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“We should be a lot angrier”

A case study of the Marikana shootings



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ABSTRACT

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Our aim with this study was to examine how the Marikana massacre, the killings of 34 mineworkers in August 2012, was portrayed in the news media in South Africa. We based our study on a discourse analysis of a selection of articles written at the time of the massacre. We have also used interviews with two journalists who covered the Marikana massacre, to gain further insight in journalistic decisions regarding the coverage.

Through theories and earlier research we have analysed the content, among others we have used Burton’s theory of self-regulation and Gramsci’s theory of media hegemony. The findings of the discourse analysis show that newspapers have covered the incident from different angles, in accordance with the different conflicts that the massacre contains. We found a conflict between the police and miners as they are both portrayed as victims and the criminals in the articles. The second conflict between the largest unions and the third among the politicians Jacob Zuma and Julius Malema.

We have concluded that there is a political discourse and the political key players have used the massacre as means to gain political support. Through the discourse analysis we have also found that newspapers are at times critical towards government and authorities.

KEYWORDS

Marikana, South Africa, newspapers, government, hegemony, postcolonialism

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1 INTRODUCTION

I like horror movies, and I normally watch them, and I thought that they were just films, that they were just made. That is not true. You have seen the truth. People were blasted... and sprayed with guns with bullets. That is where we are.

– Jeff Mphahlele, 20 August 2012 (Alexander et al 2012)

On the sixteenth of August 2012, the police shot thirty-four mineworkers during a strike in the mining area called Marikana. This came to be referred to as the Marikana massacre, an event that has shaped the modern history of South Africa.

The story of Marikana is controversial and has been referred to as a “turning point” in history (Legassick 2012), which resulted in a lot of coverage in the local newspapers. There are many perspectives to consider in this story. Firstly the political, because of the action of the police and how the ruling government, ANC, and other political parties handled this. Secondly, the influences of the external powers, Lonmin – the owner of the mines. Thirdly, the perspective of the Unions, the rivalry between them and their actions against and with the miners. Forth and last are of the people, their reactions to this event and the outcome it brought.

Because of the significance and complexity of this story, we are interested to see how the Marikana incident is portrayed in the press. Whom and what did they ask about in the articles? How did the journalists work with such an unusual story? These are some of the questions that have captured us and made us determined to find out more about the coverage of the Marikana shootings.

Through a scholarship from Sida we have been able to travel to South Africa to experience and study this historical event. The press archive at Stellenbosch University gave us access to articles written at the time of the Marikana incident. We were also able to interview journalists that had experience and information surrounding different aspects in covering the story.

1.1 Aim

We aim to study how the journalists in South Africa have chosen to report on the Marikana shootings. We also want to discover values and angles in the articles to form a conclusion about how choice of words and interviewees provides the coverage with a certain idea of the conflict.

With this thesis we hope to provide a clear overview of the coverage of Marikana. The thesis could be relevant for media organisations, researchers and journalists as it purposes to encourage awareness in regards to how media reproduces the dominant values in society, especially when reporting about significant events.

1.2 Thesis questions

RQ. How was the Marikana incident portrayed in the press?

In order to answer our thesis question we have distinguished smaller research questions for our study:

- Who was represented in the incident?
- How were the people in the articles represented?
- What underlying values can be seen in the articles?

1.3 Delimitations

The study is based on articles in the largest newspapers in South Africa, Mail & Guardian, Cape Times, Sowetan and Sunday Times. We have limited ourselves to these newspapers because they are published in English. We have also limited ourselves to a timeframe of approximately two weeks because of the large amount of articles published on the subject. The two interviewees were journalists working at Mail & Guardian.

1.4 Abbreviations

AMCU	Association of Mineworkers & Construction Union, the second largest union to represent the miners in the Marikana mining area.
ANC	African National Congress, the ruling political party, with Jacob Zuma as president.
DA	Democratic Alliance, the second largest party. DA has majority and strong support in the Western Cape.
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters, a political party founded by Julius Malema in 2013. He criticised the ANC after the Marikana massacre and therefore gained a lot of public support.
NUM	National Union of Mineworkers, the union who represented the majority of miners in the Marikana mining area.
RDOs	Rock drill operators, the mineworkers who initiated and started the strike.

1.5 Disposition

Our *background* serves as an introduction and an important foundation for our thesis. The strike and events that led to the massacre are described in conjunction with a brief presentation of the country of South Africa and its media.

We then present the *theoretical framework* along with earlier research that is used to analyse the empirical data. This chapter includes theories about media hegemony and self-regulation and also postcolonial theory. The chapter ends with a summary that combines the theories and proves their relevance to this study.

For this study we have conducted a discourse analysis that is extensively described in the following *methodology* chapter. In this chapter we present the selection of material for the discourse analysis as well as for the qualitative interviews. This includes a brief

presentation of the newspapers used in the study. Additionally we discuss the validity, reliability and the ethics aspect of the method.

The following chapter, *results and analysis*, describes the empirical data of the study and the analysis brings theory and data together. The discourse analysis has been broken down to smaller areas such as representation of the different parties and the political conflict in the Marikana massacre.

Our *conclusion and discussion* finally summarises the findings of the analysis in conjunction to the thesis question. Our analysis is briefly summarised along with our theories and earlier research and we discuss the possible usage of our study as well as suggestions of how it can be further developed.

1.6 Thanks

We would like to thank Per Gjørloff and Jonas Sjölander at Linnaeus University for introducing us to the topic of Marikana and their support in our research before leaving Sweden. To Gabriel Botma at Stellenbosch University for giving us input and assisting us with the access to the archive. To Renaud de la Brosse at Linnaeus University for his continuous support throughout the project. To the very helpful journalists working at Mail & Guardian. To Maria Sehlström for showing us the area of Cape Town and serving as our contact person for our stay in South Africa.

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Last but not least, thanks to Sida and Linnaeus University for granting us the Minor Field Studies scholarship allowing us to go to South Africa.

This study would not have been possible without you.

2 BACKGROUND

This chapter contains a brief introduction to the country and media landscape of South Africa. Additionally this chapter presents the events that transpired in the Marikana area and describes the background to the massacre, the role players in the story and the timeline of the event as told in the book “Marikana – a view from the mountain and a case to answer” by Peter Alexander.

2.1 South Africa – an overview

South Africa is a republic and the Head of State is the president of the African National Congress (ANC), Jacob Zuma (Landguiden 2014). The ANC has been the dominating party in South Africa since middle of 1990s, mainly because of its part in the Apartheid liberation. The biggest opponent is the Democratic Alliance (DA) (Landguiden 2014).

