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YAKWAZULU-NATALI**

# FRAMING AND SHAPING IN MEDIA REPORTING: ONLINE MEDIA REPORTS OF MARIKANA MASSACRE 2012-2014

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Yandisa Msileni

217082067

Supervisor

Miss Luthando Ngazile Ngema

This dissertation is presented in fulfilment of the Degree of Master of Art,  
in Media and Cultural Studies,  
School of Arts  
College of Humanities,  
University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College, Durban, South Africa

## Declaration

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Supervisor: Luthando N Ngema

Signed at: Durban, KwaZulu-Natal



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## Abstract

The Lonmin Mines wage strike which saw 44 people lose their lives, 34 of which were brutally shot and killed by the South African Police Services, not only made the national or regional headlines but made international news as well. This study probes the news frames and news agendas as employed in five online news sources, namely: *BusinessLive*, *SowetanLive*, *News24*, *Daily Maverick* and *Mail & Guardian*. A non-random sample of 47 news and editorial articles taken from the aforementioned five news sources were thoroughly examined. The articles covered the events of the Lonmin Mines strike action and the subsequent massacre from August 13, 2012, until September 04, 2014. The data from the selected articles were analysed through Frame analysis and Critical Discourse Analysis. The study revealed that all five online sources considered the Lonmin Marikana event as newsworthy. The data revealed that the news reports had different outlooks which foreground their reporting on the matter. However, ultimately, they all demonised the miner workers and positioned the strike action as villainous. A focus on Lonmin consistently overshadowed the mineworker's economic plight. Consequently, the news reports foregrounded the negative characteristics of striking mineworkers, and their supporters, while simultaneously, foregrounding the mineworker's positive attributes during the days of the strike action.

**Keywords:** Marikana Massacre, Lonmin mines, South Africa, framing theory, police killings, and online sources.

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# Chapter 1

## 1.1 Introduction

Evaluating media reporting of the Marikana Massacre is the point of departure for this study. The report of massacres and protests in South Africa, as well as police violence and subsequent killings often tend to be an interesting focus for the media. The Lonmin strike and subsequent massacre saw South African Police Service under a democratic era shoot and kill 34 and injure 78 mineworkers. This debacle and the developments surrounding this incident saw national and international news agencies follow it closely, intrigued by what would be the government's response to the killings related to the strike action. Laura Ashley (1998: 186), posits that by and large, media can play a fundamental role on how events are framed and how the public interprets the news reported through shaping the message of striking mineworkers for their respective audiences.

This research draws on prior framing studies on media coverage of labour protests in South Africa, which found a lack of consideration for the underlying causes of protests (Pointer, 2015; Duncan, 2016; Wasserman, Chuma & Bosch, 2018). These studies also found that media coverage gave prominence to bureaucratic voices while ignoring those of the workers. Research has also found that media coverage on labour protests tended to focus on the nature of protests while drawing parallels on the impact of the protests on a country's economy and prospects of investment post the strike, while portraying the elite as the saviours.

This research is also cognisant of a number of scholars, such as Gans (1979), Hackett (1985) and Hall et al (1978) who argue that “while news sources form a substantive part of news content, not all sources enjoy the same degree of access to the media” (Cross, 2010:414). Cross (2010:414) further notes that these researchers found that news stories in the mainstream are biased towards the “elites, giving disproportionate attention to those who are known public figures or who have political and/or economic power” .

This research also considered McLeod and Hertog (1999) and Reul et al (2016), who state that the features of the protest paradigm are very much prominent and evident in mainstream media's coverage of the protests.

The study used Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) method to identify the ideological propensities of the five online news sources, *SowetanLive*, *News24*, *Mail & Guardian*, *The Daily Maverick* and *BusinessLive* at hand; this is done through the analysis of the texts in order to examine their

interpretations, reception and social effects (Richardson, 2007: 26). Put differently; this attempted to point out just how "texts" can be used to safeguard and promote ideologies to hold onto power.

The effects of the Marikana massacre and the line of reporting that emerged since the brutal killing of the striking mining workers by the South African Police Service (SAPS) members continues almost decade after the deadly shootings at Lonmin mines. Since the massacre, a different lens or frame which is used to report on labour unrests, particularly those at the mines, has emerged. This is by no means a finding of this study but an observation that has added some weight in motivating for the study to be conducted almost a decade later. At the time Jane Duncan (2013) and Benjamin Fogel (2012) stated that two elements of good reporting were missing from the South African press Marikana strike and shootings. There was a failure to use eyewitness accounts and interviews with strikers. And it was "apparent that the coverage was heavily biased towards official accounts of the massacre, and that it overwhelmingly favoured business sources of news and analysis" (Duncan, 2013). These points are discussed in the following chapters.

Although there is plentiful research (Wasserman, 2015; Duncan, 2013; Fogel, 2012; Holmes, 2015;) on media coverage on the Marikana massacre, there has been little research on the reporting carried out specifically by online news sources. The few studies that the research came across looked at a combined reporting, mainstream and online coverage. Therefore this study contributes to a new area of research.

The 'newsworthiness' criteria, therefore, overrule some issues and the news media tends to lean towards existing frame templates when reporting on workers strike. The protest paradigm is centred on trivialising, demonising and delegitimising the striking mineworkers and their goals or grievances (McLeod, 1999). In this regard, this research focuses on scrutinising the reporting on the Marikana Massacre - including the strike action preceding the massacre. The analysis is drawn from five online news sources: notably, *SowetanLive*, *News24*, *Mail & Guardian*, *The Daily Maverick* and *BusinessLive*. The primary purpose of this study is to extract frames used when reporting on the turn of events at Lonmin mines while identifying the differences between the reports of the five online news sources. This will be achieved using the media framing theory as the overarching theory in this study.

The study was restricted to English online news sources as the study required a deep reading of media frames and the author is proficient in English only. It should therefore be acknowledged that this does limit the study in that it does not deal with the non-English press such as Afrikaans, IsiXhosa and isiZulu newspapers, which may exhibit different framing due to their separate media traditions.

Although this research does not intend to study “framing effects”, there is a large body of research (Gamson & Modigliani, 1989; Kahneman & Tversky, 1979; Nelson, Clawson, & Oxley, 1997) that suggests that the way the media frames an issue has an effect on public opinion and consequently on political choices. The Marikana matter is therefore affected by media framing.

## **1.2 Background and Context**

### **1.2.1 Problem Statement**

The study aims to unpack the complexities found in the media reporting discourse around the issue of the Marikana massacre. The media reports are the point of departure that this study interrogates. The framing of the reports is examined, especially how the stereotypes about the mineworkers emphasised the stereotype dichotomy between the working class and the business class (Lonmin mine). Essentially, the news narratives are closely explored to help in defining the news agendas of the stories from the Marikana massacre.

### **1.2.2 Aims and objectives**

1. To evaluate complexities found in the media discourse on the Marikana Massacre.
2. To determine the extent to which the framing of the protest influenced the stereotypes about the working class (mineworkers) and the business class (Lonmin Mine).
3. To assess news agendas that created specific binaries between the mineworkers as being against Lonmin as well as lessons learnt from Business and National news narratives.

### **1.2.3 Research Questions**

1. What complexities are found in the discourse on Marikana Massacre media reports?
2. To what extent did stereotypes about the working class (mineworkers) and the business class (Lonmin Mine) show up in the way the news reports were framed?
  - How did the news reports represent the police presence; the mineworkers and Lonmin and the government?
3. What were the news agendas that created specific binaries between the mineworkers as being against Lonmin?
  - What lessons may be learnt from Business and National news narratives?

Considering the sample size of news items at hand, and the qualitative nature of this study, the findings that are presented in this dissertation cannot be generalisable to the entire population. Instead, this study makes a theoretical and exploratory contribution towards investigations of how the Media reports on strike action within the South African context while also, establishing the groundwork for future studies. The process of analysing a strike event involves carefully working through the data collected, i.e. media coverage of the event from a set time frame. To allow the study to work with structure and within a set time frame, an event catalogue between 2012 and 2014 was put together, based on "a set of descriptions of multiple social interactions collected from a delimited set of sources according to relatively uniform procedures" (Tilly C, 2008: 47).

Therefore, this research thus focuses on the selected online news sources covering the Marikana Massacre and the events leading up to the massacre. To scrutinise challenges brought forward by the micro-context of the framing and shaping: online media reporting of the Marikana Massacre 2012-2014, the methodological approach would therefore act as a crucial foundation for critical discourse analysis of the coverage of the news reports, that is briefly discussed below. A detailed discussion will follow in chapter four, results and analysis.

### **1.3 Lonmin Marikana Protests: A timeline of the deadliest protests since the dawn of democracy**

The turn of events at Lonmin mines in Marikana, North West Province, has been a shameful mark on South Africa's young democracy. The timeline describes the events that took place before and after the killing of 34 mineworkers on August 16. The brutal slaughter of mineworkers by the South African Police Service was preceded by incidents of intimidation and assault on miners, security officers and police. Many viewed the strike at Lonmin mines as a significant threat to the Rustenburg mining belt ([www.sahistory.co.za](http://www.sahistory.co.za)).

#### **2012**

##### **August 9**

- several Lonmin mineworkers go on striking foregrounding wage dispute between them and the employer.

##### **August 10**

- Incidents of intimidation and assault were reported by workers who are not part of the strike.

- Two miners are reportedly shot and were transported to the hospital.

#### **August 11**

- faction fight becomes the order of the day.
- Three more employees are reportedly in the nearby hostels.

#### **August 12**

- Five miners, shot, assaulted and taken to hospital.
- Two security officers attacked and bludgeoned to death by striking mineworkers and their vehicles torched.
- Protesters force their way through to production areas, attack three on-duty workers fatally wound one and set alight six motor vehicles at the plant.

#### **August 13**

- Three dead bodies of workers were discovered.
- An attack on SAPS members while escorting striking mineworkers.
- Two police officer are bludgeoned to death, one fatally wounded.
- In response to the attack, three protesters are critically wounded.

#### **August 15**

- South African Mineral Resources Minister, Susan Shabangu is "gravely concerned" about the violent strike action at Marikana.
- Police and mineworkers are trying to find each other around the negotiation table set on top of the hill.
- Lonmin mines withhold warning in fear of destabilising ongoing negotiations.

#### **August 16**

- Due to the protracted strike action, Lonmin loses six days of production equivalent to 15 000 ounces platinum, and it is feared it will not meet full-year production of 750 000 ounces.

#### **August 17**

- Police Minister Nathi Mthethwa talks to Talk Radio 702 and reveals that more 30 mineworkers were killed and many more injured.

#### **August 17**

- NUM General Secretary Frans Baleni says reports from union shop-stewards reveal that 136 union members were killed at Marikana.

**August 17**

- Lonmin loses big on the share price in both London and Johannesburg, with four and five percent respectively following the news of the massacre.

**August 17**

- Thirty-four killed, 78 injured and 259 arrested -National Police Commissioner General Riah Phiyega.

**August 17**

- President Jacob Zuma returns home to visit the site of the massacre.

**August 18**

- Julius Malema visits Marikana to tell miners that they should die for their cause.

**August 23**

- Following the brutal killing of mineworkers, President Jacob Zuma appoints a Commission of Inquiry to investigate the turn of events that lead to this tragic incident.

**August 23**

- South Africa observes a national day of mourning in respect of the deaths at the Lonmin mine. Julius Malema calls for a "mining revolution" in South Africa.

**August 30**

- 270 arrested mineworkers charged with the murder of their colleagues

**September 3**

- Two hundred seventy arrested mineworkers released following the withdrawal of charges by a court of law. The first batch walks free.

**September 11**

- The unidentified body of a male person found, raising the death toll 45.

**September 12**

- Anglo American Platinum operated mine experience strike action.

**September 15**

- South African National Defence Force (SANDF) members put on standby at Nkaneng Informal settlement in Marikana.

## **September 18**

- Mineworkers end strike with between 11 and 22% wage increases.

## **September 20**

- Marikana mineworkers return to work while unrests continue at Amplats.

The timeline provided above tracks the turn of events before and after the killing of striking mineworkers by police. This timeline provides context for the study and assisted in the analysis of the news items, as a reference is made to dates and specific events on that date.

### **1.4 The genealogy of the South African print media**

The historical backdrop of media in South Africa can be traced back to the very first newspaper published in the Cape on August 16, 1800 (De Beer, 1993: 71-73). South Africa's history of newspaper publications can be described through three particular press groupings, the English press, the Afrikaans press and the Black press. Williams, 2003 states that the English press media had its roots and deep connections to the mining business. Contrasting both English and Afrikaans press media, the English newspaper publications were known to be liberal, a heritage premised from existing relations with Britain. However, Jackson (1993) notes that even though the relations were strong between the press and Britain – the English press maintained its autonomy from Britain. The Independent News Media Group can follow its underlying foundations back to 1889 when, Francis Dormer, set up the Argus Printing organisation which had close connections with Cecil John Rhodes (Tomaselli, 1987). The English newspaper publications commanded the country during the British colonial ruling that kept going from 1910 – 1948.

The Afrikaans newspaper industry was established as a direct response to the then domination of the British aligned media and also sought to advance the Afrikaans language through a more Afrikaner patriotic press opposing British liberal perspectives. When the Afrikaner press media set up shop, it was perceived as a viable weapon for the advancement of a particular language and political agenda, as well as a tool for finding support against the perceived danger of Black Nationalism (William, 2003). It is noted that the Afrikaans press media made a significant contribution towards the triumph of Afrikaner legislative issues which reaffirmed their situation as the custodians of the then ruling party. "after the triumph of the National Party, the Afrikaans press turned into the official voice of the politically-sanctioned racial segregation belief system; changing from an oppositional job to that of serving the legislature" Jackson



(1993: 18). In this way, the ruling party saw a great deal of resistance from the British newspaper publication which tainted government-press relations as they were disparaging of the ruling party.

As indicated by Hachten (1984: viii), the then National Party government had looked to control newspaper publications through various types of regulation control, "coercive and manipulative." The government utilised different measures to control the media. Coercion was mostly enforced and involved strict regulation about who may publish and what may be published. Alternative and less immediate measures were additionally utilised, for example, intimidating the press into self-censorship and manipulation to throttle antagonistic information and to advance a favourable perception of the government of the day both at home and abroad.

Hachten further adds that to ensure that the various types of control were obeyed, in excess of a hundred laws were passed, governing access to and availability of information as well as the publication of such information. These laws were passed to ensure strict adherence and punishment for transgressors; these include the Suppression of Communism Act 44 of 1950, Terrorism Act 83 of 1967 and Official Secrets Act 16 of 1956. Also, the then government could close down papers totally, as it was the case with the *World* and *Weekend World* in 1977 and the *Post* and *Weekend Post* in 1981 (Hachten, 1984).

While confronted with stringent regulations, the English press viewed itself as an unofficial "opposition" to the government. In any case, William Hachten states that this sentiment was greatly disputed positing that the English press media was merely a mouth of the white power structure and therefore legitimised the politically sanctioned racial segregation structure - apartheid structure (Hachten, 1984: viii).

The historical backdrop of the press media in South Africa would be incomplete without a careful look at the non-White Press media. The genesis of the non-white press, primarily the Black Press can be traced back to the arrival of the missionaries and the subsequent work with black people (Tyali, 2018). The work between the two groups laid the foundation for the very first black newspaper *Umshumayeli Wendaba* which was printed by the Wesleyan Mission society in Grahamstown from 1837 to 1841 (Bassey, 2006). Many more other black newspapers followed such include *Imvo Zabantsundu*, which was established by John Tengo Jabavu in 1884 (Tomaselli, 1987). What was most notable about the new kid on the block was that it was the first black newspaper wholly owned, controlled and written for black people. Mahatma Ghandi followed suit and established *Indian Opinion* focused on advocating Indian issues (Williams, 2003).

The alternate press media, however, succumbed to financial sanctions and political domination imposed by the government of the day. Keyan Tomaselli, 1987 posits that financial restrictions and political suppression led to the lack of capital, equipment, skilled workers and a dependable distribution network which saw white newspapers endowed with the enormous financial muscle to take over black newspapers. Despite the fundamental reasons that saw black people establish their newspapers, such include the political realisation of black people. The new owners entered exclusively for business purposes. One of those white people that entered the Black Press only for the profit was Bertram Paver in 1932 when he established Bantu press. As a result, the *Bantu World* is seen as the publication that spearheaded the national black press (Bassey, 2006).

One of the scholars that have followed the development of the black press, William Hachten (1984: 145) states that the publishing industry has advanced over a considerable number of phases (four phases) in its history: the missionary phase; the independent phase; the white-owned phase and at present the multiracial phase (which is a developing phase). Although press media was born out of the conflict in South Africa, Jackson (1993: 31) recognises that it is increasingly precise to consider the divisions that informed the establishment of the various publication industries. He contends that the press media in South Africa corresponds to the three dominant markets: English, Afrikaans and Black. The presence of these readerships, as opposed to politically sanctioned racial segregation as such, is the deciding factor hidden in the division of the South African Press.

With the dawn of democracy in South Africa, two important trends marked the change from the old to new South Africa in print media. First, the commercial, formerly white English and Afrikaans print media moved closer to each other ideologically, providing increasingly critical assessments of the performance of the African National Congress (ANC) government. Second, the old apartheid-era, left-wing alternative papers like South, New Nation, Grassroots, Vrye Weekblad (along with the more commercial Weekly Mail, now Mail & Guardian) which had been voices of anti-government, investigative journalism had operated largely on the basis of foreign funding. (Opatrny, 2006, Switzer and Adhikari, 2000) Once a new democratically elected government took power, foreign donors withdrew from this area of funding support and these publications failed to cope. From one perspective, the editors of these papers failed to read the mood and interests of their readers and build a strong basis for survival. Others, however, argue that they fell victims to what Robert Horwitz called the 'commercial juggernaut' of a well-established commercial press, with sophisticated marketing and distribution networks, that has taken a strong stance to inhibit any profound project of social transformation.

A third major trend in print media in the post-apartheid era has been the rise of the tabloid press which has now outstripped older papers in terms of sales and readership. This point may not be relevant to the study at hand; however, it provides a broader context in understanding the evolution as well as the various facets that have characterised print media over the years in South Africa ((Opatrny, 2006, Switzer and Adhikari, 2000). The most significant of these is the Daily Sun, started by a veteran white Afrikaner journalist, Deon du Plessis in collaboration with the former pro-apartheid media group Naspers. Many politically progressive critics have seen the Sun and other tabloids as a retrograde development, (Glenn and Knaggs, 2008) but this misses the ways in which Du Plessis and his team drew on the experience of tabloids in other developing countries, particularly India, to find ways of reaching new readers for whom they became an indispensable guide to living in and coping with the new South Africa (Wasserman and du Bois, 2006, Jones et al., 2008).

While these papers have not, for the most part, involved themselves directly with party political or electoral issues, their potential influence should not be underestimated because they seem to enjoy the trust and interest of their readers.

## **1.5 The advent of online newspapers**

The internet has had a big impact on journalism, as it has on other pursuits of human interest. In recent years, a number of newsrooms have used the internet to create online news platforms that interested news audiences and increased their circulation (Pavlik, 2000). In today's world, there are many active online news sites and newspapers that allow audiences to read, discuss, and share news content (Salwen et al. 2005). Researchers contend the internet has changed journalism as we know it; there is a change in the workflow of journalists; there is a change in the relationship between newsrooms and their audiences; and the process of composing news stories has been restructured (Pavlik, 2000). Online newspapers have also been credited with reinvigorating journalism and reengaging once sceptical and alienated audiences (Matheson, 2004). Pavlik (2000) argues that the role of new technologies in changing the nature of journalism is undeniable.

In general, online newspapers complement print media and provide extra services that include a synthesis of media content, archives of news stories, and fresh, up-to-date news (Bardoel and Deuze 2001; Gunter, 2003; Paulussen, 2004). Furthermore, online newspapers offer interactive, multimodal features (Kawamoto, 2003; Matheson, 2004; Paulussen, 2004; Thurman, 2008) which provide access to a variety of content that is intended primarily to help audience members interact more efficiently with online news (Salwen et al. 2005). Thus, news audiences contribute to online news content

by participating in polls, posting opinions, asking questions, and leaving messages (Thurman 2008). This form of networking news is sometimes referred to as 'networked', 'participatory', or 'citizen journalism' (Allan, 2006; Bardoel and Deuze, 2001; Thurman, 2008; Xin, 2011). As Carpenter (2010) points out, Interactivity is the primary reason news audiences visit online news sites.

The interactive component of news media includes audience commentaries, blogging, and other user-generated content regarding news stories. As a result, public communication has become more interactive with many comments and exchanges (Sousa, 2006). In the same vein, Hujainen and Pietikainen (2004: 387) identify three discourses related to the interactivity of the online news: "pick and choose," "user in transition," and "multi-voiced journalism." Pick and choose refers to supply and demand; user in transition refers to the active audiences searching the internet for news; and multi-voiced journalism refers to the dialogic and interactive nature of online journalism.

The content of online newspapers is also based on multiple multimedia elements such as timelines, links, audio, and video, which are integrated into a convergent creative environment (Verweij, 2009). The convergence of news is shaped by conventions for presenting information or telling stories (Gordon 2003: 70). As a result of the convergence of content, an online news story is told in a variety of ways, which allows news consumers to skim and scan the content based on their own consumption styles and habits (Hobbs 2008; Xiaoge 2008). As Pavlik (2000: 14) points out, online news audiences feel as if they are present at news events when they visit multimedia news sites. The internet, then, offers journalists many options for telling a news story online, and news audiences have many more opportunities to understand the story as a result. The archiving of news content enables audiences to consume news at their own pace and in their own time, thus ensuring that news consumption is not driven by producer logic but rather by individual choice (Bardoel 2002: 505). In addition, there are concerns that the pace with which content is delivered and its effect may be a death knell for traditional media and lead to irresponsible reporting in the clamour to be the first to report the news (Mudhai, 2011).

The brief synopsis of the selected online news sources below also offer a background to emergence of online news sources, this as the News24 and Mail & Guardian are touted as the forefather of online newspapers in South Africa.

## **1.6 The selected online newspaper**

### **1.6.1 SowetanLive**

Tiso Blackstar Group publishes the online news source in Johannesburg. SowetanLive is the website and an online version of the Sowetan newspaper – an English-language South African daily newspaper. The newspaper was established in 1981 as a liberation struggle publication and served a proudly South African readership which has an excellent platform.

SowetanLive is one of South Africa's top online news sources, ranked 6<sup>th</sup>, with a readership of more than 1.8-million (themedialonline.co.za, 2018) per month.

SowetanLive, an online version of the Sowetan daily newspaper does not have clear readership profile as it an online version of a print publication. However, the Sowetan's readers demographic details are as follows:

- Readership is 418,000
  - Circulation is 31,005
  - Age groups 15-24 (10%), 25-34 (28%), 35-49 (38%), 50+ (24%)
  - Gender – Male 62%, Female 38%
  - Race – Black 95%, Coloured 3%, Indian 2%, White 0.3%
  - Education – High school 28%, Matric 48%, Tertiary 24%
- <http://adroom.arena.africa/advertise/readership/newspapers/sowetan/>

The newspaper was selected as it carried the majority of the online news articles required for the study. The daily publication offers a variety of supplements focused on speciality issues. It often includes information on workers strike and mineworkers strikes – for example, the article: "Worker intimidated for not participating in Saftu strike," which was written by (Makhetha, 2018) or the article: "Coal strike ends," (Njobeni, 2015).

### **1.6.2 The South African Mail & Guardian**

A South African weekly newspaper published out of Johannesburg by M&G Media. Guided by their editorial policy, the newspaper focuses on a variety of coverage topics these including politics, investigative reporting, local news. The Mail & Guardian Online was launched in 1994 in conjunction with Media24 becoming the first internet-based news publication in Africa ([www.mg.co.za](http://www.mg.co.za)).

The website-based publication began as an *Electronic Mail & Guardian* - an e-mail subscription service that was sent to mainly to readers outside South Africa and allowed them a chance to receive and read the Mail & Guardian newspaper stories before they were sent to newspaper subscribers.

The Mail & Guardian website's readers demographic details are as follows:

- M&G Online unique users: 1 000 723
- Daily average users: 50 673
- Mobile users: 60.46%
- 82% of traffic is within South Africa
- Readers are split between 71.30% male and 28.70% female
- 53.53 % of Mail & Guardian reader have a postgraduate qualification while 28.44% have an Undergraduate qualification
- 91% are over the age of 25 years.
- Average session duration 01:13

<https://mg.co.za/advertise/>

The service, subsequently, expanded its offering to include a searchable online archive. With an addition of a website, *Mail & Guardian Online*, the publication progressed from reproducing a weekly mirror of the printed newspaper to its daily news. The website was co-owned by both MWEB and M&G Media until M&G Media purchased 100% of the operations in 2008 ([www.mg.co.za](http://www.mg.co.za)). It has since grown into its daily news operation with several writers, multimedia producers, sub-editors and more.

Mail & Guardian focus as clearly laid out above is on politics, government, the environment, civil society and business. The Marikana Massacre, as a departure point for this study, has both, the political and economic element to it, which makes the publication relevant for the study at hand.

### **1.6.3 BusinessLive**

BusinessLive is a South African online news source, published by the Tiso Blackstar Group in Johannesburg. The news website's focus is on finance and business news, analysis and insight; financial markets; and the political economy, among other topics ([www.businesslive.co.za](http://www.businesslive.co.za), 2018).

The website is updated timeously with original, online-only content as well as the news articles sourced from Business Day, the Financial Mail, the Sunday Times's Business Times, the Rand Daily Mail and Business Day TV. The focal point of the study, the Marikana Massacre, falls in the realm of finance and business news, which makes BusinessLive a relevant source of data for this research.

