Slant |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Allan Seccombe** | 2 | BUSINESS DAY | Business news | Negative |
| | | | General news | |
| **Donwald Pressly** | 2 | THE STAR | Business news | Negative |
| **Newswire** | 2 | THE STAR | Opinion | Negative |
| | | CITY PRESS | General news | Negative |
| **Sam Mkokeli** | 1 | BUSINESS DAY | Political news | Negative |
| **Sure Kamhunga** | 1 | BUSINESS DAY | General news | Negative |
| **Tim Cohen** | 1 | BUSINESS DAY | Business news | Negative |
| **Neo Maditla** | 1 | CAPE ARGUS | General news | Negative |
| **Phakamisa Ndzamela** | 1 | CITIZEN | Business news | Negative |
| **Robyn Joubert** | 1 | FARMERS WEEKLY | Business news | Negative |
| **Andre Janse van Vuuren** | 1 | FIN WEEK | Business news | Negative |
| **Sharda Naidoo** | 1 | MAIL & GUARDIAN | Feature | Neutral |
| **Thabiso Thakali** | 1 | SATURDAY STAR | General news | Neutral |
| **Kingdom Mabuza** | 1 | SOWETAN | General news | Positive |
| **Dineo Matomela, Londiwe Buthelezi & Ann Crotty** | 1 | THE STAR | Business news | Negative |
| **Dineo Matomela** | 1 | SUNDAY INDEPENDENT | General news | Negative |
| **Adele Shevel & Thekiso Anthony Lefifi** | 1 | SUNDAY TIMES | General news | Negative |
| **Brandan Boyle** | 1 | SUNDAY TIMES | General news | Neutral |
| **Loni Prinsloo** | 1 | SUNDAY TIMES | General news | Negative |
| **Rene Vollgraat** | 1 | SUNDAY TIMES | Business news | Negative |
| **Amukelani Chauke** | 1 | THE TIMES | General news | Positive |
| **Stephen Coan** | 1 | WITNESS | Feature | Neutral |

However, beat reporting, in particular labour or industrial reporting, has been on the decline globally for quite a while:

> Labour reporting, in the broader sense of reporting on working class life, has been lost in favour of a form of reporting that episodically reports on major events like strikes and the labour beat has also experienced a decline in status in newsrooms (Duncan, 2014: 24).

This is equally true for opinion articles, where perhaps the diversity and lack of continuity from the authors can be justifiable. Nevertheless, the fact that only one out of the 13 opinion pieces can be described as neutral and the rest as negative reflect the inability of newspapers to select a balanced set of opinion piece writers.

***Table 6.9: Authors of opinion pieces***

| Writer | Frequency | Newspaper | Section | Slant |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Andile Mazwai** | 1 | BUSINESS DAY | Opinion | Negative |
| **Gavin Keeton** | 1 | BUSINESS DAY | Opinion | Negative |
| **Lea Jacobs** | 1 | BUSINESS DAY | Opinion | Negative |
| **Ron Derby** | 1 | BUSINESS DAY | Opinion | Negative |
| **Shawn Hagedorn** | 1 | CITIZEN | Opinion | Negative |
| **Lucas Ledwaba** | 1 | CITY PRESS | Opinion | Negative |
| **Themba Nolutshungu & Gert Joubert** | 1 | DAILY NEWS | Opinion | Negative |
| **Barney Mthombothi** | 1 | FINANCIAL MAIL | Opinion | Negative |
| **Allan Gremblo** | 1 | THE STAR | Opinion | Negative |
| **Blade Nzimande** | 1 | THE STAR | Opinion | Negative |
| **Leon Louw & Jason Urbach** | 1 | THE STAR | Opinion | Negative |
| **Kusemi Dlamini** | 1 | SUNDAY INDEPENDENT | Opinion | Neutral |
| **Cyril Ramaphosa** | 1 | SUNDAY TIMES | Opinion | Negative |
| **Geoff Embling** | 1 | THE HERALD | Opinion | Negative |
| **Editorial** | 1 | DAILY DISPATCH | Opinion | Negative |

Table 6.9 shows a set of primary definers who are overwhelmingly opposed to the call by the ANC Youth League. Therefore, the absence of ongoing reporting on this discourse should be located in this context and be understood within the media constraints to reflect and represent such discourses. This research study argues, therefore, that the overwhelming bias in the representation of nationalisation is not just a reflection of media personnel's ideological preference, but rather a reflection of the structural factors that locate the media as part of the market forces, as argued in earlier chapters. These factors, inter alia, constrain the corporate media from investing time and effort in having dedicated reporters to report in an in-depth manner on the discourse beyond mere economic analysis. Furthermore, these factors direct the

media to give time and space to primary definers who in turn largely frame the discourse from a neo-liberal perspective.

### 6.5.3 Most-mentioned countries in articles

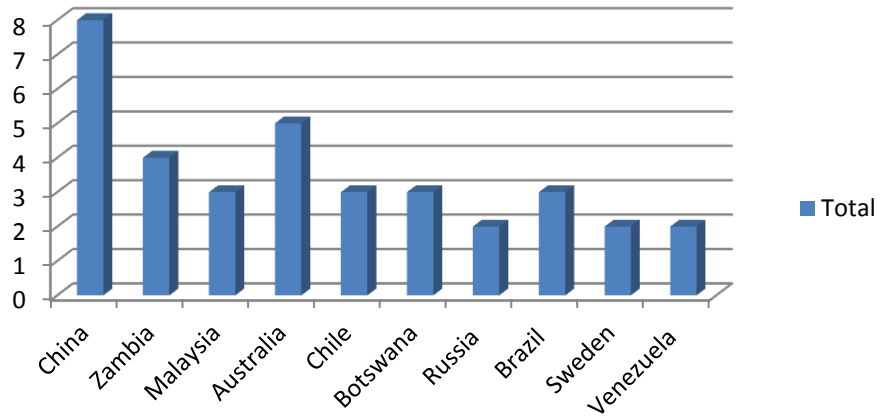
This section analyses countries mentioned most often in the articles with a view to further understanding the representation of the nationalisation discourse. A mention of any country triggers various emotions depending on the ideological stance of the reader, and thus any link between the discourse and the country helps to explain the attitude toward the discourse. Although it has been shown that the majority of these articles portray nationalisation in a negative light, the link between the articles and particular countries can shed more light on the matter.

One such country that provokes mixed emotions, and that is even viewed suspiciosly by some, is China. This country has long-standing relations with the continent which date back to the national liberation struggle. "China undertook to be a reliable ally and development partner (and supplier of weapons) of colonised African states, especially those with liberation movements, such as South Africa, South West Africa (presently Namibia), Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), Anglola, Mozambique, Guinea, and Cape Verde" (Le Pere and Shelton, 2007: 49–52). This relationship has recently been entrenched with the acceptance of South Africa by Brazil, Russia, India and China (BRIC) in December 2010 – a group of emerging powers, becoming BRICS[40] (Seria, 2010; Wasserman, 2012). However, China's presence in the country and on the continent often becomes emotive, with many people citing re-colonisation or partly blaming the country's struggle with unemployment on cheap Chinese exports. As Wasserman (2012: 6) posits, "China's presence in Africa is usually viewed as a controversial one and often portrayed as a Manichean binary – either 'predator or partner' (cf. Le Pere, 2006), 'friend or foe', 'comrade or colonizer'" (Nullis, cited in Zeleza, 2008: 173). Therefore, paying close attention to countries mentioned will enable the research study to gain further insights on the representation of the nationalisation discourse.

[40] BRICS is the acronym for an association of five major emerging national economies: Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa. The grouping was originally known as "BRIC" before the inclusion of South Africa in 2010. The BRICS members are all developing or newly industrialised countries, but they are distinguished by their large, fast-growing economies and significant influence on regional and global affairs. All five are G-20 members (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/BRICS).

Figure 6.21 reveals that China is the most mentioned country (20 per cent) followed by Australia (12 per cent) and Zambia (10 per cent). Other countries like Brazil, Malaysia, Chile and Botswana have 7 percent, with the last category of countries such as Russia, Sweden and Venezuela with 5 per cent.

***Figure 6.21*: Most mentioned countries in articles**




Most of these countries are mentioned in the context of a study tour by the ANC, or as an example of how mining ownership and benefeciation have been handled in these countries. For example, in a feature article "Nationalisation 'is the last resort'" in the *Mail & Guardian* of 1 December 2011, Sharda Naidoo refers to the report of the study tour. "The report is the fruit of an exhaustive exercise that started in March, taking members to 14 countries – including Norway, Sweden, Brazil, China, Malaysia, Findland, Venzuela and Australia". This is one level, where China is mentioned alongside other countries as part of the understanding of various models across the world. There is another level, however, where China is framed from an economic perspective and often used as an example of a perfect free market economy or a capitalist country. As reflected above, Themba Nolutshungu and Gert Jourbet argue in their *Daily News* article of 28 July 2011 that "…China is now the second biggest economy in the world due to the liberalisation of its economy". Andile Mazwai in his *Business Day* article of 1 July 2011, "Nationalisation not a cure for our poverty crisis", boldly states that "History has also shown that capitalism is the most effective policy choice to raise living standards. (Yes, even in communist China)". While none of these authors elaborate on how China has suddenly become a capitalist economy, the point is clear that the countries mentioned are being used to

counter the nationalisation policy debate. However, there are those articles that use China purely to advance the debate from an economic development perspective. An example of this is Kuseni Dlamini's missive "Nationalisation: Heed the message, not only the medium" in the *Sunday Independent* of 10 July 2011, where he uses China and India to highlight his point on how to find ways to position South Africa as a winner taking into account global forces: "China recently released its five-year 12-point plan to build prosperity at home and extend its reach and influence offshore."

Whereas the assumption is that China is likely to be portrayed negatively, surprisingly it emerges that it is not only the highest-mentioned country, but the country is portrayed favourably by South Africa's corporate print media.

## 6.6 Conclusion – the negative framing of nationalisation discourse

This quantitative analysis chapter has painted an overall picture on how the nationalisation discourse is represented in South Africa's corporate print media. The overall picture that emerges shows that there is no fundamental difference in the pattern of representation between the daily and weekly newspapers as they all have a negative tone against nationalisation. However, the number of articles, the general mention of the nationalisation discourse and the location show that a certain level of importance is accorded to the discourse. This is reflected by the fact that the coverage most frequently occurred in the opinion section of the newspapers, which accounted for the biggest portion by far of articles. On the other hand, this could indicate lack of dedication to cover the discourse in detail and to follow through on previous articles, as reflected by the average size of articles, with a few lengthier detailed feature articles. This assertion is also supported by lack of visual imagery such as photographs and graphics in the articles. And it could be deduced that the fact that the only pictures in articles are those of the authors of the opinion pieces is indicative of the absence of time and effort put into planning the coverage of the discourse. This also comes out in the analysis of the authors where only a couple have more than one article. This indicates the sporadic nature of the coverage.

However, the significance of the finding on opinion pieces confirms the theories of social production of news, among others – that the print media advances news value and issues of the powerful in society, not only by using them as primary definers but through the continuation of

their definitions in the opinion sections. This furthermore reaffirms the assumption of this research study that structural factors combined with the location of the corporate media within market forces influence the representation of ideologically charged discourses that often characterise developmental policies.

Another significant finding in this chapter relates to the overall negative tone of the nationalisation discourse. From the headlines (63 per cent negative towards nationalisation) to the leads (54 per cent with an anti-nationalisation slant), the overall posture towards nationalisation is overwhelmingly negative. This negative tone largely reflects the capitalist posture of the South Africa corporate media, and of the print media in general.

While the presence of sources in articles should indicate a possible balance, as more than 76 per cent of articles had sources, the picture that emerges from the research study tells a different story. Firstly, these articles are heavily reliant on government and business sources, an indication of strong bias towards primary definers who subsequently set the tone for the discourse. Government officials and their entities, mining leaders and business-biased analysts dominate the articles, thus setting an anti-nationalisation tone. The proponents of the discourse and their organisations hardly featured in these articles. Paradoxically, Julius Malema is the most-mentioned individual in these articles, but he hardly features as a source. This posture is thus reflected in the negative tone of nationalisation. Equally, countries mentioned in the articles, especially China, are used to drive home the advantages of capitalism, and in the process utilised as a counter-argument to the nationalisation discourse.

This chapter has performed detailed quantitative analyses of the nationalisation discourse, closely analysing elements such as the structure of news. What becomes imperative subsequently is to understand in detail the qualitative nature of this negative tone. The next chapter performs thematic qualitative analyses to gain further insight into South Africa's corporate media and the developmental policy.

# Chapter 7

## Framing the nationalisation discourse: a qualitative content analysis

Symbols are the instruments *par excellence* of 'social integration': as instruments of knowledge and communication … they make it possible for there to be a *consensus* on the meaning of the social world, a consensus which contributes fundamentally to the reproduction of the social order. 'Logical' integration is the precondition of 'moral' integration (Bourdieu, 1991: 166).

## 7.1 Introduction

This chapter deals in detail with the qualitative content analysis undertaken as part of this research study. It discusses the findings presented and analysed in the previous chapter by utilising the critical political economy of communication and other related theories, such as the social production of news and Marxist theories. Furthermore, these theories are applied as prisms to examine the representation of ideologically laden developmental policy discourses such as the mine nationalisation debate in the corporate media. To gain further insight, media framing and thematic content analysis are used as a methodology for additional analysis of the findings. In particular, this approach assists the research study to unpack the more subjective and latent meanings embedded within media text. Furthermore, this chapter acknowledges that the analysis of qualitative data (as opposed to quantitative data) is a subjective process (DCU School of Communication, 2009). Moreover, by deploying the framing methods in the analysis of data gathered, just like in the case of agenda-setting, the research study is empowered to "focus on the relationship between public policy issues in the news and public perception on these issues" (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000: 93). Essentially, framing analysis goes beyond agenda-setting by examining how people think and talk about issues in the news (Pan and Kosicki, 1993; Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000).

In analysing the findings, the chapter is mindful of the fact that the nationalisation discourse is represented by profit-seeking corporate media competing in a marketplace that is characterised by a generally pro-capitalist and anti-labour partisan journalism (Smart, 1981 cited in McChesney and Schiller, 2003). This is the same media that has for over a century been a platform for disseminating the ideology of the ruling class (Harper, 2012). Therefore, it "generates tepid journalism that reflects the range of existing elite opinion" and thus "reinforces

conventional business-as-usual politics and marginalises the new, the critical and the radical, especially if it is threatening to entrenched economic interests" (McChesney and Schiller, 2003: 4). Most fundamentally, even with the rise of digital and social media, it is important to appreciate that consumers still do not have control of the media and its content, and thus are subjected to the capitalist media's construction of reality (Harper, 2012).

The chapter begins by focusing on the framing method employed to conduct further content analysis of the nationalisation discourse. Here, the conflict and the economic consequences frames are identified and discussed to analyse the representation of the nationalisation discourse. In particular, the conflict frame is used because of its emphasis on the conflict between individuals, groups or institutions as a means of capturing the audience's interest. On the other hand, the economic consequences frame is used to capture events in terms of their perceived economic consequences. The chapter measures the prevalence of both frames in nationalisation articles, in the process conducting a comparative assessment between publications with the highest representation. Here, articles that contain both frames are also analysed.

The second half of the chapter focuses on thematic representation to analyse the nationalisation discourse. This, combined with framing analysis, enables the research study to focus beyond descriptive analysis by unravelling subjective and latent meanings embedded in articles. To do so, dominant themes in the coverage of the nationalisation discourse are identified and located within the conflict and economic consequences frames. Theme maps are developed for both conflict and economic consequences frames, and are linked to recurring themes. This exercise helps to demonstrate correlation between media frames and themes. Significantly, the combination of framing and thematic analysis by this research study contributes to emerging trends in the field of media studies. Essentially, what emerges validates the view that frames and themes can be combined for effective media analysis. Furthermore, a test to determine the frequency of themes is conducted to identify the most prevalent themes, which are subsequently discussed in detail. In addition to this, a test to determine the drivers of themes is carried out by assessing correlation between themes and sources, themes and tone, and themes and type of article.

## 7.2 Framing the nationalisation discourse

This section employs framing methods to conduct further content analysis of the nationalisation discourse as defined and discussed in Chapter 5. To do so, there are two possible approaches – inductive and deductive (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). In the former approach a news story can be analysed with the aim of finding out "the array of possible frames, beginning with very loosely defined preconceptions of these frames"; this approach can also be utilised to "… detect the many possible ways in which an issue can be framed" (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000: 94; also see Gamson, 1992). However, this method is labour-intensive and thus only relevant for analysis of small samples. The deductive approach

> …involves predefining certain frames as content analytic variables to verify the extent to which these frames occur in the news. This approach makes it necessary to have a clear idea of the kinds of frames likely to be in the news, because the frames that are not defined a priori may be overlooked (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000: 94–95).

Because this approach can cope with large samples, it is easy to use and does not require too much effort to replicate. Fundamentally, it can easily detect differences in framing between media and within media (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). For the purposes of this research study, the deductive approach is utilised to examine the occurrence of frames in the nationalisation discourse.

### 7.2.1 Rationalising the conflict and economic consequences frames

To date literature has identified a handful of frames that commonly occur in news and their consequences for public opinion. For example, Neuman, Just and Crigler (1992) identify several different frames common in the US news "including conflict, economic consequences, human impact, and morality frames" (in Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000: 95). Out of the many possibilities, this research study focuses on two key frames – the conflict frame and economic consequences frame.

The conflict frame is used because it "emphasizes conflict between individuals, groups, or institutions as a means of capturing audience interest"; "[o]ther research has also observed that discussion in the news between political elites often reduces complex substantive political debate to overly simplistic conflict" (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000: 95). This research study

is interested in establishing the prevalence of a conflict frame in the nationalisation discourse to test the extent to which substantive issues of socio-economic transformation are reduced to "simplistic conflict", in particular within the governing ANC-led Alliance.

Based on the findings in the previous chapter that articles on nationalisation are heavily dependent on government and business sources, the economic consequences frame is also prioritised. Furthermore, these primary sources' main point of contention pertains to the perceived damage the discourse is having or will have on the economy. "This frame reports an event, problem, or issue in terms of the consequences it will have economically on an individual, group, institution, region, or country" (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000: 96). Also, this frame has been identified as the common frame in news (Neuman et al. 1992). For the purposes of this research study it is crucial to determine how the economic consequences frame is used and its impact on the discourse at large.

### 7.2.2 The framing measures

#### 7.2.2.1 An overview of the frames in the articles

Having discussed above the approach towards news frames, it is important to further outline how the research study goes about measuring the prevalence of frames in nationalisation articles. Borrowing from Semetko and Valkenburg (2000), the following framing measures (see Table 7.1) are used to determine the prevalence of frames in the articles.

***Table 7.1: Framing measures***

| **Frame** | **Broad questions** |
|---|---|
| Conflict frame | ○ Does the story reflect disagreement between parties, individuals, or groups?<br>○ Does one party, individual, or group reproach another?<br>○ Does the story refer to two sides or to more than two sides of the problem or issue?<br>○ Does the story refer to winners and losers? |
| Economic consequences frame | ○ Is there a mention of financial losses or gains now or in the future?<br>○ Is there a mention of the costs/degree of expense involved? |

**Adapted from Semetko and Valkenburg (2000)*

After careful analysis of all articles, Table 7.2 reflects the outcomes of the measures. It emerges that the conflict frame is contained in 39 per cent of the articles, while 46.3 per cent of the articles are framed from the economic consequences perspective. Only 13 per cent of articles contain both frames.

***Table 7.2: Frames in articles***

| | | Type of newspaper | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Weekly | Daily | |
| Frame | Conflict frame | 2 | 14 | 16 |
| | Economic consequences frame | 10 | 9 | 19 |
| | Both frames | 2 | 3 | 5 |
| | NA | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Total | | 14 | 27 | 41 |

The *Business Day*, *The Star* and the *Sunday Times* are the three publications with the highest representation of articles, with a total combined figure of 56 per cent of articles (Table 7.3). Once more it emerges that there is a spread between conflict and economic consequences frames, with 39 per cent and 43 per cent respectively. However, it is interesting but not surprising to note that that 55 per cent of *Business Day* articles are framed from the economic consequences perspectives since this is a daily that focuses on business and economic issues, as the name suggests. Even for those articles that are framed from a conflict perspective, somehow the bone of contention pertains to economic issues. On the other hand 71 per cent of articles in *The Star* are framed from the conflict perspective. The *Sunday Times* articles equally reflect both the conflict and economic consequences frames. Perhaps this is an indication of the different nature and editorial policies of these publications, including issues of target audiences.

***Table 7.3: Comparison between Business Day, The Star and Sunday Times***

| | | Newspaper | | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Business Day | The Star | Sunday Times | |
| Frame | Conflict frame | 2 | 5 | 2 | 9 |
| | Economic consequences frame | 6 | 2 | 2 | 10 |
| | Both frames | 2 | 0 | 1 | 3 |
| | NA | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| Total | | 11 | 7 | 5 | 23 |

#### 7.2.2.2 Articles using the conflict frame

It is important to locate the representation of this discourse in the broader political economy of the media, and to appreciate the fact that contemporary capitalist media systems have emerged from a contested history "involving not just duelling capitalists and their allies in government, but labour unions, citizens groups, consumer cooperatives, religious enthusiasts, and social justice organisations of all stripes" (Mosco, 2008: 49). Essentially, this representation must be located within the discourse of media power, as conceptualised by some political economy media scholars, which inter alia hands powers to define, analyse and interpret authoritatively to unelected organisations; this process "undermines the ability of citizens freely to acquire and exchange the material necessary to make informed decisions about public life" (Freedman, 2015: 274). In a nutshell, it is the location of the corporate media in the economic structures of the capitalist system that provides it unfettered powers and a privileged position in the world (McChesney, 2000; Mosco, 2009). Furthermore, the interconnection of "power roles" suggests that "economic, political, technological, and cultural dimensions of media power are not insulated but reinforce each other in their application to specific cases" (Freedman, 2015: 274; also see Turow, 1992). Therefore, the prevalence of a conflict frame in nationalisation discourse must be understood in this context. It is characterised by Julius Malema and the ANC Youth League being the "villains", while government officials, mining executives and analysts are seen as "protagonists", as contextualised in section 7.3.

The article "Mine nationalisation debate evokes mixed bag of reaction" in *The Star* of 9 February 2011, notes that Mineral Resources Minister Susan Shabangu "has drawn the ire of the ANC Youth League leader Julius Malema with her opposition to nationalisation". The article points out that "Shabangu, speaking at the indaba in Cape Town yesterday, reiterated her opposition to the nationalisation of industry…" (Matomela, Buthelezi, and Crotty, 2011: 17). In the article, mining executives such as Cynthia Carroll, chief executive of Anglo American, are on the same side as Minister Shabangu in opposing the call by the ANC Youth League for nationalisation. Harry Kenyon-Slaney, chief executive at Rio Tinto Diamonds and Minerals, says "History has shown that nationalisation is not effective, and in South Africa, we want to be part of the debate on nationalisation; the debate must be held transparently and truthfully" " (Matomela, Buthelezi, and Crotty, 2011: 17). Andile Sangqu, executive director of Xstrata South Africa, also weighs in by saying, "Nationalisation of mines is a call from a segment of the population and we will participate in the investigation of the feasibility of the

nationalisation of mines. We will also conduct our own research to ensure that the outcome of the investigation is balanced and not lopsided" (Matomela, Buthelezi, and Crotty, 2011: 17).

It is quite clear from this article that the views of both the minister and the mining executives, who openly state their opposition to nationalisation, are privileged as primary definers. On the other hand, no provision for alternative sources is catered for in the article. Therefore, this article ticks all the boxes of a conflict frame as it portrays disagreement between groups and highlights possible winners as a result of the feasibility study. However, it is also clear that the conflict frame is not used to portray all sides of the debate but rather to advance opposition to nationalisation. For example, Allan Greenblo, in the article "Nationalisation by stealth will happen until mines hit back" in *The Star* of 1 September 2011, posits that:

> There's nationalisation of the seizure variety, punted by Julius Malema, and there's nationalisation of subtle variety, arguably already in play. When such cabinet heavyweights as the Mineral Resources Minister Susan Shabangu, Public Enterprises Minister Malusi Gigaba and Higher Education and Training Minister Blade Nzimande speak out against nationalisation, which nationalisation is it? (Greenblo, 2011: 2).

Equally, there are articles such as "Nationalisation talk costing SA – Shabangu" in the *Business Day* of 19 August 2011, where it is highlighted that "This is the first time Ms Shabangu has spoken out against the nationalisation debate, in the past earning the wrath of the African National Congress (ANC) Youth League" (Ensor, 2011: 4). The article also points out that "Other ministers have also spoken against nationalisation. Public Enterprises Minister Malusi Gigaba conceded earlier this month that SA's 'reckless' nationalisation debate was deterring foreign investment" (Ensor, 2011: 4). The article "Nationalisation will not happen" in the *City Press* of 13 March 2011, states in its introductory paragraph that "Mineral Resources Minister Susan Shabangu says South Africa will not nationalise its mining industry, even though members of the ANC have called for such a move". The article also quotes Cynthia Carroll, chief executive of Anglo American, saying that supporters of nationalisation are "advocates of the road to ruin" (Bloomberg, 2011: 2). The president of the National Union of Mineworkers, Senzeni Zokwana also weighs in and is quoted as saying, "This debate is unfortunate … It does not reflect the views of mineworkers and mining communities" (Bloomberg, 2011: 2).

Largely this frame is used to isolate the call for nationalisation, characterising it as an irrational call that is devoid of comprehending the complex nature of mining and other industries. Such

representation of the discourse becomes a fundamental process to produce and reproduce the capitalist ideology (Murdock and Golding, 1973: 207). Furthermore, the portrayal of the discourse from a conflict frame perspective reaffirms De Vreese's (2005: 56) assertion that this frame emphasises conflict between individuals, groups, institutions or countries. In this regard, journalists elevate the clashes in interpretation, so that this becomes a "game of interpretation of the political world as an ongoing series of contests, each with a new set of winners and losers" (Neuman et al., 1992: 64). The emphasis on the intra-ANC Alliance conflicts and disagreements between groups supporting and opposing nationalisation deny the audience a chance to go deeper; they do not receive an explanation of the contents of this proposed policy which, according to its proponents, seeks to address socio-economic issues such as unemployment, poverty and inequality which continue to plague the country.

#### 7.2.2.3 Articles using the economic consequences frame

Among the levers of control at the disposal of the ruling class, to exert its hegemony for continued capitalist accumulation in society, is the corporate media. This hegemony, notwithstanding the ongoing contestation within the media and the agency of media personnel, is aided by the economic structures of the media. As Freedman (2015: 274) argues, "Media power is both a consequence of, and increasingly, a precondition for the continuing, and stratified, process of social reproduction". Therefore, the dominance of the economic consequences frame does not only reflect the corporate media's preoccupation with issues of the capitalist class such as bottom line, profit and losses over bread and butter issues that affect the working class and the poor (Neuman et al., 1992), but it is also about societal power relations. The framing of the nationalisation discourse, therefore, should be understood within the context of media power. In this regard, the discourse is presented primarily in terms of the economic consequences for the country that might result from the debate as perceived by the ruling elite (De Vreese, 2005). Furthermore, the media power manifests itself in manifold ways including through what Entman and Rojecki (1993) describe as "journalists' framing judgment" – made in the course of selecting and conveying information. "The judgments, we believe, are heavily influenced by elite sources and, it appears, by an underlying professional ideology ambivalent toward public participation" (Entman and Rojecki, 1993: 155).

In this regard, the primary concern is the capitalist elites' concern with the economy as reflected in the article "Nationalisation debate 'must be open to all'" in the *Cape Argus* of 14

September 2011, where Minister of Public Enterprises Malusi Gigaba says, "The debate on nationalisation should be open to everyone, but those engaging in it should be mindful of its effect on the economy". While it is noble for the minister to encourage everyone to participate in the debate, the condition attached to this call to be "mindful of its effect on the economy" is elevated above the importance of the discourse itself. "He said the manner in which the issue of nationalisation was debated had to consider investors, other South Africans, and not be done in a way that was disrespectful or undermined those who had a different opinion" (Maditla, 2011: 5). Therefore, the debate must at all time be mindful of the consequences to the economy. The seemingly progressive call of encouraging all to participate in the debate is laden with conditions related to economic consequences. Similarly, Khuseni Dlamini in his opinion piece "Nationalisation: Heed the message, not only the medium" in the *Sunday Independent* of 10 July 2011, says "The debate on the nationalisation of mines also enables us to unpack policy models that work and those that may have disastrous unintended consequences. What is crucial is for all voices and perspectives to be aired" (Dlamini, 2011:16). Again, while it appears that the debate is encouraged, subtly, issues of economic consequences are raised.

However, the majority of the articles are blunt in their opposition to nationalisation by using the economic consequences frame. For example, the *Business Day* of 22 September 2011 has a screaming headline "Nationalisation calls 'hurting SA'". However, upon closer inspection it is apparent that the drivers of this economic consequences frame are not mainly nationalisation; the lead paragraph states, "SA's improving reputation among the Group of Eight (G-8) countries is being clouded by threats of nationalisation, concern about crime and failure to sustain the high visibility and reputation gained after hosting Africa's first World Soccer Cup last year…" (Kamhunga, 2011: 2). Suddenly it is not only nationalisation that is "hurting SA" but other issues such as crime now emerge, contrary to the headline. The article further reveals that "Maintaining SA's reputation as an investment destination is vital as recent research has revealed that the country is beginning to face stiff competition for investment from countries such as Nigeria, Kenya, Ghana and Mauritius". And "…while SA was perceived to be a welcoming and friendly country, there was concern about safety, nationalisation and effectiveness of the government" (Kamhunga, 2011: 2). It therefore appears that the driver of this "reputation" is not necessarily the nationalisation discourse but various other factors that the article highlights. However, because of its power, the corporate media interprets in an authoritative manner, and on behalf of the elites, its perceived outcome of the discourse by using the economic consequence frame. An impression is created that the discourse is having a

negative impact on the country as an investment destination, which is contradicted by some facts in the very same articles.

#### 7.2.2.4 Articles using both the conflict and economic consequences frames

Even the small number of articles that contain both frames are dominated by the economic consequences frame. This is reflective of Manuel Castell's definition of power: "the relational capacity that enables a social actor to influence asymmetrically the decisions of other social actor(s) in ways that favor the empowered actor's will, interests and values" (Castells, 2009: 10). Therefore, the dominance of the economic consequences frame reflects the hegemony of the capitalist elites' interests and values. For example, the article "Nationalisation has proved to be distributor of poverty" in the *Business Day* of 19 August 2011 says, "With all the talk of nationalisation you would think that most members of the South African tax paying public would be on the streets clutching their pitchforks" (Jacobs, 2011: 6). This conflict frame is justified further down the article by the economic consequences frame: "The countries that have walked this path before have found, to their detriment, that the banking systems and other institutions susceptible that the state so fervently desire are not that successful under state control" (Jacobs, 2011: 6). Even though this article contains both frames, the economic consequences frame is used effectively to rebut the nationalisation proposal.

Another example is the article "The path to nationalisation" in the *FinWeek* of 18 August 2011, which uses the conflict frame by pitting ANC Youth League president Julius Malema against those who are opposed to the proposal. "It's the national congress's conviction that nationalisation of mines and expropriation without compensation will happen … in our lifetime", states the article, and goes further to note that: "The ANC responded by saying its youth wing's decision had no bearing and no relationship with the upcoming ANC 2012 conference" (Van Vuuren, 2011: 58).

Mining company chief executives like Cynthia Carroll of Anglo American, business executives like Michael Spicer, CEO of Business Leadership SA, and analysts like David Hargreaves of Xcap all use the economic consequences frame to refute the ANC Youth League's call. Spicer is cited in the article as saying:

> …Government couldn't pretend this can just carry on for another 18 months in a way that has no impact on the size of the economy, the size of employment and the investment decisions both local and international investors make (Van Vuuren, 2011: 58).

Carroll says, "International business have choices to make between investment opportunities in different jurisdictions" (Van Vuuren, 2011: 58), a call she repeats throughout the duration of the discourse. What emerges from these articles is that the economic consequences frame permeates the discourse and is thus by far the most dominant frame. The subsequent sub-sections expand further on this finding.

## 7.3 Thematic content analysis of the nationalisation discourse

### 7.3.1 Caveats regarding thematic content analysis

In light of the above discussion and further noting that "the tone of an article is also closely related to an article's thematic representation" (DCU School of Communication, 2009: 26), it is crucial to assess the discourse further using thematic analysis. Moreover, the identification of themes is a crucial component of content analysis since a theme is "the recurring typical thesis that runs through a lot of the reports" (Altheide, 1996: 31). A thematic analysis enables the research study to focus beyond descriptive analysis and instead unravel "some of the more subjective and latent meanings embedded within the text, including representation, themes, depictions, stereotypes and symbolic or metaphoric elements" (DCU School of Communication, 2009: 26). In essence, thematic analysis is thus considered to be a highly interpretive measure that can often be biased due to the researcher's own views and feelings in relation to the subject at hand and the source material (Boyd, 2015). It is crucial to appreciate this background due to the emotive nature of the nationalisation discourse to ensure that the interpretive measures remain objective.

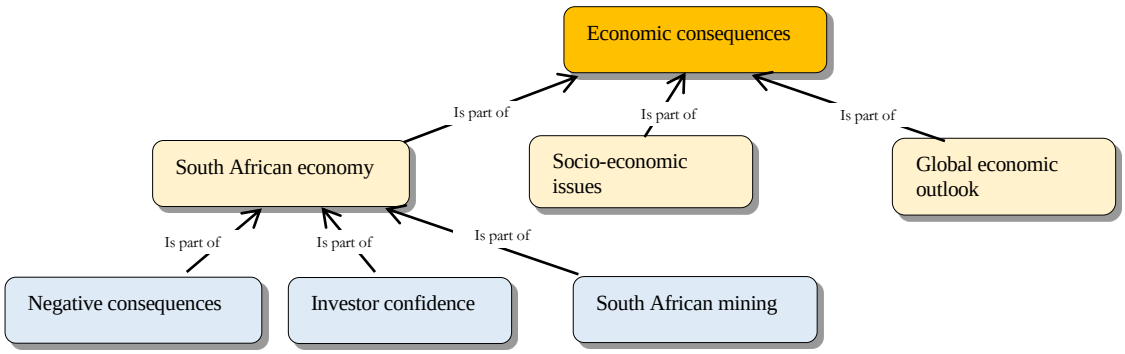
In conducting thematic analysis, the research study moves from the premise of the two frames identified above – the conflict and economic consequences frames. Under these two frames are categories of recurring themes as identified in Chapter 5. These themes are discussed in detail below.

### 7.3.2 Themes under the economic consequences frame

#### 7.3.2.1 The capitalist view of nationalisation

As has been discussed above, the corporate print media tends to portray the nationalisation discourse from an economic consequences perspective. Under this frame, a number of themes emerge where the media portrays the discourse as having "negative consequences for the economy", affecting "investor confidence", having to do something with the "South African mining industry and transformation" and the broader "South African economic policy", having systematic links with the "global economic outlook", and also driven by "socio-economic issues". All these are themes that fall under the economic consequences frames (see Figure 7.1).

***Figure 7.1: Theme map for economic consequences frame***




With 46.3 per cent of the articles framed from the economic consequences perspective, Table 7.4 reveals the themes behind both frames. At the top of the list as the most dominant theme is "negative consequences to the economy" (24.3 per cent of articles), followed by "investor confidence" (19.5 per cent) and South African mining (17 per cent). The South African economy and global economy themes have a prevalence of 7.3 per cent and 4.8 per cent respectively. It is important to be mindful of the relationship between themes that fall under the South African economy as reflected in Figure 7.1.

***Table 7.4: Frequency of themes***

| | | **Total percentage** |
|---|---|---|
| **Primary themes in articles** | Negative consequences to economy | 24.3% |
| | Investor confidence | 19.5% |
| | SA's mining | 17% |
| | Malema and nationalisation | 17% |
| | SA's economy | 7.3% |
| | Not government policy | 7.3% |
| | Global economy | 4.8% |
| | NA | 2.4% |
| Total | | 100% |

**NB: themes developed independent from frames**

These themes and their location within the economic frame reaffirm the observations made in the previous chapter, that this discourse is portrayed from an elitist perspective. Fundamentally, the drivers behind this, among others, pertain to issues of primary definers and thus confirm the assumption that structural factors influence the representation of ideological discourse. As Callaghan and Schnell (2001: 185–6) state: "Much evidence suggests the power of frames to shape citizens' policy support and related political perceptions". Therefore, "If the text frame emphasises a variety of mutually reinforcing ways that the glass is half full, the evidence of social science suggests that relatively few in the audience will conclude it is half empty" (Entman, 1993: 56 cited in Callaghan and Schnell, 2001). Furthermore, "By promoting a particular frame, political elites, the media, and other players can alter how an issue is understood and thus shift public opinion. In other words, political elites can effectively use frames to promote their own political ends" (Callaghan and Schnell, 2001: 186). Therefore, it emerges that the corporate media's portrayal of the nationalisation discourse is influenced by political and business elites in order to safeguard the interests of the capitalist class. This is done through framing the discourse as damaging to the economy, and catastrophic consequences are predicted to anyone contemplating such a policy. Fundamentally, the framing of the nationalisation discourse must be located and understood within the broader political economy of the media, its control and power that, according to McNair, is

> premised on economic determinacy, whereby ruling elites are presumed to be able to extend their control of economic resources to control of the cultural apparatuses of media, including the means of propaganda and public relations, leading to planned and predictable outcomes such as pro-elite media bias, dominant ideology, even 'brainwashing' (McNair, 2006: 3 cited in Freedman, 2015).

It is thus apparent that, as Freedman (2015) posits, the ruling elites possess mechanisms to capture the media agenda by deploying propaganda techniques to circulate their partisan media content with the view to securing compliance with existing social relations.

#### 7.3.2.2 The spectre of investor confidence

As reflected in Table 7.4, it is apparent that the discourse is premised on mollycoddling the sentiments of the investor community and hence the dominance of the economic consequences themes, particularly investor confidence. However, this must be understood in the context of structural factors of the media and the role of dominant social actors therein. Herman and Chomsky (1988), in their seminal book *Manufacturing Consent*, highlight the role of the corporate media in the "propaganda model". To this effect, the corporate media is a crucial tool in advancing and legitimising actions of the capitalist class. Freedman (2015: 281) alludes to the fact that the corporate media is the

> … ideological lynchpin of the dominant class and thus a crucial constituent of state power. Through a combination of capitalist property relations and an orientation on profit, the existence of advertising as a key source of capital, the domination of elite sources, sustained attacks on any material that challenges these sources and elite agendas, and the construction of an 'enemy' (whether Communism or Islamism) around which populations (and media agendas) can unite, the mainstream media environment is structured in such a way as to control dissent and steer public action toward the interests of ruling elites.

Indeed, the portrayal of the nationalisation discourse points to this reality, where the corporate media uses the investor confidence theme to attack and discredit the calls for nationalisation of mines by those who pose as representative of the subalterns. However, it is imperative to decipher the concept of investor confidence in the background of the nationalisation discourse since it can mean different things to different people. In the context of this research study it refers to issues such as the protection capital value and of investment, whereby investors are guaranteed that their investments will yield expected income. The investor confidence index can thus be measured by looking at actual levels of risk taken by investors in their portfolios.[41] Essentially, the argument is that investors must be provided guarantees and incentives to invest in the country, and that this will have trickle-down effects such as economic growth, and thus address socio-economic issues like poverty, unemployment and under-development.

[41] http://www.investopedia.com/terms/s/state-street-confidence-index.asp

In the context of the South African political landscape, investor confidence broadly relates to foreign investors that government is trying to lure to the country; hence the perception that the discourse of "scares investors" must be managed correctly as reflected in many articles. However, this concept is best understood when situated within dependency theory, which exposes this line of thinking as part of modernisation theory, and its more recent manifestation, neo-liberalism. Essentially, and as Kentor and Jorgenson (2010) point out, poor countries are advised that in order to "develop" they need the rich countries to provide the requisite education, technology and capital for them to become "modern".

> For modernization theorists as well as scholars with neoliberal orientations (e.g. Gilpin, 2001) foreign direct investment is one of these 'modernizing' mechanisms whereby the developed nations can help less developed nations develop, leading to a relative convergence between the developed and less developed nations (Kentor and Jorgenson, 2010: 420).

This line of thinking is prevalent in the nationalisation discourse as represented by the corporate press, thus reaffirming the assumptions of this research study that the corporate media, because of structural factors such as ownership, is located within market forces.

Therefore, in the discourse it is argued without any evidence that calls for mine nationalisation negatively affect investor confidence in the country. For example, most media reports highlight the unsubstantiated claims that the debate chases away investors. This is reflected in the article "Nationalisation debate 'worries investors'" in the *Business Day* of 29 June 2011, which epitomises this theme with the lead paragraph:

> The debate about nationalisation of SA's mines is damaging investor confidence in the country and could hinder companies' ability to raise capital towards sustaining or growing production, Impala Platinum (Implants) CEO David Brown said yesterday (Seccombe, 2011: 11).

This is how the discourse is portrayed in the corporate media, with both the headline and the lead paragraph of this article reflecting an economic consequences frame where the discourse is viewed primarily through an economic prism. In this regard, the rallying call of the discourse – investor confidence – is pervasive and permeates the discourse, largely driven by primary definers. The dominant narrative of the discourse depends on the interpretation of government and business sources. In the above article, where Brown is the primary definer and "investor

confidence" is the primary theme, no other sources are used to either verify the claims or present an alternative view. Instead Mr Brown is allowed to speculate thus:

> The reasons for the call for nationalisation could stem from failure of miners to have economic empowerment that benefitted many (Seccombe, 2011: 11).

This is surprising when many of these articles state that the ANC Youth League is the initiator of the debate. Brown also reveals that North American and European investors, who make up about half of Implats' share register, have expressed worry about the debate. Little if no attention is paid to real underlying socio-economic issues that underpin the discourse. Therefore, this article highlights the fact that the theme of investor confidence is driven by sources of articles but fundamentally exposes the representation of the discourse from a capitalist point of view by the corporate print media. In particular, government officials and mining executives use the notion of investor confidence to discredit the proposition of nationalisation. This theme is also advanced by analysts either as sources or in opinion articles.

To illustrate this point further, three articles are scrutinised. The first is "Manage debates on nationalism" in the *Citizen* of 20 July 2011. The article states in the lead paragraph that:

> Finance minister Pravin Gordhan said debates like nationalisation needed to be managed in such a way that it did not chase away investors… (Ndzamela, 2011: 15).

Here "investor confidence" is the primary theme, driven by the Minister of Finance. In the article, the Minister defines the issue in such a way that secondary sources have to react to his definition. A unique feature in this article is that the Minister is asked if there was evidence before him that the talk of nationalisation dampened investor sentiments, a question to which he fails to respond – at least according to the article. Instead he rants about the country's political landscape and states that:

> We need investments, we need technology to come from outside of South Africa and we need to partner in the right way with each of these people so that we can advance our cause (Ndzamela, 2011: 15).

However, the article misses an opportunity to put the very same question to proponents of nationalisation so that they could respond to this question. Instead it mentions in one sentence in the middle of the article that:

> Leaders of the ANC Youth League have called for the nationalisation of key sectors like mines and banks because of the slow pace of economic transformation (Ndzamela, 2011: 15).

The second article, "Effects of nationalisation talks" in the *Farmers Weekly* of 12 August 2011, also reveals the role of neo-liberal structures in embedding the investor confidence theme. An agency of Bretton Woods institutions, the United Nations Conference in Trade and Development's 2011 investment survey is used in the lead paragraph to posit that: "Flows of foreign direct investment (FDI) to South Africa plummeted by 70% to US$1,6 billion in 2010" (Joubert, 2011: 25). According to the article, "many economists attribute the drop in FDI to uncertainty surrounding nationalisation", but it goes on to quote only Des Brasington, Agri Farm Brokers' principal agent who claims "ANC Youth League president Julius Malema's talk about nationalisation had a devastating effect on foreign and local investors". However, no facts are advanced to back up these claims, particularly those made in the lead paragraph on the "plummeting" of FDI. Instead the article hops to a World Bank report which states: "Industrial completion is much weaker in South Africa". Nothing on nationalisation is mentioned from the report, let alone the link to investment. Instead the report seems to be pointing to well-known issues of labour relations and poor skills development as obstacles to investment. Therefore, the headline and the introductory paragraph that boldly link nationalisation and investment are not backed up by any facts in this article. Since there are no other sources used in the article, especially those who support the call for nationalisation, this theme is therefore driven by primary definers who are, at least from the articles, unable to produce facts to back up the investor confidence theme.

