

## Thesise/Theses 2011

### ***A NARRATIVE OF OMISSION : ORAL HISTORY, EXILE AND THE MEDIA'S UNTOLD STORIES – A GENDER PERSPECTIVE***

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Thesis (MPhil)--University of Stellenbosch, 2011.

**ABSTRACT:** South Africa consists of a vast, culturally diverse population, entrenched in customary tribal influences which are essentially based on stringent patriarchal directives. These spilled over into other societal spheres, one of which is the media, which is part of an existing male hegemonic society. The rationale for this study is essentially to determine the role played by the media in their representation of women, before and shortly after the liberation of South Africa. This study will establish whether the voices of women were represented, or not, in the media, in the period shortly after the unbanning of the African National Congress (ANC) and affiliated organisations in 1990. By interviewing and recording the oral histories of a few female ANC Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) soldiers, the need is evident to, through this oral tradition process, give a voice to these voiceless women. The theoretical foundations for this study is firstly based on “womanism”. Womanism was born from the shortcomings of feminism (a largely Western concept) that was unable to address the issues unique to the situation of black women. A second theoretical point of departure is the Social Responsibility Theory, a media theory that could, based on research done for this study, play a profound role to the benefit of women. The methodological investigation is based on a mixed method research approach where Content Analysis (CA) and Grounded Theory (GT) are triangulated with the literature review. The GT processes gave a voice to some unknown female MK soldiers by conducting interviews based on in-depth interview questions. The CA process led to the conclusion that the voices of women who contributed to the struggle were largely ignored by the media. The researcher found that given the contributions and sacrifices women have made in democratising South Africa, acknowledgement of these efforts are sorely lacking, especially in the media. This study therefore seeks to contribute to the lost and repressed voices of women, and to redress a history of omission to a history of commission.

**AFRIKAANSE OPSOMMING:** Suid-Afrika beskik oor 'n kultureel diverse bevolking met tradisionele stam-invloede wat essensieel gebaseer is op streng patriargale riglyne. Dit het oorgespoel na ander sosiale kontekste, waarvan een die media is, en wat deel uitmaak van 'n bestaande manlike hegemonese gemeenskap. Die rasionaal vir hierdie studie was om vas te stel watter rol die media gespeel het in die representasie van vroue kort ná die eerste stappe tot 'n bevryde Suid-Afrika. Hierdie studie wou vasstel of die stemme van vroue verteenwoordig was, of nie, in die media, in die tydperk kort ná die ontbanning van die African National Congress

(ANC) en ander geaffilieerde organisasies in 1990. Die veronderstelling is dat vrouestemme nie in die media waarneembaar was nie, en dat die situasie teengewerk kan word deur die toepassing van mondelinge geskiedenis. In hierdie geval is die verhale van 'n paar vroulike Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK)-soldate geboekstaaf om sodoende deur die mondelinge geskiedenisradisie 'n stem te gee aan stemlose vroue. Die teoretiese grondslag vir hierdie studie is eerstens gebaseer op "Womanism". Dié teorie het ontstaan weens die tekortkominge van Feminisme (grootliks "n Westerse konsep), wat nie in staat was om die kwessies wat uniek is aan die situasie van swart vroue aan te spreek nie. 'n Tweede teoretiese vertrekpunt is die Sosiale Verantwoordelikheidsteorie. Gebaseer op die navorsing vir hierdie studie, kan dit 'n groter rol in die media in die belang van vroue speel. Die metodologie is gebaseer op 'n gemengde metode-navorsingsbenadering waar Inhoudsanalise en Grounded Theory (GT) trianguleer met die literatuurstudie. Die GT-proses gee 'n stem aan 'n paar onbekende vroulike MK-soldate deur onderhoudvoering wat op in-diepte onderhoudvrae gebaseer is. Die inhoudsanalise proses het bevind dat vroue wat bygedra het tot die Vryheidstryd grootliks deur die media geïgnoreer is. Gegewe die bydraes en opofferings wat vroue gemaak het in die demokratisering van Suid-Afrika, ontbreek erkenning van hul pogings in ons geskiedskrywing, en beslis so in die media. Hierdie studie was 'n poging om by te dra tot die omkeer van hierdie situasie, naamlik om 'n "geskiedenis van uitsluiting" te herstel na 'n "geskiedenis van insluiting".