BusinessLive has shared very little information on their readers demographic details. The website's unique browsers are 1,903,789 per month and page views: 6,222,592 per month.

#### **1.6.4 News24**

News24.com, an English-language South African online news source, was established in October 1998 Naspers. The online news publication which is touted as South Africa's largest digital publisher and focuses on local and international news, politics, business, entertainment, technology, and sport.

The news website became the most extensive online news site in the country within one year of its launch, that is according to Arrie Maverick (2012a), the site's first business manager. By 2010, the news website had surpassed two million visitors per month to acquire their daily news. However, the focal point of the study, the Marikana Massacre falls in the realm of political, finance and business news, which makes News24 a relevant source of data for this study.

The News24 publication's readership is 63% male and 37% female. Age groups 24 (10%), 25-29 (16%), 30-34 (15%), 35-39 (14%), 40-44 (11%), 45-49 (10%), 50-54 (9%), 55-59 (6%).

#### **1.6.5 Daily Maverick**

The Daily Maverick is one of South Africa's leading investigative online news publications. The online news publication was established in 2009 as a daily online newspaper, published by Styli Charalambous. The Daily Maverick is owned and run by an independent private company. According to the Daily Maverick website, the publication is "a unique blend of news, information, analysis and opinion delivered from a newsroom in Johannesburg". (Maverick, 2012a) states that the website is also "a platform for photojournalism, providing readers with a visual insight into what is happening in South Africa, Africa and globally".

Since establishment, the news publication's focus is on original content. The content is freely accessible to internet users and is funded via advertising. The news website has over the years received various accolades comprising both individual and team awards. These include 2010 Bookmarks, Best Editorial Team; 2011 Bookmarks, Best Digital Editorial Individual – Stephen Grootes. The recognition of traditional newspapers include digital news publishers, generally through industry awards is seen as a vital boost to their credibility as news providers, primarily online publisher. The focus of the Daily Maverick as outlined above, is on politics, government, the environment, civil society and business. Marikana Massacre, as proposed in this research, is a political and economic issue; hence the Daily Maverick was considered as a relevant source of data for this study.

Each online news publication is selected on the basis that it commits itself to the Press Code of Professional Practice, which prescribes that news must be reported in a truthful, accurate, fair and balanced manner (Africa, 2013) and would, therefore, contribute to the validity and reliability of the research.

## **1.7 Outline of the Study**

This dissertation is subdivided into six chapters: The Introductory chapter, which provides an overview of the entire study. The background regarding the mining industry, and the media landscape of South Africa is briefly discussed here.

The Literature review chapter discusses the theoretical and conceptual components pertinent to this study. This is done within the prescripts of the overarching domains and themes that are pertinent to this study. This section also presents a review of related literature critical in answering the research questions eight years after the brutal killing of striking mineworkers by South African Police Service in Marikana.

The Theoretical framework chapter presents three theories related to this study: namely, framing, protest paradigm and agenda-setting theory.

The *Methodology chapter*, explains the research design, presents data collection processes. The chapter then looks at the method of data analysis used for the research, *critical discourse analysis (CDA)*. After that, it explores the limitations, challenges encountered and ethical considerations.

The fifth chapter is the *Results* chapter. The chapter carefully studies the findings derived from the critical discourse analysis (CDA).

The *Conclusion* chapter offers summative comments relating to the data analysed in this study and their findings.



## **Chapter 2**

### **Unravelling the Marikana Massacre in literature**

#### **2.1 Introduction**

Chapter two focuses on the theoretical and conceptual components pertinent to this study. This is done within the prescripts of the overarching domains and themes that are pertinent to this study. This chapter presents the review of related literature critical in answering the research questions at hand. As such, eight years after the brutal killing of striking mineworkers by South African Police Service in Marikana, a substantial body of academic work analysing the massacre and its implications has emerged from various authors (for example Alexander et al. 2012c; Chinguno 2012; Satgar 2012; Bruchhausen 2014; Duncan 2012; Twala 2012; Ndlovu 2013; Holmes 2015; Wasserman 2015; Chuimbu 2016), most of it with a focus on the political economy dimension of labour strikes in post-apartheid South Africa. As such this chapter prudently examines some of the studies on the reportage of the Marikana Massacre.

#### **2.2 History of labour protests in the democratic South Africa**

Across South Africa, strikes have become a certainty. There is a high chance of seeing workers from various working-class sectors demonstrating on television every time one turns on a news channel. Ordinarily, when workers embark on a public protest that signals a petition for either pay rise or improved working conditions or a combination of the two. Therefore, it would not be amiss to see placards bearing the workers' demands. What is particularly disturbing about these strike actions is the alarming occurrence of violent crimes, destruction of property and fatalities. From 2012 to 2019 over 4 500 arrests were effected and about 398 workers lost their lives (SAIRR, 2019).

Despite efforts to stabilise labour markets in post-apartheid South Africa, this has proved impossible. The recognition of workers' rights as enshrined in the Labour Relations Act (Act 66 of 1995, subsequently amended in 2002), has seen more workers taking to the streets whenever they feel aggrieved by the employer. The Labour Relations Act gave effect to Section 27 of the Constitution which regulates and promotes trade union rights and establishes the right to strike. The Labour Act also provided mechanisms for dispute resolution and established the Labour and Labour Appeal Courts, which have exclusive jurisdiction over matters arising under the legislation.

An important factor in the incidents of strikes in South Africa is the degree of development of labour movements. However, on the continent, South Africa's labour movements are the most vibrant, organised, and soundly developed (Kaufman, 2010). The history of trade unions in South Africa dates back to apartheid. In addition, their presence has played a significant role in shaping the country's economy and political scene. The roles played by trade unions in the days of the armed struggle, mobilisation and underground operation, have shaped the current labour behaviour, 27 years into democracy. In South Africa labour protests are considered an understandable language for employers. South Africa's right and ability to strike is indicative of its embrace of the Kaufman (2010) core principle that forms the theoretical and policy foundation of industrial relations. Kaufman (2010) argues that labour is not a commodity, it is an integral part of human nature. The working class in the country is well literate and is aware of their rights as enshrined in the 1997 edition of the South African Bill of Rights.

However, presenting a historical backdrop of the African National Congress's (ANC) responsibility towards its constituency, (Twala, 2012) put his best foot forth to offer an explanation and interpretation of the turn of events, the causes, and the subsequent aftermath of the massacre. Referring to the roles played by mine owners, government and labour unions, Twala posits that the first massacre under the democratically elected government "showed in one-way or the other handicapped attempt to solve mineworkers' problems in South Africa" (Twala, 2012: 20). Talking about the knock-on effect on 'a relative labour stability', he states that "Marikana was a tragic continuation of the trend of strike action associated with violence and criminal striker behaviour". Twala (2012) comments worryingly, that "one of the biggest ramifications of Marikana, aside from the tragic deaths of so many, is the perception that the anarchy associated with the strike benefitted the strikers". In the paper, he concludes by stating that, "irrespective of the legitimacy of the worker's protestation, no civilised democracy could condone the behaviour of the rampant strikers at Marikana." It is, however, evident that this academic paper was produced before the establishment of the Farlam Commission, which was set up to ensure that the behaviour of all stakeholders is equal in front of the law. However, the Farlam Commission falls out of the scope of this study and will not be discussed past this point.

Marikana "exposed the most unstable configuration of forces in post-apartheid South Africa, forged through entrenched social and economic inequalities" (Mottiar & Bond 2013: 299). Similarly, attempt to offer their perspective on the turn of events at Marikana, (Mottiar & Bond 2013), reveal the extent to which neoliberalism was at play during what they refer to as "contemporary reality of widespread popcorn protests". Having explored the historical metaphors and political lessons, the Mottiar and Bond are led to believe that contemporary South African narratives irrespective of where they are premised –

'nationalism', 'populism', 'black consciousness', 'corporatism', 'liberalism' and 'neoliberalism' – "all appear inadequate to the tasks at hand on the platinum belt and so many other workplaces and communities" (2013: 299). Concluding their article, they suggest that micro-policy must be rebuilt by abandoning South Africa's naïve belief that liberation forces will lead South Africa to freedom.

A fresh perspective and critique of the Marikana Massacre is presented by Ndlovu (2013) employing a decolonial discourse analysis to explore and offer an explanation for how "the modern world system has, since its advent in 1492 as a global power structure, been producing a series of 'Marikana-like' conditions and events on the part of the non-Western subject that underlies its hierarchical arrangement" (2013: 46). The actions of the democratically elected government are consistent with those of the apartheid government, this view corroborates one of the theories to be discussed in the next chapter "Public Sphere" by Habermas, as more than an accident nor an isolated event, and in doing so "explicates how the modern South African state and capital are part of the same 'colonial power matrix'" (ibid), where the matrix conveniently denies certain groups or class access to the public sphere.

Economic commentators have called South Africa a "striking nation" due to the rampant strikes occurring in all sectors (Greg, 2013). Labour unrests have become a powerful blunt weapon of aggression and intimidation, resulting in adverse socio-economic consequences. Strikes have multiple causes and their effects are devastating. Apart from the fact that South Africa faces a host of long-standing economic problems, at least in part due to, and partly as a result of, apartheid, the main cause is likely to remain the legacy of the apartheid era (OECD, 2013). Visser (2007) asserts that the history of strikes in South Africa has been shaped by the country's past racial divisions.

Even though Black Economic Empowerment and the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act (53 of 2003) were passed, the majority of black South Africans still feel excluded in terms of wealth creation opportunities. A majority of South Africans believe that both the BEE and BBBEE have succeeded in making them millionaires. There is a widespread perception among black South Africans that these pieces of legislation only benefited those in positions of or closer to power. The majority of people still fall into the low-income bracket of 'the working class', with incomes barely covering basic needs. This background makes it coherent to literally assume that the majority of striking workers (who are commonly from the previously disadvantaged groups) are critically bitter at the whites who own most of the firms (gains from apartheid policies) and the ANC-led government that hand-picked a few comrades to make them millionaires.

Visser (2007) argues that although many studies have recently begun to produce data on strike occurrences in South Africa, no one has provided a chronological picture of South African strike incidents.

### **2.3 The relationship between violence and protests**

According to the literature, protests are currently aggressive for a variety of reasons. Based on their research tracing the history of protest in the last quarter of the 20th century, Klinlandermans and van Stramans (2015) note that political and social movements articulating grievances of various varieties flourished in South Africa. Alexander (2010) and Seedat and Suffla (2010) note that the historical origins of aggressive protests in South Africa can be traced back to apartheid, while, Ballard et al (2006:7) notes that "local level social contestation involving regular mass action by communities has been taking place in South Africa since at least the 1970s".

Several authors attribute the violent nature of protests to inequalities between the rich and the poor (McLennan & Munslow, 2009) and to government officials who ignore the complaints of protesters (Von Holdt et al, 2011).

However, Jeffrey Juris (2005:414) analysed media representations of the protests against the Group of Eight (G8) in Genoa in an ethnographic account. Juris defined "performative violence" as a "form of meaningful interaction through which actors create social reality through the application of cultural templates". Furthermore, "performance violence is a specific mode of communication in which activists seek to produce social change by staging symbolic rituals of confrontation" (Juris, 2005:414).

Blok (2000: 24) argues that rather than defining violence a priori as irrational and senseless, we ought to regard it as a continuously evolving medium of interaction and communication. Riches (1986:11), notes "violence has both practical-instrumental and symbolic expressive aspects". Juris (2005:414) argues that militant activists are using violence as a means to catch the media's attention: "For example, 'performative violence' is a way to attract media attention to one's cause. Meanwhile, dominant media frames reinterpret the resulting images as random acts of senseless violence.

In a similar vein, Bauman and Briggs (1990) state that militant activists perform violent acts in part to attract the media, which is continually looking for dramatic stories and images. Juris (2005) asserts that the media's poor understanding and misrepresentation of protests in dramatic images has the effect of delegitimising the protesters: "Everyday protest often goes unnoticed, while the iconic images of burning

cars and pitched street battles between masked protesters and militarised riot cops are instantly broadcast through global communications networks” (Juris, 2005:414).

Additionally, police and government officials can manipulate violent images as they decontextualise and reintroduce them into narratives that frame protesters as criminals or terrorists... Indeed, social movement struggles are largely fought through media wars of symbolic interpretation. Consequently, protest violence is at the heart of the politics of signification over what constitutes legitimate dissent.

In the context of political action, performative violence can be seen as a mode of communication through which activists seek to effect social transformation by staging symbolic confrontation based on the representation of antagonistic relationships and the enactment of prototypical images of violence” (Juris, 2005:414).

"Performance violence," as Thompson (1995) describes it, is concerned with gaining visibility for social movements, while Gitlin (1980) states that images of violent confrontations can elicit media attention for social movements. Thus, dramatic actions could be destrutinated and reintroduced into the dominant storylines that strives to marginalise protesters and portray them as criminals.

## **2.4 Media reports on protests**

According to Entman, (1993: 51), the “purpose of news framing is to highlight some aspects of a perceived reality in a way that promotes a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, or treatment recommendation for the described item”. Additionally, it is described as "part of the collective" attempt to construct meaning through individual and interpersonal communication (Vliegenthart & Van Zoonen, 2011:6). In his analysis of protests and social movements, David Snow notes that framing represents:

“The signifying work or meaning construction engaged in by movement adherence (e.g. leaders, activist, and rank-and-file participants) and other actors (e.g. adversaries, institutional elites, media, and counter movements) relevant to the interest of movements and the challenges they mount in pursuit of those interests” (2011:125).

Literature suggests a number of factors contributing to protest framing. An interesting argument is offered by (Gasselt and Richter, 2007), they posit that the international media system that developed during the 20th century gave rise to a tendency to marginalise radical reformers through news coverage of protests. Another observation on the working of mainstream media is made in (Gitlin, 1980) noted among the

scholars who documented how mainstream media employed several rhetorical devices to suppress protests over the Vietnam War, the fact that the media marginalised protesters and their motivations. He stated that media coverage of the protests did not play an impartial role but came to legitimise and elevate official actors as primarily reasonable, while demonising protesters as dangerous. This view is consistent with that of Wasserman (2015), who asserts that the media's outsized emphasis on rationality in the political process can be seen in the way it frames the developments around protests, particularly the Marikana strike. He argues that the media lens on the Marikana strike was that of authority - police, politicians, business - while portraying the emotionally charged expression of the mineworkers as irrationality (Heller, 2009). Jane Duncan (2012) also found that media coverage was heavily biased towards 'people with prominence and that it overwhelmingly favoured business sources of news and analysis. We will return to this point later in chapter five.

Research has documented these rhetorical devices throughout the years, examples of which include Tamara Lynn and Susan Williams (2018), who found that mainstream media coverage of Occupy Wall Street (OWS) protests in 2011 and Tea Party protests were "in ways that, consciously or unconsciously, support the social, economic, and political elites" (Lynn and Williams, 2018:733). Additionally, Lynn and Williams noted in the media reports framed the protesters as "them" whose actions are in conflict with "us" (p. 746). The participants were also framed as disrupting the business of the day where citizens travel to work and live peacefully (p.747). As Lynn and Williams (2018) noted:

"The position of social, economic, and political elites was seldom questioned and thus veiled. Framing the approach advanced by members of OWS as disorderly had an additional effect: criminalization of behaviour. Media reports targeted the 'unruly' visible behaviour of certain participants, even when this behaviour did not represent the organisation as a whole, supporting the literature" (2018:747).

Similarly, Wasserman (2015), points out that analysis of the turn of events at Marikana, which purport to offer an explanation for the motivation behind the mineworkers' strike was often sought in the irrational behaviour of using 'muti' by some of the mineworkers to render them invincible, instead of an exploration of the frustrations and desperation arising from the lived conditions of these mineworkers. Media reports contrasted the 'irrational' beliefs of mineworkers with the official discourses of jurisprudence and medical science (Ledwaba 2013; Maromo 2013). The media repeatedly presented images of a bloodthirsty mob of black men with assegais and homemade weapons, while the voices of reason belonged to the elite - police, business and government.

Based on Holmes (2015), academics and activists have criticised the English-language newspapers' coverage of the Marikana strike and violence that followed. They argue that the official accounts provided by the English-language media bias journalists, as well as readers against the strikers. Alexander, Lekgowa, Mmope, Sinwell, and Xezwi criticized the English-language media for its reliance on official accounts.

Another notable event was the 2015 "Fees Must Fall" student protest movement in South Africa, which was led by students across the country. This was not a "labour unrest". The media, however, operated from the same premise of protest framing. In the second month of the protests, Nadine Schlebusch (2015:11) evaluated the international and South African media coverage of the movement and pointed out "key aspects of the movement that were not reported". During the time that protests were expected, Schlebusch asserts there were two events scheduled; the National Higher Education Transformation Summit and the Medium Term Budget Policy Statement (MTBPS). Schlebusch asserts that these events were at the heart of the students' grievances. "Both these occasions spoke to what the students" were "protesting about, financial shortcomings and questions about (the lack of) transformation" (2015:11). Schlebusch states that on the day of the budget speech students picketed outside parliament to give rise to their cries. Subsequent analysis of the media coverage of the march shows that the media lens was focused on the dramatic actions. "South African students clash with police near Parliament", and "South African students, police clash over university fees" – and the portrayal of students as "militant" (2015:7-9).

Similarly, Wasserman (2015: online) concurs with these sentiments regarding the mainstream media's failure to cover the "Fees Must Fall" movement. In his words, the media became:

"Increasingly irrelevant to what's going on in the streets. Newspapers and even mainstream online news organisations struggled to keep up with what was happening. Some online news reports consisted exclusively of cut-and pasted Twitter updates. If they did more, they often reverted to stereotypes of protesters as irrational, violent and disruptive" (online).

In their work, Assmann (1994) and Opel (2016) argue that tensions between protest strategies, social movements, and media coverage are strongly associated with the commercialisation of the media and professional practices of news production.

"Media ownership has increased, rather than decreased, the correlation between capitalism and the media system" (Opel, 2016:327), this happened through the overt reliance on by media houses

advertising revenue from big corporations (McChesney, 1999). Tichenor, Donahue and Olien (1980) assert that the media coverage of protests is mainly intended to protect the interests of big corporations, corporate and influential leaders. Advertisers are deemed to be the most significant factor to consider when covering protests by marginalised groups challenging the status quo.

Media coverage of stories is highly influenced by news values. Opel (2016) points out that mainstream media traditionally favour spectacle and conflict in the news, with a pattern that "if it bleeds, it leads". Furthermore, Opel argues that these values have a central role in influencing how protests are covered in the media, including emphasising a violent, spectacular imagery instead of focusing on the causes at the heart of the protests:

"News media have consistently represented the protests through the use of violent images. The drama of these images is consistent with commercial news values, but reduces protest coverage to popular, irrational conflict, obscuring the detailed policy alternatives being proposed by the protesters" (Opel, 2016:328).

News coverage of protests often depicts police versus protesters as a marginalising technique (Baylor, 1996). Gitlin (1980) asserts that journalists and editors are more than likely to cover stories that contain conflict and protests that are inherently about challenges to status quo power structures than peaceful marches. Gitlin further states that conflict frames or the protest paradigm are frequently supported by visual material like pictures and videos, along with interviews with protest participants. Therefore, the protest event itself becomes the focus, including style/ dress of the protestors. The backdrop of the crisis is ignored by the reporting.

Moreover, according to the literature, readers tend to perceive protest organisations in a more negative light when the conflict frame is reinforced with visual media, such as images of violence and riot police (Arpan et al, 2006). Thus, the framing of a conflict influences story selection, sources, and duration of attention (Gans, 2004). This combination of news media practices results in what is known as a "media spectacle." Spectacle news is considered to be a major force in delegitimising protests and social movements (Kellner, 2003).

## **2.5 The online news sources' representation of the Marikana developments**

In order to have a full grasp and appreciation of the role played by online news sources in reporting strike action, a historical account of studies relating to the Marikana is necessary to understand better how the topic of media reporting of this incident has been conducted.



Marikana – A View from the Mountain and a Case to Answer by Alexander et al. (2012) was an article that systematically braved the quagmire of speculation around the turn of events on the days leading up to the massacre and on the day. Employing a series of interviews with survivors of the massacre, the paper sought to understand the turn of events from the eyes of the striking mineworker. This was an attempt by the authors to present a bottom-up account of the massacre. This was an apparent deviation from what had become a norm in the days following the massacre, with media reports in favour of official accounts from business, government and unions, thus correcting the imbalance in the media.

Jane Duncan corroborates similar sentiments, regarding the imbalance of news reports, in her work titled “South African journalism and the Marikana massacre: A case study of an editorial failure”. Here, Duncan (2012) reprimanded the news media, contending that “coverage was heavily biased towards officials’ accounts of the massacre, and that it overwhelmingly favoured business sources of news and analysis”. This was deemed “significant as many miners did not feel sufficiently represented by the unions”. Ben Fogel (2012) echoed these sentiments, in his article when he notes the media’s “complicity in uncritically reproducing narratives of the Marikana massacre removed the agency of workers and sought to justify state repression’. As such, the lack of mineworkers’ voices in the media, dependent of the trade union, could be viewed as a dismal attempt by reporters to present inclusive, truthful, fair and balanced news reports on the massacre. The media’s action contributed to the consolidation of dominant versions of events living media consumers with opinions skewed to the favour of financially endowed players. In the article Duncan also presented themes that negatively represent the striking mineworkers; organisational and occupational challenges influencing news coverage; and more generally, problems associated with South Africa’s political economy reproducing and reinforcing social inequalities.

Arguments that characterise all Marikana reports as an “editorial failure” (mainly from the English press, is noted by Holmes (2015) -undervalues the contribution made by other African language/s newspaper publications that covered the Marikana strike and the aftermath. She posits, South African media analysis has failed to take into account the fact that media is produced in multiple languages. While it is beneficial to examine the English language press as the largest print media outlet in South Africa, this monolingual analysis leaves out important facets of the diverse views of the country's media. In her article, “*Marikana in Translation: Print Nationalism in South Africa’s Multilingual Press*”, analysed headlines and content from daily newspapers published in Afrikaans and isiZulu in South Africa. The Afrikaans newspapers were *Die Beeld*, *Die Volksblad* and *Die Burger* and found out that the three newspapers published much of the same content by the same journalists in the immediate aftermath of the Marikana violence, as supplied to these publications by a central reporting team. “The Afrikaans newspapers largely duplicate

these lacunae. Testimony and statements from the miners and their families occur much less frequently in Afrikaans newspapers” (2017:7). Clearly, coverage by the Afrikaans newspapers was premised on news stories found in the English-publications (Holmes 2015: 7-9). The IsiZulu publication that Holmes analysed for the purposes of her article is Isolezwe, the coverage in iSolezwe used its own reporting team, as well as translating some content from the South African Press Association newswire.

In her findings, Holmes noted that the headlines and the news stories analysed, reported from two points of view that of ascribing blame or sympathy. “The coverage of the violence in iSolezwe was more sympathetic to the workers’ strike claims, as well as their perspective in the immediate aftermath than Afrikaans language press content. Rather than focusing on the economic impact of the strikes in the days leading up to the clash, iSolezwe focused on the violence of the preceding days and the official reactions to it. The Afrikaans newspapers, on the other hand, chose to focus the prior coverage of the Marikana strike on mine owners’ reactions to the strike and the economic effects of the work stoppage” (Holmes, 2015:10).

## **2.6 Stereotypes and representation of the black men in the media**

Research by Dixon (2006, 2007, 2008, 2017), Entman (1992, 1994), and Romer, Jamieson, and de Coteau (1998) illustrate how American news media have continued to misrepresent African Americans for decades. The work of Dixon (2008), for instance, argues that distorted descriptions of Black men in local media as "criminals" or "criminal suspects" influence social reality judgments in many people. As Brown (2011) claims that these are "Same Old Stories" about Black men, Entman and Rojecki (2000) argue that racial stereotyping of Blacks on local media networks is not a new phenomenon. Entman and Rojecki (2000), assert that crime news reporting and the constant connection to Black men has not only exacerbated tensions between Black and White Americans, but has also widened the empathy gap on the difficulties faced by Black men (Entman & Rojecki, 2000; KumahAbiwu, 2019).

Researchers Hurley, Jensen, Weaver, and Dixon (2015) found that local media underrepresented Black men as victims while overrepresenting them as criminal suspects. While some of the arguments found in the public discourse on black men on what may be referred to as “misrepresentation dilemma facing Black men” appears to be aligned to the aforementioned scholars, Hurley and colleagues' position on the "aged-old systematic" notion added a new perspective to the broader debates.

Hurley et al. (2015) contend that misrepresenting minority groups, particularly Black men, on local TV news is in keeping with "aged-old systematic" efforts to portray minority groups in a socially constructed frame denigrates them as violent and crime-prone. This argument is consistent with Howard, Flennaugh,

and Terry's (2012) work on Black men and social imagery. In the study, it is discovered the negative social imagery of Blackness has been a part of America's historical legacy, in which attitudes or beliefs about certain groups have shaped Whites' views of other different groups in society. The study concludes that social imagery is not just about the ways in which it has shaped generations of people's perceptions of reality, but also the ways in which it has been used as a tool to enforce "social domination, economic exploitation, and political disenfranchisement" among minorities (Howard et al., 2012: 85). It could be argued, then, that race is still important and continues to dominate American society (Bonilla-Silva, 2001), which again underscores a debate on how the media portray black men.

Bringing the debate of media coverage of black men closer to home, Sarah Chiumbu (2016) - Senior Research Specialist at the South African Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), argued in her 2016 study, *"Media, Race and Capital: A Decolonial Analysis of Representation of Miners' Strikes in South Africa"*, that the "capture" of media institutions by neoliberalism underscored by big conglomerates has resulted in the disenfranchising of views resisting neoliberalism, mostly black views. Her position is supported by Mayher & McDonald (2007) where they state that captured media institutions disseminate a consistent set of ideas shaped around a particular policy agenda.