In the third article, "Nationalisation debate unhelpful as mines and factories slow – Gordhan" in *The Star* of 26 October 2011, Finance Minister Pravin Gordhan says: "The debate on nationalisation has led to uncertainty among investors" (Pressly, 2011: 25). After making this bold assertion in the opening paragraph, the article proceeds to note that Gordhan's argument on mining "underperformance" and other key economic sectors between 2001 and 2008 is due to several factors:

> They include uncertainty in the regulatory environment governing the transfer of mining rights and the opaque permit granting process, compounded by inefficient administrative process 'and lengthy waiting periods for the issuance of water licences' (Pressly, 2011: 25)

The articles goes on to cite Gordhan mentioning many factors that contribute to the slow growth in the economy such as "logistical challenges including operational inefficiencies in the rail system and high ports charges" and the fact that gold mining now occurred "at very deep levels with higher costs and risks". Gordhan is also cited as saying strikes and safety-related stoppages disrupted production. However, the bold headline and assertions made earlier on in the article are not backed by any facts in the article. It can therefore be argued that the theme of investor confidence is only used by the corporate print media and its primary sources to deflect the debate, as very little evidence is provided on why the discourse creates "uncertainty" or "chases away" investors.

However, it is quite apparent that this posture is influenced by structural factors, as highlighted by Callaghan and Schnell (2001: 188) who state that: "the ability of elites to frame and structure issues for the public via the media is influenced by a political actor's status, credibility, and organizational resources". In this regard, some actors such as the Ministers of Mineral Resources and Finance as well as the chief executives of mining companies are perceived to be influential in the policy process and possess expertise; they are thus "able to easily attract the media attention that allows them to put forth their desired issue frames" (Callaghan and Schnell, 2001: 188). Fundamentally, this framing of the nationalisation discourse is a function of the media power to shape and influence public opinion and related political perceptions: "…by deciding which issues to cover, the media set the public agenda" (Callaghan and Schnell, 2001: 188; see also MacKuen, 1981; McCombs, 1981; Iyengar and Kinder, 1987). In this case investor confidence is the theme used as an extension of the economic consequences frame to discredit arguments for nationalisation.

Furthermore, this representation fails to provide a balanced ideological perspective by not providing space for proponents of nationalisation. What could be revealed by proponents of nationalisation is what has been articulated by classical dependency theorists, that the much vaunted foreign investment from rich to poor countries in actual fact does not address economic problems of poor countries as advanced by opponents of nationalisation. Instead it has the opposite effect as it creates dependency. "These 'dependent' economies grow in a 'disarticulated' manner, without forming the natural forward and backward linkages found in rich countries. This dependency relationship is reinforced by an unequal exchange of labor

value" (Kentor and Jorgenson, 2010: 420). A case in point, is Lonmin in Marikana[42] where some workers paid the ultimate price for demanding higher wages while the directors of Lonmin at the "core" continued to amass wealth through surplus value when workers at the "periphery" suffer and continue to live in squalid conditions. Furthermore, as postulated in the ANC Youth League discussion document, foreign direct investment is often used to undermine the economic sovereignty of many countries.

> In South Africa, the African National Congress' good intention to construct a democratic developmental state might be undermined by the whims and needs of foreign investors who wittingly or unwittingly place conditionalities before investing. It is not uncommon for the political leadership in the ANC and alliance to defer or even avoid taking sovereign decisions in fear of investors and markets (ANCYL, 2010: 11).

The document argues further that:

> The majority of Foreign Direct Investments are not devoted to new, job creating investment but to Mergers and Acquisitions which almost invariably result in job losses. In South Africa, the biggest FDIs in the democratic dispensation such as Barclays and Vodafone were mainly acquisitions and did not substantially alter the living conditions of our people through creation of quality jobs (ANCYL, 2010: 11).

Indeed, it is this line of reasoning which could have bolstered and balanced the discourse, but it was completely neglected.

Moreover, the dominance of foreign capital has negative consequences for developing countries when compared to less dependent ones, since investing countries have many unfair

[42] The Bench Marks Foundation argued: "The benefits of mining are not reaching the workers or the surrounding communities. Lack of employment opportunities for local youth, squalid living conditions, unemployment and growing inequalities contribute to this mess" (www.bench-marks.org.za/). It claimed the workers were exploited and that this was the motivation for the violence. It also criticised the high profits when compared with the low wages of the workers. The International Labour Organisation criticised the condition of the miners saying they were exposed to "a variety of safety hazards: falling rocks, exposure to dust, intensive noise, fumes and high temperatures, among others". Trade and Industry Minister Rob Davies described the conditions in the mines as "appalling" and said the owners who "make millions" had questions to answer about how they treat their workers. It was later reported by Al Jazeera that the conditions in the mine led to "seething tensions" as a result of "dire living conditions, union rivalry, and company disinterest" (www.bench-marks.org.za/).

advantages, with profits repatriated to the investing country instead of reinvested in the host economy (Kentor and Jorgenson, 2010). As Lacher and Nepal (2010: 949–50) posit, "The unbalanced exchange relations occur because the world economic system favours the rich industrialised countries due to their ability to control and manipulate the world economy through capital accumulation, control of foreign investments, and political influence". To this end, "Foreign investment may lead to many of the companies in the periphery being owned by the core, and those companies can siphon much of the economic surplus out of the country quickly" (Lacher and Nepal, 2010: 949–50). However, because of the corporate media's bias towards the capitalist viewpoint, the discourse is framed from an elitist perspective by using the economic consequences frame and themes such as investor confidence. Alternative views, such as dependency theory to counterpose the dominance of the modernisation neo-liberal perspective, are systematically neglected.

#### 7.3.2.3 South Africa's mining and the global economy

For well over a century mining has been the backbone of the South African economy. As a "…contributor to aggregate output, as foreign exchange earner for the economy, as employer, and as a generator of tax revenues mining has often been viewed as the locomotive of South Africa's economic development" (Fedderke and Pirouz, 2000: 1). This started with the discovery of diamonds on the banks of the Orange River around 1867 and the subsequent discovery and exploitation of the Kimberly pipes. This was followed by the discovery of gold, and in particular the Witwatersrand gold rush in 1886. South Africa still possesses copious amount of mineral riches, over and above gold and diamonds, including being the largest producer of chrome, manganese, platinum, vanadium and vermiculite. The country also produces large amounts of coal and iron ore.[43] Of course, as the broader South African economy transforms and diversifies, the role of the mining sector is slightly diminished. Fedderke and Pirouz (2000: 1) point out that the transformation of the mining sector is a natural process as "Any economy that considers itself on a developmental trajectory would experience diversification of economic activity over time." In the context of this, Fine (2008) speaks of the Minerals-Energy Complex (MEC) as a as a system of accumulation that is centred on core sectors; its history and consequences can be traced back to the emergence of mining through to the present day.

[43] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mining_industry_of_South_Africa

> In the interwar and immediate post-war period, core MEC sectors drove the economy, furnishing a surplus for the protection and growth and, ultimately, incorporation of Afrikaner capital. State corporations in electricity, steel, transport and so on, represented an accommodation across the economic power of the mining conglomerates and the political power of the Afrikaners (Fine, 2008: 2).

Furthermore, Fine (2008) argues that the post-apartheid economy has continued to be dominated by the MEC but with new features coming to the fore.

Likewise, and as highlighted in the early chapters of this research study, the South African corporate English press owes its roots to the mining sector. Historically, the English press had strong ties with mining and British imperial interests (Tomaselli, 1997); it was owned and controlled by mining corporations (Sparks, 2009). The mining industry still plays a central role in the economic development of the country, and by 2007 it employed 493 000 workers and represented 18 per cent of South Africa's US$588 billion Gross Domestic Product[44]. Nonetheless, with the 2008 world capitalist crisis, this situation has changed. In the South African context, the mining industry was besieged with industrial action such as the one in the platinum belt which led to the Marikana carnage. Baxter (2009) points out that the global financial crisis had implications for the economic health and prospects of the global mineral-resources sector. As the economic growth in the advanced economies, which account for more than 50 per cent of global GDP and about 40 per cent of total mineral demand, collapsed this weakened the demand outlook for minerals significantly (Baxter, 2009). Nevertheless, it is important to note that the industry in South Africa was cushioned by "the underlying structural demand story related to the materials-intensive growth in the BRIC economies" which continued their strong demand for minerals, especially in the fast-growing populous countries such as China (Baxter, 2009: 110). Another crucial dynamic within the South African mining industry is the transformation agenda. In this regard, the Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act (MPRDA) was introduced in 2002, followed by the Mining Charter of 2004. Both were designed to increase the state's participation in the sector's revenues while addressing the legacy of colonial apartheid (Antin, 2013; Cawood and Oshokoya, 2013).

It is important to note that this happens against the background of neo-liberalism that has taken grip in South Africa. The 1994 democratic breakthrough in South Africa happened in the

[44] https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mining_industry_of_South_Africa

context of a rampant neo-liberal global outlook following the collapse of the Soviet Union. Therefore, the new democratic government had to and continues to face difficult choices between its social developmental agenda and the dominant ideology that governs the global political economy – neo-liberalism. One of the crucial aspects of South Africa's macroeconomic policy pertains to the heavily debated relationship between such policy and neo-liberalism. The question is whether the policy has been neo-liberal and if so was it imposed and did it have to be adopted (Fine, 2008). As the government tries to navigate between its progressive policies in the context of a global economy dominated by neo-liberalism,

> There is general agreement, Government denials to the contrary, that macroeconomic policy, especially with GEAR [Growth, employment and redistribution strategy], has been neo-liberal. But there might be nagging doubts about this in light of the extent of social support, the limited extent of privatisation in practice, and the recent shift towards a more interventionist and even developmental-state stance (Fine, 2008: 7).

However, there is no doubt that neo-liberalism has been hegemonic in influencing policy direction in South Africa. As Giroux (2011: 1) points out,

> The ascendancy of neoliberal corporate culture into every aspect of American life both consolidates economic power in the hands of the few and aggressively attempts to break the power of unions, decouple income from productivity, subordinate the needs of society to the market, and deem public services and goods an unconscionable luxury.

While the historical ties between South Africa's corporate media and the Minerals-Energy Complex appear to have waned post 1994, the corporate media remains an integral part of the market forces. For example, a cursory glance at the ownership patterns of the corporate media reveals that they are all controlled by big corporations with interests in other sectors and industries. Therefore, the South African mining and the global economy themes, which fall within the economic consequences frame, must be understood within this broader context. The economic consequences frame focuses the debate on the economic situation, challenges and possibilities of the South African economy and the policies underpinning it. The South African mining theme is identified in the coverage and locates the discourse within the nationalisation of mines, dealing with issues of ownership and the broader transformation of mines in the process. The global economy theme places the discourse in the context of the global economic situation, such as the commodity boom and the global economic crisis. Fundamentally, these emerge within the same articles that contain other themes, such as investor confidence and consequences to the economy. The corporate media locates the discourse within the global

economy sphere by highlighting, for example, that "…SA is in danger of being left behind in the commodities boom which has engulfed the world" (Cohen, 2011: 12) – this in the article "Nationalisation a hot topic for miners" in the *Business Day* of 8 February 2011. Among the issues dealt with in the article is the question of why South Africa is getting such a small portion of global commodity investment.

On the other hand, it is apparent that the discourse is primarily about nationalisation of mines, hence articles such as "NUM wants mines to be nationalised" in the *Sowetan* of 15 November 2011. Although the article deals with other issues not related to mining, it nevertheless starts by stating that "The National Union of Mineworkers wants mines to be nationalised to benefit ordinary South Africans" (Mabuza, K. (2011: 4). However, the organisation is not given a chance to expand on what it means by "benefits to ordinary South Africans". Another opinion article "Let's mine, not undermine" by Cyril Ramaphosa[45] in the *Sunday Times* of 7 August 2011, deals with deeper issues of South African mining and transformation.

> It is highly plausible that the call arises in the context of a mining industry that has been seen to profit from the commodities boom, but fallen short of the commitments made in the Mining Charter. In its 2009 review of progress in the implementation of the charter, government found very little transformation had been achieved. Diversification of management and core-skilled workers has been minimal (Ramaphosa, 2011: 1).

This is one of the few occasions where the discourse sought to deal with fundamental issues as raised by proponents of the discourse, the ANC Youth League and its supporters. However, it is quite apparent that the two media frames and themes used in the coverage of nationalisation are influenced by reporters' own views on the discourse. Callaghan and Schnell (2001: 189) point out that: "While reporters assert that they strive to report the news as free from biases as is humanely possible, their personal values and ideology may sometimes influence their framing

[45] Cyril Ramaphosa is a South African politician, businessman, activist and former trade union leader who has served as the Deputy President under President Jacob Zuma since 2014. He was elected as Deputy President of the ANC at the ANC National Conference in Mangaung in December 2012. He is also the Chairman of the National Planning Commission, which is responsible for strategic planning for the country. Respected as a skillful negotiator and strategist, Ramaphosa built up the biggest and most powerful trade union in South Africa – the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) – and played a crucial role, with Roelf Meyer of the now defunct National Party, during the negotiations to bring about a peaceful end to apartheid and steer the country towards its first democratic elections in April 1994. He has been criticised, however, for his business interests, which include a seat on the board of Lonmin. On 15 August 2012 he called for action against the Marikana miners' strike, which he called "dastardly criminal" conduct (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cyril_Ramaphosa).

judgments" (also see Gans, 1980). Therefore, as far as the economic consequences frame and its themes are concerned, it transpires that the discourse is portrayed from a business and elitist point of view. This reaffirms observations made in the previous chapter, especially on the primary definers. In this regard, corporate media uses its close proximity to the market forces to advance its positions on ideological issues such as nationalisation.

#### 7.3.2.4 Negative consequences for the economy

In the context of analysing discourses such as nationalisation, it is imperative to appreciate that political economy "asks us to concentrate on a specific set of social relations organized around *power* or the ability to control other people, processes and things, even in the face of resistance" (Mosco, 2009: 24). Therefore, at all times, media power and "symbolic power", as conceived by Bourdieu (1991), are at play to construct social reality. Indeed, news content reflects the process of "power of constituting the given through utterances, of making people see and believe, of confirming or transforming the vision of the world and, thereby, action on the world and thus the world itself" (Bourdieu, 1991: 170). In light of this, another theme that epitomises the economic consequences frame is "negative consequences for the economy" where emphasis is placed on the perceived negative effects the discourse is having on the economy. The corporate media uses terms such as "disastrous consequences for the economy", "horrific impact on the economy", "wreck SA's economy", "capital flight" and "consider investors" to describe the discourse.

Under this theme it is argued that the discourse affects the reputation of the country and in turn impacts negatively on the economy. This is reflected in the article "Nationalisation calls 'hurting SA'" in the *Business Day* of 22 September 2011. As highlighted earlier, the lead paragraphs states that "SA's improving reputation among the Group of Eight (G-8) countries is being clouded by threats of nationalisation…." Indeed, this theme is closely related to the investor confidence theme, as the reasons for negative consequences are premised on the perceived possible actions by investors. According to this article: "Maintaining SA's reputation as an investment destination is vital as recent research has revealed that the country is beginning to face stiff competition from countries such as Nigeria, Kenya, Ghana and Mauritius" (Kamhunga, 2011: 2). Furthermore, the article adds that "Respondents' views on the threats of nationalisation mirror investor concerns about calls by the African National Congress Youth League to nationalise mines and expropriate commercial farms without

compensation" (Kamhunga, 2011: 2). This certainly reaffirms assertions that the corporate media has the power to influence the discourse by elevating certain issues over others, in the process influencing its audience's perception of the political actors involved and how they will be judged in the future (Callaghan and Schnell, 2001).

> The opportunity to frame issues arises from the media's ability to pick and choose from the rhetoric offered by pressure groups and politicians. In the most extreme case, the media could abandon all message inputs by other players and create a purely media-generated version of the debate. The extent to which coverage of an issue is dominated by interest groups and political actors versus a media-generated version of reality represents another indicator of the media's political power (Callaghan and Schnell, 2001: 188).

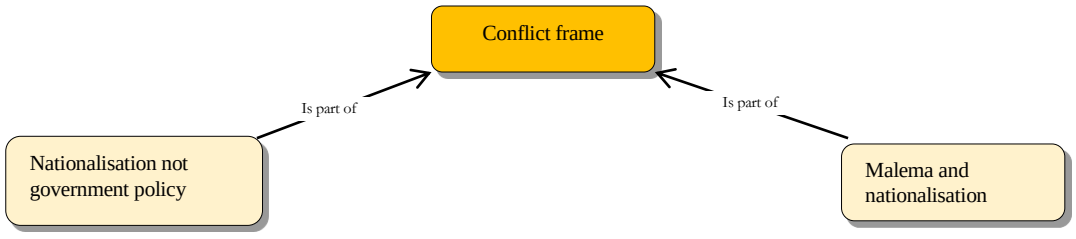
In the final analysis this is the context within which the economic consequences frame and its themes should be understood. The corporate media possess massive power and chooses how to represent any ideological discourse, nationalisation included. Furthermore, just as the previous chapter revealed that government and business sources as well as interest groups such as Free Market Foundation are privileged in the articles on nationalisation to espouse their viewpoints against nationalisation, this section of this chapter further strengthens this observation.

### 7.3.3 Themes under the conflict frame

#### 7.3.3.1 Overview of conflict frame themes

Two major themes can be grouped under the conflict frame – "nationalisation not government policy" and "Malema and nationalisation" (see Figure 7.2).

***Figure 7.2: Theme map for conflict frame***




As is to be expected with such a discourse, conflicts are likely to play a pivotal role. Indeed, the conflict frame is prevalent in 39 per cent of the articles in the sample. As far as the themes under this frame are concerned, the theme "nationalisation not government policy" is contained in 7.3 per cent of articles while the theme "Malema and nationalisation" is contained in 17 per

cent (see Table 7.4). This points to a situation where "the political process has often been defined as the struggle over whose definition of social, political, or economic phenomena will prevail" (Callaghan and Schnell, 2001: 185; also see Gamson & Modigliani, 1987). Therefore, "if policy-making is a struggle over alternative realities, then language is the medium that reflects, advances, and interprets these alternatives" (Rochefort and Cobb, 1994: 9 cited in Callaghan and Schnell, 2001). The conflict frame reveals that while policy process is a contested terrain, the corporate media has the power to define it on behalf of the capitalist class. The following sections use the themes to analyse this assertion further based on the findings that have already emerged in the previous chapter and sections.

#### 7.3.3.2 Malema and the nationalisation theme

The characterisation of the nationalisation discourse and of Julius Malema must be understood in the context and background of this research study as outlined in Chapter 2. This discourse stems from the call by the ANC Youth League to nationalise mines. However, Malema is isolated from the leadership collective of the ANC Youth League and thus other issues such as his disciplinary processes within the ANC are elevated. An example of this is reflected in the article "Nationalisation debate 'bigger than Malema'" in the *Sunday Times* of 13 November 2011, where the lead paragraph says:

> The suspension of African National Congress Youth League leader Julius Malema, who has been pushing for nationalisation of South Africa's mines, will remove some immediate heat from the debate on economic issues but will not extinguish the underlying problems of an unequal society, said Econometrix director Tony Twine (Prinsloo, 2011: 16)

Here, nationalisation is represented from the point of view of the suspension of Julius Malema and the establishment by the ANC of "a task team to study nationalisation around the world and prepare a report on its feasibility in SA" (Prinsloo, 2011: 16). The four sources in the article (Econometrix director Tony Twine, Werkmans Attorneys director Hulme Schole, political analyst Steven Friedman, and Gold Fields CEO Nick Holland) are used to define the conflict and to predict potential winners with the suspension of Malema. The corporate media's representation of the discourse focuses on the ANC internal political processes, including that the ANC's study tour to other countries to investigate nationalisation "will continue, irrespective of Malema's involvement, and will be presented at the ANC's policy meeting at the end of 2012" (Prinsloo, 2011: 16).

Another article that follows a similar pattern is "Nationalisation debate goes on" in the *Sunday Independent* of 20 November 2011. Once more, Malema is isolated from the ANC Youth League leadership collective, and the decisions of the organisations are portrayed as Malema's alone, notwithstanding the fact that he is the president. The lead paragraph reflects this point:

> The decision by the ANC to suspend ANC Youth League president Julius Malema from the party would not halt the debate started by his demands to nationalise mines without compensation, industry and academics said last week (Matomela, 2011: 21).

In perpetuating the false one-man crusade, the article states that "Since 2008 Malema has been calling for the controversial nationalisation of mines to realise his interpretation of the Freedom Charter, claiming it would help to ensure economic freedom in the lifetime of unemployed youth" (Matomela, 2011: 21). Here, the context that this is a congress resolution of the ANC Youth League is not provided; instead the impression is created that this is Malema's call. In this context Malema, the elected president of the ANC Youth League, ceases to exist and Malema the personality is created and often caricatured by the corporate media. As Kotzé (2012) argues, the media is complicit in the creation of a personality cult that is Malema. However, the controversial characterisation of Malema affirms "the role of the press as a political force, detailing the oppositional manner in which it depicts Malema" (Kotzé, 2012: 259), in the process missing out on the chance to focus on the matter at hand. It is the prevailing media logic that determines the framing of Malema, thus distorting the framing of the nationalisation discourse. In this regard, the "…valency of depiction affirms that it is media logic that constitutes political communication" (Kotzé, 2012: 259).

Because of this logic, the discourse is represented from an ANC internal processes perspective where "…an ANC disciplinary committee found Malema guilty of bringing the party into disrepute and for sowing division. It recommended Malema's suspension from the ANC for five years and that he step down from his position" (Matomela, 2011: 21). Whereas the discourse could have been used to highlight a plethora of social ills confronting the country, the corporate media largely opts to use conflict to frame the discourse. As emphasised above, the conflict frame is used as a journalistic practice to report stories of clashing interpretation (De Vreese, 2005). In this way, the essence of the discourse, which includes economic transformation, poverty and inequality, is lost in the prominence of personalities and conflicts.

#### 7.3.3.3 Nationalisation is not government policy

In order to understand this theme it is crucial to appreciate the reality that the government derives its mandate from the African National Congress, as South Africa's governing party. Furthermore, the paradoxes of progressive governments globally, who attempt to implement a revolutionary and comprehensive social development programme within the framework of dominant global neo-liberal policies, must be taken into account. Karl Marx conceptualised contradiction as a key feature of capitalist society (Freedman, 2015). Contradiction is a key feature in the globalising capitalist-dominated world, and is "capitalism's basic operating principle, in a way that is true of no other social form. It is the source, at one and the same time, of both the capitalist system's unique dynamism and its constant self-subversion" (Meiskins Wood, 2002: 278 cited in Freedman, 2015).

Faced with this dilemma as a result of exogenous factors, the ANC, as it approached its Third National General Council in 2010, acknowledged the task it faced in "…replacing apartheid divisions, inequality and impoverishment with a more equitable and inclusive economy". The organisation further acknowledged that "it is impossible to achieve our long-standing ambition of a non-racist, non-sexist, democratic society unless we also ensure that all our people gain from South Africa's economic development" (ANC, 2010: 1). However, its stance on the question of nationalisation of mines and land was cautious and noncommittal:

> Debates on this subject are vexed by the fact that nationalisation takes many different forms. We need to ensure that proposals become more specific about (a) who would end up owning the assets, (b) who would manage them, and with what purpose, (c) what would be the costs to the fiscus and the economy, and (d) what would be the risks of failure as well as the benefits of success (ANC, 2010: 16).

A giveaway line pertains to the example of the Zambian copper mines, much loved by the media:

> …[The] Zambian experience with nationalising the mines points to some of the risks. Zambia nationalised the copper mines, which supplied 90% of its exports, in the early 1970s. It ended up hiring back the multinational copper companies to manage them. As international copper prices fell, the companies enjoyed guaranteed management fees while the state had to bear the losses to the mines (ANC, 2010: 16).

Therefore, it is apparent that the ANC, faced with these dilemmas, was not going to "blindly" support nationalisation. However, this discourse became factionalised within the ANC-led

movement in such a way that those who supported nationalisation were perceived to be in the anti-Jacob Zuma faction. In this context it would be naïve to expect ministers appointed by President Zuma to support calls for nationalisation of mines.

Consequently, another theme within the conflict frame is "nationalisation not government policy". This theme appears in the coverage in the context of government officials trying to distance the government from nationalisation and in the process having to assure investors that nationalisation is not government policy. Even commentators and mining bosses repeat this line to argue against nationalisation. This theme is driven from the top, with articles like "Nationalisation not policy, Zuma says" in the *Business Day* of 28 February 2011:

> At the state-owned mining company's launch of a R130m coal project in Mpumalanga on Saturday, President Jacob Zuma said nationalisation was not government policy but there was nothing to prevent it from becoming more than just a regulator of the sector (Seccombe, 2011: 1).

While the President talks about the state playing a more active role in the mining sector, the overriding theme is that nationalisation is not government's policy. Minister of Mineral Resources Susan Shabangu is equally vocal in stating categorically that nationalisation is not government policy. This led to headlines such as "Nationalisation will not happen" in the *City Press* of 13 March 2011; the article states that "Mineral Resources Minister Susan Shabangu says that South Africa will not nationalise its mining industry, even though members of the ruling ANC have called for such a move" (Bloomberg, 2011: 2). The fact that the governing party had established a task team to look into this matter does not appear to deter the reportage, which seeks to emphasis not only the fact that this is not government policy but that this will not happen. This is also reflected in the article "Shabangu pours cold water on nationalisation" in the *Sunday Time* of 20 November 2011: "The fact that the ANC has set up a task team to investigate nationalisation does not necessarily mean it is going to implement the policy" (Vollgraaff, 2001: 9). However, the point that setting up the task team does not suggest that its objective is to look for reasons not to implement nationalisation is missed by the corporate media. If this was already the attitude of government ministers, it makes the task team appear like a smokescreen.

It could be argued that this framing played a huge part in influencing ordinary South Africans as well as members of the ANC in formulating their views on nationalisation. The trend

suggests that the media does indeed drive political debate "Given the ratings-driven environment in which the news is packaged and conveyed, journalists frequently exploit the personality, sensationalism, drama, and conflict of stories, thereby downplaying the larger social, economic, or political picture (Callaghan and Schnell, 2001: 186). Furthermore, this validates the assumption of this research study on structural factors that influence the corporate media since, as Callaghan and Schnell (2001: 186) advance, "The market-based environment in which the media operate places them alongside other strategic actors in their attempts to redefine and alter political rhetoric" (also see Cook, 1998; Hallin, 1992). Fundamentally, and as mentioned previously, this representation is a manifestation of the corporate print media's location within the market forces and thus subsequently privileges capitalism.

### 7.3.4 The drivers of themes

In order to gain further insight on the representation of the nationalisation discourse, several variables are used to check the correlation between themes. Having analysed the use of sources, the negative representation of nationalisation, and the frames and frequency of themes, the next sections closely analyses these further.

#### 7.3.4.1 Correlation between themes and sources

The previous chapter revealed a strong bias towards government and business sources as primary definers of the nationalisation discourse. This bias diminished space for proponents of the discourse to advance their views. To test this bias further, this section examines the themes discussed in the previous section in order to determine their correlation with the sources. Table 7.5 shows the correlation between the themes and the type of sources used in nationalisation articles. Once more, government, business and analyst sources are the most dominant with 29 per cent, 25.8 per cent and 24 per cent respectively. They are followed closely by political sources (17.7 per cent), while labour sources only have 3.2 per cent. This endorses the findings in the previous chapter that the themes are primarily defined and driven by these sources. This correlation between themes and sources strongly suggests the privileging of business and government sources as primary definers while the working class is subjected to "symbolic annihilation" as defined by George Gerbner through under-representation (Duncan, 2014). This representation is a reflection of a broader structural problem in the corporate media, which "…tend to take official sources of information much more seriously than the voices of workers

or the unemployed" (Duncan, 2014: 12). The commercial factors facing the corporate media place a huge burden on the reporters to produce news under tight deadlines. Therefore, it is tempting to rely on trusted sources. Indeed, "The most easily validated sources are likely to be organisations with the resources to maintain a constant flow of information to the media, such as government agencies, big business and 'think tanks" (Duncan, 2014: 12). Hence, themes under the economic consequences frame of "SA mining", "negative consequences for the economy", "investor confidence" and "SA economy" have the highest prevalence of sources with a combined total of 69.3 per cent. This substantiates further the assertion that the discourse is framed from an economic consequences perspective. In other words issues of the economy and the interests of monopoly capital are privileged over socio-economic issues that affect the working class and the poor.

***Table 7.5: Correlation between themes and sources***

| | | Government | Business | Analysts | Labour | Political | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Theme | Investor confidence | 5 | 3 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 11 |
| | SA mining | 4 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 15 |
| | SA economy | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 2 |
| | Global economy | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| | Not government policy | 3 | 1 | 2 | 0 | 1 | 7 |
| | Negative consequences to economy | 3 | 6 | 3 | 0 | 3 | 15 |
| | Malema & nationalisation | 2 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 12 |
| Total | | 18 | 16 | 15 | 2 | 11 | 62 |

If the primary definers, that is the government and business sources, are isolated from the rest of the sources and scrutinised separately under each theme, it emerges that they are by far the dominant sources. For example, the three economic consequences themes with the highest prevalence (SA mining, negative consequences for the economy, investor confidence) have a combined total of 66 per cent; of this total, business sources command 31.7 per cent and government sources 29 per cent. In the main, both these primary definers are concerned with the impact on business rather than socio-economic issues such as inequality, poverty and unemployment. For example:

> Mineral Resources Minister Susan Shabangu and chief executive of Anglo American Cynthia Carroll, said it would damage the economy as mining companies would not invest if their asset were not secured (Matomela, 2011: 21).

This extract reveals that both government and business sources are used to counter the call for nationalisation without an alternative view from the protagonists; clearly, the concern only relates to business interests. Even when socio-economic issues surface, they are only mentioned in passing by business executives, as reflected below:

> Even Roger Baxter, the departing strategy executive of the mining chamber, was quoted in Miningmx that nationalisation would set South Africa back 30 years and would not solve the unemployment problem (Matomela, 2011: 21).

This correlation validates the view reflected earlier in the research study that journalists tend to rely on government or corporate sources for their information, thereby ensuring that there is little, if any, deviation at all from the agenda of capitalism (Harper, 2012). However, this is not an overnight occurrence but, as Harper (2012: 23) stresses, "news journalists undergo a lengthy process of accommodation to capitalism, learning during their upbringing and training to absorb the dominant worldview as their own and to ignore alternative viewpoints". However, the over-utilisation of these sources should not discount the attempt to make use of working-class sources in the discourse, albeit from the conflict perspective. Whereas the conflict frame tends to be reflected by political, labour and analysts, government and business sources also dominate this frame. For example, the two themes under the conflict frame (not government policy; Malema and nationalisation) show a combined total of 30.6 per cent; of this total, business and government sources command 21 per cent each. In this respect, business and government sources do not shy away from expressing opinions on political processes as reflected by the chief executive of the South African Chamber of Mines Bheki Sibiya's comment on Malema's removal:

> It [Malema's suspension] may not settle the nationalisation debate. We would wish the debate to be completed with the hope that it doesn't come back. If Malema is not there at its conclusion, it may come. His hardship is going to be a risk of the future (Matomela, 2011: 21).

Again, this economic analysis within a conflict frame exposes lack of understanding of the political processes and seeks to elevate Malema above the organisation he leads. However, the correlation between themes and sources as variables reveals that primary definers play a pivotal role in the corporate media in determining the manner in which the nationalisation discourse is portrayed. This research study has already noted that the exclusion of working-class politics from the media agenda, as argued by Harper (2012: 24), must be characterised from Steven

Lukes' "three dimensional" view of power that "identifies not only the behaviours, conflicts and subjective policy decisions that the media makes visible, but also the hidden agendas, potential issues, latent conflicts and real interests that it elides". Furthermore, the assumption has been made that the need for journalists to quote authoritative sources results in news output that is a function of "official" views on issues; thus they "index their coverage to the range of opinion that exists in the government" (Zaller and Chiu, 1996: 392 cited in Callaghan and Schnell, 2001: 186). There are many reasons that could be advanced – such as journalistic norms, dependency on sources, or the accessibility of spokespersons and other practical considerations – but the fact of the matter is that "the media shape how issues are framed, either directly or through the choice of which players' messages they highlight" (Callaghan and Schnell, 2001: 186).

Obviously, this research study is not oblivious to the realities of the corporate print media on issues such as target audience since, for example, most of these publications have business sections. However, the fact is that the corporate print media comprises profit-based organisations that produce commodities (Murdock and Golding, 1973; Nixon, 2012). Therefore, some of the corporate print media produce material whose target audience is the middle strata and the petty bourgeoisie, with the main objective of advancing capitalists values. This is one in the many possible explanations on the treatment of this discourse by the corporate print media.

#### 7.3.4.2 Correlation between themes and tone

The previous chapter revealed an overwhelmingly negative representation of the nationalisation discourse. This section takes this further by using representation as a variable to test its correlation with the themes. As to be expected, Table 7.6 shows that themes under both the economic consequences and conflict frames occur in a context of negative representation. The economic consequences articles constitute 73.1 per cent of the sample articles. Of this, 86.6 per cent are depicted negatively. The conflict frame articles constitute 24.3 per cent of the sample; of these 50 per cent are depicted negatively.

***Table 7.6: Correlation between theme and tone***

| **Themes** | | Positive or negative representation | | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Positive | Negative | Neutral | |
| | Economic consequences themes | 0 | 26 | 4 | 30 |
| | Conflict themes | 2 | 5 | 3 | 10 |
| | NA | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Total | | 2 | 32 | 7 | 41 |

The article "Nationalisation benefits still not clear" in the *Sunday Times* of 7 August 2011, states in the lead paragraph: "Proponents of nationalisation were unable this week to give any details on how they expect it to work" (Shevel and Lefifi, 2011: 1). This is one of the few articles that focus on the proponents of nationalisation, even though the ANC Youth League and its president are not used as sources. The level of hostility is palpable, with the claim of inability to clarify the call for nationalisation, while the organisation that has drafted a discussion documents and congress resolutions is not used to clarify this call. Furthermore, this level of detail is not demanded from government officials and mining executives, especially on their claims that talk of nationalisation discourages investment. For example, the article "Nationalisation will not happen" in the *City Press* of 13 March 2011, states: "The state should own at least 60% of all the country's mining assets, according to an ANC Youth League policy document" (Bloomberg, 2011: 2). This partly indicates that details on how nationalisation would work exist in ANC Youth League documents and this article, just like many, misses the opportunity of using the Youth League as part of the sources instead of glibly referring to its policy discussion document. But this would not have been possible since at the onset the article states, "Mineral Resources Minister Susan Shabangu says that South Africa will not nationalise its mining industry, even though members of the ruling ANC have called for such a move" (Bloomberg, 2011: 2). It is clear that the main focus is to prioritise the dismissal of nationalisation as an unworkable lunatic-fringe policy proposal.

The findings on frequency of themes and tone are not surprising as all identified recurring themes largely suggest a business bias. Take for example "negative consequences for the economy"; "investor confidence" and "nationalisation not government policy" – it has been shown that all these themes are used to advance an anti-nationalisation posture. As COSATU's head of policy Chris Malikane notes, "…before foreign investment was used to 'blackmail the labour movement', SA needed to change its historical imbalances" (Shevel and Lefifi, 2011: 1). Therefore, it should not be a surprise that these themes are located in the context of negative

representation of the discourse. This highlights the ability of the corporate print media to be biased against ideological discourses that they find unpalatable. As Paul and Elder (2006: 13) posit, "When generating news stories about their 'enemies,' the opposite treatment inevitably follows. Generating positive stories about the admirable characteristics of one's enemies is unacceptable. At the same time, negative stories about enemies are always popular, routinely generated and highlighted."

For example, it is argued that:

> In the United States, Israel is a favoured 'ally,' so mistreatment or abuse of the Palestinians by the Israelis is usually covered under the idea of 'justified reprisal'. Because Fidel Castro of Cuba is viewed within the United States as an enemy, mainstream news writers routinely present Castro and Cuba in a negative light, ignoring or explaining away any 'achievements' of the Cuban government (such as universal medical coverage and a low infant mortality rate) (Paul and Elder, 2006: 18).

In the same vein, the South African corporate print media is not immune from these biases of portraying proponents of nationalisation in a negative light by, among others, elevating conflicts such as disciplinary processes within the ANC and ignoring underlying serious socio-economic challenges facing the country. The fact that the ANC Youth League had developed a discussion document seems to be a moot point to the corporate media. It is only the opinion piece "Nationalisation not the way" in *The Star* of 27 July 2011, which at least refers to the document as a source, its attempts to discredit calls for nationalisations notwithstanding.

#### 7.3.4.3 Correlation between themes and type of article

Another variable used in this analysis is the type of articles used to publish the nationalisation discourse. The correlation between the theme and type of article can further reveal the representation of the discourse. As Table 7.7 reflects, the majority of the articles deal with themes that fall under the economic consequences frame (73.1 per cent), with 63.4 per cent of those articles being hard news. It is interesting to note that, with the exception of three, nearly all opinion pieces contain themes that fall under the economic consequences frame.

***Table 7.7: Primary theme vs Section of newspaper***

| Theme of article | Type of article | | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| | News | Opinion articles | |
| Economic consequences themes | 16 | 12 | 28 |
| Conflict themes | 10 | 2 | 12 |
| NA | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Total | 26 | 15 | 41 |

This further reaffirms the finding that this discourse is represented from an economic perspective. This is exemplified by articles such as "Muddled messages" in the *Financial Mail* of 11 March 2011: "President Jacob Zuma and a gaggle of his cabinet ministers, have been at pains to assure all and sundry, especially foreign investors, that there's no change in government's economic policy" (Mthombothi, 2011: 8). In this article the primary focus is on the "muddled" messages, especially to investors, ultimately with consequences for the economy. While themes are driven by hard news that uses events to portray the nationalisation discourse, it is important to note that opinion pieces are utilised to convey messages regarding the economic consequences. All these variables that drive the nationalisation discourse themes elucidate in concrete terms the assumption of this thesis that structural factors such as ownership and control influence the coverage of nationalisation. What emerges from these sections has been expounded aptly by Callaghan and Schnell (2001: 186):

> By selectively choosing to cover one side or both sides of an issue, putting forth their own interpretation, simplifying events or stories, or by simply allocating greater coverage to one issue over another, the media act as gatekeepers, advocates, and interpreters of political themes and information. Journalists and editors draw maps or internal story patterns for their readers, and these maps or frames cognitively serve to structure the public debate, influence readers' level of information, and attribute policy responsibility.

It is for this reason that, on ideologically laden discourses, the corporate media must be carefully analysed in order to comprehensively understand and reach conclusions on issue frames since "at the very least, the relationship between the media and other elites is a symbiotic one, based on the reciprocal give and take of information" (Callaghan and Schnell, 2001: 186; also see Gans, 1980). It is an open secret that both policy actors and the media need each other, the former to drive forward their message and the latter to validate their stories through credible sources. However, the nature of this relationship is partly defined by structural factors that pre-direct the media to particular sources and issues.

## 7.4 Conclusion: a biased media frame

This chapter has enabled the research study to utilise qualitative content analysis to unpack further the portrayal of the nationalisation discourse in the corporate print media. In line with the picture that emerged in the previous chapter on quantitative content analysis, it is quite apparent that the discourse is framed from an economic consequences perspective. Even articles under the conflict frame, when closely scrutinised, are driven by the economic consequences frame. Furthermore, it becomes clearer that the conflict frame is not necessarily used to portray all sides of the debate but rather as a tool to advance antagonism towards nationalisation. By its very nature, the conflict frame seeks to highlight disputes between individuals and groupings, and in the case of the nationalisation discourse it emphasises intra-ANC conflicts. As is to be expected, this shifts the focus from the core issue; instead, politics of the Tripartite Alliance and the broader mass democratic movement under the leadership of the ANC take centre stage.

However, coming back to the economic consequences frame, its dominance confirms the assumption of the research study that the corporate media is part of the market forces, and therefore the overt support for capitalist ideology and values is unsurprising. This frame is used to create a negative impression of the discourse and its perceived harmful impacts on the economy of the country. Even in articles characterised as containing both frames, it emerges that the economic consequences frame dominates the coverage and fundamentally propels the discourse. The recurring themes also confirm the findings shown by the frames that the discourse is represented from an elitist economic perspective. This is mainly determined by the primary definers and hence the dominance of the economic consequences frame. The systemic emasculation of cogent arguments raised by proponents of nationalisation makes the discourse elitist and reduces corporate print media to a mouthpiece of capitalism. Themes such as investor confidence, negative consequences for the economy, and South Africa's mining and the global economy dominate the discourse. Importantly, these themes are used by the corporate print media to discredit arguments for nationalisation, which influences the manner in which any ideological discourse is represented. Certainly, the corporate print media is influenced by its close proximity to the market forces and advances their perspective on ideological issues.

The conflict themes also reveal the power of the corporate media to define the discourse on behalf of the capitalist elite by overplaying conflicts within the ANC and in the process shifting focus on fundamental economic transformational issues. Furthermore, it emerges from this chapter that themes under the conflict frame – nationalisation not government policy; Malema and nationalisation – are mainly used by the corporate media to express views of the capitalists by, for example, overstating conflicts within the ANC while restraining discussion of important socio-economic matters. Therefore, by utilising the framing and thematic content analysis, this chapter has presented more useful insights on the representation of the nationalisation discourse in the South African corporate print media. In the process, new understanding about the relationship and interplay between media frames and themes has emerged. The emergence of this picture is aided by the deeper analysis of the drivers of the economic consequences theme, in particular the spectre of investor confidence. The next chapter locates and discusses both quantitative and qualitative research findings in the broader theories of critical political economy of the media, in order to gain deeper insight on the representation of an ideologically laden discourse such as nationalisation.

# Chapter 8

# Economic Factors Influencing the Representation of the Nationalisation Discourse: A Marxist Approach

## 8.1 Introduction – a class analysis of South Africa's corporate media

Chapters 6 and 7 of this thesis are key analysis chapters that seek to elucidate the findings of the research study. Now, Chapter 8 utilises Marxist approaches to unpack the influence of economic factors in the representation of the nationalisation discourse. Then Chapter 9 continues the Marxist analysis in conjunction with decolonial theories. The primary objective of the latter approach is to unravel issues of race and transformation in the South African media. As highlighted previously, the current global capitalist crisis has resulted in renewed interest in Marxist analysis, particularly for critical communication studies. "That there is suddenly a surging interest in Karl Marx's work is an indication for the persistence of capitalism, class conflicts, and crisis" (Fuchs and Mosco, 2012: 127). Indeed, given the conditions under which the corporate media operates, a more robust Marxist approach as part of the broader critical political economy of communication is crucial in analysing the representation of discourses such as nationalisation. This approach is even more compelling considering the fact that political economy of the media has had limited engagement with Marxist concepts over the years (Wittel, 2012). Marxist theories have enormous importance for critical communication studies. As Fuchs and Mosco (2012: 129) posit, "If one wants to critically study communication and to use that research for social change, then the work of Marx provides an essential building block."

Therefore, in order to comprehensively analyse the representation of the nationalisation discourse by the corporate media, in this chapter I scrutinise economic factors in line with the assumption of the study that structural factors influence the representation of media discourses. To do so, I use the foundations of Karl Marx's theories to unpack the representation of the nationalisation discourse. Although many mainstream social scientists have long bid farewell to Marxism (Burawoy, 2013), with some characterising Marxist media analysis as a narrow, deterministic and economistic theory that neglects crucial aspects of culture, I argue that the Marxist approach still remains the most pertinent theoretical framework with which to unravel

ideologically laden discourses such as the one at hand, especially in the context of unabating global capitalist crises since 2008.

In using Marxism to understand the role of the media in society, it is instructive to take note of Burawoy's Marxist tree analogy which, he argues, has "successive branches ... Some branches dead, others dying and yet others flourishing". Fundamentally, "each branch springs its own reconstruction of Marxism, responding to specific historical circumstances" (Burawoy, 2013: 36). This analogy can be used to critically analyse the media. In this thesis I appreciate the fact that the Marxist theory continues to evolve. Therefore, any analysis of the intricacies of the capitalist media in the current epoch of the capitalist crisis certainly should not discount this theoretical perspective.