South Africa is one of Africa’s richest countries measured in BNP per person (Landguiden 2014). Although this does not include most of the population, since the Apartheid system created a big divide in society. The people living in South Africa are still affected by Apartheid, for example the “white people” count as some of the worlds richest people, at the same time “black people” are very poor (Landguiden 2014).

2.1.1 A country divided

The consequences of Apartheid can be found in any part of the South African society. For instance the country is divided in numerous languages. Hardly a tenth of the population speaks English as a native; it’s more common as a second language (Landguiden 2014). The Africans speak Afrikaans, which has its roots in the Dutch language. Before the year of 1994 only English and Afrikaans were accepted as official languages, but today that also include nine Bantu languages (Landguiden 2014).

The language displays different ethnical groups within the country: Black, Coloured, Indian and White. The Africans represent about 80 per cent of South Africa's population. Most of the White minority are Afrikaners, or Boers. They descended from Dutch settlers who came in the mid-1600s (Landguiden 2014). The second largest white population is English-speaking, which are descendants of the British people who arrived in the 1800s for the diamonds and gold mines.

2.1.2 Political key players

The ANC dominates the parliament with two-thirds of the mandate since 1994. DA is the largest opposition party in the country and has won a number of municipalities, including the Cape Town Metro (DA 2014).

The Marikana incident contributed to people questioning the ANC and two new parties entered the election in 2014 (Landguiden 2014) and one of the parties was Economic Freedom Fighters, led by Julius Malema. In the election 2014, ANC received 249 seats while the Democratic Alliance (DA) received 89 seats and the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) received 25 seats (News24 2014). The DA won the Western Cape with an outright majority of 57,26 %.

2.2 The media situation

During the Apartheid years, the media in South Africa served as a tool for spreading propaganda and excluded most of the population. The role of media changed when South Africa became a democracy in the year 1994 and the statutes of the South African Constitutional Law was written after the Apartheid 1996. The paragraph on the media states;

16. Freedom of expression. (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of expression, which includes- (a) freedom of the press and other media.

(South Africa Constitutional law 1996)

Currently, South Africa has a number of privately owned newspapers. Amongst them are the weekly-distributed Mail & Guardian, Sunday Times and the daily distributed Cape Times (Landguiden 2014). The largest newspaper is the daily Sowetan.

According to a report from Freedom House, in 2011, the South African government approved an advertising budget of 1 million Rand (or 97 000 USD) towards newspapers that would assist the government in “getting its message across”, purposing funding as means to control the media. Additionally a daily newspaper, New Age has been accused of conflict of interest because of its ownership that has close relations to president Jacob Zuma (Freedom House 2013).

Freedom House states that South Africa has a number of private newspapers and magazines that are sharply critical of government and other role players in society, among them is the aforementioned Mail & Guardian, Cape Times and the Sunday Times (Freedom House 2013).

2.3 This is the story of Marikana

Since mining is one of South Africa's main industries, it involves a large workforce. A company named Lonmin is the owner of three different mines in the Rustenburg area (Marikana). One of them is Karee, which is the mine where this massacre took place.

The mineworkers had terrible working conditions; they did heavy, dangerous work deep underground where there was unhealthy air and tuberculosis and other illnesses were common. They had long working hours, often 12-15 hours and a salary of 4000-5000 Rand per month, which is equal to 360- 460 USD (Alexander et al 2012). Because of a long-standing misery a strike finally commenced on the ninth of August 2012. A committee was created and the demand, a salary increase to 12 500 Rand (1140 USD) per month was formed. It was decided in a meeting that the RDOs, (the rock drill operators) would strike the following day and without RDOs, much of the production of the mine would not be able to proceed. On the tenth the strikers went to Lonmin's office but were refused by management, who claimed that any demands should be channelled through the union (Alexander et al 2012).

NUM, the National Union of Mineworkers, was the dominating union and it often sided with the employer. The union leaders received benefits from Lonmin. On the eleventh of August, the miners went to the NUM office but approximately 100 meters away from the office; men with guns came out from the office and started shooting at the mineworkers. One of the miners was shot dead, and several were wounded. At this time, the mineworkers were unarmed and fled; they headed for Wonderkop Koppie, a mountain where the massacre would later occur.

On Sunday the twelfth of August another demonstration occurred outside the NUM office and the striking mineworkers shot two security guards. On the thirteenth the strikers were told that work was undertaken at Karee and they walked to the mine.

When returning to the mountain, police encircled the strikers and this resulted in five deaths, two policemen, one civilian and two strikers (Alexander et al 2012).

The following two days, negotiators from the police force arrived and through five elected representatives the miners presented their demand – a discussion with Lonmin. Lonmin continued to refuse to address the mineworkers. During this time the president of NUM and the president of AMCU also came to address the workers. AMCU was the other union, the Association of Mineworkers & Construction Union.

On the morning of the day of the massacre, the sixteenth of August, the police presence had increased. Police used razor wire to close off a large area around the mountain and soldiers had appeared. The president of AMCU returned to address the strikers and warned them, “that they should return to work or a lot of people would die”. The miners refused, according to a miner they said “Go home comrade, you did your best, but we will not leave here until we get the R12 500 we are requesting, and if we die fighting, so be it”. The AMCU-president left and twenty minutes later the massacre began (Alexander et al 2012).

34 mineworkers were killed in the massacre. The surviving leaders of the strike however continued to mobilise support, which resulted in negotiations with Lonmin. Lonmin agreed to a large increase in pay, 22 per cent increase for the rock drill operators, plus a return-to-work-bonus of R2000. The outcome of the massacre resulted in a ripple effect spreading to other mining industries and further on to other South African industries (Alexander et al 2012).

The investigation of the incident and several court cases regarding the families and other consequences of the strike are still on going. Some of the miners and police officers have been charged with murder after the incident.

3 LITERATURE REVIEW AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH

This chapter account for the theories used to conduct the discourse analysis. It deals with the historical influences; the postcolonial studies and media hegemony, and media's responsibility; theories about accountability and self-regulation. The chapter ends with a summary.

3.1 Post colonialism

Post colonialism is a term that is used to describe the various effects colonisation has on cultures and society. The term aim to acknowledge the political, linguistic and cultural experience of societies that were former European colonies. It is widely argued whether “post” is the accurate word for describing these circumstances, since colonialism could be pushed back a very long time in history and have different meanings whether the discussion regards the European era or further back. As for South Africa and the aspects of European colonialism, the term Neo-colonialism (new colonialism) is argued to appear more accurate because of the power of multinational corporations that still influences the country despite its independence from a colonial power.