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### ***THE PUBLIC BROADCASTER MODEL AND THE ZIMBABWE BROADCASTING CORPORATION (ZBC) : AN ANALYTICAL STUDY***

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Thesis (MPhil)--University of Stellenbosch, 2011.

**ABSTRACT:** The aim of this analytical study was to establish whether the Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) operates as a true public broadcaster or as a state-controlled broadcaster. The performance of the ZBC was analysed through its main 8.00 pm television news bulletins broadcast during the period between the signing of the Global Political Agreement (GPA) by the Zimbabwe African National Union Patriotic Front, ZANU (PF) and the two Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) political parties in September 2008 and the establishment of the inclusive Government of National Unity (GNU) in February 2009. The study was undertaken from within the paradigms of the Social Responsibility Theory as this was deemed the most applicable in terms of the research subject. Both qualitative and quantitative research methods were applied as part of a process of triangulation. The qualitative research method, as the main methodological approach, was applied to solicit views and opinions of participants by use of questionnaires designed to interview specific interviewees, namely the ZBC journalists and spokespersons for the various political parties now in the GNU. The journalists explained how they gathered and packaged news bulletins having to endure some government interference on a regular basis.

The MDCs' spokespersons outlined how the ZBC denied them broadcast time for their rallies, press statements and participation in live debates. ZANU (PF) was of the view that the MDC parties only wanted to blame the previous ZANU (PF) government through "unsubstantiated" remarks about bias and the breakdown of the rule of law and absence of democracy and freedom of expression in the country. This, according to ZANU (PF), they did in order to please their alleged Western financiers like Britain and the United States who imposed targeted sanctions on the country. Through the analysis of political parties' accessibility to the main television news bulletins, the research confirmed the assumption that the ZBC is still biased in favour of the former sole ruling ZANU (PF) party which is also in charge of the information ministry in the GNU. The study concluded that since the ZBC, as a public-funded institution, was clearly not accessible to different political parties and civic society groups in order for them to participate in a crucial nation-building process, it failed to fulfil its expected mandate as a public broadcaster. By also negating a social responsibility role that calls for high professional conduct, fairness and objectivity expected of public broadcasters, this study showed that the ZBC was still a state-controlled broadcaster that needs to be reformed.

**OPSOMMING:** Die doel van hierdie analitiese studie was om vas te stel of die Zimbabwe Broadcasting Corporation (ZBC) as 'n ware openbare uitsaaier of as 'n staatsbeheerde uitsaaier funksioneer. Die werkverrigting van die ZBC is geanaliseer deur die 8 nm-TV-bulletin gedurende die periode tussen die ondertekening van die Global Political Agreement (GPA), deur die Zimbabwe African National Union-Patriotic Front, ZANU (PF) en die twee Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) politieke partye in September 2008 en die totstandkoming van die inklusiewe Government of National Unity (GNU) in Februarie 2009 te bestudeer. Beide kwalitatiewe en kwantitatiewe navorsingsmetodes is toegepas deur dit met die proses van triangulering te kombineer. Die kwalitatiewe navorsingsmetode, wat die hoof-metodologiese benadering is, is aangewend om perspektiewe en opinies van deelnemers te verkry, deur gebruik te maak van vraelyste wat ontwerp is vir spesifieke deelnemers, naamlik die ZBC joernaliste en woordvoerders van die verskillende politieke partye, tans in die GNU. Die joernaliste verduidelik hoe hulle met die inwin van nuus en samestelling van nuusbuletins inmenging van die staat op 'n gereelde basis moes verduur. Woordvoerders van die MDC het in breë trekke uiteengesit hoe die ZBC hul uitsaaityd geweier het vir hul byeenkomste, persverklarings en deelname aan regstreekse debatte. Die ZANU (PF)-deelnemers is van mening dat die MDC-partye net die vorige regering wou blameer deur "ongesubstansieerde" opmerkings te maak oor vooroordeel en die ontbinding van die oppergesag van die gereg, die afwesigheid van demokrasie en vryheid van spraak in die land. Dit sou hulle doen om hul beweerde Westerse finansiers, soos Brittanje en die Verenigde State, wat geteikende sanksies op die partyleierskap opgelê het, insluitende president Robert Mugabe, tevrede te stel. 'n Analise van die politieke partye se toegang tot die hooftelevisie-nuusbuletins bevestig die hipotese dat die ZBC steeds die vorige enkel regerende ZANU (PF)-party wat in beheer van