In appreciating the role of economic factors, I argue in this chapter that the corporate media is an integral part of the capitalist system. Linked to the capitalist factor is the relationship of the corporate media and global capital. Here, I point out that the South African press has historic ties with global capital which date back to the arrival of European settlers in the country. This link with global capital continues in post-apartheid South Africa through ownership patterns, and I therefore argue that the representation of this discourse must be understood in this context. However, it is crucial to appreciate that the advent of the press in South Africa was influenced by both the radical and commercial tradition of the British press. This explains, for example, the emergence of the radical and alternative press in South Africa. Nevertheless, over the years the corporate media aligned to the capitalist economy has taken root and became dominant. Also, outlined within this context is the hegemony of capitalism which I argue is manifested through the representation of the discourse from the economic frame. I also advance the view that this representation is a form of propaganda used by those who control the means of production, the media included, to assert their dominant ideas.

Also discussed in this chapter are commercial factors and their significant role in shaping the representation of the nationalisation discourse. Thus, from a South African perspective, it is maintained that commercialisation has bearings on how such discourses are approached, understood and broadly portrayed by the corporate media. I also argue that, inter alia, commercialisation manifests through aspects such as the phenomenon of juniorisation of the newsroom. Another crucial element in the representation of the discourse that I touch on in

this chapter is the advertising factor. I present a view on how advertising, as a major source of revenue for the corporate media, influences the capitalist perspective of the discourse. Although disputed by many media professionals, I posit that commodification compels the media to pursue audiences desired by advertisers, and thus has an impact on the content of news. The demands to stay afloat militate against the media professionals' agency to pursue anti-capitalist perspectives. To this end, the corporate media collaborates with capital's expansion into virgin non-commodified territories in order to develop accumulation and consumption. Therefore, the corporate media becomes an important component in the circulation process of capital (Prodnik, 2012).

Ownership of the corporate media is another factor I perceive as influential in the representation of this discourse. In the context of South Africa, I highlight the challenges of concentration and the capitalist control of the media as having an impact on media discourses generally. Because, "the mass media are first and foremost industrial and commercial organisations which produce and distribute commodities" (Murdoch and Golding 1973: 205), they are thus located centrally in the capitalist economy and circulation of capital. Therefore, the corporate media is not only a commodity itself but fundamentally transmits commodity (Prodnik, 2012). Integral to ownership and control is the question of media power, which I argue is important in continued legitimation of capitalist accumulation of mining companies. The corporate media fails to advance issues of social justice from the working-class perspective but rather perpetuates the status quo of continued accumulation by the bourgeoisie.

## 8.2 The capitalist factor

### 8.2.1 Capitalism and the representation of nationalisation

The findings of this research study as presented in both Chapters 6 and 7 clearly reflect that the corporate media is an integral component of the capitalist system. This reality has been pointed out by various media scholars, such as McChesney (1999), Schiller (1989) and Thompson (2009), who have argued that the corporate media helps to cultivate capitalist ideology and to legitimise policies expedient to corporate interests. The manner in which the nationalisation discourse is represented indicates the extent to which the corporate media provides the

infrastructure and ideological platform essential for continued capitalist accumulation. Indeed, this thesis presents evidence that the representation of the nationalisation discourse is essentially influenced by the structural factors of the media. This research study reveals, for example, that the utilisation of the conflict frame by the corporate media, which leads to the negative portrayal of the discourse, is a reflection of the media's structural location within the capitalist system. In the context of this discourse, the private accumulation agenda central to monopoly capital is elevated as the most sensible narrative by the corporate media. Therefore, the corporate media is complicit in advancing the views that privilege the accumulation agenda of the capitalist class. By so doing, the corporate media helps to downplay and thus marginalise fundamental issues of social and economic justice espoused by the exponents of nationalisation.

The representation of this discourse furthermore reflects the power of the corporate media to influence news content to suit the accumulation agenda of the capitalist class. One theoretical intervention that remains relevant to analyse the capitalist media is the "propaganda model" of news production as espoused by Edward S. Herman and Noam Chomsky in 1988. Of course, notwithstanding the criticism that this theoretical intervention has been subjected to by many scholars (Sparks, 2007), it remains relevant in helping research studies such as this one understand the manner in which structural factors influence the content of news. As Thompson (2009: 79) posits,

> ...[in the] propaganda model, the media are conceived as a structural component of a closely interlocked nexus of elite power with a common interest in perpetuating the social conditions most conducive to capital accumulation, irrespective of whether these are compatible with social justice or a democratic process.

The filters that the propaganda model advances are thus utilised to systematically misrepresent issues, and in the process legitimise the joint action of the capitalist state and corporations to shape public opinion (Thompson, 2009). This is what Herman and Chomsky (1988) termed "manufacturing consent". For example, in the context of the nationalisation of mines debate, the sudden convergence of government and big business, particularly mining companies, is elevated by the corporate media through prioritisation of primary sources. This points out starkly the power of the corporate media to set the agenda and thus shape public opinion on what should be considered acceptable or unacceptable public debate (Garland and Harper, 2012). The representation of ideologically laden discourses such as nationalisation must

therefore be understood in the context of media power that is structurally subordinated to the hegemony of the capitalist class. In this regard, filters such as sources, as presented in previous chapters, are central in understanding the corporate media's role as the vanguard of the dominant capitalist ideology through reinforcing the prevailing discourses that legitimise particular policy paradigms of the capitalist order (Thompson, 2009). The argument that nationalisation is damaging to the economy and that it scares away investors is a case in point. By assuming this posture, the corporate media legitimises the views of the capitalist class, thereby reproducing and reinforcing the material interests of the capitalist economic system.

### 8.2.2 The South African corporate media and global capital

As discussed in Chapter 2, the history of the print media in South Africa is directly linked to the arrival of the Western colonisers at the Cape of Good Hope, with the first newspapers in sub-Saharan Africa emerging around 1800 in the Cape Colony. This Western-style corporate media has continued into the post-apartheid epoch and it is therefore not surprising that the nationalisation discourse is perceived from the Western perspective, just like other discourses such as racism in the Western media are represented in a manner that confirms the stereotypes of Western audiences (Van Dijk, 1996). Indeed, the post-apartheid corporate media and the entire journalism practice is influenced by the global media landscape it operates under (Wasserman, 2012: 4), and thus ideological discourses are subjected to this reality. Wasserman (2012) characterises the print media as serving a small elite audience, with the exception of an emerging tabloid press for the black working class. This commercial press is further expected to have allegiance to the Western capitalist bloc, while the business press is expected to welcome business opportunity as South Africa seeks to assert itself in the globalised marketplace (Wasserman, 2012: 8).

Indeed, the South African corporate press should not be perceived in isolation from the global dominance paradigm where the journalism profession is underpinned by the geo-political economy of Western-dominated transnational media corporations buttressed by the ascendency of free market ideology (Cottle, 2009). This dominance brings about what Boyd-Barrett (1998) described as the "colonisation of communications space" (cited in Cottle, 2009). Just like in the broadcast sphere, where Western networks such as CNN and the BBC set the agenda, smaller players mimic and adopt their model. Subsequently, this leads to the "universalisation of 'US-stye' journalism and an increasing homogenization of

news structures and content around the world" (Cottle, 2009: 344). Fundamentally, the corporate press is also caught up in this global dominance.

The South African economy and the corporate media have not escaped the impact of globalisation. The restructuring of global national media industries, for example, entrenched the emergence of a genuinely global commercial media market (Herman and McChesney, 1997; Flew, 2007). Indeed, the corporate media is now important in promoting commodities in global capitalism. The structure and production process of the print media has been influenced by commercial factors and by the imperative to remain profitable. In classical Marxist terms, "the means of production are the unity between the tools of production and the materials of production" (Hebblewhite, 2012: 210). In this regard, commercial newspapers produced under these capitalist conditions are transformed into a commodity sold in the marketplace (Hebblewhite, 2012). For example, the role of advertising, as discussed in subsequent sections, and the entire packaging and production of the corporate press, is driven by profit logic.

Accordingly, the Western values imbued in the South African corporate media lead to a global dominance paradigm, which is crucial in the representation of the nationalisation discourse. This media is incapable of dealing with deep-seated socio-economic issues that are a legacy of colonialism and apartheid, and instead "play down the direct or indirect effects or legacies of Western colonialism, corporate practices, military intervention, international trade, and politics" (Van Dijk, 1996: 26). It is largely due to these values that Western investments are usually portrayed as philanthropic interventions that will benefit the local economy. In this regard, elements of these monopoly capitalist investments are not put in their proper perspective of profit maximisation and most importantly their exploitative character. This posture thus positions capitalism in a positive light while casting aspersions against proponents of nationalisation. This stance by the corporate media is hardly surprising, though, since its role in the structures of capitalism is that of legitimising class domination by Western capitalist elites. Certainly, the corporate media's structural role in the Western capitalist system entrenches Western hegemony globally. Van Dijk (1996: 27) states:

> It is not surprising that the same media generally also supported Western resistance against similar proposals for a new international order in the domains of finance, trade, and the economy and against any other change of the status quo that would imply a more equal balance between the North and the South.

The findings of this research study elucidate the role of the corporate media in supporting Western capitalist hegemony against initiatives that seek to alter the status quo of the African majority working class who remain oppressed and exploited. Van Dijk (1996: 27) further postulates that for the West and its capitalist media, after which the South African corporate media has been modelled, "Freedom mainly implies market liberalism and freedom of (Western) investments, not local autonomy or freedom from oppression or exploitation". This reality has been exposed in the manner in which the corporate media uses investor confidence, for example, as a theme to dissuade the debate on the nationalisation of mines. Therefore, while the agency within the corporate media makes it possible to contradict capitalist interests, "That the news media generally do not act as major opponents of political or corporate policies and interests is not because of their powerlessness, but because of the fundamental similarities of ideological positions" (Van Dijk, 1996: 28-9). This remark points to the influence of structural factors in the representation of ideological discourses by the corporate media.

While capitalist institutions need corporate media to advance their accumulation agenda, "conversely, mainstream news media cannot operate without the cooperation of the political and corporate elites" (Van Dijk, 1996: 29). Therefore, both the corporate media and business share common interests that "favor the development of related ideological positions" (Van Dijk, 1996: 29). Furthermore, as argued in earlier chapters,

> the news media are inherently part of this joint production of a consensus that sustains elite power – that is, northern, white, male, heterosexual, middle-class, politically moderate (that is, more or less conservative) dominance by a small minority over a large majority of non-Western, non-white, female, lower class, poor, or otherwise different others (Van Dijk, 1996: 29).

To fully apprehend the representation of this discourse is to appreciate this elitist dominance in the reproduction process of news (Van Dijk, 1996) and the fact that the corporate media is firmly located within these structures of power.

### 8.2.3 The economic consequences frame and the hegemony of capitalism

The representation of the nationalisation discourse from an economic frame presents the bourgeoisie with the means to convince the underclass about the rightness of their ideas on

social and economic issues (Berger, 2013). Indeed, the economic consequences frame epitomises the manner in which the ruling class uses the corporate media as a tool to advance its ideas. Through this frame, the corporate media act as apologists of the capitalist class that owns the mines (Berger, 2013) by advancing the notion of economic ruin should such a policy decision be entertained, let alone implemented. The corporate media also plays a pivotal role in managing class conflict and preventing changes in the political order (Berger, 2013). The sudden convergence in interests between government officials and mining executives on nationalisation should be understood in the context of preserving and protecting the accumulation agenda of the ruling capitalist class. It is mainly these primary definers who play the economic consequences card, often depicted as if it is in the interest of the working class and the poor. In a real sense, however, the working class is ostracised from the discourse, a stance that privileges and entrenches the agenda of the capitalist mining companies.

However, this corporate media's role both locally and in the "developed" capitalist societies is not executed overtly but rather in a subtle manner by setting the terms of what should be considered acceptable in the public discourse (Garland and Harper, 2012). In the context of the nationalisation discourse, the media sets the tone, by using the economic consequences frame, to maintain the disastrous consequences of such a policy. In this regard, the corporate media "diffuse and reproduce" what should be considered acceptable discourse, and thus they "manufacture consent". To this end, the corporate media "…are in reality at almost every turn faithful servants of vested interests of private wealth and state power" (Garland and Harper, 2012: 418). The posture of the corporate media in effectively utilising the economic consequences frame to characterise the calls for nationalisation as reckless must be understood in this context. In the final analysis, through its posture and the representation of nationalisation, the corporate media uses such public discourses to legitimise capitalism and pre-empt any critique of the system (Garland and Harper, 2012).

It is this representation from a neo-liberal perspective that hinders the corporate media from elevating the discourse to focus on more pertinent issues of social and economic justice affecting the majority poor. However, media practitioners such as Dumisane Lubisi, Executive Editor at *City Press*, argue that there are no factors that influence the approach on representation of ideological discourses such as nationalisation in the corporate media.

> I would not say there are impediments that could influence media in reporting such topics. Ours is to tell the whole side of the story. So, once the issue is in the public domain we need to go and find what is the view of the people on the matter, its effect and solutions (Lubisi, Interview, 13.08.2016).

He posits that there are no major factors that determine the content of news such as nationalisation in newspapers.

> Media will always look for the different angles or sides to this debate to give to the audience. The more views differ, the more debate is created and the longer the matter would stay in the media. Take for instance, the Nkandla scandal.[46] It is because of the prolonged processes that the matter has stayed in the media and in public discourses (Lubisi, Interview, 13.08.2016).

However, one fundamental way in which capitalist ideology is perpetuated and entrenched in society is through the overwhelming focus of the economic news on the activities and interests of investors (Croteau and Hoynes, 2002). The elevation of nationalisation to economic news through the economic consequences frame thus limits the discourse to the interests of investors, as manifested by the anti-nationalisation views espoused by primary definers. This reality is demonstrably observed through the structure of the corporate press which, in the recent past, has prioritised business and economic news through their own sections in newspapers while only a handful of titles still have labour sections. In fact the demise of the labour beat in the South African media (Radebe, 2007) has had a negative impact on the representation of the discourse, thus resulting in a narrow economic focus. This is contrary to other economic beats such as agriculture and banking that are still taken more seriously and have dedicated reporters. On the nationalisation of mines debate, former political editor and current deputy editor of the *Sunday Times*, Sithembiso Msomi, argues that:

[46] The Nkandla scandal pertains to the controversial use of public funds to improve the private home of South African President Jacob Zuma. The home is situated in the rural town of Nkandla in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. According to reports, over R246 million, which was said to be for security upgrades, was used. A report by the Public Protector found that President Zuma unduly benefited from these improvements, and the Constitutional Court subsequently found that the President and the National Assembly failed to uphold the country's Constitution after failing to comply with the Public Protector's report on the matter. Zuma finally apologised in April 2016 for using public money to fund his private residence. The *Mail & Guardian* accidentally stumbled on the Nkandla development in November 2013 (http://mg.co.za/article/2013-12-04-the-day-we-broke-nkandla and https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nkandla_(homestead)).

> Once it is discussed by business or the Minister of Finance or such people in the economic sector, then it becomes a business story for them. But there is no newspaper, at least as far as I know, that assigned a journalist, to say you will cover the nationalisation debate. In fact the whole mining sector along with labour issues has been a victim of neglect in the media … Take the NDP[47] [National Development Plan] – like nationalisation, it is an emotive debate. But I am not convinced that there is (sic) a lot of us in the industry who have actually read the full document and understood it and engaged with it … That is why, people go to press conferences and sometimes statements are made about issues that are not in the NDP and they get covered as if they are in the NDP (Msomi, Interview, 15.04.2014).

It is within this context that the capitalist discourse is elevated to common sense, and the rest of the society is subjected to the ruling class's construct of reality. Indeed, what is supposed to be economic news is reduced to narrow business news largely aimed at corporate players and investors (Croteau and Hoynes, 2002). In this process major issues affecting the working class are marginalised and focus is limited to vagaries of the booms and busts inherent in the capitalist economy. In the words of Croteau and Hoynes (2002: 171), "By equating economic health with the fortunes of investors, news tips its ideological hand". However, Lubisi (Interview, 2016) has a different view on nationalisation as a beat and the assignment of reporters to such news stories since many have their own interests and preferences.

> Reporters have their own interest in general and it is up to an editor to know that interest. It would be foolish to send a reporter who has no interest on labour matters to cover an important piece of policy. Disaster is what will happen. We are lucky in our newsrooms that the reporters are most likely to pick their choices and inform editors what is happening in their chosen field. If editors are then aware of other developments in the said field, then they liaise with the reporter concerned to follow up (Lubisi, Interview, 13.08.2016).

This approach by the corporate media further reveals its incapability to explore socio-economic issues affecting marginalised working-class communities and the complexities that permeate the nationalisation discourse. It is the structure of the corporate media that restricts it from exploring the many permutations of nationalisation from the working-class perspective. To this end, the space for labour issues and thus the working class in the corporate media has diminished (Radebe, 2007). Furthermore, in the current context of capitalist-dominated corporate media, any media organisation that attempts to represent

[47] The National Development Plan (NDP) is a document that offers a long-term perspective for South Africa. According to the former Minister in the Presidency, Trevor Manuel, during the media briefing on the implementation of the plan on 19 February 2013, the NDP defines destination and identifies the role different sectors of society need to play in reaching that goal (http://www.gov.za/issues/national-development-plan-2030).

economic news from a standpoint of the working class would be accused of being "anti-business" and of biased reporting (Croteau and Hoynes, 2002), and thus stands a chance of losing out on capitalist patronage such as lucrative advertising contracts.

To the contrary, very little is said about the anti-labour and pro-business reportage on various issues by corporate media. "It is striking, however, that the news media's emphasis on the corporate and investor perspective is generally accepted as the appropriate way to cover the economy" (Croteau and Hoynes, 2002: 172). This process of perceiving the world from a capitalist perspective has been normalised as a result of the hegemony of capitalism. Therefore, in the nationalisation discourse the mantra of equating the health of the South African economy with investor satisfaction is a "clear example of the ways media products draw on and reproduce a hegemonic ideology" (Croteau and Hoynes, 2002: 172). In the end, it is commercialisation that constrains the corporate media from providing a critical voice on key societal issues, to an extent that only those who support the status quo are provided access in the discourse. Furthermore, the overwhelmingly negative representation of this discourse is driven by structural factors or by the intrinsic values of the corporate media to portray ideological discourses in terms of "problems" or "threats" to the economy (Van Dijk, 1996). Consequently, the production process of the news pre-directs the representation of the discourse from an economic perspective; thus business representatives are viewed in the most rational manner while proponents of the discourse are seen as reckless rascals hell-bent to ruin the economy.

## 8.3 The impact of commercial factors

### 8.3.1 Through the lenses of capitalism

In order to grasp commercialisation of news it is crucial to appreciate that the concept of commercialisation is essentially about making something into a business. McManus (2009: 219) defines commercialisation of news as "any action intended to boost profit that interferes with a journalist's or news organization's best effort to maximize public understanding of those issues and events that shape the community they claim to serve". In other words, commercialised newspapers are more concerned about profit maximisation than making sense of issues of public interest. Over the years, commercialisation has resulted in the displacement

of seasoned journalists with business-minded newsroom managers who inter alia drive advertiser-friendly policies with greater dependency on public relations to discover and report news (McManus, 2009). Indeed, as Picard points out:

> The primary content of newspapers today is commercialized news and features designed to appeal to broad audiences, to entertain, to be cost effective and to maintain readers whose attention can be sold to advertisers. The result is that stories that may offend are ignored in favor of those more acceptable and entertaining to larger numbers of readers, that stories that are costly to cover are downplayed or ignored and that stories creating financial risks are ignored (Picard, 2004: 61).

It has emerged from this research study that the commercial imperatives of the corporate media contribute significantly in shaping the representation of the nationalisation discourse. For example, the portrayal of the discourse from an economic consequences frame, thus leading to the negative impression that it is harmful to the economy, can be traced back to commercialisation factors. Inevitably, within this frame, themes such as "investor confidence" and "negative consequences for the economy" contribute significantly to the anti-nationalisation posture as discussed earlier. Therefore, the corporate media is partly shaped by the economic base which in many subtle ways affects the ideas of individuals, since it is "ideas that are instrumental in determining the kinds of arrangements people will make with one another, the institutions they will establish, and so on" (Berger, 2013: 45). Thus, the commercial aspect of the corporate media cannot be completely understood outside the economic logic of the capitalist system it operates under. The base and superstructure metaphor, notwithstanding its rejection by cultural Marxists such as Althusser and Hall, explains this dialectical link between the economy and media. Here, the economic base is perceived to determine everything else in the superstructure, including social, political and intellectual consciousness; media in this tradition is interpreted in terms of its economic determination (Chandler, 2000).

In other words:

> The contents of the media and the meanings carried by their messages are ... primarily determined by the economic base of the organizations in which they are produced. ... Commercial media organizations must cater to the needs of advertisers and produce audience-maximizing products ... while those media institutions whose revenues are controlled by the dominant political institutions or by the state gravitate towards a middle ground, or towards the heartland of the prevailing consensus (Curran et al., 1982: 18).

Ultimately, ideas are transmitted to human beings through institutions such as the media, steeped in capitalist systems. In the end, "Capitalism is not only an economic system but also something that affects attitudes, values, personality types, and culture in general" (Berger, 2013: 45). Ideological discourses such as nationalisation cannot escape this intricate process that transmits ideas. Since the commercial interests of the media are subordinated to the capitalist economic base, therefore, they are a factor in influencing the representation of ideological discourses. However, within this context it is crucial to appreciate the agency of media practitioners, as highlighted in the previous chapters, to act independently of the economic base and thus influence the content and representation of ideological discourses. In this regard, the notion of cultural superstructure becomes important too, because the superstructure may influence the base. Be that as it may, the findings of this research study expose the influence of the economic base in the representation of this discourse.

### 8.3.2 South African corporate media and commercialisation

News production in the corporate media is part of the capitalist social production process, and accordingly cannot be viewed in isolation. Indeed, in the current epoch of commercialisation, the press is a means of capitalist domination (Erdogan, 2012). In the context of the South African corporate media, Msomi (Interview, 2014) acknowledges that commercial factors put a lot of pressure on newspapers since, after all, it is about profit making.

> There has been a decline in circulation and advertising revenue, which means fewer people in newsrooms, and so everyone is under pressure to be commercially successful. Consequently, sometimes there is a temptation to focus on stories in a popular way that is going to ensure that your circulation rises … if the debate on nationalisation goes into the nitty-gritties then it is largely going to be relegated to the back pages (Msomi, Interview, 15.04.2014).

Since commercial factors result in time pressures and juniorisation of the newsrooms, they contribute to, for example, the framing of the discourse from a conflict frame. To an extent that "all that you hear is that so and so wants nationalisation of mines, but how is it going to work, no one explains that" (Msomi, Interview, 15.04.2014). Furthermore, the changing nature of the newsroom rests on the need for newspapers to remain profitable under a difficult economic climate, and this influences the representation of the discourse. The economic situation of the corporate media was exacerbated by the 2008 global capitalist crisis which resulted in newspapers laying off a number of senior reporters.

Fundamentally, this indicates that, just like many capitalist industries, the media industry was not spared the wrath of the near-collapse of global capitalism since it is part of the system. Therefore,

> Because a lot of very senior people were retrenched and so you're left with young, inexperienced journalists, who find covering policy issues much more difficult for mass publications that demand easy to digest headline grabbing stories … it is easier to just go to a press conference and have someone say a few things about nationalisation, than sitting down and reading about the debate and saying what are the issues. As a result of that, you'll find that the debate is not enriched in the manner that it should be (Msomi, Interview, 15.04.2014).

Lubisi (Interview, 2016) concurs with the view that commercial factors such as junuiorisation have had an impact on newsrooms, which have now become younger and less experienced.

> Just like with all sectors, newsrooms have not been spared from the economic downturn. We have noticed newsrooms are becoming smaller, specialisations being eroded in favour of multi-discipline reporting, experienced reporters leaving the industry for higher pay in corporate or government communications. The younger crop of journalists is also not as loyal to publications/newsrooms and tends to move around quite a lot. Newsrooms are getting younger because people move on to retire or elsewhere. The institutional memory of experienced newspaper people is still there in the different newspapers. The shrinking of newsrooms comes into play due to commercial factors where newsrooms have to do more with the little they have. Competition plays a critical role and newsrooms are deciding whether to have a lot of people in their newsrooms or keep a core team of very skilled people who can do the work. The latter often wins and only the very talented and willing to work will survive while the mediocre will leave (Lubisi, Interview, 13.08.2016*)*.

According to the current editor of *The Star*, Kevin Ritchie, due to commercialisation factors newspapers are left with little choice but to reduce numbers, and when that situation occurs it is often the top earners, who happen to be the older staff members, who would be normally the ones that go.

> We have newsrooms with youngsters that come in and we have churned but we don't churn enough so what happens is... and we also don't have retention policies for older journalists and we've never had that and it's an institutional problem. So what we should be doing is we should be using less journalists and paying them rates that are commercial rates but we cannot compete with the commercial rates because public communications, government communications, cooperate communications all pay a premium for the skillsets that we have here. So that's been the case at least since the Second World War that you've had these people come out and people move on (Ritchie, Interview, 08.09.2016).

As reflected in Chapter 6, in-depth analysis is left to the opinion pages to unpack the discourse. Consequently, the juniorisation of the newsroom stifles the corporate media's ability to reflect deeply on the nuances of the discourse; instead it is reliant on the views of the primary definers to make sense of the issues. Msomi (Interview, 2014) posits that a case in point was when the secretary general of the ANC, Gwede Mantashe, argued that nationalisation had already happened because the Freedom Charter says the minerals belong to the people. But the corporate media was structurally unable to pursue and explore this postulation further. Msomi (Interview, 2014) points out that the inability to pursue such an alternative discourse was part of the journalists' failure to understand the subtleties of the issues raised by Mantashe, and perhaps the point was not raised in a "headline grabbing [fashion] like Julius put things". However, this is a direct consequence of the juniorisation of the newsroom, such that reporters who cover the discourse are not experienced enough to pursue this and other related sophisticated stances.

However, Ritchie (Interview, 2016) has a different take on the impact of the juniorisation of the newsroom. While he acknowledges that juniorisation is a problem, he went on to say: "But how we're matching it, because I'm not a junior so what am I doing? Am I sitting back here and washing my hands of it? It's my problem." He points out that instead of lamenting, editors need to appreciate that any newsroom needs a good balance between senior and junior staff:

> I have a bank of executives on this paper who more than make up for the juniorisation of the youngsters. The youngsters are out and running but I've got a damn fine news editor, a damn fine night news editor, a night editor. So once again in my view, yes it's a problem but it has to be managed and it's not a new problem; it's a key thing I'm trying to bring in … it's not a new problem. It is an institutional and a structural issue, I think. I've been in journalism now for twenty-five going on for twenty-six years and I've never known it otherwise … (Ritchie, Interview, 08.09.2016).

Arguing that the problem is not new, Ritchie quotes a resolution of a symposium held by the newspaper back in 1970 which points out that:

> Too many reporters on the bigger papers are hopelessly spoilt. Everything has to be given to them on a platter by the luckless news editor. They have too little initiative and the little they have is not cultivated. It is part of a news editor's function to encourage this initiative and to instil into his staff the spirit of adventure and the search for news. That was 1970… (Ritchie, Interview, 08.09.2016).

Fundamentally, Ritchie believes that there is an upside to juniorisation in the context of the digital media:

> Social media has democratised the entire media space … we now have a thing called UGC, User Generated Content. So we're able to put things out there to engage with readers. They comment, we can then harvest all those comments and back-publish them into the paper. And bizarrely it is thanks to the juniorisation of staff that we're able to do that … because the old farts on the floor, this is too foreign for them, so the youngsters are coming in and they're rocking and rolling and they're helping form change. But there should be a blend. You know, I think that it has to be, there has to be some old heads and some young charges and I hope we've got it right here. And you know what, we're going to screw up, but yes is it exacerbated by commercial pressures, ja absolutely (Ritchie, Interview, 08.09.2016).

However, Msomi points out that the best possible way to engage deeply with nationalisation from a media perspective also requires focus on the legislation, but this is contingent on the quality and experience of the people in the newsrooms:

> Because newspapers have been reduced in terms of staffing, we are understaffed and usually most of us have not been around for too long. If you appoint a journalist, you will be lucky to find a journalist who covered the 2002 ANC conference, still covering the ANC today. So you'll find that in debates like this, everything seems new. So, when someone says the ANC resolved on this issue in 1991 or 1992, on nationalisation for instance, you'll find that most of us will not even know where to go. And I think that's part of the problem; they call it juniorisation, but I think it's much bigger and broader than that; it's also about staffing in general (Msomi, Interview, 15.04.2014).

Hopewell Radebe, former *Business Day* news and political editor and current news editor at *City Press*, concurs that "unfortunately" commercial factors such as staff reduction and the shrinking size of newspapers affect the production of news:

> There are several unavoidable factors. Newsrooms get to be too junior and lose institutional memory and depth. All beats require the steady hand of an experienced individual who understands some historic background of, say, political parties, senior party players, and the general understanding of how parties came into being (Radebe, Interview, 19.07.2016).

He points out an example of the continuous misunderstanding of the demise of the National Party and how the current political parties have evolved from that epoch. According to Radebe, experience in this regard, which has diminished due to commercialisation,

> …will help the reader understand why the Democratic Alliance continues to be accused of being a white party in spite of the fact that only one in every four voters is white and it has since grown in black areas (coloured, Indian and African). More can be said about the diminishing relevance and voter support of smaller parties that came from the breakaway

> groups from the ruling ANC. We are talking here about the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), the United Democratic Movement (UDM), and the Congress of the People (COPE) (Radebe, Interview, 19.07.2016).

Certainly, this lack of experience does not only lead to incapacity to comprehend this complex subject matter, but also compromises the representation of the debate. Fundamentally, the representation of the nationalisation discourse can be best understood in the context of its location within the broader capitalist social production process.

### 8.3.3 Commercial factors and sources of news

The relationship between the news media and the political elite is embedded in a political culture. While relationships between the political elites and the media in liberal democracies are characterised by mutual dependency, they are equally characterised by inherent tensions (Manning, 2001). However, inherent in this relationship is the power of capital that influences the representation of various topical issues, including through the use of sources. In this regard, "certain issues which might prompt more fundamental criticism of the political and economic status quo may rarely surface in news reporting, not because editors or senior journalists deliberately smother such stories but simply because the organisational culture and practices of the newsroom prompt journalists in other directions" (Manning 2001: 34). However, the long and short, as posited by Sigal (1986: 25), is that sources make the news and "who the sources are bears a close relationship to who is news". Also, undoubted is the power and the influence of sources on the content of news. "The effects of the way the reporter gathers information and the dynamics of the reporter-source relationship may be unintended, often unperceived, and sometimes unpredictable. Nevertheless they are real and a part of the power and influence of the press" (Strentz, 1989: 22 cited in O'Neill and O'Connor, 2008: 1). As argued earlier in this thesis, it is the primary definers that set the tone by establishing the interpretation of news which becomes the term of reference. Hall et al. (1978: 58) point out that this is a manifestation of a "systematically structured over-accessing to the media of those in powerful and privileged institutional positions". Therefore, it is the structural relation between the media and the elites that influences the representation of nationalisation from a capitalist perspective.

#### 8.3.3.1 Sources and narrow ideological perspective

It is emerging from the research findings that ideological tension within the ANC-led Alliance is used to represent nationalisation negatively. Furthermore, primary definers are used to represent the nationalisation discourse from a capitalist perspective. This representation is manifested in four distinct ways. Firstly, this influence is manifested through omitting and thus silencing marginalised working-class sources. Secondly, it is revealed that the discourse is event driven and heavily dependent on the views of primary definers. To this end, this approach validates neo-liberal policy positions. Thirdly, the professional ideology of impartiality, balance and objectivity in the corporate media grants easy access to some sections of society. This enables capitalist views against nationalisation to "establish initial definition or primary interpretation" on the discourse, thus setting the tone. Proponents of the discourse are thus compelled to insert themselves into this definition and must locate their argument within this framework (Hall et al., 1978: 58). Indeed, it is the primary definers, who go unchallenged, that the corporate media largely depends on to impugn the nationalisation project. Finally, as illustrated above, due to resource constraints in the newsroom, reporters are stretched to such an extent that they do not have sufficient time to plan and execute in-depth coverage of the discourse. This drives the corporate media to depend heavily on primary definers on complex subjects, who in turn largely frame the discourse from a capitalist perspective. Lubisi concedes that newspapers largely depend on sources for news stories, but he does not believe that they influence the content of news:

> Sources are the people or documents who/which have the information one needs to know/have before they write stories. In all matters, one is better to have the documentary source and the human source who can explain the documents. An ideal situation will be to have the two plus others (being documents or people) who may oppose or agree with the view of the others. If a new research comes out to confirm or dispute an earlier research on something, you need to know what the previous research was saying and what the new one is saying and why the differences. So, both sides of the story are crucial in selecting sources (Lubisi, Interview, 13.08.2016).

Radebe, on the other hand, insists that it is the prerogative of journalists to decide who they speak to as part of the story. However, he reveals that in some instances editors do get involved, and advise on other sources who must be approached for comment:

> Journalists are often at liberty to suggest who they wish to talk to. It does happen that the news editor and sometimes the editor-in-chief suggest names of certain people often who are

> known to be authoritative on the subject. Journalists also speak to [other] senior journalists to find out whether there are additional names of people their senior colleagues have in mind. News editors, as assigning editors – often hold sway and can tell a journalist if one analyst is over-used and quoted often. And therefore suggest that a different commentator be approached so that there is balance in gender, religion sometimes, and political ideology – depending on the story as well as the core of the angle. There are times, if the story is political, that an editor would call a journalist and ask that the three or four main political parties in Parliament be asked for comment. This is to ensure the views reflect the political and demographic representation in Parliament, or provincial legislature (any of the nine provinces depending on whether the story is regional [provincial] in its approach (Radebe, Interview, 19.07.2016).

It is intriguing, though, that this discretion of the editors is not exercised on the nationalisation discourse. Essentially, the working class is almost completely obliterated as sources in a discourse that directly affect its livelihood. Henry Jeffreys, former editor of *The New Age,* the editor-in-chief of *Die Burger* newspaper, and former chairperson of the South African National Editors' Forum (SANEF) concurs that, while journalists are allowed to choose sources freely, there are instances where the editor intervenes to request a particular source:

> In most instances individual journalists were allowed to pick their own sources. There were times, however, that as an editor I insisted on knowing a particular source depending on the nature and likely impact of a particular story (Jeffreys, Interview, 24.06.2016).

The selection of sources fundamentally rests on the question of credibility:

> First of all would be credibility; you go to a source because they're credible, because they tell you what's happening. They have a more nuanced way, you start ensuring that the sources reflect the broader society, that your ideology is one thing to propagate (Ritchie, Interview, 08.09.2016).

Furthermore, Ritchie is of the view that with over twenty years into the democratic dispensation it is crucial to proactively search for new voices in the quest to "create a bank of knowledgeable people within our society". In the case of *The Star* he posits that they take advantage of the two universities located in Johannesburg (University of Johannesburg and the Wits University) by finding experts in various fields and "shining lights upon them". In this regard, the paper has a clear objective of developing sources that are based in Johannesburg (Ritchie, Interview, 08.09.2016).

However, Sibusiso Ngalwa, the Editor-in-Chief of the *Daily Dispatch* and *Saturday Dispatch*, is of the view that in as far as sources of news are concerned, they are largely influenced by journalists' instincts:

> The grading of sources is almost an impulsive thing, in that if the information comes from a second-hand source (someone who was told by another) then as a careful journalist you would want to get another independent source to, at least, verify the information. This is different from information from someone who was, say for argument's sake, part of a high-level four-man meeting. Chances of you getting a second source to corroborate such information are limited and you're bound to trust that information. But it is still the discretion of the editor/journalist to go ahead and publish or to discard the information. In a case where it's an 80-member ANC NEC meeting, obviously you would have to get as many sources as possible. But over time and depending on the credibility of the information from the source, it is natural to develop a relationship of trust with that source (Ngalwa, Interview, 26.10.2016).

The findings of this research study, in as far as the sources are concerned, reveal heavy influence by the hegemonic effects of capitalism which enables the corporate media to marginalise and affirm ideological positions, in this case working class sources (Kellner, 1995).

#### 8.3.3.2 The analyst as an insider

Another aspect that influences the representation of the discourse from a negative perspective is the use of analysts. Croteau and Hoynes (2002: 170) make use of the "insider" notion, especially in political news where a small group of analysts are used as sources of news "regardless of the wisdom of their previous commentary or of their prior actions when they occupied positions of power". Thus, the access of insiders to powerful circles makes them de facto "experts" as far as news is concerned; consequently they "analyze current events to the extent to which they are or have been insiders" (Croteau and Hoynes, 2002: 170). For example, former strategy executive of the mining chamber, Roger Baxter, argues that nationalisation would not solve the unemployment problem (*Sunday Independent*, 20 November 2011). In this article Baxter is allowed to speak with authority on socio-economic issues such as the intractable matter of unemployment, even though the credentials that earned him an opportunity to comment on the matter relate to mining. As Croteau and Hoynes (2002: 170) point out, what is presented by the corporate media is often between insiders who share a common commitment to the capitalist establishment "to the exclusion of those outside the constructed consensus". Certainly, the corporate media perpetuates the "conventional ideas of insiders" by drawing the boundaries of what is acceptable and what is not (Croteau and Hoynes, 2002). However, on this question of analysts and the opinion sections, most

newspapers argue that analysts are identified on the basis of their expertise rather than anything else. Radebe posits that newspapers, depending on their special area of focus, approach the question of analysts differently:

> A business paper tends to find knowledgeable writers including academics, CEOs and entrepreneurs that can tell a business news development in a simpler manner that is not difficult for readers. The Sunday newspapers will tend to search broadly including academics but include finding civic leaders and independent political analysts on certain political stories, priests on ethical and moral regeneration stories … The authors are often suggested by staff and some editors are conscious to invite other writers in order to bring in a new voice, new perspectives and representatives of the country's or readership demographics. That is why in a paper that is mostly read by whites, such as *Rapport*, there will be more white writers with a few blacks (coloured, Indian and African) invited once in a while to express a view or bring in a dynamic perspective that may not be known by regular readers (Radebe, Interview, 19.07.2016).

However, Msomi ascribes the insider problem to the lack of readily available diversified voices to express their opinion as economic analysts:

> The other problem is that when we then go to analysts, because there aren't a lot of economic analysts in this country who hold an alternative view to that of the mainstream, we tend to end up talking to the same guys who say exactly the same thing over and over again. And usually these are ideological positions that we then publish as expert's opinions (Msomi, Interview, 15.04.2014).

Furthermore, he points out that it is the same analysts who could not provide proper analysis on the 2008 capitalist economic crisis "… but we still go to the same guys and they still tell us everything is wonderful, this is just a phase that's passing" (Msomi, Interview, 2014). Indeed, news sources in the corporate media, just as in financial news, play a pivotal role in influencing representation. Thompson (2009: 87) argues: "One of the issues arising in financial news production is that financial reality is a contingent formation of intersubjective meanings and is not independent of the way it is perceived and represented." To this end, news reporters are not in a position to independently verify facts, and are largely dependent on capitalist institutional professionals, such as market analysts, for expert opinion (Thompson, 2009). Beyond primary definers, the representation is also influenced by the opinion of the "experts" such as Kuseni Dlamini, the chief executive of Old Mutual, and Andile Mazwai, the group CEO of Barnard Jacobs Mellet, both rooted in capitalist institutions. The more nationalisation is unpacked, the more complex it becomes, thereby leaving news reporters at the mercy of analysts and business executive to interpret the nebulous intricacies of the

subject. According to Jeffreys newspapers are bound to rely on knowledgeable experts who are able to decipher complex subjects for the readers in an easy and understandable manner:

> Opinion pieces are usually assigned to knowledgeable experts who can comment on complex issues normally not as easily understood by ordinary readers. The idea is for these experts to provide new insight and understanding. Opinion pieces usually appear in a separate part of the newspaper and are evenly distributed among a panel of writers. From time to time opinion writers become predictable and even stale. This is normally when they are changed to introduce fresh voices and subject matters (Jeffreys, Interview, 24.06.2016).

Lubisi concurs with Jeffreys on the need to rely on knowledgeable experts capable enough to analyse the subject matter at hand:

> … authors are sought based on their knowledge of the subject concerned. We cannot seek an opinion piece from a construction owner about how hospitals are run or how the Rand is performing. In the reading and understanding of the subject you write about, one develops a list of experts in the same field. These are the people who are more likely to be sought or who would write and offer their articles to newspapers for publication (Lubisi, Interview, 13.08.2016).

The use of analysts and continuation of stories in the opinion section, according to Ritchie, is a deliberate process to change voices and get new fresh ideas on various discourses. But these should be thought provoking, entertaining and illuminating:

> We have to do that and not be static. We are looking for excellence and diversity that is a cut above the rest for regular columns. While we currently have one or two of the best columnists, we need to develop black female voices. We are lucky to have someone like Eusebias McKaizer whose writing is very organically evolved and he's not going to bang on about the same thing week in, week out (Ritchie, Interview, 08.09.2016).

Ritchie also argues that there is a deliberate link between the hard news and opinion pieces and how they continue in the opinion section to ensure that it becomes a proper conversation:

> my dream is a package where we always get it right. I don't think you can get it right within twenty-four hours but within forty-eight hours. So let's look at Luthuli House, for example [referring to protest outside ANC headquarters], I would hope that it's too early to write a lead … But I'll be looking for op-ed under the Luthuli House explaining the whole thing. We would speak with the cartoonist and we'd say this is our kind of idea and let's have a drawing of this thing and then we should have an opinion as the paper. In that way you have a whole package. For me that is the perfect story management of an evolving story. Break it, we give some opinions, we get some talking heads in here to try and analyse it and then we let the readers come in as well. So it's a conversation, it has to be a proper conversation (Ritchie, Interview, 08.09.2016).

However, these assertions cannot be taken at face value since there are a myriad of factors at play that determine who is on the "list of experts" mentioned by Lubisi (Interview, 2016). But the assertions on how newspapers approach the question of analysts broadly corroborate the "insider" perspective as enunciated by Croteau and Hoynes (2002). Certainly, if sources are unknown to media professionals and do not have access to the network, then they will hardly be utilised. However, it is encouraging to note the attempt made to involve readers in the conversation through letters to the editor, as expressed by Ritchie (Interview, 2016), notwithstanding challenges of access due to lack of resources. It is also apparent that in the nationalisation discourse, it is the structures of the corporate media that lead to exclusion of the working class. This is one crucial element that skews the representation of discourses from a capitalist perspective.

#### 8.3.3.3 Time pressure and the "capture" of news by elite sources

As argued earlier in this thesis, pressures associated with news production leave "news workers less time for reflection and increase the risk of 'capture' by sources who actively provide information subsidies in the time-frames newsrooms require" (Thompson, 2009). Indeed, journalists cannot be in all places at all times; due to time pressures they have to "assess the past suitability, productivity, reliability, trustworthiness, authoritativeness and articulateness of possible sources in making source choices" (O'Neill and O'Connor, 2008: 1). In this context, "journalists are repeatedly brought into contact with a limited number of the same sources" (Gans, 1980: 144 cited in O'Neill and O'Connor, 2008: 1). In this section I argue that time pressures lead to a narrow focus on sources. This leads to the "capture" of news by the capitalist elite sources. This has a negative effect on news reporting, as reporters function under pressurised situations and are almost compelled to cultivate relationships with sources to ensure future access to information; the corollary of course is that the news must be aligned to the source's interests (Thompson, 2009). This aspect contributes to the representation of the discourse from a capitalist perspective. Msomi argues that time pressures are the reason why it is difficult for alternative voices to come through, as journalists have to rely on analysts from financial institutions, such as economists, for an "independent" opinion:

> I don't remember, for instance, anyone bothering to find out COSATU's research wing NALEDI, if they have done any studies and what are those studies saying. I don't

> remember seeing anything like that, but I know that when the Free Market Foundation came out with a book and various studies, they were covered quite extensively (Msomi, Interview, 15.04.2014).