She posits that this market-oriented nature of the press in South Africa had an impact on the way the Marikana strike was covered. In the media's support for liberal capitalism, the discourse of Marikana was legitimised in an effort to forestall any critique of it. The newspaper articles analysed were more concerned about the effects the prolonged labour unrest will have on the economy and provided a platform to the elite to reiterate their concerns. In the business elites, journalists sought validation for their thoughts and position. "What these kinds of articles do is demonstrate that neoliberal ideas have been woven so deeply into the operations of the media that it becomes natural and common-sense to privilege the voice of business", (Chiumbu 2016:425).

Paul Williams and Ian Taylor argue, during the transition from apartheid, racialised capitalism to neoliberalism did not change the fundamental logic of capitalism, since the business elite ensured that a break from apartheid would not compromise their ability to profit from an exploitative labour system. (2000: 36). 27 years post the unforgiving apartheid era, the South African media has failed note the continuation and somewhat smooth transition from capitalism to neoliberalism a phase which has, a Sam Ashman and Ben Fine (2013) point out, been dominated by the 'three Fs': capital flight, finance, and foreign ownership the key pillar of capitalism.

Additionally, Harper (2012) states labour unions continue to endure hostility from capitalism, and the past two decades have seen the collapse of unionised labour in the western. Thus, it is not surprising that the

marketised news media undermine unions and cries for improved working conditions and better pay. As Harper points out, most corporate media are intimately linked to capitalism, and the withdrawal of labour power poses a serious threat to capitalism.

The strike at the Marikana plant threatened the profits of the Minerals-Energy Complex (MEC). MEC is the core set of heavy industries, powerful vested interests and institutions which evolved around minerals extraction and processing and their interaction as a distinctive system of accumulation whose dynamics and linkages have determined South Africa's pattern of industrialisation (Ashman and Fine, 2013). Mineworkers embarked on an unprotected strike action as they shunned the formal procedures for protected strikes set out in the Labour Relations Act. This caused panic on the part of the mine owners. As a result, the media criminalised' the whole strike by negatively labelling it with phrases such as 'illegal', 'unsanctioned', 'violent', 'criminal', and wildcat' without digging into the reasons why the miners decided to strike outside the legal processes. Using a communist critique, Stephen Harper contends that while the media made mention of the economic demands of the striking mineworkers, they blatantly disregarded the political character of strikes as expressions of class revolt against the entire system of exploitation' (2012: 46).

Sarah Chiumbi further argues that when analysing the position of a black worker in the context of postcolonial capitalist modes of production, race becomes important element of that analysis as it lays bare the practises of conglomerates along racial lines (Chiumbi, 2016). "The black being is seen as an object which does not have ontological density, agency, and existence. The system renders invisible the humanity, identity and social realities of the black worker" (Chiumbi, 2016).

In South Africa, the media continue to perpetuate a culture of information inequality due to the entrenchment of a liberal-pluralist media with a misplaced focus on neutrality, objectivity, and free exchange of ideas. In South Africa, the way the media reports on social protests mirrors how they view marginalised black subjects. Protestors are often framed in negative ways that ignore their subjectivities and lived realities (Chiumbu 2012; Dawson 2012).

She concludes that the South African press operates the same way as print in other liberal-democratic and consumer- oriented media elsewhere. As previously mentioned, the South African media plays a subservient role to market interests. Therefore, the economic incentives of the media impede their ability to support and participate in radical democratic communication.

## **2.7 The role of media in protest**

In society, the media plays a critical role in shaping and creating public opinion. Lang and Lang (1966:466) and Kim et al (2014) note that earlier research overlooked "the role of the media" during protests. The mass and online media is known for providing information, and often the mass media is the first or second source of information that people know.

The news media plays a vital role in informing the public and modelling political realism, "readers get a sense of how much importance to attach to a given issue by reading the amount of information and the report's reasoning" (McCombs & Shaw, 1972:176). The media is one of the main sources of information employed to inform the public about protests (Cottle, 2008). A key element of this development is that the press has become one of the most important political institutions, intimately related to the concerns and preoccupations of readers" (Schultz, 1998:1). Protests are among the most fundamental democratic actions in our "repertoire of political participation" (Booyesen, 2007:24), protesters are dependent on the media for attention and to communicate their goals in order to heighten their chance of success (Baylor, 1996).

Lee (2014:27-26) posits that "media coverage of protests reflects a dynamic interaction between journalists and protesting groups". As the literature points out, protests can generate media coverage that could potentially assist social movements in broadening their audience for their messages. On the other hand, the literature has also shown that movements and actions challenging the status quo are frequently represented negatively in the media (see Entman & Rojecki, 1993; Baylor, 1996). Media outlets have frequently hindered protesters' ability to communicate their positions, so those protesters have developed their own media venues (Atton, 2002).

Scholars agree that the mainstream media is not the only channel through which protesters can communicate their message to the public. Since the advent of the Internet, media have evolved dramatically (Forde, 2011; Harcup, 2013). Scholars argue that the bottom-to-top communication model of the alternative media is a useful channel for protest messaging (Van de Donk et al, 2004; Dahlberg, 2007) – while Roosvall and Tegelberg (2015) and Fraser (2005) posit that the mainstream and online media continues to perpetuate injustices and blocking other voices from confronting the powers that persecute them.

## **2.8 Conclusion**

This study examines the coverage of the Marikana massacre by five online news sources. The literature review revealed how the media marginalise protest voices and fail to represent the underlying causes of

protests. According to academia, this lack is caused by media ownership and news values, which conflict with the media's fundamental mandate and predetermine news agendas. "Big business finances the production and distribution of mass media. And, all intent aside, he who pays the piper generally calls the tune" (Lazarsfeld and Merton, 1948, cited in Grunter, 2000:82).

A free and democratic society cannot function effectively without the media. To put it simply, "the media helps citizens make informed, responsible decisions rather than acting out of ignorance or misinformation". Moreover, its content serves as a "checking function by ensuring that elected representatives uphold their oaths of office and carry out the wishes of those who elected them" (United States Agency for International Development [USAID], 1999:5).

Media freedom is guaranteed by South Africa's Constitution. It is however important that this freedom is based on democratic values, as well as being objective and accurate. Thus, the provision of incorrect data or prejudiced reporting is unethical and unconstitutional (Sebola, 2012).

# Chapter 3

## Theoretical framework

### 3.1 Introduction

This research analyses media coverage of the “Marikana Massacre” that took place in Marikana, Rustenburg, North West Province in 2012, which is guided by the theoretical framework of framing. The previous chapter discussed how the media sets agendas and assigns certain definitions to particular in its coverage. Literature asserts that media framing has a significant impact on the public's perception of an issue, since it shapes the public's thinking and attitudes. This chapter will explore the framing theory, its effects, and the implications of media framing for democracy as well as explore the protest paradigm theory.

As alluded to above, this research study will analyse how the five selected online media framed the 2012 “Marikana strike and Massacre” in Marikana, as Entman (1993:52) asserted that frame analysis serves “four main purposes within the context of media research – to define problems, to diagnose a cause, to make value judgments, and to suggest remedies”.

### 3.2 The Framing Theory

Framing is understood to be the “construction of an agenda with a limited number of thematically related attributes, in order to create a coherent picture of a particular subject” (McCombs & Ghanem, 2001:70). Goffman (1974:21) describes frames as providing meaning and context for readers, enabling them “to locate, perceive, identify and label” events. Similarly, Jasperson (1998:206) wrote that framing “provides a means of describing the power of communication to direct individual cognition towards a means of prescribing interpretation of a situation or subject”.

A frame is a way of organising ideas “to present a specific way of thinking about a topic and ... suggests what is at issue” (De Vreese, 2005:53), thus, gives the consumers a way to organise and process information (Colin & Davie, 2015). Frames “activate knowledge, stimulate stocks of cultural morals and values, and create context” and, as such, they “define problems, diagnose causes, make moral judgments, and suggest remedies” (De Vreese, 2005:53).

When it comes to news and news coverage, the academia describes framing as “a means to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described” (Entman, 1993:51). Media use frames such as “words, images, phrases, and presentation styles” to report news (Druckman, 2001:227).

Vliegenthart & Zoonen (2011: 106) explain framing “as part of the collective struggle over meaning that takes place through a multiplicity of media and interpersonal communication”. The framing of news stories may provide meaning to details that might otherwise go unnoticed. Media consumers (viewers and readers) use news frames for understanding as well as interpreting the information received from various news channels daily. Through the use of familiar and repeated frames, the public is less likely to make their own conclusions about an issue (Bronstein, 2005).

### **3.3 Framing and its effects on publics**

The role of mass media in influencing people's opinions has long been a topic of debate. Scholars suggest that the framing theory is but one component of the “media effects, known as long-term or cognitive theories” (Linstrom & Marais, 2012:21). Cognition is “our faculty of knowing and understanding something in a specific way and how we base our behaviour and thinking about such knowledge” (Forrie, 2001:298). There are two distinct ways that framing can affect perceptions and emotions (De Vreese, 2005) on individuals and society in general (D’ Angelo, 2002).

A framing of an issue influences how individuals assign meaning to it and can also affect how society as a whole reacts to it, leading to adjustments in politics and cultural ideals. As such, framing is likely to have a greater impact on an individual's views on a matter than their involvement and individual encounters, particularly if there is a limited knowledge and understanding of the issue (Maheswaran & Meyers-Levy, 1990; De Vreese, 2005).

For a more in-depth look into framing, Appelman and Asmara (2018) assert that, when covering crises, the media creates labels, which affect the way readers perceive the issue. For example, the media’s use of particular labels for a conglomerate accused of flouting labour regulations may influence the audience’s perceptions about that company. Harber (2009) concurs with these sentiments in relation to the terms “service delivery protest as well as workers strike”. As Harber (2009: n.p.) says: “By using the word ‘delivery’, we are telling people that they only need to act when there is a failure to deliver. And then the only form of action is a protest, and the only way to be heard is probably to make that protest violent.”



Studies have found that even the smallest linguistic modifications, such as catchphrases or argument order, may have a significant effect on the audience's attribution of responsibility and reputation judgments (Appelman & Asmara, 2018).

### **3.4 Protest framing in the media: implications for democracy**

Considering the discussion on the power the media has to shape the opinion and frame events in the minds of their audiences, the role of media in supporting a working democratic system becomes even more significant. Sina Odugbemi and Pippa Norris (2009:3) suggest that "democratic governance is important for" maximising "fundamental freedoms, human choices, self-determination and development". The advent of the democratic rule of the law in 1994 in South Africa brought about freedom for all citizens (Kuye, 2006), including "the right to assemble, demonstrate" and "picket" (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). Thus, it is provided for in the constitution of the country that citizens have the right to gather to protest against any issue. Oliver and Maney (2000:464) contend that "protests never arise in a vacuum; they are a response to events or problems".

According to Friedman (2011) citizens are entitled to exercise their rights as enshrined in a country's constitution including that of engaging in collective action to force those in power to account and to respond to them. Without information about what the powers that be are doing, or the mechanisms and tools available to hold them accountable, citizens cannot exercise their rights. "[The] crucial determinant for the depth and breadth of democracy is the information about the exercise of power available in any society, and the range of social groups which enjoy access to it. Since the media is the prime source [of information], it wields considerable power over the dissemination of information citizens need to exercise sovereignty," (Friedman, 2011:108).

The "news media in each country is a vital part of the institutional mix, provided that it is set up in a way that allows it to play the roles of watchdogs, agenda-setters and gatekeepers. These roles strengthen the quality of democratic governance" (Norris & Odugbemi, 2009:3). The general approach to entrusting democratic functions to the media is based on the belief and hope that these organisations operate in the interest of the electorate and report on matters concerning the public at large.

In addition, these roles are entrusted to a free media as they can only be performed by a free media. "The institutional arrangements of democracy provide the most hospitable environment for watchdog reporting. The constitutional and legal protections for a free press, as well as access to government-held

information, give journalists not only the right, but also the tools with which to monitor government. The checks and balances inherent in the representative system also legitimise journalistic inquiry as part of a broader framework of government's accountability to citizens" (Coronel, 2009:139).

Kim (2014:1) argues that the "media should collectively keep the government responsive and responsible to citizens". However, evidence from academic literature indicates that, "in new democracies, adversarial or antagonistic media is occasionally seen to undermine the delicate trust put in a new government" (Voltmer, 2006:4).

Media framing of protest through the lens of marginalisation undermines notions of freedom of the press and the watchdog role that the media is expected to perform in a democratic society (Voltmer, 2006). Giddens (2002:78) argues that the media should not be left out of the equation of democracy, since it "tends to destroy the very public space of dialogue it opens up, through relentless trivialising, and personalising, of political issues. Moreover, the growth of giant multinational media corporations means that unelected business tycoons can hold enormous power". Friedman (2011:108) asserts that the media must be held accountable for making sure that the content it distributes reflects the most diverse series of social experiences: "A media which tells only part of the story, or tells the story of only a part of society, is not only failing in its professional task, but is hindering the development of a deeper and broader democracy."

Coronel writes that:

"The media is also expected to provide a forum where a broad range of voices – opposition parties, civil society actors, independent experts, and ordinary citizens – can express alternative views ... Moreover, the media is widely seen as the Fourth Estate, referring to the media as an institution alongside other branches of government, which together provide a system of checks and balances to control political officials and prevent the misuse of power ... The daily flow of news generates a running tally of government policies, political events, and the actions of political officials, on the basis of which citizens make their own choices" (Coronel, 2009:164).

### **3.5 The Protest Paradigm Theory**

Social movements as well as labour movements often embark on protests to gain media attention in order to reach both the general public and their elected representatives (Rucht et al, 1991). However, for many protest groups, attracting attention for their cause that actually helps is a challenging undertaking. Instead, they succumb to what is known as "description bias", referred to as "protest paradigm" in

scholarly works (Gitlin, 1980; Duncan, 2016), and a theory of the news of social conflict (Joseph et al, 1984).

Coverage of protests does not happen by accident, “well recognised journalistic practices and professional ideologies help shape how protests are reported on by the media and interpreted by their publics” (Duncan, 2016: 146). Roosvall and Tegelberg (2005) claim that mainstream media continues to engender prejudice that impedes alternative actors from holding accountable those who oppress them. McLeod and Hertog (2007) point out that persistent challenge to the status quo by protest groups has yielded the harshest of treatments by mainstream media which includes media coverage marginalisation. Duncan (2016:147) echoes this point and says, “the more radical a group is considered to be, the more likely it is to be subjected to the protest paradigm by journalists”.

There has been a great deal of literature reporting on the media's hostility to protests, and scholars have identified a number of repetitive elements that reflect this antagonistic behaviour. Chan and Lee (1984) assert that these elements represent the protest paradigm, that McLeod and Hertog (1993:310) refer to as a “routinised pattern or implicit template for the coverage of social protest”. An extensive literature review identified a total of 14 typologies of marginalisation devices utilised in the media coverage of protests, and nine of these include general lawlessness, police confrontation, freak show, romper room or idiots at large, carnival, public opinion polls, generalisations, eyewitness accounts and official sources (see McLeod & Hertog, 1999; McFarlane & Hay, 2003; Dardis, 2006; Shahin et al, 2016).

A study of protest coverage in South Africa, Jane Duncan (2016:150-162) noted a variety of elements of the protest paradigm in the mainstream media's coverage of protests. In conclusion, she concluded that there is little doubt that South Africa's journalism covers protests through the well-documented protest paradigm. However, some media appeared to be an exception to the rule.

Duncan's (2016) study focused on four protest areas in South Africa - Rustenburg, Mbombela, Blue Crane Route and the Nelson Mandela Bay Metro-, and included media reports from mainstream commercial and community news outlets. Duncan (2016:155) studied articles published online and found that the media primarily used official sources, such as police and government officials, with the “most articles demonstrating a systematic under-representation of protesters' voices”. Additionally, she noted a failure to include academic sources that might have provided an expert perspective on the issues at stake. On the application of frames, Duncan (2016:151) observed narratives such as “riotous”, “criminality” or “theatrical elements”, indicating that “journalists were highly selective about which protests were covered”. She asserted that journalists were biased:

“Towards protests that involved some level of disruption or violence ... and many stories were framed primarily by the actions of their most extreme elements ... rather than by their more peaceful elements, which led to them being constructed as largely unreasonable responses to grievances” (2016:151).

Regarding the demonisation and the delegitimisation of protests, Duncan asserted that not all articles employed these features. “Journalists appeared to distinguish between deserving and undeserving protests in their coverage, with the latter more likely to exhibit features of the protest paradigm than the former” (p.159). As one example of this, she cites the 2013 protests at the Cookhouse where the delegitimising device was evident. The protests barely received “main story” coverage, with little coverage of the underlying causes of protests, an absence that Duncan (2016:159) argued, “implied that the protests lacked rational reasons”.

Protesters remained “voiceless” (2016:159) and were not engaged by journalists on their cause. Duncan (2016:159) noted that the “majority of reports counterpoised the protests to the voter registration drive in the area and framed the protests as a disruptive threat to the drive”. In general, the reports framed the protest “in a negative light, and a violent threat to the most basic pillar of representative democracy: voting”, Duncan (2016:159) stated.

Some articles reported the protests through the lens of the “law and order frame”, where the police were strongly represented against the protesters. Thus, “delegitimisation and demonisation of their actions could take place largely unchallenged”, Duncan (2016:159) asserted. In addition, she noted that only a few of the articles she examined framed the protests as “an attempt at dialogue, not just disruption” (p.159).

The portrayal of protests as “inter-party squabbles” or factionalism is another delegitimising device that Duncan noted in her study of the South African media coverage of protests. Duncan (2016:160) argues that such media coverage has “portrayed protesters as being tools to be used or abused to gain or maintain powerful positions, with little or no reference to the deeper social forces that gave rise to these struggles”. Political differences in the ANC in the Eastern Cape and Nelson Mandela Bay Metro were “belittled” as “infightings”, as opposed to “being placed in a context that would have helped readers to understand the deeper socio-political forces at work in the conflict”, Duncan (2016:161) asserted.

She argued that this level of “superficial” reporting “can make readers cynical about politics and political contests, which are portrayed as being driven by self-interest even when they are not” (p.161). This can further strengthen debates that protests are not legitimate, but rather driven by manipulators with their

own selfish ambitions to hang on to "power" at all costs. This viewpoint "denies agency to those organising the collective action", Duncan (2016:161) asserted.

Looking at the community media, which is likely to be more sympathetic towards grassroots protest action as opposed to the mainstream media, Duncan (2016:157) found a news article in one of the community newspapers in Mpumalanga, where a reporter "was at pains to quote the municipal spokesperson and the DA, with no apparent attempt to quote the residents themselves", on protests regarding the uncertain future of an illegal settlement.

In the community publications, Duncan (2016) noted two articles published in *The Lowvelder* and *Mpumalanga News* which took a more sensitive approach when covering protests of unpaid municipal workers in Mbombela and water cuts in Tekwane. These two local newspapers examined the underlying motives behind the protests more thoroughly than others. The coverage highlighted: "how it is possible to produce journalism on the issues that give rise to protests from first-hand experience, lending the piece urgency and authenticity, and underlining the all-too-often unexplored potential of community media to counterbalance mainstream media offerings" (p.158).

### **3.6 South African media setting the agenda on the Marikana Massacre**

The theory of agenda-setting explains in excellent detail news media's aptitude to lift or make prominent a topic to influence the public agenda (McCombs & Reynolds, 2002). The theory presupposes that repeated coverage of a topic on prominent news slots or newspapers will ultimately lead to that topic acquiring more salience in the minds of the public. This will then affect the discussions around dinner tables, at work, on public transport and in social gatherings, as those issues would be viewed as more significant by the public. In its nature, agenda-setting emphasises the power and influence that news media wields. It considers news media to be the primary weapon to shape public opinion on any issue.

In tackling how media could be used to drive awareness about social issues, Rebecca De Souza (2007) looked at the prominent role played by the media in the social construction of the HIV / AIDS pandemic. She used two theories, grounded theory and media framing, to understand how the world's most populous country made sense of the pandemic. In her analysis, she drew her attention on the multiple frames used by Indian readers concerning topics such as HIV / AIDS, causes and solutions, and most at-risk groups. For this research, it is not the primary focus whether the selected South Africa online news sources created salience of the 'Marikana Massacre' issue.

The theory of agenda-setting was used for the first time by renowned scholars Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in 1972, following comprehensive research into the theory. At the heart of this theory is the relationship that exists between the emphasis put on supposedly topical issues and the public's response thereof, as a result, of the repeated coverage of the issues (Littlejohn, 2009).

When the theory began, it offered an explanation that mass media was used to effect change in political behaviour during elections (Cohen, 1963). As a result, agenda-setting theory has inspired more research into how news media can frame issues for their respective audiences. The research further extends to the debate on how the news media colours a specific event for the public (Matsaganis, 2005). Mass media can, therefore, be regarded as the primary weapon responsible for manipulating and further shaping public opinion and the agenda. This manipulation or influence can be intentional or unintentional by the media (Iyengar, 1987).

Over the years, the theory has stood as the foremost theory for social science research (Reese, 1991). Guided by this theory news media is believed to possess little or no power on setting the public agenda, mainly in the matter of opinion or attitudes (Cohen, 1963). However, Stephen Littlejohn posits that news media can contribute to or influence the perceptions, values, focus and priorities of the various media audiences. He further elaborates that given such influence media consumers formulate their opinion or may even focus on issues that are considered worthy of being included in their imaginative agendas (Littlejohn, 2009).

Over the years, agenda-setting theory researchers have highlighted vital elements of the theory such as the fact that it sets the agenda for news mass media; what is the agenda for mass media; and what is mass media's capacity to influence the public agenda?

Agenda Setting based on the 1993 research by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw, view that public agenda has some influence on the media agenda. To an extent, news media finds itself forced to do a supply and demand to cater to the interests of media consumers. Stephen Littlejohn explains that these can be noted from various tools used to gauge audience interests, such as ratings, audience studies, market research and survey, and the audience's consumption patterns (Littlejohn, 2009). He points out that this is an acceptable norm as mass media is connected to business and market surroundings and exists to generate profit primarily. Therefore, such surroundings have at their core the public and public agenda interests. The mass media should cater to the interests of their audiences in order to generate profits (Krugman, 1965).

Therefore, Walgrave (2006) and McCombs (1993) state that politicians and public relations practitioners can set the agenda. The world-renowned writers refer to the potential role of government and business in raising awareness about their policies using the agenda-setting of the mass media. (Walgrave, 2008; Dearing, 1988) add that. This is noticeable around election periods when parties want to sway the public in their favour for votes.

### **3.7 What are the newspaper agendas?**

Astute academics, Everett Rogers and James Dearing (1988) firmly believe that the agenda-setting theory concerning news media and more specifically online news sources is premised on three agendas. These are public agenda, media agenda and policy agenda. All three agendas are interrelated through a 3-part-process:

- Media Agenda - topical issues in the media;
- Public Agenda - topical issues relevant to the public;
- Policy Agenda - topical issues considered important by policymakers.

These three agendas carry the most crucial effect of mass communication, which is its ability to order and organise our world for us imaginatively. To sum up, news media including online news sources may not enjoy much success in forcing us to think what they have set for us, but they are doing a stellar job in telling us what to think about"(McCombs, 1972).

Agenda Setting is three-pronged. The first level sets out the most important popular topics, and the second level chooses which sections of the topic are worth one's attention. Rogers and Dearing (1996), state that this theory is three-pronged. The first element deals with the issues to be discussed in the media. Secondly, do the issues discussed in the media impact on what the audiences think – which is the public agenda. Finally, the public agenda influences the policy agenda. Furthermore "the media agenda affects the public agenda, and the public agenda affects the policy agenda."(Littlejohn, 2009).

In the context of the Marikana Massacre, agenda-setting theory was applied through accentuating the views of the elite such as the Police, mine bosses, government and unions, meanwhile denigrating those of the striking mineworkers. In her analysis of the sources used by print articles reporting on the Marikana Massacre, Professor Jane Duncan (2012), found that the business voice dominated, providing 27% of sources and Miners' voices outside of the two main union protagonists NUM and AMCU accounted for a mere 3% of sources: the lowest of all the source categories. This goes to show that either consciously or subconsciously, the elements of agenda setting were applied, while newspapers publications went for

readily available sources versus unreliable sources. The following section delves deeper into another arm of agenda-setting, framing and representation, which will further elucidate how news media report on specific stories using framing techniques.

### **3.8 Conclusion**

The framing theory highlights the fact that one cannot undervalue the role and responsibility the media has towards the society, this as it wields the power to influence public perception on critical matters. As the single most trusted source of information amongst citizens, the media has the power to influence political and cultural values. The following chapters will use the framing theory to study how the five online news sources under review reported on the 2012 “Marikana strike and massacre” at Lonmin in the North West Province based on the protest paradigm.



# Chapter 4:

## Methodology

### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the methods used to engage the data that was obtained from the selected online news sources from August 2012 to September 2014. This study was formulated within qualitative research design, as it sought to avoid linear interpretation in which certain variables are mechanistically related to each other. In this context, data interpretation focused on data unification in order to provide a consistent and relevant understanding of the topics discussed in the following chapters. This chapter also discusses the relative research methodological approaches employed by this study, namely data collection, and analysis. Concerning the studies' research questions, the above methods offer precedence to interpreting inherent meanings rather than just manifest one. Simply put, Norman Fairclough's, Critical Discourse Analysis (1995) critical discourse analysis method.