die inligtingsministerie in die GNU is, bevoordeel. Die slotsom is dat, aangesien die ZBC, 'n openbaar-gefinansierde instansie, ontoeganklik vir verskillende politieke partye en burgerlike gemeenskapsgroepe is, hulle van deelname aan 'n belangrike nasiebouproses uitgesluit is. Daarmee faal die ZBC in sy veronderstelde mandaat van 'n ware openbare uitsaaier, asook sy sosiale verantwoordelikhedsrol, wat hoë professionele gedrag, regverdigheid en objektiwiteit van openbare uitsaaiers vereis. Die studie bewys die ZBC is steeds 'n staatsbeheerde uitsaaier wat hervorm moet word.

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### ***THE POLITICAL ROLE OF BLACK JOURNALISTS IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA : THE CASE OF THE CITY PRESS – 1994 TO 2004***

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Thesis (PhD)--University of Stellenbosch, 2011.

**ABSTRACT:** This study investigated the political role of the City Press. black journalists in post-apartheid South Africa. Taking into consideration its ownership by a white media company, the study investigated the role played by African cultural values in the execution of their tasks with a particular focus on the period 1994 to 2004. The interest in the role played by African cultural values in the execution of the City Press. black journalists. tasks, and in the issue of the newspaper.s white ownership, was driven by an observation that historically, the trajectory of black newspapers was to a great extent influenced by the interests and values of the owners. The issue of ownership was of interest also because the black political elite frequently accused black journalists in South Africa of undermining the ANC government so as to please the white owners of the newspapers they worked for. Also, taking into consideration that the City Press played a conscious role in the struggle against apartheid, the study sought to investigate the role the City Press defined for its journalists in post-apartheid South Africa, specifically in the first decade after 1994. Three theoretical frameworks were deemed applicable in this study, namely Liberal- Pluralism, Political Economy, and Afrocentric theories on the media.s political role in society. The first was chosen on the basis of its theorisation on the political role of the media. The second was chosen on the basis of its analysis of the link between the performance of the media and ownership, although that is not the only issue Political Economy deals with. The third was chosen on the basis of its focus on African historical and cultural issues. The study has employed qualitative research methods, namely content analysis and interviews. It has a quantitative aspect in that it involved the counting of the City Press. editorials, columns and opinion pieces, as an indication of how many journalistic pieces were analysed. The period of this study ends in 2004 in the year that the City Press was re-launched as a 'Distinctly African' newspaper. The 'Distinctly African' concept had both cultural and political implications for the City Press. journalists. This study covers some of these aspects in a limited way since the research period ends in the year 2004. The research found that in post-apartheid South Africa, the City Press. black journalists.

political role was to make sure that the objectives of the anti-apartheid struggle were achieved. It also established that the City Press's black journalists executed their tasks independently without interference from their newspaper's white owners. The study also established that some of the newspaper's black journalists experienced tensions between what they perceived as expectations of journalism and what they perceived as the prescriptions of African culture.