In this context even the case studies used follow the thinking of primary definers, as Msomi further highlights:

> … for instance, there was an analyst, who spoke to a Zambian politician who then spoke about how nationalisation had failed in Zambia and it became a big story. I wondered, certainly, I was one of those who were guilty of not saying but let's go and find cases where it has worked and say why it worked (Msomi, Interview, 15.04.2014).

Indeed, it is due to time pressures that reporters do not interact with policy documents to make proper meaning and improve the quality of coverage. This lack of in-depth understanding leads to the debate being framed negatively and from a conflict frame, such as the intra-ANC conflicts:

> We were outraged the day after the ANC manifesto came out on a Saturday and on Sunday there was a newspaper that ran a story that the ANC wants to add two more years to schooling. So kids will be going to school for 14 years instead of 12. As a result of that, there was a lot of outrage. It took some time for people to realise that actually, there is no such proposal to introduce two more years. But you can only make that mistake because you have not been following that debate, which means you have not read the NDP. So, generally that is our problem with policy issues. The same thing that happened with nationalisation when the debates came out, it was an important debate. Everyone was engaging with it, everyone other than us in the media (Msomi, Interview, 15.04.2014).

Lubisi posits that the use of "expert" opinions and their sections in the newspapers is a form of an alternative way to manage the impact of time pressure in the production of news:

> The beauty about newspapers is that apart from the news stories, they also offer opinion pages. Policy issues are not only left for the reporters to write about them, but opinions are sought from the experts as well. The drafters of such policies often write about these documents and others who have different views also write their opinions. Reporters/editors are expected to read widely and carefully on subjects they write about. Because any wrong interpretation of what they write about has significant impact on the papers' integrity. And when not sure, ask someone who knows - a basic rule of journalism. Newspapers would not necessarily go into print with a half-baked story. The whole story must be captured with every article published (Lubisi, Interview, 13.08.2016).

However, time pressures, among the structural factors, render the corporate media ineffective in finding alternative views, such as cases where nationalisation has flourished as opposed to the obvious failures touted by mining executives and analysts. This pressure is manifested by

countless examples of organisations that threaten news organisations with withdrawal of advertising even though the reporting might be accurate (Thompson, 2009). For example, in 2011, the former South African government spokesman and CEO of the Government Communication and Information System (GCIS), Jimmy Manyi, threatened to cut advertising to newspapers whose messages did not mirror those issued by government. "Media that don't comply with this edict will be punished where the government thinks it will hurt the most: revenues" (*Daily Maverick*, 2011). In 2015, the DA-governed Western Cape Province took a decision not to renew subscription of *Independent Newspapers* due to their differences with the editorial stance. These threats are possible not only because these institutions hold access to advertising revenue but because they are critical sources of information.

Many similar threats by various organisations have been made, albeit in a more subtle and sophisticated manner than these ones, but the message is the same: that coverage must be in line with the sources' and advertisers' ideological perspective. This situation creates an environment that is conducive for biased information. As Thompson (2009: 88) states, "Even independent market analysts and journalists depend on sources in financial institutions or corporations which may have an incentive to supply information which is partial, misleading or expedient to vested interests". In the nationalisation debate, the influence demonstrated by, among others, the marginalisation of the working class in the coverage is due to the fact that "Most mass media, not only in the West, are business corporations deeply integrated in the capitalist mode of production" (Van Dijk, 1996: 25), and hence the representation of the debate from a capitalist perspective. Also, this representation should be understood in the context of reflexivity approaches as suggested by Rothkopf (1999), who states that "there is a self-referential process at work, whereby traders and analysts and journalists reflexively reinforce each other's perceptions by circulating market information which, ultimately, they themselves generate" (Thompson, 2009: 88). The example of the Zambia story, as highlighted by Msomi (Interview, 2014) above clearly illustrates this point.

Certainly, in the rigmarole of news production conflict is bound to arise between parties such as journalists, analysts and executives of organisations (Thompson, 2009). This complex situation is fuelled further by the rise of public relations for capitalist institutions since analysts are employed by the very same institutions with vested interested in the discourse (Thompson, 2009). For example, there is a high possibility that the mining executives and analysts used in the discourse are connected somewhat through ownership. To this end, it would be imprudent

to expect the same analysts, embedded in capitalist institutions, to advance an anti-capitalist perspective advocated by proponents of nationalisation. The combination of the points raised above evoke a situation where the working class "have less active and passive access, are less credible sources, are less quoted, have less news value (unless they resort to violence and strikes), and so on" (Van Dijk, 1996: 25). This leads to a situation where news focuses on capitalist elites to the exclusion of the workers in the mining shafts. This is certainly the case in industrial conflicts where, as Van Dijk (1996: 26) posits, "the perspective of management is prevalent in the definitions of the situation, in interviews, quotes, topics, and style of coverage. Workers are not defined as being part of the audience".

Msomi (Interview, 2014) links the time pressure issue to the evolving nature of the newsroom and thus the manner in which sources are utilised: "…the problem here is with the reduction of staff at newspapers and also with more junior reporters who rely mainly on authority sources for views". However, as newspapers try to cut back on costs, the utilisation of ordinary people as sources becomes a rare occurrence. During the coverage of elections, Msomi says, there are attempts to use ordinary people as sources but generally,

> We were talking to each other. We were talking to each other and saying, this party will get this and that party will get that, based on what we perceived because we sit around Johannesburg northern suburbs and come up with ideas of what South Africa thinks. I think that's part of the problem. It's something that we need to do, but I think it will take conscious journalists to say, here is a policy issue, but how does it affect ordinary people? (Msomi, Interview, 15.04.2014).

It is time pressures that drive the corporate media to utilise elite sources who in turn frame the discourse from a capitalist perspective. Subsequently, this influences the manner in which this discourse is represented.

## 8.4 The ownership factor and the representation of nationalisation

### 8.4.1 The context of media power

I argue in this thesis that the ownership of the corporate media is among the structural factors that influence the representation of the nationalisation discourse. The research findings presented in Chapter 6 validate this assumption. This is demonstrated by the negative

representation which, this research study argues, stems from the profit-making objectives of the corporate media. It is argued here that it is the ownership structure and economic incentives of the corporate media (Dunaway, 2013) that negatively impact the representation of the discourse. At the core of ownership is the essential question of media power which is dialectically linked to economic processes and structures of media production. It is this media power that determines the representation of ideological discourses. As Bagdikian posits,

> Many of the corporations claim to permit great freedom to the journalists, producers and writers they employ. Some do grant great freedom. But when their most sensitive economic interests are at stake, the parent corporations seldom refrain from using their power over public information (Bagdikian, 1992: xxxi).

Although I did not conduct a scientific analysis on the influence of control and ownership of the media, it is imperative to reflect on this profound question in the context of media power and its impact on the representation of nationalisation. There are a number of scholars who have argued that media ownership exerts a major influence on the content of news. For example, Garland and Harper (2012) posit that the meteoric rise of Rupert Murdoch is as a result of his championing neo-liberal economic ideas and close ties with politicians who shared similar a worldview, such as Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan. In this regard, his economic ideas are said to have found expression in the content of news. Indeed, ownership and economic control of the corporate media is the key determining factor in the control of media messages (Chandler, 2000). In this regard, while they might argue and appear to be the mirror of society reflecting reality, in actual fact the corporate media constructs the reality to suit the capitalist agenda (Chandler, 2000). The ideas of the ruling class in any epoch are the ruling ideas. As Meier (2000) posits, the access to the marketplace of ideas is restricted to the privileged few due to economic circumstances. This section therefore pays close attention to the ownership of the South African corporate media and its proximity to capitalist institutions. This enables the thesis to advance an argument on the impact of ownership on the nationalisation discourse.

There are a number of complexities around the process of news production that influence the representation of ideologically laden discourses. One of those is gatekeeping, a process which fundamentally contributes to the construction of news. Shoemaker et al. (2001: 233) define gatekeeping in mass media as “the process by which the vast array of potential news messages are winnowed, shaped, and prodded into those few that are actually transmitted by

the news media". Essentially, gatekeeping is about the decision-making on the news-worthiness of a story and whether it is "stopped or moved from section to section or channel to channel. Gatekeepers are either the individuals or the sets of routine procedures that determine whether items pass through the gates" (Shoemaker et al., 2001: 235). Schudson (1989) argues that although the term gatekeeping provides a handy metaphor for the relationship of news organisation to the product, it leaves information "sociologically" untouched. In other words, it individualises a bureaucratic phenomenon by transforming organisational bias into individual subjectivity (Schudson, 1989). Indeed, while ownership is a factor in influencing representation, there are many other complex aspects at play as well.

### 8.4.2 Concentration of media ownership in South Africa

Just like its counterparts globally, the post-apartheid South African press has been characterised by stagnation and decline of the traditional mainstream newspapers accompanied by the rise of tabloid newspapers aimed at the African working class.[48] Furthermore, it is crucial to appreciate the fact that, although the print media ownership has moved out of the old apartheid conglomerates that shaped it for many years, it remains concentrated and still in the hands of four major players – Independent News and Media SA, the Times Media Group, Caxton-CTP and Media 24 (Rumney, 2015) – who have evolved slightly post-apartheid. Indeed, these four big groups "own almost all the major newspapers and community newspapers, most of the consumer magazine titles and a slew of specialist magazines, and have a finger in internet and broadcast pies" (www.mediaclubsouthafrica.com).

While the big four media groups still dominate the media business landscape, there is a greater difference of ownership post-1994 than in the apartheid era (Rumney, 2015). The pre-1994 print media landscape was dominated by JSE-listed Nasionale Pers, Perskor, Times Media Ltd and the Independent Group (formerly the Argus) (Rumney, 2015). Although this landscape has evolved to be dominated by the four players mentioned above, these organisations are big businesses, with the three media companies listed on the JSE boasting billions of rands in investments. For example, Caxton has around R8 billion in market capitalisation, while Naspers boasts almost R752 billion in market capitalisation.

[48] www.southafrica.info

> The biggest print media company by market size is now undoubtedly Media24, which is a subsidiary of Naspers, which itself has transformed from an apartheid-supporting newspaper group to a South African-based multinational active across the globe and having profited massively from internet-based services, notably its investment in Chinese company Tencent (Rumney, 2015: 67).

Essentially, these four media groups, together with TNA Media, publisher of the *New Age*, controlled by Oakbay Investments **(**owned by the Gupta family), and M&G Media Limited, publisher of the *Mail & Guardian*, owned by Zimbabwean entrepreneur Trevor Ncube's Newtrust Company Botswana Ltd, are largely controlled by organisations with other business interests beyond the corporate media (see Table 8.1). Crucial to appreciate in the South African media is the transformation agenda in line with the government's programme of Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (B-BBEE), discussed in detail in Chapter 9. According to scholars such as Duncan (2011) and Nzimande (2007), this is a mere continuation of the apartheid's regime transformation trajectory.

***Table 8.1: Major South African print media ownership***

| Media house | Major newspapers | Major shareholders | Black ownership % on BEE Scorecard | Other business interests |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Media 24** | - *Witness*<br>- *City Press*<br>- *Beeld*<br>- *Die Burger*<br>- *Volksblad*<br>- *Rapport*<br>- *Sondag*<br>- *Son (daily and weekly)*<br>- *Daily Sun*<br>- *Sunday Sun* | Naspers Limited (85%)<br>- Naspers Beleggings Ltd. (Nasbel) – 49.81%<br>- Keeromstraat 30 Ltd. (Keerom) – 31.21%<br>- Wheatfields 221 (Pty) – 5 18.98%<br>- Public Investment Corporation of South Africa (15.03%) | 45.82% | - Print media i.e. Media24; 24.com; Paarl Media; Book publishing<br>- Ecommerce platforms i.e. etail (general and fashion etail)<br>- Listed investments i.e. Tencent and Mail.ru<br>- Pay-television i.e. MultiChoice; GOtv; M-Net; and SuperSport |
| **Independent News & Media** | - *Sunday Independent*<br>- *Star (Business Report)*<br>- *Saturday Star*<br>- *Pretoria News*<br>- *Mercury*<br>- *Daily News* | - Sekunjalo Media Consortium - majority shareholder (55%)<br>- The Government Employees Pension Fund managed through Public | 55.00% | Sekunjalo<br>- British telecoms SA (PTY) LTD (30%)<br>- SAAB SA (PTY) LTD (5%)<br>- Pioneer food group LTD (0.75%)<br>- Premier fishing SA |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | - *The Post*<br>- *Isolezwe*<br>- *Sunday Tribune*<br>- *Cape Argus*<br>- *Cape Time*<br>- *Saturday Argus*<br>- *Sunday Argus*<br>- *Diamond Fields Advertiser* | Investment Corporation (PIC)<br>- Interacom Investment Holding Limited - China International Television Corporation and China-Africa Development Fund | | (PTY) LTD (100%)<br>- Sekunjalo technology solutions LTD* (100%)<br>- Sekunjalo medical & health commodities (PTY) LTD (100%)<br>- Sekunjalo media holdings (PTY) LTD (100%) |
| **Times Media Group** | - *Sunday Times*<br>- *The Times*<br>- *Business Day*<br>- *Sowetan*<br>- *Sunday World*<br>- *Daily Dispatch*<br>- *The Herald*<br>- *Financial Mail* | - Tiso Blackstar Group (100%) | 58.47% | - Media (Newspapers, magazines and digital news sites)<br>- Broadcasting and Content (Radio stations, television broadcasting and production, films, music and Vidi)<br>- Retail Solutions (Uniprint, Hirt & Carter and Times Media Entertainment) |
| **Caxton and CTP Publishers and Printers Limited** | - *Citizen*<br>- *The Citizen Saturday*<br>- *Metro Citizen (free)*<br>- *Community papers* | - The Moolman & Coburn Partnership, through various intermediate companies controlled by it, controls total of 48,47% of the issued ordinary shares of the company. | 18.90% | - Publishing, printing and distribution (Newspaper Publishing and Printing)<br>- Magazine Publishing and Distribution<br>- Book Printing<br>- Commercial printing (Web and Gravure)<br>- Packaging and Stationery |
| **TNA Media** | *The New Age* | - Oakbay Investments<br>- Bennett Coleman & Co (publishers of the *Times of India*) | 21.58% | - ICT (Sahara Computers)<br>- Mining (majority shareholder in several companies)<br>- Media (ANN7 and New Age)<br>- Leisure<br>- Engineering |
| **M&G Media Limited** | *Mail & Guardian* | - Trevor Ncube's Newtrust Company | 0.00% | - n/a |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Botswana Ltd (77.69%)<br>- Guardian Newspapers (10%)<br>- M&G Staff Share Trust and Media Development Investment Fund (10%)<br>- Minority shareholders (2.31%) | | |

**Table adapted from some integrated annual reports 2014, www.mediaclubsouthafrica.com and study by Intellidex*

From the above table it becomes clear that the corporate media is indeed part of big conglomerates who themselves are not immune from possibilities of nationalisation. Essentially, it is possible to expand the nationalisation demands beyond the mining sector to other sectors such as transport, ICT, agriculture, media and communication, banks, manufacturing and many others. Therefore, it is possible to deduce that the posture of the corporate press on the discourse is also influenced by the overall ownership of the media.

### 8.4.3 The impact of the concentration of media ownership

The location of the corporate press within market forces has been raised in this thesis as one of the determining factors influencing the representation of ideological discourses. Indeed, market forces have succeeded "in establishing the press as an instrument of social control" (Curran, 2002: 81). At the centre of the market forces are the owners of the media. While most of the corporate press in South Africa continues to be critical of the democratic government, just like in the British system, ownership and control of the press is inextricably linked to government (Curran, 2002). Apart from the government's huge annual advertising budget for the print media, government entities such as the Government Employees Pension Fund (GEPF) and the Public Investment Corporation (PIC) have substantial stakes in media houses such as Media 24 and Independent News & Media (see Table 8.1.). As far as government advertising is concerned, for example, in the 2010/11 and 2011/12 financial years, the advertising expenditure on group newspapers was over R20 million and R55 million respectively. Of the 2010/11 expenditure, 52 per cent went to the Naspers group of newspapers which already has GEPF as a shareholder. This reality must be located in the historical context of rising publishing costs which "led to a cumulative transfer of ownership and control of the

popular press to capitalist entrepreneurs, while the advertising licensing system encouraged the absorption or elimination of the early radical press and effectively stifled its re-emergence" (Curran, 2002: 103). Therefore, space has closed for the radical alternative press, and this has led to the marginalisation of working class voices. Certainly, the representation of ideologically laden discourses such as nationalisation is thus affected.

The media has become increasingly concentrated and interlocked; for example, directors from large organisations sit on each other's boards (see Table 8.1), which may lead to conflicts of interest (Shah, 2009). While it is of course difficult to prove beyond reasonable doubt that this conflict of interest influences media and editorial decisions, Bagdikian (2000: 35–6) points out that:

> It is not often the public hears of ... clear destruction of editorial independence. In most cases there is no visible imposition of the parent firm's policies, and the policies are often not absolute, conditioned as they are by the desire for profits. ... The problem is ... subtle and profound. In a democracy ... a wide spectrum of ideas has equitable access to the marketplace. The effect of a corporate line is not so different from that of a party line. ... Detecting how most of the mass media impose political tests on what the public will see and hear is not as straightforward as it seems. Political intervention in its most pervasive form is not open and explicit but is concealed under seemingly apolitical reasons. ... Most difficult of all to document is the implicit influence of corporate chiefs. Most bosses do not have to tell their subordinates what they like and dislike (cited in Shah, 2009)

Fundamentally, concentration of ownership gives those in powerful positions leeway to control and manage criticism: "Corporations have multimillion-dollar budgets to dissect and attack news reports they dislike. But with each passing year they have yet another power: They are not only hostile to independent journalists. They are their employers" (Bagdikian, 2000: 65 cited Shah, 2004). In the final analysis, media owners have the ability to influence the content of news to suit their capitalist accumulation agenda. Indeed, interlocking and concentration of ownership "tends towards oligopoly or cartel, and this leads to a common interest amongst such companies in keeping out competing enterprises and even competing ideas" (Shah, 2009).

### 8.4.4 Capitalist control of the media and nationalisation

It is quite apparent that the corporate media, through the ownership structure, does not only have close ties with big capital but is an integral part of the capitalist economic system. This location of the corporate media in the capitalist system cannot be ignored as a determining

factor in the representation of ideological discourses such as nationalisation. Indeed, what the corporate media ownership structure reveals is that the South African media follows a similar developmental trajectory as its global counterparts. In this context, the corporate media is not only increasingly big business but has "a material interest in promoting market-friendly policies" due to its location within the market forces since its "principal shareholders and top executives are wealthy people, with a stake in the status quo" (Curran, 2000: 149). It is this reality that influences the corporate media's values and strategic direction, including the hiring of personnel and rewarding capitalist principles (Curran, 2000). It is these intrinsic values that shape representation of ideological discourses. These values are interconnected in many ways and predispose to the ways of doing things and thinking of the corporate media owners. Notwithstanding human agency within the corporate press, as articulated in previous chapters, there are numerous cases that "can be cited of right-wing media moguls promoting their political views and economic interests through the media under their control" (Curran, 2000: 149). This perspective cannot be ruled out in the representation of the nationalisation discourse in South Africa. The fact that the discourse is portrayed negatively by using the economic consequences frames and capitalist elite sources, points to the structural factor of ownership and its central role in capitalism.

However, it is crucial to note that the media power enjoyed by corporate media moguls is not used recklessly but rather through the existing structures of control as enunciated in the values and expected behaviours of personnel. Van Dijk (1996) posits that the control by owners is not exercised in a crude or overt manner. Neither does the economic structure of the corporate media impact immediately on the content of news (Meier, 2000), but this happens in a subtle way. This is one key reason why it is difficult to detect the impact of ownership on the content of news. Although, editors such as Lubisi (Interview, 2016) argue that in his almost two decades experience he has not come across a situation where owners sought to influence the content of news. Ngalwa posits that perhaps this might be true in smaller publications where there is a high likelihood that owners might want to have a say on the content:

> I'm sure in smaller publications, the owners are directly involved in the decision making processes of newspapers. But for major media companies like Times Media Group, the owners are so detached from the operations that they read, or find out about, most of the stories as do the rest of the general public (Ngalwa, Interview, 26.10. 2016).

However, Jeffreys (Interview, 2016) and Msomi (Interview, 2014) do concede that the historical ownership patterns in the South African corporate press have a subtle impact on the content of news. Lubisi posits that, as far as he is concerned,

> … owners of newspapers are concerned about the bottom lines while editors/editorial teams worry about the content which the newspapers will carry. It would be interesting for a shareholder to try and influence an editor not to publish certain stories. In my experience in mainstream newspapers over the last 19 years, I had not come across such an influence. Again, smaller (read community) newspapers (that have a single publisher/owner/editor) can be easily influenced since the person who takes all the decisions is one person. Such a person would not want to upset the local butcher because the butchery will not advertise specials in the newspaper once it is painted in a negative light in the said publication (Lubisi, Interview, 13.08.2016).

To the contrary, Jeffreys maintains that the history of the South African press is premised on the ideological outlook of the owners:

> Historically, most newspapers and the editorial approach are informed by the ideology of the owners and/or publishers. The Afrikaans newspaper industry is a case in point. Afrikaans newspapers were initially formed as part of the Afrikaner project. So, the appointment of editors was guided by a strict buy-in in this project, including the setting up of the apartheid ideology. This edifice started cracking in the 1980s when Afrikaans editors began to see the writing on the wall for apartheid and started to express these views – often in defiance of the ruling political elite. This was not easy as these 'alternative' views were see as going against the community as a whole rather that against the party. There was a time that part of a journalist's contract included agreeing on writing to support the policies and ideology of the then National Party. This started to change when the company appointed black journalists such as myself because we refused to sign the contracts with those clauses included (Jeffreys, Interview, 24.06.2016).

Msomi (Interview, 2014) also argues that while the role of ownership in the representation of the nationalisation discourse is not that obvious, there are nuances and practices of power within the corporate media that drive the discourse to a particular direction. Although, he also points out that in his experience there has never been a situation where owners have dictated to a newspaper what it may or may not write, he goes on to say: "But I suspect that such ideological issues are determined in the way owners choose who becomes an editor of a publication" (Msomi, Interview, 15.04.2014). He posits further that, for example, in a piece by Peter Bruce[49] where he speaks about the type of editors he will hire:

[49] In 2014, the BDFM Publishers (the 50:50 joint venture between Avusa of South Africa and Pearson in the UK), which publishes *Business Day* and the *Financial Mail*, announced the appointment of Peter Bruce, the Editor of *Business Day* since January 2001, as publisher of BDFM. Bruce retained responsibility for editorial strategy including building a digital and integrated news organisation (http://www.timesmedia.co.za).

> It says to me that owners do not determine the day to day running of newspapers. They certainly do not interfere with what should be the headlines and all of that, but they carefully (some of them) choose who is going to run their product. And therefore, if they have an ideological stance on an issue, it's likely to be reflected by the stance of the newspaper, because the editor is the custodian, the editor is the person that decides what goes in and what do we emphasise and what we don't emphasise in a newspaper (Msomi, Interview, 15.04.2014).

Ritchie points out that it is more of a check and balance situation since proprietors have every right to demand answers about developments in their publication. He also argues that editors should always be in a position to defend what they publish:

> Once again I can only speak for myself, I've never had that – I mean I've written about it, I'm on record as saying that Dr [Iqbal] Survé [founder and chairman of Sekunjalo Media Consortium, owners of *The Star* newspaper] never ever told me what to write and what not to write and has never made me pull a story. But equally and I don't think he's ever actually questioned me but were he to question me I would be able to answer my story selections which is right and I think as proprietor he has every right to do that. But equally an editor has the right to publish as long as they can defend what they are publishing. And I think that's a good check and balance I don't think it's something that's sinister. I think it's a very good check and balance (Ritchie, Interview, 08.09.2016).

The posture of the corporate press on the nationalisation discourse is also complicated by the fact that the media at some point also becomes a platform to disseminate the ideological perspective of the ruling class. As Ritchie posits:

> Our ideology is a caring free market paper, which is a paper of the middle class because that's the audience that is not defined by race but it is defined by class. No doubt, it's a class-based market, it's a market that is attractive to advertisers and it is also the biggest potential market that allows us to sell … So it takes us through because the middle class is huge, it's taxpaying, there's a commonality of need and of aspiration … So our ideology is a caring free market. We understand that we're a patriotic South African newspaper located in Johannesburg with a vested interest of seeing the institution of governance upheld and respected. That doesn't mean that those institutions should not be contested (Ritchie, Interview, 08.09.2016).

Furthermore, in the South African context it is instructive that the question of ownership is understood from the historical perspective as articulated by Jeffreys (Interview, 2016). Msomi articulates the point aptly by pointing out that,

> We can't run away from the fact that the South African media, especially the English press, has a long tradition of imperialism, a long tradition of believing certain policy issues to be gospel truth. Amongst them is that nationalisation doesn't work. Remember, newspapers were historically owned by the likes of Anglo American, and so the stance may have been influenced back then, on nationalisation, but it has never changed. The

> stance has tended to be oppositional from the very beginning, it [nationalisation] is perceived, always perceived to be a wrong idea … I don't think you'll ever come across a South African newspaper, black or white, other than maybe the *New Nation* back in the day (I don't remember what they said), that even espoused the idea of nationalisation. Even way back when Mandela was being asked where he stands on nationalisation after coming out of prison, the general feeling was that this is one bad idea, this will show that this country is going to the dogs. And I think that stance has not changed (Msomi, Interview, 15.04.2014).

Radebe also remarks that in his experience "there has never been a newsroom where I worked where the voice of the owners dictated the tone of the story". However, he concedes that the editors do influence the manner in which ideological discourses are portrayed:

> However, the editor-in-chief does get to steer the story's direction and tone. For example, the editor-in-chief often gives advice or suggestions to journalists – the names of experts or political parties to approach for comment on any story if it requires such a balancing act. There are instances where the editor-in-chief expressed disappointment at a way a story turned out and the people quoted did not make sense or weakened a story. I also experienced an incident where I wrote a story and it was not published – for the first time ever and the last time in my experience – because the editor did not like the fact that it portrayed his favourite political party in a negative light. Since I was a senior journalist in the newsroom, I took the matter up with the editor-in-chief and expressed my shock and disappointment at his unprofessional intervention. That did not happen again (Radebe, Interview, 19.07.2016).

This in a sense endorses the perspective advanced by Msomi (Interview, 2014) on the type of editors that are appointed by the owners to advance their own bourgeois agenda. From the Afrikaans corporate press viewpoint, Jeffreys points out that this media has always pandered to the bourgeois political interest:

> In the Afrikaans media it was astonishing the extent to which the newspapers willy-nilly supported the political interests of the ruling elite. It was accepted without any serious interrogation. [However], during my time at *The New Age* I never experienced any attempt at political or editorial interference (Jeffreys, Interview, 24.06.2016).

Nevertheless, Radebe is of the view that the key underlying factor that determines the representation of such discourses is the operational logic of the corporate media:

> The greatest challenge of newspapers is how to keep the reader interested. Some stories do not see the light of day because the journalist failed to convince the assignment editor or news editor that this story is worth being done. At times the story has already been written to death by other newspapers and overly broadcast in radio stations and TV. There has to be a new angle that is fresh and unique, and in the absence of that, the story dies. That is why experience often counts for weekend newspapers, who face the challenge of finding a fresh angle or new information to ensure there is justification for the paper to publish and a reader to buy the product. Most weekend publications have investigative journalists in order to

> ensure there is that uniqueness to bring fresh information and be seen to unravel the truth when everyone else published the first source of information stated by the sources of any nature (Radebe, Interview, 19.07.2016).

I argue that the operating logic that underpins the managerial structures in the corporate press is itself subjected to commercial interests and the ethos of the capitalist owners. The structures and processes of the corporate media are not a democratic process set up in consultation with the workers, but rather a structure put in place by executive management on behalf of the owners. These are rules of the game aimed at regulating the behaviour of personnel in line with the desired standards and codes of conducts. Indeed, social structures act as rules that regulate individuals' thoughts and behaviours (Bourdieu, 1972). Even in an environment where rules are not formalised, agents internalise them in order to demonstrate the appropriate levels of understanding of the game (Bourdieu, 1983). In this regard, these sub-structures are aligned to the ownership structure, and in a subtle manner, influence the content of news and thus the representation of ideological discourses such as nationalisation. It is through these structures of the corporate media that some issues are included while others are omitted. Ritchie concedes that central to the management structure are basic principles of behaviour expected from journalists:

> Because we're a 130 year old institution a lot of that is institutional and it gets taken out and it gets freshened up as and when it needs. So I mean just behind you we've got an old code of conduct from 1987. The basic precepts remain the same. You know, we have a social media conduct policy which is new because social media is new… but the basic precepts of behaviour are exactly the same as what you would expect of a journalist of 150 years ago. You know, you say to people, don't say on social media what you're not prepared to say in the open (Ritchie, Interview, 08.09.2016).

Furthermore, he argues that this must be done in broader consultation with relevant stakeholders and in a transparent manner:

> I think that we're aware that when the company was taken over by Sekunjalo a process was undergone, or undertaken rather, to revisit all the existing policies. And in that process there was a lot or workshopping with people on the ground, so it wasn't a top-down policy. There was a lot of structured negotiation with unions and representatives and also anecdotal investigations. So I think that the level of transparency and the level of interaction was the best possible guard to offset institutional bias (Ritchie, Interview, 08.09.2016).

Fundamentally, it is through these structures that the representation of various issues is influenced. For example, the decision to use some sources and not to use others is a manifestation of this process. Radebe (Interview, 2016) correctly highlights that it is

incumbent upon the journalists to convince the management structures (assignment or news editor) about the newsworthiness of the story. However, when closely scrutinised such processes are crucial elements of the ownership structure, which determines and informs the representation of ideological discourses.

## 8.5 The advertising factor – lifeblood of the corporate media

Advertising is an integral source of funding for the corporate media since the entire production process of the corporate press rests on profit logic. Indeed, advertising is a source of revenue and, simply put, it is the lifeblood of the corporate media. However, since advertising depends on neo-liberal rationality and concepts such as the living standards measurements (LSM), inevitably this distorts the distribution of advertising expenditure towards the corporate press. In this process, it is the corporate media aimed at elite audiences that benefit the most at the expense of the local community media which serves the working class and the historical working-class publications such as the *South African Labour Bulletin*[50] and *Umsebenzi*.[51] As Curran (2000) posits, the corporate media's orientation towards the wealthy rather than the poor is informed by the rationale that the former bring higher advertising rewards. This capitalist logic influences the content of news since "advertisers can also exert a direct influence by supporting media which offer a conducive environment for their products or politics, and withholding support from those who do not conform" (Curran, 2000: 149). To this end, the ruling class, which controls the advertising industry, has another opportunity, beyond media ownership, to exert pressure on the

[50] The *South African Labour Bulletin* comes from a proud tradition of 40 years of independent progressive publishing. It is the only alternative anti-apartheid publication which survived into South Africa's new democracy. It provides cutting-edge information as well as critical analysis and debate on a wide range of social issues that confront South Africans today and which are not covered in the mainstream media. This includes articles on labour matters, politics, economics, health, education, sport, youth, women, HIV/AIDS, the environment and culture, as well as reviews of new books. Through its bold reportage the *Bulletin* aims to advance the discourse of progressive politics and to promote social justice and the interests of the working class (www.southafricanlabourbulletin.org.za).

[51] *Umsebenzi Online* is an exclusively electronic publication of the South African Communist Party. It is published once a week, on Thursdays. It is aimed at SACP activists who are in government, Parliament, trade unions, and formations of the mass democratic movement, the country's democratic people as a whole, their allies, democratic social movements and fraternal international formations. *Umsebenzi Online* is also aimed at communicating with the media and the public on the positions and analysis of the political and economic situation in the country, and now offers reports on activities relating to the national democratic transformation of South Africa (www.sacp.org.za).

corporate media to advance ideas that are consonant with their worldview. This is but one of the many weapons in the arsenal of big business to influence, and sometimes discipline, non-cooperating media institutions and keep them "within the boundaries of acceptable dissent" (Van Dijk, 1996). Thus, this reality explains the inability of the South African corporate press to advance economic policies that are contrary to the established Western capitalist ideology.

Msomi (Interview, 2014) argues that the influence of advertising is not as crass as people sometimes put it, but mass publications are faced with the challenge of taking a subject as complicated as nationalisation and reducing it to stories that will appeal to their readers. In this regard, a policy conference, for example, becomes difficult to cover when stories have to be 500 words long, since with the advent of social media, newspapers must cater for an audience that does not have time to read long and complicated stories:

> Because the advertiser wants what they call a user-friendly publication, so you'll find that more and more people, for instance, are moving towards tablets, even when the newspaper is still broad-sheet, its bigger pictures, shorter stories … the argument is that the concentration is shorter than it was before, because there are too many things competing for attention (Msomi, Interview, 15.04.2014).

Radebe (Interview, 2016) also contends that the influence of advertising on editorial content is miniscule and not felt by editorial staff. He points out that in his 20-year career there has only been "one incident where a negative story was published on the same page as the advert that sought to portray a parastatal in a good light. Following the editor's investigation, it was discovered that is was coincidental" (Radebe, Interview, 2016). In his view there are clear demarcations and structures in place to prevent advertising influence on the editorial content.

> In the past, newsrooms did not know which advert is placed where. In fact the news editor and other senior editorial staff responsible for layout only saw a space indicating that there will be an advert but not what is was for. To avoid placing stories that may contradict with adverts and get advertisers fuming, the adverts are now shown and news editors seek to avoid such clashes of interests. But is it does not amount to censorship (Radebe, Interview, 19.07.2016).

Although, Jeffreys also agrees with the view that the overtures of advertising are not that obvious, he does concede that advertising executives do often take a chance. He argues that in his experience,

> there was always a strict wall between the influences of advertising people in editorial decisions. It was strictly forbidden but it did not stop advertising executives from trying. I can't recall an incident of them ever succeeding (Jeffreys, Interview, 24.06.2016).

The invisible influence of advertising on editorial staff should not imply lack of impact on the content of news. For example, Ngalwa points out that, although he has not directly experienced it, he has heard of instances where advertisers prevailed in influencing the content of news:

> Speaking from personal experience, I'm not aware of any instance where an advertiser determined a content of a newspaper I worked for. But that said, I have heard of instances where powerful advertisers leaned on editors to drop certain stories which they considered to be negative towards them. They threatened to pull advertising – these are both government and private-sector advertisers (Ngalwa, Interview, 26.10.2016).

Lubusi also refutes the notion of influence by advertising on editorial content. However, he posits that the impact of advertising cannot be ruled out on smaller community media:

> Unlike community newspapers, mainstream newspapers are not influenced by advertisers. We have a separate advertisement department that works in isolation from the newsroom. The newsroom makes its own decisions based on the news value of the stories before it. Advertising sell adverts because the companies, institution or government departments want to reach a certain target audience with the message they have at that particular time. If the customers they want to reach are in *City Press* and the price is right, then the advertisers will go for the publication or choose the ones which they feel will reach their target audiences (Lubisi, Interview, 13.08.2016).

Ritchie (Interview, 2016) agrees that it could be accurate to argue that advertising influences content in smaller publication, but in the mainstream media that is not the case. "I've never ever in 26 years allowed advertising support or the lack of or the threat of the withdrawal to influence me on what goes into the pack or what doesn't" (Ritchie, Interview, 08.09.2016). However, he does concede that one way or the other advertising does have some influence:

> I think it must have some kind of influence. It's how you deal with that influence. You know as custodians, as editors, as custodians of what effectively is a commercial intellectual production centre… that advertising is part and parcel of your commercial model … I've always believed, personally – I can't speak for my colleagues – I've always believed that my role as the editor of a commercial entity is to provide content such that it attracts the kind of readers who would be an incredible market for advertisers. The advertisers then advertise in our paper to get to that market … not the other way around. I think that when you get to a

> stage where you're starting to worry about angering advertisers and losing advertising support, you're not doing your job properly (Ritchie, Interview, 08.09.2016).

Fundamentally, Ritchie concedes that newspapers sell audiences to advertisers who in turn buy space for that captured audience. However:

> The advertiser cannot influence that because in terms of the relationship, we have a relationship with the readers or the audiences and we have a relationship with the advertisers, too. The reality is that the advertiser doesn't have a relationship with the audience because if it did, one, they wouldn't need us and, two, we lose the integrity and credibility of what we're doing. The readers will go, too, and we will have no audience to sell to the advertisers … However, in other models of commercial newspapers advertisers do hold sway – for example, knock and drops … it's a different environment altogether. But I believe when you're selling content to readers there's a different relationship to a knock and drop (Ritchie, Interview, 08.09.2016).

Because newspapers have a keen interest in selling the audience desired by advertisers, inevitably this has an impact on the content of news.

> We do readership surveys to find out specifically who the readers are, then we do psychographic studies to find out what it is that they like, so we're already tailoring. Certain newspapers will have a predominance of soccer but that soccer might be overseas soccer; first is local soccer. So publications might have a predominance of so-called formerly white sport – rugby and cricket – it's speaking to the market. Certain publications will go light on politics, certain will go high on politics, certain will go light on entertainment and so we're already by definition, we're going out there, we're looking at who the reader is and what the reader wants (Ritchie, Interview, 08.09.2016).

Nevertheless, the one-sided view expressed by the majority of editors on the impact of advertising discounts the corporate media's dependency on advertising as a fundamental source of income, but rather portrays advertisers as the ones who require newspapers to reach the targeted audience. In fact, as suggested in the initial chapters of this thesis, both advertising and the media play a pivotal role in the production of consciousness (Smythe, 1977). This mental role of advertising is also crucial in the accumulative path of the capitalism (Nixon 2012), but essentially it exists in a context of a highly commodified capitalist media. In a nutshell advertising, just like public relations, is part of the capitalist media agenda aimed at advancing mass consumption and mind management (Ewen, 1976, 1988; Wasko, 2005). Therefore, its influence on the representation of the discourse is intertwined with the objectives of capitalist ownership. In pursuit of their profit maximisation objectives, ownership, through management structures, are coerced to present advertisers with preferred audiences.

However, to understand the impact of advertising and thus the capitalist nature of the corporate media's representation of ideologically laden discourses more deeply, it is crucial to dissect Smythe's (1977) hypothesis on advertising. As highlighted in the previous section of this chapter, advertising is central in the commodification process of the newspapers. Furthermore, this commodification in advertiser-supported corporate media must also be understood from the perspective of buying and selling audiences (Smyth, 1977). Essentially, advertisements are premised on the corporate media's ability to build particular audiences suitable for specific products (Hebblewhite, 2012), as required by capitalists. This perspective diverges from the traditional perception of space as a commodity in the advertising industry (Hebblewhite, 2012). Therefore, the notion that space is the commodity purchased by advertisers is not the whole picture of the commodification of media. Smyth (1977) has assisted in the comprehension that fundamentally advertisers purchase the services of audiences. In this regard, the audience is the key commodity in the communication industry.

This perspective is paramount in pursuit of the truth behind the corporate media's posture on socio-political discourses such as nationalisation. In a nutshell, the findings of this research study point to a situation where the commodification of the press drives the representation of the discourse to suite the audience desired by the advertisers. This is basically the consequence of the capitalist factor in the corporate media. Therefore, the analysis of the representation of nationalisation elucidates the role of the corporate media as "…carriers of advertising messages that advance commodity sales" (Mosco, 2009: 149 quoted in Prodnik, 2012). In this regard, the media is a central means of communication and therefore a means of production since it is "…engaged in the production of the fabric of everyday life as they organize our leisure time, shape our social behaviour and provide the material out of which our very identities are constructed in terms of class, race, nationality, sexuality and distinctions between 'us' and 'them'" (Torfing 1999: 210 cited in Hebblewhite, 2012). Indeed, the representation of the nationalisation discourse is shaped by this process.

## 8.6 Conclusion: the free market ideology and its impact on the nationalisation discourse

This chapter has used the Marxist media analysis to make sense of the findings in Chapters 6 and 7 on the representation of the nationalisation discourse. Essentially, what emerges is that the corporate media plays a pivotal role in reproducing the dominant ideology, which fundamentally maintains capitalism as "an inevitable and immutable" system (Garland and Harper, 2012). In this regard, I have presented the manner in which the capitalist nature of the media impacts on its representation of the discourse. Tangible evidence, such as the framing of the discourse from an economic consequences frame and thus ensuring that the discourse is perceived to be damaging to the economy and scaring away investors, is presented in this chapter. I have therefore taken further the research findings which present a critical problem of the corporate media, which epitomises the interests of the ruling capitalist class (Garland and Harper, 2012). Essentially, in order to fully comprehend this representation it is crucial to understand the operations of global capital, which is represented in a benevolent way by the corporate media.

Furthermore, I have presented the manner in which commercial factors impact on the representation of this discourse. This is in line with the assumption of this research study that structural factors of the media influence its representation of policymaking discourses. A view that access and subsequently representation by the corporate media is a function of commercial factors is presented. Fundamentally, the issue here is that the various elements that make up commercial factors, such as juniorisation and time pressures, eventually influence the representation of nationalisation. Central to this is the fact that nationalisation is a highly ideologically contested discourse, and in this case the class that controls the means of communication eventually wins the debate, and their views become hegemonic in society. Advertising is one of the economic factors that determines the portrayal and perception of the discourse. I have also detailed the manner in which this factor influences representation of this discourse. In analysing advertising's role in capitalist accumulation, I revisited Smythe's (1977) postulation on the production of consciousness. The long and short of this argument is that advertising is part of the capitalist agenda of consumption and accumulation, and thus influences the content of news. In the final analysis, I have pointed out that advertising has an impact on the corporate media's posture of ideological discourses.

Both from the South African and global perspectives, the chapter has reflected how ownership patterns, and especially concentration of the media, influence the representation of ideological discourses. The extent of media ownership and its concentration has been exposed and, through this, the corporate media's location in the market forces. This validates the supposition that this location within capitalist structures shapes the corporate media's representation of ideological discourses. The control of the corporate media by the capitalist class also speaks to the question of media power, and the chapter argues that the structures of control in newsrooms are in actual fact the rules set up by the owners. Media managers conform to these rules and thus reproduce the desired outcomes of the capitalist class. In making these arguments, I certainly do not discount the agency of media professionals. However, the media's power enables the ruling class to determine the rules, and thus access to the media. This, as reflected in the primary definers in this thesis, shapes the final news product.

Central to this research study's contribution to South African scholarly media work, is this chapter's application of Marxist dialectical methods to unravel the issue of control over the means of production of consciousness intrinsic to the capitalist media (Nixon, 2012). All the elements analysed in this chapter reflect the nature of the production of consciousness of the media. This chapter has brought to the fore issues "…of domination, asymmetrical power relations, exploitation, oppression and control" (Fuchs, 2011: 97) that are significant in the South African social landscape. Indeed, the corporate media plays a crucial role in maintaining the status quo to the benefit of the triumph of capitalism and its benefactors, the bourgeoisie.

# Chapter 9

# Rethinking media transformation in South Africa – a decolonial Marxism perspective

## 9.1 Introduction – Marxist analysis in conversation with decolonial theories

As highlighted in the previous chapter, this thesis has two key analysis chapters aimed at elucidating the research findings. Chapter 8 utilised Marxist theories to unpack the economic factors of the corporate media. This chapter, while continuing with the use of the said theories as a tool of analysis, does so in conjunction with decolonial theories. Whereas the theoretical tension between these two strands is acknowledged, it is believed that this research study will benefit greatly in unravelling the often ignored and misunderstood intricate question of race and transformation in South Africa's corporate media. Thus, in analysing the impact of media transformation in the context of coloniality of power and its impact on the representation of the nationalisation discourse, I begin the chapter by focusing on the illusion of black empowerment as driven through Black Economic Empowerment (BEE). Media transformation in South Africa is also premised on this flawed emancipatory concept rather than on liberation ideas designed to drive overall decolonisation, including that of the media. The structural inability to fundamentally transform the media and other related institutions is also perceived from the coloniality of power, or the "eurocentrification" of the world, which contributes to the perpetuation of the subjugation of African people. It is quite apparent that the transformation agenda in the corporate media is one of the factors that impacts on the representation of this discourse. In this section it emerges that race is one of the elements that plays a central role in South Africa's corporate media, and therefore influences the representation of the nationalisation discourse.