Colonialism and race thinking are imbued from the same power. The colonial oppression and European race thinking initiated the hierarchy of human types and Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (2000) draws attention to this and notes that,

Race is particularly pertinent to the rise of colonialism, because the division of human society in this way is inextricable from the need of colonialist powers to establish dominance over subject peoples and hence justify the imperial enterprise.

(Ashcroft et al 2000)

Due to the long-standing influence of Apartheid and colonial power South Africa, race thinking and colonialism remains a part of the country's history and present in the society. The social, cultural and political changes that impacts both the colonized and colonizer creates hybridity, a cross-cultural exchange. Hybridity is a widely used term within the postcolonial research, as it explores the transcultural forms produced by colonization. As two become one with hybridity, colonized societies also experience the

opposite – a term called binarism. Binarism is used to describe the distinction between two opposing signs,

(...) Binaries entail a violent hierarchy, in which one term of the opposition is always dominant (man over woman, birth over death, white over black), and that, in fact, the binary opposition itself exists to conform the dominance.

(Ashcroft et al 2000)

There are many forms of hybridity and binaries within race, political and linguistics. As described earlier, race thinking often came from the oppressor and the societies easily become subjects to the hegemony of the ruling class, in other words they became subaltern. The term “subaltern” is describes as “of inferior rank” by Antonio Gramsci (Gramsci, 1971:52) and it include hegemonic powers and the exclusion of other groups that are not the dominant class in society. Hybridity, race thinking and binaries are consequences of the hegemony created by the oppressor and its affect on the subaltern.

3.2 Media hegemony

Antonio Gramsci developed the concept of hegemony as “the routine, taken-for-granted structures of everyday thinking contribute to a structure of dominance” (Gamson, Croteau, Hoynes and Sasson 1992 p. 381). Gramsci also stated “reality is a product of the application of human will to the society of things” (Gramsci 1971:171). Media hegemony suggests that news and mass communication is shaped to the requirements of the country’s ideology.

Mass communication can be considered as both a ‘societal’ and a ‘cultural’ phenomenon. The mass media institution is part of the structure of society and its technological infrastructure is part of the economic and power base, while the ideas, images and information disseminated by the media are evidently an important aspect of our culture.

(McQuail 2010 p 80)

The theory of media hegemony also argues that the ideas of the ruling class in society become the dominant ideas throughout society. Mass media is said to be controlled by the ruling class thus helping to spread these potential dominant ideas (Sallach 1974).

McNair also stated the reproducing of society structure to be an issue with news media:

The news media of a particular society tend to construct accounts of events that are structured and framed by the dominant values and interests of that society, and to marginalise (if not necessarily exclude) alternative accounts.

(McNair 2003)

Media hegemony can be difficult to study since it deals with underlying values, therefore making it a rather pervasive phenomenon with implementations difficult to discover.

3.3 Self-regulation

Along with the concept of hegemony and discovering underlying values we have chosen to apply the concept of self-censorship in our study. Graeme Burton has in his book “Media and society: critical perspectives” outlined four main areas of constraint that are more internal than external regarding the practices in media production.

Part of self-regulation is a response to fear of legal consequences external to the institution. Self-regulation is also a response to other external forces: what the audience will accept in the marketplace specific forces [...] or even kinds of government intervention.

(Burton 2005 p 64)

The law aspect is one that compromises the work of the journalist. Burton states that the fear of legal action or intervention constrains and shapes the media. The finance and the market may also limit the published content because of lack of resources or performance demands. The third area deals with the practices of journalism. The set code of conduct and underlying rules of what content that should be published will constrain the output of media institutions.

The last aspect is the public responsibility. Burton describes the journalists as being aware of their public responsibility and promoting this to the public, again confirming and reproducing the type of content that should be published (Burton 2005).

Historically South Africa has had a large share of white-owned liberal opposition press and although journalism was one of few professions where black and white people worked together in similar jobs there were still differences. White journalists still earned more and controlled the newspaper production. Articles by black journalists were reviewed (often critically) many times by white staff before being published, this also contributing to a certain constraint (Zegeye & Harris 2003).

3.4 Media accountability and responsibilities

In the book “Media Ethics and Accountability Systems” Claude-Jean Bertrand describes different codes and types of accountability the journalist holds towards certain groups.

To keep their [the media] prestige and independence, media need a deep awareness of their primary responsibility to provide a good public service.

(Bertrand 2000 p 4)

In accordance with this quote, Bertrand has outlined a “Synthetic Code” in which ethical rules for journalists are described.

Synthetic Code

Fundamental values

- to respect life
- to promote solidarity among human beings

Fundamental Prohibitions

- not to lie
- not to appropriate someone else’s property
- not to hurt anyone needlessly

Journalistic Principles

- to be competent (hence self-confident, capable of admitting errors)
- to be independent, from political, economic, intellectual forces
- to be nothing that may decrease the public’s trust in media
- to have a wide and deep definition of news (not just the obvious, the interesting, the superficial)
- to give a full, accurate, fair, understandable report of the news
- to serve all groups (rich/poor, young/old, conservative/liberal, etc.)
- to defend and promote human rights and democracy
- to work towards an improvement of society

(Bertrand 2000 p 45)

The synthetic code shows the fundamental responsibilities for journalists and is developed among the professionals themselves, according to Bertrand. These developed codes and rules do not just protect the customer (the media user) but additionally provides the group of journalists with solidarity and preserves the prestige of the profession and thereby also its influence (Bertrand 2000).

Journalists have responsibility towards four different groups; peers, sources, people involved in the news and media users. The responsibility towards peers involves to not discredit the profession and to continuously fight for journalistic rights against censorship and for access to information. Journalists should also protect the secrecy of their sources and show responsibility towards people involved in the news, for instance not mention irrelevant characteristics or cast charges if they do not serve the public welfare. Additionally media must identify needs of all groups and serve them and look after the interests of the public (Bertrand 2000).

3.5 Summary

The postcolonial theory provides important knowledge and tools when conducting research in South Africa, a country with a colonial past. Historically, colonialism was pertinent to the rise of race thinking and dividing humans within the same society. The dominant class used binarism (opposing dualities) to created hierarchy of human types. The groups that are not the dominant class, the subaltern, became ruled by hegemonic powers. The postcolonial discourse and theories creates a fundamental ground and understanding when researching how the media portray certain events.

We also consider number of other theories to attempt to explain the media discourse and how the Marikana massacre was portrayed. One theory is the concept of media hegemony, developed by Gramsci, which demonstrates the structures of dominance in society, which are reproduced by news media. Another theory is Burton's theory on self-regulation, describing how external forces intervene with the individual journalist's work and therefore shapes the media content. Claude-Jean Bertrand's theory about media accountability and responsibilities illustrates a contrast to this, when describing different principles and values the journalistic force have developed to preserve and protect their independence. These theories come together as they deal with aspects that could influence the media content in certain ways.