This study employed Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as the analytical tool to analyse and critically answer the research questions. For the purpose of this study CDA concerns itself with the analysis of written texts, in order to reveal "discursive sources of power, dominance, inequality, and bias" (Van Dijk, 2006). CDA analyses how said sources are both preserved and propagated inside specific social, political, and historical contexts (Van Dijk, 1998). As such this method is essential to engage the objectives and research questions of this study. Whose objectives are:

1. To evaluate complexities found in the discourse on Lonmin/Marikana Massacre media reports.
2. To determine the extent to which the framing of the protest influenced the stereotypes about the working class (mineworkers) and the business class (Lonmin Mine).
3. To assess news agendas that created specific binaries between the mineworkers as being against Lonmin as well as lessons learnt from Business and National news narratives.

Moreover, the research questions are:

1. What complexities are found in the discourse on the Marikana Massacre media reports?
2. To determine the extent to which the framing of the protest influenced the stereotypes about the working class (mineworkers) and the business class (Lonmin Mine).

3. What were the news agendas that created specific binaries between the mineworkers as being against Lonmin?

The study was interested in the reporting of the events that took place in Marikana, which led to the Marikana Massacre. Forty-Seven (47) news articles were observed and interrogated from five online news sources, which are *SowetanLive*, *BusinessLive*, *Daily Maverick*, *Mail & Guardian* and *New24*. The main reason for collecting and focusing on articles is mainly due to the accessibility of the news stories that are of interest to this study. Secondly, based on the presumption that most people who read on this matter, mainly gained access to these stories, through the online articles being available online and easily accessible through social media sharing and interactive functions. This means that these articles reached a large group of people and allowed for engagement.

## **4.2 Research design**

The research design is regarded as a roadmap for the achievement of research objectives in order to provide informed responses to research questions (Bhattacharjee, 2012: 21), and is used to aid and guide the process of collecting and analysing data (Hair et al., 2009: 51). This study adopted a Descriptive Design (Berelson, 1952) to "provide a complete and accurate description" (Struwig, 2013: 17) of the way the news items taken from five online news sources frame the Marikana massacre. As such, the data that was collected using the five online news sources.

In the data analysis and research findings chapter, the study engenders new insights about the different online news sources on the Marikana Massacre and events leading up to the fateful day.

The rationale for choosing the descriptive design was based on the idea that one of the critical objectives of the study was to examine to what degree did the framing of the workers strike influence the stereotypes about the working class and the business class. The descriptive design is "a rich source of anecdotal data and a model for the acquisition of fundamental information" (Rourke, 2001). Therefore, the results of this study will provide the foundation for further research, especially from a qualitative perspective.

## **4.3 Sampling and Data Collection**

Data collection for this qualitative research was limited to news and editorial articles found from online news sources. The reason for selecting those online news sources is that they are amongst the most significant online news sources in South Africa based on website visits and readership. For instance, the

SowetanLive, claims to be one of South Africa's most significant online news sources, with more than 1.5-million readers per month who spend on average nearly five minutes on each article<sup>1</sup>. News24 is the top news website in the country, with 7 million unique monthly browsers and over four minutes spent on each article on average<sup>2</sup>. Daily Maverick has over 900 000 online readers with over 4 million page visits every month<sup>3</sup>. Mail & Guardian Online also has over 1 million users, 50 000 daily average users and each user on average spends over 1 minute per session on average<sup>4</sup>. BusinessLive has over 600 000 unique users and generates over 300 000 page or article views per month on average<sup>5</sup>.

Purposive sampling was used to determine the study period as well as the range of the issues to constitute the message pool. The study period constituted two years from August 2012- September 2014. This study period was selected to expand the scope of previous research, which tended to focus on media reports post the Marikana massacre. However, the study focused primarily on the two months of August 2012 – September 2012. The specific timelines were selected intentionally. Furthermore, this allowed the study to focus solely on the two months when the incident was gaining public attention and the height of media reporting of the incident. Moreover, a specific focus was paid to before the shooting, during the shooting and after the shooting of the miners who died in August 2012.

Likewise, the number of issues that were included in the sample were selected purposefully and consisted of all news items of SowetanLive, BusinessLive, Daily Maverick, News24 and Mail & Guardian published between 13 August 2012 and 30 September 2012. The reason for the inclusion of such many online news sources was that the study could not predict the number of messages that might be in the data. More so, the period was most important as the Marikana Massacre was debated across most communication channels. It was a contentious subject in South Africa among political parties, civil organisations and the public voicing their views, and as such, there is no knowing the level of coverage by the five online news sources. This approach yielded enough content to analyse for this study.

Moreover, the various online news sources, especially the *Daily Maverick*, *SowetanLive* and *Mail & Guardian*, provided more opinion pieces that could have easily been missed if the study had restricted itself to only news reports. It was also necessary to consider such a large sample because the Marikana Massacre is a first for the democratically elected African National Congress (ANC) government as well as a new topic for the South African media-scape and journalism. It was essential to include all forms of

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<sup>1</sup> SowetanLive website <https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/about-us/> (accessed 25 September 2018)

<sup>2</sup> News24 website <https://www.news24.co.za> (accessed 25 September 2018)

<sup>3</sup> Daily Maverick website <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za> (accessed 25 September 2018)

<sup>4</sup> Mail & Guardian website <https://www.mg.co.za> (accessed 25 September 2018)

<sup>5</sup> BusinessLive website <https://www.businesslive.co.za> (accessed 25 September 2018)

online news items to fully grasp the South African reporting style, especially within post-apartheid- "press freedom" nature of news reporting. This study sought to understand the nuances that the headlines of these news and editorial articles carried.

#### **4.4.1 Selecting the Relevant Content**

All five-news online news sources' electronic archives were searched for stories about the Marikana Massacre with the exclusion of those reporting on the Farlam Commission – a commission of inquiry set up to investigate the murders of mineworkers by the South African Police Service on 16 August 2012. The key search terms included, "Marikana massacre," "mineworkers killed by SAPS," "muthi crazed miners," "violent mining strikes," "SAPS versus mineworkers," and "Lonmin versus mineworkers". As Strand (2012) notes, this wide selection of search terms narrows the search to include the relevant items.

A useful way to identify the stories was by looking at the headlines and checking whether they contained any of these keywords. If a story's headline carried any of these words, they were analysed to determine if they were about the Marikana Massacre or not. If the stories were found to be about the Marikana massacre, they were assessed further to identify the frames. Names of key figures in the debate on the Marikana Massacre in South Africa also provided a useful hint on whether to consider the story or not.

These key figures include politicians, union leaders, police bosses, mine bosses and government officials, who offered different narratives on the turn of events in Marikana on that fateful day. The study took note of each online news source that had been searched in order to ensure that there was no repetition or omission of news and editorial articles that could form part of the sample.

The tables below show the 47 news items that were the focus of the study. As noted above, the news items were gathered through an electronic search of the online archives of all five online news sources. The key search terms included, "Marikana massacre," "mineworkers killed by SAPS," "*muthi* crazed miners," "violent mining strikes," "SAPS versus mineworkers," and "Lonmin versus mineworkers". As Strand (2012) notes, this wide selection of search terms narrows the search to include the relevant items. Tables below show the stories sources, dates and titles of news items reporting on the Marikana Massacre.

### SowetanLive news items

Source name	SowetanLive	Articles/Editorials/Column	News sites	Date Published
Number of news items	20			
Headlines in August	Ultimatum fails to break deadlock	Article	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/amp/business/2012-08-16-ultimatum-fails-to-break-deadlock/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/amp/business/2012-08-16-ultimatum-fails-to-break-deadlock/</a>	16 August 2012
	Striking platinum miners confront police	Article	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/business/2012-08-15-striking-platinum-miners-confront-police/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/business/2012-08-15-striking-platinum-miners-confront-police/</a>	15 August 2012
	Police trying to protect warring miners	Article	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/business/2012-08-15-police-trying-to-protect-warring-miners/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/business/2012-08-15-police-trying-to-protect-warring-miners/</a>	15 August 2012
	Police fire on Marikana miners, several dead	Article	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-08-16-police-fire-on-marikana-miners-several-dead/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-08-16-police-fire-on-marikana-miners-several-dead/</a>	16 August 2012
	Call for violence at Lonmin mine to be probed.	Article	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/business/2012-08-17-call-for-violence-at-lonmin-mine-to-be-probed/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/business/2012-08-17-call-for-violence-at-lonmin-mine-to-be-probed/</a>	17 August 2012
	African lives cheap as ever	Column	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/opinion/columnists/2012-08-17-african-lives-cheap-as-ever/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/opinion/columnists/2012-08-17-african-lives-cheap-as-ever/</a>	17 August 2012
	AMCU union to speak on mine massacre	Article	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/amp/news/2012-08-17-amcu-union-to-speak-on-mine-massacre/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/amp/news/2012-08-17-amcu-union-to-speak-on-mine-massacre/</a>	17 August 2012
	Malema calls for Zuma and Mthethwa's resignation.	Article	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/business/2012-08-20-malema-calls-for-zuma-and-mthethwas-resignation/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/business/2012-08-20-malema-calls-for-zuma-and-mthethwas-resignation/</a>	20 August 2012
	Platinum hits 6-week high on massacre.	Article	<a href="https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/sowetan/20120821/textview">https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/sowetan/20120821/textview</a>	18 August 2012
	'Probe police bosses over Marikana'	Article	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-08-22-probe-police-bosses-over-marikana/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-08-22-probe-police-bosses-over-marikana/</a>	22 August 2012
	Relatives claim 33 dead miners.	Article	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-08-22-relatives-claim-33-dead-miners/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-08-22-relatives-claim-33-dead-miners/</a>	22 August 2012
	The police have no moral right to kill	Column	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/opinion/columnists/2012-08-24-the-police-have-no-moral-right-to-kill/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/opinion/columnists/2012-08-24-the-police-have-no-moral-right-to-kill/</a>	24 August 2012
	Politicians 'used Marikana tragedy to campaign.'	Article	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-08-27-politicians-used-marikana-tragedy-to-campaign/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-08-27-politicians-used-marikana-tragedy-to-campaign/</a>	27 August 2012
	Zuma's government is acting like pigs – Malema.	Article	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-08-27-zumas-government-is-acting-like-pigs-malema/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-08-27-zumas-government-is-acting-like-pigs-malema/</a>	27 August 2012



	Major setback for Zuma	Article	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-08-28-major-setback-for-zuma/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-08-28-major-setback-for-zuma/</a>	28 August 2012
<b>Headlines in September</b>	Report takes swipe at state, unions and mining bosses.	Article	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/business/2012-09-07-report-takes-swipe-at-state-unions-and-mining-bosses/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/business/2012-09-07-report-takes-swipe-at-state-unions-and-mining-bosses/</a>	07 September 2012
	Call to take stock on Marikana.	Article	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-09-11-call-to-take-stock-on-marikana/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-09-11-call-to-take-stock-on-marikana/</a>	11 September 2012
	Marikana a warning shot – Vavi	Article	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-09-11-marikana-a-warning-shot-vavi/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-09-11-marikana-a-warning-shot-vavi/</a>	11 September 2012
	SA under leadership of tribal clique – Pityana	Article	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-09-13-sa-under-leadership-of-tribal-clique-pityana/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-09-13-sa-under-leadership-of-tribal-clique-pityana/</a>	13 September 2012
	Miners reject Lonmin wage offer.	Article	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/business/2012-09-14-miners-reject-lonmin-wage-offer/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/business/2012-09-14-miners-reject-lonmin-wage-offer/</a>	14 September 2012

#### Mail & Guardian news items

Source name	Mail & Guardian	Articles/Editorials/Column	News sites	Date published
<b>Number of news items</b>	12			
<b>Headlines in August</b>	Peace organisation blames Zuma, ANC for Marikana killings.	Article	<a href="https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-18-peace-organisation-blames-zuma-anc-for-marikana-killings/">https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-18-peace-organisation-blames-zuma-anc-for-marikana-killings/</a>	18 August 2012
	Activists decry talk of 'third force' at Marikana.	Article	<a href="https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-23-activists-decry-talk-of-third-force-at-marikana/">https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-23-activists-decry-talk-of-third-force-at-marikana/</a>	23 August 2012
	Cops 'shouldn't be sorry' about Marikana shooting	Article	<a href="https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-20-51-phiyega-officers-shouldnt-be-sorry-about-marikana-shooting/">https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-20-51-phiyega-officers-shouldnt-be-sorry-about-marikana-shooting/</a>	20 August 2012
	Malema at Marikana: 'Many will die'	Article	<a href="https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-18-malema-at-marikana-many-will-die/">https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-18-malema-at-marikana-many-will-die/</a>	18 August 2012
	Get back to work, or else, Lonmin warns	Article	<a href="https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-19-marikana-action-is-a-strike-by-the-poor/">https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-19-marikana-action-is-a-strike-by-the-poor/</a>	19 August 2012
	Marikana tragedy: Who authorised the use of live ammunition?	Article	<a href="https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-21-marikana-tragedy-who-authorised-the-use-of-live-ammunition/">https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-21-marikana-tragedy-who-authorised-the-use-of-live-ammunition/</a>	21 August 2012
	Apartheid cop: How we would have handled Marikana	Article	<a href="https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-23-apartheid-cop-how-we-would-have-handled-marikana/">https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-23-apartheid-cop-how-we-would-have-handled-marikana/</a>	23 August 2012

	Marikana Massacre illustrates need for development plan.	Article	<a href="https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-24-00-marikana-mine-massacre-illustrates-the-need-for-a-development-plan/">https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-24-00-marikana-mine-massacre-illustrates-the-need-for-a-development-plan/</a>	24 August 2012
	Marikana: Blood on our hands, hands over ears	Article	<a href="https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-22-cant-you-hear-the-thunder/">https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-22-cant-you-hear-the-thunder/</a>	22 August 2012
	Marikana: 'Common purpose not outdated or defunct.'	Article	<a href="https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-31-marikana-common-purpose-not-outdated-or-defunct/">https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-31-marikana-common-purpose-not-outdated-or-defunct/</a>	31 August 2012
	Marikana is the latest chapter in a long saga.	Article	<a href="https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-24-00-marikana-the-latest-chapter-in-a-long-saga/">https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-24-00-marikana-the-latest-chapter-in-a-long-saga/</a>	24 August 2012
	Marikana: The miners were hunted like beasts	Article	<a href="https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-31-00-marikana-the-miners-were-hunted-like-beasts/">https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-31-00-marikana-the-miners-were-hunted-like-beasts/</a>	31 August 2012

#### Mail & Guardian news items

Source name	BusinessLive	Articles/Editorials/Column	News sites	Date Published
Number of news items	2			
Headlines in August	Marikana events a 'huge' blow to SA investment	Article	<a href="https://www.businesslive.co.za/bd/companies/2012-08-19-marikana-events-a-huge-blow-to-sa-investment/">https://www.businesslive.co.za/bd/companies/2012-08-19-marikana-events-a-huge-blow-to-sa-investment/</a>	19 August 2012
Headlines in September	ANC MPs fear for safety, refuse to meet Marikana workers	Article	<a href="https://www.businesslive.co.za/bd/national/labour/2012-09-12-anc-mps-fear-for-safety-refuse-to-meet-marikana-workers/">https://www.businesslive.co.za/bd/national/labour/2012-09-12-anc-mps-fear-for-safety-refuse-to-meet-marikana-workers/</a>	12 September 2012

#### News24 news items

Source name	News24	Articles/Editorials/Column	News sites	Date Published
Number of news items	4			
Headlines in September	Marikana reports one-sided: Sapu	Article	<a href="https://www.news24.com/news24/marikana-reports-one-sided-sapu-20120905">https://www.news24.com/news24/marikana-reports-one-sided-sapu-20120905</a>	05 September 2012
	Zuma will not free Marikana miners.	Article	<a href="https://www.news24.com/news24/zuma-will-not-free-marikana-miners-20120901">https://www.news24.com/news24/zuma-will-not-free-marikana-miners-20120901</a>	01 September 2012



	Cops fear scene at Marikana contaminated – report.	Article	<a href="https://www.news24.com/News24/Cops-fear-scene-at-Marikana-contaminated-report-20120911">https://www.news24.com/News24/Cops-fear-scene-at-Marikana-contaminated-report-20120911</a>	11 September 2012
	Man found hacked to death at Marikana – report.	Article	<a href="https://www.news24.com/News24/Man-found-hacked-to-death-at-Marikana-report-20120911">https://www.news24.com/News24/Man-found-hacked-to-death-at-Marikana-report-20120911</a>	11 September 2012

### Daily Maverick news items

Source name	Daily Maverick	Articles/Editorials/Column	News sites	Date Published
<b>Number of news items</b>	11			
<b>Headlines in August</b>	Marikana: Cabinet ministers feel full force of striking miners' fury	Article	<a href="https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-08-22-marikana-cabinet-ministers-feel-full-force-of-striking-miners-fury/">https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-08-22-marikana-cabinet-ministers-feel-full-force-of-striking-miners-fury/</a>	22 August 2012
	Lonmin mining crisis: Precarious balance, no solution in sight	Article	<a href="https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-08-15-lonmin-mining-crisis-precarious-balance-no-solution-in-sight/">https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-08-15-lonmin-mining-crisis-precarious-balance-no-solution-in-sight/</a>	15 August 2012
	Marikana survivors may be charged with murdering own comrades.	Article	<a href="https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-08-30-marikana-survivors-may-be-charged-with-murdering-own-comrades/">https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-08-30-marikana-survivors-may-be-charged-with-murdering-own-comrades/</a>	30 August 2012
	Marikana: Police torture takes centre stage	Article	<a href="https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-08-28-marikana-police-torture-takes-central-stage/">https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-08-28-marikana-police-torture-takes-central-stage/</a>	28 August 2012
<b>Headlines in September</b>	Marking the anniversary of two mining massacres: So much remains the same.	Article	<a href="https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2013-08-14-marking-the-anniversary-of-two-mining-massacres-so-much-remains-the-same/">https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2013-08-14-marking-the-anniversary-of-two-mining-massacres-so-much-remains-the-same/</a>	14 September 2012
	Marikana: The next goal for the workers – split from NUM	Article	<a href="https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-09-20-marikana-the-next-goal-for-the-workers-split-from-num/">https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-09-20-marikana-the-next-goal-for-the-workers-split-from-num/</a>	09 September 2012
	Marikana: Malema's police-sponsored exit	Article	<a href="https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-09-18-marikana-malemas-police-sponsored-exit/">https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-09-18-marikana-malemas-police-sponsored-exit/</a>	18 September 2012
	Unsafe House, Unsafe Job? The foul truth about living conditions at Marikana	Article	<a href="https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-09-27-unsafe-house-unsafe-job-the-foul-truth-about-living-conditions-at-marikana/">https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-09-27-unsafe-house-unsafe-job-the-foul-truth-about-living-conditions-at-marikana/</a>	27 September 2012
	Marikana: The strike might be over, but the struggle continues	Article	<a href="https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-09-19-marikana-the-strike-might-be-over-but-the-struggle-continues/">https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-09-19-marikana-the-strike-might-be-over-but-the-struggle-continues/</a>	19 September 2012



	Marikana: Social scientists seek understanding and demand justice	Article	<a href="https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-09-18-marikana-social-scientists-seek-understanding-and-demand-justice/">https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-09-18-marikana-social-scientists-seek-understanding-and-demand-justice/</a>	18 September 2012
	A possible way out of the Marikana stand-off?	Article	<a href="https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-09-13-a-possible-way-out-of-the-marikana-stand-off/">https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-09-13-a-possible-way-out-of-the-marikana-stand-off/</a>	13 September 2012

#### 4.4 Selection of online news sources and news items

Researchers, just like any other person, are not immune to human errors or error of judgements, more so when they try to shed light on intrinsic meanings rather than on manifest meanings. Simply put, one of the founders of the "Frankfurt School" of Social Research, in keeping with Max Horkheimer's believes that, "no single method of research could produce final and reliable results about any given object of inquiry, that to take only one approach to a given question was to risk gaining a distorted picture." (Wodak, 2001: 10). However, this research used *critical discourse analysis (CDA)* to ensure that the study reliable results. This lens of analysis is informed by the study's research design, as it provides a complete and accurate description" (Struwig, 2013: 17) of the way the news items that were taken from the five online news sources frame the Marikana massacre.

*Critical discourse analysis (CDA)* was first used to understand the issue of the Marikana Massacre better and to provide new observations on the reportage of the selected online news articles. In addition, *CDA* has been used for several decades on empirical research studying protests and strikes. Hence this lens of analysis was useful for this research study since it is focused on news coverage of strikes. It helped better understand the turn of events before the striking mineworkers were brutally shot and killed by the South African Police Services (SAPS).

Secondly, *critical discourse analysis (CDA)* was used later in the research. *CDA* was used to clarify and "contextualise" narratives by defining different ideologies. In other words, the use of language may be ideological and, in order to reveal that, it was essential to examine the texts in order to study their "interpretation, reception, and social effects." (Richardson, 2007: 26). In addition, I believe that the *CDA* approach applies to this study, as Fairclough claims that adherence to neutrality by media organisations is but a fallacious argument; the language of mass media can not only prove to be a position of power struggle but can also be extrapolated as transparent (Wodak, 2001: 6).

## 4.5 Critical Discourse Analysis

Congruent with Todd Gitlin media framing theory, the critical discourse analysis focuses on defining the social problem, paying heed on those of our society who suffer the most and critically analyses those who have the means to inspire change. Whilst, this study takes an unbiased approach against gross social inequality, it does not fix the problem; instead, it may lead to the perpetuation of such iniquity (Richardson, 2007: 2). CDA, therefore, sets a pragmatic approach to problems as much as it subscribes to clear power relationships that are often hidden and thus achieves practical results (Le Roux, 2008). However, language is not efficient on its own for *critical discourse analysis*; instead, it achieves its efficacy by how powerful people use it. Thus ideology is seen as a crucial aspect of establishing and retaining unprecedented power relationships (Wodak, 2001: 10-15).

According to the description of CDA as a “particular unit of language, specifically, as a unit of language ‘above’ the sentence.” (Schiffrin, 1994: 22). Also, taking into consideration the social element of linguistic understanding; the audience may conclude a debate, mostly unconsciously, but based on their social knowledge. When such happens, it can therefore be inferred that the meaning of written language in journalism is continuously related to the context. In the same vein, discourses are “institutionalised and regulated because they are linked to actions” (Wodak, 2001: 34). In this regard, this research is consistent with the critical discourse analysis approach used by Fairclough.

For Fairclough, there is a linguistic dimension in every activity in society. In much simpler terms, he describes CDA as “the analysis of the dialectical relationships between semiosis (including language) and other elements of social practices. His approach to CDA oscillates between a focus on structure and a focus on action.” (Wodak, 2001: 22).

When collecting data for CDA, I used the previously mentioned news items and editorial samples, considering that there is no standard CDA method to collect data. To elucidate, the data collection process is not a mandatory step to be undertaken ahead of the analysis. However, it may form part of the study as new questions can give rise to the collection of new data to address the question (Wodak, 2001: 24). In an effort, however, to try to obtain a pseudo-systematic approach to the theoretical representation of the data analysed, I first carried out an analysis of the structure. Siegfried Jäger (2012) describes this process as a content-related analysis, owing to the summation of the overarching themes noted in the news items at hand, not to mention the examination of the graphic layouts, headings and subheadings of the news samples in particular, in conjunction with the discursive events referred to above

in the Selecting News Materials section. In the end, I was able to select relevant CDA materials and discard the rest.

This qualitative study focused on CDA as the primary method for interpreting the meanings of the texts more especially the underlying meanings of the news articles at hand, in order to determine if what is written is in the context within which it occurs. Furthermore, bearing in mind that the textual meaning is based on the interaction between producer, text and consumer, as opposed to other quantitative methods (Richardson, 2007: 15).

Therefore, Fairclough's CDA method is based on:

"Discourse is a circular process in which social practices influence texts, via shaping the context and mode in which they are produced, and in turn, texts help influence society via shaping the viewpoints of those who read or otherwise consume them." (Richardson, 2007: 37).

Fairclough's work over the years has superseded Stuart Hall's model of encoding and decoding media texts published in 1980; the meaning in media texts is encoded by the journalist(s), who are the producers of the texts. The reader, on the other hand, decodes the meaning from the meeting point of the text and the context. Fairclough argues that meanings encrypted in the text are the outcome of both the actions of the journalist and professional practices and techniques embedded in the profession (Richardson, 2007: 38). There is a two-way relationship that exists between the journalist and the text – where the journalist and the production process not only encode meaning in the text by the process of selecting stories from one another, choosing words over another, or promoting one view over the other in the event of framing. This subject was thoroughly discussed in the Frame Analysis section. The text may also act against the journalist by influencing how the information is collected and interpreted based on the incomplete text-genre conventions (Richardson, 2007: 38).

Similarly, another mutual relationship exists between the reader and etiquette, this as the reader decrypts the meaning of the text using their background knowledge, belief, and perspectives of the world, which may differ from the text-encoded message. Put differently; the text ought to be readable, understandable and straightforward to avoid any possible ambiguity or misunderstanding on the reader's side. Moreover, the text acts on the same reader's knowledge and beliefs, either through transformation or reproduction techniques (Richardson, 2007: 45).