I also discuss intra-ANC ideological dynamics in this chapter as constituting another factor in the context of decolonisation that impacts on the coverage of nationalisation. In this context, a brief history of the ANC-led Alliance, as a broader movement for decolonisation, is discussed to elucidate the media's posture on ideologically laden discourses such as the nationalisation of mines. The representation of nationalisation is therefore discussed in the context of these intra-ANC conflicts and the media as an institution heavily involved in the coloniality of knowledge.

Another critical factor in the coloniality of knowledge that influences the representation of nationalisation is the prioritisation of primary definers such as business and government representatives and analysts, who all advance the anti-nationalisation view. Although the influence of sources has been discussed in detail in the preceding chapter, it is crucial to analyse this aspect using decolonial theories. Another illustration is the use of analysts as insiders to marginalise the working class.

Also presented in this chapter is the impact of the relationship between the state and the corporate media in South Africa, which is historically antagonistic. This factor is analysed from the global coloniality perspective. The chapter discusses this factor in detail, as well as the impact of the convergence of state and corporate media on this discourse. Also discussed is how this convergence elevates the capitalist elites at the expense of the working class. Central to this chapter is the limited nature of the media transformation agenda pursued in South Africa. This is advanced using the same colonial and neo-liberal frameworks and its impact on ideologically laden developmental policy discourses. Essentially, I paint a picture of the corporate media's location within the Western capitalist system, and therefore its role in perpetuating the views of the ruling class.

## 9.2 Media transformation and coloniality of power

### 9.2.1 The historical context

The systemic racial exclusion of black people in general and Africans in particular from all forms of economic activities by successive white colonial regimes has warranted transformation in all sectors of the South African economy post 1994. The corporate media is no exception, and as a sector it has to grapple with this vexing historical question on an ongoing basis. To this end, the ANC has consistently criticised the print media for its concentrated ownership and lack of diversity throughout its entire value chain beyond ownership and control, including issues of race, language, gender and content (Daniels, 2013). The ANC has argued that the 14 per cent black ownership is miniscule, that the representation of women is very low, and generally "there is a lack of transformation in the print sector":

> ...the ANC would like to see more regulation and 'accountability' via a Media Charter, for instance. A Print and Digital Media Transformation Task Team (PDMTTT) was instituted by the industry in August 2012 after Parliament's communication portfolio committee reiterated that a Media Charter was needed (Daniels, 2013: 4).

Crucial though, and as reflected earlier, is South Africa's corporate print media's historical links with Western hegemony. It is this colonial history of knowledge production that has subordinated the corporate media "to Euro-American epistemology that assumed universal proportions and universal truth" (Quijano, 2007 cited in Chiumbu, 2016: 4). However, it is essential to acknowledge that, due to the coloniality of power, South Africa's transformation journey has been locked into the myths of decolonisation and freedom (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012). In actual fact, concepts such as Black Economic Empowerment, discussed in detail below, and transformation have been largely driven through emancipation as opposed to liberation ideas, thus perpetuating the "subalternisation" of the majority of South Africa's people (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012).

### 9.2.2 The illusion of black empowerment – BEE and media transformation

Inherent in the production process of the corporate media in South Africa is the question of transformation. The transformation agenda of the corporate media, both on the ownership front and staff compliment, has been an important topic of discussion since the dawn of democracy. Also, there is a general assumption that the transformation of the staff compliment will address the notion of bias against the "black" government, a concern raised by successive ANC presidents, from Nelson Mandela to Jacob Zuma. Duncan (2011) points out that lack of media transformation has created a "mismatch" between values espoused by the media and those promoted by the ANC. "In fact, the ANC under Zuma's leadership has been particularly hostile towards the print media, which has been accused of a lack of racial transformation, prioritises the worldviews of elite, and is overly concentrated" (Duncan, 2011: 8). In this hostile environment even the Press Council of South Africa has been accused of being a "toothless" entity that exists to cushion the media's interests; thus the ANC has mooted the establishment of the Media Appeals Tribunal (Duncan, 2011). Of course this hostility is born out of the real frustration resulting from the broader structural system that is reproducing the systemic oppression and marginalisation of the majority of African people. Indeed, the ANC as the liberation movement "was disciplined into an emancipatory force that

finally celebrated the achievement of liberal democracy instead of decolonisation, social justice and freedom" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012: 74). What this has done is to produce a moribund constitution as far the as majority of the subalternised people are concerned, which "does not facilitate or enable a radical redistribution of resources such as land and mines" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012: 77). This is the context within which the frustration and hostility of the ANC government towards the media must be understood.

Media transformation must also be perceived in line with the government's programme of Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (B-BBEE)[52], which seeks to address the historical imbalances created by the unequal development under apartheid. BEE is essentially part of changing the fundamental contradictions that characterise South Africa as a democracy, whose political power is in the hands of the majority African people but where substantial economic power still resides with the same old white capitalist class as under apartheid (Nzimande, 2007). In this regard, the concept of BEE in South Africa can be traced back to the aftermath of the 1976 students' uprising and the brutal killing of Steve Biko by the racist apartheid regime. In light of this, the illegitimate white supremacist regime felt the pressure of the international community through economic sanctions. Desperate to portray benefits for black people through foreign investment under apartheid, a concept of black advancement was introduced (Nzimande, 2007). Certainly, B-BBEE "continues a transformation trajectory set in motion under apartheid, where the regime's objective was to create a black bourgeoisie with a stake in the system, and which would act as a buffer against more radical transformation claims" (Duncan 2011: 2). Fundamentally, the idea was to create a small black corporate petty bourgeoisie to illustrate that capitalism was indeed in their interest. Furthermore, Nzimande (2007) posits that the current BEE resembles a number of continuities of the erstwhile "black advancement". In this regard, "while the government is committed to broad-based BEE, the white capitalist class, with its huge economic muscle, is interested only in promoting an elite, thus maintaining the continuity between black advancement and BEE" (Nzimande, 2007: 182).

[52] In South Africa BEE was introduced specifically for Black Empowerment in redressing the economic ills of the past where most blacks were not participating in the economy of South Africa Equitably with other races hence Black Economic Empowerment Policy came to place. But as South Africa moved towards proper integrated society Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (B-BBEE) was introduced which accommodates companies owned by other races but has shareholding of blacks or employees share schemes, And where these companies buy goods and services from BEE companies and are involved in skills development and enterprise development through adopting the BEE companies and develop them (http://www.newdiscoverybs.co.za/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=994:econopedia).

However, this and other like-minded programmes are unable to produce the desired outcomes as they are locked into the capitalist system that is a fundamental part of the colonial matrix of power (CMP) that continues to reproduce racialised inequalities. Consequently, CMP, as a sphere of coloniality of power, is manifested through the control of the economy, mainly accompanied by exploitation of labour – in the South African context, black people – "and authority articulated with the coloniality of knowledge" (Mignolo, 2007:4). Essentially, the corporate media is equally an importan player in the sphere of coloniaity of knowledge.

In as far as BEE and media transformation is concerned, scholars disagree on the extent of its impact. "While significant deracialisation of the media has been achieved … transformation has been limited by class continuity in ownership, control, content and audiences" (Duncan 2011: 6; also see Teer-Tomaselli and Tomaselli, 2001). Indeed, the huge challenges facing society cannot be addressed effectively "within the closed parameters of capitalism" (Nzimande, 2007: 183). In its transformation endeavour, the South African media has been tied to the capitalist commercial model, "which has also placed limits on the ability of the media to transform" (Duncan, 2011: 11). Therefore, BEE remains too narrow to fundamentally transform deep-rooted structural issues of transformation. "Even in terms of the new-Broad-based Act, the dominant approach remains narrow BEE, focusing on multi-billion rand ownership deals and the advancement of a small, exclusive black minority through equity acquisitions and individual promotion into senior management ranks" (Nzimande, 2007: 183). This has also been the case for media, both in terms of ownership and personnel transformation.

Tomaselli (1997) posits that there are two kinds of issues that characterise the post-apartheid control of the media, given the distribution of power within the political economy of the country. This is in line with the question of media power as discussed in the previous chapters. The first issue pertains to the question of the key allocative controllers who exercise "the power to define the overall goals and scope of the corporation and determines the general way it deploys its productive resources"; the second is operational control which is "confined to decisions about resources already decided upon at the allocative level" (Murdock 1982:122 cited in Tomaselli, 2007: 6). Therefore, the inability of the media to transform is essentially linked to the underlying economic base. This inability is part and parcel of the ongoing hegemony of colonialism enunciated through concepts such as coloniality of power which, according Mignolo (2007: 6), is the "the darker side of modernity and the global reach of

imperial capitalism". To fully comprehend the representation of nationalisation, it is crucial to appreciate these dynamics within the corporate press. Tomaselli (1997: 6) argues that conglomerates that own the media are mainly interested in protecting their broader business interests which "far outweighed their large ownership in the press".

If there is one aspect that the BEE policies and broader transformation within the media have achieved, it is transformation of the staff complement in the newsroom. However, this achievement has its own challenges, as highlighted by Nic Muirhead in his article "A view from outside: Is South Africa's media transformed?" published in the *Daily Maverick* of 8 March 2016. He cites the former editor of the *City Press*, Ferial Haffajee, and her "cappuccino" change metaphor: "The metaphor paints a pretty clear picture of what South Africa's private sector looks like, where we find that the workforce has been mixed to a good brown at the bottom, but there is still a thick white layer of foam on top, with a few chocolate sprinkles" (Muirhead, 2016). However, the findings of this research study suggest that the increase in numbers of black senior managers in the newsroom has not improved the coverage of issues pertaining to social justice. On the contrary, the representation of intricate developmental policy discourse such as nationalisation has rather sharpened the class contradictions beyond the race question. These workers, just like all African people, are subjugated to the coloniality of power of the "eurocentrification" of the world, "constructed on the basis of racial social classification of human populations and how it is being reproduced today" and fundamentally "entangled, woven and entrapped in the colonial matrix of power underpinning the asymmetrically structured global social order" (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012:73). Msomi (Interview, 2014) is of the view that the rise of the black managers in the newsroom has rather entrenched class contradictions instead of black solidarity.

> The black middle class has become entrenched and usually advertisers are drawn from the ranks of the middle class, and the thinking and our social outlook is the same. We may differ on one issue or the other but generally the black editor and the white editor come from the same neighbourhood, their kids went to the same schools, they all think the biggest problem in this country are potholes, because there are potholes in Houghton. They all send their kids to the best Model C schools or to private schools. So generally, I think you can't solve the problem just merely by saying there are no black journalists (Msomi, Interview, 15.04.2014).

Therefore, the question of transformation has had a miniscule impact on the representation of such ideological discourses. However, this lack of impact must be

located within the structural factors of the corporate media, which fundamentally reflect Western capitalist hegemony as represented by the South African historical context of colonialism and colonial apartheid. In this context, whether editors are black or white they still need to be conscious about developments in the country in order to grasp complex developmental policy issues. Ngalwa (Interview, 2016) is of the view that in the question of transformation, which is often conflated with ownership, socialisation plays a critical role in determining the content of news. However, he argues that the newsroom must transform to reflect the demographic patterns of the country:

> Media transformation is important and necessary. But most people make the mistake of equating media transformation with ownership, but it goes far beyond that. For instance most media companies in South Africa have substantial black ownership but this is not reflected in the narrative that dominates the media landscape. This is precisely because news judgement, like value judgement, is subjective and informed by one's background and the environment they grew up in. For instance, a story of a dog being rescued off a cliff may be of interest to a white news reporter/editor but a black reporter/editor may be indifferent to the same story. So media transformation is about who consumes the news, but more importantly about who decides the news agenda. So it's very important that newsrooms and particularly news desks are transformed to reflect the country's demographics (Ngalwa, Interview, 26.10.2016).

Lubisi concurs that the socialisation of journalists affects their outlook and thus the manner in which they report such policy discourse:

> Of course our backgrounds and lived experiences have an effect on the way everyone sees life, - anyone. Reporters are not excluded in this. But this then affords them to look at things from their perspective first, but also affords them to look at the same thing from other people's lived experiences as well before deciding how to proceed. In most cases, the facts always determine how reporting should be done (Lubisi, Interview, 13.08.2016).

However, he is of a strong view that race has no impact on how they approach any story. The weakness with such views is their denial about perceiving the corporate media as part of the complete dominance of the oppressed and marginalised people. In turn, the oppressed use the same tools of analysis as the oppressor, thereby perpetuating and reproducing oppression and oppressive conditions (Grosfoguel, 2011). One of the means to fully comprehend the representation of nationalisation is to use the perspectives of the oppressed. In this regard, there is an illusion of equality of the oppressor and the oppressed, to the extent that the fundamental question of race is downplayed.

> I do not think the colour of the editor or reporters makes any difference any more, but a blend of both and representative of the broader society is essential. This is so because the broader

> the newsroom the better, for different views and experiences would be brought into the newsrooms. For instance, a newsroom packed with a single race would not know the other races' way of life. So, multiracial newsrooms help bring the differences into one where debate then takes place. Debates in the newsroom mean that the end product, the publication, will be a better product which would have taken all sides of the subject being written about into account. If editors are not well-read or have the capabilities of being leaders, chances are that those will fail to lead newsrooms. It has nothing to do with the colour of the person at all (Lubisi, Interview, 13.08.2016).

Beyond the level of consciousness of black editors is the question of structure, the rules of the game that, as argued in the previous chapter, constrain the agency of media professionals to deviate from the normative framework of the mainstream media. Essentially, if this structure remains untransformed, in line with the overall transformation agenda of the media, it is likely to reproduce the same Western-dominated capitalist narrative. Lubisi concurs with this assertion on the impact of transformation and further points out that:

> Media transformation is discussed in many sections. If you talk transformation of ownership, that discussion does not get into the newsroom because reporters only worry about the content and not who owns which publication. While the debate continues that the country needs more black owners of media houses, the newsrooms have to continue working. Each newspaper serves its audience and strives to give the readers what they want to read with each publication (Lubisi, Interview, 13.08.2016).

Indeed, it is not just a perception that the increase in numbers of black staff and senior editors in the newsroom has not had an impact on the posture of the corporate press on ideological issues; the representation of the nationalisation discourse asserts that reality.

> I think the other problem is that, unfortunately, studies that have been done about media transformation have been very shallow because there was a time where most editors in this country were black. Probably even now, if you were to look at the number of newspaper editors, you will come to the conclusion that the majority of editors are black, but the editor has the final say (Msomi, Interview, 15.04.2014).

Ritchie argues that the key issue is diversity, and posits further that the question of transformation is crucial and has a bearing on how news stories such as nationalisation are generally portrayed:

> Diversity is critical if we are to reflect the agenda of the society, and that's something I've always believed in. When I used to be an editor in Kimberly, that's what we went out there, you know, by transformation, and we made sure that we actually had Afrikaans speakers in

> the newsroom because Afrikaans is one of the main languages there, not English … My attitude around transformation or not – let's not say transformation, diversity – is that it is enlightened self-interest. The best team means that they've got to be diverse – look at this, look at the issues here with the supermen team of pure whites [referring to the old *Star* team of the 1950s]. We've come back a couple of times and we've looked at our coverage of, say, the 1956, the Women's March,[53] and our coverage, say, of 1976 and the riots,[54] – they were appalling, singularly appalling. When you look at it within the context of the day, those stories were appalling and that's because of a lack of diversity. Yes, you can make any argument you want to try and justify it if possible. I think it's unjustifiable, especially in this day and age. And every newsroom that I've worked in has been diverse, and that diversity spreads across; our photographers are diverse, a lot of black female photographers (Ritchie, Interview, 08.09.2016).

However, many senior journalists like Xolile Bhengu, former senior health reporter with the *Financial Mail* and former *Sunday Times* investigative journalist and interim president of the Forum of Journalists for Transformation (FJT) – an entity that claims to represents journalists, media practitioners and entrepreneurs in South Africa's media landscape, have strong views about the lack of transformation in the South African corporate media:

> The media room's racial imbalance is a heavy influence on how many issues like the nationalisation debate are covered. I particularly don't like the black-facing leadership and the front page, but the content and issues remain lily white. I feel like the black editors are used to advance the white agenda (Bhengu, Interview, 08.09.2016).

---

[53] In one of the largest demonstrations staged in South Africa's history, 20 000 women of all races marched to Pretoria's Union Buildings (the official seat of the South African government) on 9 August 1956, to present a petition against the carrying of passes by women to the Prime Minister, J.G. Strijdom. This was the famous Women's March, commemorated as Women's Day on August 9 each year. The march against the pass laws was organised by the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW). The Federation famously challenged the idea that "a woman's place is in the kitchen", declaring it instead to be "everywhere". Although Prime Minister Strijdom was not at the Union Buildings to accept the petition, the women of South Africa sent a public message that they would not be intimidated and silenced by unjust laws. After the petition was handed over to the Prime Minister's secretary, the women sang a freedom song: *Wathint` abafazi, Strijdom* (http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/20-000-women-march-union-buildings-protest-pass-laws).

[54] The 16 June 1976 Uprising that began in Soweto and spread countrywide profoundly changed the socio-political landscape in South Africa. Events that triggered the uprising can be traced back to policies of the apartheid government that resulted in the introduction of the Bantu Education Act in 1953. On 16 June 1976 between 3 000 and 10 000 students mobilised by the Action Committee of the South African Students Movement marched peacefully to demonstrate and protest against the government's directive. The march was meant to culminate at a rally in Orlando Stadium. On their way they were met by heavily armed police who fired teargas and later live ammunition at the students. This resulted in a widespread revolt that turned into an uprising against the government. While the uprising began in Soweto, it spread across the country and carried on until the following year (http://www.sahistory.org.za/topic/june-16-soweto-youth-uprising).

Piet Rampedi argues in an opinion piece titled "Independent Media must lead transformation" (published on www.iol.co.za, 18 July 2016) that it is a cause for concern that the fight for political control of the media among owners has impacted negatively on black journalists in South Africa across the spectrum:

> Sadly, black journalists continue to be marginalised, discriminated against and falsely accused of non-performance and frustrated into oblivion when they do not fit into the bigger scheme of things as far as servicing certain political agendas… An example of this spinelessness is how successful black players in the economy are often vilified, while white businessmen are treated with kid gloves when they are suspected of similar offences. Given that the lion's share of government advertising is concentrated in the hands of those who are inconsistent in flying the flag of transformation, surely there should be a repositioning of priorities to ensure that publications representing diversity in the media are given that slice of the pie (Rampedi, 2016).

Another crucial dimension to consider is that the structure and composition of the decision-making process in the newsrooms goes beyond editors, and also involves the management team. This is a fundamental point on the structures of the corporate media that are put in place to control the behaviour and thus the content of news:

> Editors generally are influenced by their management teams. In a lot of publications in this country, when you go to the newsroom, the editor may be black but you'll find that decision-makers, the management or executive team, actually is mainly dominated by white journalists who have been there in the system. They say it's good for institutional learning, but also sometimes I feel it prevents us from having a greater discourse about what's happening in our country, because you end up with the same views dominating conferences (Msomi, Interview, 15.04.2014).

While Lubisi concedes that the composition of the management team does somehow influence the coverage of such ideological discourse, nevertheless he is of the view that this structure is crucial in ensuring a better product for the audience:

> Again, the management team will look at issues from their different experiences and those are brought to the table for debate. All sides are heard, interrogated until a decision is made. I believe a diverse management team brings out the best of everything because all factors would have been debated before stories are published (Lubisi, Interview, 13.08.2016).

Therefore, this is one focal area in the debate of transformation that impacts on the representation of ideologically laden policy debates. This is part of the structural factors which orient journalists in a particular way. This also brings into sharp focus the question of the quality of reporters:

> The other problem that I find generally is that you have political journalists, but in this country generally, people who are employed as political journalists have ended up doing less analysis … You go to conference A, conference B or go to a rally and this is what was said, and you take down the notes and you write your story. If you are not doing that, you are reporting on the internal battles and political parties, what your sources are saying about who said what at the ANC meeting. But there's never analysis of what this all means. And that is usually left to outside analysts who have interests for people who represent business, who will come in and analyse and express a particular view because they want to influence society in a particular way. But there isn't much from the journalists' point of view, to come and give you a balanced analysis of what had happened (Msomi, Interview, 15.04.2014).

Over and above the race dynamic in the newsroom, which manifests itself in different ways but certainly influences the representation, is the social experience which determines the representation of the discourse:

> Also, when you come to the business section of newspapers, economic issues are generally covered by white journalists. I don't know whether it's because we are economically illiterate as black journalists, but generally, it's covered by white journalists. Black journalists will cover COSATU in terms of what's happening on labour issues, or cover parastatals, but you will seldom find a black journalist who is an expert on the economy (Msomi, Interview, 15.04.2014).

This is another manifestation of the importance of transformation in the corporate media. However, Jeffreys says that in his view nationalisation naturally falls within the economic beat and is thus assigned on the basis of expertise:

> Nationalisation is usually an economic topic and would generally be assigned to economic or business writers attached to the business pages. Often outside commentators with the necessary expertise are asked to write on specific subjects (Jeffreys, Interview, 24.06.2016).

But Radebe sees the representation of nationalisation as influenced by contextual factors rather than a predetermined framework. He argues that these stories often present various angles from which they can be approached:

> They have all angles and can be approached from any. They have an economic perspective and the business or economics writer can be asked to look at it from that perspective and quote relevant experts and role players. The topic has a political, labour and general news feel to it, too. It truly depends on who said what and how [the] morning diary newsroom spirit wishes to see the story approached (Radebe, Interview, 19.07.2016).

Ritchie points out that beats are assigned on the basis of willingness and availability to cover the story. However, he highlights a number of dynamics involved in assigning a story to reporters:

> It's a combination of willingness by reporters to go to that story, proven expertise and availability. You see, you might have someone who is willing, keen and has background to the story … but has a crisis at home and can't come to work today. So you take the next one, you know what I'm saying, so it's a very organic thing. And normally if we're running a report on a story that reporter would then run that story throughout until its end; you know, we wouldn't chop and change because I think that's just bad for the reporters. And also you're not developing reporters then; I mean, the only way you develop someone is throw them in at the deep end but equally for what we would do then is that the senior on the beat or the expert on the beat would also give a little bit of an oversight or a mentoring role, you know, so they're still involved (Ritchie, Interview, 08.09.2016).

Fundamentally, the essence is not on the beat per se but rather on the underlying factors that lead to particular journalists covering the beat, and hence the negative representation of the nationalisation of mines debates. The demise of the labour beat and the dwindling coverage of the broader working-class issues is another manifestation of lack of transformation. Jeffreys (Interview, 2016) concedes that it is now almost a standard practice for "many newspapers [to] treat labour as part of general news…." However, Ritchie says this is not the case in *The Star* since the beat is growing:

> Labour report hasn't changed. We have an entire labour desk with Amy Musgrave – she's our group labour editor. So now we've lost the labour reporters on the various teams but now we have Theto Mahlakoana as our senior labour writer; we've got a junior in there now. Amy is the labour editor so the titles might not have individual writers and in fact many of the smaller titles wouldn't have had those writers because they couldn't afford them so what now… that's why we go into groups. So you go into a group environment and now everybody benefits from this kind of input. You use less writers, you pay them higher salaries. *Business Report* is exactly the proof of that … and that was 15, 16 years ago where every paper or some of the papers, the *DFA* [*Diamond Fields Advertiser*] where I worked, where I edited – we never had a labour reporter … we were all just general reporters. We didn't have a business finance reporter. But then by aggregating and actually being able to put out well in business reports case, a specialised business content that could then go group wide … so too it is with the labour reporter (Ritchie, Interview, 08.09.2016).

Central to the views espoused here as well as in Chapter 8, is the fundamental question of self-censorship that must be understood in a context of "locus of enunciation" and "coloniality of being", as advanced by Grosfuguel (2007: 217): "The fact that one is socially located in the oppressed side of power relations, does not automatically mean that he/she is epistemically thinking from a subaltern epistemic location." In this context, coloniality and, by extension, neo-liberalism work so subtly that our very being and thinking becomes colonised to an extent

that ideologies of capitalism appear to be common sense and beyond reproach. Indeed, views expressed on the representation of the nationalisation discourse and the representation itself reflect hierarchies in knowledge production that maintain Eurocentric perspectives as superior while inferiorising views produced from the South as a function of race and geopolitical origins (Maldonado-Torres, 2007).

It is apparent that many of the editors, regardless of their race, appear to have internalised neo-liberal ideas and therefore have reduced them into "common sense". This is in line with Antonio Gramsci's (1971) concept of hegemony, where the dominant social class uses ideology to create consent for its dominance over other social classes. Fundamentally, the corporate media plays a crucial role in attaining this consent. The question of transformation and its impact on the representation of the broader anti-capitalist developmental agenda must be understood in the context of the hegemony of neo-liberalism which is domination through consent rather than coercion (Curran, 2000). Gramsci (1971) observes that the dominated working class, through ideology, consent to their oppression with a hope that by siding with the dominant groups they might gain some advantage (Fuchs, 2009). Therefore, self-censorship in the corporate media is attained through hegemony, where domination is driven through ideology or discourse.

Furthermore, these diverse views paint a picture of the continuing dynamics presented by transformation in the course of the representation of nationalisation. Lack of transformation within the corporate media perpetuates its historical role in transmitting capitalist products (McChesney and Schiller, 2003), as well as being the mediating link between the apparatus of social control and the public (Hall et al., 1978). The fundamental question of transformation must also be understood within the concept of "delinking" as a necessary "way out of the coloniality of power from within Western … categories of thought" (Mignolo, 2011a: 45). In other words, the representation of the nationalisation discourse symbolises the coloniality of power of Western hegemony. Therefore, developing an alternative decolonised and decommodified media system in South Africa is one of the exit options from the clutches of the colonial matrix of power. Until such time as our knowledge production processes, media included, have "delinked" from the Eurecentric matrix of knowledge (Mignolo, 2011a), it will remain a challenge to advance the media transformation agenda and thus progressive representation on ideological developmental discourses. Important to appreciate is that any

narrow transformation of the media within the same Western hegemonic framework is likely to yield the same results as reflected by the representation of the nationalisation of mines debates.

## 9.3 Intra-ANC tensions and decolonised media transformation

### 9.3.1 Characterisation of the ANC

Another prism through which media transformation in South Africa should be perceived is its posture towards the ANC and its Alliance partners. On the nationalisation of mines debate, it emerges that the corporate media prioritises intra-ANC ideological tensions as a determining factor to represent the discourse. In the process the essence of the debate is lost. Although the ANC characterises itself as a broad church due to the many ideological currents found within its Alliance, historically the party, as a national liberation movement, characterises itself as a disciplined force of the left that uses Marxism-Leninism as an analytical theory. This is manifested through, among others, the National Democratic Revolution, thesis, the Freedom Charter, the *Strategy and Tactics* document adopted at its first consultative conference in exile in Morogo, Tanzania, in 1969, and a number of fraternal relations with revolutionary movements across the globe in countries such as Mozambique, Russia and Cuba. On the other hand, the pre-democracy media largely parroted the views of the apartheid regime, which branded the ANC as a terrorist organisation. As highlighted above, post-apartheid the ANC has been disciplined into an emancipatory force that acceded to liberal democracy, contrary to its liberation principles which stood for decolonisation, social justice and freedom (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012). This context is crucial in understanding the posture of the untransformed media towards the revolutionary alliance. As mentioned in previous chapters, the ANC and its allies, particularly the SACP, have been vocal on the need for the South African media to transform in order to ensure balanced reportage on issues of national importance.

### 9.3.2 The ANC alliance as a decolonisation movement

In order to comprehend the ANC's perspective on media transformation and how its internal debates are elevated in the context of the mine nationalisation debate, it is crucial to understand its history as an anti-imperialist decolonisation organisation. Historically, the mass democratic movement (MDM) in South Africa has been led by the ANC. After its formation in 1912, the

ANC established its Youth League in 1944; the Women's League was founded in 1931 as the Bantu Women's League before being officially launched as the Women's League in 1948, after women were eventually admitted as members of the ANC in 1943. These two formations advance issues of interest to the youth and women constituencies respectively. During apartheid, the ANC forged historical alliances with organisations such as South African Communist Party (SACP), the Congress of Democrats (COD), the Coloured People's Congress (CPC), the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), the South African Indian Congress (SAIC), and the Federation of South African Women.[55] In the 1980s there were developments in the liberation struggle that were aligned to the then banned ANC, such as the formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF) – a body incorporating many anti-apartheid organisations.[56] Another crucial development was the re-launch of SACTU as the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) in December 1985 after four years of unity talks between unions opposed to apartheid and committed to a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic South Africa.[57] There was also the emergence of the Civic Movement which became known as the South Africa National Civic Organisation (SANCO).

Post-1994 the ANC established two more leagues, the Veterans League and the uMkhonto we Sizwe Military Veterans League (MKVA) – the former was open only to members with long unbroken service to the organisation, while the latter comprised former fighters of the armed wing of the ANC. These leagues, together with what became known as the "Tripartite Alliance plus one" – ANC, SACP, COSATU and SANCO – form the basis of the current ANC-led Alliance. Indeed, at a cursory glance it is apparent that this is a multi-class alliance with quite a diverse ideology. For example, the SACP is an anti-capitalist Marxist-Leninist organisation engaged in a social transformation struggle with the slogan "Socialism is the future, build it now". Many tensions within this Alliance emanate from these varying ideological stances. For example, towards the turn of the century COSATU and the SACP embarked on anti-privatisation campaigns following the ANC government's decision, under former president Thabo Mbeki, to implement what was broadly perceived as neo-liberal macroeconomic policy – the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR).

[55] https://en.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/Congress_Alliance

[56] http://www.sahistory.org.za/organisations/united-democratic-front-udf

[57] http://www.cosatu.org.za/

Historically, ANC policy positions were left-leaning. Especially before and immediately after its unbanning, the organisation advanced its views from the perspective of the Freedom Charter.

> It was an auspicious time, for while still serving his last month in prison, Mandela insisted that Freedom Charter demands for 'the nationalisation of mines, banks and monopoly industries is the policy of the ANC and a change or modification of our views in this regard is inconceivable.' Mandela's statement was not dismissed as idle chatter on Diagonal Street [home of the Johannesburg Stock Exchange from 1978 to 2000]. As *Business Day* glumly put it the next day, the statement 'will set back the hopes of those moving towards acceptance of majority rule in the belief that free enterprise and individual property rights would still be possible' (Bond, 1999: 1).

While the ANC continues to argue that it is a disciplined force of the left, its policy positions in the past 20 years suggest a schizophrenic organisation that has been driving and implementing neo-liberal policies. The organisation shifted from the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), adopted by the main Government of National Unity partners in May 1994, and "from ideas of radical restructuring grounded in the 1955 Freedom Charter, to state-led Keynesian managerialism … to what became unabashed home-grown structural adjustment along neoliberal lines" (Bond, 1999: 40). This neo-liberal stance is manifested through an array of policies and has led to tensions with the ANC-led Alliance as manifested in the anti-privatisation strikes by COSATU and the SACP, mentioned above.

Of course this policy stance of the ANC post-apartheid is best understood when located in decolonial theories, particularly emancipation ideas which "proposes and presupposes changes within the system that don't question the logic of coloniality" (Mignolo, 2007b cited in Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012). Because the ANC has been cowed into an emancipatory force, it is thus expected by the liberal media to advance emancipatory perspectives, including adhering to a Constitution that makes its almost impossible to advance the decolonisation project (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012).

### 9.3.3 The nationalisation debate and intra-ANC alliance conflicts

The inability of the media to grasp the nuances of the nationalisation debate, and rather opting to represent it from the perspective of ANC tensions, is a reflection of an untransformed media firmly rooted in the colonial matrix of power. The representation of the nationalisation discourse by the media is also a reflection of coloniality of knowledge which "…is precisely

the affirmation of the zero point and the success in silencing or relegating other epistemologies to barbarian margins, a primitive past or a communist or Muslim evil" (Mignolo, 2007: 10). The protagonists in the nationalisation of mines debate are largely located in the ANCYL and articulate views not aligned with government officials and mining executives. The ANC, SACP and COSATU-affiliated unions are featured in nationalisation of mines articles, albeit in varying degrees. As stated earlier, at the core of the representation of the discourse is the conflict frame, which prioritises the differences between the ANC and its Youth League. This also points to the quality of news reporting in the country, a consequence of lack of transformation. Msomi (Interview, 2014) points out that because of the weakness of political journalism in the country, the discourse "was seen as just part of a power struggle that was happening within the ANC, especially between the Youth League and the ANC leadership"; therefore, it was never about "whether nationalisation as a policy works" but rather the focus was on the demands of the Youth League. Instead of interrogating the state of socio-economic issues in the country, the corporate media somewhat narrowly focused the discourse on the ANC conflicts and implications for President Zuma and his leadership collective (Msomi, Interview, 2014), especially in the context of the Youth League's victory. This speaks directly to the fundamental question of lack of transformation and colonilaity of power and knowledge at play, since a truly transformed and decolonised media would be in tune with the dynamics of the country rather than using superficial lenses to decipher complex developmental policy discourse.

This narrow focus on intra-ANC ideological tensions is manifested through the conflict themes, such as Malema and nationalisation. The nationalisation of mines debate is largely perceived by the corporate media as another stand-off within the governing ANC Alliance rather than an important developmental policy proposal that could improve the lives of the ordinary people. This portrayal can be located in the colonial matrix of power, which essentially frames such a posture as part of a "complex structure of management and control" by the colonial West (Mignolo and Wannamaker, 2011). In other words, the portrayal of the nationalisation discourse seeks to entrench the continued accumulation patterns of the Western capitalist multinational at the expense of the local proletariat. By focusing on the ANC conflicts, the media is in a prime positon to criticise anti-capitalist overtures such as nationalisation as discounted policy proposals. Certainly, the logic of coloniality is tied to the domains of the "political, economic, religious, epistemic, aesthetic, ethnic/racial, sexual/gender

subjective" (Mignolo and Wannamaker, 2011: 3). It is through the structures of the CMP that the capitalist hegemony that underpins the corporate media, and thus influences the representation of the discourse, is reproduced. In this regard, knowledge production and policy development favour the Western capitalist accumulation agenda. Indeed, the corporate media is part of the system, and acts in unison with other parts of the capitalist system (Jaramillo, 2011). Therefore, the media transformation discourse in South Africa must seek to reverse these elements instead of being limited to staff and ownership transformation as espoused in the BEE policies. Otherwise the narrow representation will persist and, as Msomi posits, the coverage of nationalisation was driven by the statements made by Malema and his attacks on the ANC leadership:

> For instance, there was a time when the SACP intervened in the debate and they had their own stance, which was a bit more complicated than the Youth League stance. It never got a lot of coverage from publications … people would just write that the SACP says no to nationalisation, without explaining (Msomi, Interview, 15.04.2014).

Essentially, the stance of the SACP was on socialisation as opposed to nationalisation, a position informed by its 1997 Tenth Congress discussion document in which it argued:

> Critically, for the SACP socialism is about the socialisation of the predominant part of the economy. This is an essential condition for the achievement of thorough-going democracy, substantial equality and the expansion of freedom … In the past, we tended to see socialism as nationalisation plus state planning. Socialisation of the economy is a much broader and qualitatively richer concept. It shifts the emphasis away from a simplistic concentration only on the legal forms of ownership, towards emphasising the real empowerment of working people (SACP, 1997).

However, due to structural factors, this perspective was lost, if not completely misunderstood by the media, and thereby the SACP is simplistically lumped into one basket with all those who are perceived to be against nationalisation. It is precisely the current structure of the media that inhibits in-depth coverage of complex issues and opts for simplistic headline-grabbing issues primarily for bottom-line purposes. A decolonised media transformation agenda in South Africa should seek to reverse such shallow representation on developmental issues.

## 9.4 Primary definers, media and the coloniality of knowledge

The use of primary definers in the nationalisation of mines debate is a manifestation of the state of media transformation and coloniality of knowledge in South Africa. Fundamentally, these primary definers are steeped in the Western capitalist institutions and as such project the Western capitalist views on an important developmental policy discourse. As discussed in detail in Chapter 8, primary definers are a key factor in shaping the representation of nationalisation. Whereas the previous chapter located the sources of news in the context of commercial factors by utilising the Marxist approaches of the critical political economy of the media to analyse their influence in the discourse, in this section I argue that the utilisation of primary definers is linked to the Western-inclined, untransformed, capitalist media and can thus be best understood in the context of decolonial Marxist theories. As presented in the findings chapters, the dependency on primary definers in the nationalisation discourse is concentrated on business representatives, analysts and government officials who are unanimously opposed to nationalisation. When closely scrutinised, and as argued above, the entry point to the discourse for these primary definers is premised on the ideological tension within the ANC. However, the ease with which the corporate media prioritises these sources is informed precisely by the reality that media institutions are locked into a power structure that obliges them to act in unison with societally dominant institutions. "The media thus reproduced the viewpoints of dominant institutions not as one among a number of alternative perspectives, but as the central and 'obvious' or 'natural' perspective" (Curran et al., 1982: 21). Therefore, the dependency on a particular set of primary sources structurally yields a viewpoint of the dominant capitalist institution. However, this representation must also be located in the historical past of colonialism and apartheid brutality premised on racial supremacy and general exclusion of the African majority. Grosfoguel (2011: 11) postulates, "What is new in the 'coloniality of power' perspective is how the idea of race and racism becomes the organizing principle that structures all of the multiple hierarchies of the world-system" (also see Quijano, 1993). The discourse of race hierarchy is also central in the articulation of labour in the capitalist accumulation process (Grosfoguel, 2011). Fundamentally, a true decolonisation and transformation will seek to delink the media from the racially-inclined Western capitalist power structures. In the context of decoloniality, what becomes fundamental is the "decolonisation of knowledge and being by epistemically and affectively de-linking from the imperial/colonial organization of society"

(Tlostanova and Mignolo, 2009: 132). Essentially, this suggests a decolonised media contrary to the current Western-linked and modelled South African corporate media.

Indeed, those that supply news are central in maintaining the capitalist ideological ascendancy as news media "accord accredited status to the 'powerful,' as news sources, and allow them to dictate the 'primary' interpretation of an event or topic" and subsequently "set the terms of reference within which all further coverage of debate takes place" (Hall et al., 1978: 58). To understand the preferences of news source in a post-colony set-up requires appreciation of the fact that "the idea of race organizes the world's population into a hierarchical order of superior and inferior people that becomes an organizing principle of the international division of labor and of the global patriarchal system" (Grosfoguel, 2011: 11). The corporate media is fundamentally locked into the colonial matrix of power while the South African population still resembles the "hierarchical order of superior and inferior people", with black people in general and the African majority in particular still occupying the lowest position in the hierarchical ladder of society. Thus, the exclusion of African working-class sources (the subalternised majority) is predictable and inevitable. Since the representation of nationalisation is influenced by primary sources, it can thus be deduced that the exclusion of working-class sources is a direct consequence of the hegemony of Western capitalism, whose primary objective is continued accumulation and profit maximisation. In a nutshell, the current media transformation trajectory has not been able to deal with these intractable and structural issues.

In the context of prioritisation of elite sources, the subalterns are left with little choice but to situate themselves "within this interpretive framework in order to obtain a media hearing. In this way, the dominant field of discourses tends to be reproduced 'spontaneously' by journalists, without any element of compulsion" (Curran, 2000: 142). Undeniably, the race question is important in the South African context:

> Contrary to the Eurocentric perspective, race, gender, sexuality, spirituality, and epistemology are not additive elements to the economic and political structures of the capitalist world-system, but an integral, entangled and constitutive part of the broad entangled 'package' called the European modern/colonial capitalist/patriarchal world-system (Grosfoguel, 2011: 11).

This is the case with the nationalisation discourse, where the working class and the left-leaning views are marginalised as sources precisely because of a lack of media transformation in South

Africa. However, this research study is alive to divergent views about sources. Curran (2000), for example, posits that in the American studies the interaction between elites is portrayed as a key source of influence in news, thus marginalising the underclass. On the other hand, in the British studies the non-elite groups can gain an upper hand in some instances. However, empirical evidence as presented in previous chapters suggests that in the nationalisation of mines debate, the former view, similar to the American experience, where the elites possess the power to frame the discourse, prevails.

The location of the corporate media within the capitalist system structurally pre-directs its over-utilisation of primary definers, thus reproducing the status quo (Chandler, 2000), especially on discourses such as nationalisation. Therefore, the posture of the corporate media on the nationalisation discourse is informed by its location in the Western-dominated capitalist system that encompasses all and sundry and "…articulates different forms of labor according to the racial classification of the world's population" (Grosfoguel, 2011: 12). Due to being subsumed under capitalism, the corporate media thus plays a pivotal role in advancing it (Fuchs, 2010). Indeed, in the context of class-dominated capitalist societies,

> …the media are seen as part of an ideological arena in which various class views are fought out, although within the context of the dominance of certain classes; ultimate control is increasingly concentrated in monopoly capital; media professionals, while enjoying the illusion of autonomy, are socialized into and internalize the norms of the dominant culture; the media taken as a whole, relay interpretive frameworks consonant with the interests of the dominant classes, and media audiences, while sometimes negotiating and contesting these frameworks, lack ready access to alternative meaning systems that would enable them to reject the definitions offered by the media in favour of consistently oppositional definitions (Gurevitch et al., 1982: 1).

Notwithstanding the exponential growth of the social media which has somehow enabled audiences' access to alternative meanings, structural factors such as the use of sources perform a critical role in the corporate media's production of views that are consistent with the interests of the Western-dominated class. However, these structural factors are further influenced by the culture of the corporate media, which reaffirms the capitalist--dominated society. As Havens, Lotz and Tinic (2009: 237) assert, "…media culture is the ideological extension of powerful capitalist forces and ... the role of research is consequently to uncover the ways in which we, as citizen-audiences, are socialized into broader economic interests" (also see Hesmondhalgh, 2006). This economic interest in the South is manifested by "…the continuity of colonial forms of domination after the end of colonial administrations, produced by colonial cultures and

structures in the modern/colonial capitalist world-system" (Grosfoguel, 2011: 14). The representation of this discourse by the corporate media reinforces the "modern/colonial world-system that articulates peripheral locations in the international division of labor with the global racial/ethnic hierarchy …" (Grosfoguel, 2011: 15). Thus, the logic of investor confidence, for example, enunciated by business leaders, analysts, and government officials alike, is an affirmation that non-European people and peripheral countries, mainly in the South, live under the regime of "global coloniality" dictated by the United States and its allies through institutions such as the IMF, World Bank and NATO (Grosfoguel, 2011). However, these days "global coloniality" is imposed through the Western-controlled credit rating agencies.[58] Indeed, the utilisation of sources in the discourse mediates the socialisation of audiences towards the economic interests of the bourgeoisie. By privileging sources that advance the notion that nationalisation will harm the country's economy, the corporate media serves as an "ideological extension" of the capitalist forces.

The corporate media is integral in the capitalist ideology that underpins "Westernisation" and simply "means that the rules of the game throughout the world are established in all the CMP's domains, including, of course, the subject-formation of the ruling elite" (Mignolo and Wannamaker, 2011). Indeed, this must be perceived as part of the CMP domains that are kept interrelated in an invisible way by the same actors and institutions that "create, pronounce and transform the ideals that drive the idea of modernity" (Mignolo and Wannamaker, 2011: 4). For example, Mignolo and Wannamaker (2011: 5) posit that "it is within this context that we must understand the recent creation of the figure of the 'expert', who appears often in the mainstream media to explain this or that aspect of a news story, and who knows a great deal about one domain but is ignorant of the others and of how all the domains are connected". Chiumbu (2016) postulates that the media is also conditioned by the perspectives of the Western hegemonic knowledge system. Certainly, "global coloniality" has "now permeated most of the planet through the dominant form of governance (the modern nation-state), the type of economy (economic coloniality), universities and museums, the media and the entertainment industry" (Mignolo and Wannamaker, 2011: 7).

[58] The Big Three credit rating agencies are Standard & Poor's (S&P), Moody's, and Fitch Group. S&P and Moody's are based in the United States, while Fitch is dual-headquartered in New York City and London, and is controlled by the France-based FIMALAC. As of 2013 they hold a collective global market share of roughly 95 per cent, with Moody's and Standard & Poor's having approximately 40 per cent each, and Fitch around 15 per cent (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Big_Three_(credit_rating_agencies).