4 METHODOLOGY

This chapter contains the methods used in the analysis of the journalists' coverage of Marikana. The chapter begins with an introduction of the two methods used in the study followed by describing the sources and their credibility. The chapter concludes with ethical considerations and criticism of the methods.

4.1 Discourse analysis

A discourse analysis allows possibility to focus on different aspects that allude to attitudes within the text as well as the context surrounding it (Alvesson 2011). The definition of the method/theory “discursive practises” differs with researchers and purpose of the analysis.

Michel Foucault is one of the theorists most often referred to in the discussion about the term discourse. Foucault focuses on different areas within the term, however primarily power, knowledge and truth within society (Foucault, 1979). Truth is defined by Foucault as a product of society:

Each society has its regime of truth, its ‘general politics’ of truth: that is the types of discourses it harbours and causes to function as true.

(Foucault, 1979)

Power and knowledge, according to Foucault, are intervened with truth throughout history and are the result of each other. Often these findings are difficult to discover because they are hidden in our society, behaviours and ideologies. Sarah Mills (2004) describes discourse theory in many different manners, mainly centred on Michel Foucault theories.

A discourse structure can be detected because of the systematicity of the ideas, opinions, concepts, ways of thinking and behaving which are formed within a particular context, and because of the effects of those ways of thinking and behaving.

(Mills, 2004)

Norman Fairclough is another theorist within the discourse field is known for the research on critical discourse analysis, which implements political analysis on text and the linguistics within a system (Fairclough 1992). Critical discourse analysis can be parted in three dimensions. The first level accounts for the linguistics and structure of the text. The second level is the discourse analysis, which determines how the text is produced, distributed and consumed, and the last level, social practices, puts the discourse in a larger context (Bergström & Boreus 2012). The critical discourse analysis is applicable on our study:

- *Text*: The underlining articles that we gathered from the four different newspapers.
- *Discursive practices*: Through patterns that can be found within the text as well as the context surrounding it, in other words the media discourse and society.
- *Social practices*: General picture of how the social practise influence and gets influenced by the media discourse.

We tend to study the details in the text and sentences and Fairclough's model is useful for us to see the entire dimension of the text and it's aspects and relations to society. We also have in mind Foucault's theories regarding power, knowledge and truth. As we want to investigate how the Marikana incident was portrayed in the press a critical discourse analysis will provide tools to uncover underlying values within the content and an understanding of factors that might influence the newspapers in South Africa. It is however fairly difficult to, with certainty determine how the social practice influences the content through the empirical data from the analysis as it requires further knowledge on the views of the journalists at the time the content was created.

4.2 Research Interviews

To gather more information about the subject we also conducted interviews with journalists that had knowledge about the Marikana massacre. Both the interviews and the discourse analysis are qualitative methods, which mainly focuses on the understanding and interpretations of the participants in the study (Alvesson 2011).

Qualitative research seeks answers to questions by examining various social settings and the individuals who inhabit these settings. Qualitative researchers, then, are most interested in how humans arrange themselves and their settings and how inhabitants of

these settings makes sense of their surroundings through symbols, rituals, social structures, social roles and so forth.

(Berg, 2003)

In the area of qualitative studies, we used semi-standardized interviews to create an open discussion. This type of interview mixes a number of predetermined questions as well as specific topics (Alvesson 2011). In order to understand the journalist's point of view and extract a large amount of information, this structure is favourable.

4.3 Source material

Our source material consists of newspaper articles and interviews with journalists. We were able to gather the material and conduct interviews whilst being in South Africa.

4.3.1 Newspapers

Our study is based on 15 articles published in four different newspapers; *Sowetan*, *Cape Times*, *Sunday Times* and *Mail & Guardian*. The newspapers have different backgrounds, ownership and readership.

Mail & Guardian was founded in 1985 by a group of journalists but in 1995, The Guardian became the main shareholder and the paper changed its name to Mail & Guardian. The paper is issued on a weekly basis with a circulation of more than 50 000 (Bryan 2013) and has on average a readership of 486 000 (SAARF 2013).

Cape Times is part of the IOL, (Independent Online) which was owned by Independent News & Media, an Irish media corporation, until 2013 when it was sold to a Chinese/South African investment company, Sekunjalo Investments. In 2013, Cape Times had a daily readership average of 251 000 (SAARF 2013).

The Sunday Times is South Africa's largest-selling weekly newspaper with more than 3 650 000 readers per weekly issue. It is committed to sharing knowledge that enriches people's lives. The paper is part of the Times Media Group, which is a media and entertainment company.

Sowetan is South Africa's leading English-speaking daily newspaper. On average it has a readership of 1,6 million per issue (SAARF 2013). *Sowetan's* core values can be describes as nation-building, community focused and informative. *Sowetan* is also a part of the Times Media Group (Media club South Africa 2014a).

We believe that these newspapers have a strong position in the media landscape and are therefore representative. Additionally the Marikana massacre serves as a good indicator when researching influences, as three powerful agents in South Africa were involved: the government (the police), unions and large corporations (Lonmin).

To gather the material we had access to the J.S. Gericke library at the University of Stellenbosch. The material was photographed and gathered on April 2014. Our selection of newspapers is based on their ability to provide a broad perspective of the press in South Africa. The newspapers have a wide geographic coverage and they are published in English. The selected articles were written between the dates 17 - 29th of August 2012. The dates were very specific as the Marikana shootings occurred on the 16th of August 2012 and we believe the following days can display the discourse in the coverage of the incident.

In order to conduct a logical selection we read all of the articles to get insight in the content and angles. This procedure also provided an overview of the material. Prior to reading the articles we prepared a number of questions for the content. The questions were related to the basis of the study's purpose and aim; who is presented in the article and in what manner? How was the language used? Does the article question authorities? Does the article hold people accountable for the incident? Is there a profitable angle?

Next, fifteen (15) articles were selected, from which we gathered examples to illustrate the results. We also chose some clear examples of how the different angles were used. To provide a width to the analysis and the material, examples were gathered from all of the different publications.

After selections were made from the articles, we revisited the entire material to decide whether the sources were representative. The analysis is based on a well-selected

number of articles, as well as observations and general impressions of the country and this should result in good validity of our study.

4.3.2 Interviews

In a qualitative study different sampling methods can be used to gather data, mostly, they aim for a relatively small sample. In our study we have conducted a purposeful sampling, which requests the sample to be selected with a purpose. Bernard writes about purposeful sampling, also called “judgment sampling”,

In judgement sampling, you decide the purpose you want informants (or communities) to serve, and you go out and find some.