**OPSOMMING:** Hierdie studie het die volgende ondersoek: die politieke rol van die City Press se swart joernaliste in post-apartheid Suid-Afrika, die rol van Afrika-kulturele waardes in die uitvoering van hul taak met 'n spesifieke fokus op die periode 1994 tot 2004, en die konteks van die koerant as eiendom van 'n tradisionele wit media maatskappy. Die belangstelling in die rol van Afrika-kulturele waardes in die uitvoering van die taak van die City Press se swart joernaliste en die kwessie van die koerant se wit eienaarskap is gedryf deur die waarneming dat, histories, swart koerante grotendeels beïnvloed is deur die belange en waardes van die eienaars. Die kwessie van eienaarskap was ook van belang omdat die politieke elite gereeld swart joernaliste beskuldig het dat hulle die ANC-regering ondermyn om sodoende die wit eienaars van die publikasies vir wie hulle werk, tevrede te stel. In ag geneem die feit dat die City Press 'n bewustelike rol in die strug teen apartheid gespeel het, het die studie ook die rol ondersoek wat die City Press vir sy joernaliste in post-apartheid Suid-Afrika gedefinieer het, spesifiek in die eerste dekade ná 1994. Drie teoretiese raamwerke is beskou as van belang vir hierdie studie, naamlik die Liberale- Pluralisme, die Politieke Ekonomie en Afrosentriese teorieë oor die media se politieke rol in die samelewing. Die studie het twee kwalitatiewe navorsingsmetodologieë gebruik, by name inhoudsanalise en onderhoude. Daar was 'n kwantitatiewe aspek deurdat die City Press se hoofartikels, rubrieke en meningstukke getel is as 'n aanduiding van hoeveel stukke geanaliseer is. Die navorsing het bevind dat die City Press se swart joernaliste hul politieke rol in post-apartheid Suid-Afrika gesien het as om onder meer seker te maak dat die doelwitte van die vryheidstryd bereik word. Die studie het ook vasgestel dat die City Press se swart joernaliste hul taak onafhanklik en sonder inmenging van die koerant se wit eienaars kon doen. Ook is bevind dat sommige van die koerant se swart joernaliste spanning ervaar tussen eise van die joernalistiek en wat hulle beskou as voorskriftelikheid van Afrika-kulturele waardes. Die tydperk van die studie eindig in 2004, die jaar waarin die City Press geloods is as 'n "Distinctly African"-koerant. Die "Distinctly African"-konsep het beide kulturele en politieke implikasies vir die City Press se joernaliste. Hierdie studie dek sommige van hierdie aspekte in 'n beperkte mate aangesien die navorsingstydperk in 2004 eindig. Dit word voorgestel dat meer navorsing gedoen word met spesifieke verwysing na die tydperk tussen 2004 en 2009, die volgende vyf jaar van demokrasie in Suid-Afrika. In die politieke diskoers verwys die swart politieke elite gereeld na Afrika-kultuur. Dit is nog 'n aspek wat toekomstige studies kan ondersoek, naamlik die verhouding tussen joernalistieke waardes en praktyke aan die een kant, en Afrika-kultuur aan die ander.

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## ***MANUFACTURING CULTURAL CAPITAL : ARTS JOURNALISM AT DIE BURGER (1990-1999)***

Botma, Gabriel Johannes (2011-12)

Thesis (PhD)--Stellenbosch University, 2011.

**ABSTRACT:** This study examines the discursive role and positioning of arts journalism at Die Burger during a period of radical transformation in South African society. The study is conducted within a critical-cultural paradigm. Arts journalists are considered to be manufacturers of cultural capital, a term devised by Pierre Bourdieu as part of his comprehensive field theory framework. While Bourdieu uses cultural capital in the main to describe the role of education and culture in the maintenance of elite power hierarchies, this study investigates how the nature of cultural capital at Die Burger was affected by power shifts when competing elites jostled for dominance in a post-apartheid dispensation. By drawing on Michel Foucault's theory of discourse, the focus of research further incorporates the discursive positioning of arts journalists in their coverage of arts and cultural events in the 1990s in relation to shifting configurations of power. The argument is that arts journalism at Die Burger can be situated within networks of power and thus contributed to the structuring of post-apartheid society. In the words of Antonio Gramsci, arts journalists became involved in hegemonic and counter-hegemonic struggles. Flowing from these theoretical departure points, the study identifies critical discourse analysis (CDA) as an appropriate research method for textual analysis and adapts a five-phase model suggested by Teun van Dijk as part of his contextual CDA approach. The analysis thus focuses in turn on the context of discourse, discursive struggles between arts journalists and political journalists, strategies of classification used by arts journalists, emerging themes of discourse in arts journalism, and how the selection and presentation of arts journalism on news and arts pages were influenced by various factors, including the personal background and experiences of arts journalists (The concept of Bourdieu's "habitus"). To affect triangulation and enhance the textual analysis, the study also employs semi-structured indepth interviews with arts journalists who were prominent at Die Burger in the 1990s. The study found that arts journalists were at the intersection of different and often diverging and contradictory power-points in post-apartheid discourses at the newspaper. On the one hand, some arts journalists embraced a legacy of editorial independence at the arts desk and sometimes created oppositional discourses to the official political view of the newspaper: for instance on the issue of alleged "collective guilt" for Afrikaners and whether Naspers should appear before the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) to explain its role in supporting the National Party (NP) during apartheid. On the other hand, many arts journalists shared the editor's apparent aversion to the international cultural boycott supported by the ANC and harboured some of the same skepticism about the so-called Africanisation of society and resultant attacks on Eurocentrism in the arts. This study -- the first on this level to focus on Afrikaans arts journalism since 1994 -- represents a significant contribution to knowledge in the

under-researched field of arts journalism in South Africa. Its purpose and process has furthermore developed theoretical and methodological innovations which can enrich the field of journalism studies.