Because of its location within CMP, corporate media reproduces the dominant ideas to the rest of society (Chiumbu, 2016), as reflected in the use of sources and analysts. Indeed, the posture of the elite sources is also informed by their class location in the country's socio-political system, which is shaped by its subordination to the Western capitalist system organised around the hierarchy of the international division of labour (Grosfoguel, 2011). In the main, these sources, as primary definers, are vocal against the nationalisation call since this threatens the interests of Western capitalism. This posture must also be understood in the context of African post-independence, often characterised by the colonial axis between Europeans/Euro-Americans and non-Europeans premised on the exploitative and dominant relations "in the production of subjectivities and knowledge" (Grosfoguel, 2011: 16). Amid all of this, media transformation in South Africa must deal with its location within the CMP if it is to be able to represent an ideologically laden discourse such as the nationalisation debate in an impartial manner.

## 9.5 Global coloniality and State/media relations in South Africa

### 9.5.1 The relationship between the state and the media

In liberal democracies the mainstream media as an institution is accorded a central place in safeguarding democracy and in playing a watchdog role. This is also the case in South Africa, where the media and government are perceived to be the two central institutions (Wasserman and De Beer, 2005a), even when it is only the government that has a democratic mandate from the citizens. In this regard, the relationship between these two institutions often plays out through the media. This relationship is centred on the nebulous concepts of "national interest" vis-à-vis the "public interest" (Wasserman and De Beer, 2005a). Here, the government is often of the view that its actions are premised on national interest whereas the media argues that its reportage and exposés are informed by public interest. The shortcoming of national liberation movements acceding to an emancipatory perspective that leads to liberal democracy is that taking power at the level of the nation-state is insufficient since "global coloniality is not reducible to the presence or absence of a colonial administration … or to the political/economic structures of power" (Grosfoguel, 2011: 14). The elimination of the colonial administration does not equate to decolonisation (Grosfoguel, 2011). Global coloniality denotes the continued

subjugation of the formerly oppressed proletariat. Therefore, the dynamic relationship between the state and media must be located in the context of global coloniality, as the media is situated within the CMP and thus integral to the market forces. This relationship is another factor that influences the representation of the mine nationalisation debate. However, central to this relationship is a fundamental question of a transformed and decolonised media that plays a pivotal role towards the upliftment of the lives of the citizens of the country.

Since the dawn of democracy in 1994, which ushered in the first majority black government in South Africa, the government and media have not enjoyed a cordial relationship. As stated before, former president Nelson Mandela expressed misgivings about the ownership and staffing of the South African media by white males, who presented a skewed picture of the South African experience (Wasserman and De Beer, 2005a). This concern persisted during the tenure of former president Thabo Mbeki, and up to the current government of President Jacob Zuma. As highlighted previously, under President Zuma's leadership this concern has led to proposals such as the Media Appeals Tribunal (MAT) aimed at regulating the print media.

> The ANC has also repeatedly criticised the print media for a lack of transformation, and have argued that the broadcast media are much more diverse and representative of the demographics of the country than the print media, owing to the fact that the former is state regulated (Duncan, 2011: 2).

Based on this, the ANC (2010) argued for the establishment of the MAT to ensure media accountability. Indeed, the post-apartheid era is riddled with instances of severe strains between government and the media. Post-apartheid the role of the media and its commitment to the transformation agenda has often come under question from government. It is this perceived lack of transformation that led to the South African Human Rights Commission inquiry into racism in the media in 2000 (Wasserman and De Beer, 2005a). As was to be expected, this raised temperatures even further between government and the media, culminating in meetings between former President Mbeki and SANEF in 2001 (Wasserman and De Beer, 2005a). But even beyond this summit, the media continued to portray the government and former President Mbeki in what the ANC perceived to be a negative manner. Recently some leaders of the governing party, such as the national spokesperson, Zizi Kodwa, have labelled the media as part of the official opposition in South Africa. With all the evidence, social actors have been unable or unwilling to point out the structural challenges. The official demise of apartheid and the ushering in of democracy have not meant that the oppressive conditions that the majority of

the African working class live under miraculously disappeared. In the words of Grosfoguel (2011: 14), "We continue to live under the same 'colonial power matrix'." In the South African perspective, we moved from a period of "colonialism of a special type" to global coloniality.

In as far as the impact of this relationship on the content of news is concerned, Ngalwa argues that this must be understood from a historical perspective since the media has always been a contested space:

> Obviously the media remains contested terrain and throughout history the relationship between governments and the media has always been acrimonious and in South Africa it is no different. Our country's history of colonialism, which gave birth to apartheid, also played its part in this regard. The mainstream media, from the SABC and commercial white-owned media acted, and were also perceived to be, an extension of the apartheid propaganda machinery. Save for a few publications like the *Daily Dispatch* of Donald Woods, the *Rand Daily Mail* under Allister Sparks and *The World* under Percy Qoboza to name a few – those were some of the few publications which either had liberal leanings or were seen to be on the side of the fight against the apartheid state. The dawn of democracy in 1994 meant that the majority of South Africans (black) remained untrusting of the media and its agenda. To this day – while the public generally believes the media to be a credible source of information – there remains that tinge of mistrust about the intentions of the media, especially on the backdrop of criticism of the media by the ruling party. But in the main, the government and the media tolerate each other. After all, we need each other (Ngalwa, Interview, 26.10.2016).

Partly, the tension can be ascribed to the lack of transformation in the media. According to Bhengu, there seem to be role ambiguities between the government and the media, which leads to volatile relations:

> My honest opinion is that there is quite a volatile relationship between the media and the government. It is as though both sides are confused about their roles. The media believes they are the watchdog of civil servants, while civil servants expect media to report on them doing their job. It seems 22 years later no one has figured out that the role for media is to inform, educate and entertain; it is not to expose all dirty laundry by the state to create bias, and it is not about ensuring that opposition party voices are heard louder than the ruling party (Bhengu, Interview, 08.09.2016).

Fundamentally, this relationship may be best understood in the context of the corporate media's dissemination of capitalist ideology. Indeed, this role makes the media susceptible to attacks "…by politicians from different political perspectives who have little doubt that the media are ideological, selling certain messages and worldviews" (Croteau and Hoynes, 2002: 161). The media plays a pivotal role in coloniality and control of knowledge. Coloniality of knowledge is a critical part and is one of the interconnected spheres that constitute the CMP. Apart from the struggles for economic control, control of authority and the public sphere, "The control of

knowledge and subjectivity through education and colonizing the existing knowledges" is one of the fundamental spheres that makes domination possible (Tlostanova and Mignolo, 2009: 135). Therefore, the state/media contradictions are essentially ideological in character and a reflection of a media that has not assimilated its new role in a democratic society underpinned by a developmental agenda. For example, as highlighted above, the ANC's historical ideological character is rooted in the Marxist-Leninist developmental path buttressed by its socialist-oriented NDR framework; on the other hand, as argued throughout this research study, the corporate media is located within the market forces and thus structurally advances the Western capitalist ideology. Nevertheless, the representation of the mine nationalisation discourse points to the fact that where there is an ideological pro-capitalist convergence, as discussed in subsequent sections, the nature of the relationship changes fundamentally.

### 9.5.2 State/media convergence – the impact of global coloniality

The antagonistic relationship between the two key institutions that underpin liberal democracy is well documented. Although, this dichotomous relationship persists, the findings of this research study, interestingly, reveal convergence on the nationalisation discourse. This convergence is starkly presented in the sources of news, where both government officials and mining executives are utilised as primary definers. In their capacity as primary definers, both institutions advance and complement each other on the anti-nationalisation stance. As presented in Chapter 7, for example, Mineral Resources Minister Susan Shabangu and Anglo American chief executive Cynthia Carroll consistently speak the same language against proponents of nationalisation as "advocates of the road to ruin" (Bloomberg, 2011: 2). I argue in this thesis that the convergence is buttressed by capitalist interests, as part of the colonial matrix of power, which are powerful enough to pull the two, often antagonistic, institutions, together. In fact I further argue that it is the government's transformation, moderation of its views and movement towards the market forces that enables this state/media convergence. As highlighted in previous chapters, democratic states are often held to ransom by the requirements of private capital due to limited policy options and the belief that the only path towards sustainable economic growth is through the one preferred by capitalist institutions. In most instances governments are caught in situations where they are threatened with disinvestments that are likely to produce economic chaos and undermine their legitimacy (Held, 2006). In the nationalisation of mines debate, mining executives do not mince their words about pulling out of the country should the debate not be settled in their favour. An example is chief executive of Anglo American, Cynthia

Carroll's assertion in the *Fin Week* of 18 August 2011: "International business have choices to make between investment opportunities in different jurisdictions" (Van Vuuren, 2011: 58). In a sense government is caught between pursuing its ideological beliefs and the practical logic of self-sustainment. However, we should not lose sight of the reality that, in most instances, ideologically, the state and media institutions, in their own way, are interwoven within the capitalist system.

Furthermore, the nature of this convergence must be understood in the context of the accusations levelled against the ANC government's meekness in embracing an emancipatory perspective and hence a neo-liberal policy outlook, a deviation from the ANC historical ideological perspective. Although, the ANC continues to argue that it remains a national liberation movement and a disciplined force of the left, its government record on critical policy positions suggest the opposite.

> Certainly, the African National Congress (ANC) and its two main Alliance partners - the SA Communist Party (SACP) and Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu) - maintain a self-reinforcing political bloc, even though, as back-seat drivers, communists and workers have only fruitlessly signaled a left turn. Beyond that alliance are church leaders, NGO officials and a section of the community movement. Middle class and wealthier communities have realised that ANC rule is broadly favourable to their interests and provide tacit support (Bond, 2006: 9–10).

It is the perception of the ANC government's implementation of policies biased towards the Western capitalist accumulation agenda that must be appreciated in the context of this convergence on the nationalisation discourse. Indeed, the post-apartheid epoch has benefited business interests, as Bond (2006: 5) posits:

> Amongst a host of likeminded business commentators, Rand Merchant Bank chief economist Rudolph Gouws recently bragged that Pretoria deals with the profound contradiction between international capitalism and its constituents 'by talking left but acting right.' But Pretoria's skew is so obvious that even *Business Day* editor Peter Bruce was drawn to concede in mid-2003, 'The government is utterly seduced by big business, and cannot see beyond its immediate interests.'

In light of this argument, Bond (2006: 5) advances that the ANC government could have been in the forefront of the reparations struggles to punish international financiers, corporations and the Bretton Woods institutions for supporting apartheid. This action would have been done "for the sake of both repairing apartheid's racial and socio-economic damage and warning big capital off future relations with odious regimes". Furthermore, a number of things point to the

neo-liberal posture of the ANC government: its inability to unite the continent and its allies behind a counter-hegemonic trade agenda so as to meet popular needs rather than those of global capital; failure to join the Jubilee movement to denounced bogus World Bank and IMF plans for crumbs of relief in the midst of amplified neo-liberalism; inability to argue for a bottom-up African programme for recovery based upon partnerships between Africans themselves; incapacity to establish sound principles of decommodification and respect for nature in water catchments instead of promoting water commercialisation and large dams (Bond, 2006: 5). Of course, notwithstanding some of these perceived neo-liberal postures, the ANC government has championed and implemented a number of progressive policies that can be viewed as biased towards the African working class, such as social security policies and the Labour Relations Act of 1995 which seeks to promote economic development, social justice, labour peace and democracy in the workplace.[59] However, many scholars appraise the ANC on the basis of its failure to challenge Western hegemony in the market economy as a sign of its neo-liberal posture. Therefore, the convergence in the nationalisation discourse must be seen in this light. Fundamentally, the corporate media has been riding the wave of this neo-liberalism triumph and entrenched hegemony post-apartheid that has cushioned it for continued non-transformation.

### 9.5.3 The state, coloniality of power and global capitalism in the representation of nationalisation discourse

Because coloniality of power as a concept can also be understood as an attempt to unravel the integrated cultural, political and economic processes entangled with capitalism as a "historical system" (Grosfoguel, 2011: 22), it is crucial to locate the representation of ideologically laden discourses such as nationalisation in this reality. Particularly the state must be perceived within this reality since its primary purpose is to safeguard capitalist interests by putting rules and regulations in place. The media in such an environment serves as a crucial actor in the sphere of coloniality of knowledge. Therefore, this convergence is primarily premised on the fact that government, as an organ of state, advances capitalism. In fact, the state, as an element of class rule, plays a central role in underwriting and coordinating the "free market" in the interest of

[59] www.labour.gov.za/DOL/legislation/acts/labour-relations/labour-relations-act

the capitalist class (Garland and Harper, 2012). This convergence is premised on the "necessary inter- imbrication of the state and the market" (Garland and Harper, 2012: 416). Essentially, the role of the state in coordinating the market for the benefit of the capitalist class, combined with the role of the corporate media in capitalist societies, plays a crucial role in this convergence. This intersection thus informs the representation of the nationalisation discourse as reflected by the use of primary definers. In this regard, the corporate media as part of the capitalist system is also part of the broader control of communication which occurs through "…the control of production and dissemination [which] entails not a total control of the minds of people, but the existence of domination and struggle" (Erdogan, 2012: 351). Furthermore, while South Africa, technically, is no longer a colony, the country remains firmly in the clutches of a colonial growth trajectory economically and culturally. This convergence in this discourse reveals the fact that both these institutions are still subordinated to capitalist hegemony underpinned by the colonial matrix of power. Indeed, while this convergence ideologically might not be in the interests of government and the people, the colonial and capitalist domination impels this convergence for capitalist accumulation.

To articulate this domination further, Marx (1969: 39) aptly postulates the role of the corporate media in advancing dominant ideas in society, that "the individuals composing the ruling class ... among other things rule also as thinkers, as producers of ideas, and regulate the production and distribution of the ideas of their age: thus their ideas are the ruling ideas of the epoch" (cited in Erdogan, 2012). Truly, the representation of this discourse reflects the hegemony of the Western capitalist class in society. Because the core zones of the capitalist world economy overlap with the hegemony of the West, while the peripheral zones overlap with the previously colonised non-European, it then follows that this hegemony is accompanied by dominance and power of representation (Grosfoguel, 2011). Therefore, the representation of nationalisation of mines, a discourse that challenges the hegemony of the West, is represented and influenced by its location within the CMP. Furthermore, the corporate media cannot escape the reality of "the continuities between the colonial past and current global colonial/racial hierarchies and contributes to the invisibility of 'coloniality' today" (Grosfoguel, 2011: 15). To this end, South Africa continues to be a peripheral zone constituted by the largest concentration of Europeans in the continent. While the country might formally be independent, it remains steeped in the Eurocentric capitalist structures of power and "constructed ideologies of 'national identity', 'national development', and 'national sovereignty' that produce an illusion of 'independence',

'development', and 'progress'" (Grosfoguel, 2011: 15). The corporate media, just like many private institutions, remains in the clutches of the European capitalists.

Moreover, due to the media's location, this convergence must be perceived in the context of the character of the nation-state as an indispensable ally of capitalism, since forces of globalisation do not operate somewhere in the stratosphere but rather within nation-states and the global order (Garland and Harper, 2012). In this global order, the state is central in organising capitalism and firmly remains "…as an administrative and coercive guarantor of social order, property relations, stability of contractual predictability, or any of the other basic conditions required by capital in its everyday life" (Garland and Harper, 2012: 416), hence the views of government officials in advancing an anti-nationalisation posture. Furthermore, the posture of primary definers on the discourse is influenced by Western civilisation that has over the centuries privileged the culture, knowledge and epistemology produced from the Western perspective while "inferiorising" the rest. Therefore, the proposed solution to intractable socio-economic problems is "Eurocentric solutions to a Eurocentric global problem" and as such "it reproduces an internal coloniality of power within each nation-state and reifies the nation-state as the privileged location of social change"; this stance on the nationalisation discourse "is complicit with Eurocentric thinking and political structures" (Grosfoguel, 2011: 25). To this end, the representation provides Eurocentric solutions to socio-economic issues of national developments largely affecting the African majority in the country. The corporate media, due to structural factors which include its location within market forces and thus CMP, is unable to assist in providing solutions; instead it reproduces and perpetuates the domination of the Western powers.

By taking an anti-nationalisation posture, government officials reassert the view that the primary survival of capitalism in the last century is mainly due to the increased fusion of the state and market (Garland and Harper, 2012). This is reflected pertinently in the representation valorised by the media which, for a change, portrays government positively. Judging by the dichotomous past relations, it is very difficult to imagine government portrayed positively had it taken an anti-capitalist, pro-nationalisation stance. In this regard, it will be interesting to assess government's portrayal where it takes anti-Western stances such as its participation in BRICS or its heavy criticism of the Israeli apartheid-style occupation of Palestine. The global capitalist crisis has presented many instances where nation-states like South Africa bailed out struggling private ventures with public funds in order to maintain capitalist accumulation.

Indeed, the state intervenes on behalf of capitalism just like in the case of Marikana, where the workers were mowed down by the state in defence of private accumulation. While the argument that it is necessary to maintain the rule of law is cogent, it is clear that the state intervention was aligned with its broader primary motive to defend capitalist accumulation. In the context of such interventions, the media and the political content it disseminates reflect "…the material interests, and reinforce the symbolic power of the capitalist state" (Garland and Harper, 2012: 416). It is this symbiotic relationship between the state and the corporate media, fuelled by capitalist accumulation interests, that influences the negative representation of the nationalisation discourse.

Indeed, it is this convergence that led to the representation of the discourse from the two primary frames (conflict and economic consequences) as well as the related themes, and this becomes a process to produce and reproduce capitalist ideology (Murdock and Golding, 1973). For example, the economic consequences frame and the themes such as South Africa's mining and the global economy under this frame are used to defend and reinforce capitalist ideology by portraying anti-capitalist positions on nationalisation as a threat to economic stability. The South African corporate media is firmly rooted in a capitalist society and therefore presents everyday life images of social interaction and institutions that shape the broad social definition of the day-to-day reality. Therefore, it has influence in "normalising" particular views while presenting others as "deviant" (Croteau and Hoynes, 2002). It is "normalising" that enables the corporate media to present a particular ideological worldview of the nationalisation discourse. Indeed,

> the media are … part of an ideological arena in which various class views are fought out, although within the context of the dominance of certain classes; ultimate control is increasingly concentrated in monopoly capital; media professionals, while enjoying the illusion of autonomy, are socialized into and internalize the norms of the dominant culture; the media, taken as a whole, relate interpretive frameworks consonant with the interests of the dominant classes, and media audiences, while sometimes negotiating and contesting these frameworks, lack ready access to alternative meaning systems that would enable them to reject the definitions offered by the media in favour of consistently oppositional definitions (Gurevitch et al., 1982: 2).

Therefore, in the absence of systems of alternative meanings, the corporate press audience is largely subjected to definitions of the capitalists on the nationalisation discourse. The ruling class, through the corporate media, has the means to counteract the call for nationalisation by, for example, dismissing it as an irresponsible action, thus framing it from a capitalist

perspective. Certainly, the representation of this discourse reflects that "…ideological positions are a function of class positions, and the dominant ideology in society is the ideology of its dominant class" (Chandler, 2000: 4). Fundamentally, this dominant class must be understood in the context of coloniality of power. Therefore, the corporate media's representation of the discourse is essentially the representation of the views of the dominant capitalist class which owns and controls it and in the process conceals the economic basis of class struggle (Chandler, 2000). However, in representing the views of the capitalist class, the mass media publications are less interrogative of the subject with only the business sections of the corporate press focusing on the discourse. Even this focus is ideological to an extent. Senior journalists like Tim Cohen of the *Business Day*, who wrote extensively on the discourse, ultimately wrote a book which "…was basically rubbishing the whole notion of nationalisation and … he sided with the likes of Free Market Foundation" (Msomi, Interview, 15.04.2014). Indeed, the corporate media produces the ideology of the class that it serves, the capitalist class, through products that create an ideology that reinforces the status quo (Nixon, 2012). In this regard, the corporate media is integral to the legitimisation of the capitalist power relations.

However, the findings of this research study suggest that the corporate media privileges the ideas of the powerful capitalist class due to its location within the CMP. This is not done crudely but carried out in a sophisticated fashion through, inter alia, utilisation of primary definers who in turn frame the discourse from a narrow capitalist perspective. The representation affirms the view that the corporate media plays an ideological role in legitimising capitalist domination by, among others, distorting ideas and presenting objective reality in a false manner, thereby creating false consciousness (Fuchs, 2009). Although the concept of false consciousness has been roundly rejected by cultural Marxists, essentially it is produced as an expression of ruling-class values and its attempt to control the working class (Chandler, 2000). This concept can be best understood in the context of Marx and Engels' postulation in their well-known *The German Ideology*:

> The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e., the class which is the ruling material force of society, is at the same time its ruling intellectual force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that thereby, generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it (MECW 5: 59 in Fuchs, 2009).

In the context of colonility of power, the ruling class denotes European/Euro-American domination. However, the current media systems are not monolithic but possess elements of diversity within both the ruling class and society at large. This presents a possibility "of oppositional readings by media audiences" (Chandler, 2000: 3). Nevertheless, the media spreads "false consciousness" by leading the masses to believe that what the ruling class perceives as the truth and right, must be right (Berger, 2013) – the nationalisation of mines debate included. This perpetuates the control of the ruling class which, according to Berger (2013: 48), "…affects people's consciousness by giving them certain ideas; in this way the wealthy, who benefit most from the social arrangements in a capitalist country, maintain the status quo". Thus, it would be naïve to expect the posture of the corporate media towards such an ideologically loaded discourse to be neutral and balanced. It is for these reasons that the discourse for transformation and decolonised media in South Africa needs to develop new ideas in the context of belligerent capitalist hegemony buttressed by its location in the colonial matrix of power.

## 9.6 Conclusion – limitations of the corporate media on ideological discourse

This chapter has successfully analysed an untransformed colonised media in South Africa and its impact in representing ideologically laden discourses like the nationalisation of mines debate by using the Marxist media approaches in conversation with decolonial theories. Notwithstanding the tension in these theories, this is indeed one of the major contributions this thesis makes to the South African media scholarly field. In so doing, in the chapter I have located the capitalist nature of the corporate media in the colonial matrix of power postulation, and thus managed to unpack the often misunderstood question of race and its relation to transformation and decolonisation. The transformation and decolonisation of the media is dialectically located within the broader transformation agenda in the country, which is understood within the colonial framework. In the end, I conclude in this chapter that lack of transformation of the South African media impacts on the nature of the representation of developmental discourses. For example, the structures of control in the newsroom have been maintained, and it is these structures that are used to pursue the Western capitalist agenda in the representation of the discourse. But over and above this, is the emancipatory rationality that has firmly located the country in the

liberal democracy logic, unworkable for the liberation agenda of redistribution, and hence its manifestation through the neo-liberal macroeconomic policy framework at the expense of Reconstruction and Development Programme. However, this should not be a surprise since, throughout this thesis, it has been shown that global media organisations are first and foremost profit-based businesses producing commodities (Murdock and Golding, 1973), and operating within the coloniality of power framework. Fundamentally, the corporate media is organised just like other capitalist businesses premised on the profit maximisation model (Nixon, 2012).

Also, presented in this chapter is the impact of the intra-ANC ideological tension on the nationalisation of mines debate. The major argument I advance here is that these tensions are elevated to strategic level and a vital cog of the debate, and because of this other crucial socio-economic issues are downplayed. I also present the biased nature of the corporate media in prioritising primary definers that rebuff nationalisation at the expense of the proponents of the discourse. These sources enter the debate on the basis of the intra-ANC differences, and subsequently the discourse is framed from a conflict point of view and thus negatively. This representation of the discourse from a capitalist perspective, I argue in this chapter, should also be located in the historical perspective of colonialism and apartheid, designed to systematically exclude black people generally and Africans in particular. However, the key issue is the corporate media's position within the structures of coloniality and thus capitalism. This prioritisation of capitalist elite sources emasculates the working class as sources, and leaves them very little space to engage with the discourse. Crucially, I posit in the chapter that the intra-ANC ideological tension manifests itself in this narrow use of sources. As presented in the findings chapters, the phenomenon of the analysts, who are largely insiders within the corporate media sphere, fuels the intra-ANC ideological rivalry, thereby impacting on the representation. Here, the excuse of expertise in giving a few well-connected individuals a chance to comment and analyse the discourse is used. At the core of this approach is the lack of meaningful transformation and decolonisation of the corporate media.

The relationship between the state and corporate media is another key factor which impacts on the representation of the nationalisation discourse. In post-apartheid South Africa a number of clashes have occurred between government and the media, with the media accused of racism (Wasserman and De Beer, 2005a). However, this research study, through this chapter, reveals convergence between these two key institutions. In this chapter I have presented cogently the

role of global coloniality through capitalism in bridging the divide and bringing the two together. What is emerging is that both the state (captured through coloniality of power) and the media have a common interest in safeguarding capitalist accumulation. Fundamentally, the chapter locates this within the CMP processes, where the country remains in a colonial situation even after independence (Grosfoguel, 2011). These factors certainly influence the manner in which ideologically laden discourses are represented in the corporate media. In this chapter I have also argued that the state and media convergence led to the definition of the discourse from the capitalist class perspective while marginalising the working class. What this chapter has done is to present evidence to back up the assumption of this research study, that structural factors influence the representation of this discourse. Fundamentally, it is argued that all the factors that influence the negative representation of the nationalisation of mine debate stem from the unwillingness or structural inability of the media to transform. In this regard, the South African media's transformation agenda has to be rethought in line with the weaknesses exposed by theories of decolonial Marxism.

Now that this and other findings and analysis chapters have presented the shortcomings of the corporate media in representing ideologically laden developmental policy discourses, the critical question is on the way forward to address these shortcomings. The next chapter presents possibilities for an alternative, fully transformed and decolonised public media.

# Chapter 10

# Conclusion: Towards an alternative public media in South Africa

> Once media and technology reach consumers, they have taken on commodity form and are therefore likely to have ideological characteristics … The sphere of alternative media challenges the commodity character of the media. It aims at a reversal so that use value becomes the dominant feature of media and technology by the sublation of their exchange value. Processes of alternative reception transcend the ideological character of the media – the recipients are empowered in questioning the commodified character of the world in which they live (Fuchs, 2009: 397).

## 10.1 Introduction

The main aim of this research study was to ascertain the manner in which the South African corporate media represented the nationalisation of mines debate. Nationalisation was used as a barometer to determine the role of the corporate media in representing the broader developmental policy discourses in the post-apartheid epoch. To illustrate this representation, the research study has used the nationalisation discourse by the South African corporate press in 2011. To achieve its objectives, an assumption was made that structural factors such as ownership and control influence the representation of ideologically laden developmental policy discourses such as nationalisation. Therefore, the research study sought to respond to the following questions:

(a) How does the corporate media frame and represent the nationalisation of mines debate?

(b) What are the economic and political factors that influence the representation and framing of the nationalisation discourse in the corporate media?

(c) To what extent has the diversity and ongoing transformation of the South African corporate media, which has opened up spaces for media democratisation, impacted on the representation of ideologically laden discourses?

Furthermore, by focusing on the above objectives, the research study also aimed at making a contribution to existing theories and to develop new ones in the academic field of media studies in South Africa.

In this thesis I have used four major theories – the critical political economy of communication; Marxist media analysis; social production of news; and decolonial theories – to demonstrate the centrality of the media in the developmental policy discourse. Essentially, I have argued throughout the research study that key among the primary motives of the corporate media is profit maximisation, hence their representation of ideologically laden developmental policy discourses from a capitalist perspective (Jones and Wolfe, 2007). Furthermore, in this thesis I have posited that the post-apartheid corporate media is modelled on the Western capitalist media and, just like this media, it operates within the global capitalist set-up (Wasserman, 2012). This research study has also exposed the corporate media as prone to prioritising and reproducing the views of dominant institutions as a "natural" perspective, thereby advancing capitalist accumulation (Curran et al., 1982). In employing decolonial theories the influence of Western capitalist hegemony on the content of news has become even more apparent, thereby pertinently locating the corporate media in a colonial matrix of power and further exposing the persistent colonisation of the former colonies (Mignolo and Wannamaker, 2011). In the same vein, the utilisation of decolonial Marxism has elucidated structural issues that are innate in the class struggle, such as racism, from the perspectives of the colonised (Monzó and McLaren, 2014). These observations were made possible by employing quantitative and qualitative content analysis in order to identify and count the number of articles and related elements in selected newspapers as well as to conduct in-depth interviews. Essentially, this triangulated approach has been true to the assertion that in researching complex social issues it becomes imperative to combine both research methods, even though I admit that this comes with advantages and disadvantages (Yeasmin and Rahman, 2012). Furthermore, during the course of the research it has become apparent that thematic analysis presents an opportunity to unearth hidden information in articles (Barlow, 2011) while the framing methods became a crucial part of content analysis, particularly the inductive and deductive approaches (Semetko and Valkenburg, 2000). These approaches have assisted this research study to expose the corporate media's location within the market forces and to affirm the assumption that it is the structural factors such as ownership that fundamentally influence the representation of ideologically laden discourses such as the nationalisation of mines.

In this chapter I attempt to answer the research questions by presenting the major findings of the research. Particularly I discuss the following issues: the influence of global capital on the nationalisation discourse in South Africa; the impact of media ownership and its (lack of) transformation; the convergence of state/media relations vis-à-vis the nationalisation discourse; and the impact of the corporate media's location within the market forces.

I also present the relevance of this research study by highlighting the importance of the developmental policy discourse in the South African perspective in line with the government's developmental agenda. I also address the gaps and limitations of the research study, including the focus on the print media, reliance on the *SA Media* database, sampling method, and utilisation of Marxist-informed critical political economy as a primary theory. Also discussed are the benefits and advantages of this research study, which include the importance of decolonial theories as well as decolonial Marxism which, in the context of this study, are utilised to unravel the central questions of race and class in the South African media.

Finally, this chapter presents the recommendations of the research study and the way forward by arguing for an uncommodified alternative public media as a way of combating the capitalist dominance as reflected in the corporate media.

## 10.2 Major findings and arguments advanced by the research study

The four chapters preceding this one have highlighted the manner in which the nationalisation of mines debate was treated by the South Africa corporate media in 2011. While the quantitative findings reveal a high level of interest and negative representation of nationalisation by the corporate media, it is the qualitative findings that enable further probing to reveal the posture of the corporate media towards such discourses. Discussed below are some of the emerging themes that I argue influence the representation of the nationalisation debate, and certainly other related ideologically laden discourses.

### 10.2.1 Global capitalism and the nationalisation discourse

#### 10.2.1.1 Corporate media and the advancement of global capitalism

It is quite apparent that global capital is one of the fundamental factors influencing the representation of the nationalisation discourse. Throughout this research study I have argued that the corporate media is an integral part of the global capitalist system and that the representation of the nationalisation of mines debate reflects this reality. Because of this integration, the corporate media and institutions advancing capitalism have similar ideological perspectives (Van Dijk, 1996), and hence the corporate media is likely to advance a neo-liberal perspective when framing and interpreting ideologically laden developmental policy discourses. Historically, the global media system has been linked to pro-capitalist, anti-labour, partisan journalism (McChesney and Schiller, 2003) due to its structural linkage with market forces. Coming back to the South African corporate media, it has since its inception been entrenched in the colonial matrix of power structures. In this regard, the South African media system is modelled on the Western media (Glenn and Mattes, 2011); it has historical ties with the mining sector and British imperialism as well as Afrikaner accumulation (Tomaselli, 1997). Essentially, the pre and post-apartheid corporate media practice mirrors that of the global media dominated by Western values (Berger, 2008; Wasserman, 2012), and as such developmental policy discourses are interpreted from this framework. It then follows that such a media system will reflect anti-colonialist and anti-capitalist discourses such as nationalisation from that same Western capitalist perspective. Thus, the corporate media system is useful in cultivating and legitimising the capitalist ideology (Thompson, 2009) because of its location within the structures of the capitalism. Also, this power aids the corporate media to shape public opinion in "acceptable" ways (Garland and Harper, 2012). Generally, the corporate media landscape is influenced by neo-liberal Western-dominated transnational media conglomerates that have "colonised" the communications industry (Cottle, 2009). Indeed, the elites at the helm of capitalist institutions and corporate media need each other, and have similar accumulation interests; in this regard the media discourse is co-opted to advance these interests.

The alignment between the corporate media and global capital is reflected inter alia by the economic consequences frame used to advance the hegemony of capitalism. In terms of the nationalisation discourse, this frame is used to advance an anti-nationalisation perspective and valorise neo-liberal ideas such as the notion that the debate alone endangers the economy and

frightens away investors. In the course of the debate, investors are perceived from the neo-liberal perspective and the inherent unbalanced exchange relation that privileges rich industrialised countries (Lacher and Nepal, 2010). This trend, which the proponents of nationalisation argue must be reversed, is not explored by the media. Indeed, the capitalist ideology is perpetuated through economic news, particularly the focus on the activities of investors (Croteau and Hoynes, 2002). In this regard, the corporate media performs an apologist role on behalf of capitalism (Berger, 2013). The views of the working class are downplayed and marginalised. Those publications that attempt to create space for the working class are often labelled as "anti-business" and biased in their reportage (Croteau and Hoynes, 2002). At the same time, on a daily basis, the corporate media runs anti-working class stories without being labelled or antagonised.

#### 10.2.1.2 The impact of commercialisation

Within global capitalism is the fundamental question of commercialisation, which has an impact on the representation of the nationalisation debate and similar discourses. In this context, the corporate press is more concerned with the bottom line than with reporting on issues of public interest. Newsrooms are compelled to undergo restructuring to remain profitable and in the process they become "juniorised" as the corporate press focuses on bringing in more business-minded managers (McManus, 2009). Notwithstanding the human agency of media professionals, I argue that since the commercial interests of the corporate media are dialectically tied to the capitalist economic base, ideological discourses are represented from the capitalist perspective. Indeed, commercialisation of the corporate media translates to capitalist domination (Erdogan, 2012). In this regard, commercial factors create pressure in the newsroom, to the extent that there is no time to go into details about nationalisation; consequently the discourse is either relegated to the back pages (Msomi, Interview, 2014) or interpreted from the viewpoint of the primary definers who have a vested interested in a particular outcome.

The media's dependence on elite sources to validate news stories is a consequence of commercialisation, as time pressures compel journalists to rely on known and readily available sources (Duncan, 2014). This suggests that the prioritisation of primary definers is a manifestation of commercial factors, as junior reporters seek authoritative views to validate their stories. The implications of commercialisation on the nationalisation debate include the

marginalisation of working-class sources, permitting elite sources easy access to the media, and the validation of the neo-liberal policy perspective. In this nationalisation debate it has emerged that it is the capitalist elite sources that define the discourse and set the parameters for engagement and, as such, the working class must enter a discourse that is already framed from a capitalist point of view (Hall et al., 1978). This occurred even though the debate was initially triggered by the ANC Youth League, which claimed to be representing the interests of the working class and the poor, and which received support from the broader working-class formations such as COSATU and some of its affiliated unions. It is thus apparent that commercial factors structurally drive the legitimisation of the capitalist perspective while slamming anti-capitalist views as irrational.

#### 10.2.1.3 The influence of advertising on the nationalisation debate

Advertising is the lifeblood of the corporate media, and therefore locates this media system squarely in the power structures of global capitalism. With the advertiser-supported corporate media on the increase (Wasko, 2005), the global media system provides a platform for the globalising market economy to market their products around the globe (McChesney and Schiller, 2003; Flew, 2007). The simplistic view of the impact of advertising on the content of news is that newspapers sell the right type of audience to advertisers, since under the current economic challenges advertising is one of the most crucial aspects for a profitable newspaper. As Wasko (2005) concedes, the audience commodity concept has been accepted in the political economy of the communication field. In the context of the mine nationalisation debate, newspaper editors like Kevin Ritchie of *The Star* concede that the South African corporate media is about selling the audience to advertisers who buy space mainly for this captured audience. It is thus not far-fetched to conclude that media content is designed to attract the audience with the buying power required by these advertisers so that they can market their commodities (Fuchs and Mosco, 2012). In fact, it is expected that newspapers spend some time thinking about content that will attract the right kind of audience. This is in line with Smyth's (1977) hypothesis of commodification of the media with the view to buying and selling audiences. I have thus contended that the influence of advertising is closely intertwined with the profit maximisation interests of the owners. In this regard, I have maintained that advertising, and particularly the commodification of the corporate media, play a pivotal role in influencing the representation of the nationalisation debate. Essentially, the commodified

corporate press has become a vehicle to disseminate advertising messages in order to advance the sale of commodities (Mosco, 2009).

Commercialised media organisations are forced to produce products that maximise audience in order to accommodate the needs of advertisers (Curran et al., 1982). This context is crucial if we are to appreciate the impact of advertising on the nationalisation debate. I argue that part of the negative portrayal of the nationalisation debate, and any other ideologically laden or anti-capitalist discourse for that matter, is due to structural factors of the media, and advertising is one of them. These structural factors pre-direct the corporate media to frame nationalisation adversely through aspects such as primary definers. Although many media professionals deny that advertising influences the content of news, it has emerged in this research study that advertising does in fact do so. Advertisers financially support the media, which presents conducive platforms for their products; those that are unable to create this environment do not receive any support (Curran, 2000). It is for this reason that many working-class publications, such as the *South African Labour Bulletin,* are struggling to attract advertising; in large part the alternative press, which historically supported the liberation struggle and had rich socio-economic content (Tomaselli, 2004), has died post-apartheid (Radebe, 2007). In the final analysis, advertising as part of the global capitalist system has a clear impact on the representation of the nationalisation of mines discourse.

### 10.2.2 Ownership and transformation of the corporate media

Concentration of ownership and the transformation agenda are two important issues in the South African media. Both these issues impact on the representation of the nationalisation discourse. First and foremost, I have linked ownership to the pivotal question of media power which is often exercised to censor public information in favour of capitalist accumulation (Bagdikian, 1992; McManus, 2009). Although I do concede that I did not perform a scientific analysis on the impact of media ownership on news content, I nevertheless make deductions premised on the content analysis, interviews and previous research. Many media scholars have advanced the notion that ownership determines media messages (Chandler, 2000). Access to the media and the ability to influence public discourse is the preserve of the privileged few aligned to the ruling elite and thus able to advance their views (Meier, 2000). Thus, the impact of the ownership structure on the representation of the nationalisation discourse can be best understood when located in theories of media power. The posture taken by the

South African corporate media on contentious socio-economic discourses such as nationalisation validates the view that:

> ...the mass media industry is said to play a significant role in legitimating inequalities in wealth, power and privilege. When the control of the flow of information, knowledge, values and images is concentrated in the hands of those who share the power of the dominant class, the ruling class will establish what is circulated through the mass media in order to reproduce the structure of class inequalities from which they benefit (Meier, 2000: 299–300).

Thus, the representation of nationalisation by the corporate media from the economic consequences frame advanced by primary definers is an embodiment of the ruling class' hegemony in society. Through this representation, the corporate media plays a decisive role in legitimising continued capitalist accumulation in the form of mining companies.

While respondents in this research study have collectively argued that there is no crude intervention by owners, they acknowledge the potential influence of owners on the content:

> The most common assumption is that the owners of the media influence the content and form of media content through their decisions to employ certain personnel, by funding special projects, and by providing a media platform for ideological interest groups (Meier, 2000: 300).

Sithembiso Msomi of the *Sunday Times* articulated this point very well during our interview. He used the arguments advanced by Peter Bruce in his *Business Day* article on the type of editors he, as a publisher, would hire. Therefore, in the representation of the nationalisation discourse it does not come as a surprise that pro-capitalist groups such as the Free Market Foundation are prioritised and provided access, over and above primary definers, at the expense of working-class formations such as COSATU's research wing NALEDI. It is the effects of ownership and concentration that validate capitalist views as a "common sense" view of the world (Meier, 2000). Therefore, perceptions such as the one that the discourse erodes investor confidence are accepted as gospel truth. Furthermore, the capitalist logic on the relationship between investor confidence and economic growth is also left unchallenged in the context of growing unemployment, poverty and inequality.

These features point to media power buttressed by ownership patterns that empower the media to reproduce the dominant ideology which maintains capitalist hegemony and renders it as an "immutable reality that is here to stay…" (Garland and Harper, 2012: 414–15).

Through this "common sense" reality of the world as espoused by many mining executives in the discourse, this representation has latent features of capitalist hegemony. The representation of this discourse points to the fact that the corporate media is a conduit through which the capitalist ideology is disseminated. This is reflected by the utilisation of the investor confidence theme, which is taken almost as common sense by primary definers such as David Brown, the chief executive of Implats, who has consistently advanced this notion throughout the reporting on this discourse (Seccombe, 2011). Essentially, views that do not conform to the capitalist perspective are silenced. "The media, as unwitting instruments of hegemonic domination, have a much broader and deeper influence – they shape people's very ideas of themselves and the world; they shape people's worldviews" (Berger, 2013: 62). Because of this, views expressed by primary definers shape the broader society's perspective on the discourse.

In the context of unpacking the representation of the nationalisation discourse, it is correct to use access to news media as a measure of elite power, since the public discourse affects the minds of the public (Van Dijk, 1996). Although this access does not imply total control of the minds of the public, the findings of this research study point to the fact that the class that controls the means of material production has broader control over mental production. Certainly, the media power, must be perceived within a social power context (Van Dijk, 1996). In other words, those who control the tools of mass communication are, at the same time, in charge of the social power (Van Dijk, 1996). Essentially, the two powers are mutually inclusive and thus the class that controls the means of production, mass communication in this instance, wields societal power in that epoch. In this thesis I argue that under such circumstances, the corporate media expresses the views of the ruling class in ideological discourses.

The overall representation of the nationalisation discourse cannot be detached from the fundamental question of media power. For example, the role of primary definers in shaping this representation is a consequence of media power that, structurally, pre-directs journalists to some sources while marginalising others. Even with the advent and meteoric rise of social media, ordinary working-class people still do not have direct influence on the content of news, nor are they major actors (Van Dijk, 1996). Instead, access to the corporate media remains the domain of the capitalist elite stratum of the society, which enjoys unfettered access at the expense of the marginalised majority of the underclasses. Ownership and thus

media power propel class contradiction manifested through access and control of viewpoints expressed either as sources or opinions in the media.

Furthermore, gatekeeping in the newsroom is closely associated with control and ownership of news (Shoemaker et al., 2001: 235). In light of this, I have argued that the concentration of media ownership in South Africa does impact the representation of ideologically laden policy discourse such as the nationalisation debate. While South Africa has the most robust and "independent" media on the continent, the corporate press has not made significant progress beyond the apartheid era and is still characterised by concentration of ownership largely in the hands of a few major players (Rumney, 2014). Over and above this stagnation, is the transformation programme linked to the commercial agenda through B-BBEE – a programme that is a remnant of apartheid regime's agenda (Nzimande, 2007; Duncan, 2011). Furthermore, the few major media players have other business interests in sectors such as transport, ICT, agriculture, media and communication, banks and manufacturing. Therefore, I have asserted that it is such business linkages that influence the corporate media's stance on ideological issues. In a nutshell, such business interests propel the corporate media to safeguard its capitalist interest at the expense of social and public interest; this is manifested through its posture towards the representation of the mine nationalisation debate.

Fundamentally, media transformation is not about changing the demographics of newsrooms or the ownership pattern; it goes deeper than that. It is apparent that those who call the shots in the corporate media do so from a position of economic strength; thus media transformation should not be delinked from the direct transformation of the economic base. It would be impossible to transform any industry in South Africa without addressing the basic question of economic transformation, and this is where BEE and its objectives becomes paramount for media transformation. Transforming the media narrative, just like the barriers of entry for new media players in the industry, is not just a question of attitude but a fundamental economic question. Indeed, it is the economic hegemony that allows the current media behemoths to collude against new entrants, hence the demise of *ThisDay*[60] newspaper and the current struggles of *The New Age*.

[60] *ThisDay* newspaper originated from Nigeria, a country with a press which is over 150 years old. In South Africa, *ThisDay* newspaper's 2003 entry made it the first new mainstream daily since apartheid ended in 1994. It strove to become a national paper, printing in four major South African cities – Durban, Johannesburg, Cape Town and Port Elizabeth. Barely a year after its introduction, *ThisDay* suspended its operations in October 2004 due to the enormous resources required for running a paper of

Furthermore, I have maintained that this capitalist control of the media and its close ties with big conglomerates locates the media firmly in the capitalist system. Hence, the corporate media have a material interest in advancing market-friendly policies in line with the interest of its shareholders and top executives who are wealthy and have an interest in maintaining the status quo (Curran, 2000). It is with this background that I have argued that anti-capitalist developmental policy discourses are portrayed negatively in the capitalist-controlled corporate media. However, this media power and control is not exercised recklessly but rather in a subtle manner (Van Dijk, 1996). In this regard, I make a profound intervention that deserves further research attention in South Africa – that structures are installed to regulate the thoughts and behaviour of media personnel in line with the expectation of the owners (see Bourdieu, 1972). Kevin Ritchie also alludes to such structures in our interview. It is these structures, installed by the owners of the media that ensure that the right personnel are in place to advance the narrative of the capitalist owners, and this shapes the representation of ideological discourses.