(Bernard 2005)

Our thesis mainly focuses on the discourse analysis, but it also consists of supporting interviews with journalists who wrote about the Marikana shootings. Informant-rich cases create an insight and in-depth understanding rather than empirical generalizations (Patton 2002). The journalists we chose had first hand information about how the press handled the flow of reports and pictures during the incident, as well as working on transforming it into news.

The interviews were conducted as a semi standardized interview. This specific interview approach focuses on specific categories, which can include suggested questions (Berg 2003). An interview guide with some flexibility was used which made it possible to capture important comments outside our line of questions. We introduced the topics to the journalists to provide an idea of the outline of the interview, and then specific questions were broken down within the categories (see Appendix, “Interview guide”) to suit the situation. The interviews were digitally recorded and both researchers were present during the interviews. One asked the questions from the interview guide while the other took notes and asked follow-up questions or provided further explanations. The interviews were then transcribed.

4.4 Validity and reliability

We actively questioned our method to create the most favourable circumstances and conditions for us to answer our research question. In the quantitative content analysis

and our interviews we use a number of quotes and according to Bergström & Boreus (2012) this makes the conclusion more transparent and strengthens the study.

As for the newspaper articles, the content is the essential part of the discursive analysis. The content of our material will not change during time, meaning other researchers that wishes to examine the material will have the ability to do so. In this aspect the reliability is strong for the material (Bergström & Boreus 2012). Before conducting our interviews we made an operationalization using previous research to have a strong validity. According to Essiasson (et. al. 2012) it is important for the questions to be influenced by earlier research to make believable conclusions.

To increase the thesis reliability the process need to be evident and pronounced (Bergström & Boreus 2012). In that aspect we have good reliability since transparency is shown when explaining the whole process in collecting the data. Transparency is also shown in the interpretations in the use of theories to achieve our conclusions. Additionally the interviews were transcribed in the event of further analysis.

4.5 Ethical considerations

The Marikana massacre is a fairly sensitive topic as it involves government, union and an influential corporation. This was under consideration during our interviews. Firstly, a risk assessment was made before conducting the interviews and we concluded that there was no risk for our participants. Secondly we asked the participants if they understood the information and were still willing to take part in the interview, they agreed and according to Berg (2003), this called an implied consent. Its importance can be seen in the Information and Consent requirement written in "Principle of Research Ethics" that require the participants to be informed of the purpose of the research and be free to decide to participate (Codex 1990).

Before the interview we offered the participants anonymity considering the topic and their professional role, as a journalist. The confidentiality requirement (Codex 1990), on behalf of the participants' anonymity, is therefore to be considered in this case. As the material is available to the public that means that we have to reflect on whether the material is harmful and prevent it from putting the participants at any risk.

Consequently we followed the use requirements from Society of Professional Journalists (Codex 1990) and it involves treating the records and data carefully.

4.6 Criticism of method

We are aware that the number of journalists interviewed in this study is small, only two, however it serves our purpose, as we wanted purposeful sampling and information-rich cases. The two journalists have knowledge and insights on how the newspapers collected, discussed and edited the story of the Marikana shootings. Both interviewees also participated in writing stories and taking photos during the time of the incident, as well as creating a follow-up coverage published a year after the massacre.

During the interviews we acknowledge our role as interviewers and attempted to avoid the “interviewers effect” by creating a comfortable environment. The “interviewers effect” means that the answers given can differ depending on who is asking the questions (Essiasson et. al 2012). To prevent this we met the participants at their own workplace and introduced ourselves as fellow journalists/academics to establish common ground. To create legitimacy the interview schedule was sent to a fellow researcher who examined it and gave feedback prior to the interview. This decreased the risk of questions being biased, poorly worded or having blind spots (Berg 2003). Consequently problems with the questions could be eliminated.

The interviews are a minor part of the study, the focus lies within the discursive analysis and the credibility of the material and process. The newspaper material and general facts about the incident, in itself, are not under evaluation as we aim to research the discourse. The discourse and hidden values are of importance, as opposed to detailed facts in the material. When working with discourses and contexts based in South African society and culture we understand that our background as foreigners impact our view on the content however simultaneously it creates objectivity.

It is important to reflect on the researchers effect on the material and analysis. For instance the environment affected our view as we were situated in South Africa during the study. We have considered this and do not see it compromising the credibility; rather it can be of use to us in our analysis. Being two researchers, we have during the

study actively questioned and discussed if the assumptions being made are biased or objective.

5 RESULTS & ANALYSIS

This chapter describes and analyses the gathered empirical data. It contains the discourse analysis of the articles using the theories, along with outtakes from the articles or quotes from different persons such as politicians, miners or experts. The chapter concludes with a brief description and analysis of our supporting interviews.

5.1 The political game

In the coverage of the Marikana massacre there are many political aspects since the massacre to a high degree derives from a conflict about minimum wages, involving a lot of role players from unions, political parties and workers. These are all to an extent represented in the articles written about the incident however there are some parties that are more frequently quoted or paraphrased than others.

In a third of the articles the politicians of ANC, President Jacob Zuma and the former ANC Youth League leader Julius Malema are paraphrased and they express their views on the Marikana incident. Malema is however the politician that has been given the most space in the articles and he is the most frequently quoted politician. For instance Malema is quoted when he attends the funeral service of the mineworkers and critically addresses the public:

The democratically elected government has turned on its people, this marquee we are gathered under – the friends of the youth league paid for this. The government did nothing for you; we are helping you. Government ministers are just here to pose for pictures.

(Article 8)

Another paraphrase is found in Article 3 from Sowetan that reported on Malema criticising the government for the Marikana incident:

Speaking at the memorial service at Marikana yesterday for the dead Lonmin mine workers Malema told about 1000 people that the workers were ‘murdered’ by government.

(Article 3)

A few articles contain quotes from the president Jacob Zuma, for instance in an article written close to the incident, reporting that the government has announced a week of mourning.

The nation is in chock and in pain, we must this week reflect on the sanctity of human life and the right to life as enshrined in the constitution. We must avoid finger pointing and recrimination. We must unite against violence from whatever quarter.

(Article 15)

Jacob Zuma is also quoted in Article 11, which describes his visit to the Marikana area some time after the incident.

They explained what had happened. I knew it was bad but did not understand the extent of the crisis.

(Article 11)

In this article Zuma speaks to the miners and explains- and apologises for his absence after the massacre occurred.