**OPSOMMING:** Die studie -- vanuit 'n kritiese kulturele paradigma -- ondersoek die diskursiewe posisionering en rol van kunsjoernalistiek by Die Burger gedurende 'n periode van radikale transformasie in die Suid-Afrikaanse samelewing. Kunsjoernaliste word beskryf as vervaardigers van kulturele kapitaal, soos gekonsepsualiseer deur Pierre Bourdieu in sy omvattende raamwerk van veldteorie. Terwyl Bourdieu die term kulturele kapitaal hoofsaaklik gebruik om die rol van opvoeding en kultuur in die behoud van hierargieë van elite-mag te beskryf, ondersoek hierdie studie hoe die aard van kulturele kapitaal by Die Burger beïnvloed is deur magsverskuiwings waarin mededingende post-apartheid elite-groepe mekaar die stryd aangesê het. Deur gebruik te maak van Michel Foucault se teorie van diskoers, val die fokus van navorsing dus op die diskursiewe posisionering van kunsjoernaliste in hul dekking van kuns-en-kultuurgebeure in the 1990's. Die argument is dat kunsjoernalistiek by Die Burger binne magsnetwerke geplaas kan word en bygedra het tot die strukturering van die post-apartheid samelewing. In Antonio Gramsci se terme het kunsjoernaliste dus betrokke geraak in die stryd om hegemonie te skep en teen te werk. Uitvloeiend uit hierdie teoretiese vertrekpunte word kritiese diskoersanalise (KDA) as navorsingsmetode vir die ontleding van joernalistieke tekste geïdentifiseer. Daarvolgens word 'n model met vyf stappe, voorgestel deur Teun van Dijk as deel van sy KDA-benadering, aangepas vir gebruik. Die analise fokus dus om die beurt op die konteks van diskoers, die diskursiewe stryd tussen kunsjoernaliste en politieke joernaliste, strategieë van klassifikasie wat kunsjoernaliste gebruik het, temas van diskoers wat aan die lig gekom het in kunsjoernalistiek, en hoe die seleksie en aanbieding van kuns-en-kultuur-nuus deur verskillende faktore beïnvloed is, insluitend deur die persoonlike agtergrond en ondervinding van kunsjoernaliste ("habitus" in Bourdieu se teorie). Om triangulasie te bewerkstellig en die teks-analise te ondersteun, is semi-gestruktureerde in-diepte onderhoude met prominente kunsjoernaliste aangelê. Die studie het vasgestel dat kunsjoernaliste in post-apartheid diskoerse in die koerant hulself op 'n kruispunt van verskillende, soms uiteenlopende en selfs opponerende strominge van mag bevind het. Aan die een kant het sommige kunsjoernaliste 'n tradisie van redaksionele onafhanklikheid omarm en soms opposisionele politieke diskoerse in vergelyking met die amptelike beleid van die koerant geskep, byvoorbeeld oor die kwessie van beweerde "kollektiewe skuld" vir Afrikaners en of Naspers voor die Waarheid-en- Versoeningskommissie (WVK) moes verskyn om sy rol as ondersteuner van die Nasionale Party (NP) gedurende apartheid te verduidelik. Maar aan die ander kant het talle kunsjoernaliste die redakteur se klaarblyklike afkeer gedeel aan die internasionale kultuurboikot wat deur die ANC ondersteun is. Kunsjoernaliste was ook skepties oor die sogenaamde Afrikanisering van die samelewing en gevolglike aanvalle op Eurosentriese kuns. Ten slotte maak hierdie studie -- die eerste op hierdie vlak oor Afrikaanse kunsjoernalistiek sedert

1994 -- 'n belangrike bydrae tot die yl kennisveld van kunsjoernalistiek in Suid-Afrika. In die proses het die studie ook teoretiese en metodologiese innovasies aangebring wat die veld van joernalistiek-studies kan verryk.