Coming back to the transformation of the South African media post-apartheid, it is very clear that there has been class continuity in terms of ownership, control, content and audiences (Duncan 2011). Fundamentally, the content of news has not transformed to reflect the issues of the working class. Therefore, ideologically laden policy discourses still reflect the views and perspective of a ruling class steeped in the Western tradition. Since media transformation hinges on narrow transformation within the closed parameters of capitalism (Nzimande, 2007), it reproduces media dominated by the capitalist class and its content is a reflection of that reality. I therefore suggest that even though there has been an increase in black senior executives in the newsroom, this has not translated to changed content and representation of the anti-capitalist and anti-Western ideological discourses, since the defining media power still lies with capitalist ownership aligned to the West. Also maintained in this thesis is that the fundamental question of transformation should be located within the perspective of decolonial theories and concepts such as "locus of enunciation" and "coloniality of being" in order to be fully understood. These theories emphasise that location within the oppressed side of power relations does not necessarily translate to thinking from the oppressed location (Grosfuguel, 2007). This reality, together with other factors such as the structures of the newsroom, as

---

*ThisDay's* magnitude (Bassey, 2006: 4–6).

discussed above, explains the inability of black media professionals to advance the discourse from the working-class perspective. Apart from structural factors, this thesis advances the notion that the representation of this discourse must be understood as symbolising the continuity of the coloniality of power of Western hegemony (Mignolo, 2011b).

### 10.2.3 The state and media relation in South Africa

Previous research studies have revealed beyond reasonable doubt that the relationships between the ANC government and corporate media can be characterised as frosty. Indeed, the state and media constitute two key central institutions in the country that play a critical role in advancing "national interest" and "public interest" (Wasserman and De Beer, 2005a). However, as highlighted previously, since the dawn of democracy there has always been tension between the black majority ANC government and the largely white-controlled media. This includes the ANC's criticism that the self-regulated print media lacks transformation (Duncan, 2011). I have thus posited that this historical tension contributes towards the manner in which developmental policy discourse is portrayed by the corporate media. Mainly, this is due to the fact that the corporate media disseminates the capitalist ideology because of its location in the capitalist system (Croteau and Hoynes, 2002). Structurally the media is therefore unable to advance progressive policy discourse biased toward the working class and the poor. In addition, the ANC's left-wing rhetoric – notwithstanding the fact that it has championed the implementation of neo-liberal policies – puts it at loggerheads with the corporate media, which is neo-liberal in outlook.

Despite the persistence of this structural dichotomy between the government and the media, the research findings have revealed convergence between the two on the nationalisation discourse. I posit that this convergence results from a meeting of ideas in as far as anti-nationalisation is concerned. Essentially, this reveals that both institutions are central in the legitimation of the capitalist system; and where there is ideological conjunction and a shared neo-liberal policy outlook, the government is portrayed favourably by the corporate media. This exposes the fact that the government and the broader democratic state remain an instrument of class rule and are central in coordinating the interests of the capitalist class (Garland and Harper, 2012). Just as the corporate media represents the interests of the capitalist markets, in the same vein the state "…underwrites and coordinates that market in the interests of the capitalist class" (Garland and Harper, 2012: 415). This is reflected by the posture of state ministers like Susan Shabangu

(Mineral Resources Minister), Pravin Gordhan (Finance Minister), and Malusi Gigaba (Public Enterprises Minister) who all speak the same language of investor confidence as chief executives like Cynthia Carroll (Anglo American CEO), David Brown (Impala Platinum CEO), and Nick Holland (Gold Fields CEO). The prioritisation of the economic frame and the investor confidence theme, for example, in the discourse is a neo-liberal ideological stance that prioritises market forces over state intervention (Garland and Harper, 2012). This is a further indication of the corporate media's location within market forces.

I have also linked the role of the state to the broader debate which states that South Africa remains in a colonial situation even though it is no longer under colonial administration (Grosfoguel, 2011). Therefore, the country's policy outlook is a reflection that not only the government but the corporate media remain subordinated to capitalist hegemony, underpinned by the colonial matrix of power. Fundamentally, this thesis has advanced the notion that this imposition of a Western solution upon African problems not only exposes the corporate media's location within the CMP and thus capitalism, but also stifles government's ability to address deep-seated socio-economic problems. Undeniably, the content and products of the corporate media are not designed to benevolently empower and inform the rest of the society, but rather to maximise profit. In this context, the capitalist status quo as a system that generates surplus value has to be maintained and reproduced. In the final analysis, the convergence between government and the corporate media on the anti-nationalisation ticket contributes to its negative representation of the nationalisation of mines debate while producing and reproducing capitalist ideology (Murdock and Golding, 1973).

### 10.2.4 Media and the developmental policy discourse

The representation of the nationalisation discourse is essentially a reflection of the corporate media's posture towards the broader developmental state and its portrayal of ideologically laden policy discourses. The point of departure of this research study is that, because of its location within market forces, the media supports capitalist policies (Jones and Wolfe, 2010) while casting anti-capitalist policies in a bad light. The media also plays an integral role in framing public policy discourses from a capitalist perspective (Soroka et al., 2009), thus functioning as a key site of power struggle between competing social forces (Walt, 1994). It has also emerged that the policy process is often dominated by those with financial muscle (Freedman, 2008). As highlighted previously, the nationalisation of mines debate has been

dominated by organisations like the FMF who were able to lobby for their preferred outcome through public relations campaigns, including the publication of an anti-nationalisation book. This reflects a view that social forces, including the market forces in which the media is located, have interests in shaping the policy process to suit their objectives (Callaghan and Schnell, 2001).

Another failure of the corporate media is reflected through its inability to locate the nationalisation discourse in the context of persisting post-apartheid challenges such as under-development, poverty, unemployment and inequality (Frye et al., 2010). These problems are a result of capitalism, but the corporate media fails to address such problems confronting the country. The ANC government has embarked on a progressive path towards a developmental state in order to address some of these challenges (Edigheji, 2010); however, the corporate media has been unable to contextualise the nationalisation discourse against this backdrop and to report on potential returns such as a high growth rate and labour-absorbing job opportunities (Evans, 2010). However, it is crucial to appreciate that the developmental agenda was preceded by the entrenchment of the neo-liberal policy framework, GEAR, during the Thabo Mbeki presidency, which committed the ANC to neo-liberal economic policies (Mohamed, 2010). This move by the ANC away from the progressive Reconstruction and Development Programme towards a neo-liberal policy framework was welcomed by the media (Kariithi and Kareithi, 2007). The neo-liberal hegemony framework context within which the nationalisation of mines debate took place appears to have empowered the corporate media to advance the capitalist agenda.

## 10.3 Relevance of the research study

### 10.3.1 Locating the South African media within a capitalist post-colony

The relevance of this research study is reflected in the sections above. These arguments allude to the fact that previous South African media research has not paid detailed attention to the location of the corporate media within the capitalist setting of a post-colony and the impact thereof. The fact that the corporate media advances capitalist accumulation through reproducing the views of the elites as "obvious" and "natural" (Curran et al., *1982*) has not been properly grounded within the South African context. The findings and subsequent

arguments of this research study are an attempt to begin this discourse. The starting point is to acknowledge the commodification of the corporate media and its ideological character in perpetuating capitalist production (Fuchs, 2009). It is in this context that I have utilised Marxist approaches to clarify a number of aspects that influence the representation of nationalisation and similar discourses.

As a country that suffered from colonialism and apartheid, it is crucial to analyse the media in the context of concepts such as Western hegemony and the colonial matrix of power (Mignolo and Wannamaker, 2011). This enables us to fully comprehend the media in the context of the myth of a post-colonial world (Grosfoguel 2007; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2012). It is very relevant to understand, locate and ground the South African corporate media in its correct historical background. In the midst of this is the fundamental need to apprehend the racial dynamics within the South African media which characterise not only the media but society at large. However, this cannot be fully comprehended outside the central question of class, which has and continues to shape relations in South Africa. Therefore, discussing theories of decoloniality in conversation with Marxist approaches enables us to understand, at a deeper level, the crucial aspects of the representation of nationalisation in the context of race, class and gender contradictions. Indeed, the need to decipher structural issues inherent within class contradictions, such as racism, from an African perspective is imperative (Monzó and McLaren, 2014). Thus, in order to close the obvious research gaps, it is essential to utilise this approach to ground the South African corporate media within these perspectives.

### 10.3.2 Gaps and limitations of the research study

Just like any media study, this research study comes with its own limitations and shortcomings. It has four primary limitations which pertain to focusing on the print media only, reliance on the *SA Media* database, the sampling method, and utilisation of Marxist media analysis as one of the primary theories.

Firstly, the research study uses the corporate print media to draw inferences on the representation of the nationalisation debate. Although, the corporate press remains crucial in setting the agenda, the fact of the matter is that it is a medium on the decline, while broadcast and social media are growing exponentially: The expansion of the media landscape in the past decade in South Africa has been on the back of the broadcasting sector, "which has seen an

increase in the number of television channels from 67 channels in 2004 to 180 in 2012" (Daniels, 2013: 1). Also, the social media has grown significantly, with twitter having "…morphed from being tangential to a fundamental part of newsroom practices; it became an essential newsroom tool" (Daniels, 2013: 1). But, significantly, "…print media continued its decline in circulation, wrestled with making digital-first transitions, and struggled with the online business model" (Daniels, 2013: 1). Therefore, future studies should pay particular attention to the representation of similar ideologically laden discourses by the broadcast media and within the social media landscape. It is crucial to appreciate, however, that many serious conversations on social media are often triggered by online versions of news stories. For example, various newspapers exploit social media for their online versions; hence, in many instances, newspapers continue to set the agenda for social media conversations.

Furthermore, a focus on the representation of the developmental policy discourse by non-English media is another gap that future studies must consider. A number of interesting articles in non-English publications, particularly in isiZulu and Afrikaans newspapers, were not sampled in this research study. Consequently, a number of fascinating articles on nationalisation were not sampled and analysed.

Linked to this limitation of the print media is the type of "mainstream" newspapers sampled and analysed, some of which do not have the high circulation figures enjoyed by tabloids like the *Daily Sun*, the largest circulating daily in South Africa, "…leading every day with headlines that could win a prize for fantasy" (Kupe, 2014 :30). A study of the *Daily Sun* and the nationalisation of mines debate would be a fascinating one to reveal the manner in which tabloids frame and represent serious developmental policy discourse.

Secondly, the reliance on the *SA Media* database to identify articles for sampling purposes meant that newspapers such as *The New Age*, whose newspapers did not appear in the database, were omitted from the research study. Although, the database purports to be "…one of the most comprehensive press cutting services" with "more than 3 million newspaper reports and periodical articles which have been indexed on computer since 1978",[61] articles from recent publications such as *TheNew Age* could not be found. In this regard, it is acknowledged that there is a high probability that some articles on nationalisation could have also been missed.

[61] http://www.samedia.uovs.ac.za/

Indeed, the representation of this discourse by *The New Age*, and other newspapers highlighted above, is a gap that future studies must close, especially taking into account the views of its detractors that the paper is a mouthpiece of the governing ANC.

Thirdly, the sampling method used to identify interviewees, particularly snowball sampling, skewed the respondents to Johannesburg-based media houses. This also limited the diversity of the respondents to mainly middle-aged male editors. Coupled with this are the challenges of time pressures, which meant that not all identified media professionals were available for interviews. Although, attempts were made to ensure that the perspectives of senior female editors on the representation of the nationalisation discourse were captured, the sample remained heavily skewed to male-edited, Johannesburg-based publications. It will be important for future studies to conduct a detailed study that will be balanced in terms of gender, race and geography. Also, the chosen year for the study, 2011, presented another limitation. While this is the year where the nationalisation discourse peaked, there were a number of articles in the preceding and subsequent years that could not be used for analysis.

Lastly, the research study's utilisation of Marxist media analysis at the expense of other media approaches is a limitation. Fundamentally, critics of Marxism accuse the theory of being "too doctrinaire" (Berger 1982). As acknowledged in the thesis, Marxism is perceived to be "deterministic" and "reductionist" in its "materialism", thus "allowing little scope for human agency and subjectivity". Among the highly contested concepts of Marxism is the notion of "false consciousness"; critics argue that it does not allow for oppositional readings and various ways available to audiences to use mass media (Chandler, 2000). Although, I have used the Marxist-inclined critical political economy of communication as a primary theory in this research study, time and space have not allowed for a detailed application of this theory. Indeed, it will be crucial to utilise Marxism and its many branches more fully to clarify the South African media landscape.

In order to overcome some of the identified limitations, there is a need for further research on the broader representation of developmental policy discourse in the South African corporate media. Particularly, the focus on broadcast and social media, the two main growing mediums, is paramount.

### 10.3.3 The benefits and advantages of this research study

Despite these limitations, however, it is important to appreciate that this study has made a significant contribution in the field by utilising Marxist approaches to decipher the representation of developmental policy-making discourse in South Africa. I have argued that the South African corporate media cannot be understood outside of its location within structures of capitalism and the class contradictions inherent therein. Therefore, it has been useful to apply dialectical methods to clarify issues of control of the means of production, media power, dissemination of knowledge and the production of consciousness, among others. This approach helped to achieve a fuller understanding of the representation of ideological discourses within the South African media (Nixon, 2012). Fundamentally, because of South Africa's colonial past, its media landscape must be analysed in the context of racialised and gendered contradictions. In this regard, the utilisation of Marxist approaches in conversation with decolonial theories, as discussed above, remains one critical scholarly contribution this research study has made in the South African academic media scholarship field.

Indeed, this research study has contributed to existing theories in order to understand how contextual and structural factors influence and shape the broader developmental policy discourse in the corporate media. It has become apparent that factors such as the ownership and control of the corporate media, the macroeconomic policy context within which the corporate media is located, and the historical background and location of the corporate media are crucial if we are to comprehend developmental discourses in the media (Curan et al., 1982; Mayher and McDonald, 2007; Freedman, 2008; Wright and Rogers, 2010). Therefore, this research study has become an important process in documenting the role of the corporate media, particularly the English-language press, in representing ideologically laden developmental policy discourses in post-apartheid South Africa.

## 10.4 Recommendations of the research study and way forward

Given the findings of this research study, the key question that remains is what is to be done to emancipate the media from its capitalist matrix. I argue that an alternative public media, as espoused by Marx, is one fundamental way to contest the unabating ideological grip and

domination of the capitalist class and its corporate media. This alternative media must ensure that it serves the public interest rather than narrow class interests. The crucial aspect of an alternative media should be its ability to counterbalance the capitalist media as it disseminates and reinforces the dominant capitalist ideology. As Marx and Engels posit, "It is the duty of the press to come forward on behalf of the oppressed in its immediate neighbourhood. … The first duty of the press now is to undermine all the foundations of the existing political state of affairs" (MEW 6: 234 in Fuchs, 2009). To this end, Marx characterises a "true press" as one that "should be non-commercial and non-profit so as not to become corrupted by capitalist pressures". Essentially, "the primary freedom of the press lies in not being a trade" (MEW 1: 71 in Fuchs, 2009); in other words, the public media must not be modelled on the current corporate media that is interlocked in the capitalist structures and thus operates on the basis of profit maximisation. Instead, the primary ethos of this alternative media must be premised on serving the majority of the people by providing good-quality information and education, and thereby become a public good (Winseck, 2011).

Ultimately, the primary feature of this alternative public media must be decommodification, which would protect it against the vagaries of the capitalist market economy while increasing its ability to represent the public good. Certainly, this is a fundamental shift from a corporate media driven by the market economy (Vail, 2010). A decommodified alternative public media would promote networking and unity of humans in social struggles, as argued by Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto*:

> And what is more conducive to keeping alive revolutionary fervour among the workers than posters, which convert every street corner into a huge newspaper in which workers who pass by find the events of the day noted and commented on, the various views described and discussed, and where at the same time they meet people of all classes and opinions with whom they can discuss the contents of the posters; in short, where they have simultaneously a newspaper and a club, and all that without costing them a penny (MEW 6: 440 in Fuchs, 2009).

It could be argued that the social media is the beginning of this "huge newspaper", hence it's successful deployment in many social struggles in the recent past, notwithstanding its commodified character. Therefore, a decommodified alternative media must have a public character as argued by Marx and Engels; in other words, it should be easily accessible to all in order to advance general education and improve the living conditions and the lives of the underclasses. Such a media must appreciate its location within a post-colony, and ensure that it represents discourses from the vantage point of the colonised.

The corporate media, whose nature is described through the findings of this research study, is a different creature. Its primary objective appears to be the advancement of capitalist ideology and accumulation by the ruling class. It is therefore quite apparent that the intervention by Marx and Engels has

> provided intellectual categories that allow the analysis of the various aspects of the media, such as their commodity character, their ideological character, their effects on capitalist production, the alternative ways of organizing and doing media, and the ways of interpreting media content in the context of social struggles (Fuchs, 2009: 393).

Proponents of the nationalisation discourse argue that the primary objective of their call is to improve the living conditions of the majority African working class, poor and marginalised people. However, it is clear that the corporate media is structurally constrained from advancing such a discourse. It is unable to be part of social struggles on the part of the colonised working class; instead it possesses a commodity character informed by its location within the colonial matrix of power and thus the capitalist system. In the end, an alternative public media, rising organically from within the oppressed, marginalised and colonised, can play a crucial role in advancing their daily social struggles.

Indeed, the alternative public media perspective offers a different way of organising and producing a media, whose aim is to create critical content that challenges capitalist dominance (Fuchs, 2009). Furthermore, the decommodification of the media is informed by the view that "the use value of media and media technologies is that they allow humans to inform themselves and to communicate" while "in capitalist society, use value is dominated by the exchange value of products, which become commodities" (Fuchs, 2009: 397). In the former scenario the key issue is the public good, while in the latter it is about making a profit. Therefore, both the commodity and ideology hypotheses are integral components of the corporate media. The domination of the exchange value that characterises the corporate media legitimises and reproduces capitalist dominance; thus "commodification is a basic process that underlies media and technology in capitalism" (Fuchs, 2009: 397). In short, it is the commodity and ideology aspects of the corporate media that shape the representation of discourses. In the case of ideologically laden discourses such as nationalisation, representation from the capitalist point of view is almost guaranteed. Fuchs (2009: 397)

further posits, “Once media and technology reach consumers, they have taken on commodity form and are therefore likely to have ideological characteristics”. Critically, therefore,

> The sphere of alternative media challenges the commodity character of the media. It aims at a reversal so that use value becomes the dominant feature of media and technology by the sublation of their exchange value. Processes of alternative reception transcend the ideological character of the media – the recipients are empowered in questioning the commodified character of the world in which they live (Fuchs, 2009: 397).

Indeed, to a large extent, the findings of this research study reaffirm this assertion and expose further the inability of the commodified corporate media to rise above the exchange value and become part of the struggles of the oppressed majority.

Therefore, the premise of an alternative public media rests on the radical transformation of both the corporate media and the economic base of the capitalist-dominated society. Furthermore, this requires the working class to struggle on its own class terrain to emancipate itself from capitalist class domination (Garland and Harper, 2012). Even though there are aspects of the media that seek to promote alternative ideological perspectives, under the current capitalist system these alternative media “remain on the margins of the media scene, reaching small audiences and lacking the capital to mount a serious challenge to the dominant media” (Croteau and Hoynes, 2002: 193). Indeed, what this research study has revealed is that the stories of the oppressed African majority cannot be told by a commodified, capitalist-oriented corporate media. Just like their daily struggles for better living and working conditions, only an alternative, decommodified and decolonised media rising organically from within the ranks of the oppressed can complement and advance the struggle for the working class and the poor.

The fundamental question, therefore, is what needs to be done. The alternative public media, as a democratic media system, must serve to empower the marginalised sections of society by providing them with a platform to express themselves. The capitalist class tend to manage society in a manner that serves their narrow interests while presenting these as the interests of everyone. “It is desirable therefore that groups outside the structure of privilege should have the media resources to question prevailing ideological representation, explore where their own group interest lies, and be able to present alternative perspectives” (Curran, 2002: 239). Furthermore, “a democratic media system needs ... a well-developed, specialist sector,

enabling different social groups to debate within their terms of reference issues of social identity, group interest, political strategy and social-moral values" (Curran, 2002: 240). In this regard, the alternative public media must consider some of the elements espoused in Curran's (2002) model, which includes the *civic, professional, social market* and *private* aspects of the media sector. The first three "are intended to facilitate the expression of dissenting and minority views" while the *private* sector's "central rationale within the media system is to act as a restraint on the over-entrenchment of minority concerns to the exclusion of majority pleasures" (Curran, 2002: 241).

In considering this model as one of the building blocks towards an alternative public media in South Africa, it is crucial to acknowledge that the South African media system consistently has to deal with the question of transformation because of its location in the Global South. In this context, another useful aspect to consider in the realm of alternative public media is the notion of *ubuntu*[62]journalism (Rodny-Gumede, 2015). Essentially, the question is "whether the moral philosophy of *ubuntu* could serve as a framework for journalism in South Africa, potentially entrenching a public service ethos that reinforces the role of media as a nation builder and opens up to a wider South African audience more representative of the population as a whole" (Rodny-Gumede, 2015: 110–11). Indeed, a South African alternative public media will have to be imbued with the values of *ubuntu*. However, for such a media to prevail in a hegemonic capitalist environment, it will have to be addressed at the developmental level. In this regard, it has to include a transformational process in the training and development of media professionals. This is paramount in an approach to journalism education and training that displays signs of dependency on Western epistemologies post-apartheid while neglecting the indigenous languages as languages of instruction and failing to address the challenges of post-apartheid transformation (Dube, 2013). Indeed, training journalists is a vital cog if the project of establishing an alternative decommodified public media is to flourish.

[62]Ubuntu is a Nguni term meaning "humanity". It is often also translated as "humanity towards others", but is often used in a more philosophical sense to mean "the belief in a universal bond of sharing that connects all humanity" (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki).

## Bibliography


African National Congress (ANC) 1955. FREEDOM CHARTER. Available at: http://scnc.ukzn.ac.za/doc/HIST/freedomchart/freedomch.html [Accessed July 16, 2016].

African National Congress (ANC) 2002. 51st National Conference: Discussion Documents - Media in a democratic South Africa | African National Congress. Available at: http://www.anc.org.za/content/51st-national-conference-discussion-documents-media-democratic-south-africa [Accessed November 20, 2016].

African National Congress (ANC) 2007a. Resolutions of the 52nd National Conference of the African National Congress. http://www.anc.org.za/ show.php?id=2536 [Accessed 10 May 2015]

African National Congress (ANC) 2007b. Transformation of the media by ANC, 20 December 2007, 52nd National Conference, Polokwane. Available at: http://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/transformation-media-anc-20-december-2007-52nd-national-conference-polokwane [Accessed November 20, 2016].

African National Congress (ANC)., 2010. Media transformation, ownership and diversity media transformation, ownership and div ersity. Available at: http://www.anc.org.za/docs/discus/2010/mediad.pdf [Accessed November 20, 2016].

African National Congress (ANC)., 2012a. State Intervention in the Minerals Sector. African National Congress, Johannesburg. http://www.anc.org.za/ [Accessed May 10, 2015]

African National Congress (ANC)., 2012b. Towards the 2012 ANC national policy conference. Available at: http://www.anc.org.za/docs/discus/2012/educationr.pdf [Accessed December 29, 2016].

African National Congress (ANC)., A brief history of the African National Congress. Available at: http://www.anc.org.za/content/brief-history-anc [Accessed November 13, 2016].

African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL)., 2010. Towards the transfer of Mineral wealth to the ownership of the people as a whole: A Perspective on Nationalisation of Mines www.anc.org.za. Accessed 15 August 2012

African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL)., 2011. ANC Youth League 24th National Congress Resolutions – Consolidated [PDF]. http://www.ancyl.org.za/docs/res/2011/24resolutions.pdf [Accessed 3 September 2016]

African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL)., 2015., ANCYL constitution: as amended and adopted by the 25th National Congress September 2015 [PDF]. http://www.ancyl.org.za/list.php?t=3 / [Accessed August, 15, 2016]

Agandin, J.B.A., 2013. Theories of Development and Migration II: Post-development critique of traditional/classical development theories [PDF]. https://www.academia.edu/6191303/Critique_of_Classical_Development_Theory?auto=download [Accessed July, 23, 2017]

Alexander, R.J,. 2001. Culture and pedagogy: International comparison in primary education in Yeasmin, Sabina, and Khan Ferdousour Rahman. "Triangulation'research method as the tool of social science research." *BUP journal* 1, no. 1 (2012): 154-163.

Alexkor,.History. Available at: http://www.alexkor.co.za/our-history.htm [Accessed April 5, 2015]

Ali, Mustafa (2014). Towards a decolonial computing. In: Ambiguous Technologies: Philosophical Issues, Practical Solutions, Human Nature, International Society of Ethics and Information Technology, pp. 28–35.

Almiro, N., 2010. Journalism in Crisis. Corporate Media and Financialization.In Ekman, M., 2012.Understanding Accumulation: The Relevance of Marx's Theory of Primitive Accumulation in Media and Communication Studies. *tripleC: Communication, Capitalism*

*& Critique. Open Access Journal for a Global Sustainable Information Society*, *10*(2), pp.156-170.
Altheide, D.L. (1996). Qualitative media analysis.In Barlow, A.A., 2011. News media constructions of male perpetrated intimate partner homicide.
Antin, D., 2013. The South African Mining Sector: An Industry at a Crossroads. *Economic Report South Africa*.
Babbie, E. and Mouton, J. (2001).*The Practice of Social Research.*New York: Oxford University Press
Bagdikian, B., 1992. The Media Monopoly, 4th ed.
Bagdikian, B., 2000. The Media monopoly 6th ed. *Boston: Beacon*.
Bagdikian, B.H., 2000. The US Media: Supermarket or Assembly Line?. *The Media, Journalism and Democracy*, *14*, p.39.
Barlow, A.A., 2011. News media constructions of male perpetrated intimate partner homicide.
Barnett, C., 1999. The limits of media democratization in South Africa: politics, privatization and regulation. *Media, Culture & Society*, *21*(5), pp.649-671.
Barnouw, E., 1978. *The sponsor: Notes on a modern potentate* (Vol. 580). Transaction Publishers.
Barnouw, E. and Gitlin, T. (eds) (1998) Conglomerates and the Media, New York: New Press.
Bassey, E.A., 2006. *The Rise and Fall of ThisDay Newspaper _ The Significance of Advertising to Its Demise* (Doctoral dissertation, School of the Humanities, Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand).
Baxter, R., 2009. The global economic crisis and its impact on South Africa and the country's mining industry. *Challenges for Monetary Policy-makers in Emerging Markets*, p.105.
Benkler, Y., 2006. *The wealth of networks: How social production transforms markets and freedom*. Yale University Press.
Berger, A.A., 2013. *Media analysis techniques*.Sage Publications.
Berger, A.A., 1982. Media Analysis Techniques. Newbury Park, CA: Sage (Chapter 2, 'Marxist Analysis') [easy, but largely too easy]
Berger, G. 1999. Towards an Analysis of the South African Media and Transformation, 1994-1999.Online. Available url: http://journ.ru.ac.za/staff/guy/Research/Racism%20in%20the%20media/transformation.htm. [Accessed June 9, 2005].
Berger, G. (2007). New Media and Press Freedom in the Developing World. Background paper prepared for conference: New Media: The Press Freedom Dimension. Challenges and Opportunities of New Media for Press Freedom. Sponsored by the World Press Freedom Committee, co-sponsored by UNESCO, in partnership with the Coordinating Committee of Press Freedom Organizations, Paris, 15-16 Feb. 2007. Retrieved on 20 May 2007 from http://guyberger.ru.ac.za/fulltext/new%20media%20and%20press%20freedom%20in%20developing%20world%207.doc
Berger, G., 2008. TOWARDS DEFINING "POTENTIAL CENTRES OF EXCELLENCE" IN AFRICAN JOURNALISM TRAINING 1. *Journalism Practice*, *2*(2), pp.147-162.
Blalock, H.M. ed., 1985. *Causal models in the social sciences*. In McKee, A., 2003. *Textual analysis: A beginner's guide*. Sage.
Bond, F.F. 1995. An introduction to journalism: a survey of the fourth estate in all form. New York: Macmillan
Bond, P., 1999. Elite Transition. Uneven Development, Neoliberalism and Globalization in South Africa.
Bond, P., 2000. Elite transition: from Apartheid to Neoliberalism in South Africa.
Bond, P., 2006. Reconciliation and economic reaction: Flaws in South Africa's elite transition. *Journal of International Affairs*, pp.141-156.

Botiveau, R., 2011, June.The African National Congress Youth League after apartheid: political consciousness, filiation, involvement and organisation among the" post-young lions" generation in South Africa".In *4th European Conference on African Studies*.
Bourdieu, P., 1972. Outline of a Theory of Practice. Trans. Richard Nice.Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
Bourdieu, P., 1983. The field of cultural production, or: The economic world reversed. *Poetics*, *12*(4), pp.311-356.
Bourdieu, P., 1991. Genesis and structure of the religious field. *Comparative social research*, *13*(1), pp.1-44.
Boyd, I., 2015. Being Heard: A Thematic Analysis of the Newspaper Media Response to the Jay Report and the Rotherham Child Abuse Scandal.
Braun, V. and Clarke, V., 2006. Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, *3*(2), pp.77-101.
Brennen, B., 2012. *Qualitative research methods for media studies*. Routledge.
Burawoy, M., 2013. Marxism after Polanyi, p. 34-52. In Williams, M. and Satgar, V., 2013 Marxisms in the 21st. Century: crisis, critique & struggle. Wits University Press, 2013,
Burgess, R.G. (ed.). 1982. *Field Research: A Sourcebook and Field Manual*.
Calabrese, Andrew. 2004. Toward a Political Economy of Culture. In Nixon, B., 2012.Dialectical method and the critical political economy of culture. *tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique. Open Access Journal for a Global Sustainable Information Society*, *10*(2), pp.439-456.
Callaghan, K., & Schnell, F. (2001).Assessing the democratic debate: How the news media frame elite policy discourse. Political Communication, 18, 183–212.
Caraway, B., 2011. Audience labor in the new media environment: A Marxian revisiting of the audience commodity. *Media, Culture & Society*, *33*(5), pp.693-708.
Carragee, K.M. and Roefs, W., 2004.The neglect of power in recent framing research. *Journal of communication*, *54*(2), pp.214-233.
Carroll, C.E., 2004. *How the mass media influence perceptions of corporate reputation: Exploring agenda-setting effects within business news coverage* (Doctoral dissertation).
Castells, M., 2009.Communication power. In Freedman, D., 2015.Paradigms of media power. *Communication, Culture & Critique*, *8*(2), pp.273-289.
Cawood, F.T. and O.P. Oshokoya (2013). Resource nationalism in the South African mineral sector: Sanity through stability. In: The Journal of the Southern African Institute of Mining and Metallurgy. 113(1), pp. 45-52.
Chandler, D. 2000. *Marxist Media Theory* http://www.aber.ac.uk/media/Documents/marxism/marxism14.html. [Accessed November 15, 2014].
Chang, R., Hevia, C. and Loayza, N., 2010. *Privatization and nationalization cycles* (No. w16126).National Bureau of Economic Research.
Chiumbu, S.H., 2014. 'The world is our community': Rethinking community radio in the digital age. *Journal of African Media Studies*, *6*(3), pp.249-264.
Chiumbu, S., 2015. Social movements, media practices and radical democracy in South Africa.
Chiumbu, S., 2016. Media, Race and Capital: A Decolonial Analysis of Representation of Miners' Strikes in South Africa. *African Studies*, *75*(3), pp.417-435.
Chomsky, N., 1992. *Deterring democracy*. Macmillan.
Christians, C. (1999). The Common Good as First Principal. In Glasser, T (red), The Idea of Public Journalism (pp. 67-84) New York: The Guildford Press.
Chuma, W., 2012.Framing the Cape Town World Cup stadium in the media: The politics of identity and sports in South Africa. *Journal of African Media Studies*, *4*(3), pp.315-329.

Coetzee, C. 2010. The proposed nationalisation of mines in South Africa – A critical Assessment in Lazare, R.L., 2012. *Nationalisation and the perceived consequences for a gold mine* (Doctoral dissertation, North-West University). London: George Allen and Uwin.

Coleman, R. and Wasike, B., 2004. Visual elements in public journalism newspapers in an election: A content analysis of the photographs and graphics in campaign 2000. *Journal of communication*, *54*(3), pp.456-473.

Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU),.Brief history of COSATU. Available at: http://www.cosatu.org.za/show.php?ID=925 [Accessed June,06, 2014].

Conrad, L., 2005. A structuration analysis of accounting systems and systems of accountability in the privatised gas industry. *Critical perspectives on accounting*, *16*(1), pp.1-26.

Cook, T.E., 1998. *Governing with the news: The news media as a political institution*.University of Chicago Press.

Cottle, S., 2009. Journalism studies: coming of (global) age?. *Journalism*, *10*(3), p.309.

Croteau, D.R. and Hoynes, W., 2002. Media/Society: Industries, Images and Audiences.

Croteau, D. and Hoynes, W. 2006. 'The Business of Media: Corporate Media and Public Interest'. California: Pine Forge Press.

Crotty, J.R., 1993. Rethinking Marxian investment theory: Keynes-Minsky instability, competitive regime shifts and coerced investment. *Review of Radical Political Economics*, *25*(1), pp.1-26.

Croucamp, P.A and Malan, L.P. 2012 Political risk assessment for South Africa with reference to the public discourse on the nationalisation of mines http://hdl.handle.net/2263/17722. [Accessed November13, 2012]

Crowley, P., 2013. *Mobilizing Insurgent Pasts Toward Decolonial Futures* (Doctoral dissertation, The University of Western Ontario).

Curran, C.J., 1979. *A seamless robe: broadcasting, philosophy, and practice*. HarperCollins.

Curran, J. ed., 2000. *Media organisations in society*. Arnold

Curran, J., 2002. *Media and power*. Psychology Press.

Curran, J., Gurevitch, M. and Woollacott, J., 1982. The study of the media: Theoretical approaches. *Culture, society and the media*, pp.11-29.

Dahl, Ö., 1985. Tense and aspect systems.In Held, D., 2006. *Models of democracy*. Polity

Daniels, G., 2013. State of the newsroom South Africa 2013.Disruptions and transitions.

DCU School of Communication (2009).Reading the Developing World.A Content Analysis of Irish Print Media Coverage. Final Report. Dublin: Dublin City University.

De Beer, A.S. (ed.) (2000) 'Focus on media and racism', special edition, *Ecquid*-Novi 21(2):280.

——(2002) 'The South African press. No strangers to conflict', in E.Gilboa (ed.) *Media and Conflict. Framing Issues, Making Policy, Shaping Opinions,* Ardsley, NY: Transnational Publishers, 263–80.

Dell'Orto, G., Dong, D., Schneeweis, A. and Moore, J., 2004. The impact of framing on perception of foreign countries. *Ecquid Novi: African Journalism Studies*, *25*(2), pp.294-312.De Lissovoy, N., 2010. Decolonial pedagogy and the ethics of the global. *Discourse: Studies in the cultural politics of education*, *31*(3), pp.279-293.

Denzin, N.K., 1978. *Sociological methods: A sourcebook*. McGraw-Hill Companies.

Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S., 1998. Methods of collecting and analyzing empirical materials.InBrennen, B., 2012. *Qualitative research methods for media studies*.Routledge.

De Vreese, C.H., 2005. News framing: Theory and typology. *Information design journal+ document design*, *13*(1), pp.51-62.

Draper, H., 2011. *Karl Marx's Theory of Revolution III* (Vol. 2). Aakar Books for South Asia.

Dreier, P. and Weinberg, S., 1979. Journalism has a problem: newspapers share directors with the institutions they cover. *Columbia Journalism Review*, *18*(4), p.51.
Dube, B., 2013. *Challenges for journalism education and training in a transforming society: a case study of three selected institutions in post-1994 South Africa* (Doctoral dissertation, Stellenbosch: Stellenbosch University).
Dunaway, J., 2013. Media ownership and story tone in campaign news. *American Politics Research*, *41*(1), pp.24-53.
Duncan, J., 2003. *Another journalism is possible: Critical challenges for the media in South Africa*. Durban: Centre for Civil Society.
Duncan, J. 2009 The uses and abuses of political economy: the ANC's media policy. *Transformation.*
Duncan, J., 2011. The print media transformation dilemma. *New South African Review*, *2*, pp.345-368.
Duncan, J., 2012. Marikana and the problem of pack journalism. *SABC News Online*.
Duncan, J. 2013. "South African Journalism and the Marikana Massacre: A Case Study of an Editorial Failure." The Political Economy of the Media 1 (2): 65–88. http://www.polecom.org/index.php/polecom/article/view/22/198.
Duncan, J., 2014. South African journalism and the Marikana massacre: A case study of an editorial failure. *The Political Economy of Communication*, *1*(2).
Du Plessis, S., 2011. *Nationalizing South African Mines: Back to a prosperous future, or down a rabbit hole* (No. 17/2011).
Economic Freedom Fighters.On Nationalisation. Available at: http://effighters.org.za/policy/nationalisation-of-mines/ [Accessed December, 11, 2016]
Edigheji, O., 2007. Rethinking South Africa's Development Path: Reflections on the ANC's.
Edigheji, O., 2010. Constructing a democratic developmental state in South Africa: Potentials and challenges. *Constructing a democratic developmental state in South Africa. Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council*, pp.1-33.
Ekman, M., 2012.Understanding Accumulation: The Relevance of Marx's Theory of Primitive Accumulation in Media and Communication Studies. *tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique. Open Access Journal for a Global Sustainable Information Society*, *10*(2), pp.156-170.
Ekman, P., Friesen, W.V. and Ellsworth, P., 1972. Emotion in the human face: Guidelines for research and a review of findings. *New York. Permagon*.
Entman, R.M., 1991. Symposium framing US coverage of international news: Contrasts in narratives of the KAL and Iran air incidents. *Journal of communication*, *41*(4), pp.6-27.
Entman, R.M., 1993. Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of communication*, *43*(4), pp.51-58.
Entman, R.M. and Rojecki, A., 1993. Freezing out the public: Elite and media framing of the US anti-nuclear movement.
Epstein, E.J., 1973. *News from nowhere: Television and the news*. In Schudson, M., 1989.The sociology of news production. *Media, culture and society*, *11*(3), pp.263-282.
Erdogan, İ. 2012. "Missing Marx: The Place of Marx in Current Communication Research and the Place of Communication in Marx's Work." tripleC 10 (2): 349–91.
Escobar, A., 2007. Worlds and knowledges otherwise 1: The Latin American modernity/coloniality research program. *Cultural studies*, *21*(2-3), pp.179-210.
Escobar, A. and Mignolo, W., 2010. Globalization and the decolonial option. *London & New York: Routledge*.
Esping-Andersen, Gosta. 1990. De-Commodification in Social Policy. In The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism, 35-54.In Nixon, B., 2012.Dialectical method and the critical political

economy of culture. *tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique. Open Access Journal for a Global Sustainable Information Society*, *10*(2), pp.439-456.
Evans, P., 2010. Constructing the 21st century developmental state: potentialities and pitfalls. *Constructing a democratic developmental state in South Africa: Potentials and challenges*, pp.37-58.
Ewen, Stuart (1976), Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company.
Ewen, S., 1988. All consuming images.
Fairclough, N., 2005. Peripheral vision discourse analysis in organization studies: The case for critical realism. *Organization studies*, *26*(6), pp.915-939.
Fanon, F. 1963.The wretched of the earth.
Farhi, P., 2009. The Twitter explosion: whether they are reporting about it, finding sources on it or urging viewers, listeners and readers to follow them on it, journalists just can't seem to get enough of the social networking service. Just how effective is it as a journalism tool?. *American journalism review*, *31*(3), pp.26-32.
Fedderke, J. and Pirouz, F., 2000. *The role of mining in the South African economy*.University of the Witwatersrand.
Fine, B., 2008. The Minerals-Energy Complex is dead: long live the MEC?.
Fine, B., 2013. Beyond the Developmental State: An Introduction. In B. Fine, J. Saraswati, & D. Tavasci, eds. Beyond the Developmental State: Industrial Policy into the 21st Century. London: Pluto, pp. 1–32. Available at: http://eprints.soas.ac.uk/15990/ [Accessed March 17, 2016].
Fisher, R., (2013) Media transformation: Still a difficult issue, after all these years | Daily Maverick. Available at: https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2013-10-20-media-transformation-still-a-difficult-issue-after-all-these-years/#.WGTnjlN97X4 [Accessed December 29, 2016].
Fisherman, M., 1980.Manufacturing the News.In Schudson, M., 1989.The sociology of news production. *Media, culture and society*, *11*(3), pp.263-282.
Flew, T., 2007. *Understanding global media*. Palgrave Macmillan.
Flores, F.P., Cunha Filho, C.M. and Coelho, A.L., 2012 Democratic theory, representation and participatory institutions in Bolivia, Ecuador and Venezuela.
Fourie, P., 1994. Post apartheid South African media and development.
Fourie, P.J., 2008. Ubuntuism as a framework for South African media practice and performance: Can it work?. *Communication: South African Journal for Communication Theory and Research*, *34*(1), pp.53-79.
Freedman, D. (2008).The Politics of Media Policy. Cambridge: Polity Press
Freedman, D., 2015.Paradigms of media power. *Communication, Culture & Critique*, *8*(2), pp.273-289.
Frye, I., Farred, G., Nojekwa, L. (2010). Inequality in South Africa.Downloaded on http://www.osisa.org/sites/default/files/sup_files/chapter_4_-_south_africa.pdf.Accessed 29 August 2011.
Fuchs, C., 2009. Some theoretical foundations of critical media studies: Reflections on Karl Marx and the media. *International Journal of Communication*, *3*, p.34.
Fuchs, C., 2010. Alternative media as critical media. *European journal of social theory*, *13*(2), pp.173-192.
Fuchs, Christian. 2011. Foundations of Critical Media and Information Studies.In Nixon, B., 2012.Dialectical method and the critical political economy of culture. *tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique. Open Access Journal for a Global Sustainable Information Society*, *10*(2), pp.439-456.

Fuchs, C. and Mosco, V., 2012. Marx is back–The importance of Marxist theory and research for Critical Communication Studies today: Special issue of: tripleC–Open Access Journal for a Global Sustainable Information Society 10 (2): 127-632.
Gamson, W.A., 1992. *Talking politics*. Cambridge University Press.
Gamson, W. A., & Modigliani, A. (1987).The changing culture of affirmative action.In R. G. Braungart & M. M. Braungart (Eds.), Research in political sociology (Vol. 3, pp. 137–177). Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.
Gans, H.J., 1979. *Deciding what news: a study of CBS evening news, NBC nightly news, Newsweek, and Time*.Pantheon Books.
Gans, H.J., 1980. Deciding what's news: a study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time.
Garcia, M.R. and Stark, P., 1991. Eyes on the news, St. *Petersburg, FL: The Pointer Institute for Media Studies*.
Garland, C. and Harper, S., 2012. Did somebody say neoliberalism? On the uses and limitations of a critical concept in media and communication studies.tripleC: Cognition, Communication, Co-operation, 10 (2), 413–424.
Garnham, N., 1979. Contribution to a political economy of mass-communication. *Media, Culture & Society*, *1*(2), pp.123-146.
Giroux, H.A., 2011. *On critical pedagogy*.Bloomsbury Publishing USA.
Gitlin, T. (1980). The Whole World is Watching. Mass Media in the Making and Unmaking of the New Left. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
Gitlin, T., 1983. Inside Prime Time (New York. *Pantheon*, *12*.
Glasgow University Media Group. (1976). Bad news. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
Glasgow University Media Group. (1980). More bad news. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
Glenn, I. and Mattes, R., 2011. *Political communication in post-apartheid South Africa* (No. 299).Working Paper.
Gramsci, A., 1971. Selectionsfrom the prison notebooks. *and trans. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith. New York: International*.
Grosfoguel, R., 2002. Colonial difference, geopolitics of knowledge, and global coloniality in the modern/Colonial capitalist world-system. *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)*, pp.203-224.
Grosfoguel, R., 2007. The Epistemic Decolonial Turn: Beyond Political-Economy Paradigms 1. *Cultural studies*, *21*(2-3), pp.211-223.
Grosfoguel, R., 2011. Decolonizing post-colonial studies and paradigms of political-economy: Transmodernity, decolonial thinking, and global coloniality. *Transmodernity: Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World*, *1*(1).
Guardian 2010.South Africa good newspaper walkout. http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/oct/20/south-africa-good-news-paper-walkout. Accessed 20 September 2012
Gurevitch, M., Bennett, T., Curran, J. and Woollacott, J. eds., 1982. *Culture, society and the media* (pp. 56-90). London: Methuen.
Hadland, A., 2007. State-media relations in post-apartheid South Africa: an application of comparative media systems theory.
Hall, S., Critcher, C., Jefferson, T., Clarke, J.,& Roberts, B. (1978). *Policing the crisis: Mugging, the state and law and order.*London: Macmillan.
Hallin, D.C., 1986. The uncensored war.In Schudson, M., 1989.The sociology of news production. *Media, culture and society*, *11*(3), pp.263-282.
Hallin, D.C., 1992. The passing of the "high modernism" of American journalism. *Journal of Communication*, *42*(3), pp.14-25.