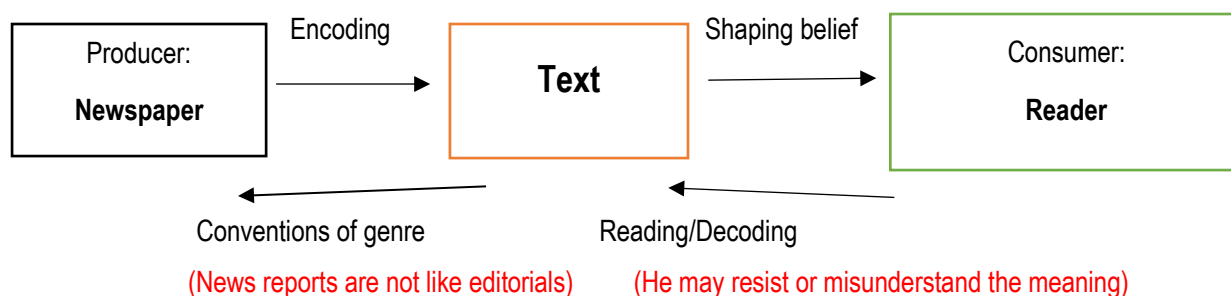
To explain the above mentioned bidirectional relationship, I took Richardson (2007) Figure 2

- **Figure 2**

(The act of opting for a certain word over another)

(Selecting a particular story over a similar one)

(Biased reporting)



**Figure 2 Richardson (2007) transformation or reproduction techniques**

Per Figure 2 above and Fairclough's CDA method, the following stages were found to be appropriate for the *critical discourse analysis* of this study.

The first stage of the textual analysis consists of two sub-stages applied to the study at hand: a micro-textual analysis and a macro-textual analysis. The micro-textual level was used to scrutinise that suggested bias. Additionally, the study scrutinised, naming and references used in the Marikana Massacre reports, the use of language, hidden meanings, metaphors and metonyms. Furthermore, the three argumentative techniques of Aristotle were considered, in particular in the analysis of editorial material. On the other hand, the macro-textual analysis incorporates the narrative and rhetoric that surrounded the Marikana Massacre news items (Youssef, 2012).

In the second stage, discursive practices, the research delved deeper into internal intertextualities (previous texts found in present texts) and external intertextualities – the fact that the Marikana Massacre news items can only be read in relation to other texts (Richardson, 2007: 100). In addition, I examined the variety of writing techniques used in the online news sources at hand. Simply put, did the online news sources at hand use a familiar or more formal linguistic style in their reports?

In the final stage of social practices, I examined the influence and power wielded by news items. In other words, I reflected on these pertinent questions: who benefited or lost from the reportage? What was the

relation between the text and systems such as markets and government? Was anyone “Othered” by the coverage, and who was “Us” and “They” in the news items? (Richardson, 2007: 222).

#### **4.6 Challenges and Limitations Encountered**

Before presenting the results in the next chapter, it should be noted that several studies have highlighted the limitations with analysing media text. A primary concern is the many biases influencing the final product, that is, media texts, which make these texts an unreliable source for accurate descriptions of real-world events (Earl, 2004; Oliver, 2000). However, this study does *not* use media texts as sources for accessing real-world events.

However, the study takes cognisance of the notion that the media in most cases is a mirror of society, more so since the journalists and other media workers who contribute to the production of what we eventually see as media reports belong to the societies in which their media houses operate. As such, even though they are guided by journalistic norms and principles which require them to be “objective”, they may not necessarily be shielded from the influences of their society. Media texts, therefore, present a useful tool to study what is happening in the society in which they are produced. There is, however, a limitation in the sample. Online news sources are by no means the dominant media in South Africa. However, the reasons for choosing to study the online news sources were discussed earlier in the section on sampling. Suffice to say, the time limitations of an academic study such as this one, access to all the news items produced by the five online medium is vital. As such, as alluded earlier in section 4.4.1, the news items were taken from electronic archives of all five online news sources.

Despite some of these limitations, this study provides a systematic analysis of framing literature from two months before and post the Marikana Massacre (Borah, 2011:255). This study did not explore specific issues such as labour and remunerative rights which may have led to the strike, which led to the subsequent confrontation between police and striking mineworkers. This was not the aim of this study; however, it is recommended that future studies attend to this area.

#### **4.7 Ethical considerations**

Initially, I planned to conduct face-to-face interviews with all the journalists that reported for print publications of the selected online news sources; such include Sowetan, Business Day, Mail & Guardian and City Press. However, due to time constraints and the availability of research funding, I then decided to refine my sample and focus on online news sources. Since I decided to access the articles online, I did not encounter ethical issues as the articles are readily accessible for public use. However, Flew (1979:

104) writes that the word ethics often refers to the set of regulations by which groups, communities or individuals regulate their behaviour. These regulations define what is legitimate and what is not legitimate in pursuing their goals. Furthermore, he clarifies this aspect of social research and defines ethical decisions as decisions researchers make when they have to choose between one line of action and another, not according to the expediency or efficiency of the choice but according to moral principles. Although there was no interaction with research subjects in the form of interviews, or other data gathering activity, grounds which would have favoured bias on the part of the researcher, I could have chosen to be biased on the collection and analysis of data provided I am a black man from the Eastern Cape province where most of the mineworkers that perished on that fateful day hailed from. These two links to this research could have persuaded me to skew finds in whichever way that would suit my ill-meaning intentions. However, I kept in mind the ethical considerations in all my engagements to ensure unquestionable reliability and credibility of the research findings.

#### **4.8 Conclusion**

To conclude, this chapter discussed the processes involved in retrieving data collected from the selected online news sources covering August 2012 – September 2014. A table and diagrams were presented and discussed to help the understand the frames used in news coverage by the selected online news sources as well as an explanation on how the data was collected. A description offered to provide context on the selected data contributes towards addressing the research problem. The study, using theoretical frameworks, provided more insight onto the raw data to allow for a proper examination of the research problem. One of the aims of this chapter was to interpret the data presented earlier and to analyse stages of the research into information through an in-depth discussion relevant to the study's objectives.

Each objective and research question considers the overarching theme of the study, which is to examine if and how the Marikana Massacre was framed and reported in South African online news sources.

This chapter also described different research methodologies and procedures which were used for data collection. The chapter provided in-depth knowledge of the sampling technique and analytical techniques applied by the study. The chapter also outlined fundamental limitations which may have acted as an impediment to the research.

# Chapter 5

## Results and Analysis

### 5.1 Introduction

The chapter on results and analysis is separated discusses the results on the important frames that emerged from the sample and the ideological biases of five online news sources. This was to engender new insights about the different news coverage of the Marikana Massacre and events leading up to the massacre, and the complexities found in the media discourse considering the principal theory of this research, the framing theory. More precisely, this chapter attempts to answer research questions raised earlier in the *introductory chapter*, which are pertinent to the mass media's inclination towards episodic rather than thematic frames in their coverage. Furthermore, this chapter identifies and tackles putative frames that emerged from McLeod and Hertog's five characteristics of the *protest paradigm*, which were engaged earlier and that were present in the online news sources. To proceed further in this chapter, it is worth recapping the objectives and research questions of the study. These objectives are:

1. To evaluate complexities found in the discourse on Marikana Massacre media reports.
2. To determine the extent to which the framing of the protest influenced the stereotypes about the working class (mineworkers) and the business class (Lonmin Mine)
3. To assess news agendas that created specific binaries between the mineworkers as being against Lonmin as well as lessons learnt from Business and National news narratives.

Moreover, the research questions are:

1. What complexities are found in the discourse on Marikana Massacre media reports?
2. To determine the extent to which the framing of the protest influenced the stereotypes about the working class (mineworkers) and the business class (Lonmin Mine).
3. What were the news agendas that created specific binaries between the mineworkers as being against Lonmin?

### 5.2 General themes generated by the news items

Upon reporting on the turn of events at Lonmin mines leading up to the massacre, some themes were generated through the reportage. This exercise included investigating the reporting by the five online news sources assessed against the recurrent themes. This was undertaken with the view of identifying

the frames used in the coverage of the strike action at Lonmin Mines in Marikana and, in turn, isolating the dominant frames used by the five online news sources.

The research used the Fairclough Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) method to identify the ideological propensities of the five online news sources at hand; this is done through the analysis of the texts in order to examine their interpretations, reception and social effects (Richardson, 2007: 26). Put differently; this attempted to point out just how "texts" can be used to safeguard and promote ideologies to hold onto power. Additionally, using this method the study answered the research questions outlined in the introduction chapter. These include the complexities found in the discourse on the Marikana Massacre media reports, the extent to which the framing of the protest influenced the stereotypes about the working class (mineworkers) and the business class (Lonmin Mine) and the news agendas that created specific binaries between the mineworkers as being against Lonmin. Therefore, the study also scrutinised the signs of good and evil dichotomy or the theme of "Us" versus "Them". Further to examining signs demonisation language as well as any bias towards any party involved in the news items at hand, in conjunction with how the five online news sources sought to portray the striking mineworkers according to their ideology and political allegiance.

However, before harvesting the frames from the news items and opinion pieces at hand, there is a greater need first to understand the political environment within which the individual news items were published. To that end, a timeline of the Marikana turn of events preceding the massacre is presented before much attention is given to the frames. The significance of the timeline is that it is often difficult to follow the analysis of the news coverage without prior knowledge of the sequence of events in the early days of the protests and the killing of 34 mineworkers.

### **5.3 Lonmin Marikana Protests: A timeline of the deadliest protests since the dawn of democracy**

The turn of events at Lonmin mines in Marikana, North West Province, has been a shameful mark on South Africa's young democracy. The timeline describes the events that took place before and after the killing of 34 mineworkers on August 16. The brutal slaughter of mineworkers by the South African Police Service was preceded by incidents of intimidation and assault on miners, security officers and police. Many viewed the strike at Lonmin mines as a significant threat to the Rustenburg mining belt ([www.sahistory.co.za](http://www.sahistory.co.za)).

**2012**



**August 9**

- several Lonmin mineworkers go on striking foregrounding wage dispute between them and the employer.

**August 10**

- Incidents of intimidation and assault were reported by workers who are not part of the strike.
- Two miners are reportedly shot and were transported to the hospital.

**August 11**

- faction fight becomes the order of the day.
- Three more employees are reportedly in the nearby hostels.

**August 12**

- Five miners, shot, assaulted and taken to hospital.
- Two security officers attacked and bludgeoned to death by striking mineworkers and their vehicles torched.
- Protesters force their way through to production areas, attack three on-duty workers fatally wound one and set alight six motor vehicles at the plant.

**August 13**

- Three dead bodies of workers were discovered.
- An attack on SAPS members while escorting striking mineworkers.
- Two police officer are bludgeoned to death, one fatally wounded.
- In response to the attack, three protesters are critically wounded.

**August 15**

- South African Mineral Resources Minister, Susan Shabangu is "gravely concerned" about the violent strike action at Marikana.
- Police and mineworkers are trying to find each other around the negotiation table set on top of the hill.
- Lonmin mines withhold warning in fear of destabilising ongoing negotiations.

**August 16**

- Due to the protracted strike action, Lonmin loses six days of production equivalent to 15 000 ounces platinum, and it is feared it will not to meet full-year production of 750 000 ounces.

**August 17**

- Police Minister Nathi Mthethwa talks to Talk Radio 702 and reveals that more 30 mineworkers were killed and many more injured.

#### **August 17**

- NUM General Secretary Frans Baleni says reports from union shop-stewards reveal that 136 union members were killed at Marikana.

#### **August 17**

- Lonmin loses big on the share price in both London and Johannesburg, with four and five percent respectively following the news of the massacre.

#### **August 17**

- Thirty-four killed, 78 injured and 259 arrested -National Police Commissioner General Riah Phiyega.

#### **August 17**

- President Jacob Zuma returns home to visit the site of the massacre.

#### **August 18**

- Julius Malema visits Marikana to tell miners that they should die for their cause.

#### **August 23**

- Following the brutal killing of mineworkers, President Jacob Zuma appoints a Commission of Inquiry to investigate the turn of events that lead to this tragic incident.

#### **August 23**

- South Africa observes a national day of mourning in respect of the deaths at the Lonmin mine. Julius Malema calls for a "mining revolution" in South Africa.

#### **August 30**

- 270 arrested mineworkers charged with the murder of their colleagues

#### **September 3**

- Two hundred seventy arrested mineworkers released following the withdrawal of charges by a court of law. The first batch walks free.

#### **September 11**

- The unidentified body of a male person found, raising the death toll 45.

#### **September 12**

- Anglo American Platinum operated mine experience strike action.

#### **September 15**

- South African National Defence Force (SANDF) members put on standby at Nkaneng Informal settlement in Marikana.

#### **September 18**

- Mineworkers end strike with between 11 and 22% wage increases.

#### **September 20**

- Marikana mineworkers return to work while unrests continue at Amplats.

The timeline provided above tracks the turn of events before and after the killing of striking mineworkers by police. This timeline provides context for the study and assisted in the analysis of the news items, as a reference is made to dates and specific events on that date. The following analysis looked at the developments preceding the massacre and the frames that were prevalent in the news items at the time.

### **5.4 The Marikana turn of events before the massacre**

While the SAPS were aware of August 9, 2012, unrests before they even occurred, all five online news sources did not file a report about the event.

Elicited from both *SowetanLive* and *Daily Maverick's* very first reports, the role players on August 16 bloody protests were Rock Drill Operators (RDO). The group described above of Lonmin employees were also reported to be the faction that decided to stage an illegal stay-away. An in-depth discussion of this section will be offered later in the analysis process. From the selected online news sources and the various reports on the Lonmin Marikana Massacre and events leading up to that fateful day, the critical role players could be confined to the following: Lonmin, Cyril Ramaphosa (then nonexecutive director of Lonmin), SA Police Service, striking mineworkers, Riah Phiyega (then National Commissioner for police), the Department of Mineral Resources, National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and the Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU).

-In the section below, brings forth some of the frames taken from the news items at issue, concerning the *framing theory*.

#### 5.4.1 Selected online news sources ignored the flare-up

As stated by Ashley (1998), the media can frame any protest group “just by ignoring it” in what is known as a *protest as being disregarded and neglected* (Ashley, 1998: 264). Even so, (McLeod, 2007) argues that journalists must cover any large-sized strike action even though they would have fallen out of with news because they would no longer be inciting violence or fighting with the police (McLeod, 2007: 191). However, the above point may not extend to all cases involving protest groups or striking workers. Similarly, as earlier posited, all five online news sources focused their coverage on the women's day celebrations, a day that coincided with the start of the strike at Lonmin mines (Sacks, 2012).

Two days before the massacre, and after the women's day, conspiracy theories regarding soaring murders around the Marikana strike, were noted as violence but were not reported in the media, as one would expect - as these involved killings but had no actual charges being pressed, and no arrests being made.

*Daily Maverick* in its column section, October 12, 2012, correctly reported that:

*“The coverage of the Marikana Massacre seems to start with the mass killings of August 16. However, that is not where, or how the violence started, and it was not a rivalry between unions, either. Rewind a few days and prepare for goosebumps: you will find a web of conspiracy around two murders which were not reported in the media and ended in no arrests, but scared the living daylights out of the workers before the weeks of horror started”, (Sacks, 2012).*

The coverage of the opinion piece's title *“Marikana prequel: NUM and the murders that started it all”* traces the origin of the strike, when the media failed to report on the early developments of the industrial action.

The opinion piece offers a definite timeline contrary to what many learnt of in the online news sources; the writer traces it back to August 8, 2012. He writes that on this day RDOs from various Lonmin mines had a mass meeting demanding a significant salary increase, a meeting before the big meeting on August 9, 2012, that preceded the march on August 10, 2012. On the following day (Women's Day – a public holiday in South Africa), thousands of RDOs from all Lonmin mines met at the Lonmin-owned football stadium, adjacent to the settlement, where they agreed to approach Lonmin management directly, as NUM was refusing to represent them. This meeting failed to make it to all five online news sources; this includes the *Daily Maverick* as it issued its first report a day before the massacre on August 15, 2012.

This is one other complexity that was raised by the sample as the five online news sources completely ignored the early days of what became the deadliest police killings in the democratic dispensation. The media shutout contributed to the picture that was subsequently painted of the striking mineworkers. Where they were portrayed as a violent group that had a total disregard of the law, their frustrations were not widely reported as the violence that followed, when they decided to down tools. Duncan (2016:147) echoes this point and says, “the more radical a group is considered to be, the more likely it is to be subjected to the protest paradigm by journalists”. The mineworkers' issues were disregarded, and this presented a complexity for those who were following the turn of events at Lonmin, this as the online news sources were focused on the violence that surrounded the strike action, not the issues underpinning the strike. This is a complexity that shaped public opinion about the industrial action at Lonmin mines. The turn of events at Lonmin over the preceding seven days continued to be ignored by the sample at hand. This point will be discussed later in the chapter. In the seven days leading to August 15, 2012, no report could be found of the strike on all five publications. This stance signalled that the developments at Lonmin mines were not as newsworthy as other events across the country.

To elucidate the newsworthiness of the developments at the Lonmin mines, the discursive practices feature in the *Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)* was employed, in searching for the reasons why the Lonmin strike stories did not feature on the selected online news sources. As alluded to under the *protest as being disregarded and neglected* above, that the workers strike did not receive coverage from all five online news sources on August 9, 2012, as other prominent news was covered.

Exponentially, the strike started receiving coverage with both *Daily Maverick* and *SowetanLive*. *SowetanLive* publishing two stories; however, the news articles offered a one-sided perspective. Such a stunt by online news sources plays into the stereotypes about the nature of strikes in South Africa - address in chapter two above - the violence that accompanies these strikes, which ends up being the focus of media reports. The failure by both online news sources to provide a quote by the striking mineworkers plays into the hands of these stereotypes as it suggests that only views of prominent members of society are perceived as significant.

*Daily Maverick* published a similar article where miners were framed as aggressors and police officers as defenders - this point will be discussed in-depth later. There was too much reliance on ‘official’ sources from the online news sources initial articles.

As for *SowetanLive*, since the strike started, it published 19 news stories between August 15-31, 2012. Refers to these days because this was when the strike was more intense, a day before and 15 days after the killing of mineworkers by SAPS. It is also worth mentioning that the *Sowetan* newspaper, a print edition from which the *SowetanLive* originated, carried all the stories published on the *SowetanLive*.

Furthermore, *Daily Maverick's* coverage was detailed and showed a greater interest in covering the situation on the ground after the first six days of the strike. As posited earlier, on August 15, 2012, a story entitled "*Lonmin mining crisis: Precarious balance, no solution in sight*", sought to depict the flare-ups at Lonmin mine through the striking mineworkers versus police frame, while also presenting the striking mineworkers demands heavily reliant on elite sources such as the trade union leaders. In another article, titled "*Marikana: Cabinet ministers feel the full force of striking miners' fury*" which published on August 22, 2012, tells how the mineworkers refused and to a certain extent intrigued fear within cabinet Ministers as they reportedly refused to let them address the workers with SAPS present (Hlongwane & Marinovich, 22/08/2012). This article again brings to the fore the striking mineworkers against police narrative; in other words, the *protesters vs police* frame. It is significant to note that even though the article quoted the mineworkers, they were either quoted as a group "the miners said" or as a nameless individual "a mineworker said". However, other sources quoted in the article, such as cabinet ministers and union officials, their names were used to identify their input.

For example, in the *Daily Maverick* "*Marikana: Cabinet ministers feel the full force of striking miners' fury*" news item, "*There were tense moments. The ministers ... 'We do not want anything that even resembles a police here,' the miners said. After a while, the police escort was sent away, though a handful of bodyguards in civvies remained...He once again described how an attack by the police on the koppie where they sat had led to the men fleeing in all directions—some of them straight into the line of waiting Tactical Response Team that opened fire on them... The explanation was necessary since they had heard that the president was being briefed by the same man who led the police operation and could not be trusted to present the version of events in the correct way, the man said.*" (Hlongwane & Marinovich, 22/08/2012).

*News24's* coverage covered violent acts at the mine. Their first articles published on September 10, 2012 "*Lonmin massacre: a timeline*" followed the turn of events at Lonmin mine before and post the massacre. After that their coverage was limited to violent acts linked to the strike and massacre. In the way the reportage was carried out, to blame the mineworkers. This is evident as the articles focused on the violent acts that were purportedly committed by mineworkers post the massacre (News24, 10/09/2012).

*BusinessLive's* 2,829 worded news article, the publication's first article "*Marikana events a 'huge' blow to SA investment*" focused on the impact the Marikana turn of events would have on the economy of the country, particularly to investment attraction (Prinsloo & Marais, 19/08/2012). This brought to the fore *Protest as economic threat* frame. As an online edition of the *Business Times*, a print publication, some of the stories carried by *BusinessLive* placed focus on the financial state post the massacre of the country, Lonmin and the mining industry. These cast a terrible light on strikes. For example, "*Kumba Sishen unit declares force majeure*", following the Marikana strike mining companies found themselves faced with an illegal strike, as such Kumba Sishen a unit of Kumba Iron Ore had to declare force majeure. The company was reportedly losing output due to unforeseeable circumstances, such as the illegal strike that prevented from fulfilling contracts. Sources quoted in these articles were business and experts, wholly ignored the voices of the working class (Flak & Lakmidas, 08/10/2012).

*Mail & Guardian's*, first article "*Malema at Marikana: 'Many will die'*", published on August 18, 2018, carried reaction from the leader of the Economic Freedom Fighter, Julius Malema, it gave prominence to the politician and what he had to say, and ignored views of the striking mineworkers (De Wet, 18/08/2012). The newspaper published several articles following the massacre, such as "*Marikana miners in debt sinkhole*", a report on how indebted some of the miners were before the strike, which the article touts as of the reason why mineworkers decided to embark on illegal strike action - because they were struggling to make their monthly repayments (Steyn, 07/09/2012).

It was also the case with the editorial and opinion articles laden with views of, *SowetanLive* and *Mail & Guardian*, as they focused on the Marikana events. *SowetanLive's* editorial pieces entitled: "*African lives cheap as ever*" pointed out the disregard of the constitution by the government and heavily criticised it for ignoring the rights of African workers at the mines concerning wages (Sowetan Editorial, 17/08/2012). *Mail & Guardian's* opinion pieces such as "*Marikana is the latest chapter in a long saga*", "*Ignored Marikana: 'Common purpose not outdated or defunct'*", and "*Marikana: Blood on our hands, hands over ears*", harshly criticised the government for failing to control the situation at Marikana before it got out of hand. A more elaborate discussion on this statement will be offered later in the study.

The act of deeming an event less newsworthy is another issue that was picked by the study; this is where the Lonmin strike did not receive any news coverage from the sample at hand. The conduct of the five online news sources is consistent with views of (McLeod and Hertog, 2007; Roosvall and Tegelberg, 2005) where they argue that a persistent challenge to the status quo by protest groups has yielded the harshest of treatments by mainstream media which includes media coverage marginalisation. By so doing the mainstream media engenders prejudice which impeded the mineworkers from holding the mine

executives accountable for the salary increases. However, following ignorance of the strike by the five online news sources in the seven days, as the strike gained momentum more frames started emerging from the news reports.

#### 5.4.2 Striking mineworkers as anarchists

The striking mineworkers as anarchist's binary, in the news items at hand is paired with striking mineworkers versus police binary. The narrative structure relies on the violence, property destruction and lawlessness of the protesters.

In *SowetanLive*'s news item, with the title *"Platinum firm Lonmin halts S. Africa output after violence"*, which appeared on August 15, 2012, it is not hard to infer how the striking mineworkers plunged Lonmin mines into turmoil and forced it to suspend operations. Senior management at Lonmin mines reportedly told the media that it had closed all its mining shafts in South Africa with only essential services such as ventilation operating (Sowetan, 15/08/2012).

In the story, it is reported that the protests led to a chaotic atmosphere in and around the mines, through all the lawless actions outlined in the news article. The subheading *"The world's no. 3 platinum producer Lonmin shut its South African mining operations, and its shares tumbled on Tuesday after violence caused by a feud between rival unions....."* draws a connection between the strikes and the chaotic aura that spread across all of its mining shafts. Except for the ubiquity of words and descriptors riddled with negative attributes like "deadliest violence" and "turf war" in *Platinum firm Lonmin halts S. Africa output after violence* news item, to try to paint a clearer picture of the impact of the strike action at Lonmin mines, the journalist used an exemplar in the following description:

*"The world's no. 3 platinum producer Lonmin shut its South African mining operations, and its shares tumbled on Tuesday after violence caused by a feud between rival unions killed at least nine people at its main mine."*

The article emphasises how successful and influential the mine is, and this violence poses a significant threat on the mine and the economy of the country. The article went further to state that Lonmin mines- a company which accounted for 12 percent of global platinum output- was already struggling with low prices and weak demand before the strike and subsequent shutdown. As a result of the forced shutdown, the company was going to miss its annual production target of 750,000 ounces. Additionally, the share price plummeted by more than four percent in London and Johannesburg.



In another story on the Daily Maverick, "*Marikana tragedy marches towards platinum rebellion*", the article emphasised the importance of the presence of police at the various Lonmin shafts. The extract below is a quotation from the Daily Maverick's article.

*"The police have to be there, and they must be there in bigger numbers. Even if they are there now, they are losing the battle to criminals. They are not losing the battle to strikers, but to criminals – those people are there to cause chaos, to ensure that property is burned, that people are killed. We cannot have the promotion of lawlessness,"* (De Waal, 15/10/2012).

Overall, these two exemplars do not only point out blatant and heinous turn of events where the mining shafts at Lonmin quickly became a haven for anarchists, but it also gives impetus to the agenda and viewpoint of both online news sources towards the Lonmin strikes and thus reinforces striking mineworkers as *anarchist* binary. To expand, there are commonalities between the deaths at Lonmin shafts, and the workers strike at the company. Both events witnessed "the presence of police", and both were accompanied by violent clashes between the warring rival unions. However, most of the violent clashes were confined to the reported warring rival unions; Lonmin mines offices, mining shafts and police trucks. The two exemplars also perpetuate the stereotypes about the violence that is always embedded onto strikes led by black people.