Since the Marikana massacre is a story that involves a lot of politics, the newspapers have given the politics of the incident a large space in the coverage. In the articles we conclude that there is an political discourse because of the constant existence of politicians and because the massacre have become a subject of attention in the political debate in society. Many views expressed by experts and miners and Julius Malema show discontent towards the ruling government and the police for their actions or lack of actions in the incident.

Looking at the fraction, there is a large amount of articles where Julius Malema is paraphrased and quoted and a very small amount have quotes from the president Jacob Zuma. One can argue that this is because Julius Malema have been more active close to the events than Jacob Zuma, and he has spoken to the people in the Marikana area several times. Consequently since media reports on the events, Julius Malema naturally is given a large space. On the other hand, one could also argue that media includes Julius Malema frequently because he becomes the face of discontent and criticism; he voices the opinions of the miners. Media must in line with certain principles hold people

accountable for their actions. According to Bertrand media has a responsibility to “defend and promote human rights and democracy”, therefore by questioning the actions of the police and the ruling government the articles aim to serve the public.

In the articles supporting ANC and Jacob Zuma, words and headlines are used to diminish the importance of Julius Malema and to dismiss him, for instance “Malema is finished” and “he attacked Zuma”. In the articles supporting the other side, Julius Malema is portrayed as sympathetic for instance, “listens to the cries and pain” whereas Jacob Zuma is described as “sombre looking” and the headline “Zuma’s government is acting like pigs” is a quote from Malema’s speech to the miners.

These articles shows that there is a harsh political climate, especially when it comes to significant events such as the Marikana massacre. By heavily criticising the ANC government and the leadership of Jacob Zuma, Julius Malema creates the image of himself as the rescuer and the person who represents the public. Both of the politicians show examples of using the tragedy as a political tool to gain sympathy. Julius Malema draws on the discontent and the indifferences that exist in the society, whereas Jacob Zuma speaks about uniting the nation, humanity and to bridge the indifferences.

In the aspect of the political discourse, we find it important to mention that the second largest party in South Africa, the Democratic Alliance (DA) does not take a part in the debate. We could therefore not include DA in our discourse. In the articles studied there are no quotes from the party. The lack of comments could potentially be explained by Marikana being an area where the ANC is very supported and the DA is not (DA 2014), but it could also be an indicator of a class society. Although this is speculation and there are not enough indicators for us to analyse the matter.

5.2 Two sides of the story

5.2.1 Representation of police and unions

Different spokespersons from the police are also quoted in a number of articles, defending their role in the massacre. There are a few articles that solely focus on the perspective of the police and their loss in the incident. For instance the police

commissioner Riah Phiyega is quoted on the funeral of the two police officers that were killed in the massacre:

We confront every day heartless criminals who are gunning for our lives. We gather to remember the sacrifices that Warrant Officer Lepuku and his family made to protect the rest of us. He left us very early, when family and the police had so much expectations from a short life, well lived.

(Article 13)

Another article from Cape Times also reported on the funeral of the two police officers and Phiyega is quoted, appealing to the public for their understanding of the police action in the Marikana area.

Take into account the reasons why we did this. Our officers were emotionally bruised.

(Article 15)

The unions played a large role in the strike that led to the massacre and spokespersons from the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and Association of Mine and Construction Union (AMCU) are quoted in five of the articles. For instance, the NUM union is quoted in an article in Mail and Guardian where miners' credibility is criticised since figures have been found showing the wages were higher than miners have claimed.

Striking workers at Lonmin's Marikana mine claim they earn a pittance but the numbers show that platinum rock drill operators take home between R6700 and R7400 per month. Striking rock drill operators at the Marikana mine where 34 people were shot dead last Thursday have repeatedly told reporters they earn R4000. But trade union Solidarity in a statement released on Tuesday told the wage was R10500. Letha Seshoka spokesperson for the National Union of mineworkers agreed: "I don't think what has been reported is accurate. Even a beginner RDO earns R4800 excluding benefits"

(Article 9)

The AMCU union leader Jeff Mphahlele is quoted in an article close to the incident, condemning the police action and sympathising with the mineworkers:

We are terribly shocked about the way police handled the matter. There was no evidence that the workers who were sitting on the hilltop fired any shots at the police. [...] There was no need for the police to use such force. The management of Lonmin was involved in these killings.

(Article 6)

NUM spokesman Lesiba Seshoka told e.tv. last night that AMCU must take full responsibility for the killings alleging that they had condoned the workers' demand for R12500.

(Article 6)

As the quote above suggests this massacre also involved a conflict between the two largest unions, NUM and AMCU. As previously mentioned NUM was the dominating union with the most members but they also had leaders that benefited from the collaboration with the employer Lonmin. Therefore the AMCU union is against the NUM and the employer and in many articles AMCU is portrayed as the more sympathetic spokesmen for the workers. In articles the two unions blame the massacre on the other.

The articles mainly reflect a conflict between two sides of the story, one arguing that the police did their job and reacted on the miners riot and acted in defence and one side arguing that there was unnecessary violence in use of ammunition etc. For instance, articles regarding the funeral of a policeman shot in the massacre draw on sympathy and understanding of the role of the policemen at the time of the incident. There are quotes that make the policeman into the victims of the story and makes the miners seem violent.

In the articles that show sympathy with the police has images of the miners as an angry and threatening crowd with weapons and one picture shows a crying policewoman. The articles also contain words and expressions that portrays the miners as violent madmen for instance "striking miners dare police to 'finish us off'", "the miners crept through bushes" and "illegal strike". Additionally, in one of the articles the by-line says "up in arms", a reference to war.

On the other hand, criticism is also shown in a number of quotes that question the police actions in the massacre. Bertrand's model of synthetic code when it comes to journalism is applicable to the coverage of the Marikana massacre in the sense that media reflects different sides and gives a full report of the news, providing the readers with different angles. These articles also show that the newspapers identify needs from different groups and reports in a way that serves the public, which is the core responsibility according to Bertrand.

5.2.2 Representation of miners

Several articles (4 out of the total 15) contain quotes from the miners involved in the incident, either to express their political sympathies, to confirm facts or to share their perspective on the event. For instance in article 12, in Sowetan the miners interviewed shows strong opinions on the event:

Some of the striking workers claimed yesterday they were attacked by leaders of the National Union of Mineworkers. They accused NUM leaders of collaborating with their enemy, the employer. "We were attacked when were on our way to a meeting. Those NUM leaders killed us because they are protecting the employer"

(Article 12)

One article reports on the President Jacob Zuma's visit to the miners in the area and one miner is interviewed and he expresses sympathy with Julius Malema. In the article it says:

Zuma who visited Marikana for the first time yesterday was told that Malema was the first politician who came to listen to their cries and pain. "Julius Malema has organised lawyers to free our brothers who are still locked up. We thought the person we voted for would have come for our brothers who have been arrested" said miner Xolani Ndzuzza.