Hallin, D.C. and Mancini, P. eds., 2011. *Comparing media systems beyond the Western world*. Cambridge University Press.

Hansen, A., Cottle, S., Negrine, R. and Newbold, C., 1998.Content analysis.In *Mass communication research methods* (pp. 91-129).Macmillan Education UK.

Harper, S., 2012. *Beyond the Left: The Communist Critique of the Media*. John Hunt Publishing.

Harvey, D., 2002. The Art of Rent: Globalization. *Monopoly and the Commodification of*.

Havens, T., Lotz, A.D. and Tinic, S., 2009. Critical media industry studies: A research approach. *Communication, Culture & Critique*, *2*(2), pp.234-253.

Hebblewhite, W.H.J., 2012. "Means of Communication as Means of Production" Revisited, *tripleC-Open Access Journal for a Global Sustainable Information Society*, V. 10, No. 2, pp. 203-213.

Held, D., 2006. *Models of democracy*.Polity.

Herman, E., 2002. The media and markets in the United States. *The right to tell: the role of mass media in economic development*, pp.61-81.

Herman, E. and Chomsky, N. (1988) Manufacturing Consent: A Political Economy of the Mass Media, New York: Pantheon.

Herman, E.S. and Chomsky, N. (2002).*Manufacturing consent: The political economy of the mass media*. New York: Pantheon.

Herman, E. and McChesney, R. (1997) *The Global Media*, London: Cassell.

Hermida, A., Fletcher, F., Korell, D. and Logan, D., 2012. Share, like, recommend: Decoding the social media news consumer. *Journalism Studies*, *13*(5-6), pp.815-824.

Hesmondhalgh, D. (2002). The cultural industries. London: Sage.

Hesmondhalgh, D., 2006. Bourdieu, the media and cultural production. *Media, culture & society*, *28*(2), pp.211-231.

Hesmondhalgh, D. 2007. The cultural industries, 2nd ed. London: Sage.

Hesmondhalgh, D., 2009. Politics, theory and method in media industries research.

Holiday, A., 1988. Moral powers: Normative necessity in language and history.

Horkheimer, M., 1972. *Critical theory: Selected essays* (Vol. 1). A&C Black.

Horkheimer, M. and Adorno, T.W., 2002. Dialectic of Enlightenment: Philosophical Fragments, trans. E. Jephcott.

Horwitz, R.B., 2001. *Communication and democratic reform in South Africa*.Cambridge University Press.

Howard, P.N. and Hussain, M.M., 2011. The role of digital media. *Journal of democracy*, *22*(3), pp.35-48.

Iyengar, S. and Kinder, D.R., 1987. News that matters: agenda setting and priming in a television age. *News that Matters: Agenda-Setting and Priming in a Television Age*.

Jacobs, S., 1999. *Tensions of a free press: South Africa after apartheid*. Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University.

Jacobs, S.H., 2004. *Public sphere, power and democratic politics: Media and policy debates in post-apartheid South Africa* (Doctoral dissertation, Birkbeck (University of London)).

Jara, M. 2013. "Critical reflections on the crisis and limits of ANC 'Marxism' " in Michelle Williams and Vishwas Satgar (eds) Marxisms in the Twenty-First Century: Crisis, Critiques and Struggles, University of the Witwatersrand Press 2014

Jaramillo, N., 2011. Dialogic action for critical democracy. *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies*, *9*(1), pp.71-95.

Jhally, S. and Livant, B., 1986.Watching as working: The valorization of audience consciousness. *Journal of communication*, *36*(3), pp.124-143.

Jones, B.D. and Wolfe, M., 2007. Public Policy and the Mass Media: An Information Processing Approach.
Jones, B.D. and Wolfe, M., 2010.2 Public policy and the mass media. *Public Policy and Mass Media*, p.17.
Kariithi, N. and Kareithi, P. (2007). It's off to work you go! A critical discourse analysis of anti-privatisation strike in South Africa in October 2002. Journalism Studies 8:3. pp 465-480.
Kearny, L., 2012. Mining and minerals in South Africa.
Keeton, G. and Beer, M., 2011.MIASA position on state participation in mining. *Report for the Mining Industries Association of Southern Africa (July 2011)*.
Kelley, R.D.G., 1983. Foreword in Robinson, C.J., 1983. *Black Marxism: The making of the Black radical tradition*. Univ of North Carolina Press.
Kellner, D., 1990. *Television and the Crisis of Democracy* in Flew, T., 2007. *Understanding global media*. Palgrave Macmillan.
Kellner, D., 1995. Media communications vs. cultural studies: Overcoming the divide. *Communication Theory*, *5*(2), pp.162-177.
Kentor, J. and Jorgenson, A.K., 2010. Foreign Investment and Development An Organizational Perspective. *International Sociology*, *25*(3), pp.419-441.
Kotzé, K., 2012. THE DEPICTION OF JULIUS MALEMA IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS. *Global Media Journal: African Edition*, *6*(2).
Kupe, T., 2014.Media diversity.In Media landscape 2014 – celebration 20 years of South Africa's media.GCIS, pp.28-37.
Lacher, R.G. and Nepal, S.K., 2010. From leakages to linkages: Local-level strategies for capturing tourism revenue in Northern Thailand. *Tourism Geographies*, *12*(1), pp.77-99.
Larrain, Jorge (1983), "Base and Superstructure," in A Dictionary of Marxist Thought, eds. Tom Bottomore, Laurence Harris, V. G. Kierman, and Ralph Miliband, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 42-45.
Lazare, R.L., 2012. Nationalisation and the perceived consequences for a gold mine (Doctoral dissertation, North-West University). London: George Allen and Uwin.
Lee, R.G. and Murray, J.B., 1995. A framework for critiquing the dysfunctions of advertising: the base-superstructure metaphor. NA-Advances in Consumer Research Volume 22.
Le Pere, G. and Van Nieuwkerk, A., 2006. South Africa and crafting foreign policy in a complex global order: change and continuity. *McGowan, P, Cornelissen, S and P Nel (eds), Power, Wealth and Global Equity: An International Relations Textbook for Africa. Cape Town: UCT Press,*, pp.283-300.
Le Pere, G. and Shelton, G., 2007. *China, Africa and South Africa: South-South co-operation in a global era*. In Wasserman, H., 2012. China in South Africa: media responses to a developing relationship. Chinese Journal of Communication, 5(3), pp.336–354.
Lindblom, C.E., 1977. Politics and markets: The world's political-economic systems.
Lipstadt, D.E., 1986. Beyond Belier The American Press and the Coming of the Holocaust, 1933-1945.
Louw, P.E., 1993a. *South African media policy: Debates of the 1990s* in Steyn, E., 2009. Changed ownership models and trends in the post-aparthied South African media: Efforts towards effective and efficient media transformation.
Louw, P.E., 1993b. The new South African hegemony and the press in Jacobs, S.H., 2004. *Public sphere, power and democratic politics: Media and policy debates in post-apartheid South Africa* (Doctoral dissertation, Birkbeck (University of London).Louw, P.E. and Tomaselli, K.G., 1994. Considerations on the Role of Media and Information in Building a New South Africa. Africa Media Review, 8(2), pp.57-72.
Lovaas, S., 2007. South Africa, media and market. *Media Development*, *54*(4), p.52.

Lynch, S. and Peer, L., 2002. Analyzing newspaper content: A how-to guide, including national comparison data for US daily newspapers. *Readership Institute Media Management Center at Northwestern University, Chicago*.

Lynn, M., Shavitt, S. and Ostrom, T., 1985.Effects of pictures on the organization and recall of social information. *Journal of personality and social psychology*, *49*(5), p.1160.

MacKuen, M.B., 1981. Social communication and the mass policy agenda. *More than news: Media power in public affairs*, pp.19-144.

Macnamara, J.R., 2005. Media content analysis: Its uses, benefits and best practice methodology. *Asia-Pacific Public Relations Journal*, *6*(1), p.1.

Maldonado-Torres, N., 2004. The topology of being and the geopolitics of knowledge: Modernity, empire, coloniality 1. In Chiumbu, S., 2016. Media, Race and Capital: A Decolonial Analysis of Representation of Miners' Strikes in South Africa. *African Studies*, *75*(3), pp.417-435.

Maldonado-Torres, N., 2007. On the coloniality of being: Contributions to the development of a concept 1. *Cultural studies*, *21*(2-3), pp.240-270.

Malikane, C. 2011. Nationalisation of mines – A necessary step toward economic liberation.pdf. Available at: http://transformationaudit.org/blog/wp-content/uploads/2012/02/Opinion-A-necessary-step-towards-economic-liberation.pdf [Accessed May 2, 2012].

Mandela, N.R,. 1994: online in Jacobs, S.H., 2004. *Public sphere, power and democratic politics: Media and policy debates in post-apartheid South Africa* (Doctoral dissertation, Birkbeck (University of London)).

Manning, P., 2001. *News and News Sources: A Critical Introduction*, SAGE.

Martin, M., 1991. *'Hello, central?': Gender, technology, and culture in the formation of telephone systems*. In Mosco, V., 2008.Current trends in the political economy of communication. *Global Media Journal*, *1*(Inaugural Issue), p.45.

Marx, K., 1978. The Marx-Engels Reader, ed. Robert Tucker. *New York: WW Norton & Company*, *484*(781607), p.91.

Marx, K. and Engels, F., 1990. *Karl Marx, Frederick Engels: Collected Works* (Vol. 32). International Publishers.

Mayher, A. and Mcdonald, D.A., 2007. The Print Media in South Africa: Paving the Way for 'Privatisation'. *Review of African Political Economy*, *34*(113), pp.443-460.

McChesney, R.W., 1997. *Corporate media and the threat to democracy* (Vol. 1).Seven Stories Press.

McChesney, R.W., 1999. The new global media: It's a small world of big conglomerates. *NATION-NEW YORK-*, *269*, pp.11-12.

McChesney, R.W., 2000. The political economy of communication and the future of the field. *Media, Culture & Society*, *22*(1), pp.109-116.

McChesney, R.W. and Schiller, D., 2003. *The political economy of international communications: Foundation for the emerging global debate about media ownership and regulation*. United Nations research institute for social development (UNRISD).

McCombs, M.E., 1981. The agenda-setting approach. *Handbook of political communication*, pp.121-140

McCombs, M., 2002, June.The agenda-setting role of the mass media in the shaping of public opinion. In *Mass Media Economics 2002 Conference, London School of Economics: http://sticerd. lse. ac. uk/dps/extra/McCombs. pdf*.

McDonald, D and A Mahyer (2007) 'The print media in South Africa: paving the way for "privatization"', *Review of African Political Economy* 113.

McEwan, C., 2009. *Postcolonialism and development*.London: Routledge.

McManus, J.H., 2009. The commercialization of news. *The handbook of journalism studies*, pp.218-235.
McNair, B., 2001. An Introduction to Political Communication. *emergence*.
McNamara, R.P., 1999. The socialization of the police. *Police and policing: Contemporary issues*, pp.1-14.
McQuail, D., 1977. The influence and effects of mass media. *Mass communication and society*, pp.70-94.
Mde, V. & Brown, K., 2016. Media freedom cannot be divorced from transformation | IOL. Available at: http://www.iol.co.za/the-star/media-freedom-cannot-be-divorced-from-transformation-2019235 [Accessed December 21, 2016].
Media Development and Diversity Agency (MDDA)., (2000). *A draft position paper*. Available at: http://www.gcis.gov.za/docs/act_bill/mddapos.htm [Accessed June, 27, 2014].
Media Development and Diversity Agency (2009) *Trends of ownership and control of media in South Africa.*Research report produced by Z-Coms 30 April.
MediaClubSouthAfrica.com., The Media in South Africa. Available at: http://mediaclub.co.za/visitsa/36-themedia/mediabg/110-the-media-in-south-africa [Accessed August, 13, 2013].
Meier, W.A., 2000. Media ownership–Does it matter?. *Meir cites Bagdikian*, p.300.
Michie, J. and Padayachee, V., 1998. Three years after apartheid: growth, employment and redistribution?. *Cambridge Journal of Economics*, *22*(5), pp.623-636.
Mignolo, W.D., 2007. Introduction: Coloniality of power and de-colonial thinking. *Cultural Studies*, *21*(2-3), pp.155-167.
Mignolo, W.D., 2007. Introduction: Coloniality of power and de-colonial thinking. In Chiumbu, S., 2016. Media, Race and Capital: A Decolonial Analysis of Representation of Miners' Strikes in South Africa. *African Studies*, *75*(3), pp.417-435.
Mignolo, W.D., 2009. Epistemic disobedience, independent thought and decolonial freedom. *Theory, Culture & Society*, *26*(7-8), pp.159-181.
Mignolo, W., 2011a. Epistemic disobedience and the decolonial option: A manifesto. *Transmodernity: Journal of Peripheral Cultural Production of the Luso-Hispanic World*, *1*(2).
Mignolo, W.D., 2011b. Geopolitics of sensing and knowing: on (de) coloniality, border thinking and epistemic disobedience. *Postcolonial studies*, *14*(3), pp.273-283.
Mignolo, W.D. and Wannamaker, W.H., 2011. Decoloniality after Decolonization and Dewesternization after the Cold War.WORLD PUBLIC FORUM "DIALOGUE OF CIVILIZATIONS".
Miliband, R., 1973. The State in Capitalist Society (London, 1969). *MilibandThe State in Capitalist Society1969*.
Miller, T., Lawrence, G., McKay, J. and Rowe, D. (2001) Globalization and Sport: Playing the World. London: Sage.
Mohamed, S., 2010.The effect of a mainstream approach to economic and corporate governance on development in South Africa. *List of tables and figures v Preface vii Abbreviations and acronyms ix 1 Constructing a democratic developmental state in South Africa: potentials and challenges*, p.149.
Monzó, L.D. and McLaren, P., 2014. Critical Pedagogy and the Decolonial Option: challenges to the inevitability of capitalism. *Policy Futures in Education*, *12*(4), pp.513-525.
Mosco, V., 1996. *The political economy of communication: Rethinking and renewal* (Vol. 13). Sage.
Mosco, V., 2008.Current trends in the political economy of communication. *Global Media Journal*, *1*(Inaugural Issue), p.45.

Mosco, V., 2009. *The political economy of communication: Rethinking and renewal* (2nd ed). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Moyo, D., 2012. Mediating crisis: Realigning media policy and deployment of propaganda in Zimbabwe, 2000–2008. *Crisis! What Crisis? The Multiple Dimensions of the Zimbabwean Crisis*, pp.176-198.
Moyo, L., 2010. Language, Cultural and Communication Rights of Ethnic Minorities in South Africa A Human Rights Approach. *International Communication Gazette*, *72*(4-5), pp.425-440.
Mpofu, A. 1996.The Role of the Public Broadcaster in a Future South Africa.Broadcasting Policy Research: Framework Report.In Steyn, E., 2009.Changed ownership models and trends in the post-aparthied South African media: Efforts towards effective and efficient media transformation.
Muller, J. (1989/1987), 'Press houses at war: A brief history of Nasionale Pers and Perskor', in: K. Tomaselli, R. Tomaselli and J. Muller (eds), The Press in South Africa, London: James Currey, pp. 118–40.
Murdock, G., 1973. Political deviance: the press presentation of a militant mass demonstration. InSchudson, M., 1989.The sociology of news production. *Media, culture and society*, *11*(3), pp.263-282.
Murdock, G., 1982. Large corporations and the control of the communications industries. *Culture, society and the media*, pp.118-150.
Murdock, G. (1990) "Redrawing the Map of the Communication Industries," in Marjorie Ferguson (ed.), Public Communication: The New Imperatives, Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, pp. 1-15.
Murdock, G. and Golding, P., 1973. For a political economy of mass communications. *Socialist register*, *10*(10).
Murdock, G. and Golding, P., 1974. Towards a political economy of the media. In Wasko, J., 2005.Critiquing Hollywood: The political economy of motion pictures. *A concise handbook of movie industry economics*, pp.5-31
Murdock, G., & Golding, P. (2005).Culture, communications and political economy.In J. Curran & M.
National Association of Broadcasters., 2009. NAB Report on the Future of TV and Levy Proposal - Television Landscape to 2014. Available at: http://www.nab.org.za/resources/entry/nab-report-on-the-future-of-tv-and-levy-proposal-television-landscape-to-20 [Accessed July 2, 2016].
Nattrass, N. & Seekings, J. (2001). Two Nations? Race and Economic Inequality in South Africa Today‖. Daedalus, 130(1), 45-70.
Ndlovu-Gatsheni, S.J., 2012. Fiftieth Anniversary of Decolonisation in Africa: a moment of celebration or critical reflection?. *Third World Quarterly*, *33*(1), pp.71-89.
Neuman, W. L. (2000). Social research methods (4th ed.). London: Allyn & Bacon.
Neuman, W.R., Just, M.R. and Crigler, A.N., 1992. *Common knowledge: News and the construction of political meaning*. University of Chicago Press.
Nixon, B., 2012. Dialectical method and the critical political economy of culture. *tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique. Open Access Journal for a Global Sustainable Information Society*, *10*(2), pp.439-456.
Noelle-Neumann E. 2015. Pesquisa eleitoral e clima de opinião.Opinião pública. 2015 Oct 13;1(2):1-8.
Nordenstreng, K., 2013. How the new world order and imperialism challenge media studies. *tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique. Open Access Journal for a Global Sustainable Information Society*, *11*(2), pp.348-358.
Nyman, R. 1997. "Labour Reform: Addressing women's needs?". In Agenda. No 35, Pp 6-18.

Nyman, R. 2001. “Glabalisation and the South African economy – does it benefit the working class?” In Newman, N., Pape, J. and Jansen, H. eds., 2001. *Is there an alternative?: South African workers confronting globalisation*. ILRIG.
Nzimande, B., 2007. The ethos of Black Economic Empowerment. *Marcus, G.*
Ogenga, F.O., 2010. *The Misrepresentation of the Zimbabwean Crisis by South African Weeklies* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Witwatersrand‖ Johannesburg).
Olsen, W., 2004. Triangulation in social research: qualitative and quantitative methods can really be mixed. *Developments in sociology*, *20*, pp.103-118.
O'neill, D. and O’Connor, C., 2008. The passive journalist: How sources dominate local news. *Journalism Practice*, *2*(3), pp.487-500.
Paivio, A. and Csapo, K., 1973. Picture superiority in free recall: Imagery or dual coding?. *Cognitive psychology*, *5*(2), pp.176-206.
Palys T. Purposive sampling.The Sage encyclopedia of qualitative research methods. 2008;2:697-8.
Pan, Z. and Kosicki, G.M., 1993. Framing analysis: An approach to news discourse. *Political communication*, *10*(1), pp.55-75.
Paul, R. and Elder, L., 2006. *Critical thinking: Learn the tools the best thinkers use*. Pearson/Prentice Hall.
Pauly, J.J., 1991.A beginner's guide to doing qualitative research in mass communication. *Journalism and Communication Monographs*, *125*.
Picard, R.G., 2004. Commercialism and Newspaper Quality. *Newspaper Research Journal*, *25*(1).
Pinnock, S., 2010. Review of Richard Grigg, Gods after God: An Introduction to Contemporary Radical Theologies Albany: SUNY Press, 2006. ISBN 0-7914-6640-X, pp. xi+ 173.
Prodnik, J., 2012. A note on the ongoing processes of commodification: from the audience commodity to the social factory. *tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique. Open Access Journal for a Global Sustainable Information Society*, *10*(2), pp.274-301.
Quijano, A., 1993. Modernity, identity, and utopia in Latin America. *boundary 2*, *20*(3), pp.140-155.
Quijano, A., 2000. Coloniality of power and Eurocentrism in Latin America. *International Sociology*, *15*(2), pp.215-232.
Quijano, A., 2007. Coloniality and modernity/rationality. *Cultural studies*, *21*(2-3), pp.168-178.
Radebe, M.J., 2007. *The coverage of industrial action by the Mail & Guardian, 1999-2004* (MA dissertation).
Reese, S.D., 2001. Understanding the global journalist: A hierarchy-of-influences approach. *Journalism Studies*, *2*(2), pp.173-187.
Rice, P.L. and Ezzy, D., 1999. *Qualitative research methods: A health focus* (Vol. 720). In Boyd, I., 2015.Being Heard: A Thematic Analysis of the Newspaper Media Response to the Jay Report and the Rotherham Child Abuse Scandal.
Robinson, C.J., 1983. *Black Marxism: The making of the Black radical tradition*. Univ of North Carolina Press.
Rodny-Gumede, Y., 2015. An assessment of the public interest and ideas of the public in South Africa and the adoption of ubuntu journalism. *Journal of Media Ethics*, *30*(2), pp.109-124.
Rothkopf, D. (1999) ‘The disinformation age’, Foreign Policy 114(spring): 83–97.
Roussos, M., 1990.The place of nationalisation in the economic policy of the ANC. *Investment Analysts Journal*, *19*(33), pp.49-56.
Rumney, R., 2014. The Big Four: shaping the South African media landscape, and beyond: 20 years of democracy. *Rhodes Journalism Review*, *2014*(34), pp.11-12.
Rumney, R., 2015. 20 Years of changes in media ownership: journalism now.

Sadoski, M. and Paivio, A., 2001.Imagery and text. *A Dual Coding Theory of Reading and Writing.Mahwah.Tobias Heinz/Jana Pflaeging*, *252*.
Satgar, V. and Williams, M., 2013. *Marxisms in the 21st century: crisis, critique & struggle*. Wits University Press.
Scheufele, D.A., 1999. Framing as a theory of media effects. *Journal of communication*, *49*(1), pp.103-122.
Scheufele, D.A. and Tewksbury, D., 2007. Framing, agenda setting, and priming: The evolution of three media effects models. *Journal of communication*, *57*(1), pp.9-20.
Schiller, H.I. (1989) Culture, Inc.: The Corporate Takeover of Public Expression. New York: Oxford University Press.
Schiller, H.I., 1996. *Information inequality: The deepening social crisis in America*. Psychology Press.
Schnell, K.C.F., 2001. Assessing the democratic debate: How the news media frame elite policy discourse. *Political communication*, *18*(2), pp.183-213.
Schudson, M., 1989.The sociology of news production. *Media, culture and society*, *11*(3), pp.263-282.
Scott Lovaas, S., 2007. South Africa, media and market in Alfonzo, A., Macharia, S., Mitchell, J., Ohnuki-Tierney, E., Florin, H.W., Thompson, A., Azurduy, C.A.C., McNair, B., Pihl, K., Terzis, G. and Pomeroy, D., Media DevelopmentVol LIV 4/2007.
Seekings, J and N Natrass (2005) *Class, Race and Inequality in South Africa.*New York: Yale University Press.
Semetko, H.A. and Valkenburg, P.M., 2000. Framing European politics: A content analysis of press and television news. *Journal of communication*, *50*(2), pp.93-109.
Shah, A., 2009. Media conglomerates, mergers, concentration of ownership. *Global Issues*.
Shoemaker, P.J., 1991. Communication Concepts 3: Gatekeeping. *Newsbury Park*
Shoemaker, P.J., Eichholz, M., Kim, E. and Wrigley, B., 2001.Individual and routine forces in gatekeeping. *Journalism & mass communication quarterly*, *78*(2), pp.233-246.
Shoemaker, P.J. and Reese, S.D., 1991.Mediating the massage. *Theories of influ*.
Shoemaker, P.J. and Reese, S.D. 1996.*Mediating the Message: Theories of Influences on Mass Media Content*. Longman Publishers USA
Sigal, Leon, V. (1986) 'Sources Make the News' in Robert Karl Mannoff and Michael
Silverman, D., 1993. Interpreting qualitative data: Strategies for analysing talk, text and interaction.
Slovo, J., 1988. *The South African working class and the national democratic revolution*.South African Communist Party.
Smart, J.G., 1981. Information Control, Thought Control: Whitelaw Reid and the Nation's News Services. *The Public Historian*, *3*(2), pp.23-42.
Smith, A., The Wealth of Nations (1776). In Wasko, J., 2005.Critiquing Hollywood: The political economy of motion pictures. *A concise handbook of movie industry economics*, pp.5-31
Smythe, D.W., 1977. Communications: blindspot of western Marxism. *CTheory*, *1*(3), pp.1-27.
Smythe, Dallas. 1978. Rejoinder to Graham Murdock. In Nixon, B., 2012.Dialectical method and the critical political economy of culture. *tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique. Open Access Journal for a Global Sustainable Information Society*, *10*(2), pp.439-456.
Smythe, D.W. (2006 [1981]) 'On the Audience Commodity and its Work', pp. 230–56 in M.G. Durham and D.M. Kellner (eds) Media and Cultural Studies. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
Sokupa, T., 2014. The ANC Youth League: Lost in the High Seas?.

Soroka, S.N., Farnsworth, S.J., Young, L. and Lawlor, A., 2009. Environment and energy policy: Comparing reports from US and Canadian television news. In *APSA 2009 Toronto Meeting Paper*.
South African Communist Party (SACP). Undated. What to do about the media - SACP - NEWS & ANALYSIS | Politicsweb. Available at: http://www.politicsweb.co.za/news-and-analysis/what-to-do-about-the-media--sacp [Accessed December 29, 2016].
South African Communist Party (SACP). 1997. Build socialism now. Available at: http://www.sacp.org.za/10thcongress/build.html [Accessed December 17, 2016].
South African History Online. Undated, government of national unity. Available at: www.sahistory.org.za/article/south-african-constitution-grade-12[Accessed June, 17, 2013]
South African Human Rights Commission, 2000. *Faultlines: Inquiry into racism in the media*. SAHRC.
Southall, R., 2007. Ten propositions about black economic empowerment in South Africa. *Review of African Political Economy*, *34*(111), pp.67-84.
Sparks, C., 2007. Extending and refining the propaganda model. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*, *4*(2).
Sparks, C., 2009.South African media in transition. *Journal of African Media Studies*, *1*(2), pp.195-220.
Spitzer, R.J., 1993. Introduction: defining the media-policy link. *Media and Public Policy, Westport, CT, USA: Praeger*, pp.1-15.
Srivastav, P., 2015. Nationalization: Advantages and Disadvantages of Nationalization. Important India. Available at: http://www.importantindia.com/15749/nationalization/ [Accessed June 03, 2016].
Steenveld, L., 2010. Media and race. *Media Studies: Policy, management and media representation*, *2*, p.277.
Steenveld, L., 2012. The pen and the sword: Media transformation and democracy after apartheid. *Ethical Space*, *9*(2/3), pp.125-140.
Steger, M. (2003). Globalization: A Very Short Introduction. In Flew, T., 2007. *Understanding global media*. Palgrave Macmillan.
Steinar, K., 1996. Interviews: An introduction to qualitative research interviewing. *Studentlitteratur, Lund*, *8*.
Steyn, E., 2009. Changed ownership models and trends in the post-aparthied South African media: Efforts towards effective and efficient media transformation.
Stiglitz, J., 2002. Transparency in government. *The Right to Tell*, p.27
Switzer, L. ed., 1997. *South Africa's alternative press: Voices of protest and resistance, 1880-1960*. Cambridge University Press.
Teer-Tomaselli, R., 2008. National public service broadcasting: Contradictions and dilemmas. *Power, Politics and Identity in South African Media, éd.préparée par Adrian Hadland, Eric Louw, Simphiwe Sesanti et Herman Wasserman. South Africa: HSRC Press*, pp.73-103.
Teer-Tomaselli, R. and Tomaselli, G.K. 2001.Transformation, Nation-Building and the South African Media. In Media, Democracy and Renewal in Southern Africa, edited by K. Tomaselli and H. Dunn. New Jersey: Transaction.
Thompson, P., 2009. Market manipulation?Applying the propaganda model to financial media reporting. *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*, *6*(2).
Tlostanova, M. and Mignolo, W., 2009. Global coloniality and the decolonial option. *Kult*, *6*(Special Issue), pp.130-147.Tomaselli, K.G., 1995. The Marxist legacy in media and cultural studies: implications for Africa. *Africa Media Review*, *9*, pp.1-31.

Tomaselli, K., 1997. Ownership and control in the South African print media: black empowerment after apartheid, 1990–1997. *Ecquid Novi*, *18*(1), pp.67-68.
Tomaselli, K, 2004. Transformation of the South African media. Critical Arts: A Journal of South-North Cultural and Media Studies, 18: 1–6.
Tomaselli, K., Tomaselli, R. and Muller, J., 1989. The construction of news in the South African media. *The Press in South Africa, London: James Currey*, pp.22-38.
Triegaardt, J.D., 2006. Reflections on poverty and inequality in South Africa: Policy considerations in an emerging democracy. *Development Bank of Southern Africa, Research Paper.Midrand*.
Tuchman, G., 1976. The news' manufacture of sociological data. InSchudson, M., 1989.The sociology of news production. *Media, culture and society*, *11*(3), pp.263-282.
Tuchman, G. 1978. Making News.A Study in the Construction of Reality. New York: The Free Press.
Tuchman, G., 2002. The production of news. *A handbook of media and communication research: Qualitative and quantitative methodologies*, pp.78-90.
Turow, J., 1992. The organizational underpinnings of contemporary media conglomerates. *Communication Research*, *19*(6), pp.682-704.
Vail, J., 2010. Decommodification and egalitarian political economy. Politics & Society 38, 310e346
Van der Walt, B.J., 1994. *The liberating message: a Christian worldview for Africa* (No. 44). Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education, Institute for Reformational Studies.
Van Dijk, T.A., 1989. Mediating racism: The role of the media in the reproduction of racism. *Language, power and ideology: Studies in political discourse*, pp.199-226.
Van Dijk, T.A. (1991) Racism and the Press. London: Routledge
Van Dijk, T.A., 1995. Power and the news media. *Political communication and action*, pp.9-36.
Van Dijk, T.A., 1996. Discourse, power and access. *Texts and practices: Readings in critical discourse analysis*, pp.84-104.
Van Dijk, T. A. (2009). Critical discourse studies: A sociocognitive approach. *Methods of critical discourse analysis*, *2*, 62-86.
Vázquez, R., 2012. Towards a decolonial critique of modernity. Buen Vivir, relationality and the task of listening. *Capital, Poverty, Development, Denktraditionen im Dialog: Studien zur Befreiung und interkulturalität*, *33*, pp.241-252.
Wahl-Jorgensen, K. and Hanitzsch, T. eds., 2009. *The handbook of journalism studies*.Routledge.
Walsh, C., 2007. Shifting the geopolitics of critical knowledge: Decolonial thought and cultural studies 'others' in the Andes. *Cultural studies*, *21*(2-3), pp.224-239.
Walt, G., 1994. Health policy: an introduction to process and power. London Zed Books

Wanta, W., 1988. The effects of dominant photographs: An agenda-setting experiment. *Journalism Quarterly*, *65*(1), pp.107-111.
Wasko, J., 2005. Critiquing Hollywood: The political economy of motion pictures. *A concise handbook of movie industry economics*, pp.5-31.
Wasserman, H., 2006a. Globalized Values and Postcolonial Responses South African Perspectives on Normative Media Ethics. *International Communication Gazette*, *68*(1), pp.71-91.
Wasserman, H. 2006b. 'Redefining media ethics in the postcolonial context: contending frameworks in the South African media', in A Olorunnisola (ed) *Media in South Africa after Apartheid: a cross-media assessment.* New York: Edwin Mellen Press.

Wasserman, H., 2012. China in South Africa: media responses to a developing relationship. Chinese Journal of Communication, 5(3), pp.336–354. Available at: http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17544750.2012.701428 [Accessed June 15, 2014].
Wasserman, H., 2013. Journalism in a new democracy: The ethics of listening. *Communicatio*, *39*(1), pp.67-84.
Wasserman, H. and de Beer, A.S., 2005a. A fragile affair: The relationship between the mainstream media and government in post-apartheid South Africa. *Journal of Mass Media Ethics*, *20*(2-3), pp.192-208.
Wasserman, H. & De Beer, A. 2005b. Whose public? Whose interest? The South African media and its role during the first ten years of democracy.*Critical Arts*, 19(1&2):36-51.
Wasserman, H. and Garman, A., 2012, March. Being South African and belonging: the status and practice of mediated citizenship in a new democracy. In *The 7th Global Conference „Pluralism, Inclusion and Citizenship", Prague, Czech Republic* (pp. 12-14).
Weeks, J., 1999. *Stuck in Low Gear: Macroeconomic Policy in South Africa, 1995-1998*.Department of Economics, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London.
Wikipedia.,Undated a. Black First Land First. Available at: https://en. ia.org/wiki/Black_First_Land_First [Accessed December, 15, 2016]
Wikipedia.,Undated b. Julius Malema. Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org [Accessed July, 19, 2015]
Wikipedia., Undated c. National Party (south africa). Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/national_party_(south_africa) [Accessed November, 19, 2016]
Wikipedia.,Undated d. Sasol Limited. Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saso l [Accessed, April, 6, 2015].
Wikipedia. Undated. The Media Appeals Tribunal . Available at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Media_Appeals_Tribunal [Accessed May, 15, 2012].
Will, F.H. 1965. Fundamentals of layout for newspaper and magazine advertizing, for page design of publications and for brochures. New York: Dover Publications
Williams, G. 2001.'The media still needs ownership regulations.' http://www.opendemocracy.net/media-globalmediaownership/article_602.jsp.Accessed 27 March 2012.
Williams, J.J., 2006. *South Africa's ten years of democracy: development and media discourse.* Routledge
Williams, M., 2008. *The roots of participatory democracy: democratic communists in South Africa and Kerala, India*. Springer.
Williams, M. ed., 2014. *The End of the Developmental State?*.Routledge.
Williams, R., 1977. Marxism and Literature.In Nixon, B., 2012.Dialectical method and the critical political economy of culture. *tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique. Open Access Journal for a Global Sustainable Information Society*, *10*(2), pp.439-456.
Winseck, D. ed., 2011. *The political economies of media: The transformation of the global media industries*. Bloomsbury Publishing.
Winseck, D.R. and Pike, R.M., 2007. *Communication and empire: Media, markets, and globalization, 1860–1930*. In Mosco, V., 2008.Current trends in the political economy of communication. *Global Media Journal*, *1*(Inaugural Issue), p.45.
Wisker, G., 2001. *Sylvia Plath*. Hodder & Stoughton.
Wittel, A., 2012. Digital Marx: Toward a Political Economy of Distributed Media. *tripleC: Communication, Capitalism & Critique. Open Access Journal for a Global Sustainable Information Society*, *10*(2), pp.313-333. Wodak, R. (2011). 3 Critical Discourse Analysis. *Bloomsbury Companion to Discourse Analysis*, 38.

Wood, J.T., 2005. Feminist standpoint theory and muted group theory: Commonalities and divergences. *Women and Language, 28*(2), p.61.
Wood, J.T., 2012. *Gendered Lives*. Cengage Learning.
World Bank Report, 2006.Downloaded on http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTANNREP2K6/Resources/2838485-1158333614345/AR06_final_LO_RES.pdf.[Accessed 11 May 2012].
Wright, Erik Olin and Joel Rogers, American Society: how it really works (New York: W.W. Norton, 2010).
Wylie, A., 2003. Why standpoint matters. *Science and other cultures: Issues in philosophies of science and technology*, pp.26-48.
Yeasmin, S. and Rahman, K.F., 2012. Triangulation 'research method as the tool of social science research. *Bup Journal*, *1*(1), pp.154-163.
Zeleza, P.T., 2008. Dancing with the dragon: Africa's courtship with China. *The Global South*, *2*(2), pp.171-187.
Žizek, S., 2010. Living in the End Times. London: Verso.

## NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

Bloomberg,. (2011) 'Nationalisation will not happen', City Press, 13 March, p.2.
Business Day. 2012a. Bolivia mine nationalised. http://www.bdlive.co.za. [Accessed 20 September 2012].
Business Day. 2012b. Lobby out to nationalise 'strategic' companies. http://www.bdlive.co.za/articles/2012/07/05/lobby-out-to-nationalise-strategic-companies. Accessed 20 September 2012
Business Day. 2012c. Nationalisation debate not done http://businessday.newspaperdirect.com/epaper/viewer.aspx. [Accessed 20 September 2012].
Chauke, A. (2011) 'Nationalisation calls grow', The Times, 04 July, p.4.
Cohen, T. (2011) 'Nationalisation a hot topic for miners', Business Day, 08 February, p.12.
De Waal, M. (2011) 'Manyi vs the media: The ad budget battle begins', Daily Maverick, 13 June. Available at: https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2011-06-13-manyi-vs-the-media-the-ad-budget-battle-begins/#.WGqJeFN97X5 (Accessed 11 February 2012).
Dlamini, K. (2011) 'Nationalisation: Heed the message, not only the medium', Sunday Independent, 10 July, p.16.
Embling, G. (2011) 'Nationalisation is suicidal', The Herald, 13 October, p.20.
Ensor, L. (2011) 'Nationalisation talk costing SA – Shabangu', Business Day, 19 August, p.4.
Greenblo, A. (2011) 'Nationalisation by stealth will happen until mines hit back', The Star, 01 September, p.2.
Jacobs, L. (2011) 'Nationalisation has proved to be distributor of poverty', Business Day, 19 August, p.6.
Joubert, R. (2011) 'Effects of nationalisation talks', Farmers Weekly, 12 August, p.25.
Kamhunga, S. (2011) 'Nationalisation calls 'hurting SA'', Business Day, 22 September, p.2.

Letsoalo, M and Mataboge, M (2013) 'Gatvol NUMSA cuts ties with ANC' *Mail & Guardian*, 20 December.
Louw, L. and Urbach, J. (2011) 'Nationalisation not the way', The Star, 27 July, p.14.
Mabuza, K. (2011) 'NUM wants mines to be nationalised', Sowetan, 15 November, p.4.
Maditla, N. (2011) 'Nationalisation debate 'must be open to all'', Cape Argus, 14 September, p.5.
Marrian, N (2013) 'Cosatu set to push ANC for sweeping changes to NDP's economy chapter', Business Day, 9 July, p.1.
Mataboge, M. (2011) 'Oil together now: Lessons on nationalisation from Norway', Mail&Guardian, 08 September. Available at: http://mg.co.za/article/2011-09-08-oil-together-now-nationalisation-lessons-from-norway/ (Accessed 05 August 2014).
Matomela, D. (2011) 'Nationalisation debate goes on', Sunday Independent, 20 November, p.21.
Matomela, D., Buthelezi, L. and Crotty, A. (2011) 'Mine nationalisation debate evokes mixed bag of reaction', The Star, 09 February, p.17.
Mthombothi, B. (2011) 'Muddled messages', Financial Mail, 11 March, p.8.
Mtimde, L., 2016. Media Freedom: SA needs a free, accountable, transformed and diverse media | Daily Maverick. Available at: https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2016-05-19-media-freedom-sa-needs-a-free-accountable-transformed-and-diverse-media/#.WGTmEFN97X4 [Accessed December 21, 2016].
Muirhead, N., 2016. View from outside: Is South Africa's media transformed? | Daily Maverick. Available at: https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2016-03-08-a-view-from-outside-is-south-africas-media-transformed/#.WGThyVN97X4 [Accessed December 21, 2016].
Naidoo, S. (2012) 'Shabangu hammers final nail in coffin of nationalisation', Mail&Guardian, 07 February. Available at: http://mg.co.za/article/2012-02-07-shabangu-likely-to-smooth-ruffled-feathers-on-nationalisation. (Accessed 13 March 2014).
New Age 2012a 'ANC rejects 'wholesale nationalisation' http://www.thenewage.co.za/63704-1102-53-ANC_rejects_wholesale_nationalisation. [Accessed 20 September 2012].
New Age 2012b 'Nationalisation supporters wasted chances: Shabangu' http://www.thenewage.co.za/Detail.aspx?news_id=65628&cat_id=1024. [Accessed 20 September 2012].
New Age 2012c 'Super profits tax dilemma' http://www.thenewage.co.za/blogdetail.aspx?mid=186&blog_id=%201982 [Accessed 20 September 2012].
Ndzamela, P. (2011) 'Manage debates on nationalism', Citizen, 20 July, p.15.
Nolutshungu, T.A. and Joubert, G. (2011) 'Debate on nationalisation is pointless when the evidence looms large', Daily News, 28 July, p.19.
Pressly, D. (2011) 'Nationalisation would cut black ownership – FMF', The Star, 28 November, p.22.
Pressly, D. (2011) 'Nationalisation debate unhelpful as mines and factories slow – Gordhan', The Star, 26 October, p.25.
Prinsloo, L. (2011) 'Nationalisation debate 'bigger than Malema'', Sunday Times, 13 November, p.16.
Ramaphosa, C. (2011) 'Let's mine, not undermine', Sunday Times, 07 August, p.1.
Rampedi, P. (2016) 'Independent Media must lead transformation', www.iol.co.za, 18 July. Available at: http://www.iol.co.za/business-report/opinion/independent-media-must-lead-transformation-2046623 (Accessed 09 November 2016).

Sake24,. (2011) ‘Motsepe: Nationalisation does not work’, FinWeek, 01 September. Available at: http://www.fin24.com/Economy/Motsepe-Nationalisation-does-not-work-20110901 (Accessed 27 August 2014).
Seccombe, A. (2011) ‘Nationalisation not policy, Zuma says’, Business Day, 28 February, p.1.
Seccombe, A. (2011) ‘Nationalisation debate ‘worries investors’’, Business Day, 29 June, p.11
Seria, N., 2010. South Africa is asked to join as a BRIC member to boost emerging markets. *Bloomberg.Retrieved April*, *22*.
Shevel, A. and Lefifi, T.A. (2011) ‘Nationalisation benefits still not clear’, Sunday Times, 07 August, p.1.
Tshabalala, S. (2011) ‘Nationalisation’, Business Day, 07 July. Available at: http://www.leader.co.za/article.aspx?s=23&f=1&a=2958 (Accessed 18 March 2013).
Van Vuuren, A.J. (2011) ‘The path to nationalisation’, FinWeek, 18 August, p.58
Vollgraaff, R. (2011) ‘Shabangu pours cold water on nationalisation’, Sunday Time, 20 November, p.9.

## INTERVIEWS USED IN THE THESIS

1. Bhengu, Xolile. Former senior health reporter with the Financial Mail (Email sent to Mandla Radebe, 08.09.2016).
2. Jeffreys, Henry. Former editor of The New Age; editor-in-chief of Die Burger newspaper; and former chairperson of the South African National Editors’ Forum (Email sent to Mandla Radebe, 24.06.2016).
3. Lubisi, Dumisane. Executive Editor at City Press (Email sent to Mandla Radebe, 13.08.2016).
4. Msomi, Sithembiso. Deputy Editor at Sunday Times (Face to face interview, 15.04.2014).
5. Ngalwa, Sibusiso. Editor in Chief of Daily Dispatch and Saturday Dispatch (Email sent to Mandla Radebe, 26.10.2016).
6. Radebe, Hopewell. Former Business Day news and political editor and current news editor at City Press (Email sent to Mandla Radebe, 19.07.2016).
7. Ritchie, Kevin. Editor of The Star (Face to face interview, 08.09.2016).