*"...They are not losing the battle to strikers, but to criminals – those people are there to cause chaos, to ensure that property is burned, that people are killed. We cannot have the promotion of lawlessness..."* (De Waal, 15/10/2012).

Nevertheless, even though the first perpetrators of the violence were never caught, eyewitnesses accuse NUM of having killed two of their representatives to ignite the fire. Witnesses also questioned why it took long for the deaths to be reported to the police even after the massacre. Interestingly, NUM was accused of initiating violent acts and renouncing its duty to represent the employees. Sources interviewed on the story shared their contempt for the strikers and their subsequent heinous actions. However, according to the writer, the sources all felt more hatred towards NUM than they did towards Lonmin, the police or even the Zuma administration (De Waal, 15/10/2012).

However, other stories point at the union rivalry over members as the possible perpetrator of the violence at the mines. We will expound on this point later over and above that the same news items tried to describe how NUM had categorically refused to support the strike at a meeting held on August 8, 2012. Subsequently, on the following day (Women's Day – a public holiday in South Africa ), thousands of

RDOs from all Lonmin mines met at the Lonmin-owned football stadium, adjacent to the settlement, where they agreed to approach Lonmin management directly, as NUM was refusing to represent them. The writer portrayed NUM as one of the parties capable of averting the strike that escalated to a massacre on August 16, 2012, had they agreed to represent their members at a meeting with Lonmin management. Sources, mainly mineworkers, tell of how they then decided to approach management as unrepresented workers following NUM's refusal to represent them.

The stories sources describe NUM as a symbol of frustration for them instead of being a pillar of strength. The union's actions tried to demonise the worker's decision to embark on a strike and portrayed the striking mineworkers as a marginalised minority, by swaying management's opinion against them (McFarlane, 2001). This was obvious in the following description:

*"On the morning of Friday the 10th, workers assembled and marched to the offices of Lonmin management..... David told me that management refused to speak to the workers, who were assembled peacefully, and told them to go back to the NUM leadership"* (Sacks, 12/10/2012).

*"Xolani and a few other participants in the march corroborated this.....security had tried to stop the march and that after a long wait, the general manager of the mine came out and then went back in to fetch a NUM leader. After waiting for almost an hour, the NUM leader came out and reprimanded the workers, saying they would not get anything without going through the union".* (Sacks, 12/10/2012)

*"As a result of Lonmin and NUM's refusal to meet with the workers, more than 3,000 Rock Drill Operators and other miners decided to go on strike and refused to clock in that evening. This was a wildcat strike organised directly by workers, without any union representation".* (Sacks, 12/10/2012)

The SowetanLive news item titled *"Miners dare police"*, visualised how police were challenged by striking mineworkers, again foregrounding the *protester vs police* binary, meanwhile the workers were reacting to the bullets hurled at them by the police, not the inverse depicted in the story. In the body of the story, the writer contradicts the title of the story above, as seen here below:

*"Police yesterday advanced on the hill where striking workers were peacefully gathering and, as workers started moving, fired teargas at them"* (Mabuza, 17/08/2012).

The writer subtly scapegoated the striking mineworkers for the tragic turn of events on the day, as they continue to try and balance the reporting through quoting a mineworker. This was discerned in the following passage:

*"We were attacked when we were on our way to a meeting. Those NUM leaders killed us because they are protecting the employer," said a worker..."*

Aside from describing the pandemonium that broke out among all those closest to the shootings on the day, the writer heavily relied on official sources such as police, mine bosses and union bosses in describing the miners' actions on that fateful day.

#### **5.4.3 Lonmin strike threatens the South African economy**

*Protest as economic threat* became a recurrent theme. It was recurrent in all the five online news sources without exception, either discretely or interchangeably with other themes. This recurrent theme is in line with one of the study's objectives "to determine the extent to which the framing of the protest influenced the stereotypes about the working class and the business class"- this as the mineworkers' actions were said to pose a threat to the stability of the organisation. This is a stereotype peddled against the working class when fighting for their rights as pointed out earlier by (Duncan, 2016). The emphasis was again on the violent nature of the protests. The primary objective for this narrative structure was to reinforce the risks of the Lonmin strike on Lonmin's profits and the country's fragile economy. Those stereotypes can have negative connotations on striking workers as their actions may be judged as one that poses a threat to economic growth. For example, the article below shows how the Marikana turn of events was perceived as a threat to investment.

*BusinessLive's story "Marikana events a 'huge' blow to SA investment" which published on August 19, 2012, was dominated by protest as economic threat frame. Along with the negative adjectives such as "the lowest" since and verbs like "lost" and "declined" which were attributed to Lonmin's share price that "declined 0.5% to R83.30 on Friday", the publication used an example to depict the frailty of company's share price as following:*

*"Lonmin's share price on the JSE declined 0.5% to R83.30 on Friday, its lowest level since August 2008. It has shed 41% over the past year".*

In another story for *SowetanLive*, entitled "*Lonmin lost R504m in the 42-day strike*", which was published on September 20, 2012, one can quickly identify *protest as economic threat* theme. The journalist who

wrote the new item, Mpho Sibanyoni, a Business Reporter, cited a Nedbank Capital analyst Mohammed Nalla - as the sole source in the entire story. In the article, the analyst talks of a possible domino effect as a result of the strike and the increased wage bill for the mining company. Nalla is quoted as saying *"It would be interesting to see whether the higher wage bill would not have a domino effect, resulting in thousands of jobs being lost in the mining sector in the long term"* (Sibanyoni,20/09/2012).

The news item's approach was futuristic, an acceptable view. The article further predicted that the killing of striking mineworkers by police would have an immense impact on investor sentiments, further impeding on government efforts to grow the economy and creating meaningful jobs for the youth and the unemployed. However, it overlooked the significance and the change these salary increments would have had in the lives of the striking mineworkers, whose majority of them were from black families. To equate salary increases with job losses is unfair of the news item, more especially not having considered the circumstances that would have driven the workers to decide to go on strike in the first place these including improved working conditions and better pay.

The first line of the news item says *"JSE-listed Lonmin has lost an estimated R504-million in revenue due to the strike which lasted 42 days and resulted in 45 deaths and unrest in the platinum and gold mining sectors."* (Sibanyoni,20/09/2012), conjointly with words like "high wage bill", "international investors" and "long term job losses", we are aiming at intensifying the result of the strike on the economic state of Lonmin, not to mention to portray the strike as the biggest threat to investment and job security. Comments such as these drove the public opinion firmly against the striking mineworkers (McFarlane, 2001). The news item disregards the noble concerns of the striking workers and has opted to foreground those of Lonmin. As such, Lonmin's loss in revenue was much more important than the lives that were lost on August 16, 2012, and the days before the massacre. More emphasis was put on estimating the amount the mining company lost post the massacre.

In the same way, the protest as economic threat theme can be identified in other news items for *SowetanLive*; these include the report titled *"Platinum hits 6-week high on massacre"* This could be seen in this sentence *"Spot platinum hit about R12258 an ounce after rallying more than 5% last week, fuelled by worries that the violence would disrupt supply from South Africa"* (Reuters, 21/08/2012). In another *SowetanLive* article littered with the *protest as economic threat*, the theme is *"Mine unrest now hits world No.1 platinum firm"*, this is where they traced developments in other platinum and gold mining companies in the country (Reuters, 12/09/2012). For instance, Anglo American Platinum is one of the leading global producers of platinum and was hit by strike after the Marikana massacre.

SowetanLive started looking at developments in the mining sector and how these mining houses were faced with strike following the Marikana massacre. The following are excerpts taken from the article, *"Platinum hits 6-week high on massacre"*.

*"Labour unrest sweeping across South Africa's mining sector hit top world platinum producer Anglo American Platinum on Wednesday, with striking miners blockading roads leading to shafts belonging to the mining giant, police said"*.

*"The platinum price jumped as much as 1,5% to \$1,624,74 an ounce, its highest since mid-April amid fears of more disruption to supplies of the precious metal used in jewellery and vehicle catalytic converters"*.

In the stories mentioned above, it is clear that the protest as an economic threat theme was intertwined with other binaries or themes, such as *protesters vs police*. This is an indication that the reportage on the Marikana developments was against the striking mineworkers and what they stood for. News items refer to the mining sector, losing profits over reported wildcat strikes as well as the violence that derived from the demonstrations overlooking the frustration of the employees with the employer. This is as RDOs decided to embark on a strike when neither the union NUM nor the employer wanted to meet them to discuss their despondency.

*"South Africa is home to 80% of known reserves. The platinum price has jumped more than 17% since police shot dead 34 protesters at the Marikana mine of world No. 3 platinum producer Lonmin on August 16, the bloodiest security incident since the end of apartheid in 1994"*.

As for *Daily Maverick*, a story entitled *"Lonmin mining crisis: Precarious balance, no solution in sight"*, which was published on August 15, 2012, did little to deviate from the previous reports. The publication also resorted to negative words, such as "forced", "belligerent" and "militant", along with transitive phrases such as "forced to freeze mining" to depict the problematic situation at Lonmin mines.

Moreover, sources cited in the news items were either official representatives or top officials of NUM and AMCU, who described how the company was plunging into a massive financial crisis following the violence at the shafts. Furthermore, the story mixed protest as economic threat theme with striking mineworkers versus police. The journalist used verbs heavily loaded with negative meanings, such as "force", "more violence", miners to confront police."

To elaborate:

*"The world's No. 3 platinum producer Lonmin has been forced to freeze mining at its South African operations after violence between rival unions killed at least nine people," Reuters reported Tuesday. "Lonmin, already struggling with low prices and weak demand, may miss its annual production target of 750,000 ounces as the quarter to the end of September is typically its best. Its share price fell more than 4% in London and Johannesburg" (Hlongwane, 15/08/2012).*

Mail & Guardian's news item titled *"The economic impact of Marikana"* looked at the impact of the strike from an economic perspective which is a different approach from the news items mentioned above. Additionally, one can quickly note that there was a severe problem with mining companies waiting for legislation to improve the working and living conditions of their employees. This was clearly illustrated in the direct quotation below:

*"The mining industry should not have waited for the [Mining] Charter to start improving the living and working conditions of its workers,"* (Advertorial Supplement, 02/11/2012) - those are the words of Dr Mzukisi Qobo, a political risk analyst at the University of Pretoria.

Moreover, a phrase such as this *"There are some investors who are jittery and want to take their money elsewhere"*, emphasises the threat the strike poses to the fragile economy, however, the report did not blame the striking mineworkers for the turn of events at the mine. Unlike the many sources which ascribed blame to all other affected stakeholders, the panellists quoted in the report did not openly blame the striking mineworkers for the disaster that befell Lonmin.

## **5.5 The fateful day (August 16, 2012)**

### **5.5.1 Media stereotypes of the striking mineworkers**

One of the research questions of this study refers to the extent to which the framing of the protest influences the stereotypes about the working class (mineworkers) and the business class (Lonmin Mine). As such, the five online news sources scrutinised for this study portrayed the striking mineworkers, per their ideological perspectives and affiliation. This traced various reporters gave names and references for the striking mineworkers in the wake of the Marikana issue, were well aware of the fact that the naming exercise involves choices. Simply put, in this segment, used features of Fairclough's CDA method such as referential and nomination.

In the *SowetanLive*'s coverage in the early days of the strike, the striking mineworkers were referred to as "violent", this was discerned in the line "striking miners armed with machetes and sticks faced off with South African police". They continued with the narrative in other reports published that same day referring the events as "deadly protests", the mine and the small town were plunged into an "overwhelming chaos" (SowetanLive, 2012). In other words, on August 15 the protesters were portrayed in negative terms following the death of 10 people. The negative narrative structure was, however, applied most of the time indirectly. The reporting and wording changed after the massive killings of the mineworkers. This excerpt is from the headline titled *"Police fire on Marikana miners, several dead"*:

*"South African police opened fire on Thursday against thousands of striking miners armed with machetes and sticks at Lonmin's Marikana platinum mine, leaving several bloodied corpses lying on the ground"* (Mkhize, 16/08/2012).

The spotlight was shifted from mineworkers towards the Police brutality, news reports questioned if the crossbreeding or fusion of "shoot-to-kill" and "shoot the bastards" sentiments played a part to push to the brink a specialised unit of the South African Police Service to mow down mineworkers on the day. Comments or an instruction given or made by the then Minister of Mineral Resources Susan Shabangu were also brought to the fore; this is where she reportedly said, "kill the bastards". The justification she provided was that if police are killed in the line of duty, they too have the right to retaliate brutally by exercising maximum force (Mail & Guardian, 2013). Then National Police Commissioner comment also added salt to the wounds as she defended the police action at Marikana as self-defence. Though indirectly depicting miners as violent, her comment did not assist the police.

A *Daily Maverick* news report published on August 28, 2012 *"Marikana: Police torture takes centre stage"* details how police use torture as one of their tactics to force the supposed truth out of a suspect. The suspects were arrested for posting the violence in Marikana. This is discerned in the subheading below:

*"The news that the police are assaulting detainees held in connection with public violence at Marikana should not surprise us, says a Wits Law Clinic expert. Police torture is on the rise, the fact that many of us have chosen not to see for a long time"* (De Waal, 28/08/2012).

However, it is essential to note that the violence perpetrated against the apprehended miners by police was driven by the perception that they are also violent as they reportedly squared up against the police several times leading up to the massacre. This was discerned in the views of both Susan Shabangu and Riah Phiyega stated above.

The juxtaposition of strike and chaos in the line *"Even if they (police) are there now they are losing the battle to criminals. They are not losing the battle to strikers, but to criminals – those people are there to cause chaos, to ensure that property is burned, that people are killed. We cannot have the promotion of lawlessness"* – extensively analysed in the striking mineworkers as an anarchist section under *frame analysis*. Furthermore, application of transitive verb "lawlessness" in the above passages to ascribe blame on the striking mineworkers. However, in the *Mail & Guardian's* article *"Get back to work, or else, Lonmin warns"*, there was an inference to the striking mineworker's foolishness in their demands, in the following description:

"The final ultimatum provides Rock Drill Operators with a last opportunity to return to work or face possible dismissal," the company said in a statement" (*Mail & Guardian Online* reporter, 19/08/2012).

The history of violence meted out on striking mineworkers by police because they were reportedly committing lawless acts goes back to 1946. Referred to as the year of the great strike, at the time the salaries of black people were R87, and whites were earning R1,106. The African Mine Workers' Union had just been launched a few years earlier when it began its work austere in the face of increased harassment, arrests, dismissals, and deportation of workers by the police and the mine management. Meanwhile, the African mineworkers of the Witwatersrand embarked on strike action in support of a demand for higher pay - 10 shillings a day, equivalent to R1. 53c in today's exchange rate. The strike went on for about a week despite the most brutal police violence, in which 1,248 mineworkers were severely wounded, and nine were killed. Savage police and army terror squashed the strike action. The then apartheid government's resources were deployed against the unarmed mineworkers, almost on a war footing. Some of the workers were arrested on charges of disobeying the law and unlawful assembly. This discussion sought to demonstrate a depiction of their actions as a lawless act in fighting for better wages was not unique to the Lonmin workers. African workers were arrested, persecuted and deported fighting for the same rights in 1946. However, this is not to condone the killing of 10 people before the massacre, as the perpetrators must be accountable for their crimes.

Returning to the issues at hand, in the previous example, the striking mineworkers were portrayed as unreasonable and unable to think correctly. Overall, one can say that both *Daily Maverick* and *SowetanLive* attempted to portray the striking mineworkers in the selected news items as irrational and lacking strength to think appropriately. As earlier posited, that (Gitlin, 1980; Duncan, 2016; Joseph et al,



1984) state that if protesters or protest group challenge the status quo they may be subjected to the description bias, an act which predominantly favours the elite and well resourced.

Notwithstanding, once the massacre occurred, there was a significant shift during reporting. Naming and references like “South Africa’s bloodiest industrial action in the democratic era”, “police brutality”, “failing constitution”, and “black on black violence” came out clearly in the last reports after the massacre. In the same vein, the *Daily Maverick*’s article *“Marikana: The next goal for the workers – split from NUM”*, published with a banner on their website on September 20, 2012, a pictorial depiction of mineworkers dancing. The story attached to this picture portrayed mineworkers in a positive light as they had accepted a wage offer. The news source portrays striking mineworkers expressing their happiness and willingness to go back to work which attests the above statement.

On morning of the massacre, *SowetanLive*, published an article *“Ultimatum fails to break deadlock”* which was reporting on the turn of events of the day before (August 15, 2012) wherein negotiations had deadlocked and an ultimatum was issued for employees to return to work.

*“Mine workers at Lonmin’s Marikana mine in North West refused to bow to an ultimatum issued yesterday by management that they return to work underground or face dismissal,”* (Mabuza, 16/08/2012).

*“The workers refused to listen to two negotiators, who spoke to them from inside police armoured vehicles. The negotiators were trying to persuade the miners to call off their illegal strike,”* (Mabuza, 16/08/2012).

This news item depicts striking mineworkers as individuals who are failing to see reason as they were committed to their demands of pay increases.

## **5.6 The aftermath**

Following the bloodbath on August 16, 2012 news frames explaining what transpired on the day emerged from the five online news sources and these are as follows.

### **5.6.1 Striking mineworker’s go toe to toe with SAPS**

One of the continuously repeated binaries in the news items at hand was mineworkers versus police. This binary relies primarily on depicting striking miners as typically involved in destructive and violent clashes with the police, instead of their employer, Lonmin mines. As posited earlier in the introduction

chapter, such reportage was apparent even during the apartheid era. When 69 protesters were massacred by security forces (apartheid policy) outside a police station in 1969 in Sharpeville, the protesters were portrayed as aggressors who went to the police station to attack the police (Bell, 2016). The criminal behaviour within the mineworkers versus police frame is demonstrated by focusing attention on which side is the instigator and pacifist, as well as too much reliance on official and elite representatives including police officers, to the striking worker's disadvantage (McLeod, 1992). On both events and eras- apartheid and democratic- there was too much reliance on the police's account of events or official statements. Media reports rely on elite and official sources to add credibility to their reports, to increase the efficiency of news production, to maintain status-quo norms and rules, and to maintain "objectivity" (McLeod & Hertog, 1998).

In 2012, *SowetanLive* published a news item detailing how police advanced on the hill where striking workers gathered in peace. As mineworkers started moving, the police are reported to have fired teargas at them. In the police's official statement post the turn of events, on the day, they reported that striking mineworkers shot at the police using live rounds. In other words, the police's decision to advance on the hill triggered a retaliation from striking mineworkers as clashes ensued. According to Bell (2016), an eyewitness recounted how the police fired on an unarmed crowd, shooting many in the back as they fled.

However, in the case of Marikana, it can be noted that violence in the mine and surrounding communities was recorded when the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) allegedly murdered two of their members – which remained unreported until October 2, 2012 (Daily Maverick, 2012).

The binary of *protesters vs police* continues as it was also noted in a *SowetanLive* news item entitled "*Striking platinum miners confront police*", where it was intertwined with the *strike as economic stability threat* frame. The article stated: "*Thousands of striking miners armed with machetes and sticks faced off with South African police today at Lonmin's Marikana mine after it halted production following the deaths of 10 people in fighting between rival unions*". "*The price of platinum rose 2% on Tuesday as a result of the suspension in mining. Lonmin shares were down 1% in London and 0,7% in Johannesburg on Wednesday after falling more than 4% the previous day to R79.98 from R97.63*" (Sibeko, 15/08/2012).

This statement not only pits the striking mineworkers against police, but it also depicts how Lonmin's share price plummeted following the decision to halt production due to the strike. To develop this point, the South Africa Police Service officers and security guards fell prey to targeted killings and violence when they were trying to protect those needing protection. The *SowetanLive* article entitled, "*Police trying to protect warring miners*," explains how police blockaded the road leading to the mine on Wednesday

morning, this all in a bid to keep apart warring miners. Whereas, some miners went to the hilltop to perform traditional rituals to “make them brave” and invisible as they were preparing to take on the police (Makhafola & Saville, 15/08/2012). In addition, the underlying tone of the news item was strongly anti-strike. The story radiated an aura of fear and dismay on the side of both the police and the striking mineworkers; either party was scared that the other may cause them harm. These official sources were employed to tell the sides of both the police and Lonmin mines to cement *protesters vs police* frame, the striking mineworkers were marginalised, and their actions delegitimised by shifting any focus on their grievances.

Steering the discussion more towards the *Daily Maverick*, the online news source sometimes used the *mineworkers versus police* binary, as one of the acceptable ways of covering the massacre or narrative approach in their reports such as the one entitled “*Marikana survivors may be charged with murdering own comrades*”. In the news item, the confrontations between the police who opened live ammunition on striking mineworkers on the one hand, and the protesters on the other, running for cover, some reportedly ran towards the police's firing squad killing 34 and wounding another 78 (De Waal, 30/08/2012). The ready-made binary presupposes that mineworkers were the aggressors in the massacre that saw over 30 of their colleagues brutally murdered by the police. Therefore, as the government and police reportedly said that those who were arrested post the massacre may be charged with murdering their colleagues.

While the police were the instigators of the events according to *Daily Maverick's* coverage, even though they claimed to have been short at first, the protesters responded by running towards all directions. In other words, striking mineworker's response to the police's heavy-handed action was not in any way equal to that of their perceived nemesis. As for the sources in this news item, Spokespeople for both the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) and Independent Police Investigative Directorate (IPID). None of the mineworkers were quoted in the subsequent reports. To corroborate this point, the news item was assigned an expressive photograph of striking miners. The mineworkers were carrying stick and machetes. In this particular news item, *Daily Maverick* once again rejected any consistent form of contextualisation for workers strike.

On the other hand, a news item from *Mail & Guardian*, entitled “*Marikana: The miners were hunted like beasts*”, published on August 31, 2012, mentioned that police closed miners in and shot at them from all directions. Even one of the sources said:

*“At that time, bullets were coming from a helicopter above them. Tsepo then lay down. A number of fellow strikers also lay down. He says he watched Nyalas driving over the prostrate, living miners.”*

After the killing of 34 mineworkers by the police, there was a dramatic change in the tone of news items reporting post the massacre as journalists started investigating the turn of events before the killings. In the news as mentioned earlier, for example, *Mail & Guardian* reported that there is no evidence of miners shooting at the police first as the police circled and mowed the miners.

One can conclude from the preceding paragraph that the striking mineworkers “*had largely refrained from initiating violence*”, they only responded by fleeing the violent attack carried out by the police, including tear gas canisters. Besides, all sources quoted were from the striking mineworkers.

### **5.6.2 Maligning striking workers**

One of Galtung's (1998) constant interests in the dichotomous model is to examine the concerted effort to vilify or marginalise any opposing group or individual with the sample at hand. Put differently, denigrating the enemy's theme may be pictorial or a depiction of protesters as "deviants" of societal norms.

In this segment, we continue to analyse the relationship amongst crucial role players and dimensions of social practice. This is in addition to referential, nomination, metaphors, presupposition and hyperboles in the textual analysis level. This dispossession used through by meanings of trigger, dominance and soft power as well. The soft power was used through news media's negative coverage.

To the inference, as mentioned earlier, *SowetanLive* from its very first coverage denigrated and gave the striking mineworkers a negative image. In its first article published on August 15, 2015, entitled “*Striking platinum miners confront police*”, the group industrial action was described as a criminal activity. Thus, proves (Duncan, 2016) assertions that well recognised journalistic practices and professional ideologies help shape how protests are reported on by the media and interpreted by their publics. The reportage foregrounded two of the 14 elements of marginalisation by media which is general lawlessness and police confrontation (McLeod & Hertog, 1999; McFarlane & Hay, 2003; Dardis, 2006; Shahin et al, 2016).

Exponentially, *SowetanLive*'s negative coverage of the striking mineworkers, RDOs to be precise, reached its crescendo on an article similar to the above, which was a day before the fateful massacre, August 15, 2012, through an article entitled “*Police trying to protect warring miners*”. In this article, names and references were given to RODs to portray the workers in a negative way, such as “criminal activity”. Inferences were made to their belief in traditional medicine, the sentence below infers that RDOs turned to this hideous behaviour to face of police bullets, as follows:

*"On Tuesday afternoon, they vowed to stay there until their demands for higher salaries were met. It was believed the men went to the hilltop to receive traditional medicine to "make them brave" (Makhafola & Saville, 15/08/2012).*

The journalist attempts to emphasise that the striking miners posed danger to non-striking mineworkers by quoting a union representative, *"We believe that employees can work under the current circumstances, but we will continually monitor the situation together with Lonmin management"*, *"Trade union Solidarity expressed concern over the safety of non-striking workers at the mine"*. Such reporting, consequently, supporting the status quo.

However, in an editorial of the same newspaper *"African lives cheap as ever"*, published on August 17, 2012, post the massacre on August 16, 2012, the newspaper debilitated the previous claim by putting forth an explanation of how cheap African lives are refereeing to the killings that happened that day. The editor mentions that *"But this is an abnormal country in which all the fancy laws are enacted, and the Constitution is hailed as the best on earth. All the right noises are made and yet the value of human life, especially that of the African, continues to be meaningless"*. In the editorial, the writer compared the acts of the police with those of the then apartheid government in South Africa.