(Article 11)

Few articles focus on the families of the miners, although one article in the Cape Times written close to the incident reports on the commission formed to help the families and an article focuses on one man (Mokobori) and his two sisters (Lekhutla and Ntebaleng Pitso) waiting in a queue to hear if their brother has been detained or if he is dead.

They moved slowly towards the help desk. The staffer's eyes raced through the list as Mokobori watched. Lekhutla bit her lower lip and gave a huge sigh. Pitso covered her mouth with the palm of her hands.

(Article 1)

In the same article a mineworker whose brother has been confirmed dead in the killings is quoted:

He had three young children, who will take care of them now?

(Article 1)

However, not all articles side with the miners and their families. In one article the miners are said to have been involved in a ritual prior to the massacre. This ritual involved muti, a South African traditional medicine, dished out by a sangoma, a healer according to traditional South African tribunal beliefs.

Mystery sangoma is believed to be behind the foolish courage displayed by striking miners during Thursday's deadly standoff. [...] It is said the man, who is from the Eastern Cape, had provided muti to the protesters and made them believe it would make them invincible.

(Article 14)

She then mentioned the name of one of the miners, who she said was unharmed despite having been in the front line of the police attack. She added "If a person got shot despite being 'worked on', he must have done something wrong to weaken the muti.

(Article 14)

The second quote from the article is from a young lady that was interviewed by the Sunday Times in the area of Marikana.

Other experts and people from various organisations are also quoted in the articles to show their perspective and offer an analysis of the consequences of the Marikana incident. Article 5 was published a week after the massacre and criticises Lonmin, NUM, ANC and the government for not taking responsibility and blaming a "third force" as a way to delegitimise protest action.

These allegations take the agency away from us. It's the same argument used for the mineworkers fighting for a living wage: they are being used by some third force.

(Article 5)

The article have several academics and Ayanda Kota, the chairperson of the Unemployed People Movement is quoted above being critical towards the use of the term "third force" as an excuse.

The miners are more often portrayed as the victims of the story, for instance in the quote from AMCU union leader Jeff Mphafele (above). Articles siding with the miners are accompanied by strong images for example one showing the police standing over dead bodies. In the pictures one can also see that there is more frequently focus on one individual instead of a crowd, possibly to create a more personal feeling and more sympathy for the miners. These articles also use powerful words in the headlines and in the articles such as "killed by government", "scattered bodies", "dried blood and bone fragments" and "bloodbath".

Burton states four different dimensions of constraints and one of them is the finance and market, which is a contributing factor in any newspaper. One could argue that the portraying the miners as the victims in this story is a product of the market driven content in the sense that tragedy and dramatic stories sell more newspapers than a neutral report. Therefore the newspapers are bound to be one-sided at times. The same concept could be applied on the police perspective of the incident, few articles argue their case of self-defence and sense of duty and more articles argue their wrongful actions in the story.

The reporting on the story can also be related to the public responsibility aspect of Burton's theory. By victimisation of the miners and criminalisation of the police the journalists in South Africa criticise the authorities, thus reproducing the type of content that fits the norm of publishing.

According to Gramsci, the theory of hegemony argues that media content is shaped by the country's ideology (Sallach 1974). This can be found in the articles written about the Marikana incident. In the coverage the underlying ideology is shown in a sense of

protection of the miners, which in the story represents the public against the government. The media serves the public and therefore sides with the public, sometimes without questioning it. This can be related to the cultural history of South Africa and as McQuail states the mass media institution is a part of the structure of the society and a product of its culture (McQuail 2010).

As stated above, not all the articles shows sympathy for the miners. Article 9 states that the miners might have lied about their salary and article 14, involving muti-rituals gives the impression that the miners were naïve to believe in the rituals, and the term “foolish courage” is used. They are also portrayed as simple-minded and violent in the way the article argues that the miners charged against the police. By criticising the tribunal beliefs of the miners in a degrading way one can argue that this shows an underlying hierarchy and could be related to the post colonial term binarism. The article provides the reader with a certain feeling of dominance towards the miners. They become the uncivilised as the police becomes the civilised part as they defend themselves from the ‘mad’ and seemingly delusional crowd.

5.3 Supporting Interviews

Patrick began working as a photojournalist ten years ago and is now Picture Editor, Nathan works as Legal Editor, he has worked in journalism for sixteen years and during that time covered a range of topics such as sport, art, social issues and politics.

5.3.1 In the interview

Nathan states that for the first pieces of content, written just a few days after the massacre, the emphasis was on trying to understand the socioeconomic and psychological context in which the miners existed and what happened in Marikana. He spent time with the people that lived in shacks around the area to try to provide a picture of the conditions that led the miners to go on strike.

It came back to the idea that all of these miners were sort of like faceless human beings and that is not true... essentially we tried to remember and trying to understand who these men were, cause nobody really knew them and the best thing to do so was to let the people who knew them best speak about them.

(Nathan)

He explains that the angle for the one-year-follow-up special coverage was focused on the families of the victims. The issue is named “The fate of the families” and tries to show the life in which the miners existed and the consequences the massacre had on the families of the miners involved in the tragedy. Nathan also points out that the follow up coverage also allowed them to provide an insight into the migrant labour system that has existed since diamond and gold was discovered in South Africa.

Patrick states that the economic aspect of it all did not play a role in choosing the angle for the follow up coverage but says that it could have in the early stages of telling the story:

In the beginning I think, you know that saying ‘if it bleeds, it leads’, but this was pretty different. [...] When Marikana broke, the day it happened, it was a Thursday afternoon, which is the day we go to print, and we were watching this live and the images started to come through. We had a debate, what are we going to do? What kind of pictures are we going to run with? Are we going to run with these bodies?

(Patrick)

In some of the pictures the reader would have been able to identify the bodies and so the newspaper Patrick works for decided to use less sensitive images. According to Patrick, using sensitive pictures that can upset people serves very little purpose, he emphasises that they govern their ethical standards and make choices based on their moral. He also describes that there has to be a balance between having an edge in the publication and show consideration for the people involved.

Both Nathan and Patrick mean that there were certain difficulties in working with the project, for example accessing the information. They had difficulties in gaining the interviewees’ trust at times, and the project took a long time because of this. Patrick states that some families did not want to take part in the project because it was too early for them, only a year after the massacre. One woman did not want to participate because she had already been in the media and was disappointed in the way she had been portrayed.