This was abstracted through the following:

*"It has happened in other parts of the world where wars reduced human beings to nothing more than physical particles. It had happened in this country before where the apartheid regime treated black people as objects. It is continuing in a different guise now. Africans are pitted against each other over who is the rightful representative of workers. They are also fighting for a bigger slice of the mineral wealth of their own country. In the end, the war claims the very poor African again," (Sowetan Editorial, 17/08/2012).*

In searching for the role of RODs in the strike, several sources cited in the news items at hand corroborated that the RODs were non-unionised and were not part of the reported turf war. The conceptual assertion was supported in the following passage taken from *The Daily Maverick's "Marikana prequel: NUM and the murders that started it all"* article:

Likewise, an article from *Mail & Guardian*, entitled *"Marikana: The miners were hunted like beasts"*, which published on August 31, 2012, supported the overhead view. This was obvious through the phrase:

*"It was at Karee mine that other rock drill operators led a wildcat strike to demand better wages. The National Union of Mineworkers did not support them, and management took a tough line. The strike was unsuccessful, with many of the strikers losing their jobs. The Marikana miners figured there were many miners there still angry enough to join them on Wonderkop."*

### 5.6.3 Glorifying our actions "Us" and Vilifying their actions "Them."

This study was able to track down the connection between the actors and the dimensions of social practice using the social practices in Fairclough's CDA method. To explain this, it employed Teun Van Dijk's "ideological square," that he developed as an analytical method for tracking the Positive Self-Presentation and the Negative Other — Presentation in the critical role players in the selected online sources (Richardson, 2007: 51).

A discussion on the binaries that were created by the reporting around the Marikana developments. Table 3 below shows the news items that will inform the discussion and analysis.

Name of the news source	Title of the news item	Date	Link
SowetanLive	Striking platinum miners confront police	August 15 2012	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/business/2012-08-15-striking-platinum-miners-confront-police/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/business/2012-08-15-striking-platinum-miners-confront-police/</a> (September 20 2018)
BusinessLive	Marikana events a 'huge' blow to SA investment	August 19 2012	<a href="https://www.businesslive.co.za/bd/companies/2012-08-19-marikana-events-a-huge-blow-to-sa-investment/">https://www.businesslive.co.za/bd/companies/2012-08-19-marikana-events-a-huge-blow-to-sa-investment/</a> (September 20 2018)
Daily Maverick	Marikana: Cabinet ministers feel full force of striking miners' fury	August 22 2012	<a href="https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-08-22-marikana-cabinet-ministers-feel-full-force-of-striking-miners-fury/">https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-08-22-marikana-cabinet-ministers-feel-full-force-of-striking-miners-fury/</a> (September 20 2018)
Mail & Guardian	Activists decry talk of 'third force' at Marikana	August 24 2012	<a href="https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-23-activists-decry-talk-of-third-force-at-marikana">https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-23-activists-decry-talk-of-third-force-at-marikana</a>

**Table 2: news items used for discussion and analysis**

For instance, *SowetanLive* asserted that the critical role players in Lonmin Marikana events were the striking mineworkers, SAPS, Lonmin, AMCU and NUM, government representatives and politicians. However, "Us" for *SowetanLive*'s stories was the police, Lonmin, government and NUM, while "Them"

was the striking mineworkers and AMCU. This binary showcases the power relation as *SowetanLive* quickly became a mouthpiece of Lonmin and government. The Us and them binary is where one either overtly or covertly assumes a privileged position over the other through asserting their dominant perspective (Cooper 1991; Dunn, Moore, & Nosek 2005; Kellner 2005; Mittleman 2005; Zinn 2002). In other words, from the early days of the strike, *SowetanLive* sided with Lonmin, government and police this is as they foregrounded their views on the strike and backgrounded those of the striking mineworkers. Through its actions, the *SowetanLive* perpetuated injustices and blocked the voices of the striking mineworkers from confronting the powers that persecute them Roosvall and Tegelberg (2015) and Fraser (2005).

On the other hand, the news source was keen to highlight the negative attributes of striking mineworkers, and whoever may seek to help the strike action, while backgrounding their positive attributes. This stance alienated striking mineworkers' views and side of the story in the online news source, at least, at the beginning of the strike. This meant that in its reporting, the *SowetanLive* was biased and either knowingly or unknowingly propagated an agenda against the validity of the grievances raised by workers. Wasserman (2015), argues that the media's outsized emphasis on rationality in the was visible in the way they reported on the Marikana strike. He argues that the media lens on the Marikana strike was that of authority - police, politicians, business - while portraying the emotionally charged expression of the mineworkers as irrationality (Heller 2009).

For example, in the article titled "*Striking platinum miners confront police*", besides the obvious "demonising" of striking mineworkers in the article, the journalist also generated a set of dichotomous, yet opposite depictions. Consequently, the police were called in to monitor the situation following the death of 10 people including two police officers and security officers, however even after the death of the officers, mineworker and security guard the police did not use force to manage the 2,500 miners. In contrast, the "restricted group" did not hesitate to use violence as follows:

*"Thousands of striking miners armed with machetes and sticks faced off with South African police today at Lonmin's Marikana mine after it halted production following the deaths of 10 people in fighting between rival unions."*

Another news story of *SowetanLive* published on August 15, 2012, entitled: "*Police trying to protect warring miners*" followed suit. In the news article, striking mineworkers gathered on a hill near Lonmin's Marikana mine while police helicopters kept a close eye on their actions. The initial assertion is contrary to the opposite striking miners who gathered on a hill while striking for an increment. According to the

same news story, most of the striking mineworkers, mainly men, left the koppie overnight and came back in the morning to continue with their strike as an epicentre of their revolution. The metaphor of depicting the striking mineworkers as a danger to non-striking workers and since "their" sound of reason must ultimately overcome their thinking, the portrayal of non-striking workers as rational, spontaneous, loyal and eager for business stability as opposed to chaos is deepened. Contrarily, the striking mineworkers were depicted as irrational.

Steering the debate more towards *BusinessLive*, one can claim that the online news source's coverage was biased towards the elite in the Lonmin Marikana strike; namely the police, government, Lonmin and unions. *BusinessLive* carried a similar narrative as the *SowetanLive*, their coverage ascribed blame to the mineworkers for the threat the strike posed to investment and the economy of the country. "Them" for *BusinessLive* were the striking mineworker whereas "Us" were mainly business, government, NUM and AMCU and police.

Simply put, in a story, entitled "*Marikana events a 'huge' blow to SA investment*", the turn of events at Lonmin were said to have a potential of the impact the company's production and influencing investor confidence. The mining company infers to this "*even though the situation was perhaps somewhat depressingly predictable. Every year we see various wage negotiation rounds, strikes and production cuts,*" to this the protester's annual demands are not as important as the company's bottom line.

As for the *Daily Maverick*, in the news article entitled "*Marikana: Cabinet ministers feel full force of striking miners' fury*", the divisive language of "Us" vs "Them" was pictographic across. SAPS members and the ANC were "othered" in the article, this as it is reported that the police were sent away before the cabinet minister could address the gathered mineworkers. The ANC was depicted negatively through the phrasing "they sent police to kill us". There was an apparent divide between the cabinet ministers and striking mineworkers. This was observed when the journalist referred to workers gathered at the koppie as "striking mineworkers", whilst using the words "inter-ministerial committee" to refer to the ANC delegation. The title "*Marikana: Cabinet ministers feel the full force of striking miners' fury*", together with the primary photograph attributed to this story with a worker addressing other workers, may exemplify the approach of *Daily Maverick* towards glorifying the actions of the striking mineworkers, while denouncing those of the SAPS and the ANC.

On the other hand, another *Daily Maverick* news article, entitled "*Marikana survivors may be charged with murdering own comrades*", tried to venerate the mineworkers vividly by mentioning that:



*"If you are nonplussed, rest assured so were we. Furthermore, that is why Daily Maverick asked Lesenyego to explain this technicality that could be employed to charge the accused with murder and attempted murder."*

The divisive coverage dichotomous language of honouring the striking mineworkers and referring to them as "Us", while denouncing police as being "Them", was of a pictographic representation loaded with rhetorical devices and adjectives in the examples provided above.

Also, the *Mail & Guardian* was addressing the mineworkers as "Us", while the police and Lonmin were referred to as "Them". To expound, the story titled: *"Activists decry talk of 'third force' at Marikana"*, the journalist chose words that would venerate the strike action "Fighting for a living wage. While on the other hand, they the publication decried the police's actions were "Treatment by the police is ten times worse". Only the striking mineworkers were praised for their actions, while the other parties were "othered".

Similarly, in *Daily Mavericks's* article, entitled: *"Marikana: The strike might be over, but the struggle continues"*, the image of a "festive atmosphere" carried across through the use of words like "cheers and whistles" in the expression: "Cheers and whistles echoed across the Wonderkop Stadium amid a sea of jubilant, dancing miners at Lonmin's Marikana platinum mine". The image of "victory" depicted how the mine "succumbed" to the demands of the "striking workers". In the article, the striking mineworkers were praised for fighting for a living wage.

#### **5.6.4 Media sees Marikana strike a 'theatre'**

More often than not, news media typically frame protesters as theatrical performers due to the songs sang at the strike action, this is done to "empty the protest of its radical political content", this frame is known as the protest as carnival frame (McFarlane, 2001). In other words, through depicting strike as a performance and striking mineworkers as actors, the frame shifts the reader's attention from the reason why striking mineworkers halted production at the mines. The frame focuses on protesters appearance, behaviour and identity. The protest as carnival frame seriously ignores the main problem of the miners by pinning down the striking mineworkers dress sense, language, age and identity.

Similarly, *Daily Maverick's* report titled *"Marikana: The strike might be over, but the struggle continues"*, which was published on September 19, 2012, tried to portray the "jubilation" that engulfed the Wonderkop Stadium in Marikana after striking workers accepted pay rise. While the article's tone was positive towards the striking mineworkers, the false celebratory narrative structure was pictorial by use of words, adjectives

and verbs such as “chanting” and “Cheers and whistles”. Likewise, as in the description below, the protest as a carnival frame was concealed in a celebratory frame suit:

*“Cheers and whistles echoed across the Wonderkop Stadium amid a sea of jubilant, dancing miners at Lonmin’s Marikana platinum mine. After more than five bloody weeks of work stoppages and violent clashes with police that left 45 people dead, miners accepted a pay offer, which many have taken as a signal that the strike is now over,” (De Waal, 19/09/2012).*

Cheers and whistles, which are expressions of celebration for both male and females in South Africa but used predominantly by men, may augment the article with an act of performance. For instance, the extract above refers to the celebratory mode that kicked in when striking mineworkers accepted the offer. It is genetically engraved onto black people's DNA to whistle and ululate when celebrating. As posited earlier, this should not have been the main idea for the news item.

*Daily Maverick’s* story entitled “*Marikana: The next goal for the workers – split from NUM*”, which was published on September 20, 2012, attempted to capture another moment of happiness and celebration when striking mineworkers accepted pay rise. Even though the tone of the article was positive towards the striking miners, but the celebration was portrayed vividly by using words, adjectives and verbs like “festive atmosphere”, and “Cheered”. Also, the *protest as carnival* frame was disguised in a celebratory frame suit, as in the following description:

*“There was a festive atmosphere in Marikana on Wednesday as workers cheered on the wage agreement that ended the six-week-long strike at Lonmin's operations in the town. However, as workers prepared to return to work on Thursday, they have had set their sights on challenging the National Union of Mineworkers' dominance at the mine,” (Patel, 20/09/2012).*

*Daily Maverick’s* editorial staff opted to assign a photograph to this news article of a man dancing with a whistle in his mouth with other men around him cheering him on, which again reveals the *protest as carnival* frame.

The caption of the photograph shed light the editor’s choice:



*“Photo: Striking miners dance and cheer after they were informed of a 22 percent wage increase offer outside Lonmin’s Marikana mine, September 20, 2012. Striking miners at the mine said on Tuesday they accepted a management pay rise offer and would return to work on Thursday after six weeks of mining sector unrest that shook Africa’s largest economy”. REUTERS/Siphiwe Sibeko (2012)*

In other words, the writer implies that the “performance” mode of the striking mineworkers, their dancing, and having fun should work together to illustrate their reasonable demands and the motivation to be outside the mining shafts. The contrast of the celebration mode and the political context of the striking miners will amplify the protest as a carnival frame since the latter mainly depends on emptying the protest of its political content (McFarlane, 2001).

## **5.7 The politics of victim worthiness surrounding the Marikana Massacre**

In keeping with Herman & Chomsky (1988) propaganda model, news media reports on conflicts or strike action, in the case of the Marikana Massacre, may tend to create dichotomised choices regarding victims. Put differently; the victims will be perceived as worthy; as such, they will receive all the media attention to generate reader interest and sympathy. Contrarily, the same victims would be deemed unworthy and unknown and will only receive little or no detail and context in story construction (Herman & Chomsky, 1988). Edward Bird and Zureida Garda noted in their study that during the 1976 Soweto uprising, there were worthy and unworthy victims. They state that following the uprising there was a focused coverage on the death of two white people who were police officers out of eight who had died and whose lives and

work was extensively reported on in several publications at the time. Meanwhile, the black people killed on the day remained unknown and just numbers. This shows the preferential treatment of white "victims" over black "statistics," reducing them to an unidentifiable mass.

This part analyses the linguistic choices concerning examining the role of normalisation in dissecting ideologies in the news items at hand.

Given the above, in *SowetanLive*'s news item *"Police fire on Marikana miners, several dead"*, which was published on August 16, 2012, it is glaring of nominalisation through the use of words "several dead" in lieu of "killed", is an immediate attention grabber shinning the spotlight on police brutality. The word "dead" intrigues concern over the actions of the police and connotes that those who are entrusted with the momentous mandate to serve and protect the public mercilessly killed black people. The journalist could have used substituted "dead" with "killed". The use of the word "killed" would have been a correct interpretation of what occurred on that day. The same news item also only counts the number of police officers and security officers who were killed days before the massacre:

"Ten people, including two policemen, have died in nearly a week of fighting between rival worker factions at the mine, the latest platinum plant to be hit by fallout from an eight-month union turf war in the world's main producer of the precious metal."

Moreover, in another story for *SowetanLive*, entitled *"Striking platinum miners confront the police,"* published on August 15, 2012, the writer again resorted to nominalisation in the first sentence *"Thousands of striking miners armed with machetes and sticks faced off with South African police today at Lonmin's Marikana mine after it halted production following the deaths of 10 people in fighting between rival unions"*. Additionally, the police officers who were killed because of the clashes were always put first in the reports. Contrarily, the other victims who were mineworkers remained a nameless statistic, and not much detail was provided about them in the article, except that they are victims of police brutality on the day.

The *Daily Maverick* coverage, also resorted to this approach in one of their news items titled *"Lonmin mining crisis: Precarious balance, no solution in sight"* published on August 15, 2012. In this news item, the mention of deaths started with the killing of two police officers. Meanwhile, not much information was provided in the article on the "death" of other people in the confrontations between striking mineworkers and police. In the article, the journalist resorted to nominalisation by using the word "death" instead of "killing" when describing the two dead victims, while using a passive voice with the police officers who

“were killed” to get the readers of the article to start to wonder who killed the police officers, whereas turning a sharp blind eye on the other victims that fell victim to the violence that plagued the mine and who might have killed them. One may also note that post the killing of the 34 striking workers by police; *Daily Maverick* reported that “*Marikana survivors may be charged with murdering own comrades*”. The premise of the charges was that the striking mineworkers triggered the retaliation by police when they fired one shot towards the police's direction. This was not only newsworthy but also bizarre for the government, police and the South African National Prosecution Authority. They were charging survivors of the mass killing by police in the democratic era with the murder of their colleagues. Some of whom were lying in hospital beds in pain.

## **5.8 Episodic vs Thematic perspective**

Chapter two, puts forward a hypothetical argument that some of the stories at issue tend to lean towards an episodic narrative structure rather than a thematic perspective. Rather than exposing the social and historical backgrounds of strike action in South Africa, the focus is more on the violent actions of mineworkers and on ascribing blame to them. Put differently, hypothetical questions like who orchestrated the protests, what was the overall effect of the strike, and what was behind the motive may be left out.

Predominantly, *SowetanLive*'s news items were concerned with, at the very least in the first days of the illegal strike or stay away at Lonmin mines, accentuating the confrontations between the police, security and striking mineworkers, instead of highlighting and profiling the motives behind the stay away. In doing so, they relied heavily on official sources (police, mine bosses, government, politicians and union leaders) in their news stories. However, after the massacre on August 16, 2012, their coverage shed light on the excessive force used by police on that fateful day. Furthermore, their coverage still relied on official sources for comment; perhaps it augured well for their tight editorial deadlines, who knows?

This was the case with the other four, *Mail & Guardian*, *BusinessLive*, *News24* and *Daily Maverick*, even though the *Daily Maverick* was relatively quiet in days leading up to the massacre. Professor Jane Duncan of Rhodes University in her study, *South African journalism and the Marikana massacre: A case study of an editorial failure*, reporters seldomly approached independent mineworkers or residents of Marikana, opting to cite "official sources" like unions, Lonmin or the police.

*News24*'s story “*Marikana workers' voices 'low' in media*”, highlighted this trend by citing Jane Duncan's observations on the reportage that surrounded the Lonmin Marikana massacre. Furthermore, *Daily Maverick*'s story “*Marikana prequel: NUM and the murders that started it all*”, alludes to this point:

*"It seemed it would be difficult, if not impossible, to uncover the cause of the violence at a distance from Marikana because of the complete failure of most media outlets to ask the right questions of the right people".*

Additionally, SowetanLive's early coverage extensively made use of official sources from the police, NUM, AMCU, Lonmin executives and government official in its reportage, to attribute blame to the striking mineworkers in the clashes between the mineworkers and security and the police in the days leading to the killing of 10 people, which include SAPS members and Lonmin security guards.

Several other articles were published without citing a single source, which may again put the spotlight on the credibility of the articles. Details about the striking mineworkers were provided in certain news items just to "demonise" them, like in the case of unionised miners suspected of turning the "peaceful strike" into "blood" and "violent" because they did not want to follow protocol in raising their grievances. In so doing they "destabilised" the economy of South Africa. Furthermore, detailed background information was only provided to the elite, such as government officials and Lonmin mine representatives. For example, in the news item, *"ANC MPs fear for safety, refuse to meet Marikana workers"*, more detail was of the Committee at the top of the article and very little was said about the striking mineworker's grievance and background.

Conversely, the coverage of Daily Maverick, a late starter off the blocks, was much more inclined to presenting the motives behind Lonmin Marikana's strike action since the beginning of their reporting. In the news item *"Fight for better pay"* published on August 14, 2012, the subheading read: *"Thousands protest against exploitation for better pay at Lonmin mines"*, offered a summary of the reasons underpinning the strike action. The story also revealed the strike action's organisers, as in the following passage:

*"On Wednesday, August 8, some rock drill operators (Rock Drill Operators) from various Lonmin mines had a mass meeting demanding a significant salary increase. The NUM leaders present categorically refused to support the strike, despite the union's stated mission to promote and represent the interests of its members. On the following day (Women's Day – a holiday for the workers), thousands of Rock Drill Operators from all Lonmin mines met at the Lonmin-owned football stadium, adjacent to the settlement, where they agreed to approach Lonmin management directly, as NUM was refusing to represent them"*

As mentioned earlier that all five online media carried the same content from August 17 - 31, 2012. Although the reportage differed in terms of angles, the focus was the killing of 34 mineworkers in Marikana by police. Some of the articles are shown below:

*SowetanLive* in the news story “*AMCU union to speak on mine massacre*” published on August 17, 2012, mentioned that AMCU would hold a media briefing to discuss brutal murder of 34 mineworkers at Lonmin Marikana mine.

Similarly, *Daily Maverick’s* article, entitled “*Unsafe House, Unsafe Job? The foul truth about living conditions at Marikana*” was dedicated entirely to probing the reasons behind workers strike including working conditions, citing workers expounding on their grievances and social backgrounds. Put it differently, the general information about the work of the striking mineworkers, their wages and the reasons behind their strike is an affirmation from the online news source of the legitimate call of the striking workers. To expound, the subhead “*At Lonmin's platinum mine in Marikana workers have a new wage package and are back at work. However, the terrible living conditions in which they exist persist, and a recent Benchmarks study suggests this squalor could directly compromise workers' safety*”, summarises a few cases of mineworkers enduring many social ills, including appalling living conditions. Some of those sources were forced to live in squalor because of their insufficient salaries. Even though Lonmin was amassing millions in profits, those that dig the platinum reside in squalors.

Additionally, when a deal was struck with the striking mineworkers, the mines name “Lonmin” returned to the headlines. The news items quoted earlier in this chapter, before the deal and after the massacre, there was an overuse of Marikana. Now that the news is celebratory, Lonmin suddenly reappears to replace Marikana. The five online mediums opted to refer to the massacre as the Marikana Massacre, not the Lonmin massacre although workers killed were working for Lonmin.

Returning to the living conditions of the workers, the description of the conditions was vivid through the choice of adjectives. Extracts included “People live in very unreasonable conditions”, “Lonmin estimates that approximately 50 percent of people living in a 15-kilometre radius of its mining operations were housed in informal dwellings with little or no access to basic services”, and “cannot have a decent life like all the South Africans”. Even the metaphor in the last sentence “50 percent of Lonmin workers” may elicit that many employees do not lead decent lives due to the scrupulous living conditions and low wages. A combination of all the societal problem may have been one of the chief contributors that led to the strike action at Lonmin mines, as the *Daily Maverick’s* reportage on strike tried to portray the mineworkers, primarily the sources, living conditions.

In the same way, *Mail & Guardian's* reportage of the Lonmin Marikana strike was focused on providing the context. The story titled, "*Marikana is the latest chapter in a long saga?*" also detailed the strike action that engulfed the mine. This news story featured a mineworker, who was present at a similar bloody strike in the 1980s organised by Impala Platinum where mineworkers embarked on similar industrial action. Not only did the news piece summarise the motives and the critical roles behind the strike action but it drew resemblances between the Impala Platinum strike in the 80s and the Lonmin strike.

Even in *Daily Maverick's* news story "*Lonmin mining crisis: Precarious balance, no solution in sight*", published on August 15, 2012, striking mineworkers' grievances were explicitly addressed in the following passage:

"On Wednesday, August 8, some rock drill operators (Rock Drill Operators) from various Lonmin mines had a mass meeting demanding a significant salary increase. The NUM leaders present categorically refused to support the strike, despite the union's stated mission to promote and represent the interests of its members. On the following day (Women's Day – a holiday for the workers), thousands of Rock Drill Operators from all Lonmin mines met at the Lonmin-owned football stadium, adjacent to the settlement, where they agreed to approach Lonmin management directly, as NUM was refusing to represent them".

Once more, from the preceding paragraph, *Daily Maverick* emphasises that the coordinators of strike action were un-unionised workers from all Lonmin mines shafts. This conclusion reflects some of the preceding news articles of *Daily Maverick* analysed earlier.

*Mail & Guardian's* coverage followed in the footsteps of *Daily Maverick* and *SowetanLive*. It was shedding more light on the horrendous conditions that gave rise to "Rock Drill Operators' anger", as these include the low pay and working conditions as well as NUM's refusal to represent them at the negotiations with the employer.

## **5.9 Discussion of research findings**

All the five online news sources considered the Lonmin Marikana event as newsworthy, albeit those five online news sources on August 9, 2012, gave primacy to Women's day events and little if at all was said about the strike at Lonmin. However, with the ascendancy of the protests, the five online news sources followed in the footsteps of the other media houses.



From the data presented above, it appeared the reporting was keen from the beginning to foreground the online news sources views on the strike and background those of the striking mineworkers. Additionally, the coverage was keen to put forth all the negative attributes of the striking mineworkers and their supporters, while they backgrounded or intentionally ignored their positive characteristics. Similarly, *BusinessLive*'s coverage was more elite inclined in the Lonmin Marikana issue. *BusinessLive* carried a similar narrative as the *SowetanLive*, their coverage ascribed blame to the mineworkers for the threat the strike posed to investment and the economy of the country. "Them" for *BusinessLive* were the striking mineworkers whereas "Us" was mainly business, government, NUM and AMCU, and police. As for the *Daily Maverick* and *Mail & Guardian*, they were presenting the striking mineworkers as "Us", while the police, the South African government, Lonmin, cabinet minister were "Them".

All five online news sources at hand opted for the striking mineworkers versus police binary, primarily after the death of 10 people going forward. However, *SowetanLive* as one of the early online news sources to cover the strike and massacre showed a propensity to frame its coverage using this narrative approach, compared to *Daily Maverick*, *Mail & Guardian* and *News24*. These online news mediums attempted to present both sides of the story, even though one may say the scales were towards the *protesters vs police* binary. It was discerned from the *SowetanLive* that emphasis was placed on the nature of the clashes between police and the striking mineworkers, instead of the legitimate issue of grievances and social inequality. This frame also shows who is the aggressor and the aggrieved – the initiator and the responder to the violence.

*SowetanLive* and to a certain extent *Mail & Guardian* and *Daily Maverick* greatly profiled the police victims as worthy victims, while the mineworkers as victims were perceived as nameless and embodied as one unit of mineworkers and not as individuals. *SowetanLive* tried to demonise RDOs and put the onus of the violence on them. RDO called for a strike after the mine management refused to meet with them and the NUM refused to represent their grievances. They were demonised because they started a strike that led to the reported violent clashes between security guards and mineworkers, mineworkers and police.

*Daily Maverick*'s coverage endeavoured to portray the striking mineworkers negatively. However, after the massacre, *Daily Maverick* revised its narrative approach to lauding the striking mineworkers. Meanwhile, *Mail & Guardian*'s coverage of the striking mineworkers carried a neutral tone with a propensity of positivity at times.

*At the beginning of their reportage, SowetanLive and Daily Maverick showed an inclination towards emphasising the striking mineworker's acts of violence and destructive behaviour, by using the mineworkers as anarchists frame, more than BusinessLive, News24 and Mail & Guardian.*

Additionally, this theme was recurrent in all the five online news sources with *BusinessLive* and *SowetanLive* leading the charge. The primary purpose of the protesters as anarchists narrative approach to aggravate the risks of Lonmin mines workers strike on the future of the organisation and the national economy.