You really have to connect with them [...], that was difficult trying to see where they were in their trauma. Then figuring out how fast or slow you can go, what you can draw on, what you can push and what you have to draw back on but these are basic journalistic methods. [...] But kind of balancing and making sure that you're not invading people's lives and pulling from their own suffering.

(Nathan)

It was a massive challenge; it's been really difficult to gain the trust of the families. [...] I mean, coming from an apartheid government and a really horrific place, to voting for the people that we grew up loving and idolising, to have that government perpetuate something like this. I cannot wrap my head around it.

(Patrick)

Patrick states that the project was difficult also because of the changing political environment. Many of the miners' families and people affected by the Marikana massacre shows discontent about the leadership and how the government handled the incident. Patrick thinks that the media should be more aggressive in how they report on the incident and how frequently they report.

We as a media should be doing a hell of a lot more about it. If I were a news editor I would have somebody on this all the time. It is the story of our time.

(Patrick)

Nathan is also sceptical in how the story of the Marikana massacre has been prioritised. He particularly talks about race and class bias and how that is portrayed and being reproduced through media.

There was a great cartoon in the Sunday Times three weeks ago, it is like; it was day five of Oscar Pistorious trial and 5 million journalists on that side and on the other side it was like one journalist reporting on Marikana. [...] People rather go to Oscar Pistorious trial, which is like every other murder court case in the country [...] whereas this [referring to Marikana], 34 black men killed doesn't matter.

(Nathan)

According to Nathan this is an issue because media is transforming the country by deciding what sort of stories are being told and what sort of stories are not. The race and class bias that Nathan states in the example above can be seen as a statement of the media hegemony in South Africa. According to McNair (2003) the news media of society tend to frame the news to fit the dominant values and interest of society. The media hegemony portrayed in this example suggest that newspapers in South Africa tend to select stories to fit the interests of – and relate to - the dominant class which is, according to Nathan, the white middle class.

Nathan also thinks that an underlying bias and norm exists in the newsroom and journalists understand that they have to produce in a certain formula to be published. This creates a certain level of self-censorship and alteration. Burton argues that an area of self-regulation deals with the practices of journalism and the underlying rules of published content (2005), this underlying norm we conclude to serve as a good example of this factor, as it creates a certain level of self-censorship and alteration.

6 CONCLUSION & DISCUSSION

This chapter combines all the important findings of the study. It acts as a summary and it contains the conclusion of the analysis and results.

As previously stated the Marikana massacre is a very complex incident since it involves different conflicts. Our smaller research questions therefore aimed to discover who was represented and interviewed in the coverage and how these people were portrayed and used in the content.

Our theories have been very useful in discovering the underlying values and to an extent why certain angles are given more space in the media than others. The theory of media hegemony developed by Gramsci is very pervasive and can be hard to apply although we conclude that it for instance is shown in the ideological sense of the articles. The newspapers have often chosen to side with the miners in the conflict. We conclude that this occurs because media is a reflection of – and part of the public and the hegemony in the press is to represent the public against the government. McQuail also emphasise that media institutions are part of the societal structure and this ideology in South Africa could be assumed to be related to the cultural history of oppression in the country. This statement can be further related to the coverage when factoring in the theory of post colonialism. In some articles we have found examples of binarism where the miners are portrayed as the uncivilised, with their tribunal acts. Meanwhile, the reader and the police are given the feeling of dominance and becomes the civilised.

Through the discourse analysis we also find that newspapers are critical towards government and authorities. We conclude that this could be because the political key players, for instance Julius Malema, have been very present close to the incident but also because the politics of labour rights is very important in South Africa, a country where mining is one of the largest industries. We also conclude that the overall discourse is political, and that politicians, in particular Julius Malema, use this incident to channel the discontent towards the government and draws on the tragedy to build support against the ruling ANC.

Our supporting interviews have been useful in researching how the coverage was created to give us a clearer overview of what angles were used. In accordance with Burton's theory of self-regulation the interviews have shown that there are certain factors, law, market and finance, codes of conduct and the idea of social responsibility that influence the journalist and therefore the media content. For instance Nathan stated that he thinks an underlying norm and bias exists in the newsroom, which might lead to self-censorship and is also a sign of the media hegemony in South Africa. Additionally, Bertrand's model of synthetic code has been useful to show the journalistic approach towards the massacre. The articles display different perspectives and attempt to take on different angles, which we conclude is to provide the full report to the public of the massacre, which also follows the code for responsible journalism according to Bertrand.

During our study we also discovered that our interviews confirm the findings of the discourse analysis, for instance the aforementioned economic aspect of choosing an angle (in this case, the angle that portrays miners as victims) that potentially could sell more newspapers. The interviews also point to an important issue in the prioritising of the Marikana story; according to our interviewees this can be related to the class and race bias in newsrooms. This manner of choosing stories could potentially be seen as an instance of South African media hegemony, however, as this study focuses on one event, it is rather difficult for us to make this assumption to be accurate across media in South Africa.

The discourse analysis can at times be difficult to facilitate in content, because of its versatile function. The discourse analysis is both a scientific method as well as a developed theory and involves different parts that can be hard to separate. Although in our study we have implemented other theories and chosen to use the discourse solely as a method to conduct the study.

Our thesis can be seen as an introduction and an outline of the coverage of the Marikana massacre and a background to an important event in South African modern history. It also speaks to people working in the media sector in South Africa to raise awareness about the issues that could shape media content. The Marikana massacre is an event that combines history with current societal values and politics. Therefore story is interesting to research, as it will affect the South African media and society.

6.1 Further research

Further research could be conducted on the Marikana event, as it is an important historical event. A quantitative study could also show to what extent the different role-players appear in the media, this would be similar to the study we have made although we chose to focus on the representation and in which manner people were portrayed. A similar quantitative study could show the frequency of quotes and this could provide a clearer picture of how the reporting on the event has been conducted.

Further research could also be encouraged in the area of how media reproduces values in society. In this study we have come across indications that class and race bias could exist in the newsroom, thus shaping the media content. By researching other events in South Africa and study space in newspapers that is representing certain classes in society one could potentially provide a conclusion whether a bias exists.

During our time spent in South Africa we acknowledged that race still is still a factor in the society of the country, how this is reproduced in media could also be an issue considered for further research.

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APPENDIX 1

Interview guide

Introduction

- Name, age, title
- How long have you been working as a journalist?
- What kind of articles do you mainly write?

The Marikana shootings

- Could you tell us about the coverage of the Marikana massacre?
- What special angles were used?
- What was easy/difficult in covering the story?
- Were there any objections to writing about someone/something?
- Marikana is a sensitive topic, how are these stories handled in the newsroom?