*Protest as carnival* narrative structure which in its core depicts protesters, in this case striking mineworkers, as part of a theatrical performance while ignoring their legitimate grievances, social background and the political context, was covertly applied by *Daily Maverick* in some of their reports. The basis for this finding stem from the fact that there was an apparent connection between the modes of celebration and the legitimate call of the striking mineworkers.

In line with the conceptual statement posited earlier in the *Theory Framework* chapter, all five online news sources overlooked the significant element around the turn of events at Lonmin such as who organised the strike action and the motives underlying the protests, primarily in the early days of the strike. They all went for union rivalry as the leading cause of the strike, causing their coverage to sway more towards *episodic* than *thematic* frames instead of focusing on the social and historical backgrounds of striking mineworkers. However, *Daily Maverick* in some of their reports emphasised the circumstances that led to strike action, therefore leaning towards *thematic* frames.

In some of their reports, *Daily Maverick* and *Mail & Guardian* inclined to *voice* the striking workers, more so than *BusinessLive* and *SowetanLive*, which heavily used officials, mine bosses government representatives and trade union bosses, at the behest of striking workers. Remarkably, in several *News24* news items, there was no sign of any source quoted.

Regarding the ideological dimension, *SowetanLive* & *BusinessLive* gave relatively subjective views that corroborated with the governments' supposed efforts to finding a lasting solution. In other words, both online news sources were leaning more towards setting the divisive language or dichotomous model of bad protesters or opposition actors, and profiling government efforts, while heavily reliant on powerful sources which proved their ideological slant. As for *Daily Maverick*, although there were signs of neutrality, there were. However, tell-tale signs visualising the effects of the strike action, while intentionally

hiding the black and white of all actors and putting its best foot forth in reporting on the turn of events at Lonmin Marikana mine. The same could be said about *Mail & Guardian* as well.

### 5.10 Summary of the chapter

This chapter answered the research questions of the study introduced earlier in the introductory chapter. These were answered using Galtung's dichotomous CDA model. Fairclough's CDA method established that *SowetanLive's* reportage was reliant on a dichotomy of good and evil, highlighting Lonmin, government and police's views on the strike. Contrarily, the online news source was keen to highlight the striking mineworkers and supporters' negative attributes, while ignoring their positive characteristics. In other words, *SowetanLive's* reports were focused on powerful sources (*focusing on the views of Lonmin, government and police*), *violence-orientated*, and even *propaganda-orientated*. Furthermore, *SowetanLive's* coverage in the early days of the strike attempted to portray the striking mineworkers in a negative light but changed the narrative structure after the massacre to negatively depict the police, Lonmin and government.

To further elaborate, the putative frames derived from *SowetanLive's* coverage that created binaries validated the research results obtained from the CDA, regarding *SowetanLive's* inclination towards negative coverage. In summary, the CDA used in the research at hand revealed that *SowetanLive's* coverage in the early days before the massacre was ideologically biased and slanted. *SowetanLive's* reports highlighted the striking mineworker's acts of violence and ascribed the blame of the turmoil on them. This was shown using binaries like striking mineworkers versus police and striking mineworkers as anarchists. Put differently, *SowetanLive's* reportage was eager to report that the striking mineworkers were the group that initiated the violence, whereas SAPS and SANDF members were merely acting in defence.

Furthermore, *SowetanLive* attempted to overlook the strike in its early days through using the protest as being disregarded and neglected frame, by ignoring the strike for about seven days before it started its coverage, for example, primacy was given to the national women's days on August 9, 2012. Under the ascendancy of the strike at Lonmin, *SowetanLive* revised their reporting strategy, which was creating a sense of polarisation as it was driven through reliance on powerful officials instead of voicing striking mineworkers demands.

Likewise, *BusinessLive's* coverage was employing some binaries considering the *protest paradigms* such as striking mineworkers versus police and strike mineworkers as anarchists, aimed at foregrounding the

violence and lawlessness and further perpetuating stereotypes about the black protesters. In other words, The frames analysed showed that both *BusinessLive*'s reportage was heavily committed on ascribing blame for anarchy resulting from the strike at Lonmin mine, and they reportedly threatened the South Africa's economy.

Even though *BusinessLive*'s coverage as a business-oriented publication, was leaning towards providing the context of the strike, it still slanted towards the elite. In other words, *BusinessLive* used *thematic* frames, contrary to *SowetanLive*, who used *episodic* frames. The same could also be said about both *Daily Maverick* and *Mail & Guardian* where these two online news mediums coverage resorted to ignoring the reasons underpinning the strike action, which may be indicative of self-censorship on the part of editors in the very first days of the strike. Moreover, *Daily Maverick* attempted to be neutral somehow in using both official and protesters' as sources.

However, the Critical Discourse Analysis method found that all three online news sources reports showed an inclination towards employing victimised language and even resorted to using the worthy and unworthy victims narrative approach. Furthermore, they applied the dichotomous binary of good vs evil or "Us" vs "Them". This was determined through the online news source's inclination to rely on police - this would also include *SowetanLive*- addressing them as "Us". While, at the same time, *Daily Maverick* referred to the police, union, Lonmin and government as "Them". On the other hand, the online news sources attempt to publish neutral and objective stories about the strike were relatively successful post the massacre, the same could be said about the *Mail & Guardian*, *BusinessLive* and *SowetanLive*. Nevertheless, it tried to depict striking mineworkers with a neutral and positive tone. Using CDA helped reach this conclusion.

*SowetanLive*'s reports highlighted the striking mineworker's acts of violence and ascribed the blame of the turmoil on them. This was shown using binaries like striking mineworkers versus police and striking mineworkers as anarchists. Put differently, *SowetanLive*'s reportage was eager to report that the striking mineworkers were the group that initiated the violence, whereas SAPS and SANDF members were merely acting in defence. Furthermore, *SowetanLive* attempted to overlook the strike in its early days through using the protest as being disregarded and neglected frame, by ignoring the strike for about six days before it started its coverage, for example, primacy was given to the national women's days on August 9, 2012. Under the ascendancy of the strike at Lonmin, *SowetanLive* revised their reporting strategy, which was creating a sense of polarisation as it was driven through reliance on powerful officials instead of voicing striking mineworkers demands.

On the contrary, News24's take on the turn of events at Lonmin mines moved away from the *protest paradigm*. In other words, the inclination towards people sources, recognising the striking mineworkers' grievances, as well as providing context in terms of the social, political and historical background of strikes in South African events, this may be because the online news sources coverage was limited to post Marikana massacre.

## Chapter 6

### Conclusion

This chapter provides a summary of crucial discussion points that have informed this study and a review of how this study has answered the research questions it set out to answer in the introductory chapter. These include the complexities found in the media discourse on the Marikana Massacre media reports, stereotypes about the working class and the business class and the specific binaries created between the mineworkers as being against Lonmin mines as well as lessons learnt from Business and National news narratives. The study analysed data that was obtained from selected five online news sources from August 2012 to September 2014, a period where the country was still trying to come to terms with the first massacre in a democratic South Africa.

In line with the conclusions above and with respect to the study at hand is the importance of source selection patterns. In the days leading up to the massacre, the very first two news items published by both the SowetanLive and Daily Maverick, concurred significantly with previous studies, which demonstrated the media inclination towards the use of official sources within the protest paradigm when reporting on protest action. The conclusion that both online news sources gave a platform to the voices of the elite as sources, was in line with the literature. However, one may argue that the news sources could not have turned a blind eye to the acts of violence that characterised the strike action, such as the killing of 10 people in the days leading up to the massacre.

Research suggests that sources have a significant impact on the framing of news stories (Reese et al., 1994; Watkins, 2001; Ross, 2007; Greenberg & Hier, 2009), since protester sources are prone to highlight the perspective and standpoint of the cause, thereby suggesting the political orientation of the editorial stance of a publication. As alluded to above, the other three publications also followed, with each publication highlighting that which they were sympathetic to; for BusinessLive it was economy and investment, News24 was focused on the violence and violent clashes that plagued the industrial action.

Dardis (2006) asserts that reliance on official sources for information and opinion in place of the protesters is one way to delegitimise protesters. McLeod & Hertog (1999), noted that the media relies on framing and the representation of official sources to marginalise, delegitimise or demonise protesters. However, following the massacre, the reporting contradicted previous studies. This as all five online news sources changed their tune and gave primacy to striking mineworkers. This means that post the massacre all five online news sources did not conform to the protest paradigm as an unusual amount of attention was

given to the voices of the mineworkers post the killing of 34 and injuring of 78 striking mineworkers. The coverage was also in contrast to what other scholars, such as McLeod (2007:9), have observed regarding the use of bystanders as sources to delegitimise protesters. "Journalists often try to add colour to their stories by approaching bystanders not particularly well-informed on the issue, and because they are not participating in the protest, are likely to criticise the protesters as well as misunderstand what the protesters are trying to do" (McLeod, 2007:9). Although, in the early days, publications such as BusinessLive employed economic analysts as sources to share their views on the impact of the strike on the economy. Those may as well be referred to as bystanders.

With respect to the use of frames by the selected online news sources, Entman (1993) suggests that the use of frames in news stories contributes towards defining a problem and drawing attention to an issue, while concealing others. The media can in this way influence how we think (Cohen, 1963). This is the second level of agenda setting, in which certain problems and issues are prioritised over others (McCombs & Shaw, 1972).

Eight generic frames emerged from the news items at hand. Among these news frames, there were three commonly used by all five news sources: these were 'marginalisation frame, stereotypes frame and police vs protesters frame, with the coverage conforming to the protest paradigm. The SowetanLive and Daily Maverick, despite also leading with the marginalising frame and police vs protester frame, was overwhelmingly supportive of the striking mineworkers and did much to present their concerns as legitimate after the killing of 34 mineworkers. After the massacre, the coverage of all five news sources was largely focused on exposing police brutality against the mineworkers as well as covering the protestors causes in great depth, highlighting their historical motivations.

The use of the stereotype frames to describe the striking mineworkers, also ascribed blame to the miners for the turn of events across all five news sources. However, the voices of the protesters still came out, through their union representatives, despite the reasons for the strike mainly featuring in the last few stanzas of a news item - with journalists leading the narrative, highlighting the violent protests. It is, however, worth noting that union bosses did not represent all mineworkers more so those who started the strike, RDOs. The sample at hand offered a more descriptive picture of the mood driven by "armed" protesters, which McLeod and Hertog (1998) characterise as a social control device that can weaken the impact of protests on public opinion. As a result, Supadhiroke (2014) argues that most violent anti-government protests and their opponents fail to accomplish their goals and resort to violent tactics.

Based on a comparative analysis, the stereotype frame was consistent with previous studies (Pointer, 2015; Wasserman, Chuma & Bosch, 2018) and research on the media's representation of protests with the use of "marginalisation" devices (Dardis, 2006). Future studies may want to investigate protests further to reflect how online news sources used the stereotypes frame, and determine whether frames can be beneficial to protesters.

Literature review demonstrated that the media consistently follows the protest paradigm while reporting on protest action, marginalising and dehumanising protesters and frequently relying on elite sources (McLeod & Hertog, 1999). Even though the sample analysed offered a dramatised depiction of the 2012 Marikana Massacre, the sample did draw on voices from a wider pull of elite sources leading up to the massacre. This meant that striking mineworkers voices rarely featured in those days in the media under review, however, they dominated over other views represented in the days after. How does this impact previous studies cited in the literature review, which demonstrates the strength of the relationship between media commercialisation and official sources being represented in the media? The findings of this study suggest that newsroom habits are changing as a result of greater representation of marginalised voices. There seems to be a degree of awareness of the need to give a voice to marginalised groups, not just officials, which may be linked to a continuing decline in advertising in the media.

Furthermore, the literature suggests that as the "Fourth Estate," the media should assume its duty of being a watchdog, a gatekeeper, and an agenda-setter, thereby strengthening democratic governance. It is important for the media to be a conduit and prime source of information, so that citizens can be informed as to what their elected officials are doing on their behalf. This is a critical factor for the depth and breadth of democracy (Coronel, 2009; Norris & Odugbemi, 2009; Friedman, 2011).

There are many factors that could explain the findings of all five news sources and their practices in relation to the Marikana strike and massacre and the sudden change of voice. One of these is that the online news sources are gradually recognising their marginalising tendencies and beginning to listen to the voices of the marginalised groups such as mineworkers.

The second factor could be what Mastafa Oz (2016:189) describes as a "polarised media environment", where "it is possible to see partisan tendencies". In the study of how different sets of media covered the Gezi protests in Turkey, Oz demonstrates how political pressures and partisan tendencies can play a role in shaping the news coverage by the mainstream media. Oz concluded that "because of the mainstream media's partisan tendencies, social media's coverage became an alternative way for citizens and for



international media outlets to gain information” (Oz, 2016:189). Oz further concluded that “as we dug into the data, we came to recognise that newspaper coverage of protests is shaped by institutional politics and political cycles, as well as by news value and news routine factors”.

Oliver and Maney (2000:464) argue that a detailed examination is lacking of the “multiple ways in which movements and political elites could be linked and how the news media are ‘intertwined’ with these links”. The literature further demonstrates that issues of “ownership” and “economic interest” are of paramount importance in mainstream media. The “agendas of social movements and organisations are given positive coverage only to the extent that they are in tune with these interests” (Coyer, Downmunt & Fountain, 2007:156).

It might be worthwhile to explore further the to determine the factors that might have led to the online news sources’ overwhelming change of from elite to striking mineworkers, in the days after the massacre, particularly considering that the publications reported glowingly of government and business’ handle on the strike to exert the rule of law at all costs with the then ANC Deputy President and Lonmin mine non-executive director Cyril Ramaphosa calling for a concomitant action against the striking mineworkers. Olive and Maney’s (2000:464) research into political influence over newspaper coverage of protests found that the “newspaper coverage of protests is shaped by institutional politics and political cycles, as well as news value and news routines factors”, which points to the significance of discovering new methods of “theorising the interplay of protest, politics, and the media in creating and communicating issues and in affecting public policy”.

## **Limitations of the study and recommendations**

The findings of this research are limited in that they focused on published news items by the selected online news sources. Future studies could conduct in-depth interviews with the journalists that covered these stories to further understand their perceptions on the reports they generated on the Marikana Massacre.

This would contribute further first-hand insight into patterns of reporting and the factors that influence the coverage and the context of labour protests in South Africa. Such a research would lay bare the perceived “unconscious” biases that underpin labour protests.

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## List of Appendices

### Appendix 1: SowetanLive news items

Source name	SowetanLive	Link
Headlines in August	'Zuma quits SADC to visit 'bloodbath mine'	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-08-17-zuma-quits-sadc-to-visit-bloodbath-mine/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-08-17-zuma-quits-sadc-to-visit-bloodbath-mine/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	Miners dare police	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/business/2012-08-17-miners-dare-police/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/business/2012-08-17-miners-dare-police/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	Ultimatum fails to break deadlock	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-08-16-ultimatum-fails-to-break-deadlock2/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-08-16-ultimatum-fails-to-break-deadlock2/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	Striking platinum miners confront police	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/business/2012-08-15-striking-platinum-miners-confront-police/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/business/2012-08-15-striking-platinum-miners-confront-police/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	Police trying to protect warring miners	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/business/2012-08-15-police-trying-to-protect-warring-miners/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/business/2012-08-15-police-trying-to-protect-warring-miners/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	Police fire on Marikana miners, several dead	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-08-16-police-fire-on-marikana-miners-several-dead/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-08-16-police-fire-on-marikana-miners-several-dead/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	Call for violence at Lonmin mine to be probed	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/business/2012-08-17-call-for-violence-at-lonmin-mine-to-be-probed/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/business/2012-08-17-call-for-violence-at-lonmin-mine-to-be-probed/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	African lives cheap as ever	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/opinion/columnists/2012-08-17-african-lives-cheap-as-ever/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/opinion/columnists/2012-08-17-african-lives-cheap-as-ever/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	AMCU union to speak on mine massacre	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-08-17-amcu-union-to-speak-on-mine-massacre/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-08-17-amcu-union-to-speak-on-mine-massacre/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	Malema calls for Zuma and Mthethwa's resignation	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/business/2012-08-20-malema-calls-for-zuma-and-mthethwas-resignation/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/business/2012-08-20-malema-calls-for-zuma-and-mthethwas-resignation/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	Platinum hits 6-week high on massacre	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/business/2012-08-21-platinum-hits-6-week-high-on-massacre/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/business/2012-08-21-platinum-hits-6-week-high-on-massacre/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	'Probe police bosses over Marikana'	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-08-22-probe-police-bosses-over-marikana/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-08-22-probe-police-bosses-over-marikana/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	Relatives claim 33 dead miners	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-08-22-relatives-claim-33-dead-miners/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-08-22-relatives-claim-33-dead-miners/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)

		The police have no moral right to kill	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/opinion/columnists/2012-08-24-the-police-have-no-moral-right-to-kill/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/opinion/columnists/2012-08-24-the-police-have-no-moral-right-to-kill/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
		Politicians 'used Marikana tragedy to campaign'	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-08-27-politicians-used-marikana-tragedy-to-campaign/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-08-27-politicians-used-marikana-tragedy-to-campaign/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
		Zuma's government is acting like pigs – Malema	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-08-27-zumas-government-is-acting-like-pigs-malema/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-08-27-zumas-government-is-acting-like-pigs-malema/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
		Major setback for Zuma	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-08-28-major-setback-for-zuma/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-08-28-major-setback-for-zuma/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
Headlines in September	in	Report takes swipe at state, unions and mining bosses	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/business/2012-09-07-report-takes-swipe-at-state-unions-and-mining-bosses/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/business/2012-09-07-report-takes-swipe-at-state-unions-and-mining-bosses/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
		Call to take stock on Marikana	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-09-11-call-to-take-stock-on-marikana/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-09-11-call-to-take-stock-on-marikana/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
		Marikana a warning shot – Vavi	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-09-11-marikana-a-warning-shot-vavi/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-09-11-marikana-a-warning-shot-vavi/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
		SA under leadership of tribal clique – Pityana	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-09-13-sa-under-leadership-of-tribal-clique-pityana/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/news/2012-09-13-sa-under-leadership-of-tribal-clique-pityana/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
		Miners reject Lonmin wage offer	<a href="https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/business/2012-09-14-miners-reject-lonmin-wage-offer/">https://www.sowetanlive.co.za/business/2012-09-14-miners-reject-lonmin-wage-offer/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)

## Appendix 2: Mail & Guardian news items

Source name	Mail & Guardian	Link
Headlines in August	Peace organisation blames Zuma, ANC for Marikana killings	<a href="https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-18-peace-organisation-blames-zuma-anc-for-marikana-killings">https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-18-peace-organisation-blames-zuma-anc-for-marikana-killings</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	Activists decry talk of 'third force' at Marikana	<a href="https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-23-activists-decry-talk-of-third-force-at-marikana">https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-23-activists-decry-talk-of-third-force-at-marikana</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	Cops 'shouldn't be sorry' about Marikana shooting	<a href="https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-20-51-phiyegea-officers-shouldnt-be-sorry-about-marikana-shooting">https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-20-51-phiyegea-officers-shouldnt-be-sorry-about-marikana-shooting</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	Malema at Marikana: 'Many will die'	<a href="https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-18-malema-at-marikana-many-will-die">https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-18-malema-at-marikana-many-will-die</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	Get back to work, or else, Lonmin warns	<a href="https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-19-marikana-action-is-a-strike-by-the-poor">https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-19-marikana-action-is-a-strike-by-the-poor</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)

	Marikana tragedy: Who authorised the use of live ammunition?	<a href="https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-21-marikana-tragedy-who-authorised-the-use-of-live-ammunition">https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-21-marikana-tragedy-who-authorised-the-use-of-live-ammunition</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	Apartheid cop: How we would have handled Marikana	<a href="https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-23-apartheid-cop-how-we-would-have-handled-marikana">https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-23-apartheid-cop-how-we-would-have-handled-marikana</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	Marikana Massacre illustrates need for development plan	<a href="https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-24-00-marikana-mine-massacre-illustrates-the-need-for-a-development-plan">https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-24-00-marikana-mine-massacre-illustrates-the-need-for-a-development-plan</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	Marikana: Blood on our hands, hands over ears	<a href="https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-22-cant-you-hear-the-thunder">https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-22-cant-you-hear-the-thunder</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	Marikana: 'Common purpose not outdated or defunct'	<a href="https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-31-marikana-common-purpose-not-outdated-or-defunct">https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-31-marikana-common-purpose-not-outdated-or-defunct</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	Marikana is the latest chapter in a long saga	<a href="https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-24-00-marikana-the-latest-chapter-in-a-long-saga">https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-24-00-marikana-the-latest-chapter-in-a-long-saga</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	Marikana: The miners were hunted like beasts	<a href="https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-31-00-marikana-the-miners-were-hunted-like-beasts">https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-31-00-marikana-the-miners-were-hunted-like-beasts</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	Get back to work, or else, Lonmin warns	<a href="https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-19-marikana-action-is-a-strike-by-the-poor">https://mg.co.za/article/2012-08-19-marikana-action-is-a-strike-by-the-poor</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)

### Appendix 3: BusinessLive news items

Source name	BusinessLive	Link
Headlines in August	Marikana events a 'huge' blow to SA investment	<a href="https://www.businesslive.co.za/bd/companies/2012-08-19-marikana-events-a-huge-blow-to-sa-investment/">https://www.businesslive.co.za/bd/companies/2012-08-19-marikana-events-a-huge-blow-to-sa-investment/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	ANC MPs fear for safety, refuse to meet Marikana workers	<a href="https://www.businesslive.co.za/bd/national/labour/2012-09-12-anc-mps-fear-for-safety-refuse-to-meet-marikana-workers/">https://www.businesslive.co.za/bd/national/labour/2012-09-12-anc-mps-fear-for-safety-refuse-to-meet-marikana-workers/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)

#### Appendix 4: News24 news items

Source name	News24	Link
Headlines in August	Marikana reports one-sided: Sapu	<a href="https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Marikana-reports-one-sided-Sapu-20120905">https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Marikana-reports-one-sided-Sapu-20120905</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	Zuma will not free Marikana miners	<a href="https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/Zuma-will-not-free-Marikana-miners-20120901">https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/Politics/Zuma-will-not-free-Marikana-miners-20120901</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	Cops fear scene at Marikana contaminated – report	<a href="https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Cops-fear-scene-at-Marikana-contaminated-report-20120911">https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Cops-fear-scene-at-Marikana-contaminated-report-20120911</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	Man found hacked to death at Marikana – report	<a href="https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Man-found-hacked-to-death-at-Marikana-report-20120911">https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Man-found-hacked-to-death-at-Marikana-report-20120911</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)

#### Appendix 5: Daily Maverick news items

Source name	Daily Maverick	Link
Headlines in August	Marikana: Cabinet ministers feel full force of striking miners' fury	<a href="https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-08-22-marikana-cabinet-ministers-feel-full-force-of-striking-miners-fury/">https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-08-22-marikana-cabinet-ministers-feel-full-force-of-striking-miners-fury/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	Lonmin mining crisis: Precarious balance, no solution in sight	<a href="https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-08-15-lonmin-mining-crisis-precarious-balance-no-solution-in-sight/">https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-08-15-lonmin-mining-crisis-precarious-balance-no-solution-in-sight/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	Marikana survivors may be charged with murdering own comrades	<a href="https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-08-30-marikana-survivors-may-be-charged-with-murdering-own-comrades/">https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-08-30-marikana-survivors-may-be-charged-with-murdering-own-comrades/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	Marikana: Police torture takes centre stage	<a href="https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-08-28-marikana-police-torture-takes-central-stage/">https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-08-28-marikana-police-torture-takes-central-stage/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	Marking the anniversary of two mining massacres: So much remains the same	<a href="https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2013-08-14-marking-the-anniversary-of-two-mining-massacres-so-much-remains-the-same/">https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2013-08-14-marking-the-anniversary-of-two-mining-massacres-so-much-remains-the-same/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)

Headlines in September	Marikana: The next goal for the workers – split from NUM	<a href="https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-09-20-marikana-the-next-goal-for-the-workers-split-from-num/">https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-09-20-marikana-the-next-goal-for-the-workers-split-from-num/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	Marikana: Malema's police-sponsored exit	<a href="https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-09-18-marikana-malemas-police-sponsored-exit/">https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-09-18-marikana-malemas-police-sponsored-exit/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	Unsafe House, Unsafe Job? The foul truth about living conditions at Marikana	<a href="https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-09-27-unsafe-house-unsafe-job-the-foul-truth-about-living-conditions-at-marikana/">https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-09-27-unsafe-house-unsafe-job-the-foul-truth-about-living-conditions-at-marikana/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	Marikana: The strike might be over, but the struggle continues	<a href="https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-09-19-marikana-the-strike-might-be-over-but-the-struggle-continues/">https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-09-19-marikana-the-strike-might-be-over-but-the-struggle-continues/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	Marikana: Social scientists seek understanding and demand justice	<a href="https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-09-18-marikana-social-scientists-seek-understanding-and-demand-justice/">https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-09-18-marikana-social-scientists-seek-understanding-and-demand-justice/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	A possible way out of the Marikana stand-off?	<a href="https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-09-13-a-possible-way-out-of-the-marikana-stand-off/">https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-09-13-a-possible-way-out-of-the-marikana-stand-off/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)
	"Marikana prequel: NUM and the murders that started it all	<a href="https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2012-10-12-marikana-prequel-num-and-the-murders-that-started-it-all/">https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2012-10-12-marikana-prequel-num-and-the-murders-that-started-it-all/</a> (Accessed 20 September 2018)